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City squares as spaces for political discourse: reflections on Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square

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Abstract

With the Arab awakening emerged a new period in the history of social movements. This new period is distinct from the regime of protest, as it is mostly based on the supremacy of spatial issues in political practices. This research focuses on the role of the squares of Puerta del Sol in Madrid and Taksim Square in Istanbul to translate a unified process of thinking about space and politics.

Adopting the case study research paradigm within grounded theory methodology, the aims of this research are to better understand the processes of politicization and depoliticization throughout the historical transformations of these squares as a reverberation of politics; and to identify key moments that legitimate them as political spaces opening up the discussion on the topic of spatial politics and the square as infrastructure of power, recently broadly used in the discourse of social movements to demand a democratic transition. To further examine the case studies and to validate the deep meaning of contemporary spatial politics, four control-case studies were selected: the Paris Commune of 1871; the events of Paris in May 1968; the Tiananmen Square conflicts in 1989; and the Seattle protests of 1999.

Considering the two case studies as samples of a more global phenomenon, this research concludes that contemporary social movements shape an emancipatory meta-discourse rooted in a spatial struggle. This conclusion is grounded in the extensive linguistic use of the spatial concepts in the literature that discusses squares as political forums. Effective occupations or rituals performed in these squares reveal that place still matters in politics. Therefore, it is argued in this thesis that the square is an infrastructure for a new political discourse and that square "occupations" transform the city. The struggle for the square is an expression of the struggle for the commons and for the democratic process.

Keywords

Puerta del Sol, Taksim Square, social movements, politics of space, occupation, right to the city, democracy, spatial practices

Resumo

Com o levante Árabe emergiu um novo período na história dos movimentos sociais, distinto dos anteriores no regime de protesto, que se apoia na supremacia de temas espaciais nas práticas políticas. Esta investigação tem enfoque nos acontecimentos políticos e no papel das praças da Puerta del Sol em Madrid e da Praça Taksim em Istambul, para organizar um pensamento integrado sobre espaço e política.

Com recurso a um paradigma de investigação de estudo de caso com influências da "grounded theory", os objetivos gerais de investigação são uma melhor compreensão dos processos de politização e despolitização através das transformações que ocorreram na história destas praças, identificar momentos chave que legitimem a sua existência enquanto espaços políticos, abrindo assim espaço para a discussão sobre os temas de política espacial e da praça enquanto infraestrutura do poder, um tema amplamente explorado no discurso dos movimentos sociais contemporâneos para exigir uma transição democrática. Par um enquadramento dos estudos de caso e validar o profundo significado das políticas espaciais contemporâneas foram selecionados quatro casos de controlo: a Comuna de Paris de 1871; o evento de Paris durante o Maio de 1968; o conflito da Praça Tiananmen em 1989 e os protestos de Seattle de 1999.

Considerando os estudos de caso como exemplo de um fenómeno global, a investigação conclui que os movimentos sociais contemporâneos dão forma a um meta-discurso enraizado nas lutas espaciais. Esta conclusão emerge da intensa utilização linguísticas de termos espaciais na bibliografia que discute o tema das praças enquanto fóruns políticos mas as ocupações e práticas espaciais que ocorrem nestas praças também confirmam a sua relevância espacial em política; a praça é uma infraestrutura para o novo discurso de poder político e a ocupação das praças, momentos de transformação urbana. A luta pela praça reflete a luta pelos comuns bem como para uma transição democrática.

Palavras-chave

Puerta del Sol, Taksim Square, movimentos sociais, políticas espaciais, ocupação, direito à cidade, democracia, práticas espaciais

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Acronyms

AAP – Common Man's Party (*Aam Aadmi Party*)

ACME – Students Assembly against the Commodification of Education (*Asamblea de Estudiantes Contra la Mercantilización de la Educación*)

AFL–CIO – American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

AKM – Atatürk Culture Centre

AKP – Justice and Development Party

ANAP – Motherland Party

CCOO – Workers' Commissions (*Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras*)

CDS – Democratic and Social Centre (Centro Democrático y Social)

CEACS – Centre for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences (*Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales*)

CEDA – Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right (*Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas*)

CGT – General Confederation of Labour (*Confédération Générale du Travail*)

CGT – FO – Labour Force (*Force Ouvrière*)

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency

CNT – National Confederation of Labour (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*)

CORE – Congress of Racial Equality

CPC – Communist Party of China

CPPCC – National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

DAF – Revolutionary Anarchist Action

DDR – German Democratic Republic (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik*)

DISK – Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Union

DNA – Direct Action Network

DP – Democratic Party

ECOC – European Capital of Culture

ETA – Basque Homeland and Freedom (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*)

ETUC – European Trade Union Confederation

FSM – Free Speech Movement

GIS – Geographic Information System

GZP – Gezi Party

HDP – Peoples' Democratic Party (*Halkların Demokratik Partisi*)

HUAC – California House Un-American Activities Committee

IMF – International Monetary Fund

ITUC – International Trade Union Confederation

JP – Justice Party

JSF – Juventude Sin Futuro

KESK – Confederation of Public Employees' Trade Unions

KSČ – Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

KTC – Association of Turkish Cyprus

LGBTI – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex

NAFTA – North American Free Trade Agreement

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NTSU – National Turkish Student Union

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co–operation and Development

OWS – Occupy Wall Street

PAH – Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (*Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca*)

PAR – Public Administration Reform

PASOK – Panhellenic Socialist Movement (*Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα*)

PGA – People for Global Action

PKK – Kurdistan Workers' Party

POPS – Private Owned Public Space

PRC – Pew Research Centre

PSOE – Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*)

RP – Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*)

RPP – Republican People's Party

RTS – Reclaim the Streets

SEU – University Youth Movement (*Sindicato Español Universitario*)

SI – Situationist International

SNCC – Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

TAZ – Temporary Autonomous Zone

THKO – People's Liberation Army of Turkey

TOKİ – Mass Housing Administration

TOMA – Intervention Vehicle to Social Events (*Toplumsal Olaylara Müdahale Aracı*)

Türk-Is – Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions

TWP – Turkish Workers' Party

UCD – Union of the Democratic Centre (*Unión de Centro Democrático*)

UGT – General Union of Workers (*Unión General de Trabajadores*)

WEF – World Economic Forum

WSF – World Social Forum

WTO – World Trade Organization

1. Introduction

> Revolutions arise out of political situations, not because some cities are structurally suited to insurrection. Still, an urban riot or spontaneous uprising may be the starter which sets the engine of revolution going. That starter is more likely to function in cities which encourage or facilitate insurrection. (Hobsbawm, 1994 [1973] p. 233)

> 2011 is a symptom (and has the potential to be the precipitator) of the crumbling of the current world order. (Tuğal, 2013 p. 157)

> The problem today is clearly not to make political architecture – neoliberal architecture is everywhere today –, but to make architecture politically. (Toorn, 2013)

1.1. Importance of the study

I started this research project in early 2012. At the time, I was convinced that we were facing a political transformation deeply rooted in spatial aspects and issues, and it became evident to me that the topic to research in the field of architecture was this newborn "movement of the squares". This area of research had potential pitfalls: not many theories had been produced on the theme, and I knew I would not master all the disciplinary fields involved in it. However, the new cycle of protests, with its origins in certain Arab countries at the end of 2010/beginning of 2011, definitely influenced my way of perceiving, reading and interpreting the history, its tales and dynamics. "The year 2011 went down in history as the year in which urban movements spread worldwide" (Vurucular, et al., 2015), and I had few doubts that this was the path to follow. Over time, the occurrence of different events around the world as part of the same cycle of protests became more obvious (Tarrow, 1993). City squares packed with multitudes of bodies practising civil resistance, and the occupation of cities' central spaces and political action became a prevalent image on newspaper front pages. The lexicon of occupation became commonly used in all such events emerging around the world, but the specificity of place in relation to those acts was also important. Protesters usually chose places with politically salient meanings to underline their claims (Daphi, 2014); the main squares of several cities around the world became the Real in the Lacanian assumption or the sites of historical events.

The igniting moment or the outset of this cycle was signalled by the "wakening" of the Arab countries.[1] However, we could go back to October 2008 to link the Pots and Pans Revolution

[1] In Tunisia and Libya, the protests led to the overthrow of governments; in Egypt and Yemen there were governmental changes sustained by civil disorder; in Iran, Morocco, Jordan, Lebanon, Kuwait and Oman minor

in Iceland[2] to the same cycle of protests. This cycle might be said to have started in the winter of 2008/09 in Iceland's central public square, Austurvöllur, facing the House of the Government, where the multitude met to protest on a regular basis[3]. Following the government's decision to nationalize three banks and resolve their debts stemming from the 2008 financial crisis, people gathered every week, calling for the government's resignation; they finally reached their goal on January 25, 2009.

In 2010, a strong anti-austerity movement emerged in Greece. This movement was already distinct from previous social movements, comprising heterogeneous groups or a multitude of subjectivities who started to gather and protest against the policies of the recently elected PASOK, who, headed by Prime Minister George Papandreou, had asked EU partners to activate a support mechanism in exchange for public-sector cuts and tax rises. On May 5, 2010, Athens staged the largest demonstration since the popular rejection of the military junta in 1973, with hundreds of thousands marching in the city's streets.

2011 erupted with images of camps[4], uprisings and emancipated people in struggle gathering in the central squares of Arab countries; images and discourses that immediately looked to the construction of a possibility beyond those dictatorial regimes. The Egyptian Revolution (also known as the "January 25 Revolution") was the most notable. Tahrir Square (*Maydan el Tahrir*) became the focal point of the struggles against despotic Arab regimes; the occupied square represented the will to end the dictatorship and overthrow Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. The images of repression and attacks on the camps spread across the news and transformed the site into the visual climax of this cycle of struggles, affecting different societies and political regimes. On May 15, 2011, Puerta del Sol in Madrid sowed the seeds of a new phase in Spanish political history when a group of people decided to spend the night in the square and launched #acampadasol, after a national march demanding change in Spanish politics. Inspired by the

protests were able to provoke governmental changes; in Syria the protests brought about a civil rebellion; in Algeria and Iraq, protests were widespread in several cities, while in Bahrain, Sudan, Mauritania, West Sahara and Saudi Arabia there were only minor protests. In Israel and Palestinian territories protests contributed to the Israeli–Palestinian peace process. In Qatar and UAE (United Arab Emirates) there were no protests. In Qatar there was just an intention expressed on a Facebook page that was discontinued even though it attracted thousands of followers, while in UAE all threatening elements were arrested in advance and the country helped neighbouring regimes to control the insurgents.

[2] *Íslenska byltingin* in Icelandic.

[3] The first event was created as a one-man protest when, on October 18, 2008, the singer Hörður Torfason made a microphone available to people to express their opinions. After that, people protested in the square every week.

[4] We use the general term "camp" for the protest camps.

events in Madrid and influenced by the images coming from Arab countries, a wave of camps rapidly spread across Spain, other cities in Europe and abroad in the following days. In comparison to the Arab cases, the camps in the central squares of Spanish cities introduced the new lexicon of non-violence to this cycle of protests, immediately inspiring other groups and countries. On May 25, the protests re-emerged on the streets of Greece, using a different language from the previous wave of demonstrations in 2010, with no partisan connections or use of violence. It was led by the Direct Democracy Now! movement, characterized by its horizontal structure. Six months later, on September 17, 2011, the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement took over Zuccotti Park, the central square in Lower Manhattan, using the motto "we are the 99%". The "Zuccotti movement" quickly spread to hundreds of other American cities and overseas. Major support was expressed at the international demonstration 15O (October 15, 2011) in almost 1,000 cities around the world. Also confirming the relevance of this cycle of protests was *Time* magazine's choice of "the protester" as its Person of the Year.

From 2011 to 2016 the list of events is long. It is not our goal to make a comprehensive list of the events, but we will mention some to clarify the logics of the cycle at that time. In Russia, the Snow Revolution began at the end of 2011 (and ran until the summer), calling for fair elections and Putin's resignation. On December 10, in freezing temperatures, tens of thousands of people gathered in Moscow's Bolotnaya Square to protest against Putin's announcement to run for 2012's presidential elections.

In Quebec, Chile and Mexico, student protests calling for free education and a change towards a more democratic political system reached their zenith in 2012, while, in 2013, the "Turkish Spring" in Gezi Park and Taksim Square ignited with protests for the protection of a common space in Istanbul. Simultaneous with the protests in Turkey, Brazil witnessed huge demonstrations, organized by Movimento Passe Livre (Free Fare Movement) against public transport price rises. By the end of 2013, Kiev's Maidan Nezalezhnosti (Independence Square) in Ukraine was crowded with protesters reclaiming the square as a message against President Viktor Yanukovych's decision not to sign the EU Association Agreement and become part of the European Union. The goals diversified and the square was occupied for three months despite the harsh winter. More recently, in March 2016, French people were back in the squares, uniting forces in a protest that is transversal to the society. Initially starting in Place de la République, after a march on March 31 against labour reforms under discussion in parliament, camps were established in several cities around the country and abroad. The demonstration, originally convened by trade unions in the streets of the capital, was immediately absorbed by students

and other sections of society. They considered the issue crucial to everyone, and identified in the moment the possibility of expressing discontent with France's Socialist politics. After the march, people assembled in the square in a movement called "Nuit debout" ("rise up at night"). They have shown that they have learned the most recent language of protest, adopting tactics and strategies from Spain's 15-M movement. However, at the same time, they introduced a new dimension in the struggle: besides opposing the political regime (expressed by the calendar introduced to count the days of the camp), they also introduced a new reality of the struggle. For the first time, the exposure of bodies in the same area as the terrorist attacks of November 2015, in which 13 lives were lost, manifested one of the first oppositions to the dominance of a real molar revolution established in our contemporaneous reality.

We have made reference to just a few of the numerous protests in central city spaces that have happened in the last few years, and the list is already getting long. From our point of view, there is no need for an exhaustive listing of events to clearly identify differences with former social movements, namely: (1) the regime of protest; (2) social movements' composition; and (3) the centrality of spatial issues in political discourse and action, as well as considering this as part of the same cycle of protest. Spatial practices became a notable political weapon or, as W. J. T. Mitchell's (2012) says, the word "occupation" has taken on a new meaning, reintroducing Hannah Arendt's theories on politics[5] to the contemporary sphere. The occupation became the signifier of this process of demanding a democratic transition. For example, this message: "[w]e are not protesting. Who is there to protest to? What could we ask them for that they could grant? We are occupying" (quoted in Risager, 2012), sent from Cairo to OWS, evidences a signifier of the process of "reclaiming of public space by masses of disenfranchised people, the peaceful, nonviolent seizure of places in an effort to provide a new beginning, a foundational space for justice, democracy, and equality." (p. 12) The image of the events is not comprised of figures or war devices but of the occupation itself – the occupation as physical presence but also as discursive operation (p. 9). The struggles that erupted in squares around the world called for the refounding of a democratic process and justice under the general motto: "[e]very revolution has its square", bringing to light the newborn centrality of space in social movements' discourse and action as in politics. We initially validate this fact by adopting a methodology of text

[5] Recovered by Mitchell (2012) and Judith Butler (2011a) among others, Arendt's (1998 [1958]) argument for the construction of politics relies on a mode of appearance, on being-in-public, by the construction of the space of appearance; a space that exists between participants exposed in public by action and speech.

analysis using a collection of twenty interviews with activists, collected from the internet (see Appendix A).

Notwithstanding that the initial convictions were being somewhat confirmed by other authors' opinions and that the course of the events as well as the impetus to take the chance was still growing, I was still aware of the perilous approach I was taking to the theme by focusing on the discipline of architecture. Despite these recognized risks, I could see there was an opportunity to give an emotional and passionate contribution to the theme, adopting the same instrument (passion) that prompted those casual and dispersed events to a large-scale period of deep global transformation. Considering the disciplinary field of study, we could also recall Mitchell (2002 [1994]), who recognizes it as unclassified in the normative disciplines: "we do not know, quite literally, how to name the 'field' or 'topic' (much less the discipline) subtended by these terms" (p. xi). This approach is dictated by a process of thinking of space and politics as a unified problem, a passionate approach to bring several different disciplines into dialogue with architecture and, from a self-centred point of view, to gain expertise on the subject.

"Place" and/or "space" are ordinary words in the lexicon of an architect, often used as the "matter" of such expertise. However, we also recognize that the concepts, in their inner complexity, should be discussed more inside the academic institutions of architecture. As Walter Benjamin (1978 [1955]) said six decades ago, "[a]rchitecture has never been idle" (p. 240) in its relation with the projection of power. In fact, architecture has long been used as an expression of politics or the conflict of forces. It has always been engaged with the idea of "governmentality", the concept developed by Michel Foucault to describe the "combination of protocols, rules, structures, and institutions through which our desire to be governed is cultivated and channelled" (Harris, 2012 p. vii), establishing a set of norms to control the flow through a space on several scales, from home to city up to global level. In Foucault, architecture is, among other disciplinary mechanisms of power, an apparatus to regulate the behaviour of individuals in a social body by the organization of space (Hirst, 2005). Similar to Foucault's assumption, as expressed in Dianne Harris's (2012) proposal, an analytical approach to the relation of power and architecture calls for a divergent interpretation from the predominant historical research, exploring the architecture behind landmarks or built environments but also the events and agencies in which architecture has been participating in the construction of discourses and political movements throughout time.

The relation of power and space, as well as themes such as the construction of insurrections, fortresses or sieges, have been and still are broadly marginalized in the discourse of architecture. Not only have architects neglected the theme but so too have historians, who traditionally have paid more attention to battles than to sieges even if those were the apparatus of warfare. In general, these subjects eroded in time with no proper exploration, coming to light with the emergence of "new new" social movements. Barricades, the ephemeral structures of military control – or the theme of occupation in the domain of the multitude – were an artful opportunity to readapt powerful structures, ideas or words, even if usually associated with "military conquest and neo-colonialism" (Mitchell, 2012 p. 12), this time associated with the problem of the lack of common spaces to facilitate assembly in the city (Harvey, 2013). An overprotection of urban public spaces, produced by the privatization of those spaces and the hegemony of financial power, has been a prevailing weapon of domination during the last decades. This fact became strongly evident in the discourse of contemporary social movements with the occupation of Zuccotti Park – against New York's regulation of the POPS (Privately Owned Public Space) – or in the Turkish case with the protection of Gezi Park as a common space, against its destruction for the construction of a commercial space and the alienation caused by financial power over social goods and spaces.

Paul Hirst (2005), in a critical study on the relation between power and space, criticizes this alienation of the discipline and proposes that: "architecture has become a pacific profession" (p. 198). Kaminar (2011) produced a research study focused on the relation of the practice of architecture with society and its influences from politics, ideology and economics. The author explains that a crisis engulfed architecture in the 1970s with the recognition of the failure of modernism and the transformation of the political economy and consequent reconstruction of society, while other disciplines reacted in varied ways:

> architecture withdrew into itself, into a form of regressive resistance or escapism, succeeding in identifying many of the discipline's 'ailments', but lacking a remedy, often ignoring the wider social transformation and centering its attention on its own production. (p. 21)

Refuting the lack of discussion on power and space in the discipline of architecture, the concept of space, influenced by the concept of "spatial turn"[6], was broadly adopted in a range of social

[6] The concept of "spatial turn" is introduced by Anthony Giddens in his seminal text from 1984; in the new millennium it has had a broader influence on social studies and in several disciplines concerned with all aspects of space.

science disciplines and in social movements' studies in the 1990s. This was associated both with new forms of protest and of transnational concerns, also generating the growing interest of geographers (Daphi, 2014 p. 166).

According to the disciplinary focuses, the concept of space has been broadly explored in its inner differences between its material and its more abstract dimension or its socially conceived differences. As an example, we will focus on just a few different terms that describe similar concepts. Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) discusses "perceived space"; Michel de Certeau[7] "spatial practices" (1984); and Mitchell "space" (2002 [1994]). These are all places that are activated in/by moments. Lefebvre's "conceived space" (1991 [1974]) and Mitchell's "place" (2002 [1994]) describe a specific location and a constructed and conceptualized space. Lefebvre's "lived space" (1991 [1974]) and Mitchell's "landscape" (2002 [1994]) describe the Real or the site of a historical event: a site that exists by use. Priska Daphi (2014) theorizes on the spatial issues of social movements and the relation between space and culture, supporting the construction of a concept of space as a dual structure of social and physical aspects, constituted by social actions and direct effects on actions. For the author, interaction can be of three different levels – "orientation", "categorization" and "synthesis" – depending on the materiality of those relations, decreasing in each category the dependence on material and concrete aspects. In this process of "meaning-making", the construction of space can be in the direct interaction of people with physical surroundings in which those goods give them a direction (orientation); on the dual composition of signs and goods to cluster social goods and people (categorization); or in the most abstract connections when connectors are able to produce space through processes of perception or symbolic association (synthesis). In a brief transposition of such concepts to the focus of our thesis, we may relate the process of orientation with the physical structure of the square: this is the enclosed space connected with the whole city by several streets; the space that can be reached from several points and imposes a condition of staying and stopping; but, at the same time, is an area that can be surrounded and protected from the outside. In this category is also the space created by barriers erected by the police in certain moments in the process of the encampments and the restriction of access to those squares

[7] Michel de Certeau (1984) distinguishes between "space" (*espace*) and "place" (*lieu*) considering the law of property or on the relation of coexistence. Place is "an instantaneous configuration of positions", whereas space is a "practiced place", "composed of intersections of mobile elements" (p. 117) shown by the example of people walking on the street. Thus the "street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers." (p. 117)

or to some of the surrounding areas as a representation of the common enemy. On the second level, categorization can be considered as the construction of the idea of the square as a safe space (in opposition to the rest of the urban space), or the construction of the idea of the square as a communal space in which collide the idea of the construction of a democratic process by the lack of hierarchical structures and layers that contrast with the official order of the regime. On the third level of this process of meaning-making, synthesis has its major expression in the relations between the various protests and encampments in central areas of cities around the world, connecting all of them in the same wave of protests, and transforming them all into a single square.

The relation and co-dependence of social movements with spatial issues or the urban condition of politics became manifest – a fact that we aim to reflect on, both from the point of view of spatial organization of the struggle's camps and by the resistance shown by dominant politics over those spaces. As Andy Marrifield (2013) defines it, "urban" is a volatile concept or "*immanent* in the occupation itself" (p. 278 [Emphasis in the original]). Urban spaces exist

> because they are meeting places between virtual and physical worlds, between online and offline conversations, between online and offline encounters. That is why they are public: because they enable public discourses, public conversations to talk to each other, to meet each other, quite literally. They are public not because they are simply there, in the open, in a city center, but because these spaces are made public by people encountering one another, there. (p. 278)

We aim to focus on these ephemeral spaces; spaces that exist only by the continuous tenacity of the multitude's action on their use and protection, on the confrontation of opposite poles: the forces that dominate by sovereignty (Empire) the production of representations of "conceived space" (*espace conçu*) (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974] p. 33), and, on the other side, the forces that resist domination (Multitude) by spatial practices or producing the "perceived space" (*espace perçu*) (p. 33), to validate some questions.

1.2. Research objectives and questions (aims and research hypothesis)

As Rebecca Solnit (2006) remarks, the value of protest has been measured in several different ways, among them direct evaluation through the media or the impact on governments at the polls. However, the impact on the protesters, "who suddenly become the public in literal public space, no longer an audience but a force" (p. 174), a force of resistance against the dominant power, a multiplicity of singularities producing the common or the highest ideal of democracy, has been largely overlooked. If there is an obvious relation between protest and hegemonic

politics (and even if it is not a new idea that place matters for social movements), we may also point out the close relation of protest with modes of space appropriation or the dialectical relationship of a social movement and the place with which it interacts.

In order to analyse this, we aim, in a first instance and as mentioned above, to certify the more conscious relation of the use of the spatial "artefact" of the square in minor politics or the "politics of the multitude" but also to assess the impact on major politics. In this way our choice of method follows a qualitative approach, adopting the "case study" (Groat, et al., 2013 [2001]) method with a deep affiliation for grounded theory (Creswell, 2014 [1994]; Eisenhardt, 1989) to analyse the practices of the multitude in the squares during the camps and how the historical reconstruction and interpretation of the squares will create material for discussion on the topic of spatial politics. In a preliminary stage we applied discourse analysis using software to ponder on its general relevance, as mentioned above.

To validate the centrality of the square in recent cases, and its distinction from historical social movements, we selected four events to use as case studies: the Paris Commune of 1871; the events of Paris in May 1968; the Tiananmen Square conflicts in 1989; and the Seattle protests of 1999. These are some of the most iconic cases of each phase of historical social movements, usually divided into "new" and "old" social movements. Case studies are used for two purposes: we can reach a deeper comprehension of social movements' practices in public space and test the water to see how these practices relate to contemporaneous events; and we can reflect on how the events and their spatial conditions have given expression to the current political situation.

The focused analysis of the case studies uses the historical reconstruction of Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square, always in a close relation of its spatial construction with national politics – by the production of representations by governments or by the spatial practices of social movements. Through the case studies our intent is to determine how these spaces were politicized and depoliticized throughout time; how they were transformed to mirror politics; and to identify some key elements used to legitimate such squares as political public spaces.

And why is this discussion important within the discipline of architecture nowadays? With an analysis of the relation of space with power we enquire, first, whether space and disciplines of spatial design are political, and second, how they can be used to contribute not only to the creation of representational spaces or mechanisms of control but how they can be used in the

politics of the multitude – even if a place of protest cannot be designed and the act of protest is in itself an act of city transformation.

To briefly contextualize our two case studies – the events in Puerta del Sol in Madrid and in Taksim Square in Istanbul – we must refer that we initiated the thesis also with an analysis of Cairo's Maydan el Tahrir, the original case that triggered this research. Back in 2011 (January and May), the distinction of Egypt and Spain and the similarities in their struggles was evident. Egypt's uprising focused on the struggle for a democratic regime and Mubarak's regime collapse, while the Spanish people were protesting about the economic crisis and the political austerity measures imposed by the government. Apparently, youth's broken dreams, loss of fear, and insurrection against high-level corruption were common bonds between these two cases, and other connections became evident in theory during the course of events. If these could be considered weak correlations, they also bridge to another exceptional key reality, accountable in its particular moment, especially in relation to the transition of three decades of demonstrations in streets, workplaces and schools to the occupation of squares. These three decades are also equivalent to the long despotic regime that held sway in Egypt and the decades of progress in Spain after the fall of Franco's dictatorship. In defiance of structural discrepancies there was a common reality happening in the "ágoras" of Maydan al Tahrir and Puerta del Sol. The permanence of bodies in the square restored the idea of politics as a collective subject, as in the Aristotelian definition of politics rooted in the Greek term *politikos*, with its origins in the Greek term *polis*. The city was organized on a basis of free citizenship, establishing a new meaning of the urban space, structured on the relation between social life and the public sphere within the "conceived space" (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]) and bringing to light the transition into a current model based on "biopolitical production" (Hardt & Negri, 2000): a space that is not only produced by material goods but by social relations and forms of life.

In time and following each event live, in 2013 we decided to include Taksim Square in the study. The triad of events in the same cycle of protests within distinct cultural, religious and political contexts emphasized this relation of spatial issues within social movements discourse within the same new era. In the course of the research, and despite the fact that the Egyptian case was the triggering case and the first we studied, we decided to focus more deeply on the cases of Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square.

1.3. Structure of dissertation

Following this brief introduction, Chapter 2 provides a lens that shapes our questions and the proposed theoretical discussion. It is divided into four sub-chapters: (1) to present the research design and methods used during the process of research; (2) to outline and discuss main theoretical debates that will run throughout the thesis. First we use Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's (2009; 2004; 2000) theories and concepts to frame the degenerative process of Empire, the constituent power of Multitude, the dynamics and technologies of power used, and the transition from the modern age to the age of networks. These archetypes help to contextualize social movements' practices and contemporary demands as part of the "collective biopolitical body" (2000 p. 30). We then draw on two major concepts: Lefebvre's (1996 [1968]) "right to the city" and Hardt and Negri's (2009) construction of the "commons". These key notions are also theorized by other authors, which we consider essential to bridge onto theorizing social movements' practices as a new form of spatially grounded politics. (3) In the third section of Chapter 2 we draw an archaeology of the concept of city in order to recover its original relation with power and the construction of the commons in the Greek *pólis* and how successive changes, namely the Roman concept of *urbs* and the construction of the Western city in Medieval times, contributed to the dissolution of the political idea of the city and the transposition to an economic impetus. Revisiting these concepts, we can formulate a discussion of the term "city" in our research, recalling its political dimension as broadly claimed by social movements in the squares. An exploration of the etymology of the square in different languages or the analysis of its inner properties creates an opportunity to form a conceptual lens to focus on political aspects of space. (4) In the last part of Chapter 2, we engage the general problematic of social movements, look at the history of social movements in the realm of social science, and focus more deeply on four historical cases: the Paris Commune of 1871; the events of Paris in May 1968; the Tiananmen Square conflicts in 1989, and the Seattle protests in 1999. These allow us to identify phases, practices and discourses used over time, the relation of space with political theory, and contribute to a more conscious overview of the case studies.

In Chapter 3 we present our case studies focusing on two squares – Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square – to present, in a first moment, the historiography of these squares since their origins. Drawing on archival documents, official papers, photos and newspaper articles, we strive to translate the construction of the architectural site in a "chronotope", adopting Mikhail Bakhtin's (1998) concept. To Bakhtin, the architectural form is shown as a possibility to understand the world as event, represented by the dialogic projection of mechanical structures. The chronotope

of a public square can be read as an autobiography of such a place immersed in the spatial relations that prompted its transformation. In each case, we follow the historical approach, with a brief description of the physical aspects and surroundings of each square, to end with an investigation of the camps. Due to the limitations of time and space, we focus on the days the initial camps were settled in the squares, considering this time as the most formative for the movement. Even if separated by thousands of kilometres and with huge political differences, we focus on the similarities of social movements' discourses in Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square; the importance of such places in each country's history; and how relevant the presence of the masses in the squares is in the contemporary context, as well as the significance of each specific square in the construction of the political discourse.

The final chapter handles the issue of political space and its occupation, as the most disruptive act in recent times. We sum up the empirical findings in the relation of the spatiality of Taksim Square and Puerta del Sol with each country's politics; present a modest contribution on how this research has articulated the theoretical concepts; and pose some questions on the progression of social, political and spatial aspects in politics as well as in further academic approaches on these topics.

Overall, the thesis explores the dialectical relation between space – Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square – and the politics of social movements – in the events of 2011 and 2013 – as well as, from a broader perspective, the use and transformation of the square according to political movements, trends and desires, analyzing the different ways in which power is projected in the squares. In the case of the relation of recent social movements with these squares we weave some general topics that can be extrapolated to a more global dimension, even if always grounded in empirical and physical conditions.

2. Research outline

2.1. Research approach

In a context of such complexity it is sometimes difficult to define a structural methodology. Therefore, to give a brief summary, our approach follows qualitative research: it involves a variety of empirical materials based on non-participatory observation, media reports or online articles in the public realm, articles, photographs, maps and other visual material, and it has an academic affiliation to the disciplines of political theory, sociology and architecture. The paradigm of research is "transformative" or "emancipatory". It assumes that reality (ontology) is a complexity of dilemma and the construction of theories (epistemology) based on the researcher's background, with its cultural construction, political, social aspects and ethnicity or gender beliefs that are mirrored in contemporary facts. Our research strategy is built upon the "case study" method, considering two case studies: Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square. We adopt a multimethod system that was constructed in the process of research, with a general strategy affiliation with grounded theory, as theories are being developed at the same time as data collection and analysis. Formally, we first circumscribed the problem: the close relation of contemporary minor politics with spatial aspects. Upon this we built the first general hypothesis: whether the square is part of the discourse of social movements. For the construction of the research we used triangulation, the combination of two (or more) methods to verify the results of one subject. Some of these methods (or tactics or analytic approaches) are closely related to those used within the discipline of cultural studies, utilizing a collection of texts and artefacts that can foster understanding of the theme, discourse analysis or non-participant observation, either through social media or *in loco* in a period after the event.

During the process of adding information and getting involved with the theme, we also introduced new understanding, new points of view and departure, and new methods to validate our interpretation of the facts, as will now be explained in detail.

2.1.1. Research design and methods

According to Bjarke Risager (2012), "[t]he study of social movements involves a range of epistemological and methodological problems and difficulties" (p. 1). These problems are inherent to the disciplines that study the social world, especially the study of deeply politicized groups as in the case of social movements – groups that generally divide society into supporters and critics. In these cases, our views, focus and discussion are always affected by political sensibilities, systems of judgement and interests or our understanding of social phenomena, and how our prescription will influence others' construction of the world or influence the

construction of a common understanding of the phenomenon. If this happens in the general case of social movements, these problems are even more emphasized when our focus is a dynamic element that is still in the process of formation or is still active, as was the case with our focus on the relation of the squares with social movements or politics. In these contexts of complex realities happening in the contemporary sphere, as in the case of the relation of social movements' actions on the squares, all methodological approaches are valid. However, researches most commonly adopt ethnographic methods and active participation, involving focus groups, both researching and problematizing political participation, and ergo contributing to the construction of the movement. Through our comprehension of those choices and awareness that all the approaches have advantages and weaknesses, we consider that it is also possible and appropriate to analyse from the perspective of the outsider; or at least take a distant point of view. We note that apart from the focus on social movements we must also consider the square as part of the object of study, the structural element that confines the research in space but also in time of analysis. In addition, our choice not to use such an immersive approach using interviews or the definition of focus groups inside the movement is because we consider as more important an analysis of social movements as a collective body, even if constituted as a group of singularities, in which those practices could bring limitations to an overview of the theme. To mention one last topic, my academic work began after the initial events in Egypt and Spain, with my PhD program starting in January 2012, and I did not have the necessary research resources to go on observation or conduct in-depth interviews during the events.

To fully frame the problem, some authors argue that social space analysis should be based on a mixed-method design of quantitative and qualitative research methods (Spatscheck & Wolf-Ostermann, 2009; Groat & Wang, 2013 [2001]), even if the purported division between qualitative and quantitative approaches to research (and more recently with mixed methods or a multimethod approach) is increasingly controversial. John Creswell (2014 [1994]) circumvents these limitations, considering both approaches as part of a continuum and never rigid in themselves. If the distinction between the models is often based on the type of data in use – textual (qualitative) or numerical (quantitative) – the real assumption between them should be considered as departing from the basic philosophical assumptions and always considering that both cases offer advantages and weaknesses. According to John W. Creswell's (2014 [1994]) definitions, our thesis follows a qualitative approach: we are trying to understand the reality of an object by a group of individuals and not testing objective theories. The distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches is based on the combination of three

factors: the philosopher belief system on nature and social reality (ontology); the philosopher belief system on existing knowledge (epistemology); and the system to acquire knowledge or theoretical perspective (methodology). In quantitative approaches, the system comprises an objective ontology; social entities are independent from the researcher (a positivist epistemology), and the truth is outside of the researcher to be discovered via a deductive methodology, going from broad and general to the specific facts. In qualitative approaches, ontology is based in constructivism; social entities are perceived in a subjective way; epistemology is developed based on social interaction, in an interpretativist approach; and the methodology follows an inductive process, going from observations to theory.

Apart from the research strategy and method, according to Linda Groat and David Wang (2013 [2001]), we must also define the research paradigm[8], which is quite often confused with the method. Authors present a "cluster of systems of inquiry" with three main systems termed as "postpositivist", "naturalistic" and "emancipatory", differing on epistemological and ontological assumptions. In the "postpositivist", the oldest paradigm coming from the traditions of 19th century positivism, the researcher assumes reality as independent and objective and interferes as little as possible (realist ontology). By this crude description we could consider this as our paradigm; however, through this paradigm the production of knowledge should be produced by "dispassionate" observations and assumptions (representational epistemology) and the methodological approach based on quantitative material and results, which is far from our course of research. As Groat and Wang (2013 [2001]) confirm, these "experimental methodologies employed in the natural sciences are often inappropriate for research involving people" (p. 33).

The second and third paradigms share similarities: (1) in both cases there is the recognition of multiple realities; (2) both cases can adopt quantitative and/or qualitative methodological approaches; and the "emancipatory" paradigm can be considered as a deflection from the "naturalistic". The "naturalistic" paradigm, also "referred to as the phenomenological, anthropological, or ethnographic" (Guba, 1981 p. 75) and most recently as "interpretivist" or "constructivist", assumes that there is no objective reality but a reality built on a complex model

[8] Some authors use the term "worldview" (Creswell, 2014 [1994] p. 35) instead of "paradigm" to describe the philosophical orientation on the world and the nature of research. As Creswell (2014 [1994]) presents, there are other variances on the designation of the beliefs that guide action, of the "philosophical orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher brings to a study" (2014 [1994] p. 35), such as epistemologies and ontologies according to Crotty, 1998, or research methodologies according to Neuman, 2009.

of relations (relativist ontology). "The 'reality' of the situation is that many factors, bearing a variety of relationships (correlations, rationalists would say) to one another, form a 'whole' that cannot be understood if dismembered" (p. 84). With the naturalistic paradigm, more recently "translated" into the "constructivist worldview" by Creswell (2014 [1994]), researchers do not depart from a constructed reality but generate it, in a process of intuition (subjectivist epistemology) developed in the research process: "[i]ndividuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences–meanings directed toward certain objects or things" (p. 37). The "emancipatory" paradigm in Groat and Wang (2013 [2001]), which corresponds to the "transformative worldview" in Creswell (2014 [1994]), emerged in the 1980s and 90s as a critique of postpositivist assumptions. It diverges from the "naturalistic" paradigm as it assumes a political change agenda, an involvement in "social, political, cultural, ethnic, and gender issues" (Groat, et al., 2013 [2001] p. 33), so considering the "naturalistic" approach as inadequate to research social justice and marginalized issues and populations. The production of knowledge derives from the particular relation of a particular researcher and a specific object (subjectivist epistemology), assuming reality as a subjective system of values shaped by social structures (historical ontology).

Considering these definitions and the assumption that there is no other possibility to research political and socio-spatial dynamics as based on certain value judgements transformed by certain interests and that our objectivity is always a partial vision constructed within a relational interaction between individuals and social structures, the philosophical tradition we adopt for the construction of our thesis is the "transformative–emancipatory" paradigm. This confirms the idea of Edward Soja (2005); he considers that a positivist approach to the study of spatial issues concerned only with physical or social and historical aspects is a reductionist method for studying spatial issues within society. This leads to splits between positivist subjects concerned only with physical and material aspects such as GIS (Geographic Information System), Space Syntax or positivist geography, and those more concerned with social and historical aspects such as Marxist and economic geography. It is our conviction that a socio-spatial analysis must be sensitive to power: how structures are arranged, who orders design and their beliefs beyond it, or how spaces can emerge within different configurations through everyday practices.

The analysis of political and social transformations of the city, as well as the activities that were used to politicize and depoliticize public space, cannot be completely realized through a single method, so there was a need to consider a multiplicity of approaches and perspectives. Our research strategy is built upon the method of "case study". We consider two case studies, two

important squares for the "movements of the squares", and in each one we focus on all its spatial transformations, following Rolf Johansson's (2003) conviction that a "[a] case study is expected to capture the complexity of a single case".

In a synthesis of several approaches and definitions of case studies, the author defines "case" as the object of study; it should be "a complex functioning unit, investigated in its natural context with a multitude of methods, and be contemporary" (p. 2); the "case study" is a method that permits the combination of other approaches. In a combination produced upon a view of the seven research strategies defined by Groat and Wang (2013 [2001]), the author combines and interconnects all of them in a circular constellation in which the "case studies and combined strategies" stays in the centre. While "qualitative" and "interpretive" research have in common a holistic approach to the research subject and differing time perspectives, "correlational" research shares with the "qualitative" method a focus on naturally occurring circumstances. The relation of "correlational" with "experimental and quasi-experimental" research is their shared dependence on quantitative data. In "experimental and quasi-experimental" and "simulation and modelling" research, the researcher must be able to manipulate data and isolate variables, whereas "simulation and modelling" and "logic argumentation" both give emphasis to abstraction. Completing the cycle, the "case study" method is positioned in the middle of the circle; it is a "meta-method" that is used in combination with the other six.

The case study is commonly adopted in social sciences to approach contemporary cases as well as in the discipline of architecture. However, in this case, as Johansson (2003) justifies, when the object is a physical artefact, "the gap between case study and history tends to diminish" (p. 5), as "[a]n artefact is a carrier of its history" (p. 5). Therefore the case study can also be considered as a historical case study.

The case study has a long tradition, dating from the beginning of the 20th century, albeit with a 20–30-year gap of disuse. First developed within the discipline of anthropology around 1900, it was interrupted by the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1920s and 30s, when the positivist approach emerged and then dominated until the end of the Second World War. It re-emerged in the 1960s with the work of Peter Winch and Georg Henrik, whose strong influence of natural sciences in social sciences aimed to bridge the gap between positivism and hermeneutics (pp. 5, 6).

We use case study research design as a possible way to frame our research question but with an affinity to Grounded theory, which can be considered as a general strategy to conduct research.

grounded theory was proposed by Glaser and Strauss in their 1967 book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, and was presented as an alternative to the positivist tradition of producing theory *priori* to data collection and analysis. In grounded theory tradition, data and theory assume a reciprocal relationship, and the "problem" or "question" is as broad as possible to allow for all the interpretations (Creswell, 2014 [1994]). Kathleen Eisenhardt (1989), in her article on the construction of theory based on case studies, lists three major strengths of this approach: (1) the possibility to produce novel theory as "creative insights often arise from the juxtaposition of contradictory or paradoxical evidence" (p. 546); (2) in the process of theory-building the hypothesis is validated by direct evidence; due to the close connection of data and theory, this diminishes testability problems and can be further expanded in subsequent studies; (3) therefore, the "resultant theory is likely to be empirically valid" (p. 547) as, due to the close relation of the construction of theory based on evidence, the theory will encompass aspects that mirror reality.

In summary, the paragraphs above justify our decision not to choose grounded theory with case studies, especially because we do not organize our thesis based on the common patterns of this data research such as the organization of text based on codes and categories (except with discourse analysis – see appendix A). Instead, we use the case study with affiliation to grounded theory, which is based on the "constant comparative method" (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). The method, as described by authors Glaser and Strauss, is a process, developing in consequent states. The method opens with the identification of the object, event or phenomenon: in our case, we considered the global similarities of the "politics of the squares". This is followed by the identification of some concepts or principles: mirrored by the framework on concepts and theories coming from the discipline of political philosophy, general concepts discussed in social science disciplines include "the right to the city" and the "commons"; general discussion on the square and the city; and discussion of social movements studies, namely the historical framework and focus on some selected cases functioning as "case-control studies"[9]. One other important structural phase of this approach is the rationale for selecting comparisons and

[9] The case-control study is originally a type of study design used in epidemiology to identify factors associated with risks of contracting diseases. It was adopted by social sciences to establish how various factors influence the risk of certain events such as wars, even if it is not much exploited in social science disciplines (Goldstone, 2004).

making the subsequent sampling[10] purposeful and relevant; as will be explored in the sub-chapters on the analytic approaches, or tactics, we used triangulation[11].

2.1.2. Case selection

Following Hardt's definition of the logics of the "mole" that he recovers from Karl Marx, there is a logical continuity between all the events that occurred after December 2010, or a "plural ontology of politics":

> [h]owever, the primary point is that their practices, strategies, and objectives, although different, are able to connect and combine with each other to form a plural, shared project. The singularity of each struggle fosters rather than hinders the creation of a common terrain. (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p. 65)

Considering this authorial interpretation, also supported by other authors (Castells, 2013 [2012]; Arquilla & Ronfeldt, 2001), we first denote that our choice to consider a case study method could compromise or bound our research in a general discussion. Despite facts and risks of inconsistency, as we are focusing on socio-spatial aspects, the importance of specific places became notable in the construction of discourses. Even if it can then be extrapolated to a more global dimension, anchoring the construction of theories in a historical spatial analysis would ground our propositions.

The chronology of events is also relevant in relation to the PhD program, which started in January 2012. We started with an overview of information on the events of the movement of the squares of 2011 in order to gain a general comprehension and notion of similarities and differences, bearing in mind Lefebvre's proposal, refered by Stuart Elden (2004) that "in order to understand systems the worst thing we can do is to create a systematization" (p. 27). Based on a broad and general categorization (place, social movements' composition, spatio-temporal occupation, tactics, duration, dissemination and replicas) of some of the cases we were able to choose our specific case studies. Apart from theoretical decisions, pragmatic reasons also contributed to the choice of the cases: neither this research nor visits were funded, and I had no opportunity to arrange long-term visits, observation, and participation or even any in-depth interviews, as pointed out above.

[10] "Sampling is the process of systematically selecting that which will be examined during the course of a study" (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).
[11] Triangulation is, by definition, the use of more than one single approach in an investigation. It can also be considered as a multimethod or multifocal approach (Wilcox, 2004).

In the initial phase, the events in Maydan al Tahrir in Cairo in January 2011 and those that emerged four months after in Puerta del Sol in Madrid were two particularly significant examples due to their durability and cause–effect relation on social and political structures, although falling within different cultural, religious and political contexts. In a subsequent phase, in 2013, while still in the process of construction of this thesis, we considered it key to include a third case: the encampment and the politics of the multitude in Turkey's Taksim Square. We were strongly influenced by the will to include an intermediate case, considering the religious and secularist contexts of our case studies. Apart from similarities in the spatio-temporal tactics and structure of the conflicts, Taksim Square also became the first uprising with a conscious discourse focused on the protection of the commons, besides other political demands. Considering these contexts, Spain is a religious country dominated by Catholicism[12] with a non-confessional state, even if not *laïque*, as the constitution "compels the state to collaborate with the different denominations while recognizing a special status for the Catholic Church" (González, 2013 p. 9), declared by the democratic constitution of 1978. Egypt, on the other hand, is dominated by Islam[13] and has been declared a confessional state, a state with an official religion since the constitution of 1971. The democratic constitution underwent a series of amendments between 1980 and January 2014, but the democratic practice has always been Sharia, the principal source of legislation, even when 2014's constitution declared freedom of expression (Egypt State Information Service, 2014). Turkey, in spite of Islamisation under the AKP Party, has been a secular state (similar to French *laïcité*) since amendments introduced in 1928 to the constitution of 1924 that removed Islam as the religion of the state as well as all other religious influences. This Freedom of Religion and Conscience is upheld in article 24 of the 1982 constitution. Apart from the legal constitution, in Turkey it is still difficult to assess the real impact of religion, particularly Islam, on society. Official numbers from the government (who claim that 99.8% of Turks are Muslims) diverge from those from the CIA (2014) and from other institutions such as the 2002 Pew Research Centre report, in which only 65% of respondents stated that religion is "very important" in their lives (PRC, 2002 p. 2). Lastly, the three case studies are located on the margins of the Mediterranean Sea, one other aspect that

[12] 70.5% of Spaniards self-identify as Catholics (CIS, 2013 p. 22).
[13] Approximately 79 million Egyptians are Muslims (largest Muslim population in the Middle East–North Africa region), about 94.6% of the population (PRC, 2009).

we considered the most profitable body of study to expand the value and assertiveness of the contributions.

Almost in the final phase of our research, and despite the information already collected and written up, we decided to exclude the case study of Maydan al Tahrir for two major reasons: because of the lack of resources to support a visit to Cairo, and because a third case would limit the possibilities to fully explore our two case studies, a body of work already significant in extent given the university's regulation for PhD theses.

2.1.3. Analytic approaches: data collection, management and analysis

Formally, we first circumscribed the problem: the close relation of contemporary minor politics with spatial aspects. Upon this we built the first general hypothesis: whether the square is part of the discourse of social movements.

To ground our hypothesis in the construction of a theoretical background, we initiated a process of theoretical sampling[14] (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006), collecting all types of data on a general theoretical research on the relation of the square and new social movements (social sciences and architecture), focused on the further construction of a literature review. The construction of a theoretical framework to contextualize our theme contributes to a theoretical and conceptual reflection, progressively levied on the case studies. In a first approach, we decided to collect all possible types of external texts and media. Assuming the risks of intermediate interpretations and the influence of interests from the producer of those documents, our empirical base is constructed upon essays, newspaper and internet articles, media, images and other dispersed material produced by researchers, participants, observers, journalists or critics, the only possibility we admit to take advantage of emergent themes. The process of data collection continued until a "point of saturation"[15] (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

Together with reflective and historical research, during this phase we conducted two field studies: one in Madrid (Puerta del Sol), for a period of 30 days (November 23–December 23, 2012), at the Centre for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences (CEACS) in the Juan March

[14] Theoretical sampling is a concept defined by Glaser and Strauss as a process to develop a rich understanding of the dimensions of a concept that crosses a wide range of conditions and settings and contributes to emerging theoretical concepts.

[15] In Deborah Cohen and Benjamin Crabtree (2006) the point of saturation or redundancy is the moment when no new theory is emerging from the data and defines the sample size. As the authors explain, this point is reached as data collection and analysis go hand-in-hand, and collected data is analysed to inform decisions on a further state of data collection.

Foundation; and the second in Istanbul (Taksim Square) for a period of 15 days (November 6–21, 2013).

In the case of Madrid, the collection of information was mainly realized in the Spanish National Library (Biblioteca Nacional de España); CEACS (a research centre in the social sciences with emphasis on political science and sociology); and in the library of Casa Árabe. In the case of Turkey, research was conducted in the Mimarlik Fakultesi of the Technical University of Istanbul (Faculty of Architecture, in which I had the opportunity to collect maps and talk informally with Professor Birge Yildirim, an expert on Taksim Square) and in the Library of SALT Research (SALT is a non-profit organization funded by Garanti Bank with the ambition of becoming Turkey's largest cultural institution). Apart from the collection of material, during these visits it was possible to collect sensorial experiences; to acquire an empirical knowledge of the place in which the events occurred; and to follow some consequent events and demonstrations, which we could consider as non-participant observation (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

A third analytic approach we applied, one used in data management, was discourse analysis. This model was used for general validation of the first hypothesis, the role of spatial aspects, namely by the construction of the idea of the square and the politics of the square, and the construction of the politics of the multitude. Our model was inspired by the method defined by Ron Scolon and Suzie Scolon (2004), using the Qualitative Data Analysis Software "Maxqda". Content analysis emerged in the areas of sociology and mass communication to "objectively" analyse media content as written, verbal and visual content, but more recently was also adopted in interpretations of the "latent content" of texts (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

In the course of the research, in order to analyse the events in the squares, namely the 15-M movement in Puerta del Sol and Taksim Solidarity in Taksim Square, we also constructed chronomaps, which assist in a clear spatio-temporal analysis of the events and impacts.

Crossing all the phases of the construction of the thesis, in a process of "immersion/crystallization" (interleaving periods of reading and data analysis in detail with periods of suspension), we adopted the "constant comparative method" (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). The construction of this body of text was based on the decisions that were being made regarding initial collection, but also all the data and information that was added in the process.

In a general overview on the process of sampling of data management and analysis, we considered several sampling approaches according to the logical sequence of the work, following the list presented by Cohen and Crabtree (2006): (1) the "maximum variation", a purposeful strategy to sample heterogeneity was applied in a first moment, when searching how to understand the phenomenon; (2) the "critical case", a selection of a small number of important cases, containers of most of the information, was used to decide on the case studies, which were also constrained by external limitations; (3) the "theory based", an iterative process based on emerging theoretical concepts to reach a broader understanding of the concepts, was applied in the whole process of construction of the structure of the thesis; (4) the "confirming and disconfirming cases", a sampling process that occurs after some portion of the data collection and analysis is completed in order to reach a deeper comprehension on themes or confirmation of hypothesis, was used in the decision to include Taksim Square as an intermediate case study, with a hybrid reality when considering the socio-political contexts of Maydan al Tahrir and Puerta del Sol; (5) the "intensity" process was applied to search for "excellent examples of the phenomenon" and; (6) the "politically important cases", the process of sampling politically sensitive sites for analysis, was one of the major factors in deciding on the case studies but can also be considered as the major sampling cutting across all decisions for the thesis.

2.2. Positioning the research under Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt's concepts and theories

> [U]rbanism is a mask and a tool: a mask for the state and political action, a tool of interests that are dissimulated within a strategy and a socio–logic. Urbanism does not try to model space as a work of art. It does not even try to do so in keeping with its technological imperatives, as it claims. The space it creates is political. (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970] p. 180)

> Urban space is therefore not just the place where political struggles happen, but increasingly the very object of that struggle. Just as a battlefield is the site of conflict but also part of the territory over which conflicts are often initiated, the city plays a similar role. (Elden, 2004 p. 151)

> [U]nderstanding the spatial dynamic of protest is not just a question of control, legality or even collective behaviour. It is about reclaiming the national, local or communal space and its symbolic attributes. (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 58)

It has been at least since social scientist Jeremy Bentham's utopian drawings of the great panopticon – the first building specially designed for absolute and oppressive control – in the late 18th century that architecture has been used as the apparatus for control of power by distinct

regimes, and has also been a key concept in architectural production and theory. The concept and schemes of the panopticon[16] have been used as inspiration for theoretical approaches to cross concepts, but have also been incorporated in urban design, mainly in large-scale architecture projects. One of the most referenced is the great boulevards of Haussmann in Paris, as the radial scheme is suitable to exacerbate hierarchical power and control the insurgents in a city. In the focus of our analysis we aim to discuss the production of space and how space has been a support for politics (despite broader coverage of the political than the spatial aspects), both as a "weapon" of the dominant powers, controlling by sovereignty and by the production of an "abstract space", and as a weapon of repressed groups, which by spatial practices resist, producing biopolitical space[17]. If space has never been idle, adopting Benjamin's (1978 [1955]) consideration, today this idea seems to be even stronger, with city centres and squares being the locus of the production of a constituent power, despite occasional oppression. Aware of the shift of paradigms of political aspects and its formalization in spatial logics, we assume the focus on contemporary modes of politics as a crucial aspect. In order to achieve this and to prepare the ground to better comprehend the spatial aspects of the "politics of the squares", we will briefly focus on the theories developed by Hardt and Negri (2009; 2004; 2000). The multitude in the squares is related to the construction of the "commons"[18], a political project where the "multitude of the poor"[19] (the new challenge of economic doctrines of regimes of

[16] The panopticon is an archetypal model for a prison based on surveillance, in what Foucault calls the "eye" of power. The prison is a circular structure, divided into cells arranged around a central tower of control from which each cell can be observed. The cells are lighted through the window and the tower darkened, enabling the person in the tower to see without being seen. Promoting the uncertainty of being controlled at any given moment in the mind of the prisoner, it creates a space that is governed twenty-four hours a day. As an "idea in architecture […] achieved by the uninterrupted surveillance of conduct" (Hirst, 1993 p. 57), the building expresses the principle that the many can be governed by the few.

[17] Biopolitical space is, in Negri's (2007) definition, the "small-scale biopolitical spaces where 'ordinary' inhabitants can meet and reshape everyday life", considering as example some forms of cooperatives or mutual help associations, run by the movements.

[18] The commons in the biopolitical regime must be understood as an ecology of the commons, including not only the natural commons (such as air, earth, water or organic and animal life) but also constitutive elements of the foundation of human culture and society (such as common languages, habits, gestures, affects, codes, and so forth), in a system of mutual interdependence (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. 171).

[19] Hardt and Negri adopt the distinctions from Spinoza, preferring the term "multitude" rather than "people". In Spinoza, the distinction of both terms is related to the ruling political process. While in a regime of consensus, the power is held by a few and the People can feel represented by an elite, whereas in a regime of discensus, all the subjectivities (the multitude) must be included. The authors use the term "poor", broadly used since the Middle Ages and until the 17th century in Europe, for those who lack possibilities, such as poor migrants or precarious workers; people who are considered excluded but who are still within the rhythms of biopolitical production (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. xi). Adopting Hobbes, the authors consider that property divides the people (the unified object able to be governed by one person and sovereignty) from the multitude (a group of plural subjectivities unable to be ruled or rule themselves). Therefore, "the function of property is to expel the poor from the people" (p. 51) and ensure the multitude's support for the existing regime of the people and the republic of property.

property as Socialism and capitalism[20]) opens up a new space for politics (Hardt & Negri, 2009) in the domain of property. The politics of the squares is supported by the major threat of the property, the poverty and, based on this condition, the real "menace to the republic of property" (p. 45), transforming the "multitude of the poor" into the power.

In the milieu of urban studies, the city has been a content of political philosophy, at least since Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1848) assumed the city as the only possibility for radical social transformations. More recently, through the legacies of neo-Marxist urban theorists (Castells, 2013 [2012]; Harvey, 2008; Purcell, 2002; Lefebvre, 1996 [1968] amongst others), it became clear that the city must be interpreted as a set of processes, and not only in terms of its physicality and the medium to reach social transformations as well as create politics. Despite following the logics through history in order to comprehend the relation of the city to the transformation of society and within social movements, we believe that, in the context of the discipline of architecture, we must take a step back (or out of the core of the discipline) to briefly framework the transformations of logics of power between the state and civil society within the city and how power struggles have changed in recent times as well as in the relation of social movements. When the multitude reclaims the space, they are also challenging contemporary paradigms of the regimes of property, in the management of the public and the private.

In the context of our research, the literature review, anchored in Hardt and Negri's trilogy (2009; 2004; 2000), also contextualizes the transition from the modern age to the age of networks. The authors examine the technologies of power applied in each period – archetypes that will help us to understand the struggles of contemporary social movements and demands for democracy and space (namely the square), including rethinking the concept of democracy in contemporary thought; theories that are a crucial contribution to political theory (Prentoulis & Thomassen, 2012, p. 167). Apart from this first argument to consider the authors' theories

[20] As Hardt and Negri (2009) recognize by the end of the book, for lack of a better definition, they keep defending communism as a project of the common and opposed to other regimes: "what the private is to capitalism and what the public is to socialism, the common is to communism." (p. 273) The authors consider property as the major blockage to the practice of constituent power: "[s]ince the dominant form of the republic is defined by property, the multitude, insofar as it is characterized by poverty" (p. 39) and the regime of property is an obstacle to democratic processes. They focus on cases when the regime of property modulates the constitutions written after major revolutions – the French constitution after the French Revolution, the English after the Industrial Revolution, and the American after the American Revolution – explaining that the major problem of the systems lies in the foundation of constitutions in the regime of property.

the most profitable in our analysis, there is a second reason that relies on their involvement with these contemporary social movements since the beginning, as set out in the publication of the "Declaration"[21] in 2012.

In a brief summary, Hardt and Negri review Marx's theories on the social composition involved in the struggles through the lens of Baruch Spinoza's and Gilles Deleuze's conceptions of the contemporary world transferring, with the shift of labour from the work of the industrial working class to biopolitical labour, the locus of the struggle from the factory to the metropolis: "the metropolis, like the factory, is the site of hierarchy and exploitation, violence and suffering, fear and pain." (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. 258) The city is the primal condition for the production of the commons, the existence of encounters and the place of antagonisms and rebellions. In a political philosophical analysis of the space of power, the authors bring to light key concepts in poststructuralist thought (not only Deleuze and Spinoza but also Félix Guattari, Foucault, Max Weber and Italian Workerism (*Operaismo*)[22] to mention a few), creating the first theories on political philosophy about this "new era"[23].

Focusing on the spatial aspects, the transition from Medieval to Enlightenment space is established by the abolition of hierarchical structures of powers and the dominant idea of immanence, built up by the transcendental apparatus that was able to discipline the multitude

[21] Declaration" (2012) is a self-published pamphlet that synthetizes the trilogy – *Empire* (2000), *Multitude* (2004) and *Commonwealth* (2009) – in a kind of practical guide for social movements with a political framework, sowing the logics of encampments and the ways to get past crises. The publication introduces key concepts to interpret the transition from the nation-state-based politics of modern times and the postmodern conception of society, based on the predominance of postindustrial forms of labour and production that also define new modes of governance – a set of global ruling powers or "Empire" – and resistance of the "Multitude" – all the singular subjectivities of the biopolitical field.

[22] Political analysis introduced in the 1950s in Italy, bridging concepts of Marxism and Anarchism, with its zenith in the Movement of 1977. The autonomous political analysis establishes a closed dialectic on the relation of capital to forms of working-class power, based on the working class as the active power and capital as the reactive force, in which capitalism's development ends. The movement introduced the concepts of "class composition", not just as a "working class" but as a "social labour-power" (Pazieiri and Tronti); "social factory" (Tronti), as the factory is a place of power that is extended to society; and "socialized worker" (*operaio sociale*), the most controversial concept, introduced by Negri, among others. Negri's concept emerges from Marx's *Capital* volume 1 on the reproduction of labour power in the form of the family and education to focus on the locus of struggle. These theories were diffused by several authors (Antonio Negri, Paolo Virno, Mario Tronti, Raniero Panzieri and Sergio Bologna, among others) working on the theme of "workers' resistance" and publishing in the journals *Quaderni Rossi* ("Red Notebooks", 1961–4) (Libcom, 2005).

[23] Francis Fukuyama, one decade before the publication of the first book of the trilogy – first with his paper "The end of history", published in 1989 and then with the book *The End of Time and the Last Man*, published in 1992 – had already recognized the logics of the age of empire and the end of the era of major conflicts: "sovereign power will no longer confront its Other and no longer face its outside, but rather will progressively expand its boundaries to envelop the entire globe as its proper domain" (p. 189). In the opposite approach he entitled the logics of globalization and late capitalism as the end of history and the end of ideology.

to a different order that is still able to regulate the chaos of modernity and discipline the multitude but with the idea of free subjects. During the real practical abolition of the hierarchies in Modern times, discourses continued to be based on a dialectic construction, similar to the Medieval tradition of binaries such as interior/exterior or self/other confrontations – as explained by Niccolò Machiavelli, Spinoza, and Marx (2000 p. 184) – and in any conditions of conflicts of sovereignty. Just when postmodern thought challenges this binary logic, the enemy is dislocated from the position of being outside each force – the sovereignty of nation-state or of the multitude. If the transition to the Postmodern era aims to abolish this dialectical discourse, one way or another, Modern theorists have difficulties in breaking with existing paradigms and theories to create a disruptive discourse, complying with an order of totality: "[w]hat has changed in the passage to the imperial world, however, is that this border place no longer exists" (p. 183), considering the dislocation only in terms of space and by the deterritorializing processes of globalization. Foucault was one of the first theorists able to identify the historical transition at the edge of the Modern era, from the *disciplinary society*, a "society in which social command is constructed through a diffuse network of *dispositifs* or apparatuses that produce and regulate customs, habits, and productive practices" (p. 23) to the *society of control*, in which control is not limited to certain institutions but extends inside the modulation of everyday practices, "characterized by an intensification and generalization of the normalizing apparatuses […], this control extends well outside the structured sites of social institutions through flexible and fluctuating networks." (p. 23)

Three other authors who later played a crucial role in the deconstruction of the dialectical discourse were Deleuze, Guattari and Spinoza. Deleuze and Guattari offer their poststructuralist formulations on the deconstruction of binary division or dialects and the theory of absolute constitutive theory[24] through the rhizome, a "nonhierarchical and noncentered network structure" (p. 299). Spinoza, with his theory of the absolutes, is one of the first critics of modern sovereignty in absolute terms. Criticizing monarchy and aristocracy, he supported democracy as "the absolute form of government" (p. 185); a democracy with the rule of the entire multitude was "the only form of government in which the absolute can be realized" (p. 185).

[24] In Deleuze and Guattari the negation is considered the absolute; not in the meaning that everything is negated but that what is negated is on an absolute dimension.

The transition in political thought and space configuration has brought to light distinctions and foreground dissimilarities in the paradigms of struggles and conflicts. If the Modern era was the time of major conflicts – conflicts based on the dialectics of authoritarian nation-state sovereignty and the immanent forces of the multitude – in the age of Empire, rather than there being one major crisis, a network of minor crises has proliferated, or an "omni-crisis" (p. 189), shaping a network of micro-conflicts. Hardt and Negri (2000) recognize that in this transition to the state of omni-crisis, simultaneously an era of permanent *state of exception*[25], "interventions are always exceptional even though they arise continually" (p. 38), highlighting the beginning of a new ideology. The state of permanent conflicts and permanent *state of exception* holds the possibility of ruling and maintaining order under the contemporary tyranny of the Empire, but within this new system the relations of power must be reformulated to achieve a democratic domain. In summary, the absoluteness of the power of the Empire is expressed and supported by three main rules of inexistence: the lack of spatial boundaries; the limits of rules; and the lack of time limits, suspending history and fixing "the existing state of affairs for eternity." (p. xiv) In the condition of absence of limits on the domain of human beings, "it's a creative power" that rules "over human nature and social life", "the paradigmatic form of biopower" (p. xv), in which exploitation is no longer a means of production but just an instrument for domination.

In the *regime of biopower*, "a form of rule aimed not only at controlling the population but producing and reproducing all aspects of social life" (2004 p. 13), the omni-crisis as unlimited war and the *state of exception* as timeless (or even permanent) are the mechanisms of biopolitical control that discipline the bodies and exercise power, blocking individual freedom and the exercise of democracy:

> [i]mperial command is exercised no longer through the disciplinary modalities of the modern state but rather through the modalities of biopolitical control. These modalities have as their basis and their object a productive multitude that cannot be regimented and normalized, but must nonetheless be governed, even in its autonomy. (2000 p. 344)

Despite all the obstacles created by this new regime of control and production, the multitude is still responsible for generating the empire. Apart from the most obvious relation of imperial

[25] The concept of the permanent *state of exception* was deeply explored in *Multitude: war and democracy in the age of empire* (2004) and justified by the original legal framework in the German tradition as the "temporary suspension of the constitution and the rule of law" (p. 7).

government, with the multitude being controlled by the simple, static, one-direction relation of oppression (with procedures of control to prevent disorder and risks in the actions and events organized by the multitude), we must remind ourselves that it is from the multitude's actions that the empire faces new obstacles and reinvents itself. In the generative process of the construction of empire, "resistance is actually prior to power." (p. 360) Recovering Foucault's (1995 [1975]) and Deleuze's theories on "resistance", considered by them as the only possible force that can be used out of the linear dominant group or the primary force of the system, the empire can be interpreted as just a reactionary force, as "the diffuse centres of power do not exist without points of resistance that are in some way primary" (Deleuze, 1988 p. 94).

Hardt and Negri (2000), with the construction of the genealogy of the relations of power and counterpower, the reconstruction of politics during history, identify the moment of transition or rupture with the dialectical construction of the Modern. Within the end of the period of colonialism and the decay of the power of nations (p. 137), they conclude that "[t]he end of modern colonialisms, of course, has not really opened an age of unqualified freedom but rather yielded to new forms of rule that operate on a global scale." (p. 134)

In this new era of globalized capitalist production, of the decline of political control over economic relations and the consequent decline of political sovereignty, it is crucial to examine new relations of forces, power and struggles in the construction of politics. Empire, a "smooth space across which subjectivities glide without substantial resistance or conflict" (p. 198) is also "the fabric of an ontological human dimension that tends to become universal" (p. 385). It is a place where, similarly to a movement (with no space or time boundaries), power is distributed in networks and in permanent conflict between the two types of force: the immaterial power of Multitude and the mechanisms of control of the absolute power of Empire. To comprehend these mechanisms of power within the age of Empire, Hardt and Negri (2000) conceive a description of Empire based on a triple imperative. Embracing Étienne Balibar's[26] theories on the divestment of biology as a foundation of "racism without race" (p. 192), the authors envisage the imperial command in a sequence of three distinct moments: the first as an inclusive moment, when all subjectivities are included in the "machine for universal

[26] In the last book of the trilogy (Hardt & Negri, 2009), the authors present a broader discussion on the theme of the dissolution of identities for the construction of politics based on class–race–gender relationships, based on Fanon's idea of the abolition of race for the construction of a new humanity (p. 336) and on queer theories on the abolition of gender identities (pp. 335-337).

integration" (p. 198), when the constituent subjectivities and resistances vanish in the "smooth space" of empire; the second as a differential moment, involving the validation of those differences in the realm of empire and assuming those differences as "cultural and contingent rather than biological and essential" (p. 199) as well as part of imperial control; the third as the managerial moment that dwells with the management and hierarchization of differences: recognizing, celebrating and controlling these categories. The methodological sequence proposes the power of empire as a process of organization that works by narrowing diversity instead of rejecting the real power of the multitude. If this degenerative process of composition breaks down the singularities of Enlightenment and stimulates the emergence of the collective subject, it also produces the hybrid and impure space of the Empire; the proper space for the emergence of the power of the multitude.

Opposing this degenerative process of the Empire, the constituent power of the multitude is an expansive process, an immanent power of the group of singularities (singular bodies) or a "collective biopolitical body" (p. 30) that produces norms, social constitution and juridical structure, simultaneously as the subject and its production. The bodies became a structure animated by the recognition of its inherent productive forces (bodies) and the recognition of relations, creating its autonomy and its capacity to invent and reinvent constituent power[27]. The power of multitude sustains Empire by the simultaneous construction of a counter-Empire.

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[27] Constituent power is a complex subject deeply explored by Antonio Negri, especially in his 1992 book *II potere costituente: saggio sulle alternative del moderno* and translated into English as *Insurgencies: constituent power and the Modern state* in 1999 (Buckley, et al., 1999).
The concept of constituent power from Negri (Buckley, et al., 1999) creates a deep gap with the origins of the term, which was probably introduced during the American Revolution and deeply explored during the French Revolution. It was crucial for the foundation of Renaissance political thought and during three centuries (XV–XVIII) "as an ontological notion of the formative capacity of historical movement." (p. 22.3)
In the period of the French Revolution, the concept was widely explored, mainly after 1789 (p. 22.3), when it changed from a concrete to an abstract concept together with the fusion of the revolution and constituent power, which became indissoluble. In 1791, Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, the protagonist of the French Constitution of 1791, explored the definitions and distinctions of Constituent and Constituted Power in his text for the transition from the Ancient Regime to the Republic, *Qu'est-ce que le tiers État?* (What is the third estate?) (Raunig, 2007 p. 61), considering the first as the assembly that defines the constitution and the second the constitution as fundamental law. Sieyès and his comrades built the constitution based on the third volume of the *cahiers de deléances* (a list of grievances and demands of the population, divided by class or the three estates: first state, the clergy; second estate the nobility; and third state the bourgeois, urban worker and peasants). The document calls for serious changes inside the French political system when they create the "[t]hird Estate as a political subject with the power to topple the *ancien régime* and carry the bourgeoisie to power." (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 269)
Arendt, another author working on the definition of the concept, in her book *On revolution* (1990 [1963]) explores the concept of constituent power starting with a different approach from those used before. In a comparison of the French and the American revolutions even if not by an approach of opposition between abstract power (constituent power) and concrete power (constitutional power) but considering revolution and constitution as "correlative

In the contemporary world, expressed not by the nation-state order but the subject of "supranational or global forces" (LeGates & Stout, 2011 [1996], p. 572), authors adopt Foucault's equivalent concepts of biopower[28] and biopolitics[29], the two "powers of life". They introduce a clear distinction between them to explain the conflict of forces that modulate politics: biopower, or the forces of the Empire that want to dominate by sovereignty; and biopolitics, or the forces of the multitude that resist domination. Biopower or the power over life (Hardt, et al., 2009 p. 57) is the form of power used in the network society to make people productive through the modulation of subjectivities and biopolitics, an autonomous and disruptive form or political action that opposes the normative system or the capitalist; biopower

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conjunctions" (p. 126), she explores the distinctions between political revolution (American) and social revolution (French) and identifies the reasons for the French revolution's failure.
Arendt identifies Sieyès' conceptions the reasons for the failure of the French revolution and the quick transformation of the First Republic into Napoleon's totalitarian regime; he was "the first in a long series of national statesmen who, to the applause of a whole nation, could declare: 'I am the *pouvoir constituant*.'" (p. 163 [Emphasis in the original]).
Negri (Buckley, et al., 1999) also recognizes temporal misunderstanding of the legitimacy of constituent power in the emergence of totalitarian regimes or the lack of collective desire (*cupiditas*) as "[i]n the lack of desire, the political becomes disciplinary totality, totalitarianism." (p. 28.9) Back to Arendt, another of her great contributions is the integration of the concept of freedom into the concept of constituent power. Arendt (1990 [1963] p. 62) replies to Marxist theories that consider the incapacity to solve the social question and to find freedom the main reason for the French revolution's failure, saying that freedom must be the pre-condition to the political question (Buckley, et al., 1999 p. 15.6). According to Arendt, freedom is a political constitution that is formulated, based on the idea of community: "[t]he life of a free man needed the presence of others. Freedom itself needed therefore a place where people could come together, – the agora, the market-place, or the polis, the political space" (Arendt, 1990 [1963] p. 31). It is inextricably bound up with the concept of the Greek *pólis* and the condition of to "be already free", where men "received their equality by virtue of citizenship, not by virtue of birth." (p. 31)
The concept of constituent power formulated by Negri (1999) follows theories from Arendt and others but is also related with the Spinozian concept of *potential*, a collective subjectivity developed as a "manifold process crossing different spaces in a plane of immanence" (Raunig, 2007 p. 48) with the two other components of the revolutionary machine (counter-power resistance and insurrection) in its endless process in which "the revolution never comes" (p. 65). In fact, constituent power is in itself a paradoxical concept as it is in a permanent conflictual exchange of differences and simultaneous to a radical formulation of social organization. Negri describes constituent power as "all-powerful and expansive, unlimited and unfinalized" (Buckley, et al., 1999 p. 12.3), related with the "immensurable border" of Foucault (Raunig, 2007 p. 254), leading to the dissolution of every form of constitution: "[e]very revolution needs a constituent power – not to bring the revolution to an end but to continue it, guarantee its achievements, and keep it open to further innovations. A constituent power is necessary to organize social production and social life in accordance with our principles of freedom, equality, and solidarity. Constituent processes constantly revise political structures and institutions to be more adequate to the social fabric and material foundation of social conflicts, needs, and desires." (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p. 45)
Martin Loughlin (2014) briefly sumarizes the multiple types of interpretations of constituent power in three types: "normativism", the "prevailing mode of legal thought today" reduced to "the autonomy of legal ordering" (p. 219), "decisionism", considering the constituent power a "product of law as will" (p. 219) although a will of the sovereign power and "relationism", a term created by the author to synthetize constituent power as the will and the legal forms, a "manifestation of political right (*droit politiqueor jus politicum*), expressing an open, provisional, and dynamic dimensions to constitutional ordering" (p. 219).

[28] A technology introduced in the late 18th century to manage populations that became responsible for the development of capitalism (Foucault, 1978 [1976] pp. 140, 141). Hardt and Negri hint that Foucault's theory is focused on "power over life" or "the power to administer and produce life" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. 57).

[29] Less frequently used by Foucault, this is an equivalent term to "biopower".

occurs as an event. Biopolitical production is the power of life to resist, innovate and determine an alternative production of subjectivity, placing the multitude as a political strategy (pp. 56, 59, 61).

According to these theories, the conception of the age of the Empire, opposed to the sovereignty regimes as inclusive of all subjectivities, brings us to the idea of living in the domain of a democratic process, although the discourse of the crisis of democracy has also bespoken the lack of practical applicability. If this aporia of the real can be the inherent condition of Derrida's "democracy to come" or Deleuze's "becoming democratic", Hardt and Negri identify directions for the multitude's control of the empire in two moments of disruption: the first as a generative process, and the second of deconstruction. The generative, developed upon the standpoint conceptions of Arendt's desire, the generation of biopower through immaterial work – from where constituent power emerges – is transferred from the singular to the construction of the "common". The second is the deconstruction of empire's biopower or corruption as it is responsible to break "the chain of desire and interrupts its extension across the biopolitical horizon of production" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 389). If these moments can be identified, there is also the recognition of the Empire's incapacity to propose a "political program" animated by social forces, transferring the new focus onto the global multitude, through three political demands: the "right to global citizenship"[30]; the "right to a social wage"[31]; and the "right to reappropriation"[32].

[30] The "right of global citizenship" consists of the ability to circulate or control movements, i.e. the right to control the process of migration, either the decision of the place and time to go or the right to stay in a certain place instead of being constantly forced to move; "The general right to control its own movement is the multitude's ultimate demand for global citizenship" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 400). By circulation, the multitude has the ability to constitute itself as an active subject and, by that, it "challenges the fundamental apparatus of imperial control over the production and life of the multitude." (p. 400)

[31] In the biopolitical context, productive, reproductive and unproductive work converges on the production and reproduction of social life and not by the industrial work of the proletariat, so "[t]he social wage extends well beyond the family to the entire multitude, even those who are unemployed, because the entire multitude produces, and its production is necessary from the standpoint of total social capital." (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 403)

[32] The "right to reappropriation" recognizes people as the new machines of production and consists of the reappropriation of the means of production. The transition to immaterial and biopolitical contexts imprints a transition from access and control over machines and material, as reclaimed by Socialists and Communists, to the point where the multitude becomes mechanic and the means of production is integrated in the minds and bodies of subjects. "The right to reappropriation is really the multitude's right to self-control and autonomous self-production." (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 407)

The multitude becomes a biopolitical class[33], the subject of change, and a militant; not a revolutionary political militant or merely representational, but "the agent of biopolitical production and resistance against Empire" (p. 411), a militancy by "positive, constructive, and innovative activity" (p. 413), repeating insurgencies for 200 years but participating from inside, in the social structures, making "resistance into counterpower" and "rebellion into a project of love"[34] (p. 413). If the conditions for the transition from the regime of biopolitical production to the production of the commons are already prepared, this passage depends on the "*kairos*[35] of the multitude". As the authors recognize, there is always a delay in contrast with the emergency, "the opportune moment that ruptures the monotony and repetitiveness of chronological time" (2009 p. 165) that will be achieved when plural singularities are able to act together politically. Independently from the moment when it comes, it requires the resistance of the multitude in action, in the metropolis – the centres of biopolitical production must be the structures to organize the multitude (p. 247). In the events in the squares, we have noticed discourses or imminences of these characteristics: a multitude that emerged as a spontaneous political organization built upon an emotional map of affinities or by the cooperation of singularities for the production of the commons. With no fixed discourse or action, but in permanent transformation, the political position is defined by the "making of a multitude",

[33] The multitude is a political and economic class. Defined upon Marx's definition of a class as a political project, this class is not based on its empirical existence and defined on class struggle but rather on the conditions of possibility. This means it is not based on Marx's "general intellect" but on the multiple subjectivities who share a common productivity, which becomes hybrid and can escape the mechanisms of control and have the possibility of bringing around a new democracy.

[34] Love is a philosophical and political concept based on the power of the multitude of the poor or on their strategies to survive, which are simultaneously a means to produce the commons (Hardt & Negri, 2009, pp. 180, 181).
The idea of a "project of love" is recovered by Hardt and Negri in 2004 as a project of common, a process to be taken by the multitude in the fight against the empire and as a way to work out the struggles and fight against the crisis. The "project of love" is discussed in the last chapter of their book on the multitude, where they suggest the multitude as an alternative to the state and reclaim it as a "new science" for the democracy of the multitude. In order to destroy the current sovereignty and authority of the Empire or as an expression of the desire of the entire multitude, "[t]his world of rage and love is the real foundation on which the constituent power of the multitude rests." (2004 p. 353) They ideologically predict this transition to the multitude although they lack strategies or tactics to validate the hypothesis, except in the resistance of multitude. In their book from 2004, one of the great shifts is the change of the theme of democracy, as *Empire* (2000) is mainly focused on economic relations, due to the attacks of September 11, 2001. The project they propose can be compared with the multitude we find today in the squares, the multitude that is not a unity but a body of heterogeneous singularities in defence of the common, "composed of radical differences, singularities, that can never be synthesized in an identity." (2004 p. 355) Although often identified as the stage of protests, this proliferation of desire imposed by revolutionary forces is, in reality, a continuous process, the long and uninterrupted movement that is already expressed in its etymological origin – the Latin word *revolver* – a permanent turning of circumstances or the process of liberation and transformation (2009 p. 362).

[35] In Greek mythology, *Kairós* is a concept of time distinct from chronological time: it is a non-sequential and non-linear time that is only time in potency, the experience as an opportunity.

apparently fixed in a square (when analysed in the particular cases), but also in a global movement connecting several squares around the world.

The presences in the squares have been enouncing the will of the multitude in the creation of a political project; aware that it is a process, the transition may require some time and space. The bodies assemble in the squares as bodies in the construction of subjectivities but also bodies in liberation[36], creating a political diagonal[37] or a Gramscian "passive revolution", "a revolution without a revolution" (p. 365) in dialogues, cooperation, in silence or in sit-ins, defending and acting in a non-violent form of resistance or in acts of Thoreau's "civil disobedience". Together with a new political project, as the authors remind us, the economic model must also be redefined with a new theory of value, expressing the multitude's desires (p. 319). In the "republics of the squares" some of the political positions have already been redefined, with identities being replaced by singularities. A list of demands and political concerns become part of the same common political project: the claims against the regime of exploitation, when protesters self-designate as precarious and/or the 99%, as well as by the production of the commons against the regime of property, claiming such spaces as commons instead of public – and so defined by the right of use instead of the right of ownership – or by the abolition of money as means of exchange.

Occupations, sit-ins in the squares and the recreated republics (or heterotopic cities on a small scale) have evidenced the moment of insurrection, the space and time that prepares the ground and creates space for the existence of the revolution: "[r]evolution is insurrection once it has become an institutional process, a form of government, which Kant defines as public and we would call common" (p. 360). As the authors explain, such a moment must be considered as an "institutional process". As in any other process, although it has no intention of achieving instant results, it is crucial to effect the fracture and the transformation in the social and ruling power realms (p. 355). It is the necessary time to create alternative institutions to the state: "[t]he multitude […] has no interest in taking control of the state apparatuses, not even in order to direct them to other ends" (p. 355) with the supremacy to dismantle them. The main reason for

[36] Hardt and Negri (2009) stand up for the transition of emancipation to liberation, the transformation of identities – a parallel with the dialectic discourse of modern society – into singularities, which has the merit of belonging to the field of the common and the abolition of the logics of property (p. 339).

[37] The concept of "political diagonal" is not deeply explored by the authors in the triology nonetheless in an interview from 2007, Negri (2007) explains the political diagonal as "the relation that you have with these power relations, and which you can not but have. The problem is to know what side you are on: on the side of the power of life that resists, or on the side of its biopolitical exploitation."

the lack of will to acquire those spaces is related to the way such organizations work, based on the use of domination to guarantee capitalist exploitation, protect the regime of property and sustain identity hierarchies. Instead of institutions that absorb subjectivities and transform them into identities, perpetuating the regime of representation in which identities are considered as static and a homogeneous mass, the social rupture with ruling power aims to create institutions that are open to internal discord and transformed by the inherent differences of the singularities comprising them. Following major insurrectional moments in the squares, we have assisted in the perpetuation of the "institutional process" with the creation of local assemblies and neighbourhood discussion groups in city squares; by the creation of new and disruptive political parties (as in the case of Partido X, in Spain, and the Gezi Party (GZP) in Turkey, which has no hierarchy or representatives, or Podemos and Ganemos, grounded in a constituent process of representation or as an instrumental party created by a citizen platform of popular unity); and even by the modulation of the empire to this new reality. If these are the most notable examples, we should never forget to consider the transformation of individuals and the creation of subjectivities, influenced by insurrectional moments or just built on the relation of affectivity, as if validating the hypothesis that "institutional process does not negate the social rupture created by revolt but extends and develops it" (p. 357).

In the squares, as well as in the following moments, the "institutional process" has been sustained by inherent and disruptive (in relation to the tools of domination applied by the ruling power) discourses and actions, supported by cooperation and autonomy in the relations of the subjectivities. In Hardt and Negri's (2004) definition of democracy, this is "an open-source society, that is, a society whose source code is revealed so that we all can work collaboratively to solve its bugs and create new, better social programs" (p. 340).

Although Hardt and Negri never make a clear proposal for a democratic process, not even for the process of transition, in the movement of the squares we may identify some of the features they clearly introduce as principles to follow (or not) in the model of political diagonal inscribed in the biopolitical diagram, an exploratory movement to the capacities of the multitude in daily life to rediscover their political potential.

In the squares, people use their demands in the construction of a political project anchored in everyday practices, based on passive practices of civil disobedience and shown by their ability to self-organize and manage this reality in an active process that gets use of and reconfigures (public) space. These practices, some of them a legacy from alterglobalization movements, are

effective in breaking the continuity of the ruling process of control and simultaneously are able to fill those voids with new forms of life (2009 p. 368) or, in synthesis, are the basis for the construction of a constituent governance, the subversion of the mechanisms of governance of the ruling power of the Empire.

2.2.1. Two major concepts in analysis: Commons and The Right to the City

> Rousseau said that the first person who wanted a piece of nature as his or her own exclusive possession and transformed it into the transcendent form of private property was the one who invented evil. Good, on the contrary, is what is common. (Hardt & Negri, Empire, 2000, p. 301 [a synthetic intrepretation of "On the Origin of the Inequality of Mankind" (1754) of Jean Jacques Rousseau])

With the emergence of contemporary social movements occupying central areas of cities, the recognition of the lack of commons or common spaces in cities has also arisen; spaces for political discourse, discussion and assembly, spaces in permanent construction by the practices of use as on the subject of the commons, the discussion on common spaces is rooted in Lefebvre's considerations of "the right to the city" we will briefly framework these concepts to give a better understanding of the relation of democratic principles and the spatial issues broadly claimed in these squares.

The concepts of "the right to the city" and the "commons" are complex and fluid arguments for a profound restructuring of social relations on capitalism (Purcell, 2002), as well as a critique of all aspects of alienation[38]. We will consider just a few key points, never neglecting our involvement in the process. "The right to the city" is a concept first proposed by Lefebvre in

[38] The concept of "alienation" is transversal on Marx's work. Already in his "Manuscripts", dating from 1844, the concept is also found on in Hegel's writings in the notion of *Entfremdung*. Lefebvre (2009) translated this into *aliénation* and it becomes "the key concept in the analysis of human situations" (Kanapa, 1947 quoted in Elden, 2004 p. 42). Lefebvre distinguishes the concept from Marx as he applies the concept into the social sphere to understand society, and not merely the conception of economic alienation by bourgeois society, as Marx does. As Elden (2004) outlines, Marx considers alienation as: 1. the product as objectification of labour (alienation of worker from the product); 2. the work as external to the worker (alienation of productive activity) and 3. others also included in the alienation standards (alienation of man from men) (pp. 42, 43). While Lefebvre adds Marx's notion of "private property" (Merrifield, 2006 p. 152) and the consequences on human self-alienation as well as on society, namely by the collective impulse and the sense of "having" as the only important matter under capitalism, in Lefebvre, humans are alienated as much by the productive process as by consumption.
Hardt and Negri (2009), in the discussion on the struggle of the common and the capitalist property, also evidences the relation with the Marxist concept of alienation, grounding it in theories and possibilities for the construction of an alternative model of democracy. The project of communism as an alternative to capitalist relations, the interests of productivity and to the private in capitalist accumulation, is possible only over the alienation of the multitude within their lives.

1968, in his book *Le Droit à la ville*, and broadly adopted by several urban theorists (Harvey, 2008; Purcell, 2002; Isin, 2000; Soja, 1996; Friedmann, 1992). The initial part of the book summarizes the ideas as both "cry and demands"[39] that would restructure the power relations of urban space. Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) does not propose a reform or "fragmented, tactical, or piecemeal resistance" (Purcell, 2002 p. 101), but transfers power and decision-making from the capital and state to the citizens or urban inhabitants, who must have the right to appropriate and the right to centrally participate in the production of urban space. Urban dwellers have the right to configure the urban space as well as the right to centrally participate in any decision to contribute to the production of urban space, but always with an end of maximizing the use value for the inhabitants and not the exchange value for capital, varying in "each kind of society, each mode of production." (Elden, 2004 p. 151)

During the last decades, David Harvey (2008) has been the key diffuser of Lefebvre's theories, above all in Anglo-Saxon countries. First and foremost, the concept of "the right to the city" has spread the idea of "the right to the city" as a slogan of class struggle rooted in the territories, encouraging grassroots movements to step up and find methods for transformative and anti-capitalist action. The rebirth of the urban commons in Harvey (2008) keeps the original Lefebvrian concept of "the right to the city" more in a dimension of the commons than an individual right to protect the city. However, Harvey considers that it requires mobilization to recognize this value, which later has an implication for the urban transformation towards an anti-capitalist city:

> [t]he right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.

On the origins of the concept, Lefebvre places his viewpoint on the rights of use (instead of the rights of exchange as in Marx). He alleges that main rights must be based on the decisions that produce urban space, explained by everyday routine activities, "earned by living out the

[39] Harvey (2012) expounds Lefebvre's approach, defining the cry as a "response to the existential pain of a withering crisis of everyday life in the city" (p. x) and the demand as "a command to look that crisis clearly in the eye and to create an alternative urban life that is less alienated" (p. x). Hardt and Negri (2004) defend the recovering of the "commons" or those pre-capitalist spaces that were destroyed by capitalism (p. xv).

routines of everyday life in the space of the city." (Purcell, 2002 p. 102) This definition from Lefebvre is a crucial challenge to the neoliberal state and capitalist social relations, as it proposes replacing the *value of exchange* of urban space (a key accumulation strategy of capital, which nowadays the system supports) for the *value of use*. He uses the analogy of the city as a work of art, created and recreated everyday by the everyday practices of urban inhabitants: "let everyday life become a work of art! Let every technical means be employed for the transformation of everyday life!" (Lefebvre, 1971 [1968] p. 204). Together with this transposition of values, in Lefebvre, the construction of democracy (Purcell, 2013a) is a process of permanent struggle: "democracy is the struggle for democracy, which is to say the very movement of social forces; it is a permanent struggle and it is even a struggle against the State that emerges from democracy" (Lefebvre, 2009 p. 61). This approach is close to Hardt and Negri's conception of the relation of political forces at the times of the Empire, as discussed above.

Everyday life is inseparable from lived space[40] and social relations, in which are involved the real production of space[41]. In Lefebvre (1991 [1974]), the process of production of social space expressed in the sentence "[t]he act of creation is in fact a *process*" (p. 34) echoes other authors who advocate the dynamics of the participation and of the process. For example, Benjamin

[40] In Lefebvre (1991 [1974]), to understand the "politics of space", the space that is continuously produced and re-produced, it is important to separate the contents of space (*abstract space*) from the space itself (*lived space*). Under his definition, the production of space, or the production of social space as it is not just the physical space of the city but an "active moment", is composed on a "trialectis of space" of interconnected dimensions [the triad of "representations of space" (conceptualized space or a space that is conceived or designed by urban technicians is an abstract or mental space, and nowadays the space that dominates the world, as it is the space of capital or the bourgeoisie, space that has a strong influence on contemporary ideas and conceptions of space); "spaces of representation" (the space that is bodily experienced in daily life; everyday spaces, daily lived and also life); and "spatial practice" (decoders of space, strongly linked with everyday space or the perceived space)] or processes ["perceived" (*espace perçu*), "conceived" (*espace conçu*) and "lived" space (*espace véçu*)].

[41] Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) defines the production of space as a dialectical simplification, produced by three specific moments, blurred into one another: (1) representation of space; (2) representational space; and (3) spatial practices.
(1) The representation of space is planned, established by social bodies with power and constructed space or the conceptualized space. It implies the conceptualization of space, what might happen in the head and not in the body; it is a mental space or idealism. Lefebvre also names it as the "conceived space" (*espace conçu*), the dominant space in society, tied to the relations of production; the space of capital, bourgeoisie and state.
(2) Representational spaces or "lived spaces" (*espace veçu*), is the socially produced space, a space that exists when lived. It happens in the body instead of being an abstraction of the mind as the representation of space. It refers to space as it is modified and lived over the time by use.
(3) Spatial practices are decoders that unveil the space of society through dialectical interaction. These practices give structure to lived reality, and refer to the space in its physical form or in its real, the "perceived space" (*espace perçu*) of ordinary life. Spatial practices incorporate production and reproduction of space and ensure continuity and societal cohesion, which guarantees "a level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*." (p. 33 [Emphasis in the original])

advocated in "The author as a producer" (1998 [1934]) that a work of art is better the more participants it brings into contact with the processes of production. Joseph Beuys said in the one of his most famous phrases that "[e]veryone is an artist" (1974), borrowed from Novalis. One of his major claims was that the recognition of art in everyday routines and practices is an alternative to the society of consumption, disrupting the process of alienation. The idea of life as a work of art both in Lefebvrian conceptions of the construction of the city by the community or in Benjamin's critiques and conceptions for the communist politics of authorship are tangential to Hardt and Negri's (2009) notions for the construction and involvement of the multitude in the construction of the autonomy[42] and the construction of the commons. As the authors (Hardt, 2010) justify, the abolition of the division between the two types of commons was broken down by neoliberalism's aim to privatize both[43]. The Invisible Committee (2015 [2014]) recall the definition of *res communis* from Roman Law: "[t]hat the core of the commune is precisely what eludes it, what traverses it yet always remains beyond its appropriation [..] It's the designation in public law of what falls outside of public law: what's in common use is irreducible to juridical categories." (p. 206 [Emphasis in the original])

Crucial nowadays and central to the field of "right to the city" studies, in order to understand the meaning of claims inscribed on contemporary protests and uprisings, is the distinction of the concept of ownership and rights of usage, considering the wide notion of commons as the antithesis of public and private property or the ubiquitous commercialisation of urbanity. Hardt

[42] For the authors, "autonomy" is the opposite of the ruling hegemony.

[43] Hardt and Negri (2000) explain that in the passage from the modern era to postmodern times, space has changed, the boundaries between private and public space have been diluted, public space has been privatized, and space for politics has disappeared. During Modern times, private space was the space for the life of each being, and public space was the space for politics, "where the action of the individual is exposed in the presence of others and there seeks recognition" (p. 188). With the crisis of modernity and the transition to postmodern times, we witnessed the privatization of public space and the shift from "the modern focus on the common square and the public encounter to the closed spaces of malls, freeways, and gated communities" (p. 188). Within this transition (modernity to postmodernity), we have lost the possibility to understand society as a dialectical discourse between private and public space and the space of/for power disappeared: "[i]n this smooth space of Empire, there is no place of power—it is both everywhere and nowhere. Empire is an ou-topia, or really a non-place." (p. 190) Several other authors have theorized about this transition from the Modern times of industrial revolutions, great ideologies and large-scale wars to the hybrid or liquid condition of postmodernity, commonly associated with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the clash of the Soviet Union or China's liberalization (both in 1991) (even if Lyotard introduced the theme two years prior with *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir* (1979)). With the loss of a dialectical discourse and metanarratives, there was also the defeat on the perception of time and space as it was commonly lived with the traditional modes of production and within social class types of those times. The passage to the "global space of the postmodernist or multinational moment", a "world space of multinational capital" (Jameson, 1991) is obligated to the repositioning of the structures of politics. To have the capacity to act and struggle, one has to be able to get a position both as individual and collective subjects, or as the multitude.

and Negri (2009) discuss the conflict between the commons and property relations, as well as the possible solution for capitalism based on the autonomy of the multitude in the production of the commons – a capacity to undermine capitalism (p. 253). If studies on urban theories are quite recent, and mainly discussed and studied within postmodernity, the concept of commons was almost dead until the 1990s, although the term dates back to the 13th century[44]. Over time, the meaning of the concept has altered, from the natural and cultural commons, inherited and safeguarded from generation to generation, to the artificial commons, produced and shared by a multitude (2009; 2004) within post–Fordism[45]. While the traditional conception poses the

[44] In Anglo-American property law, the common is an area of land for use by the public. The term has origins in feudal England, where the "waste", or uncultivated land, of a lord's manor could be used for pasture and firewood by his tenants. For centuries, this right of commons conflicted with the lord's right to "approve" (i.e., appropriate for his own use) and supported commoners' livestock. Under modern agriculture, common pasturing became obsolete, and commons became public land used mostly for recreation.
In the American Colonies, where there was no manorial system, commons took the form of a town square or green devoted to municipal recreation use. (Definition from Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., p. 494).
As Noam Chomsky (2012) explains the protection of the commons from external power, those commons that were the source of sustenance of some, were protected and defined in the Charter of the Forest, a document written in 1217 and integrated into the Magna Carta in 1225. Chomsky cites Tawney who, in the 13th century, makes reference to the commons as a source for the people who lacked arable land. Although broadly used, in the 17th century, the charter had fallen out of use because of capitalist practice and the commodification of the economy.
In a brief introduction and contextualization of the protection and production of the commons by the practice of use, specifically considering the material commons, Alessandro Petti, Sandi Hilal and Eyal Weizman (2013) give us the example of the al-Mashà in the newly established state of Israel (in the land of Palestine). This was the only portion of soil that resisted the endless process of privatization that converted all collectively owned land (before the establishment of Israel, in 1948, Palestine used to have a variety of common lands – agricultural, religious, nomadic, etc. (p. 179)) to the single category of "state land", by resistance to the communal use and customary practices. Even if Israeli authorities tried to expropriate their land and take control over it, "the Minister of Agriculture is empowered to take over lands not being cultivated" (Butler & Athanasiou, 2013), the users-farmers who continuously cultivated the land, in a collective way, were able to protect it during the time, as the state found it more difficult to confiscate while it was being cultivated (Petti, et al., 2013 pp. 179-185). As an example, this is a form of use or a critical practice that can be reactivated and reinvented by the communal use of the city, in an attempt to return to the commons and a common city. Another case that we would like to recall, even if from a longer time ago, is the right of passage in the British countryside, a struggle in the Industrial Revolution, when people living in dark 19th century cities needed to escape to rural areas in their spare time. In 1815, in the face of an increased number of people using countryside roads to walk on, the British Parliament passed an act allowing the closure of any passage considered unnecessary by the owners. However, people fought on and founded associations to protect the right of passage: in 1824, near York, the Association for the Protection of Ancient Footpaths, in 1926 the same association in Manchester, in 1845, the oldest association that still exists, the Scottish Rights of Way Society, and in 1965, the Commons, Open Spaces, and Footpath Preservation Society, still active as the Open Space Society. Together with walking clubs these associations protected some of these walkways, in a country where 90 per cent of land is privately owned (Solnit, 2006 p. 125). In a last reference, this happened "[a]fter arable land was privatized and enclosed – in Europe from the 15th to the 17th centuries, in India and other colonies in the 18th and 19th century" (Gelderloos, 2012 p. 3).

[45] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2001 [1985]) give us a great description of the social transformations during the transition to the capitalist relations of production from the economic point of view. The introduction of Fordism transformed society into "a vast market in which new 'needs' were ceaselessly created, and in which more and more products of human labour were turned into communities." (p. 160) Recovering the idea from Michel Aglieta, they describe it as a transition from an extensive regime to an intensive regime of accumulation that articulates labour around a semi-automatic production line. The mode of consumption is based on the individual acquisition of commodities produced on a large scale, commodifying social life and destroying social relations.

common in a natural order, the biopolitical conception of Hardt and Negri (2009) transposes the commons to permeate all spheres of life, either on a material order (scarce elements), the non-human or the "natural common", "embedded in the material elements of land, minerals, water, and gas" (p. 250) and the immaterial commons (the reproducible elements) or the "artificial common", "that resides in languages, images, knowledge, affects, codes, habits, and practices." (p. 250)

If we focus on some cases of recent demonstrations and uprisings, the tactics of social movements, especially within the Occupy Wall Street and Occupy Gezi social movements, despite all other reasons and political intentions[46], discourses have arisen on the type of contemporary spaces, regarding public and regulated spaces that are always "a matter of state power and public administration" (Harvey, 2012 p. 72), and the recognition of the lack of "political commons" (2013) or "urban commons" (2012 p. 73), where people are free to assemble and to practise politics or a "social practice of *communing*" (p. 73). Hardt and Negri (2009) explore in depth this notion and how it has changed through time. They recognize the need to define contemporary political landscape and modes of production, calling back a discussion on the theme: even if the "public" has been eroded, the "public is thus dissolved, privatized, even as a concept" (2000 p. 300). In order to contribute to a discussion, the authors recover Deleuze and Guattari's theories and claim that "[a] new notion of 'commons' will have to emerge on this terrain" (p. 301), based on the combination of intelligence and action of the multitude or "a project that is a community" (p. 301). For the authors, as well as for Lefebvre, the construction of the commons, in practice, is "a project in which the multitude is completely invested" (p. 301) and simultaneously "the incarnation, the production, and the liberation of the multitude." (p. 301) Notably, the authors advert that in the context and times of biological production we must pay attention to not adapt the terms of industrial production developed by Marx; work is no longer divided into simple necessary labour-time[47] and surplus labour-time[48] but must be considered as the foundation to produce the common, "because in the common is embedded the value necessary for social reproduction" (p. 287). In the biopolitical context, the

[46] Sometimes OWS is compared with the Arab Spring movement and considered to be inspired by it, but, as Harvey (2013) advocates, the Arab Spring movement was rooted in populist reactions against corruption and inequality in order to build a more democratic society, whereas OWS was a small group, an elite with an Anarchist ideology and radical political agenda that took upon itself to speak for "the 99%".

[47] "[D]uring which the value necessary to reproduce the society of workers is created" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. 287).

[48] "[W]hen the surplus value appropriated by the capitalist is generated." (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. 287)

Fordist factory becomes the metropolis, as the metropolitan territory is now "the space of the common, of people living together, sharing resources, communicating, exchanging goods and ideas." (p. 250)

As a geographer, Harvey is rooted in the spatial dimension of the commons. Even if in the previous paragraph we note that Hardt and Negri also pay attention to spatial aspects of the metropolis and we know that authors keep similar perspectives and influences[49], under this set of analysis (by David Harvey) and response (by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri) (Hardt, et al., 2009), Harvey argues that the most important similarity among their theories is the fact that they recognize the centrality of the theme of the commons. Both are related to the critique of property and the possibility of spatializing their thoughts on the "immaterial nature of capitalist production, and the politics of the metropolis" (p. 211), even if for Hardt and Negri capital is not the only axis of domination and then the only mode of revolutionary activity. We may understand their close ideology, going back again to the influence of Marx over the authors, especially if we focus on the explanation of Hardt (2010) about Marx's conceptions of communism, which is based on the abolition of private property and oriented towards human production of humanity and social relations or, in other words, in the context of the commons. David Harvey's (2012; 2008; 2004) theory is also built on the struggles of capitalism or the perpetual search for surplus value recovering Marx's theories. This is a process of "accumulation by dispossession" (2004), of exploitation and centralization of wealth and power in the hands of a few institutions with the suppression of rights of the commons and the commodification of cultural and intellectual values (pp. 73-76), projected on the urban space as in the conception of production that Lefebvre (1971 [1968]) takes from Marx's early works to create its own theory on production:

> production is not merely the making of products: the term signifies on the one hand "spiritual" production, that is to say creations (including social time and space), and on the other material production or the making of things; it also signifies the self–production of human being in the process of historical self–development, which involves the production of social relations. (pp. 30,31)

[49] The authors explain this in a series of reviews and critiques, published in *Artforum* (Hardt, et al., 2009), as well as in the comparisons Harvey exposes in his book *Rebel cities* (2012).

As mentioned before, the Lefebvrian conception of production is based on a wider concept than merely the economic aspects; it comprises the production of society and knowledge, as well as the definitions of the commons by Hardt and Negri (2009).

2.3. Space and politics: towards the construction of the Commons in the squares

> Space, both concrete and metaphorical, is the grounds on which politics becomes real. (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 65)

> [A]n absolute architecture by introducing the categories of the formal and the political in architecture. The formal and the political are overlapping categories, as they both address the possibility of separation, composition, and counterposition; in architecture, these categories are interpreted within the separateness implied in the constitution of architectural form. For this reason the formal and the political are seen as the basis not only of architectural form, but also of the idea of the city. (Aureli, 2011 p. x)

> Communism's actuality is not only a task; it is also a process. (Rancière, 2010 p. 76)

2.3.1. City as politics: *Pólis, Urbs* and *Civitas*

Studies and theories on the birth and evolution of the concept of the city have an abundant bibliography. Even if we consider just a few that are relevant to include in a brief framework on the distinct origins of the city, inside it lies a part of the object of our research, and it will support the comprehension of the political dynamics projected in the city as well as the struggles that social movements and urban space face nowadays. In this section we will address the meaning, history and structure of the city and the city as a site of biopolitical production (Hardt, et al., 2009), due both to the physicality of the territory due to social and cultural construction. These aspects diverged during the evolution of the concept of the city and promoted a rupture between the concepts of *urbs* and *cīvitās*. Pier Vittorio Aureli (2011) proposes that a sharp "formal consciousness in architecture is a precondition for political, cultural and social engagement with the city" (back cover), and recommends a new approach to the discipline of architecture, grounded in a critical approach on concepts of city and urbanization based on their distinct evolutions. Focusing on the confrontation of the terms, the author recognizes that the overlap of concepts ("city" and "urbanization") (p. 2) is rooted in the origins of the terms as a misunderstanding of the concept of city and its political dimension of coexistence, due to the history and evolution of the city or rather the growth of urbanization (the apparatus that is the basis of the modern paradigm of governance or the economic logic of social management) (p. x). An analysis of this distinction today impels us to go back and analyse its original deviation.

In a clear exposition of the original distinction, Aureli contextualizes the Aristotelian thesis on the division between politics (*thecnè politikè*) and economics (*thecnè oikonomikè*), first as the faculty of decision for a common good or public interest – in which is based the existence of the *pólis*, "the space of the many, the space that exists in between individuals or groups of individuals when they coexist" (p. 3) – and second as the dimension of the private sphere or the administration of private space, or the *oikos* (from which comes *oikonomikè*). The "principle of economy can be distinguished from the principle of politics in the same way as the house is distinguished from the polis." (p. 3) If the political space (the space in between) of the *polis* is a space of conflict (presupposing potential conflict among the parts) and in that conflict lies the foundations of the *thecnè politikè* (the art of politics) or the decision to transform conflict into coexistence (even if it doesn't eradicate the conflict) or the project of the city (the existence of the polis has in itself the possibility of conflict), then the economic space is not of the public but of its own interests; therefore it cannot be questioned and does not imply conflict.

In the ancient Greek concept of the city (*polis*), there is a clear distinction between private and public spheres: (1) the *agora* (the political space or the space for the exchange and confrontation of ideas and political decisions) and (2) the *oikos* (the agglomeration of houses). As Bakhtin (1998) explains in his interpretations of Homero and Ancient Greek romances, the

> global externalization of man does not take place in the empty space [...] but in the organic human community, "among the People". Therefore, the "outside" where the whole men was revealed and was real, was not a strange or cold place [...] but it's People. To live externally is to live for others, for a community, for the People.[50] (p. 253)

On the other side, the Roman city (*urbs*, the Latin word for city), even if there still exists an analogue conflict between private and public spheres or political and economic spheres, in its materiality transcends the notion of community. It can be built from a ground with any pre-existence, as the domestic dimension and the construction of the *oikos.* This "new" conception of the Roman city in expansion, as opposed to the walled Greek city, is explained by Arendt (2011 pp. 4, 5). She relates it to distinct interpretations of the law: the Greek *nomos* and the Roman *lex*. Whereas the *nomos* is a law that frames political action within a defined spatial

[50] Translated by the author from the original: "global do homem não se realizava num espaço vazio […] mas numa colectividade humana orgânica, "no meio do povo". Por isso, o "lado de fora" onde se revelou e existiu o homem por inteiro, não tinha nada de estranho e de frio […] mas era o seu povo. Viver exteriormente é viver para outros, para a colectividade, para o povo."

shape, as a precondition for politics but not an object of politics, the *lex* is just a political instrument in the service of Roman expansion. While the *nomos* prevented expansion, the *lex* transformed the *polis* of Rome into a *civitàs,* and later into an Empire. The *urbs* comes from the definition of the walled city of ancient Rome, initially conceived as the physical space of the city (in opposition to the countryside). It refers to the organizational structure and facilities as well as to the space of exchange. In constant transformation by capital, it later becomes the symbolic template for the whole inhabited space of the Empire; a condition of cohabitation. Within the *urbs* is the Roman *civitàs,* conceived as the unit of the *cīvis*[51], the space of citizenship, the body of people constituting the practice of democracy and the production of the common. Even if there is a crucial difference between the Greek *polis* and the Roman *civitàs* that relies on the *polis* being constituted by a community of people who come from the same place (foreigners are prohibited to participate in politics) and the *civitàs* being constituted by a gathering of people from different origins who decide to coexist together under the same law (Aureli, 2011 p. 6), they both contain a political dimension. However, the *urbs* (the origin of the contemporary city) is the space devoid of that political meaning, restricted to the generic agglomeration of people living with somebody and sharing the material condition of inhabiting a place.

Despite the dissimilarities that appeared with the conception and evolution of the term, and consequently in the ways of living in such contexts, both concepts share the dual dimensions of private and public spheres, and, in both cases, subsists the centrality anchored to an empty space for assembly – the *agora* and the *forum* – even if the reality in those areas for the practice of democracy diverges. Following Arendt's hypothesis, Lefebvre (1996 [1968]) remarks that there "is an important difference between the agora and the forum. Prohibitions characterise the latter and buildings will quickly cover it up, taking away from its character of open space" (p. 169), basing these differences on the inherent interpretation[52] of space and centrality.

We have focused on the distinctions between the Greek and Roman interpretations of the concept of the city, but the major rupture in the maintenance of the political dimension of the

[51] *Cīvis* are citizens or groups of people from different origins who decide to live together, under the same regulation, which in turn obtains the condition of citizenship.
[52] The Romans relate central space with the *Mundus* and the horror of the death, whereas the Greeks relate the city with the *Cosmos*.

city, at least in relation to current reality, occurs with the dissolution of the Roman Empire[53] and within the emergence of the Western city. In this transition, the distinction between *urbs* and *civitàs* is dissolved and the economic impetus of the *urbs* overlaps with the political idea of the *civitàs.* The Western city of the Middle Ages "was propelled primarily by the role of economics: agricultural improvements, the rise of artisanal industry, and the consequent demographic expansion, which created a completely new way of living and working" (Aureli, 2011 p. 8), and the rise of the bourgeoisie, a new social class identified with the economic sector that replaces the *civitàs* and creates a paradoxical situation. Private interests are converted into public ones and the economic interests of the private sphere become the primary productive force of contemporary society; the exchange of commodities,

> with the crisis of the ancient regime, the advent of industrialization, and the rise of capitalism, the role of the *urbs* absorbed the idea of *civitas* to the point that over the last three centuries we have witnessed the triumph of a new form of human association based entirely on the mastery of the *urbs*. Enter urbanization. (p. 8 [Emphasis in the original])

Lefebvre (1996) describes the reason for the decay of the political condition of the city in this period, saying that it is grounded in the replacement of the forum by the marketplace, or the replacement of political aspects by private economic aspects. Even if the Roman concept of the city was perpetuated during Medieval times, the central open area of the city is now characterized by commercial activity,

> [f]or its part the medieval city soon integrated merchants and commodities and established them in its centre; the marketplace. […] Urban centrality welcomes produce and people. It forbids its access to those who threaten its essential and economic function, thus heralding and preparing capitalism. (p. 169)

Ildefons Cerdà, a precursor on the theories of the phenomenon of urbanization in his 1867 book *Teoría general de la urbanización* (General Theory of Urbanization), develops ideas that support the concepts and plans for the expansion of Barcelona, a city plan that is coined by "a form of power that Giorgio Agamben has defined as a 'paradigma gestionale' (a managerial paradigm) – economy in its original sense as the administration of the house" (Aureli, 2011 p.

[53] The collapse of the Roman Empire happened as a consequence of the political collapse of the city, when the imperial rule failed in the provision of security and elites abandoned the towns, leading to social disorganization and the shrinking of the surviving towns (Hirst, 2005 p. 11).

11); the lack of political character or the commutation of politics into economics is the new form of the governance of a city.

Nowadays, observing the events in the squares, we could recognize the need to review history and to recall some of the essential values of ancient Greek democracy and the foundation of the city. Hirst (2005) suggests, in a "Eurocentric" vision, that the future of the cities also lies in the discussion of the term "city" (in a distinct conception of the "town" or "urban" built environment), but considered as a political (and social) institution (p. 9): (1) reintroducing the conflict, the "uncultivated" tensions between opposing forces as permanent; (2) permitting the permanent coexistence of fragmentation in the spatial dimension and (3) reversing the common top-down decision-making process towards a more common and shared process, engaging the *cīvis* in the decision process.

> It is precisely this overlapping of space and politics that, on the one hand, makes conflict all–encompassing and, on the other, determines its irresolvability, thereby opening up the opportunity to performatively create spatial meaning. Space is not merely a "container" for our action. Nor is architecture a container for politics, and nor cities, regions and states containers for the seething conflicts within. Conflicts are shaped by mental geographies and their physical enactment. Space is thus a possible form for articulating conflicts – a very concrete form of conflictual practice and not a container for conflict. Conflict does not reside outside our existence. It is lived out and spatialized by all of us. (Mörtenböck & Mooshammer, 2008, p. 85)

During the last centuries, ideas and theories on urbanization, like the phenomenon itself, expanded to the totalizing space of urbanity, the "city-full non-cityness"[54] (Soja, 1991 p. 95), but also to the "post-political and post-democratic-city"[55] (Swyngedouw, 2007). In the context of our research we could question whether the emergence of social movements has been reintroducing the political sphere within the city, enunciating a disruptive moment of the

[54] Soja (1991) describes "city-full non-cityness" as the uncontrolled expansion of the built environment of the city with no sense for common civic life.

[55] The "post-political city" relies on suspicion of politics, preventing the politization of the particulars, positing the state as a police agent in the service of the market, and refusing politization in the classical Greek sense of the universalization of particular demands (Swyngedouw, 2007 pp. 64-66). The possibility of "dissensus" means the "end of politics" (p. 32) as we know it nowadays, or the police.

"partition of the sensible"[56] when claiming the introduction of "dissensus"[57]. Social movements occupying central squares have strengthened hope of the possibility of generating institutional reform and have shown the possibility of altering notions of how to behave politically by the simple act of denying *police*[58] order (Benacerraf, 2013) – the general law that institutionalizes the places and the role of each person in society. In the process of growing awareness occurs an evident emancipatory action. Aureli (2011), with other authors, transfers the possibility of "dissensus" to the category of conflict, but supports its relevance for the construction of the city:

> [t]he sphere of the political is the sphere in which a part, a group of individuals, acquires knowledge of itself in the form of knowing what it is, what it ought to be, what it wants, and what it does not want. The political is an attitude to act in relationship to something); it consists of knowledge (knowing who, and what, to counterpose), and indicates a task to transform conflict into coexistence without exaggerating, or denying, the reasons for the conflict itself). (p. 29)

With the discussion of the term "city", our aim is not just to recall concepts but to revisit some of the dimensions implied in the construction of the city, namely in its political and social dimension, and to validate the necessity of discussing the appropriation of space both in everyday routines and in specific activities, in which we recognize a political character able to generate conflict in the public space. In Arendt (1990 [1963]), the equality of citizens (isonomy) is "an attribute of the polis and not of men, who received their equality by virtue of citizenship, not by virtue of birth" (p. 31).

The attribute that is conquered in the process of participation in the public sphere is similar to Hardt and Negri's definition (2009) of the multitude, which involves the condition of being in process (somehow related with a process of making or a maker that stands behind the process

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[56] In Rancière (2004 [2000]), the "partition of the sensible" (*la partaje du sensible*) is an intrinsic law that governs the order of the sensible, defining the places and ways of participation in a common world, and producing a self-evident system of facts of perception. For the author, the common is achieved only by the construction of "the common" by the community, while "the sensible" refers to all the information acquired over feelings, as in the Greek aisthéton (p. 85).

[57] "Dissensus" is a "political process that resists juridical litigation and creates a fissure in the sensible order by confronting the established framework of perception, thought, and action with the 'inadmissible', i.e. political subject" (Rancière, 2004 [2000] p. 85). "Dissensus" is the opposite of the contemporary political process based on consensus.

[58] In Rancière (2004 [2000]), "the police" is a "general law that determines the distribution of parts and roles in a community as well as its forms of exclusion, the police is first and foremost an organization of "bodies" based on a communal distribution of the sensible […] The essence of the police, therefore, is not repression but rather a certain distribution of the sensible that precludes the emergence of politics." (p. 89)

while still being a part of its construction): "[t]hrough the production of subjectivity, the multitude is itself author of its perpetual becoming other, an uninterrupted process of collective self–transformation" (p. 173). As has been claimed in the squares, political conditions must change and a possibility of building an alternative model to the *police*, the neoliberal regulation of space based on the rights of property, is only possible by participation in the construction of the city, by the inclusion of the language of everyday practices and by the occupation of central (or not) spaces. It is in the transition on the principle of property – understood in terms of space and usage, and not in the relationship between owner and things – that this new model of politics, as Lefebvre (1996 [1968]) already claimed, may emerge.

2.3.1. The shape of the square in political theory

> "Change life!" "Change society!" These precepts mean nothing without producing an appropriate space (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974] p. 59)
>
> All power dreads a square, as all squares love a crowd. (Jenkins, 2013)

Analyzing the urban structure of consolidated cities, squares are always voids of a grid, large open areas breaking down the constructed masses, interrupted only by linear streets. The square is a physical expectation, and, in most cases, also the most symbolically charged urban open area, the primordial place of power representations, either from the state, religion, or from the people: "[a] square fields no army, commands no votes, has nowhere to go. It is just a space. Yet it is space that invites occupation, an occupation hostile to power." (Jenkins, 2013) Nowadays, with the appropriation of such areas by social movements, we can also make an analogy to the reflection of the current crisis in a timeless space, the place for eternal return in the cycles of history. If the square is being used for the representation of different kinds of power in an analysis of its etymological origins, this is already expressed in the dimension of the space.

Regarding the etymological study of the word and focusing on the three languages[59] of our research (Spanish, Turkish and Arabic), we notice that, even in different dimensions, the relation of power and space are already rooted in all three origins of the words. In Spanish, the square is the area in the urban structure that is designed both as a place to see and to be seen,

[59] Although we present two case studies – Puerta del Sol in Madrid, Spain and Taksim Square in Istanbul, Turkey – at the beginning of the research we were planning to consider a third case study, Maydan al Tahrir in Cairo, Egypt, as explained in sub-chapter 2.1.2.

so the primordial space for the representation of power. The word *plaza* ("square" in Spanish) is rooted in the Latin word *platĕa* (street) and the Greek *plateîa* (large street), a synonym for a stage or an appropriate analogy for the politics of the present – the politics made possible by the agglomeration of bodies in the *plateîas* or in the stages of the city. In Arabic, the word has a different root, but its use and relationship to the representation of power are similar. As Fadi Toifeili (2013) illustrated in his text on the social dimension of the square, the concept – considered as the open area and built surroundings – has two expressions. The square can be called *sahat*, a word that contains in its origins the idea of fluidity – from the idea of water running at the terrain level to the spiritual dimension of a place crossed by the movement of worship. On the other hand, the most commonly used expression is *maydan* (as in the case of Tahrir). Toifelli (2013) explains the two different notions that are combined in the etymologic roots: "first, the swaying motion of an object; second, an act that combines generosity and utility" (p. 5). *Maydan*, the Arabic word for square, has, curiously, the heteronym "midan", which means the earth shaking at a horserace; this heteronym comes from the social use of the square in the era of the Mamelukes in Egypt and Syria. At that time, when the city was organized as an Empire, the core of the city was restricted to politicians and for the residence of an elite, while the surroundings were occupied by squares or hippodromes, *mayadeen* (plural of *midan*) dedicated to equestrian pursuits. In Islamic culture, and during the apogee of the Mamelukes, military power was its major strength. This projection of power took place over the *mayadeens* of the city, passing over generations this relation of power and these certain urban areas. The meaning of the Turkish square – *meydan* – has also acquired different meanings during history (as in the Arabic case), as we shall see in the chapter dedicated to the case study of Taksim Square. Although its origins are dubious, the word is a descendant of the Persian میدان (*meydân*) and/or the Arabic میدان (*maydān*) words. As in the Arabic case, the Turkish word, as explained in Jean-François Pérouse (2006), passed through a chaotic evolution through military, religious, political and urban meanings, according to different periods in general transposing the territorial aspects by political ones.

i.) Physical aspects of the square and its influence on politics

Public space relies, as Judith Butler (2011a) points out, on the space in between – "[t]he 'true' space then lays 'between the people'". This is the same location as politics, as in the fifth thesis from Jacques Rancière (2001): "[t]he whole question of politics thus lies in the interpretation of this void." This void between the people depends on the existence of them but also on the

characteristics of the site: each action is shaped by its architecture and simultaneously imprints changes on it.

If public space has been, in the modern spatial binomy, opposed to the enclosed private space, and the space of politics, the square has supremacy over the other open territories due to its inherent physical features. Contemporary social movements consider it the "place of places", where the congregation of the masses, the bodies, acquires an image of intensity and unity that simultaneously reflects the power of their discourse and intentions in their practice of politics. In a brief comparison of the contemporary social movements in the squares and the etymology of square, the masses of bodies gathering in such circumscribed areas can be compared to the fluidity of water on the terrain, to the sound of riding in the hippodromes or to the image of a stage where people claim power. In our opinion, this is reductionist to the evidences and forms of community we have seen emerge from the movements of the squares, but Marina Prentoulis and Lasse Thomassen (2012)[60], in the relation of protesters' claims and spatial aspects, or the importance of the square in their discourses, say that "camps and general assemblies become symbols of the whole movements and, for some, giving up on the central square camp and assembly means giving up on the movement" (p. 178). In major cases we also note that the names of the squares are synonymous with an identity; the representation of concerns and media representation "give the movements an identity that can be summed up in a single word and a single physical reference." (p. 178) John Parkinson (2012), examining the relationship between democracy and public space, adds that place is important to social movements, influencing its ability to persist, as "physical occupation of space sends signals that are harder to ignore." (p. 146)

The presence in squares is always strong and fleeting; even if it exists for a certain period of time it is never a final goal or conquering, but can be the foundation for an ongoing rupture. The revolutions are characterized by the process, and the camps are just the essential rupture of the ongoing flow of power. From the occupation of public spaces it is possible to shift the boundaries of the production of space, from "abstract space" (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]), space that was transformed into an exchangeable commodity, to "differentiated space" (1991 [1974]), where the multitude can express their needs and they can modulate space. In other words, the occupation of the squares can be both the beginning of the construction of a common space and

[60] The article focuses on the political aspects of the two cases: Syntagma and Puerta del Sol squares and camps.

of a radical democratic process, as Lefebvre (1996 [1968]) used to defend with his concept of "the right to the city". The occupation of the squares challenges conceived ideas of use and rights of space: it ignites a possibility of this "other" type of space – the common space – neither private nor public, but a place "in process", with open borders, simultaneously built by the wills of the community constructing and shaping its community. The occupation of squares is, in itself, a rupture in dominant spatial relations and the politics of space and place. The practice forces the dominant rules of the regime of exploitation and exclusion and facilitates radical social changes, even if never achieved immediately or absolutely. As Hardt and Negri (2000) predicted with the introduction of the "*kairos* of the multitude", on the other hand, the presence of bodies in space is already a political choice, and assembling in and occupying the squares is a political act (Butler, 2011a). As Butler (2011a) argues, in order to occupy we need a body; at any given moment, each body is confronted with the choice of where to locate it, choosing to stay in the square or in the public space, a less secure place than the private space. The location of the body must be taken as a political gesture, both by its spatial exclusivity and by the exclusion of being in all other spaces.

ii.) Space of appearance

> Bodily causes had bodily effects; it was to be a revolution not merely of ideas but of bodies liberated, starving, marching, dancing, rioting, decapitated, on the stage of Parisian streets and squares. Revolutions are always politics made bodily, politics when actions become the usual form of speech. (Solnit, 2006 pp. 169, 170)

In the relation of space and politics we must recall that Arendt (1998 [1958]) already circumscribed political action to the relation with public space or being in public. In Arendt, the *polis*[61] is the "space of appearance" and being-in-public synonymous with politics, as it is in the contemporary condition of the multitude in the squares. The space, to Arendt, and in the context of political theory, exists not by the physicality of the surroundings but as the space in between individuals. In fact it only exists in the presence of the other "wherever men are together in the manner of speech and action" (p. 199), and the "'space of appearance' is brought into being through political action." (Butler & Athanasiou, 2013, p. 194) Beside the possibility

[61] Arendt (1998 [1958]) frequently uses the term "polis" as a broader signifier than the limits of the political institution of the Greek city-state; it is the public realm where a community of free and equal citizens act and speak: "[t]he polis, properly speaking, is not the city-state in its physical location; it is the organization of the people as it arises out of acting and speaking together, and its true space lies between people living together for this purpose, no matter where they happen to be" (p. 198).

of the existence of the space by the presence of the other, its existence still depends, as in the construction of the commons, on the work, effort or action put into it as well as on its permanence, as a common project:

> unlike the spaces which are the work of our hands, it does not survive the actuality of the movement which brought it into being, but disappears not only with the dispersal of men – as in the case of great catastrophes when the body politic of a people is destroyed – but with the disappearance or arrest of the activities themselves. Wherever people gather together, it is potentially there, but only potentially, not necessarily and not forever. (p. 199)

iii.) The square's features: visibility, centrality, focal point, pivotal element

From the etymological evidence, some qualities of the urban space, and the square, can be analysed as a contribution in this study; namely, the intrinsic association of the shape of the square and aspects of visibility – a central characteristic for the existence of politics, "[f]or politics to take place, the body must appear" (Butler, 2011a). If public space is the space of politics also by its dimension of visibility, the square is the proper space to create an image of intensity and unity. The square is usually a space where the congregation of masses becomes visible, within a contained space and seen from any perspective. Similar to the notion of power in Arendt (1998 [1958]), in which its existence depends and supports the existence of the public realm, "[p]ower is what keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearance […] is always, as we would say, a power potential […] power springs up between men when they act together and vanishes the moment they disperse" (p. 200). These are also Alain Badiou's (2012) concerns. He considers visibility as responsible for the "inexistent to appear as existent" (p. 69), or that the necessity to construct symbolically significant sites relies on the capacity to give visibility to a space. If sometimes the dual dimensions of space – social and physical – are considered as separate realities, in the context of contemporary social movements it became evident that they must be analysed as a whole. As Butler (2011a) says, "the square and the street are not only the material supports for action, but they themselves are part of any theory of public and corporeal action that we might propose. Human action depends upon all sorts of supports – it is always supported action." Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) also noted that occupation is a condition for politics, defining a focal point among the "abstract space" (capitalist conception

of space) and its first stage for the "politics of space" (2009 [1970]). In a scheme of legibility[62] of the city (Lynch, 1960), the square is usually a focal point in the grid, both seen from above – represented on the map as a void in contrast with built volumes or the space where the city breeds – as on the human scale perspective – the place where people can stop and stay or redefine direction after the experience of being routed over the streets. In the squares, despite the linearity of space and time of the surroundings, people are definitely living "the moment"[63] (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]), the time in between linearity. The multitude in the squares of Cairo, Istanbul and Madrid, as in all other occupied squares, may have foreseen this reality before the effective occupation of the national symbolic focal points of each country. At Maydan al Tahrir and Puerta del Sol[64] moreover, we must consider their great centrality, as both squares mark the "kilometre zero" of each country. This makes them emblematic places, governmental and ichnographic social hubs. In the case of Maydan al Tahrir, above its national magnitude, the square is also considered resonant of the Arab world's struggles, as Al-Ahram (1999) suggests: "[w]hatever happens in Maydan al Tahrir immediately becomes a national concern."[65] When we observe social movements occupying such central and symbolic spaces, it reminds us of Lefebvre's (1996 [1968]) arguments on the right to centrality as a crucial aspect for political activism.

Along with the features described above, the square is also a pivotal element in the urban structure. It is an element connecting several streets, so enabling multiple accesses and exits. The square, as a junction of streets, usually promotes a greater space for gathering than its

[62] Kevin Lynch's (1960) analysis is focused on the physical qualities of the urban structure and defines legibility as "the ease with which its parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern" (p. 2). In the same book, the author also considers "imageability" as an equivalent concept, being "that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer" (p. 9).

[63] "The moment" in the Lefebvrian conception is "thus an opportunity to be seized and invented. It is both metaphorical and practical, tangible and intangible, something intense and absolute, yet fleeting and relative, like sex, like the delirious climax of pure feeling, of pure immediacy, of being there and only there, like the moment of festival, or of revolution." (Merrifield, 2006 p. 28)

[64] Istanbul has a different city evolution and its kilometre zero is located in the centre of the peninsula. The landmark, known as "the Million," was built during Byzantine times (4th century AD) in Hagia Sophia as a starting place to measure the roads leading to the cities of Byzantine Empire. As we will explore in the case study chapter, Taksim Square became the new city centre and a symbolic image of the Republic during the first half of the 20th century, after the proclamation of the Republic.

[65] Juan Cole, a professor at the University of Michigan, argues concerning the cases in the Middle East, especially Maydan al Tahrir, that, 100 years ago we would not have seen protests in these places. To the professor, "demonstrators would have gathered" in the "market-mosque complex," where large numbers of Muslims would meet after Friday prayers: "[w]hen people were upset with the ruler's policies, you'd have a large number of people suddenly coming out [of the mosques]. And since the market was historically nearby, it was easy to organize people" (Sanburn, 2011).

surroundings. If we focus on the social relation with the physical attributes, usually the square connects different city districts or areas, promoting the presence of a larger number of people but also more diversity. In the square, people are encouraged to stay, as in a secure occupation, a place that also tends to hamper police control, as we have noticed in the cases of Cairo and Istanbul.

In the case of Cairo, during the first day of the event there was an emblematic gathering from different poles of the city; in the case of Istanbul, it was the coming together from distinct realities, forces and attitudes, depending on the neighbourhood the people were coming from, that created a disruptive and atypical atmosphere. Not only concerned with physical aspects of the urban space, these properties of the square also resonate in Butler's (2011a) words:

> [a]s much as we must insist on there being material conditions for public assembly and public speech, we have also to ask how it is that assembly and speech reconfigure the materiality of public space, and produce, or reproduce, the public character of that material environment.

These also remind us of the ancient Greek verb *ékhousin* in Hesiod's *Theogony*, when the poet refers to the muses, not only as part of the poetic process, but also as the foundation and origin of all revelation[66]. Nowadays, the multitude in the squares of the networked city also contain these two dimensions of "have-occupy-dwell" by the physical presence and "have-maintain-sustain", lasting in time and other social dimensions. This is also supported in Manuel Castells' (2013 [2012]) approach:

> [b]y constructing a free community in a symbolic place, social movements create a public space, a space for deliberation, which ultimately becomes a political space, a space for sovereign assemblies to meet and to recover their rights of representation, which have been captured in political institutions predominantly tailored for the convenience of the dominant interests and values. In our society, the public space of the social movements is constructed as a hybrid space between the Internet social networks and the occupied urban space: connecting cyberspace and urban space in relentless interaction, constituting, technologically and culturally, instant communities of transformative practice. (p. 29)

[66] The name of the muses are not only their names but also represent the power of their incantatory songs. Hesiod uses the verb *ékhousin* with the meaning "to have," but the verb contains the double connotation of "have-occupy-dwell" and "have-maintain-sustain".

2.3.2. Square as autonomy

During the period of the events, when the multitude sought spaces and tactics to express their will for democracy, the squares became spaces of permanent exceptions, spaces of anomy or heterotopias: "those singular spaces to be found in some given social spaces whose functions are different or even the opposite of others" (Foucault, 1994 p. 361). The concept developed by Foucault, and first mentioned in the preface of *The Order of Things* in 1966 (Lambert, 2013 p. 43), remarks on the crucial role of space in the exercise of power and of communal life. Convinced about the power of heterotopic spaces and the need of protection in the contemporary political context, Harvey claimed on his visit to Gezi Park: "[h]eterotopic space has to be protected." (Tan, 2013a) To Harvey, the main question about these occupations is "how do we achieve a common politics" (Tan, 2013a). To attain it, sometimes these spaces have to be transformed into heterotopias. As the author affirms: "if you want to save some things from [being] taken over by capital you have to enclose them" (Tan, 2013a).

Puneet Dhaliwal (2012), analyzing the use of the squares by social movements, highlights the relationship between crisis, resistance and the tactics of occupation as an opportunity to break down the order and system, recovering the Gramscian (1971) expression of living in a period of "crisis of hegemony", where weak chains can be destroyed by strong (either temporal or spatial) actions. Architect Stavros Stravides (2012) also considers this practice of occupying the squares as a phenomenon of appropriation of public space in order to mark a series of specific places that create a network of issues that are shared by certain collectivities.

Social change can be reflected in the space, and the politics of the space can also be used to shape society and enhance social change. When we focus on the occupations of the squares, we note that, beside the events, all actions and symbolic representations within the squares, it is possible to speculate that social movements have found in the square the interstice that was needed to "crack" society as well as political regimes and contest against hegemonic rules. If uprisings are not usually a project for the future, but mostly understood as an insubordination, the square has become the place to point out the beginning of a deep transformation in the realm of social space, or the bedrock for the desired expression of the multitude's power.

Hardt and Negri (2012) also focus on the importance of the life of intense affects experienced in the squares, the terrain of the commons, as a weapon for the construction of a new *dispositif* to chart a path for a new constitutional process:

> [p]hysical proximity, of course, facilitates the common education of the affects, but also essential are the intense experiences of cooperation, the creation of mutual security in a situation of extreme vulnerability, and the collective deliberation and decision–making processes. The encampments are a great factory for the production of social and democratic affects. (p. 56)

2.3.2.1. Spatial autonomy

If the square is an autonomous space and nodal element in the urban grid, in the moment of the events it is also what Castells (2014; 2013 [2012]) defined as the "space of autonomy": an overlap of the space of places (of experience) and the space of flows (of power) (1989) that merge into the same space of networked individual practices. This third and hybrid space of the squares, which fuses the physical space of the squares (with some iconic buildings) and the virtual space of the internet[67], is able to connect local and global topics, proximity and distance, as well as transforming "virtual proximity" (Bauman, 2003) into physical closeness, a space of affectivity. New social media offers a means of facilitating interpersonal connections across a distance, providing interaction in the absence of physical confrontation. However, these events share this common characteristic: they recreate a new public space, emerging from the continuity between physical and virtual space. The experience in the events is of an expanded reality, with the density of bodies and intense communitarianism in a relational frequency, similar to the intensity in virtual relations. Only overlapping these physical and virtual dimensions, we are able to understand the proper meaning of such global/local events. In spite of this duality, we must never forget the importance of physical social relations as evidenced in the case of Cairo, in the early days (January 27) of the Egyptian uprising, Mubarak's regime shut down the internet and cellular phones, expecting this to end the event. Despite the most common thought based on contemporary social relations, people showed an alternative: "[w]ith the Internet down, several told me, there was nowhere else to go but outdoors" (Edwards, 2011 p. 498) and, when outside, everyone walked in the direction of Tahrir. With this reaction, Egyptian civil society showed that it was still organized on mobilizations and was unable to live without connections, confirming itself as part of the global communication era. Evincing social organization based on territorialized networks, face-to-face meetings, landline calls,

[67] Despite some discussions about virtual space being the new public space, we dismiss this proposition: social media tools (such as Twitter and Facebook) appeared as a reflection of the condition of individualization (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Bauman, 2001) from contemporary society, even if they became a means of facilitating interpersonal connections across a distance. In the last decades, they have been important as preparation for this new type of spatial relations and, in the case of contemporary uprisings, a tool that allowed protesters to mobilize.

posters and other physical ways of communication was enough to galvanize support for the multitude and against the regime.

On this cycle of events, Badiou (2012) also recognized the importance of the square (the physical space) as "an immediate riot […] located in the territory of those who take part in it. The issue of the localization of riots is, as we shall see, quite fundamental." (p. 23)

2.3.2.2. Autonomous time

In the squares, despite apparent spatial and temporal continuity, the multitude is definitely living the "moment" (Lefebvre, 2002 [1961]), the "event" (Badiou, 2012; 2007), the rupture, the "*clinamen*" (Hardt & Negri, 2012; 2004) or the "Temporary Autonomous Zone" (TAZ) (Bey, 1985) – all different concepts that are related, even if they have slight distinctions, as we will focus on.

Hardt and Negri (2012) justify the change in the experience of temporality lived by the contemporary social movements in the squares as an autonomous temporality (pp. 53-56): a moment that is both in need of the construction of an alternative or a *new dispositif* of a constituent process, a plural and shared project and a part of a horizontal decision-making process of the multitude. All at once, it is a requisite of the process and a strategy of the global movement as time quickens or slows down, "according to the viral intensity of the communication of ideas and desires, which institute in each case a singular synthesis." (p. 55) Having its proper time and apparent frailty, its existence and dimension is crucial in politics as those are the moments of rupture – the "*clinamen*" – when changes can happen; "[g]rand politics always seeks this moment." (2004 p. 357) When making a comparison with former social movements' strategies, the authors recognize the contemporary experience in the squares as a unique and distinct experience, one part of the dual temporal dimension that composes the *autonomous temporality* of the revolutionary machine. Beside the time of rupture that is experienced in the squares, the contemporary revolutionary machine also encompasses a time of longer duration, of a permanent molecular revolution; it is in this second concept that the real transformation is embedded. In this interpretation from the authors we denote certain differences from Badiou's conception that are in a plane of immanence and continuity, disruptive from Badiou or even Lefebvre and Bey's definitions.

Badiou's (2012) formulation for *event* is, somehow, equivalent to Hardt and Negri's (2004) *insurrection*, as it is "what makes possible the restitution of the inexistence" (Badiou, 2012 p. 56) – a moment in which the site plays an important role in the production of political novelties

or even creates a new site. If *event* and *insurrection* have similarities, we would say that Badiou's conception is more related to Lefebvre's definition of "moments"; the "instants of dramatic change and disruption to everyday routine"[68] (Elden, 2004 p. 170), "an opportunity to be seized and invented" (Merrifield, 2006 p. 28), as referred above.

Badiou claims for his definition of the event the new present including in it the past, whereas the Deleuzian definition (which influences Hardt and Negri) is more concerned with the present and future. In Badiou (2007), "[t]he event is a synthesis of past and future" (p. 38), a concept of rupture or a possibility of a new real, something that is not deductible but that happens in the world as a disunity of the natural becoming and a rupture on the natural repetition. The rupture represents the time when new possibilities emerge and are assumed as the sameness on the multiplicities, and never the present itself. The Deleuzian conception operates with multiple forms of multiplicity (Crockett, 2013 [1969]). The events are part of an infinite series and "related to becoming" (Paccoud, 2012 p. 12); to the author, "any change that occurs must be part of the becoming of the whole, the general evolution of the whole that is constantly self-differentiating" (p. 12). This idea of "becoming" is also reproduced in Hardt and Negri's definition of the revolutionary machine.

Badiou, with his Lacanian legacy, considers the Real as the unchangeable truth and opposed to perceived reality. His definition of event relies in this ontology of the truth, something that is always new in opposition to the knowledge, the construction of a new multiplicity in a concrete world that can be expressed as an artistic, political, scientific (or other) creation (Badiou, 2008 p. 13). Badiou (2012), in a comment on the political moment lived by the social movements in the squares, puts in evidence its legacy, considering the event on a same level of the uprising:

> [t]hat is why we refer to uprising: people were lying down, submissive; they are getting up, picking themselves up, rising up. This rising is the rising of existence itself: the poor have not become rich; people who were unarmed are not now armed, and so forth. Basically, nothing has changed. What has occurred is restitution of the existence of the inexistent, conditional upon what I call an event. (p. 56)

The event is an unpredictable moment, but the creative moment of political activity can be considered as faithful, as it still depends on the impact of the decision, the organization of the consequences of the event in social life and in political activity. To be clearer on this illustration,

[68] When describing the events of 1871 and 1968.

we adopt Badiou's most commonly cited case of May 1968, from which came new forms of politics and organization. To the author, the process of organization is an exercise in fidelity by the consequences that offer the creation of a new logic or new forms of action: "[a]n organization lies at the intersection between an Idea and an event." (p. 63) May 1968 was an important event because it unveiled discontents in social life: the divisions in society, the separation into two different movements – students and workers – and the opportunity to work on the construction of new forms of politics, based on the unity of classes. The consequences of Badiou's organization have an equivalent in Hardt and Negri's institutional process of transformation, in which the authors identify the genesis of the current problem in the process of power[69], the lack of transition or the extension of the event (Buckley, et al., 1999) as: "[t]he insurrectional event, we explained, must be consolidated in an institutional process of transformation that develops the multitude's capacities for democratic decision making. Making the multitude is thus a project of democratic organizing aimed at democracy" (Harvard University Press Blog, 2011). Hardt and Negri, recognizing the problem, are working out how it is possible to reveal the continuous work of social movements and keep that continuity visible, as well as how to express the efficiency of the struggles with the constitutive power to generate a new society. If the event is something that emerges on certain occasions with a certain unpredictability, but with universal force, it is only one part of the continuous process of constituent power.

If in the discourses of Hardt and Negri we may recognize some hopelessness as to the effectiveness of these moments, Badiou (2013), even if he recognizes the lack of concrete possibilities of organization prepared to replace the political philosophical truth with concrete political actions, keeps his belief:

> [t]his move beyond the immediate riot toward a mass protest movement creates the possibility for a new type of organized politics, a politics that is durable, that merges the force of the people with the sharing of political ideas, and that thereby becomes capable of changing the overall situation of the country in question.

[69] Michael Hardt (2014) revealed he was working with Negri on a new theory based on the dialectics between democracy and spontaneity or authority and party by their conviction that social movements must change attitudes to achieve a new political organization.

Hakim Bey (1985) has a similar proposal as Badiou, although, in his anarchist vision, he does not seek an alternative model for the organization of the state. In Bey, the essence of change relies on the uprising (or the Latin form, insurrection), the temporary and open structure that happens as a "peak experience" and has the possibility to unfold "within the fractal dimensions invisible to the cartography of Control" (the state). The uprising happens occasionally, with strong intensity, and gives "shape and meaning to the entirety of a life". These occasions are also like a "guerrilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it".

Lefebvre (2002 [1961]), who also theorized on the concept of "the moment", advocates its existence as a rupture in the everyday, a kind of opportunity emerging from the collapse of a certain reality with no defined temporality and after-effects. This negativity is recovered from the dramatic position of Marx, who considers the instant of failure as the one with greatest importance: "it is the emergence from the everyday or collapse on failing to emerge; it is a caricature or a tragedy, a successful festival or a dubious ceremony." (p. 351) If in this uncertain temporality all possibilities can spring up, that temporality of opportunities is not precise: it is a time that "wants to endure", but "cannot endure (at least, not for very long)" (p. 345). Its inner contradiction gives the time intensity, "a temporality that expands our relation with time by this dialectical movement of "totalization/negativity" (p. 352).

2.3.3. Space time and comparison with former revolutions: from the quarter to the street to the square

> The effectiveness of riot or insurrection depends on three aspects of urban structure: how easily the poor can be mobilized, how vulnerable the centers of authority are to them, and how easily they may be suppressed. These are determined partly by sociological, partly by urbanistic, partly by technological factors, though the three cannot always be kept apart. (Hobsbawm, 1994 [1973] p. 221)

Even if within its own differences, in a broad approach we could say that contemporary social movements all claim for democracy: against austerity policies as in the European cases; against authoritarian regimes in Middle East; or against economic inequality by the domination of capital or the privatization of public space and common goods in the United States. In short, they all claim against the liberal and representative democracies or the lack of them. Together with an analytical approach to the history of social movements we also notice a spatial transformation on the type and logics of appropriation of space. The transition of topologic places for struggle can be interpreted as a reflection of a global desire for socio-political change:

"[a] desire to take up the freedom and responsibility – and joy – of democracy." (Purcell, 2013a) Spatial condition and appropriation as well as an analysis of social movements' claims can add information to create a genealogy of the movements in history. To analyse such spatial aspects and better comprehend their practices in public space, we have chosen four case-control in order to bring a more lucid overview to the construction of strategies and tactics over time.

Eric J. Hobsbawm (1994 [1973]) synthetizes the first transition of the relation of social movements to spatial aspects in his chapter "Cities and Insurrections". In the discussion of the limits of the city as a place for insurrection, he recognizes the transformations of the cities as a driving force for the transposition of the act of rioting (old social movements) in the quarter to the march in the large boulevards (new social movements). To the author, the urban transformation towards motorized cities are part of the genesis of transition in the practice of riot to the processions in great boulevards: "[t]he more systematic these rings and cartwheels of boulevards, the more effectively isolated these were from the surrounding inhabited area, the easier it became to turn such assemblies into ritual marches rather than preliminaries to riot" (p. 227).

Following Hobsbawm's thesis, we may also relate this transition to the passage from monarchic regimes to republican ones and, over the last 200 years, the consequent transposition of values. In a narrower period of time we also notice that, in previous decades, protests occurred as marches on the streets, as opposed to the more recent ones (after 2010) that prefer the squares and staying static (occupying) instead of walking. This happened in Maydan al Tahrir from January 25, 2011; in Puerta del Sol from May 15, 2011; and during the "Acampadas" in Taksim Square, from May 27, 2012, with the occupation of the park and the square, the sit-ins and the iconic case of the "standing man"[70], which inspired thousands to conduct silent vigils across the country. Solnit (2006), in her historical analysis of walking, contextualizes walking as a political expression, a practice adopted from religious pilgrimages and converted, during the mid-20th[71] century, into an expression of political demonstration. This started with the woman

[70] The action was started by the Turkish choreographer Erdem Gunduz at 8p.m. on June 17, 2013. Erdem stayed standing in the square for 8 hours with his hands in his pockets and a bag with some bottles of water beside his feet. Gunduz stayed in the middle of the square, facing the portrait of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey, hung on top of the old cultural centre. After three hours, the "standing man" (*duranadam* in Turkish) became viral on social media. By 2a.m., 300 people had joined his protest.

[71] Even if most of the examples happened during the 20th century, walking as a political act has origins in the peripatetic school of Ancient Greece, in which Aristotle and other philosophers used to walk to the peripatus (the column that gave name to the school). In the walk to the column, philosophers used to cross villages and spread

who decided to walk to claim for peace (after the beginning of the Kosovo War in 1953), in the United States (pp. 55-57) or even from before, when, in 1795 and during the British Industrial Revolution, the poet Wordsworth suggested that "travelling on foot", an activity connoted with the poor, could be a political act (p. 109). A third possible case is Gandhi's 200-mile Salt March in 1930 to campaign for India's liberation from British rule (p. 58). Even if similar in shape to religious pilgrimages, the context of these political actions is distinct primarily because "a pilgrimage makes an appeal while a march makes a demand" (p. 58).

Present-day social movements use distinct spatial language from those who walked in the boulevards and avenues, albeit some of those tactics are a legacy from former periods of insurrection. The sit-in in central squares is a tactic that revisits history; this particular imprint of social movements was frequently used in demonstrations against the Communist regimes in 1989 – in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, in Karl-Marx-Platz and Alexanderplatz in East Berlin, and in Wenceslas Square in Prague.

The space, and especially the square, is not just a passive site or a place of appearance, but the focal point in city structure and the location where current political struggles and wills for change can be claimed on their proper scale, or where the transformation into a democratic constituent process can be ignited. In the discourse of recent social movements, it also became evident that the spatial condition became integrated in its meta-discourse (see appendix A) and embedded in the political message or its ensign.

In the square, the experience of time is antagonistic to that lived in the street: the street suggests a direction and stimulates people to move, whereas the square is a confined space, not indicating a specific direction but showing several possibilities, although encouraging stopping and staying. In an external comparison, Lucy Lippard (1983) recalls Richard Long's works and testimonies, where he explains his tendency to work just with lines and circles as the elements of expression and representation of time and space. In fact, these two dimensions can be transposed to the transition of social movements from the street/boulevard to the square.

This relation of line/time and circle/space can also be transposed analogously to the political content of each moment. During the last decades of deepest neoliberal politics, the time linearity

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their thoughts and political messages, becoming known as the peripatetic – in English a synonym for the act of walking, but originally related to the double act of walking and thinking.

of the protests in the streets has been related with specific social and civil rights demands. This linear time narrative was inscribed in an existing political model as if it was written in a line, or in the shape of the street. By the end of 2010, the multitude in the squares changed the tactics of spatial appropriation, uncovering the will for new narratives on politics: "demands are not only demands to the political system in order to satisfy particular interests (jobs, pensions, and so on), but also demands about the political system (for more direct forms of democracy, and so on)" (Prentoulis & Thomassen, 2012). The rupture with time succession of events is highlighted by the new experience of time in the squares, where people stay, sleep and live their everyday experiences. The shape of the large area of the square with its multidirectional diagram is a figurative image of the political content of the protest; not just concerned with adding new layers over the existing model, but with the emergence of real possibilities of transforming the constituent process. It represents a transformation that must be rethought in order to exist, that is a working process over these moments of rupture. Nelli Kambouri and Pavlos Hatzopoulos (2011) speak to the fact, saying that the tactics of stasis have embedded the desire of transformation of the political model and the will to ground it in the production of the common:

> [t]he global occupy movement rests on tactics of stasis, on a primary refusal to move, instead of march. From Tahrir, to Puerta del Sol, from Syntagma square to Zuccotti Park, immobility embodies the desire of the protesters to dissociate their occupied public spaces from existing networks of power. […] In a way, the occupy protesters adopt a politics of asymmetry in relation to power. Their tactics are not intended to head on destroy the way that power organises the space–time of urban life, nor to attack it in some of its weakest chains (although this is also done by certain groups that are part of these protests).

In Kambouri and Hatzopoulos (2011) we may interpret the proposals of Hardt and Negri (2009) for the creation of alternative institutions instead of controlling the existing ones from the state.

Thomas Elsaesser (2011) analysed this relation on the transition of the occupation of space, the space typology chosen by social movements and its political content, in his speech "Politics of the Now" during the Athens Biennale 2011 Monodrome. Elsaesser compared contemporary politics in public space and the multitude's demands on the relation with time. In the formulation of his theories, the author calls upon the concepts of two philosophers – Simon Critchley and Slavoj Žižek – advocating the need to stay in squares in relation with the content of demands. Considering the references, and even if the two philosophers have almost agonistic discourses, they both reach similar conclusions. Critchley (2007) calls, as in his book of the

same name, for "Infinite Demanding". He considers this to be the only position for demanding a political position, or to practise a "metapolitical" moment, an ethical practice that demands responsibility as a response to certain injustices. Critchley (2007) builds up his conception of democracy apart from the state and based on a society that "dialectically expressed the truth of the state, a truth that no state incarnates" (p. 115). This is supported in Marx's writings from 1843 on "true democracy", a double movement of micro-politics actions and macro-politics articulations, against the order of the state and with loyalty to democracy. Žižek (2011), on the other hand, in his speech at Occupy Wall Street in New York, assumes a radical position when saying that what is truly politics nowadays is "No Demands", even if later, at the time of the protests in Turkey, he adopted a softer tone, saying that it is "a fluid feeling of unease and discontent that sustains and unites various specific demands." (2013) Obviously, both authors reject the traditional politics of demands, usually used during times of "one-direction politics" or by the contributions to the existing model of the empire. Departing from opposite horizons, they strengthen the position that is on the presence in the squares that is possible to find the solution to contemporary politics. Butler (2011b), in her speech to the OWS, also argues the impossibility of the construction of a political alternative based on the enunciation of demands:

> I came here to lend support and offer my solidarity for this unprecedented display of popular and democratic will. People have asked, so what are the demands that all these people are making? Either, they say, there are no demands, and that leaves your critics confused. Or they say: that demands for social equality and economic justice are impossible demands. And impossible demands are just not "practical." But we disagree. If hope is an impossible demand, then we demand the impossible.

The author goes further, advocating that it is in the presence of bodies in the squares that politics emerge (Butler, 2011a) – an idea that recurs in Arendt's (1998 [1958]) theories, as we have mentioned. In Butler, the act of "Performing Politics" or the presence of the bodies in the squares is already a constituent expression of indignation with the situation and of a broader role of demands:

> [t]hey are demanding to be recognized and to be valued; they are exercising a right to appear and to exercise freedom; they are calling for a liveable life. These values are presupposed by particular demands, but they also demand a more fundamental restructuring of our socio-economic and political order (Butler, 2011a).

Before this cycle of protest, Hardt and Negri (2004) had already warned of the risks of enumerating demands by possible misinterpretation on the receptors, as focusing "on a few limited changes obscures the fact that what is necessary is a much more general transformation

of society and the structures of power." (p. 289) Even if their advice could be useful for the construction of a "global democracy", it can also be subverted. This happened in Napoleon's appropriation of the *cahiers de deléances* from the Third Estate, created as the basis for the construction of the French Revolution and the Constitution of 1791. In relation to the "movement of the boulevards", we may recognize nowadays that even if these groups reached or conquered some rights, those successes became precarious in time and may be recognized in the present.

In Madrid and Istanbul, as well as in other occupied squares around the world, we have seen the multitude demonstrating in the squares, demanding any specific issue and calling up generic or universal claims or national concerns. In both examples (considering only our case studies) we could illustrate this image with the absence of political party or trade union flags in the Spanish square, or with the dissolution of those symbols in Taksim Square by the integration of all the thematic stalls in Gezi Park. In Cairo, the image of this new global movement became even more evident by the consensual decision to remove all political symbols and flags. On January 25 (2011), the decision was taken almost immediately when the marchers coming from different neighbourhoods of the city met in Tahrir.

In Madrid (as in the other Acampadas in Spain), the structural organization was even more related to the idea of the construction of a different political model, giving a greater impact on the image of the multitude in struggle. Beside the lack of political representation, the platform of social movements or the "movement of movements" 15-M, detached from the political forces of the empire and organized a platform for citizenship refoundation, based on the construction of the commons. On the inclusion and aggregation of all the instruments or subjectivities, the Spanish *Mareas*[72] (Waves) brought together all the professional or social struggles and absorbed some of the trade unions' discursivities into a new order or map of possibilities. Presented as an open problem of society, *Mareas* represent the common goods (nowadays the public sector and the welfare state) to be defended and built up by the community over time, as it is meant to be the production of the commons in a new democratic system. In the Spanish

[72] *Marea Blanca* (White Tide) in defence of public health; *Marea Verde* (Green Tide) in defence of public schools; *Marea Azul* (Blue Tide) concerned with the privatization of public water; *Marea Violeta* (Purple Tide), a feminist group; *Marea Naranja* (Orange Tide) in defence of social services, and *Marea Roja* (Red Tide) an organization of the unemployed in struggle.

movement, the Mareas became bound together in a nationwide protest, the *Marea Ciudadana* (Citizen Tide).

2.4. Brief research on social movements: mole, snake, mole

Through the following pages we aim to overview case-control and theories on the history of social movements or the construction of a subtext of those movements, describing the relation, use and support in public space. However, we have no ultimate purpose of covering all the complex theories, disciplines and studies involved in the theme of social movements.

In the disciplines that focus on the research of collective social protest, and in its generic literature, social movements tend to be distinguished as "old" or "new".[73] Recently, we also find the third term "new new social movements" (Langman, 2013; Castells, 2013 [2012]; Hardt & Negri, 2012), a designation to characterize social movements that emerged from the wave of protests that started in late 2010. Generically, the paradigmatic distinction between the "new" and "old" social movements is based on the goals that give shape to the conflict. In the first case – old social movements – the behaviour and purposes are overwhelmingly shaped through material, class-based and economic factors, whereas in the second case – new social movements – they are based in activities that focus on the defence and affirmation of a strong collective identity (Hardt & Negri, 2004). Hardt and Negri (2000) draw a clear line to separate the two movements, locating the period of transition between the Gulf War (1990 – 91) and the Kosovo War (1998 – 99), and by three main differences: (1) the change in the duration of the events, as "new" social movements "often have a very brief duration where they are born, burning out in a flash" (p. 54); a symptom or expression of lack of communication, even if happening in its era; (2) the shift from a "cycle of struggles based on the communications and translation of the common" (p. 54) to place specific struggles, "based on immediate regional concerns" (p. 54); and (3) the loss of the distinction between tactics and strategy of the imperialist era dictated by the end of an identified enemy.

Contemporary social struggles keep similarities with "new" social movements when fighting against an "anonymous enemy" (or against the "Empire") or using similar tactics but also distinctions by adopting tools of global communication (often considered as "micro-utopias")

[73] We will briefly contextualize these concepts under this section of the thesis as it is considered a crucial contribution to the research even if it is an academic subject out of our domain.

based on the network society and recovering the idea of the cycle of struggles of "old social movements".

Alain Touraine (1981), Jürgen Habermas (1981) and Claus Offe (1985) are three authors who have made significant contributions to the study of social movements. They reflect on the distinction between "new" and "old" social movements based on the sociological patterns of the groups, namely levels of culture, meaning and identity inside the realms of "civil society", and not only of the "political spheres", as Habermas (1981) explains:

> [t]hese new conflicts no longer arise in areas of material reproduction; they are no longer channelled through parties and organizations; and they can no longer be alleviated by compensations that conform to the system. Rather, the new conflicts arise in areas of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization. (p. 34)

While "old" social movements were based on the distinctions of class and by the proletariat or workers' movements and precipitated by economic issues, "new" social movements are grounded on the resistance of the middle class, based on a utopian thought of a construction of collective identities, broadly based on concerns and values directed towards civil rights, feminism and ecology, among others. Following these authors, the main difference between "old" and "new" social movements is rooted in the production of contradictions inside society by the "new" social movements as well as in its anti-state turn of mind and action. This unity against a common enemy creates, in the opinion of some authors (Castells, 2010 [1997]; Touraine, 1981), an emergence of a paradigm of "action-identity" that promises social emancipation. Examining contemporary social movements, we would say that we can identify Touraine and Castells' formulations on the construction of global networks of social emancipation, however distinct. They tend to bind political economy with the legitimation of the crisis (a legacy from "old" social movements) and emotional subjectivity (a legacy from "new" social movements), expressed in the construction of an emotional atmosphere, the main impetus motivating people to participate nowadays:

> [w]e must note in this context that constellations of emotions, groupings such as anger and hope, anxiety and joy, were also among the primary factors motivating people to first participate in and then sustain activism through continued involvement in demonstrations and direct actions. (Benski, et al., 2013 p. 546).

If emotional subjectivity is reflected in the ideological sphere, by rejecting traditional politics and promoting utopian thought, based on hope as a fundamental human emotion and the way

to promote the transformation of society, this transformation is also supported by the integration of everyday routines in politics or the recognition of the "spatial turn" and consequent consideration of the spatial dimension in the literature of social movements (Daphi, 2014 p. 166).

The transition from old to new social movements is not fixed or easy to define. However, to be able to confront different types of social movements throughout history, we will focus on four case-control, a selection drawn from those mentioned by Hardt and Negri (2004; 2000) and based on the social impact and political effects of its spatial dimension. The Paris Commune of 1871 is a key case for two main reasons: (1) by its general impact on the occidental political history of the 19th century and the new age of industrial times and (2) it was the first insurgency of constituent power towards social emancipation expressing time and space by the succession of events, when considering the 1848 revolution for the Proclamation of the French Republic. The 1968 Students' Rights Movement, our second case, established a new dimension in social and civil rights movements towards a worldwide wave of protests against "capital politics". Despite its global action, we will focus on the events in Paris, which, as Badiou referred, unveiled contents of social life.

Hardt and Negri (2000) consider the "Tiananmen Square events in 1989, the Intifada against Israeli state authority, the May 1992 revolt in Los Angeles, the uprising in Chiapas that began in 1994, and the series of strikes that paralysed France in December 1995, and those that crippled South Korea in 1996" (p. 54) as the most powerful struggles of the late 20th century. From this list we will focus on Tiananmen Square, complementing it with the external case of the Seattle protests in 1999. If the event in Seattle is not included in the list that appears in the authors' first book, we may recall that it was earlier than or contemporary to the process of book writing. However, the protests in Seattle established the beginning of a cycle of struggles against neoliberal globalization (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 266), the reconstruction of the politics of the event (Lazzarato, 2006), and the conception of politics at a distance from the state (Critchley, 2007), to mention a few themes.

2.4.1. Paris Commune of 1871

The Paris Commune of 1871 was undoubtedly marked the beginning of people's insurrection. It is still one of the greatest events of constituent power that "set up for the future, not through its governors but through its defenders, a more superior ideal to all the revolutions that preceded it" (Reclus, 1871 quoted in Ross, 2015). As Charles Rihs (1973) says at the end of his book,

there are some features from this period that are transversal to historical communal insurrections: they "require solidarity, a momentum of collective consciousness in the seeking of the rights, instinct of the masses towards a social justice."[74] (p. 350) In fact, all the communes that have happened in history are traversed by dynamism, the spontaneous power of creation, fraternity and mutual aid. These qualities are expressed in *communia*, the Latin root of commune, "from Medieval Latin *communia*, noun use of neuter plural of Latin adjective *communis*, literally 'that which is common', from *communis*" (Harper, 2001-2014). Even though people revolted in the streets of Paris in 1789, 1830 and 1848, also erecting barricades across the narrow streets (Solnit, 2006 p. 204), we will focus on the Commune of 1871 because of its particularities. The Commune of 1789 was based on the idea of a political revolution organized by an elite; the Commune of 1830 lasted for only three days and saw the transition from one constituent monarch (Charles X) to another (Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orléans); and the 1848 revolution for the proclamation of the Second Republic, as will be explored later, did not deal with a spatial transformation of the city. The Commune of 1871 also differs from the revolutions of 1789 and 1848 because it was not preceded by an agricultural crisis (Gould, 1991 p. 718).

Lefebvre has baptized those 72 days in the Spring of 1871 as the "Parisian popular festival" (Ross, 1997 [1983] p. 78), a revolutionary urban practice combining myth and ideology, made possible "[t]hrough a combination of force, luck, and good timing" (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970] p. 110). The importance of the event in the current context is also recognized by Kristin Ross (2015). As she mentions, she was compelled to revisit the theme after the events of 2011 because of the relation with the culture of encampment as well as the resonance that the Commune still emanates in contemporary cases, mainly through the similarly precarious working conditions of both times. As Marx pointed out, the importance of the Commune was its "working existence" by the possibility of a laboratory of politics, built in the everyday experience of the circumstances, improvised in the moment and built on a universal scale by "an autonomous collective in a universal federation of peoples." (p. 12)

[74] Translated by the author from the original "[c]e sont là les 'constants' de l'histoire des insurrections communales: besoin de solidarité, élan d'une conscience collective cherchant ses droits, instinct des masses vers la justice sociale."

Concerning the spatial condition of the Commune, Guy Debord, Attila Kotányi and Raoul Vaneigem (1962) refer to it as "the only implementation of a revolutionary urbanism", an urbanism practised by a "positive deconstruction" or the validation of a "positive void"[75]. The symbolic demolition of the Vendôme column[76], a statue erected by Napoleon Bonaparte between 1806 and 1810 in memory of his army's victories and considered by Thiers "as an emblem of 'national glory and military virtues'" (Gluckstein, 2006 p. 42), may be considered as the pinnacle of the concept. The demolition of the monument was being organized prior to the Commune by some communards who considered it a "monument to barbarism, a symbol of brutal force and false glory, an affirmation of militarism, a negation of international rights" (p. 42). In fact, the order for demolition was decreed only during the Commune on April 12 and performed on April 16, in an event organized by the painter Gustave Courbet: "in front of huge crowds, the column was brought down" (p. 42). As part of the same event, Place Vendôme was renamed Place Internationale. Gerard Raunig (2007) makes reference to Ross when the author calls this act a hypostatization of "social space", the territorialization of political practice (p. 108).

Together with deconstructions practised in the event, the urban importance of the Commune also relies on the notable occupation of the city after Haussmann's urban reforms of Paris as, beside its hygienist principles, the plan of the city was meant to control insurgents[77]. If the Commune suggests multiple interpretations, it can also be understood in its "spatial contradictions [...] It was a popular reply to Haussmann's strategy. The workers, driven towards peripheral neighbourhoods and municipalities reclaimed the space from which Bonapartism and the ruling class had excluded them" [78] (Lefebvre, 1972 p. 168). The success of the 1871

[75] "Positive void" was a concept developed in the article "Basic Program of Unitary Urbanism" one year before and published in *Internationale Situationniste* #6. Authors consider that all space is already occupied by the enemy, so the construction must be considered through the absence of that occupation in certain zones.

[76] Debord, Vaneigem and Kotanyi's conceptions also refer to a second case, the order for the demolition of Chapel Atonement on May 5, which was built in expiation of the execution of Louis XVI.

[77] Lefebvre (2003 [1970]) considers that Haussmann's project, by the movement of class practices, establishes a transition to the contemporary urban paradigms and to the 21st-century global space "[h]e gutted Paris according to plan, deported the proletariat to the periphery of the city, simultaneously creating the suburb and the habitat, the gentrification, depopulation, and decay of the center." (p. 109) Maurizio Gribaudi (2008), in his study of Paris life in the 19th century, remarks that Hausseman's plan has antecedents: in 1829, there was already a group of architects, landlords and real estate developers discussing proposals to renew the north side of Paris and, somehow, to evict the lowest classes from the centre, at that time coined the "hill and depraved society" (p. 32).

[78] Translated by the author from the original "peut s'interpréter à partir des contradictions de l'espace […] Ce fut une réplique populaire à la stratégie de Haussmann. Les ouvriers, chassés vers les quartiers et communes périphériques se réapproprièrent l'espace dont le bonapartisme et la stratégie des dirigeants les avaient exclus."

Commune can be seen from the responsibility of such a project, as Benjamin (1999 [1982]) expresses in his text from 1935 *The Arcades Project*. Focusing on the sensations about the city, Benjamin criticizes Haussmann's ideals, pointing out his authoritarian view about the city centre and antipathy for the working class's social use of it, but also recognizes that this ideal of segregation from Haussmann was crucial to the Commune's success. "The barricade is resurrected during the Commune. It is stronger and better secure than ever. Is stretches across the great boulevards, often reaching a height of two stories, and shields the trenches behind it." (p. 12)

David Harvey (2006) also focuses on the importance of spatial processes in the development of 1871 Commune:

> [t]he Commune was indeed a different kind of event from 1848, and in part it was so because of the radical reorganization of the living spaces that haussmannization accomplished along with the equally radical transformations in labor processes, in the organization of capital accumulation, and in the deployment of state powers. (p. 239)

Hardt and Negri (2009) also pay attention to the urban segregation provoked by Haussmann's masterplan, but focus more on the urban policies, namely on the rent policies:

> [t]he clear visual lines of Haussmann's Parisian avenues are not necessary for this deployment of power. Rent and real estate are omnipresent apparatuses of segmentation and control that extend fluidly throughout the urban landscape and configure the dispositifs of social exploitation. (p. 258)

During the festive event of the Commune, all these planned ideals were destroyed: class and gender hierarchies were blurred, with women leading the organization of space, and "the very idea of 'public space' […] dissolved because the streets were democratized and turned festive." (Gordillo, 2013)

Despite the urban transformations in the city and the eviction of the lower classes to the peripheries, the struggle for the construction of the Commune has earlier origins: (1) the long period of struggles with the Prussians (since 1852), fighting for German unification and the establishment of a European balance of power, as well as, (2) by the construction of common principles or an ideology with the unauthorized public meeting in Paris during the Second

Empire[79] that started on June 19, 1868 (Ross, 2015 p. 12) and must be contextualized with (3) the long period of Napoleon's Empire.

Considering this last point (3), we must go back to 1848 and the long series of revolutions that emerged in Central and Oriental Europe in that year against autocratic governments or financial struggle, and during which France lived the "Spring of the people" and the Proclamation of the Second Republic. Through the years 1845–1848, France suffered a cycle of agricultural crises, aggravating a financial crisis for the Bank of France and its lack of reserves. This financial crisis dissatisfied both the workers and the bourgeoisie, especially the petit and industrial bourgeoisie who could finally think about the right to suffrage. With the impossibility of organizing public meetings[80], the population of Paris collected 5 million signatures on a petition and booked a popular banquet[81] for February 22, 1848, to unite people to bring down the monarchy. In four days the monarchy was dissolved[82] and the Republic was proclaimed on February 26.

March seemed to be a serene month in Paris, when a small group of communards, headed by Proudhon, started to discuss the possibility of abolishing private property. These ideas stressed the bourgeoisie, which reacted, preparing a Constituent Assembly, scheduled for April 23. The results of the elections, with the "Party of Order" (conservative wing) getting more seats in parliament, disappointed the Socialists and the radical Republicans. Subsequent measures of recrimination over Socialist and radical ideals led to the reaction of a group of radicals who

[79] The Second Empire is the period of Napoleon III's rule: 1851–1871.
[80] The French regime outlawed political gatherings and demonstrations from July 1847.
[81] The campaign of banquets resulted from the continuous defeat of electoral and parliamentary reforms and the disappointment of the Liberals with the electoral law of the July Monarchy. After the defeat in the spring of 1847 of bills initiating the needed reform, the opposition initiated a series of informal meetings for political discussion and to encourage a set of reforms by the ministry (Baughman, 1959 p. 1). The campaign of banquets (*campangne des banquets*) was an alternative whenever there was a need to have political discussions. They ran from July 9, 1847 to December 25, 1847, and then in February, terminating in the February Revolution of 1848 and the proclamation of the Second Republic.
[82] At noon on February 22, crowds joined in the streets but the bourgeoisie moved away from the revolt's principles, instigated by Louis Blanc. Students and artisans joined forces with the proletariat and marched together in the city during the afternoon, calling for political reforms and the resignation of François Guizot, chief minister for foreign and domestic policy. King Louis Philippe dismissed Guizot but this was not sufficient to calm the multitude, which was back in the streets on February 24. Facing the atmosphere of insurrection, the government tried to convince the multitude but, in the afternoon, people were shouting for the proclamation of the Republic, and parliament had to be dissolved. King Louis Philippe abdicated on behalf of his nine-year-old grandson, Philippe, Comte de Paris, and immediately left Paris.

invaded the Assembly and decreed a new provisional government on May 15. Reactions[83] and counteractions[84] over the following days ended with Paris in a state of siege; the climate of uprising[85] lasted for four days from June 24. Fearing another popular uprising and in a rush to finish the new Constitution by the end of September, the Party of Order and Cavaignac decided to keep the martial law and the state of siege until then. With the new constitution finished by October 23 and the presidential elections scheduled for December 10, General Cavaignac headed the list of the Party of Order. With the long period of struggles and political distrust arose the still unknown figure of Louis Napoleon, who won the election by a wide margin[86]. Louis Napoleon's mandate should have lasted for four years as, by the new Constitution, re-election was forbidden, but Napoleon decided not to abandon power and prepared a coup d'état to dissolve the legislative National Assembly and the Republic. On December 2, 1851, he proclaimed himself emperor and reigned until 1871. Confirming the rise of Napoleon not only as a coincidence but with similarities to his uncle's act in the dissolution of the First Republic and establishment of the Napoleonic Empire, Marx (2008 [1952]) states that:

> Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce. Caussidière for Danton, Louis Blanc for Robespierre, the Montagne of 1848 to 1851 for the Montagne of 1793 to 1795, the Nephew for the Uncle. (p. 15)

During Napoleon's regime, the continuous attempt to neutralize the formation of social movements succeeded for over a decade, until the crisis of the regime in the 1860s, even if the freedom of press and of assembly were banned until 1868 (Raunig, 2007 p. 70). As Ross (2015) transcribes from the original text of the historian Robert Wolfe: "[i]f one had to trace the origins of the Commune back to a single starting point, one could do worse than to choose June 19, 1868, the date of the first unauthorized public meeting in Paris under the Second Empire." (p. 14) If written documents – journals, pamphlets, zines, etc. – burst into the public sphere and

[83] On May 22, the government applied repressive measures against the working class, dissolved the Luxemburg Commission, and closed National Workshops (created to guarantee French citizens the "right to work"), at the time employing 100,000 workers.
[84] On June 21, National Workshops were forced closed and on June 23 the working class of Paris raised a protest, headed by Auguste Blanqui, bringing to the streets about 170,000 citizens who erected barricades for their protection.
[85] The government appointed General Cavaignac, who had just arrived from the Army in Algeria, to force the end of uprisings. The battle, also known as the "June Days Uprising", lasted for four days with 1,500 deaths.
[86] The proletariat voted for him to avoid Cavaignac winning and the peasants as a tribute to his uncle, Napoleon Bonaparte.

public meetings grew with the law liberalizing control of press and public meetings, the growing discontent with the regime gave an impetus to the development of the Commune, together with strikes and vociferous demands for political reforms (Gould, 1991 p. 718). As Wolfe (1968) describes – in an opinion shared by other authors (Ross, 2015; Gould, 1991) – the history of the Commune must be interpreted by the history of "obscure local clubs and committees". These started in the Montmartre *arrondissement*, by Republicans and Revolutionaries who were forced out of their *faubourgs* by the urban crisis promoted by the Haussmannization of Paris and the industrial boom in the 1850s. They met in clubs that later, in the winter of 1868–69, were transposed to public space. Initially organized weekly, these rapidly became daily meetings. They were often crowded, attended by large numbers of workers flocking to "the dance halls of the outer boulevards in order to hear endless debates" (Wolfe, 1968 p. 8) on political themes[87]. The public meetings spread in the city[88] and diversified. Initially they were "strongly male dominated and influenced by the moderate bourgeoisie" (Raunig, 2007 p. 71), but quickly expanded "in terms of gender and class composition" (p. 71), preparing a body of people that would later be ready for the creation of the Commune.

One year before the Commune, following a series of shifts of victories between France and Prussians, the conflicts developed into the Franco–Prussian War[89] (1). The war declared by Napoleon provoked a rapid reaction on the German front. The Prussians promptly won by their superiority in numbers, declaring the Unification of Germany under King Wilhelm I of Prussia, the downfall of Napoleon[90] and later the proclamation of the Third Republic of France[91]. The Prussians won some areas of France, but the war continued with the siege of Paris, as the desired capital (together with other large cities including Marseille and Lyon), guarded by the working

[87] "'Labour and Unemployment', 'Capital and Interest', 'Privileges' or 'The men, the principles, the results of the French Revolution – from the social point of view'" (Wolfe, 1968 p. 8).
[88] "From June 1868 to April 1870 a total of 776 assemblies took place […] especially through expansion into less central districts such as Montmartre, Belleville, La Villette or Charonne." (Raunig, 2007 p. 71)
[89] The war, declared on August 19, 1870 by France, followed a Parliamentary vote three days earlier, is also known as "War of 1870" and ran until May 10, 1871.
[90] The series of battles culminated with the Battle of Sedan (September 1), in which Napoleon was captured on September 2, 1871 and, by lack of confidence, was obligated to resign (Lissagaray, 1886 [1876]).
[91] On the day after Napoleon's resignation (September 3), the news arrived in Paris. By the evening, Republican and radical deputies of the French Assembly gathered in the Hôtel de Ville to proclaim the New French Republic and create a Government of National Defence (Lissagaray, 1886 [1876]).

class and emigrants[92] (mainly by Republicans and Radicals), was not conquered. On 19 and 20 September, the German army surrounded Paris. The fragility of the French front line of the Government National Defence was insufficient to protect the city, even if the working class joined forces with them. The people living on the outskirts of the city marched to the centre[93] to demand a new government, elected as a Commune.

Paris was living under hard conditions, but the German Army was also invading other areas of the country. On October 28, Parisian newspapers focused on the 140,000–180,000 French Army soldiers forced to surrender in Metz[94] on that eve. In reaction and to fortify the combat unit in Paris, Varlin (together with the major revolutionary group's leaders: Blanqui, Pyat and Delescluze) planned a great demonstration for October 31. On October 31, thousands of demonstrators gathered in the square to besiege the Hôtel de Ville, demanding new elections. The building was invaded by a revolutionary group (led by Blanqui), claiming victory for a revolutionary government. The city authorities returned with the schedule of a plebiscite for the Parisians (November 3) to strengthen confidence in the Government of National Defence, and in fact they were able to obtain good results: "[t]he result was catastrophic for the left: 557,900 said yes; 65,000 voted no" (Gluckstein, 2006 p. 108), denouncing the failure of the Communards.

Wintertime was a difficult period, both for the French living in scarcity and for the German Army, and Bismarck tired of the long siege. In this state of exhaustion, on January 5, 1871, the German army received orders to bombard the city, worsening the situation for the French population, who were coming into a state of famine during the week of January 11–19. On January 22, hundreds[95] of National Guard members and groups of Radicals – especially the Blanquists – gathered in the square facing the Hôtel de Ville and demanded civil control of the

[92] In 1871, France was divided into the conservative population living in the countryside and the radicals and republicans living around the largest cities in the country – Paris, Marseille and Lyon. During the period of war, lasting since 1870 and the siege of Paris in 1871, the social urban configuration of Paris changed with the departure of middle and upper class people to other regions of the country and the influx of refugees from areas that were occupied by the Germans.

[93] On October 5, thousands of protesters marched to Hôtel de Ville, demanding municipal elections and crying "*Vive la République*" (Lissagaray, 1886 [1876]). On October 8, a thousand soldiers from the National Guard, led by Eugène Varlin, and the Internationalists, marched to the centre demanding a Commune.

[94] On October 6, in reaction to the excitement in the capital, the Minister of Defence, Leon Gambeta, escaped in a balloon to Metz, where he tried to organize a National Defence.

[95] "Exact numbers are unknown, but they appear to have been limited, the most important contingent being 150 National Guards who stationed themselves before the Hôtel de Ville" (Gluekstein, 2006 p. 108).

army and the election of a Commune, "crying 'Down with Trochu' and 'Long live the Commune'" (p. 109), in an ultimate attempt to control and protect the city. The government resisted[96] and, by the end of the day, the Internationalists had almost given up on their project. However, this disappointment did not last long, as the Commune re-emerged shortly after. In a survey on the reasons for the rebirth of the Commune, the principal one on the list was population fragmentation[97], followed by the economic difficulties of living in the city, as well as consequent results at the polls[98] and the victory of Socialists and Republicans in the capital.

With a ceasefire signed on 26 January, German troops decided to humiliate the French government by organizing a triumphant march of 30,000 men through Paris on March 1 (p. 116). If the Germans were expecting to create a feeling of humiliation among the Parisians, they reacted by closing the city and participating in a kind of celebration of national pride. The success was such that they repeated the performance in reaction to the government's decision to punish the "unsubordinated Parisians" and the National Guard.

On March 10, the National Assembly approved a law on deferred payment of overdue bills, obligating the payment of debts. This law led to many of the petit bourgeoisies going bankrupt and ostracized the image of Thiers. He decided to move from Paris to Versailles on March 20, to keep his distance from the Paris uprising, as the National government kept up its strategy of fighting against the Republicans[99]. On March 18, Thiers attempted to disarm the Parisian National Guard but failed, as Parisian workers mobilized and set up an agreement with French troops, refusing to carry out Thiers's orders. Thus, such a reaction of outrage to Thiers and his

[96] The French army cleared the square, killing five demonstrators.

[97] Middle and upper class people had left the city and the widespread unemployment and the lure of a salary encouraged workers to join the National Guard, which became politicized by the February 8 general elections.

[98] On the same day (January 26), leaders of the Government of National Defence decided to surrender to the Germans. They signed the ceasefire and armistice in the government (at the time located in Bordeaux), recalling for national elections; at the meeting of the Federal Chamber Frankel suggested that the International should give up (Gluekstein, 2006 p. 110). Elections on February 8 came to confirm the political disparity in the country, with one-third of the total deputies assembled in favor of a constitutional monarchy (deputies are elected by a majority by electors living in rural areas, with conservative and Catholic beliefs). In the capital and in some other large cities, the results are rather different; in Paris Republicans and Socialists win 36 of the 43 seats (p. 111), but despite the results in Paris, on February 19, Adolphe Thiers' government is formed and he is elected Chief Executive of the French Republic.

[99] On March 12 the *Vangueur* and five other Republican newspapers are banned. On March 17, the government announce a plan to send the Army to take charge of the cannons, even if this decision was initially opposed from the will of the new Minister of War.

government impelled the chief executive to move to Versailles, and the civil war and open fire between the French government and Paris became official.

The popular initiative of March 18 was followed by other large cities of France, as Lyon and Marseille established communes on March 23[100]. On March 28, the Commune of Paris was proclaimed[101], represented by the First International[102], and the followers of Proudhon and Blanqui (still detained at Clairvaux) were euphoric. The first meeting was crowded and full of proposals; from this initial set of ideas some were approved by consensus, as happened over the following days. The Commune lasted for 72 days; even if meetings did not happen daily, they were able to produce certain policies towards a secular and highly democratic state and for the construction of a social state on a basis of consensus. Some of the most important ideas that became decrees and were implemented during this short period were: (1) the abolition of the death penalty; (2) the secularization of the state through the complete separation of the church from the state and the consideration of religion as a private matter; (3) the exclusion of all religious symbols from schools; (4) the abolition of night working in bakeries and the abolition of pawnshops as well as the obligation to return the tools and items that were looted during the siege to the workmen as, for the Commune, the act was considered a private exploitation of labour and a contradiction of the rights of the workers; (5) the establishment of a maximum salary of 6,000 francs for the members of the Commune; (6) the abolition of conscription and the standing army, declaring the National Guard as the only military power; (7) the remission of rents owed during the siege; (8) the guarantee of a pension to the unmarried companions and children of National Guards who were killed during service and; (9) free education for all.

Apart from the works of the Commune, an exercise of direct democracy in the square and of popular government, Thiers kept trying to suppress popular activity in the capital. On April 2

[100] It is important to remember that those cities had communes that had already formed in 1870: "the first demonstrations against the Empire occurred in Lyons during August 1870, while on 8 August 1870 Marseilles witnessed the first attempt to create a commune" (Gluekstein, 2006 p. 124).

[101] By a system of direct democracy, about one-third of the population voted yes for the Commune. Following the big population exodus, mainly the upper and middle class, during and after the siege, only about "230,000 of the remaining 485,000 voters participated" (Gluekstein, 2006 p. 133); the middle class of the western districts tended to abstain.

[102] Marx and Engels' Communist Party Manifesto, published in 1848, calling for workers to get together, gave an important input to the foundation of the First International in 1864 by the ideologically different groups. First International was influenced by the most powerful trade union leaders of Britain, France and Germany. At the 1867 Congress, a theme widely discussed was the independence of social emancipation from political emancipation, influenced by the Parisian leaders. During the winter of 1870–1871, the First International comprised four groups: Blanquists, Jacobins, Proudhonists and Internationalists.

he asked Bismarck permission to add more elements to the Versailles Army in exchange for an indemnity of 5 billion. Bismarck accepted and the Versailles troops of the French Army besieged Paris (as shown at *Figure 1*), starting major movements after April 9 that ran until the last week of clashes, by the end of the month. On May 21, on a Sunday afternoon, when most of the people from the city were attending an open-air concert in honour of the family victims of the Commune in the Tuileries gardens (Lissagaray, 1886 [1876]), began an eight-day struggle. Versailles troops, in an operation led by Marshal MacMahon, invaded the city with consecutive attacks. This ended with the defeat of the Commune on May 28 after the massacre of at least 20,000 civilians and the detention of 40,000 workers (Lissagaray, 1886 [1876]), while 7,000 others forced to depart.

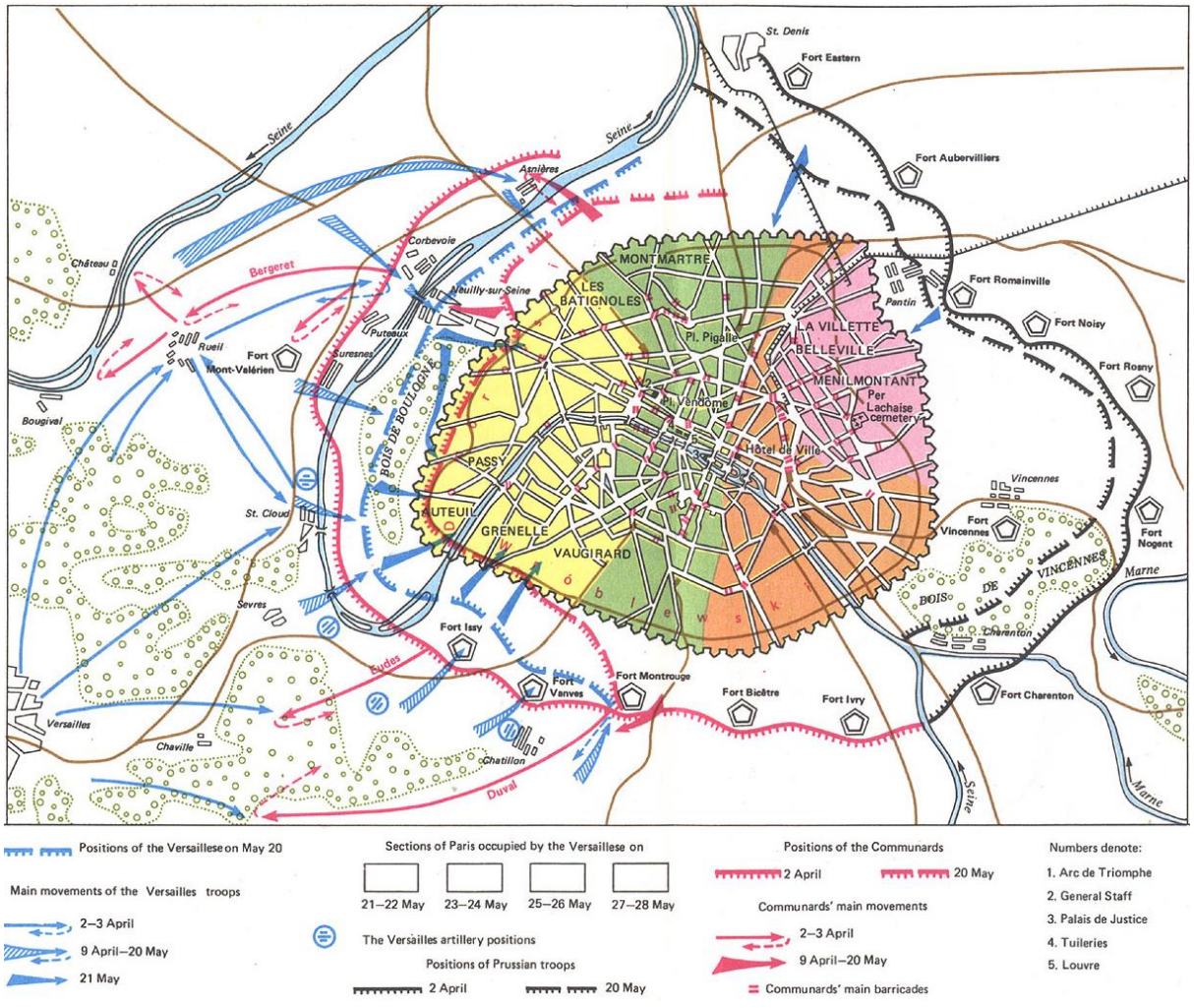

Figure 1 [n.a], [n.d.]. Chronomap of the Paris Commune of 1871 during the German siege. Source: Marxists Internet Archive.

The 1871 Paris Commune, based on the idea of a political revolution, became a crucial contribution to the creation of a social state and a political transition, as mentioned before. The Commune, for a certain time, was to end the bourgeois state machine, or the Empire, even if in the end it toppled, mainly for some clear reasons: lack of economic stability; lack of working-class maturity, the constant separation between the working class and rural class; the separation of Paris from the rest of the country; and by the Commune's inner political heterogeneity[103].

Despite its ephemerality, it was a great legacy for further generations and a historical contribution to contemporary social movements, mainly in the capacity to create and organize a social structure but also to extend it in time and be able to articulate the urban shape of the city, a space in perpetual transformation. The flow and active presence of people in the streets of Paris, with barricades creating its proper domain (*Figure 2*), became a classic method adopted in the repertoire of social movements throughout history.

Marx and Engels recognized in the Commune of 1871 an example of the possibility of the "withering away of the state"[104] (Lefebvre, 2009 [1966] p. 140). This was a concept that Lefebvre (2009 [1966]) later adopted and adapted in his formulation of "autogestion"[105] (workers' self–management), a political grassroots practice that gives existence to social life in the void created by the state. This concept "became a popular rallying cry for the noncommunist and anarchist Left, including Lefebvre himself" (Elden, 2004 p. 14) during May 1968.

[103] As Rihs (1973) explains, a division of opinions emerged inside the Commune meetings: the first distinction was between the Blanquists, led by Blanque, based on the Commune of 1792–1793, who were supporters of a commune as political power, and the Federalists, led by Proudhon, concerned with the future and the creation of a social commune. Closer to the Blanquists emerged a third and dispersed group, the Jacobins, already split ideologically into the Jacobins of action, led by Delescluze, and the "romantic" Jacobins, led by Félix Pyat, although both supported the implementation of a Republic (pp. 63-65).
[104] A concept elaborated in Marx and Engels' studies of the Commune and later by Lenin.
[105] Lefebvre's concept is adopted from Proudhon's thoughts (Souza, 2012 p. 318).

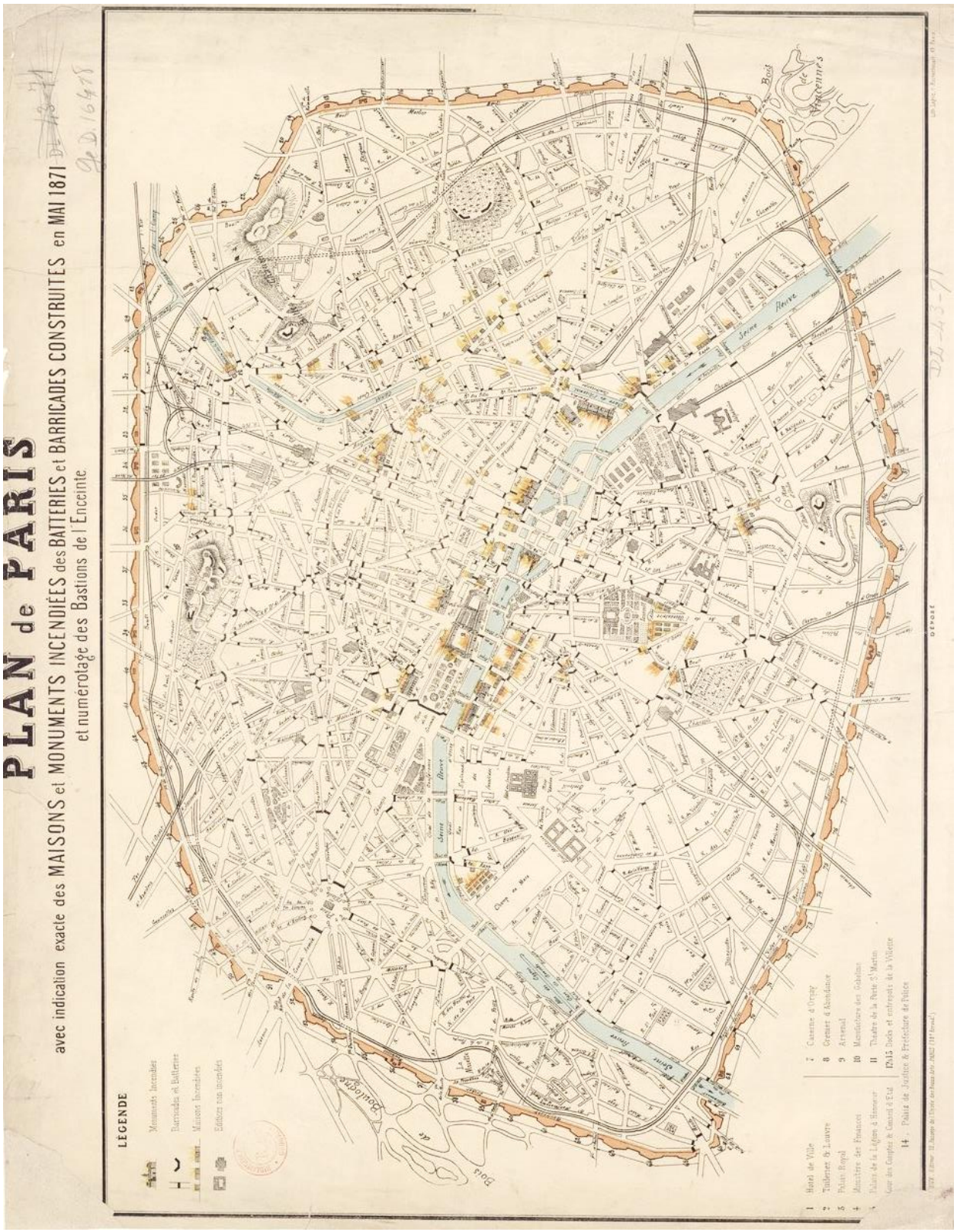

Figure 2 Carcireux, A. (editor), 1871. Map of Paris with accurate indication of monuments burned, batteries and barricades built in May 1871. Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

2.4.2. Paris May 1968

The events that transformed Paris during May 1968 were spurred by the preceding events and global circumstances, by the Situationists and Lefebvre, but also strongly influenced by the study of the 1871 Paris Commune and their most radical actions and tactics. These included the toppling of the Vendôme column, organized by the Paris Commune's Federation of Artists, chaired by Gustave Courbet[106] (Sadler, 1999 p. 99), as mentioned before. As our research focuses on the spatial aspects of the event, we will pay more attention to the contributions of the Situationist International (SI)[107] and Lefebvre[108]. They were the principal boosters of such

[106] Courbet was also an inspiration for the French Situationists (Raunig, 2007 p. 18) for his way of life and his capacity to abandon the artistic field in harms of the political field as: "situationists could no longer see themselves as an art movement of any sort at all: art was no more than the consumer good par excellence." (Home, 1996 p. 12)

[107] The Situationist International movement was created in 1957 (June 28) at a conference in Cosio di Arroscia, Liguria (Italy), and was officially dissolved in 1972. The movement was influenced by several avant-garde art groups (including Lettrist International, the Movement for an Imaginist Bauhaus and London Psychogeographical Association) that met at the conference to discuss and propose alternatives to the current crisis in culture and life, prompted by the end of Stalinism and the ideals of the 1956 Hungarian revolution. The group decided to gather with the common goal of experiment and aesthetic intervention in everyday life and to prepare a disruption with the status quo, destroying the barriers between art and life. The movement worked together from its origins but became best known by the French wing, headed by artists including Guy Debord, Asger John and Raoul Vaneigem, and the interventions during May 1968. The International Situationists, broadly known as an art movement, suffered two internal divisions of the original group in 1962, the first on February 10 with the exclusion of the German Gruppe Spur (Debord, et al., 1962a) due to their disagreement with the deep politicization of the artistic group, and the second with the exclusion of the Scandinavian group, represented by Jørgen Nash, who blamed the group for a lack of theoretical rigour. Succeeding its exclusion, the Scandinavian group declared themselves as the 2nd Situationist International, keener on relations between arts and politics and the "abolition" of art (as Marx intended to "abolish" philosophy), while the Franco-Belgian wing kept concentrating on theoretical political aims and on the construction of a new revolutionary critique of society. The only person (of 71 at its creation) who belonged to the group for the whole time of its existence was Guy Debord (Andreotti & Costa, 1996, p. 16).

[108] In Paris, apart from the Anarchist group Lettrist, Henri Lefebvre may be considered a crucial mentor of the social revolution. Lefebvre, who abandoned the French Communist Party in the postwar years when the revolutionary movements moved outside the organized parties, was inspired by Fidel Castro's revolutionary victory in 1957, outside the Communist Party and workers' movement (Ross, 1997 [1983] p. 71); he translated the social problem of the time as the "poverty of everyday life".

Henri Lefebvre was also an important influence on the Situationists theory due to their five-year friendship (p. 69) and his prior relation with CoBrA (an avant-garde movement named by Christinan Dotremont from the initials of members' home cities: Copenhagen (Co), Brussels (Br) and Amsterdam (A). The group was created by Karel Appel, Constant Nieuwenhuys, Corneille, Christian Dotremont, Asper Jom and Joseph Noiret in 1948 and was active until 1951. Their goal was to renew the action of art with the doctrine of complete freedom of colour and forms). CoBrA built their doctrines and manifesto based on Lefebvre's book *Critique de la vie quotidienne* (2002 [1961]). Lefebvre, together with other academics (Tonka, Lourau, and Baudrillard) and architects (Aubert, Jungmann, Stinco, and Auricoste), formed the collective Utopie at the University Paris X-Nanterre in 1957 to theorize and build a critical engagement with the themes of the city, more focused on specific problems of architecture and urbanism than the Situationist approach, who were more concerned with the creation of disruptions in everyday life (Resonant City, 2011).

After the events of 1968, Lefebvre became the most widely translated writer of the decade for his political proposals. Together with the Situationists he became notable for the transformation of working-class claims into

revolution; they contributed with Situationist's radical theoretical construction in the field of urban studies with such notions as "unitary urbanism"[109], a critique on existing theories supported in the criteria of interaction between architecture and human behaviour, or Lefebvre's predictions of the "advent of a new 'urban age' in which urban space would no longer be determined by the forces of the market" (Andreotti, et al., 1996 p. 13).

In a brief framework of the event, we must contextualize some relevant aspects of the 1960s and particularly the end of the decade. This period became known in history by the presence of bodies in the streets due to (1) the enormous number of protests against the war in Vietnam; (2) the student protests around the world, initiated in Berkeley in the academic year of 1964/65; (3) the feminist activism and the wave of racial protests, intensified after Martin Luther King's murder (on April 4 that year) and (4) the series of revolutions in Communist countries in the Soviet Union, to mention a few.

2.4.2.1. Background

The students' movements in the United States

Out of the Communist countries in the Soviet Union and influential in the event of May in Paris was the emergence of student movements in the 1960s, the largest in the US with anti-racial

demands for a revolution in everyday life; a revolution that "must penetrate to the roots of mystification so change consciousness and everyday life." (Shields, 2005 [1999] p. 118)
Still focusing on his influence on critical thinking, the "theory of moments", adopted by the Situationists, can be considered as a primer to Deleuze and Guattari's (1983) constructions on the relations between human beings and society: "[t]here is no such thing as either man or nature now, only a process that produces the one within the other and couples the machine together." (p. 2). Even if Deleuze and Guattari explain the origins of the concept, we can believe in Lefebvre's influence by the contemporaneity to Guattari's "theory of machines" that came out after the revolutionary period of 1968, in *Machine and Structure* (1969), referring to the tendency of structure to close while the machine tends to openness, exchange and communicate.

[109] "Unitary urbanism", an outcome of Debord and Constant's meeting of 1956 in Alba, was first explored by Gilles Ivain (also known as Ivan Chtcheglov) in the early 1950s in his text *Formulary for a New Urbanism* (1953) (published in the inaugural number of the group's magazine *Internationale Situationniste #1*), as a critique to Haussmann and Corbusier's theory and practice. Following Lefebvre, the group criticized modern urbanism as a "technique of separation", built upon the arbitrary reduction and extrapolation of one aspect of the city. The concept became a critique of a capitalist society and the fragmentation of the city. The concept transposed the modernist unit of the house to a complex and unified milieu that includes experiments and behaviors, as in the "situations".
Constant Nieuwenhuys, the utopian architect and one of the theoretical drivers behind the Situationists, designed a utopian anti-capitalist city, "New Babylon", in an endless series of models, collages, architectural drawings, photocollages, manifestos, essays, lectures, and films. He worked on the project for nearly twenty years, based on the idea of a city of collective ownership and total automation that was also first known as Dériville. Together with it he produces the text *For an Architecture of Situation* (1953) to introduce the concept of *dérive* (drift), exposing the idea of an architecture that would instigate a transformation of daily life.

movements[110] and the rise of the New Left[111]. In the wake of the Second World War, older generations, particularly people who had survived the Depression, considered the 1950s, a period of industrial boom, as peaceful and secure, whereas the younger generation considered it unjust and authoritarian. Moreover, the youth, keen on the liberation of African Americans from social inequality and persecution, started with sit-ins in the universities, to raise their voices on the theme. Apart from political discussion and the huge number of sit-ins in several US cities (Andrews & Biggs, 2006), the turning point happened in the fall semester of 1964/65 at the University of Berkeley, California. An insurgency was launched against the university administration, which had decided to forbid the recruitment of volunteers for the civil rights movement inside the university. Students reacted and, by the hand of the informal leader Mario Savio (together with other students), created the Free Speech Movement (FSM)[112]. All started in an event at the university on October 1, when former student Jack Weinberg, seated on the CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) table, refused to identify himself to police. Weinberg was arrested, generating a wave of protests around the country and in Europe. This led to a spontaneous movement of students that surrounded a police car for 32 hours at Sproul Plaza, using the car as a podium for public discussion. From that day on and after, the president of the University of California, Clark Kerr, announced that the university would not interfere with student life on the campus but that students' political activity should be lived and discussed out of it: "[i]t is not right to use the University as a basis from which people organize and undertake direct action in the surrounding community" (The regents of the University of California, 2005). Thousands of students gathered at Sproul Hall, demanding the right of political discussion on the campus. Mario Savio, from the first moment, had proven to be the most charismatic speaker; he was one of the students chosen to argue for Weinberg's release and further themes under negotiation. After the occupation of the Administration building some clashes occurred with the police. In reaction, Governor Pat Brown ordered President Kerr to find a peaceful solution

[110] With the creation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), in February 1960.

[111] The movement was created by a group of students who met in 1962 to debate politics and came to the formation of a political wing demanding for a participatory democracy. The notion and principles became the cry for the students' movement of the 1960s (Digital History, 2014).

[112] The Free Speech Movements (FSM) has its origin in the campus party "Slate", created at Berkeley on February 5, 1958. This organization became a model for several others created in other universities around the country. With the traditional student political activism at the University, in that year was created a left-wing party working on "both on-and off-campus issues such as 'fair bear' minimum wages for students and affordable housing for students. SLATE led protests against compulsory ROTC, demonstrations against the death penalty, protests against the California House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and protests against racial discrimination" (SLATE Archives Committee, 2003-2005).

to the situation. However rallies, demonstrations, non-consensual meetings with the administration, conflicts among students and the police kept running for several days until, on October 2, in a tense atmosphere, a six-point agreement was signed by President Kerr and the protesters. The signed agreement did not calm the situation; even though Chancellor Edward Strong and President Kerr tried to convince the students with daily discourses to discourage political activity at the university, students kept up their activity, organizing a celebration, a campaign to collect money to pay for the damaged police car, and keeping up regular committee meetings. Negotiations ran throughout October and November. Political activity attenuated until the end of November when anger was revived: four students – Mario Savio, Art Goldberg, Jackie Goldberg and Brian Turner – received a letter from the campus administration accusing them of violating the university's regulations by organizing the demonstrations in October (SLATE Archives Committee, 2003-2005). In reaction, Savio prepared an ultimatum to the chancellor, while FSM called for a rally the day after (December 2), asking students to bring sleeping bags. December 2 became the epic day of the event, with about 1,000 students occupying Sproul Hall. Mario Savio (1964) made a key speech:

> [t]here's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious – makes you so sick at heart – that you can't take part. You can't even passively take part. And you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all.

After the speech, police intervened, arresting around 800 students. From that day on, even if the students' demonstrations and strikes continued, the ideological discourse completely changed. Even supposing that FSM had symbolically won, as recognized by President Kerr during his speech of December 6 "to inaugurate a new era of freedom under law" (SLATE Archives Committee, 2003-2005), from that day on the ideology of the group was instrumentalized by political parties.

The revolutions in Communist countries

Considering the revolutions in Communist countries that preceded May 1968, it is crucial to revisit the revolutionary developments in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after Stalin's death on March 5, 1953, and the consequent loss of fear, namely the brief event of workers' riots in the Skoda factory in Pilsen, Czechoslovakia. The riot, on May 30, 1953, was

immediately controlled by security, but it was the first of several clashes, including ones in East Berlin in 1953, the "Poznań protest" in Poland, and later the Hungarian revolution.

On June 16 and 17, 1953, ignited by a construction workers' strike in East Berlin, a national demonstration took place against the German Democratic Republic (DDR)'s Bolshevik government. Prompted by an increase of working norms – namely the intensification of production and decrease of wages – a demonstration started when about 100 construction workers climbed down scaffolding in Stalin Allee to join workmates. The act was a symbolic gesture that ignited a wave of proletariat struggles all around East Germany. This first strike was followed by steel workers[113] closing factories to attend a mass rally outside government offices. In the following ten days, East Berlin was transformed into a state of exception with fighting and mass arrests; this struggle provoked a wave of strikes and demonstrations in 272 towns and districts of the DDR, demanding better working conditions and democratic elections.

Following what can be considered the first uprising in industrialized countries (mass demonstrations of the working class in the streets), almost three years later, Polish workers took to the streets of Poznań, demanding better working conditions or a program for a true workers' democracy. On June 28, 1956, workers left their factories[114] and marched silently towards the square in front of the house of government. The march occurred with no incidents, but at the end of the day authorities reacted by using over 10,000 troops to control the revolt and the workers. The confrontations ran for three days (until June 30), one day after Prime Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz's intimidating radio speech: "he who raises their hand against people's state, shall have that hand cut off" (Łuczak, [n.d.]).

Four months after, on October 23, the Hungarian revolution began with a student demonstration in support of the earlier Polish revolution. Even if it was brief in duration, confirming Arendt's thought (1990 [1963]), it "lasted just long enough to show in bare outlines what a government would look like and how a republic was likely to function if they were founded upon the principles of the council system." (p. 266) The revolution that started as a student protest was

[113] Henningsdorf, in Bergmann-Borsig factory; foundries of Calbe and Furstenberg, in Zeiss works; BMW motor works at Gera; Max foundries at Unterwellenborn, in the munitions factories of Schonebeck, and Olympia works at Erfurt (Brendel, 1978).
[114] ZISPO, Rolling Stock Repair Works, Municipal Transport Company, Paris Commune Poznań Textile Works, Marcin Kasprzak Printing House, Poznań Harvesting Equipment Factory, "Wiepofama" Wielkopolska Mechanical Devices Factory, and so on. (Łuczak, [n.d.]).

rapidly transformed into a workers' class revolution, "concerned with the reorganization of the political and economic life of the country and the establishment of a new order." (p. 271) Also of note is the long period of "alienation" preceding the event under the Soviet regime, and the emergence of new political possibilities and open ideologies. There were clear divergences between Mátyás Rákosi – Communist Party leader, and aligned with Stalinist doctrines – and former Prime Minister Imre Nagy[115], a supporter of anti-Soviet measures. Influenced by the discussion between Rákosi and Nagy, political awareness increased among the population, who decided to demand democratic measures as well as the overthrow of Erno Gerö[116] and giving Gerö's position to Imre Nagy.

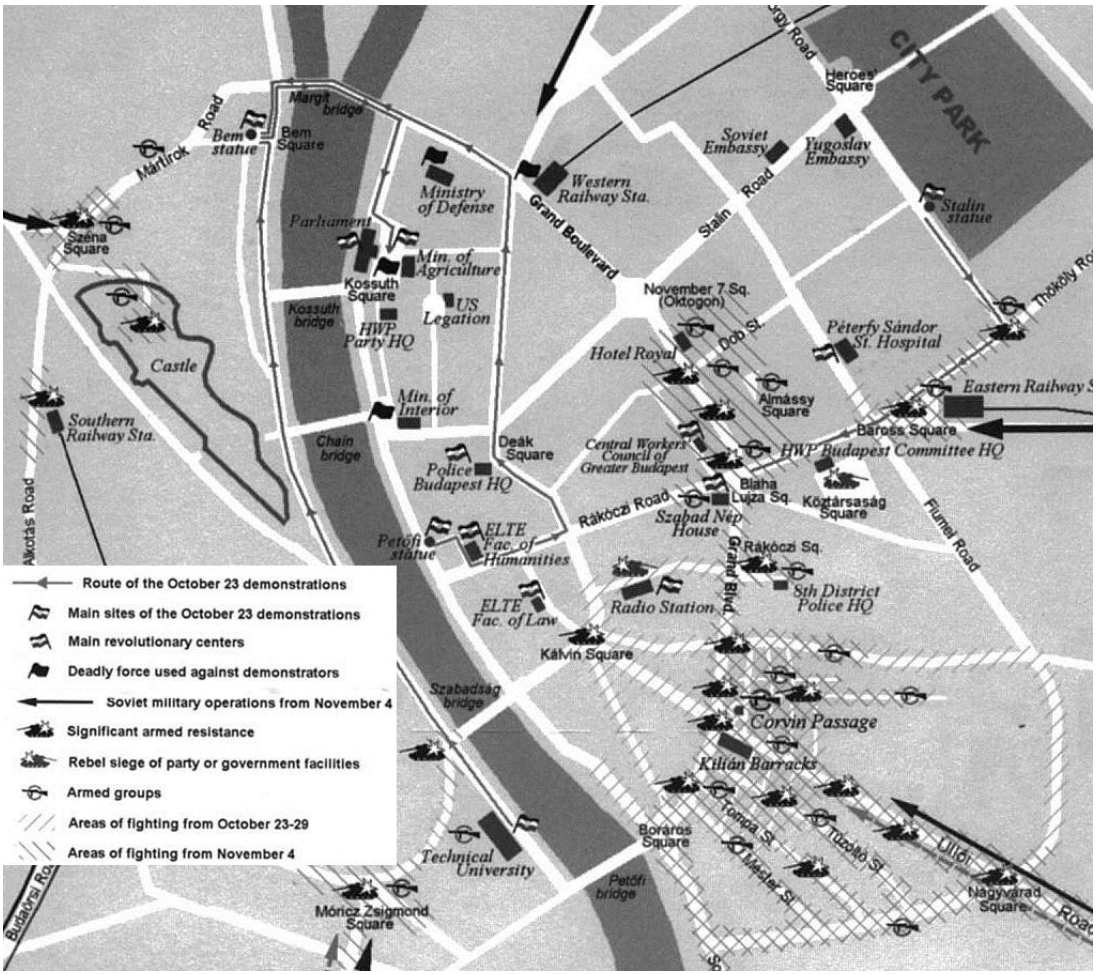

Figure 3 Map of Hungarian revolution of 1956. Source: Bekes, et al., 2000 pp. 1, 2.

[115] Imre Nagy was Premier from July 4, 1953 until April 18, 1955.
[116] General Secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party from July 18, 1956 until October 25, 1956.



Figure 4 [n.a], [1956]. Hungarian protesters around the toppled statue of Stalin on October 23, 1956, in Budapest. American Hungarian Federation photograph. Public domain.

On October 23, one day after the creation of the students' manifesto (Bekes, et al., 2000 pp. 188, 189), university students departing from different areas of the city started a long silent march, one column heading towards Sandor Petöfi's[117] statue on the Pest embankment of the Danube, and the second column heading to Polish General Bern's[118] statue (*Figure 3*). From those symbolic statues the two marches walked towards the final destination at Kossuth Square, on the Buda side of the river. Imre Nagy, to calm down the crowds and convinced that he would encourage the students to abandon the streets, promised the implementation of the claimed reforms. However, instead of the expected reaction, some of the students decided to invade and occupy the state radio station to broadcast[119] the event and inform the country about the violence that had erupted in the capital. The information spread quickly and the demonstration gathered support: starting with about 4,000 students, it ended with more than 200,000 people. That evening, people invaded streets and squares and went to the city park to overthrow Stalin's statue. From the park, the huge stone statue was carried through the streets to the public space in front of the Budapest National Theatre, where it was chopped into pieces (*Figure 4*). Facing

[117] Sandor Petöfi was a Romantic poet and a national hero of the 1848 Revolution.
[118] Hero of the Hungarian revolution of 1848–1849.
[119] The marches were broadcast by the students on Radio Free Europe as well as clashes with the police in front of the parliament. The Hungarian revolution became the first that was broadcast.

this turmoil, the government trembled and tried to change positions, with Communist leader Erno Gerö appointing Nagy as prime minister and calling for the support of Soviet troops.

On October 24, the country woke with a general strike that broke the machinery of totalitarian rule. However, it took just one day for the Soviet tanks called by the party leader to arrive in the city and attack the people gathered in the square in front of the Parliament (Kossuth Square). Meanwhile, Gerö was replaced by Imre Nagy, who, with the people's support, and apparently the support of the Communist Party, initiated a process of liberalization in the country. On October 30, the new image of the country was reinforced by the creation of a multiparty system of government. For one week, a number of revolutionary councils emerged in all residential districts across the country as if they were part of the new political institution. They "grew out of fighting together in the streets, councils of writers and artists, born in the coffee houses of Budapest, students' and Youths' councils at the universities, workers' councils in the factories, councils in the army, among the civil servants, and so on." (Arendt, 1990 [1963] pp. 266, 267)

The people disarmed the state police a few days after, on the 28th, and in an atmosphere of freedom and celebration, with the streets full of people, Soviet troops started to abandon the country. The population enthusiastically celebrated the conquests of the revolution, and power was being transferred to the working class. By the evening of the 30th, in reaction to the presence of Soviet troops, a group of people started to dig holes in search of the bodies of political prisoners who had allegedly been tortured and buried in Republic Square, in the party's headquarters, but no bodies were found. Nagy tried to keep the peace and sympathies among the population as well as in Moscow, asking the population to let the Soviet troops stay in the country instead of fighting with them. Nagy's desire for stability in the country seemed to have been established, but on November 4 an about-turn happened with a massive invasion of Soviet troops. János Kádár[120], out of the country since November 1 on a secret trip to get support in Moscow, returned with the planned invasion. The poorly armed Hungarian freedom fighters[121], unable to fight the powerful and numerous Soviet troops, were beaten down in six days, with

[120] János Kádar was, at the time, Minister of State of Imre Nagy's government.

[121] Despite the attempt to return to normality two days before, "[w]orkers at several locations returned to their jobs on Saturday, November 3, and a succession of Workers' Councils voted to go back to work in full force the next Monday" (Bekes, et al., 2000 p. 215), the councils and National Guard was still maintaining protections against the possibility of the advance of Soviet troops: "the revolutionary councils, in cooperation with the National Guard units and the army, began to organize and install defences against a Soviet assault. Partial mobilization was ordered in several places. Soviet troops were kept under observation, as were main access roads. Medical stations were set up." (p. 215)

final clashes on November 11 in the districts of Csepel and Dunaújváros. The bloody week ended with about 2,600 Hungarian and 722 Soviet troops killed, 13,000 imprisoned, and about 200,000 forced to leave the country (Fahey, 2007). The regime headed by Kádár was re-established shortly after, on December 4, with the formation of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government (Bekes, et al., 2000 p. 216).

Two years later than the Hungarian protests but still on the list of events in Communist countries that influenced May 1968 in Paris, we should make reference to the short period of liberalization and intention of democratization, also known as the "Prague Spring", that was experienced in Czechoslovakia. This attempt to wrest autonomy from the Soviet Union was headed by Alexander Dubček, elected First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ) on January 5, 1968, and ran until the Soviet invasions on August 20 of the same year (Broekhof, 2007 p. 49). With similar intentions to the Hungarian revolution, the developments were different, in part by the experience and shock that the Hungarian revolution had produced in Moscow. An intellectual elite – "[t]he intelligentsia that was starting to challenge the existing order was, by and large, a new one, consisting largely of people of working–class origin who had moved up in the world thanks to class war, education, and the patronage of party god-fathers" (Williams, 1997 p. 5) – started working on reforms and challenged President Antonin Novotny[122] to follow their ideas for the country's transition or de-Stalinization. Novotny made some efforts to reform and liberalize the country, but all of them failed, causing growing public dissatisfaction and increasing the number of students' demonstrations. Confronted with the wave of demonstrations, and with no support from the army or the Communist Party[123], Novotny was forced to resign in January 1968. He was replaced by Dubček, who immediately started political reforms (on January 5). On the streets, people celebrated this new time of freedom, also known as the "Prague Spring", with enthusiasm for the changes.

Simultaneous with the reforms' implementation, Dubček worked hard to convince the Soviet leadership that his politics of "Communism with a human face" (Encyclopedia of Marxism, [n.d.])" could be consistent within the Soviet Union's ideology. However, Soviet leaders became alarmed, dreading the fragmentation of the bloc. Apart from Dubček's works, Novotny kept his Soviet Communist campaign in the country, visiting factories, attacking the new

[122] President of Czechoslovakia from November 19, 1957 until March 22, 1968.
[123] In the Meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, held on January 3–5, Alexander Dubček was elected First Secretary of the Communist Party and Antonin Novotny was forced to resign.

leadership, recognizing errors from the past, but defending the political course of the previous two decades in the Communist state.

The time of hope experienced under Dubček's reforms towards the democratization of the country did not last long: during the night of August 20, Soviet troops[124] invaded the country. Confronted with the numerical discrepancy of the military forces and the impossibility of fighting, Dubček asked the people not to resist, and only a few clashes occurred. Once the dominance of the Soviet Union was restored, Dubček was arrested in Moscow. His position was formally removed in April 1969; he was replaced by Gustáv Husák[125], and in 1970 he was expelled from the Party.

The prosperous period was very brief, but it was the spark for further events – and an influence on May 1968. It prompted the first demonstration of Moscow's history, when, on August 25, 1968, Russians gathered in Red Square in support of the independence of the Czechs or even the collapse of Soviet hegemony in 1989.

2.4.2.2. The event

Contemporary to the flowering in Prague, the political confrontations against Charles De Gaulle emerged in Paris, triggered by a series of student demonstrations demanding change; or, in a comparison with the principles of the first phase of the Situationist International, by a desire to change life and to transform society from the determining industrial needs by the total liberation[126] of human desires (Bandini, 1998 [1977] pp. 9, 10). 1968 was a year of struggle;[127] the anti-authoritarian spirit of the year was a wellspring of the successful rebellion against Soviet-bloc Communism in 1989 (Steinfels, 2008).

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[124] "165,000 soldiers and 4,600 tanks […] [w]ithin a week, after further contingents arrived, approximately half a million foreign soldiers and more than 6,000 tanks were roaming the Czechoslovak territory." (Williams, 1997 p. 112)

[125] Gustáv Husák was loyal to Moscow and was president of Czechoslovakia from April 17, 1969 until December 17, 1987.

[126] Although Situationist theories are based on late Marxism (mainly from the last works of Marx and Engels such as the *Grundrisse* and *The Civil War in France*) in an economic critique to the commodity or production of wage labour, they have foundations in the young Marx's critique of alienation, emphasizing the anti-authoritarian aspects of Marxism. Upon this they built a theory for a revolutionary organization and possible "liberation" or the dissolutions of all barriers between public and private and the collective and the individual, a critique of consumer capitalism based on a critique of "all aspects of alienated social life" (Debord, 2002 [1967] p. 34) as they describe the consumer capitalism or the "society of spectacle". The current known as Libertarian Marxism is a group of several movements such as Council Communism, Left-communism, Socialisme ou Barbarie, Lattrism/ Situationism and Italian Workerism.

[127] See Rolf Werenskjold, 2010 for the long list of protests in the years of 1968.

The event, nowadays know as May '68, or the "festival"[128] in the words of Lefebvre when comparing it to the Paris Commune (1871), had its trigger on March 22[129]. A small group of radical (Communist, Anarchist and Maoist) students, known as "les enragés"[130] at the University of Nanterre created the March 22 movement, to invade and occupy the university's administration building. Apparently with no hierarchies, the group was informally represented by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a student of Sociology and writer of the Anarchist magazine *Noir et Rouge*, who initially became popular with the chant "[g]eneral strike, general strike" (Ross, 1997 [1983] p. 82). If the protests and occupation, until May 6 and 7, initially focused on the circumstances and context of the university – namely against the creation of a blacklist of the most dissident students – when the students transferred the field of struggle to the streets of Paris, it immediately expanded to other social classes and adopted more generic claims.

On May 6 and 7, the power lay in the streets, led by massive student demonstrations, occupying public space and creating barricades along main alleys. "The first barricades were thrown up at the Place Maubert and defended for three hours. At the same time fights with the police were breaking out at the bottom of the Boulevard Saint-Michel, at the Place du Châtelet, and in Les Halles" (Viénet, 1992 [1968]). People were claiming these spaces as part of their list of demands:

> the building of the barricades and the establishment and holding of a free zone during the uprisings of May'68, a collective, spontaneous, ludic refashioning of space for desires at least momentarily liberated from the economy of spectacle – if not the paradigmatic instance of the constructed *situation* as defined in the very first issue of the IS journal: "a moment of life concretely

[128] In the words of Lefebvre, the Commune was not a situation of armed heroes combating but of people enjoying good weather at the beginning of spring (March 28). He said: "it was sunny: the women kiss the soldiers, they're relaxed, and the soldiers are absorbed into all of that, a Parisian popular festival." (Ross, 1997 [1983] p. 78)

[129] Prior to the events of March 22 we must highlight some others: on January 8, when students booed the Minister for Youth and Sports at the inauguration of a swimming pool in Nanterre; the strikes in Caen and the violent clashes at the demonstration of January 26; the anti-Vietnam war demonstration on February 7, followed by a pro-Vietnam war demonstration on February 13; incidents at several universities around France with students claiming freedom of speech on February 14; the rules limiting the liberalization of access to universities on February 22; and the attempt to create educational reforms at the convention at Amiens on March 19 (Le Monde, 1968).

[130] As Lefebvre (Ross, 1997 [1983]) explains in an interview with Ross, the 68 movement was born with a small, energetic group of students at Nanterre, none of them part of the Situationists, who took form by the events and not by the creation of a program or the formalization of a group. In one of Lefebvre's classes at the university, students asked Lefebvre's permission to delegate names to go to the administration to protest against a blacklist of disruptive students that the administration was trying to create. Everyone participated in the election, including the Situationists, but the group March 22 was created after the first meeting of negotiations, and later decided to occupy the administration office (pp. 81, 82).

> and deliberately constructed by the collective organization of a unitary ambiance and a game of events". (Levin, 1996 p. 136 [Emphasis added])

Situationists considered the events a dream come true:

> [t]he mere construction. [A]t various chosen locations, of three or four adequate architectural complexes, combined with the closing off of two or three streets by other edifices, would without doubt suffice to make this neighborhood an irrefutable example of a new urbanism (p. 136).

This is a curious extrapolation of the recently found (2006) text *Positions du Continent Contrescarpe*, written by Gilles Ivain (1956) prior to the events. In the text, the Lettrists[131] described the possibility of creating new situations based on closing off streets and the construction of "architectural complexes" – exactly as happened in the Latin Quarter, where barricades were erected.

Some of the Situationists were invited to integrate the student committees[132]; Lefebvre's ideas and theories were used to give an identity to their actions, as in the famous slogan: "[b]eneath the cobblestones, the beach!"[133]. The motto clearly resumes Lefebvre's ideal, as Rob Shields explains (2005 [1999]): "just beneath the surface of the alienating, rationalised city lay a ludic, festive community." (p. 107)

Students moved to the streets and the atmosphere became tenser when the Minister of Education forbade the reopening of faculties on May 9. On the night of May 10, the Latin Quarter was transformed (*Figure 5*) and the struggle became spatial, with the circulation of cars being replaced by the construction of a proper space of dialogue and encounter. If the events of that night can be interpreted in its inner poetry, as Situationists represented on maps and expressed in words (Viénet, 1992 [1968]), the reality in the streets was tense, with clashes with the police from 2a.m. till sundown.

During the day, 60 barricades were erected in the quarter. 60 cars were burned and 188 others damaged, and by the end of the day there were more than 300 people injured and almost 500

[131] Lettrism is a "term used since the 1950s to describe works of art which use words, letters and signs for purely visual effect, without reference to their meaning." (Lucie-Smith, 1984)
[132] Even if none of the Situationists was a student, one of the greatest agitators and organizers of Sorbonne occupation was Guy Debord.
[133] Translated by the author from the original "Sous les pavés, la plage!" The translation is controversial as some prefer to translate the general meaning of the sentence instead of what's really written, as in the case of the Oxford Dictionary ([n.d.]), which suggests the translation: "beneath the harsh reality lies a brighter tomorrow".

arrested. Confrontations ended with the police being seized by the students and forced to leave the Latin Quarter. Students celebrated their partial victory with an assembly in the streets. As Lefebvre (1969) describes the moment: "Paris changed and was restored – the vistas, the streets, the Boulevard Saint-Michel – which, rid of automobiles, again became a promenade and forum" (p. 118). With the protests being broadcast live on radio and TV, on the day after, the students received support from different classes in society, with occupations and demonstrations being organized throughout France. The Minister of Education initiated negotiations with the students, but a general strike and demonstrations were organized for the 13th, with Communist Party and major union federations[134] avoiding involvement in the struggle.

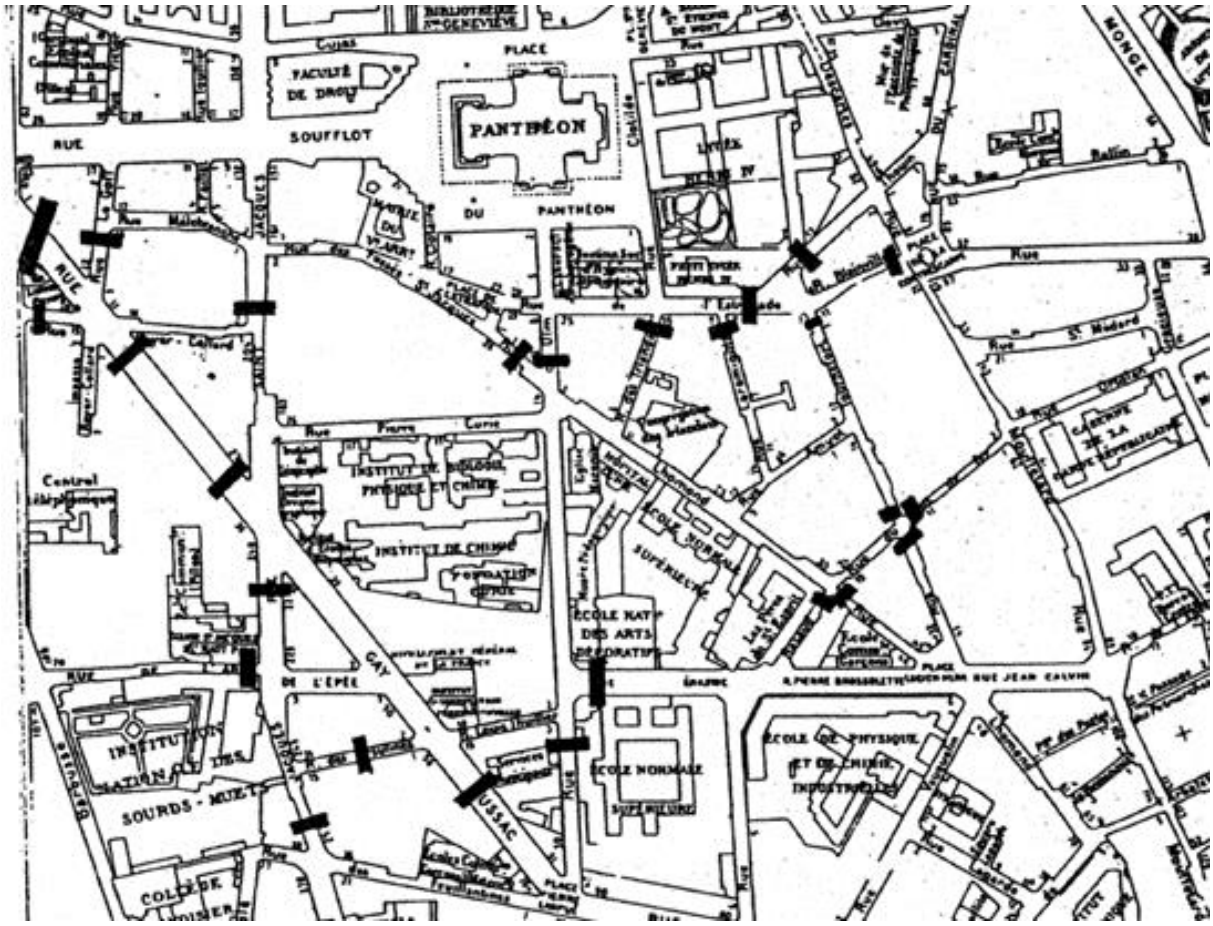

Figure 5 René Viénet, 1968. Map of Paris, May 10, 1968. As the author describes, the map of the fifth arrondissement of Paris on May 10 represents the "defence perimeter" and principal barricades, showing some streets south of Place du Panthéon and Rue Gay-Lussac blocked.

[134] General Confederation of Labour (CGT) (*Confédération Générale du Travail*) and the Labour Force (CGT-FO) (*Force Ouvrière*).

On May 13, the impact of the conflicts between students and police was strengthened by the one-day general strike and the massive adhesion of around one million people in the streets of Paris. On the same day, 400 students, together with some of the Situationists, invaded the reopened Sorbonne to paint the iconic slogan: "[h]umanity will only be happy the day the last bureaucrat is hung by the guts of the last capitalist." (Debord quoted in Marrifield, 2002 p. 107)

The struggle continued and on May 14, workers started the occupation of factories: in Nantes, the Sud-Aviation plant was closed, occupied and the bosses locked out; Renault workers followed suit at Cléon in Seine-Maritime; and Nouvelles Messageries of Presse Parisienne halted newspaper distribution. By the night of May 15, protesters had occupied the National Theatre of France Ódeon (*Figure 6*), transforming it into a forum for debate kept in permanent assembly. Strikes and occupations became contagious, with the working class declaring support for the students. By May 20, the number of workers on strike escalated to ten million (two-thirds of the French workforce), all concentrated in the public space participating in assemblies. The strikes were neither led nor approved by union movements and the Communist Party, who tried, unsuccessfully, to stop the revolt. As Lefebvre (1969) mentions, the protest developed from the recognition of the existence of a void, a lack of institutional representation and a gap "between the realm of limited economic trade-union demands and the realm of politics" (p. 69). To focus on this gap, we may quote the author in his interpretation of Marx's dichotomy: "[t]he political tends to absorb the social, the economic to destroy it. More precisely, the social (otherwise known as civil society) is put between the economic (the base) and the political (the superstructures)" (Lefebvre, 1976 quoted in Elden, 2004 p. 44)[135], a dichotomy he aims to make more subtle. Recognized by a generation that was not satisfied with the material fill of their lives and searching for a revolution able to link economic and political issues – a revolution of the everyday life[136] – the protests happened with a certain spontaneity (without which the

[135] We cite the excerpt from Elden because we could not find the original text. As Brenner and Elden (Lefebvre, 2009) explain in the introduction to the compilation of Lefebvre's texts, this book was never translated into English and the French edition is both out of print and neglected.

[136] Debord and Lefebvre make similar criticisms about the neoliberal city (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]), the city with the purpose to keep the engine of capitalist growth working. Lefebvre makes criticisms of the industrial city, while Debord explores the concept of "the society of spectacle". Debord's critique is explored in his book of the same title, published in 1967, but his arguments against capitalism were previously exposed in the 1961 film *Critique of Separation*, in which the author considers that a total revolution is the only possibility to release people from the condition of object imposed by capitalism. To Debord, the Spectacle is the triumph of the media transformed in commodity. He uses the term to describe French culture as a spectacle, a circus: "a one-way transmission of experience; a form of 'communication' to which one side, the audience, can never reply; a culture based on the reduction of almost everyone to a state of abject non-creativity: of receptivity, passivity and isolation" (Home, 1996 p. 12), a society in alienation.

movement would never have appeared), even if aware that it could not be converted into an alternative form of power. Situationists used the concept of the construction of a "situation" and Lefebvre built the "theory of moments", both tactics focused on those disruptive experiences of everyday life. Situation is described by Debord as the possibility for the people to be mediated not as commodity but as humans; they "are the polemical stage of play. They provide the necessary continuity between poetry in *statu nascendi* (play) and the organisation of spontaneity (poetry)" (Vaneigem, 2001 [1967] p. 260 [Emphasis in the original]). He argues that those moments are not just ruptures in everyday routine but also a different experience of temporality. Before Debord's formulation, Henri Lefebvre presented the "theory of moments"[137], in which the author recognizes the opportunity to achieve total realization. In Lefebvre, the moment is "the modality of presence", a manner of conceptualizing "presence" that can be totalized only through all the possible viewpoints and never by a single vision. The moment implies a place, the everyday life, but also liberty and passion, as shown by the formula of the undifferentiated quotidian space being interrupted by the primordial form of time, the "moment": *Everyday Life=Banality÷Moments of Presence* (Shields, 2005 [1999] p. 60). The author considers the abolition of time linearity by the introduction of a combination of concrete and abstract experiences, desires and perceptions[138]. As Andy Merrifield (2006) exposes, Debord paid special attention to Lefebvre's "theory of moments"; "he told his friend André Frankin, in a letter dated February 14, 1960, 'I am reading *La Somme et le Reste*. It is very interesting, and close to us – here I mean: the theory of moments.'" (p. 34 [Emphasis in the original]) Henri Lefebvre (1997 [1983]) also confirms in an interview the deep relation between his "theory of moments" and the Situationist "situation", even if he recognizes that the idea of

[137] Both in his 1959 essay *La Somme de la Reste* ([n.a.], 1960) and in the final chapter of *Critique of Everyday Life – Volume 2* (Merrifield, 2006).

[138] Lefebvre, as a student of Marx's theories, identifies two different periods in his work: historical materialism, when Marx rejects Hegel; and "German Ideology", written with Engels (Shields, 2005 [1999] p. 110). Lefebvre adopts this phase for the construction of his own theory; he believes theory and practice may not be privileged one over the other. Dialectical movement is continuous from one to the other and can never be considered "pure", as Marx poses it during the materialism phase, and mainly because of the simultaneously concrete and abstract character of alienation. To Lefebvre (1968 [1940]), Marx is always dialectical, namely a dialectical materialist, as exposed in his formulation built on Marx's comments in "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts" (Shields, 2005 [1999] p. 111). The conception of the "total man", the unalienated man, is always the subject and object of becoming, but it is over Hegel's logics of dialectics that Lefebvre formulates his theories. Dialectics and alienation became two concepts that Lefebvre consider central notions of philosophy and also became central to his work. Based on dialectical materialism, Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) later considers the site of resistance contained in the discourse of power and introduces the distinction between concrete and abstract space, first as symbolic and sensorial space and second as measurable and geometric space.

a new moment or a new situation is already in Constant's text *For an Architecture of Situation* (1953), as transcribed in Ross (1997 [1983]):

> [t]hey more or less said to me during discussions – discussions that lasted whole nights – "What you call 'moments', we call 'situations', but we're taking it farther than you. You accept as 'moments' everything that has occurred in the course of history: love, poetry, thought. We want to create new moments." (p. 72)

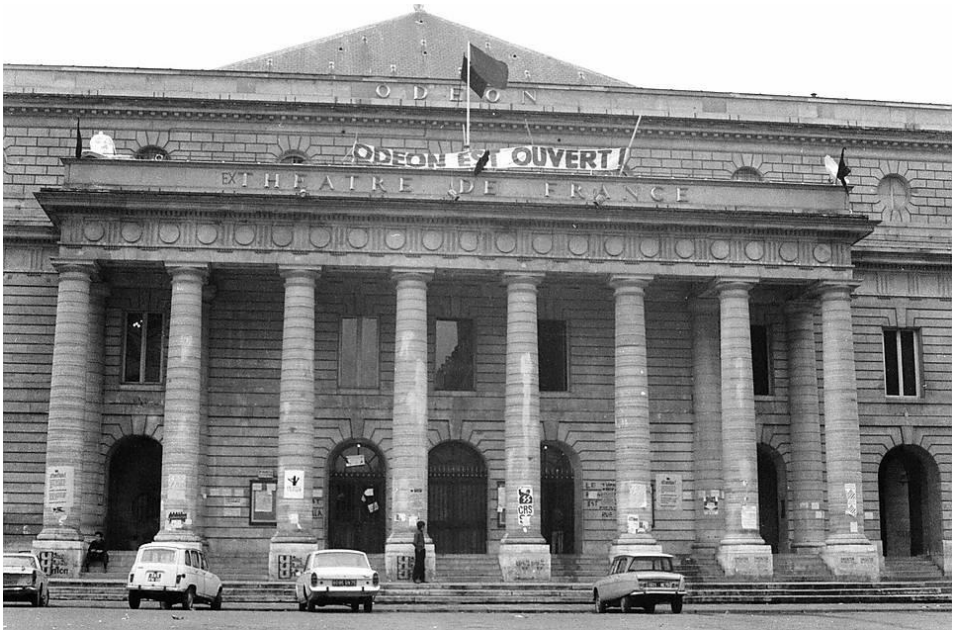

Figure 6 Michel Baron, 1968. Odéon occupied (*L'Odéon occupé*).
Source: michelbaron.com.

In the *Internationale Situationniste #4* (1960 pp. 10,11), an edition published anonymously, a text establishes the relations between Lefebvre's conception of "moment" and the Situationist definition of "situation": "[m]oments constructed into 'situations' might be thought of as moments of rupture, of acceleration, *revolutions in individual everyday life*." ([n.a.], 1960 p. n.p. [Emphasis in the original])

In the revolutionaries' agenda, the demands became harder with the days of struggle. Initial demands for better conditions in the universities and higher wages for the working class (the Ministry of Social Affairs agreed to increase the minimum wage by 25% and other wages by around 7%) were replaced by demands to oust the government and President de Gaulle. Tilly (2004 p. 70), like Lefebvre (1969), recognizes the emergence of a new reality in the realm of social movements and the transition to a struggle between capitalism and Socialism in the events of this year.

With the economic and political situation becoming tenser and more difficult to control (on May 24 the Paris Stock Exchange was set on fire), the state started to prepare attacks to control the people in the streets by force (20,000 troops were organized to crush the revolt in the capital that same day). In the following days, the Ministry of Social Affairs tried to find a solution to end the strikes. However, the offers, even if the best ever, were rejected and the strikes continued. A long march in Paris on May 30, attended by 400,000–500,000 protesters, nearly confirmed the government's collapse. The collapse could have occurred on the same day but for a different approach from De Gaulle (1968). In a national speech (broadcast first on the radio as the national TV was on strike and only transmitted the day after), he announced the dissolution of the National Assembly, as well as the threat of Communist dictatorship and of escalating violence in the streets. The president ended by calling for a referendum. He was able to produce a turning point in the events, with De Gaulle's supporters announcing a demonstration for June 1. The counter-demonstration was attended by around 30,000 students. Gradually the workers returned to work; the Sorbonne was controlled by the police until the elections; and the crisis resolved by the end of June with De Gaulle's triumph at the polls. Routines were restored by the beginning of the month.

2.4.3. Tiananmen Square protests

From 1968 to 1989, following our list of control cases, the paradigm of social movements changed. In the words of Solnit (2006): "[n]ineteen-eighty-nine was the year of the squares – of Tiananmen Square, of the Alexanderplatz, of Karl-Marx-Platz, of Wenceslas Square – and of the people who rediscovered the power of the public in such places." (p. 173) Despite the relation that exists between the protests against Soviet-bloc Communism in 1989 and the spirit of 1968 (Steinfels, 2008), we will focus on the event that happened in Tiananmen, the largest pro-democracy demonstration in China's history. Hardt and Negri (2000) recognize this event as an echo of the movements of the 1960s (p. 56) and outdated by the paradox of incommunicability, as Ali Karimi and Safoora Mashaiekhi (2011) expose. The events in Tiananmen were also influenced by three historical anniversaries happening in that year: "200th anniversary of French revolution, 70th anniversary of the May 4 movement and the 40th anniversary of [the] foundation of [the] People's Republic." (p. 42)

2.4.3.1. Background

Before a deeper approach to the event of 1989, we will framework the political character of the square, from its origins and during its transformations. As the intentional creation of a political public square, the genesis of Tiananmen Square plays a crucial role in the comprehension of its

history. Tiananmen Square is, since its fourth and latest enlargement in 1950, the fourth largest square in the world: 440,000 square metres (880 by 500 metres). In 1950, Chairman Mao Zedong,[139] with the intention of spatializing politics and creating a political space representing the "new" China, commissioned architect Chen Gan[140] to undertake the project of the square, determining that it should accommodate half a million people. The square, named after the Tiananmen Gate[141] (Gate of Heavenly Peace), was originally designed and built in 1651 during the Ming and Qing dynasties as a T-shaped walled square, "based on the opposition between the ruler and the ruled" (Hung, 1991 p. 91), a projection of Confucian and Taoist philosophy to access the Forbidden city (*Figure 7*, *Figure 8*).

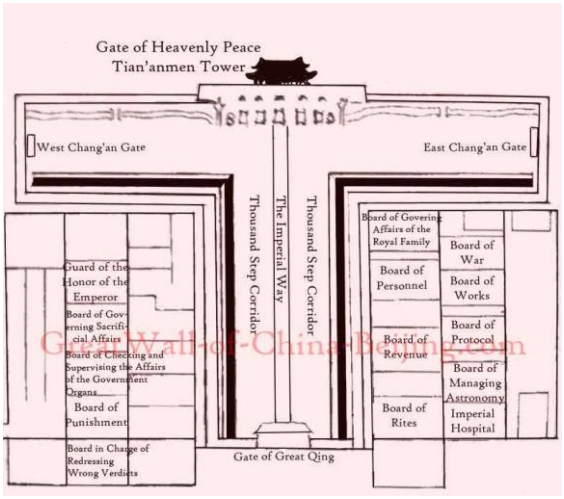

Figure 7 [n.a], [n.d.]. Qing Dynasty Tiananmen. Source: greatwall–of–china–beijing.com.

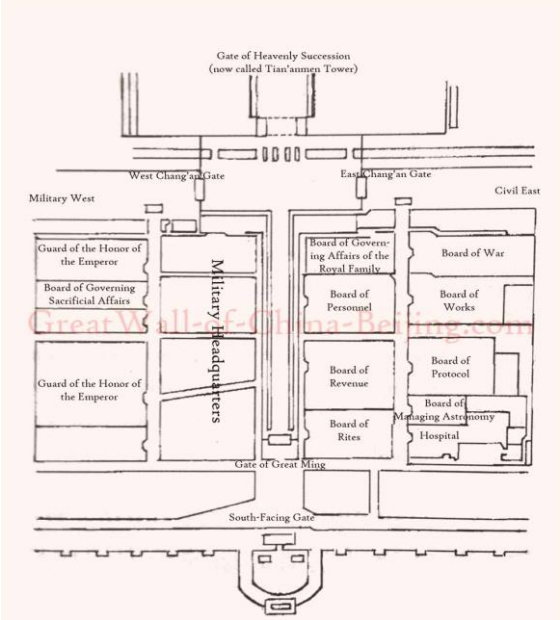

Figure 8 [n.a], [n.d.]. Ming Dynasty Tiananmen. Source: greatwall–of–china–beijing.com.

[139] Mao Zedong, or Chairman Mao, was the founding father of the People's Republic of China and its Chairman from its creation in 1949 to his death in 1976.

[140] Chen Gan graduated as an architect in 1945 from the Architecture Department of the School of Technology, Chongqing Central University. In 1949 he moved to Beiping to become a member of the Beiping Municipal City Planning Commission, and in 1953 was transferred to the city planning group of the General Office of the CPC Beijing Municipal Committee (Jun, 2011 p. 323).

[141] Built in 1417 during the Ming Dynasty, to separate the Forbidden City, and reconstructed during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911).

With Mao, all cultural legacies and existing architectural symbolism were eroded, and the "hidden power" (p. 80) of Confucian and Taoist philosophy of the old China was replaced by the "permanently visible" (p. 80) power of Mao's regime. In the case of Tiananmen Square, Mao aimed to create "the antithesis of forbidden space – a square of the people, without walls, corners or rank markers." (Dovey, 1999 p. 80) When Mao made his first appearance in the square on October 1, 1949, to proclaim the People's Republic of China (PRC) with a military parade of 16,400 troops and civilians and to make a speech, he announced the importance of the square as a symbol of the regime. He announced his wish to expand it to be "big enough to hold an assembly of one million" (Hung, 2005 p. 23).

Mao explored the meaning of the Chinese word for square – *guǎngchǎng* – and expressed its literal means "broad ground" (p. 90) in the field of politics: "a legitimate place for people to meet their leaders (or vice versa), an indispensable joint between the high and the low, the brain and its body." (p. 90) Following these reasons and perceptions, he ordered the architect to create a project to represent the "zero", a concept explored by Engels in the unfinished book *Dialectics of Nature*[142], in the urban planning. He wanted to relocate the city centre from the Forbidden City to Tiananmen Square: "in the capital of New China, the zero point should be fixed at the Tiananmen Square, more definitely, at the point when the first national flag of New China was hoisted." (Jun, 2011 p. 325) With the proclamation of the Republic, the square became a political space in Mao's intention to create a political square mirroring the image of Moscow's Red Square. The first speech was a blueprint for later political events such as parades, even if the only parades allowed were on Labour Day and National Day (Dovey, 1999 p. 81). The works of the square took more than three decades; Mao's goal of accommodating half a million people was never achieved in his lifetime, neither with the demolition in the surroundings nor of former ministries. When the works were finished in 1959, the square could accommodate only about 400,000 people; after Mao's death it could accommodate 600,000. Together with the variations in the urban fabric around Tiananmen Square, Beijing city[143] was also undergoing

[142] In Engels, zero is the negation of any quantity that has not "as much significance as any point denoted by a positive or negative magnitude, but a much greater significance than all of them: it is the point on which they are all dependent, to which they are all related, and by which they are all determined." (Jun, 2011 p. 324)

[143] With Mao, Beijing experienced one of its major urban transformations, designed with reference to the Moscow Master Plan of 1935 from the Stalinist era, with its spatial layout being transposed from a productive and consumer city to a city planned to be the political, economic and industrial centre of the country. New theories were developed between 1954 and 58/9 and the masterplan was presented in 1958 (China's master planning system in transition: case study of Beijing, 2010).

a large-scale transformation with the Masterplan of Beijing's Urban Construction, presented and widely discussed in 1958.

To emphasize the square's transformation, Mao decided to combine physical changes with symbolism, with the construction of a new monument: the Monument of People's Heroes. The commission of the monument was decided on September 30, 1949 in a session of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and a competition was opened to the whole nation. From the 170–180 submitted proposals, three of them were widely discussed: a flat monument, a huge sculpture and a tower monument. The final decision was to make the last one, a 37.4-metre granite obelisk with bas reliefs in the podium. The bas reliefs made reference to the May Fourth Movement[144] with a sentence from Mao: "[e]ternal glory to the people's heroes who from 1840 laid down their lives in the many struggles against internal and external enemies for national independence and the freedom and well-being of the people."[145] (Hung, 1991 p. 99) The monument was placed in the middle of the square, a position greatly criticized by art historians and architects. They argued that the monument, an image of the "new" ideology, changed the layout and interpretation of the square to create new perspectives and hierarchical structures. The compositions inscribed on the monument itself, as well as its location, reflect the periodization of the Chinese, a revolutionary vision of the history that Mao aimed to express in the architectural forms. As Hung (1991) reveals in his interpretation (*Figure 9*, *Figure 10*), the square and the monument's disposition impose a static scheme of Mao's ideals: the distinction between past and present and between the public and the sacred. The monument, with its stone linearity, is the only built structure in

[144] During 1915–1921, the May Fourth Movement had emerged from student demonstrations in Beijing on May 4, 1919. The group was protesting against the Treaty of Versailles and the government's weak position in relation to the territorial division and the Japanese occupation of Shandong peninsula. The movements were sparked by the intellectual elites and triggered a national wave of protests with a populist base of cultural activities (National Minorities, [n.d.]). On May 4, 1919, students' representatives from thirteen universities gathered in Beijing and, during the afternoon, the different groups departed from separate points of the city to gather in Tiananmen Square to denounce the Chinese government's inability to protect Chinese interests, announcing a boycott against Japanese products. On May 5, 1919, students went on a national strike and triggered strikes in other spheres of society. The May Fourth Movement is considered the ground for the emergence of Chinese Communism. The appearance of the working class and student masses as the new national bourgeoisie was an intellectual turning point, destroying, with the newborn Chinese intellectual thought, the thriving of Western-style liberal democracy.

[145] The year of 1840 refers to the people who fought during the first Opium War (1839-42) against Western Imperialism, namely from the United Kingdom, an important war to later establish People's Republic of China.

the square that is allowed to ordinary people, in contrast with the wooden structures of the traditional Chinese architecture in the Forbidden City.

Since the 1960s, the square became widely known, not only in relation to the Forbidden City or by the large number of monuments in the surroundings, but also due to its political history – it was a square to serve Mao's political ideologies. Most of all, it was used as a stage for social and political dissent in Chinese history.

Already during Republican times, in 1976, Tiananmen was a stage for people power, when they expressed their disapproval with the central authority's decisions. If the square was already a symbol for freedom and justice as well as a cultural place for gatherings, as described above, the mass mourning for Zhou Enlai (also known as the April Fifth Movement) was in fact the first public demonstration in post-1949 Beijing, evidencing an end to the Cultural Revolution. In early April 1976, a spontaneous popular demonstration began after the lack of reaction to and Mao's recognition of the death of Zhou Enlai[146], the first prime minister of the People's Republic of China, and considered a hero by the population.



Figure 9 Tiananmen Square map. Source: meiguoxing.com.



Figure 10 Tiananmen Square in 1959. Source: Hung, 1991, pp. 102.

Zhou Enlai died on January 8, 1976; on the eve of Qingming Festival[147], on April 4, people started to gather in Tiananmen Square, around

[146] Zhou Enlai was a respected leader, and a paradigmatic revolutionary from 1919's demonstrations. He was a founder of the May Fourth Movement, and considered the strongest objector to the "Gang of Four" (a group of four elements – Jiang Qing, Yao Wenyuan, Zhang Chungiao and Wang Hongwen – of the Chinese Communist Party who led during the latest decade of the Cultural Revolution and were charged for a series of crimes) who were controlling the power organs of the Communist Party during the later stage of Cultural Revolution.

[147] Qingming Festival is a traditional Chinese festival to celebrate and honour the ancestors and visit their grave sites. The event is followed in a series of common rites such as offering food and other objects, among others. The

the Monument of People's Heroes, to pay their tribute to the former prime minister. The symbol of the regime's political rhetoric was completely transformed and the large number of mourners, together with the general sentiment, alarmed government officials. With no public explanation, the Party decided to remove all the wreaths left around the monument and forbid further displays of mourning. The news spread rapidly and the next morning, at 8a.m., around 10,000 people had already gathered in the square, multiplying during the day (Teiwes & Sun, 2004, p. 228). The protesters, although numerous, could not fill the square, and decided to gather around the base of the Monument of People's Heroes, claiming the regime's symbol as their own, and demanding the return of all wreaths. Confrontations between civilians and police immediately began. Even if during that day there were no arrests, different tactics were used to dissuade the multitude gathered around the monument. At 6.30p.m., the lights of the square were turned off and Wu De's speech was repeatedly broadcast, until the majority abandoned the square. Only a few stayed, concentrated around the monument, reading poems and singing the "Internationale"[148], convinced that justice would prevail. However, around 9.30p.m., with an order to suppress, the lights were turned off for a few seconds while policemen cursed and beat the protesters. It took only about 15 minutes for the large-scale beatings to cease, but there were already more than 200 injured victims. At 11p.m. hundreds of Public Security officers cleaned the blood from the square and, by the morning of April 6, 1976, Tiananmen Square was still closed (Yan & Gao, 1996 [1986], pp. 498, 499). The event, although quick and violently suppressed, was the turning point in the politics of Mao and the end of Cultural Revolution supremacy. The action already evidenced the lack of freedom of speech and expression for the Chinese people, even if the regime only collapsed on September 9, 1976, with Mao's death and the arrest of the Gang of Four on October 5 and 6[149], the same year.

Following the incidents and reactions after the demonstrations in the square, the Chinese people considered Tiananmen Square not only a symbol of freedom but also a symbol of democracy for the people, and the Monument of People's Heroes was appropriated as the symbol of the tragic end of the 1976 demonstrations. Wu Hung (1991) adopts from French historian Pierre Nora some important considerations on the meaning of the Monument and the strategy of Mao.

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holiday is also used to honour nationally important personalities. The festivity is celebrated on the 104th day after the winter solstice and occurs most frequently on 5 April in the Gregorian calendar.

[148] Socialist anthem.

[149] On October 5, 1976, Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan were arrested and the day after Jiang Qing, former wife of Mao Zedong, was considered the group leader.

The monument, built in the middle of the square, with the condition of the "dominant" site of memories and a place for protest, was quickly transferred to the condition of being "dominated", with the construction of Mao's Mausoleum in 1977 and other "dominant" buildings in the surroundings.

With Mao's death, the Chinese political situation changed, but was still kept under the Communist regime by Deng Xiaoping. He condemned the Cultural Revolution and in 1977 started a new phase of political liberalization, allowing the restoration of freedom of expression and open criticism, also known as the "Beijing Spring"[150]. The liberal period did not last long: in 1978 Deng Xiaoping's power increased; he re-established the old Communist-style rhetoric; and at the same time initiated a strategic plan based on political and economic reforms to boost the country's economic situation, in a different orientation from Mao Zedong's ideals. He opened relations with foreign countries and the Chinese economy to foreign trade as well as focusing on the modernization of agriculture, industry, science, technology and the military. With the governmental reform package, Xiaoping was able to satisfy the farmers, but created disappointment in several other work and social groups such as students, intellectuals and factory workers. The students were stimulated by general disappointment with the new regime and politics. Nonetheless, the protests of 1989 were initiated, as in 1976, with the death of Hu Yaobang, considered a hero among the Chinese.

2.4.3.2. The event

The event, also known as the "June Fourth Incident", was a reaction to the government's slow response to the funeral of Hu Yaobang, who died on April 15, 1989. Yaobang, a Communist Party official since 1930, became a notable figure in the 1980s with a series of political and economic reforms under the direction of Deng Xiaoping in opposition to the powerful group of "Eight elders"[151] and for his perseverance against corruption. In 1987, Yaobang was driven out of his position as Party General Secretary for allowing protests for Tibetan freedom from September 27 to October 1, 1987 (Gargan, 1987), a cycle of protests that kept growing with a larger demonstration (of 2,000 students) on New Year's Eve (Dovey, 1999 p. 82).

[150] Terminology inspired by the "Prague Spring" in Czechoslovakia and used as a metaphor for a period of time with better living conditions and liberation from political suppression.
[151] Designation of the group of elderly members of the Communist Party of China who held great power during the 1980s and were opposed to the free market and government transparency. The group comprised Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, Deng Yingchao, Yang Shangkun, Bo Yibo, and Wang Zhen (Nathan, 2001).

With Hu's death, small-scale gatherings started to concentrate around the Monument of People's Heroes in the middle of the square, even if any kind of political action in the square was banned, "to parade, to hold rallies, to make speeches, to write, to distribute, or to put up any kind of propaganda" (quoted in Dovey, 1999 pp. 82, 83). By the morning, students' gatherings started to be organized in Xi'an and Shanghai. On April 17, students from China University of Political Science and Law created the largest wreath to honour Hu. During the afternoon, the laying party became larger than expected and the police intervened to disperse the students. However, in the evening the numbers of protesters rapidly increased when thousands of students, coming from their campuses, arrived in Tiananmen Square. In the square students drafted the document with "the Seven Demands",[152] which was announced in front of the Great Hall of the People on April 18. As happened in the events of May 1968, the list of students' demands covered aspects of political and social life, not only academic demands or ones related to Hu's death. The late response to Hu's funeral was only the driving force to demand political changes and rights, and the government was finally able to understand this.

In the square, a portrait of Hu, created by students from the Central Academy of Fine Art, was placed above the plinth of the Monument of People's Heroes facing Mao's portrait to illustrate the similarities with 1976's protests: to express the need to look and speak openly about the country's future.

Simultaneously, in a "DIY urbanism", the square was transformed with the construction of a camp around the monument (*Figure 11*), "which occupied about a quarter of the square" (p. 83), and the spontaneous construction of a "walled city" with barricades obstructing major access routes to the square (*Figure 12*).

[152] "(1) affirm as correct Hu Yaobang's views on democracy and freedom; (2) admit that the campaigns against spiritual pollution and bourgeois liberalization had been wrong; (3) publish information on the income of state leaders and their family members; (4) end the ban on privately run newspapers and permit freedom of speech; (5) increase funding for education and raise intellectuals' pay; (6) end restrictions on demonstrations in Beijing and (7) hold democratic elections to replace government officials who made bad policy decisions." (Zhang, et al., 2002 p. 26)



Figure 11 AP photo/Shing, 1989. A statue modelled after the Statue of Liberty is ready for unveiling in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, China, May 30, 1989. Source: Business Insider.



Figure 12 Manuel Ceneta, 1989. Beijing residents inspect the interior of more than 20 armoured personnel carriers burned by demonstrators to prevent troops from moving into Tiananmen Square, on June 4. Source: The Atlantic.

While the students were transforming the square, the Politburo had been working on draft decisions for education reforms since the morning of April 17. On April 19, the Party Central announced a decision on Hu Yaobang's mourning. They declared that the memorial service would be held on April 22 at the Great Hall of People, but students kept up their sit-ins in front of Xinhua Gate until April 20. A group of Peking University students decided to create new

student associations, able to protect the students in the protests, coordinate the actions in the period between April 20 and May 4, and establish contacts between the institutions involved. On April 20, the new movement – The Planning Committee of the United Students[153] – was publicly announced, replacing the existing official students association. On the same day, students faced the police both by police attacks at the universities as well as in front of the Great Hall of People, where pressure was put on them to abandon the protest. During the day, hundreds of students arrived in the square, strengthening the protest message with posters in defence of education[154] and in opposition to the government[155]. By the end of the day, and fearing the reaction of the police, students decided to virtually leave the square and return for Hu's official funeral (at 8a.m. on April 22).

On April 22, thousands of students were in the square to participate in Hu's funeral, keeping a solemn silence during the ceremonies. As the official funeral took place inside the Great Hall, allowed only for the Party leadership, at the end the students presented a petition demanding to give a last honour to Hu, but no leader came out of the Great Hall to talk with the students. The lack of recognition triggered a wave of anger among the students, who decided to call for a class boycott in all Beijing universities. By the evening, 22 riots had broken out in two provinces – Changsha and Xi'an – and over 350 people were arrested in both cities.

The government, alarmed by the violence of the incidents, tried to restore order among the students and discourage further protests, and decided to allow the use of force to control riots. Premier Li Peng, fearing the situation, called upon Zhao Ziyang to condemn the protesters, but in the wake of the decisions in the Politburo, on April 23, Zhao Ziyang left the country for a previously planned visit to North Korea. Li Peng met with Beijing Party Secretary Li Ximing and Mayor Chen Xitong to find a rapid solution for the situation in the square, but the students kept up their sit-ins. Zhao Ziyang always stood up for peaceful solutions, but Li Peng, on April 26, declared his position in the *People's Daily* newspaper (*Figure 13*), publicly declaring the student movement a disturbance under the title "take a clear-cut stand against unrest" (News, 1989 p. 24). The prime minister was not expecting such a reaction to his words: instead of intimidating the students, it amplified their hunger, and they immediately decided to gather in

[153] Leadership of the Planning Committee of the United Students' Association of Peking was taken by seven students including Ding Xiaoping, Wan Dan, Yang Tao and Feng Congde (Nathan, 2001 p. 37).
[154] "Education saves the nation", "Peaceful petitioning", "Oppose violence" (Nathan, 2001 p. 39).
[155] "Down with dictatorship", "Demand freedom", "Down with the police" (Nathan, 2001 p. 39).

Tiananmen Square. On April 27, about 100,000 students marched through the streets of Beijing, departing from more than 40 universities towards the square. During the marches, students received support from other social and professional sectors, especially from factory workers, and this external motivation encouraged them to advance over the police barrier that was erected in the square. The demonstration, the largest in the history of protests, did not face any police resistance, and government leaders recognized their failure. Gathered around the Monument of People's Heroes, students sang the "Internationale" and shouted pro-democratic and anti-corruption slogans, demanding the government to withdraw the statement published in the editorial. The demonstrations were not restricted to Beijing but happened simultaneously in other cities throughout mainland China (including Urumqi, Shanghai, Chongqing, Changsha and Xi'an) and abroad (Hong Kong, Taiwan and in some Chinese communities in North America and Europe).


人民日報
RENMIN RIBAO
铁路重点区段治
必须旗帜鲜明地反对动乱

Figure 13 The editorial as it appeared on the front page of *People's Daily* on April 26, 1989. Source: Wikipedia.

On April 29, the government was finally pressed to make some concessions. The State Council spokesman, Yuan Mu, met with the students' commission to listen and evaluate student demands: the recognition of student movements, the abolition of corruption, the freedom of the press and the veracity in the demonstrations' reports. Some independent student leaders, such as Wuer Kaixi and Wang Dan, refused to attend, arguing that the state was using the students' commission as "puppets" of the government. During the two-day meetings, negotiations become even more difficult, with students insisting on their demands to strike off current Communist Party leadership and end state corruption. Zhao Ziyang, upon returning from a political visit to Korea, recognized that the negotiations had to be carefully discussed and might have to lead to some governmental concessions. Ziyang's democratic approach caused the government to fragment: a radical wing, led by Li Peng, opposed it, and demanded the use of force to control the protests. During the negotiations, and from April 27 to May 4, the number

of students in the square decreased, in part because some of them were already satisfied with the government's decisions and concessions.

On May 4, around 100,000 students were back in the streets for the celebration of the May Fourth Movement. In Tiananmen Square, around 200,000 people, among them students, other solidarity sectors of society, and 500 journalists (News, 1989 p. 42) gathered to ask a dialogue with the government, claim freedom of the press and the end of censorship.

Inside a polarized government, Zhao's speech on May 4[156] and the order to open up media with information on the event of the square were considered, as actions in support of the students' demonstrations and their demands. Students celebrated with enthusiasm and, at the end of the day, the majority of universities announced the end of the class boycott[157]. However, two days prior to the beginning of negotiations between the governmental commissions and student unions, as well as the visit of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, a group of students from Beijing University, Beijing Normal and other institutions started a hunger strike[158] and again set up camp in Tiananmen. As Kim Dovey (1999) remarks, the causality of the contemporaneity of the events – Hu's death and the summit meeting between Deng and Gorbachev – brought the event to global attention, mainly because of the influx of foreign journalists into the city (p. 83); it also confirmed the state of alienation of this group of students concerning the negotiations. The students diffused their intentions and demands in the "Hunger Strike Declaration", in which they declared the importance of the country above their lives; called for the support of other social spheres and the urgency to create a democratic system; but also declared their decision due to the government's indifference. The group of hunger strikers started with around 300 students[159] in the square and increased during the afternoon and in the days after. On May 15,

[156] On May 4, in a meeting with bankers, Ziyang showed his approval of the students' slogans: "'Support the Communist Party!' 'Support Socialism!' 'Uphold the reforms!' 'Push Forward Democracy!' and 'Oppose Corruption' the majority of students were 'by no means opposed to our basic system'" (Zhao, 2004 p. 158).
[157] An exception happened with Beijing University and Beijing Normal University, after a student vote on their campuses.
[158] As Dingxin Zhao (2004) explains, in order to understand this turning point in the negotiations, we must understand the division among student activists, who were separated into three conflicting groups. There was a moderate group with privileged relations with the government; the "Dialogue Delegation Group" that was meeting with the government; and an autonomous group, the "Beijing Students Autonomous Union", who were attending the meetings of the first group, aware of their privileges and pressing for some alternative measures. Apart from these groups there was a group of radicals, in which was included Wang Dan and Wuer Kaixi, who were not frequent assistants in the regular meetings so were less informed. They initiated the hunger strike on May 13, even if members of the Autonomous Union tried to end with it at the beginning (pp. 159, 160).
[159] The initial hunger strike, which started at Beijing University, included around 40 elements of the radical wing, which contributed to the difficulty in negotiations (Zhao, 2004 p. 162).

when the square was being prepared to receive Gorbachev, a group of Beijing's intellectuals marched to the square in support of the hunger-striking students.

With the power growing in the square, the government was deepening its divisions between Deng Xiaoping's wish to clear the square by force and Zhao Ziyang's call for a softer approach. Gorbachev had to be officially welcomed at the airport instead of in Tiananmen Square, as Ziyang was not able to convince the students to leave on time. During the first day of Gorbachev's visit, students kept reclaiming the square as part of their list of demands. On the day after, in a televised meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Zhao Ziyang, Zhao revealed a secret from the Politburo resolution of October 1987 – the agreement to consult Deng Xiaoping on all major policies. The revelation immediately created reaction and discussions among the political class and civil society, particularly because Xiaoping was not a member of the Committee. Peng called for several meetings at the Politburo with no formal conclusions at the end. For two days (May 17 and 18), over a million people joined the students in the square, with another two million in the streets around (p. 83). The Politburo tried to end the protest, but no consensual decision was taken, and several divisions occurred inside the government[160].

On May 19, Zhao Ziyang, already away from the decision-making process (Ziyang, 2010 [2009] p. 35) and aware of the risks to the students, went to Tiananmen Square to give a surprise speech to dissuade the 3,000 students who had already been on hunger strike for seven days. Ziyang tried to discourage the students, arguing that their lack of health and energy would not benefit them in the dialogue with government (Ziyang, 1989). This was to be his last public appearance. Zhao's motivations are still debated today: some believe that he was looking for a conciliation, while others believe he was trying to protect the protesters from the military attacks that were soon to come. After the speech, Zhao Ziyang was put under arrest; martial

[160] Five members of the Politburo Standing Committee (Zhao Ziyang, Li Peng, Qiao Shi, Hu Qili and Yao Yilin) had an emergency meeting in which they agreed to call for Deng Xiaoping's opinions and to force Zhao to negotiate with the hunger strikers. On May 17, the Committee visited Deng Xiaoping, who announced he could not grant more concessions to the students and declared martial law in Beijing. The meeting to discuss Deng's proposals was booked for that evening, but the Committee couldn't come to an agreement with Zhao Ziyang and Hu Qili, both calling for a soft intervention with the students. By May 18, Zhao Ziyang offered to resign his position, which was not accepted. The Standing Committee (minus Zhao and three members of Central Military Commission – Qin Jiwei, Hog Xuezhi and Lui Huaqing) met with Deng to declare martial law in Beijing, to start on May 21. The first reaction of the Minister of Defence Qin Jiwei was to not accept the orders to impose martial law. Qin called Zhao, still the General Party Secretary, who agreed to not impose martial law, both because he didn't agree with the decision but also because he had been purged from the leadership, after Gorbachev had left.

law[161] was imposed the day after (May 20) at 10a.m. (rather than May 21, as had been previously planned). If until this day all the negotiations between students and government had failed, the dialogues were put aside when the military arrived in Beijing.

In the morning of May 21, one million people marched in the city. The protesters and civilians erected barricades to block the troop's columns, and by the evening of the first day of martial law all major crossroads were blocked as if in an informal or "new urbanism":

> [s]even military divisions were sent into the city towards the square, but they were blocked by an extraordinary display of do–it–yourself urban design as residents spontaneously rebuilt Beijing as a walled city (Brook 1992). They erected barricades at all major access points using sewer pipes, loads of soil, existing traffic barriers, articulated buses and human shields. Within three days the paralyzed troops were withdrawn to the margins of the city. (Dovey, 1999 p. 84)

On May 22, Li Peng became stressed with the students; the regiment tried to negotiate their retreat; but the protesters resisted and the atmosphere became increasingly tense, particularly when some students defaced Mao's portrait with ink (*Figure 14*). In the square, the enthusiasm decreased with the lack of pressure from the government. The majority planned to abandon the square and continue the struggle by other means, but the students' representatives decided that it would be better to remain in Tiananmen.

To bolster the movement, students of the Central Academy of Fine Arts built a statue of a "Goddess of Democracy" to be installed[162] on May 29. By the morning of May 30, the ten-metre-high statue (*Figure 11*, *Figure 15* and *Figure 16*) was finished in the square and placed in position between the Monument of People's Heroes and Tiananmen Gate[163] (Hung, 1991 p. 85). The new visual symbol boosted the movement, and the number of people in the square increased from 10,000 on May 29 to 300,000 on May 30 and 31. The transformation of the political legibility of the square was considered a defiant gesture by the government and propelled the protesters to adopt new tactics. The formal public square recovered its character

[161] Initially, martial law was restricted to five districts of Beijing and the order was to not turn weapons on innocent civilians.
[162] The construction of the statue was initially done at the University and finished in the square, as the Security Bureau forbade any track driver to transport the full statue. Students built it in parts and transported it in six "Beijing carts", diverting troops by giving a false itinerary to the authorities.
[163] Quite often seen in pictures facing Mao's portrait, the statue was installed 200 metres away from it, in the broad Boulevard (Dovey, 1999 p. 84).

as a site of dissent, with the protesters demanding democracy and defying the Communist Party and authorities. In a tense atmosphere and under martial law since May 20, students and workers kept organizing marches and demonstrations around the country. As reported in "The Tiananmen Papers"[164] (2001) "sixty-one schools of higher education, sixty-two news or publishing units, 112 units of central Party and government organizations, four democratic parties and students from 332 universities outside Beijing" (p. 333) organized marches and demonstrations of various sizes until May 31. With growing support for the protests, the Communist Party of China (CPC) was losing control and will in the negotiations.



Figure 14 Ed Nachtrieb, 1989. Workmen try to drape the portrait of Mao Zedong in Beijing's Tiananmen Square after it was pelted with paint on May 23. Source: The Atlantic.

In the Politburo on May 28, Li Peng decided to start detentions – starting with Bao Tong (member of Central Committee and Zhao's supporter) and Zhao Ziyang, and followed by tens of thousands more across the country. In his speech at the Politburo on June 2, it was clear that his intention was to clear the square of "terrorists and counterrevolutionaries", no matter the consequences.

Impelled by the lack of news and the risk of disheartening the movements, the number of bodies in the square kept growing during the days. On June 2, four intellectuals – Liu Xiaobo, Zhou

[164] Despite all the doubts on the veracity of the Tiananmen Papers and related facts of the event in 1989, we decided to consider this information as true after consulting some critics such as Professor Orville Schell (2001), who claimed an initial scepticism and confirmed later that it had been used in other scientific investigations.

Duo, Gao Xin, and the Taiwanese singer Hou Dejian – decided to join the hunger strike, on the same day the Politburo Standing Committee consolidated the decision to clear the square by use of force. "[A]rmoured vehicles with orders to shoot entered the city along the major boulevards" (Dovey, 1999 p. 85). In the square, the protesters were surprised by plainclothes and unarmed troops[165], coming out of the Great Hall of the People, who attacked everyone with no mercy, on June 3. The protesters, confident that troops would use rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse the crowd, kept in the square as a symbol of their resistance, but were surprised by military vehicles and soldiers with orders to open fire on the protesters. The number of casualties increased from that evening into the night, most of them students and residents who were trying to block the streets and enforce barricades. Confrontations in the square, mainly involving students and professors, ran until 4a.m., when the "student leaders negotiated the safe evacuation of the 3,000 remaining students camped in the square [and all leave] peacefully via the south-east corner." (p. 86) "At best estimate about 2,700 people were killed that night and over the next few days" (p. 85). On the night of June 4, People's Liberation Army soldiers destroyed the "Goddess of Democracy"[166]. Although it lasted for only five days, as Hung (1991) refers: "unlike those murdered demonstrators, her image could be replicated and through replication she could be reborn." (p. 113)

On June 5, confrontations finally ended with the last captured image of the anonymous man, the "Tank man", blocking the column of tanks driving out of Tiananmen Square. The image, immortalized by the Western media, became the symbol of one of the most significant protests of the 20th century, a struggle expressed by the demand of a square. The crowds kept trying to enter Tiananmen Square with no success, as it remained closed to the public for another two weeks.

[165] During the afternoon (4.30p.m.) of June 3, the Politburo Standing Committee met with Beijing Party Secretary Li Ximing, Beijing Mayor Cheng Xitong, State Council secretariat Luo Gan and military leaders to declare the end of martial law and advanced with military force.

[166] The initial intent of the students of the Academy of Fine Arts was to leave the statue for two or three days but during the official presentation, on May 30, they didn't mention this purpose, convinced that the government would not be able to simply remove or destroy it, showing such an anti-democratic face.



Figure 15 Catherine Henriette, 1989. A student plasters the neck of a Goddess of Democracy, the 10-metre-tall statue erected in Tiananmen Square on May 30. Source: The Atlantic.



Figure 16 Jeff Widener, 1989. Beijing University students put the finishing touches to the Goddess of Democracy in Tiananmen Square on May 30. Source: The Atlantic.

2.4.4. Seattle WTO protests of 1999

> Remember, We are Winning! (graffiti in Seattle, 1999) (Armond, 2001 p. 230)

In the transition to a more global cycle of struggles, and in order to understand the Seattle protests, we must take a step back to understand some influences, in particular the struggle in Chiapas. For 12 days from January 1, 1994, the Zapatista rebels of Chiapas started a new kind of confrontation, sometimes referred to as the first postmodern guerrilla action (Golden, 2001). Emerging from the forest with covered faces and chanting "Enough!" (*Ya basta*), the organized group demanded the Mexican federal government's recognition of indigenous people, their land and community, adopting the new strategy of diffusing a local struggle to the world. Mexican civil society demanded a ceasefire and Chiapas won the rights of land and the government of that space. The winning of these rights was diffused on the internet (Souza, 2010 p. 322), becoming the first mobilization to gain international relevance via the World Wide Web (Benski, et al., 2013). The forms of politics based on horizontal organization and against an abstract enemy – baptized as neoliberal globalization – inspired a new generation of local movements' activists. While some authors (Harvey, 2012; Hardt & Negri, 2000) consider such cases related with local concerns, Marcelo Lopes de Souza (2010) presents a contradictory conception based on the "politics of scale", an approach to a social-spatial change as a matter of necessity and resources but interrelated with all "spheres of life (production, consumption, politics, culture), inside concrete 'lived spaces'" (p. 323). Local specificity is not cultivated as a value, but is "open to 'transnational activism' (in the form of dialogue, networking and co-operation)" (p. 323).

Following the extraordinary example of activism of this case, during the following years, several social movements emerged in support of two main goals: (1) to give voice to the excluded or deprived of certain basic rights and (2) to challenge the dominant economies (Marcuse, 2009) within the global justice movements that adopted the slogan of "the right to the city" to claim against the state order. Later, in 1999, the massive World Trade Organization

(WTO)[167] and the battle of Seattle[168] set up a new generation of social movements in which the internet started to play a crucial role in the diffusion of the meetings (or their cancellation, as was the case with the greatest impact in 1999). As Hardt and Negri (2004) affirm, the WTO summit in Seattle established a new wave of protests that can represent a new global power with annual meetings (p. 215). There are several authors justifying the importance of the movement, even in a diverse panoply of approaches. For example, Jason Adams (2011) recognizes the event as a turning point in the history of social movements but also in the political history of Anarchism. Adams describes the event as the birth of "post-anarchism", the moment when the radical anti-authoritarian theories that emerged from May 1968 and developed through three decades within poststructuralism get a physical identity. The influence of Seattle is even broader, when strategies and tactics were adapted to the birth of the World Social Forum[169] (WSF) in 2001. From this event came the social movements that emerged afterwards, rooted in "common practices, languages, conduct, habits, forms of life, and desires for a better future." (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 215) Even if the ideas embedded in the global justice movement may not have spread with the same speed, the tactics of using the internet (to inform, mobilize, and coordinate mobilizations), making knowledge global, and acting in an interconnected network, dispersed very quickly. Apart from these facts, the movement also inspired a generation of academic-activists and activist-researchers, who recognized in the moment the challenge and opportunity to leap into the epistemology of social movement studies (Chesters, 2012, p. 154; Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 215).

The Battle of Seattle was an event organized by the "anti-globalization"[170] social movements against the Empire (Hardt & Negri, 2000). Following the WTO press conference on February 18, announcing that Seattle would be the city hosting the ministerial meeting, plans for the protest started immediately. After the initial spur, the months ahead were taken up with several

[167] A meeting of the World Trade Organization over the course of four days, with governmental delegates from 135 nations, starting on November 30, in order to launch a new round of multilateral trade negotiations on the themes of agriculture, market access, trade and labour, which would have been called "the new Millennium round". The decision had to be postponed for a new meeting in Qatar, where protesters were forbidden to participate, after the refusal of trade representatives from Africa and the Caribbean to sign the decisions on trade liberalization (Berzofsky, 2012).

[168] Also known as 1999 Seattle WTO protests or by the nickname "N30" (November 30) is a series of protests that started around the World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference.

[169] An annual meeting at which civil society organizations (activists, NGOs and intellectuals) exchange experiences, ideas, and viewpoints on the problems caused by neoliberal globalization and explore alternatives for the future. The first edition was held in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

[170] As Castells (2010 [1997]) notes, most social actors reject this denomination, proposing the designation of "movement for global justice" (p. 146).

meetings around the world, held by organizations of different scales (local, national and international) and focused on different causes. Labour unions, environmental groups, international NGOs, student groups and Anarchists became tied up by the will to force the WTO to reform its agenda, incorporating labour, environmental, consumer protection and other standards, even if the coalition among the organizations seemed loose. The process of organization used the novel "multitude network form of organization" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 217). The structures organized the meeting together without any central and unifying structure, in antagonism to the dominant models – either to the traditional model organized under a central leadership or in direct opposition to the first, based on the right of each group to express difference such as race or sexuality. Observing the convergence of all these different groups, Hardt and Negri (2004) consider that: "[i]n conceptual terms, the multitude replaces the contradictory couple identity – difference with the complementary couple commonality – singularity" (pp. 217,218), proving a model for the construction of the commons.

With the Seattle protests a new era emerged, but its success also relied on the previous experiences adopted from other events around the world. During the 1990s, the world saw a growth of disillusionment with politics and the emergence of resistance action: cases include the Anti-Poll Tax campaign in Britain in 1990; the mass strikes of workers in France in 1995 98 and 99; the anti-Fascist demonstration in Strasbourg in 1997; several big strikes in the United States in 1997; mass strikes in Greece in 1996, 97 and 98; as well as the already mentioned case of the Zapatista revolt in Mexico (1994–2000) (Charlton, 2010 p. 48).

As Lazarrato (2006) describes, the Battle of Seattle saw "the agency of bodies, a combination of bodies (with their actions and passions), composed by individual and collective singularities [...] who practice specific relations of co–functioning"[171] (p. 43), engaging in different organizations, strategies and tactics, made up of labour unions in a combination of machinist work unions and of AFL–CIO (American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations) together with the teamsters union. The King County Labor Council (Castells, 2010 [1997]) organized a large and legal rally from Seattle Centre to downtown (*Figure 17* for a synthesis of the events during the four days). Besides trade unions there were also several

[171] Translated by the author from the original "un agenciamiento corporal, una mezcla de cuerpos (con sus acciones y sus pasiones), compuesta de singularidades individuales y colectivas […] que practican relaciones específicas de cofuncionamiento corporal".

environmental groups, such as Earth First!, the Rainforest Action Network[172], some constituents of the Sierra Club (with protesters dressed as turtles to demand that human and environmental concerns be included in the agenda) and Greenpeace, which joined the protesters' organization for the first time. These groups, generally called the "Turtles & Teamsters", were also a crucial symbol of the Battle of Seattle. A third part of the demonstrators were grouped as a coalition of artists and Anarchists – "Art&Revolution" (a group created in 1996's demonstrations against the Democratic Convention in Chicago) and the "Ruckus Society" (a group of activists defending non-violent protest, skilled in civil disobedience tactics) – organized around the Direct Action Network (DNA) (Castells, 2010 [1997]). DNA emerged as a kind of political organization, based on networks instead of institutions, with the main order to close the WTO conference by the tactical plan of blocking the streets and intersections to Washington State Convention and Trade Centre and disrupting the meetings. People for Global Action (PGA) gathered indigenous people and peasants from around the world and organized a West-coast caravan to Seattle from across the Americas. From abroad, French farmers were also present, in an organization led by José Bové[173], carrying several illegally imported French cheeses. The "Black Block"[174], organized apart from DAN, emerged as a reaction to the call for autonomous resistance actions. Composed of a more radical Anarchist faction, which tended to attack commercial property and police forces as symbols of oppression and alienation, in Seattle their major goal was to prevent AFL–CIO's domination of the protests. Together with these groups, some other less organized groups also appeared. Among these it is important to mention the large female presence, both in leadership roles and by the presence of a few formal women's organizations (2010 [1997]). Apart from all these groups, described by Castells (2010 [1997]), the "movement of movements" also brought together church groups and political parties on the streets (Charlton, 2010 p. 70).

Observing the diversity of groups and actions that came to light with the Seattle protests, Maurizio Lazzarato (2006) identifies it as the perfect reaction to Foucault's claim for social movements not simply to resist but to act as a creative force. Hardt and Negri (2004) go further, relating the creative and positive process not only to the act of protest but also to the production

[172] Paul Armond (2001) includes this organization as part of Direct Action Network (DNA).
[173] A rural militant and unionist, cofounder of the Confédération Paysanne in 1987 and organizer of a protest against McDonalds in Millau in August 1999 (Merrifield, 2006 p. 137).
[174] "Black block" is the most common name for the group Anarchists from Eugene, which promotes "autonomism", "primitivism" and exclusion from technological society (Armond, 2001).

and extension of the commons (p. 218) – a project for the realization of democracy (p. 219). Among such different interest groups expressing their demands on the streets of Seattle with different tactics, there was a common list of grievances involving different groups, organizations or individuals in a large open network. Hardt and Negri (2004) compare this common element – the list of grievances against the global system – to the, at first confused, list of grievances of the *cahiers de doléances* that Sieyès and his comrades created and that inspired the French constitution of 1791 (p. 288). The 1999 protests introduced the process of producing emancipatory globalized public spheres within the use of micropractices (Kipfer, 2008 p. 207) in the lexicon of social movements, although this process/practice was a legacy of former social movements' protests together with the democratization of global communications in the 1990s. The protests organized by the group Reclaim the Streets (RTS)[175] in London are considered a turning point in the interpretation of the act of revolt, influencing further actions where it was difficult to identify the tenuous line separating revolutions from festivals. To the RTS, the protest was in itself a celebration of public space and "no longer a means to an end but victory itself" (Solnit, 2006 p. 177). Organized as a festival, the complaint against globalized economies and the forces responsible for social alienation and the privatization of space was practised with a proper festive occupation of that space.

The formation of IndyMedia[176] (an internet-based network of independent media centres) is also considered a backbone of the Seattle protests, although the network was inspired by the Zapatistas movement, was the first that used the internet, both for internal communication and to gain international solidarity, and was an adaptation of the Reclaim the Streets media group. The independent media centre of Seattle was also a reaction to and mirror of the communication era, taking advantage of the permanent presence of portable devices in the streets and using them as a form of political articulation and the production of a public sphere; invariably "'virtual' and 'real' space" (Fahmi, 2009 p. 90), a "space of autonomy" (Castells, 2014), in

[175] British group founded in 1991, working in a base of weekly open assemblies, originally created to reclaim the streets from cars and practising a series of small-scale ecologist actions. In the mid-1990s, the group started to organize protests, imprinting a political nature on ecological protests.

[176] IndyMedia was created as an alternative media with the purpose of providing grassroots coverage of the 1999 WTO protests. It was first tested on November 24, with the welcome message by the authors "maffew and manse". The IndyMedia was an adaptation of the Reclaim the Streets media group, which settled this project in both virtual and physical space, eroding the division between producers and audience or the reporters and reported (Wise, 2006). The system was first tested in June that year to report the Carnival Against Capitalism (also known as J18), an event that took place in London on June 18, 1999, on national version UK-Indymedia (Spicer, 2009).

which the space of places (of experience) and the space of flows (of power) (Castells, 1989) merge into one and the same space of networked individual practices. IndyMedia's system of communication was tested in advance by the RTS organization during the Carnival against Capitalism, the second festival organized by the group.

RTS adopted a *modus operandi* of occupying urban space to reclaim the right to the city, adopting the methodology of the raves' organization[177] and materializing the protest in a carnivalesque atmosphere and street celebration. These protests were distinct from previous ones because they made a celebration of an imagined world and not the real world, creating a clear distinction with previous protests in history:

> [i]t does not mention the subject of history, the working class, its enemy capital, or the fatal battle that they must engage in. It restricts itself to announcing that "something possible has been created", that there are new possibilities for living, and that it is a matter of realizing them; that a possible world has been expressed and that it must be brought to completion (Lazzarato, 2003).

If in Tiananmen Square, the "Goddess of Democracy", the statue erected by the Central Academy of Fine Arts students, as well as some of the Situationists' "situations" during May 1968, transposed a kind of ideal to the public space, they were still circumscribed to certain peripheries of the society – in the first case to students and workers, or to students and an intellectual elite in the second case – but with RTS and in Seattle, the discourse generalized to the domain of the multitude. As Armond (2001) says, the J18 protest may have been ignored, but in Seattle "the Direct Action Network protesters were able to swarm their opponents; seizing key intersections on Tuesday and penetrating the 'no-protest' zone on Wednesday" (p. 210), resisting the AFL–CIO's goal to engulf the organization or rejecting the Black Block tactics of property destruction by the use of portable communications; "[f]loating above the tear gas was a pulsing infosphere of enormous bandwidth, reaching around the planet via the Internet" (pp. 210, 211).

The movement was a catalyst for the resistance movements of previous decades as well as the catalyser[178] for the movements that emerged after, adopting strategies and an open process of

[177] "[P]articipants are invited to gather at an underground station and, once there, a small group leads them to the final destination, which has been kept secret." (Blanco, 2013)

[178] Naomi Klein in her book *No Logo* (printed at the time of the Seattle protests) gave a great theoretical contribution to support and diffuse the Seattle protests' concerns and themes. This best-seller focuses on branding

tactics on a global scale for the first time. Its success was also confirmed by the new cycle of protests of the global movement, that kept in nomadic action during the following years – in Davos[179], Washington[180], Melbourne[181], Prague[182], Nice[183], Quebec[184], Gothenburg[185], Barcelona[186], Genoa[187] and Seville[188] (among other, smaller, protests around the world)[189] – and by the possibility of the production of an alternative in politics (Harvey, 2012 p. 111), as confirmed with the World Social Forum in 2001. In the first "network of movements, in which the unit is the network" (Castells, 2010 [1997] p. 147), the movement affirms its existence by the dynamics of domination and resistance that challenge the hegemony of neoliberal globalization (Nilsen, et al., 2010 p. 6) with demonstrations against global agents such as the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank or the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

In a summary of the four days of action in Seattle, there were three key moments that marked the success of the protesters: (1) the blockage of strategic intersections on Tuesday morning; (2) the surprise that they could create and collapse police strategy to suppress DAN actions during the AFL–CIO parade; and (3) the failure of the AFL–CIO's intentions (*Figure 17*). By these and the other referred facts, the Seattle protest was definitely a leading light in the contemporary cycle of protest: (i) a moment of significant criticism of neoliberal politics and current globalization; (ii) by the creation of a network of movements and an attempt to aggregate voices and demands in a common language as well as (iii) for its non–violent character.

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to discuss the process of globalization as well as the organization of Reclaim the Streets. The author contributed to the rise of the "movement of movements" (Hardt & Negri, 2004), and the book was adopted by the alter-globalization movement.

[179] World Economic Forum (WEF) from January 28 to February 2, 2000.

[180] International Monetary Fund (IMF)/World Bank meeting on April 16, 2000.

[181] World Economic Forum (WEF) September 11– 13, 2000.

[182] International Monetary Fund (IMF)//World Bank meeting on September 26, 2000.

[183] Nice summit of the European Union on December 6, 2000.

[184] Summit of the Americas on April 20, 2001.

[185] European Union summit on June 14, 2001.

[186] World Bank meeting in Barcelona on June 25, 2001 (the meeting was cancelled and the protests transferred to the cyberspace) and Barcelona European Union summit on March 16, 2002.

[187] G-8 meeting in Genoa on July 19, 2001.

[188] European Union summit on June 15, 2002.

[189] The places of the anti-globalization protests were not chosen by chance but by the result of an agenda opposing the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, the European Council, the G8 or the World Economic Forum and was related to its strategic geography.

(i) Tova Benski, Lauren Langman, Ignacia Perugorría and Benjamín Tejerina (2013) contribute to the analysis of social movements based on the nature of current capitalism globalization. Adopting Harvey's (2007) conception of neoliberalism[190], this is a practice broadly adopted since the 1970s that persuades the state to preserve institutions at the same time that it diverges the state from responsibility for the welfare system. As the authors refer, Harvey (2007) coins the process of neoliberalism as a process of "creative destruction", seeking to bring all human action into the domain of the market. In Harvey (2007), capital is this endless process of social transformation based on the perpetual desire of the new, creating its own "historical geography" (p. 343): "[t]he process masks and fetishizes […] creates new wants and needs, exploits the capacity for human labour and desire, transforms spaces, and speeds up the pace of life" (p. 343), as in Hardt and Negri's (2000) definition of the "degenerative process" of the Empire. On the other hand, the partial dissolution of national borders enabled a massive change in the flows of manufacturing and the deindustrialization of some regions, the growth of precarious conditions for workers, unemployment growth and consequently the wide spread of inequality and poverty. Considering such a framework, we face a new transition in the sociological composition and claims of the political spheres of old social movements, to the realm of civil society, in the new social movements, and more recently, with the "new new" social movements, to the recognition not just as citizens but also as human beings (Benski, et al., 2013 p. 551).

If all the struggles from the end of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century had their origins in local problems or concerns, the cycle of struggles that started by the end of 2010 also focused part of their attention on local – mainly national – problems, but are, at the same time, all part of a global struggle. Besides their distinct discourses, they are all struggling against the capitalist model and are based on the struggles of the multitude. This is something that we have glimpsed since the event of Seattle; a struggle of "the all", "the 99%" against "the few", "the 1%" or the small elites that detain capital. Hardt and Negri (2012) confirm later the distinctions between the different social movements, not adopting the distinction of "new" and "new new" social movements, but recognizing the "struggles of 2011" as part of the same cycle of protests. They: "confront the same enemy, characterized by the powers of debt, the media,

[190] In Harvey (2007), neoliberalism is: "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade." (p. 2)

the security regime, and the corrupt systems of political representation" (p. 65), even if the protagonists are different or have uneven forms of life, or the sites are far apart. These social movements, despite their apparently different goals, can come together with a broader common goal, connect and combine with each other, as if the possibilities of the communication era would finally be put to use.

(ii) Castells (2010 [1997]) recognized the effect of communication in the "new social movements". However, fifty years later (2013 [2012]), he also pointed out that the differences that emerged in these recent years underline the emergence of the internet social movements as organized on a multimodal system. Besides virtual occupation, they also need to occupy physical space, and have the global wish and need to build a new democratic system based on a bottom-up structure. The structure's multimodal organization, based on a ground-up culture and lack of hierarchy, empowers the structure and decreases the possibility of harsh repression from the outside, as there is no specific target and several stakeholders can perform each function. Contemporary social movements focus on encouraging people and raising awareness, on the empowerment of society as in the production of the commons, first based on commonalities or local and national constrains but always acting on a global sphere and scale (pp. 216-223). The economic dimension of the struggle has been absorbed in the legitimization of the crisis, which becomes part of life, also legitimizing the production and channelling of anger towards productive ends (not merely as a critique of financial capital but as a critique of a society without social and human relations) and the progressive transformation of society.

Although we can find some similarities with the contemporary cycle of protests, there are still important differences that may be found in the origins of the contemporary cases. If with the protest in Seattle there was an attempt to make a step further in the aggregation of grievances and demands, gathering all the different interests and groups into a global and multiple principle, we could say that this approach towards the construction of a global social movement, or "the movement of movements", is finally and clearly represented in the Spanish organization of the "Tides" (*Mareas*).

In comparison with the contemporary protests, we can identify similarities in the need to unify and gather together unions, parties, environmentalists, human rights or social justice movements and civil society in general, in the same space and using the same tools. If in 1999 these groups were still calling their demands, creating a mixed and chaotic cacophony of different voices – as happened on the second day of the event, when trade unionists,

environmentalists, Anarchists, and so forth, acted together in a horizontal structure and without a central leader – in recent protests, different voices and demands have appeared more organized, centring around the generic theme of constructing a real global democracy. Despite this divergency of voices, the space was an effective necessity for both. In Seattle, similar to the voices, the spaces were more diverse and the demonstrations were still mobile, whereas in recent examples, the territorial grounding to the squares with encampments and assemblies also conveys the unity of all demands.

(iii) The approach towards the construction of a global social movement was also an aim to keep non-violent actions – an attempt we also recognize in the construction of contemporary protests, even if, also similar to some recent events, the peaceful atmosphere could not be maintained, both because of police reaction and because of the violent interventions of some factions, such as the Black Block group. During the protests, and in contrast to the diffused idea of Seattle as a peaceful city, nicknamed the Emerald City, the downtown and Capitol Hill became for several hours, during the four days of protests, a kind of militarized zone, showing that the city grid was conducive to the strategy of blockages (see *Figure 17* for a synthesis of the events during the four days).

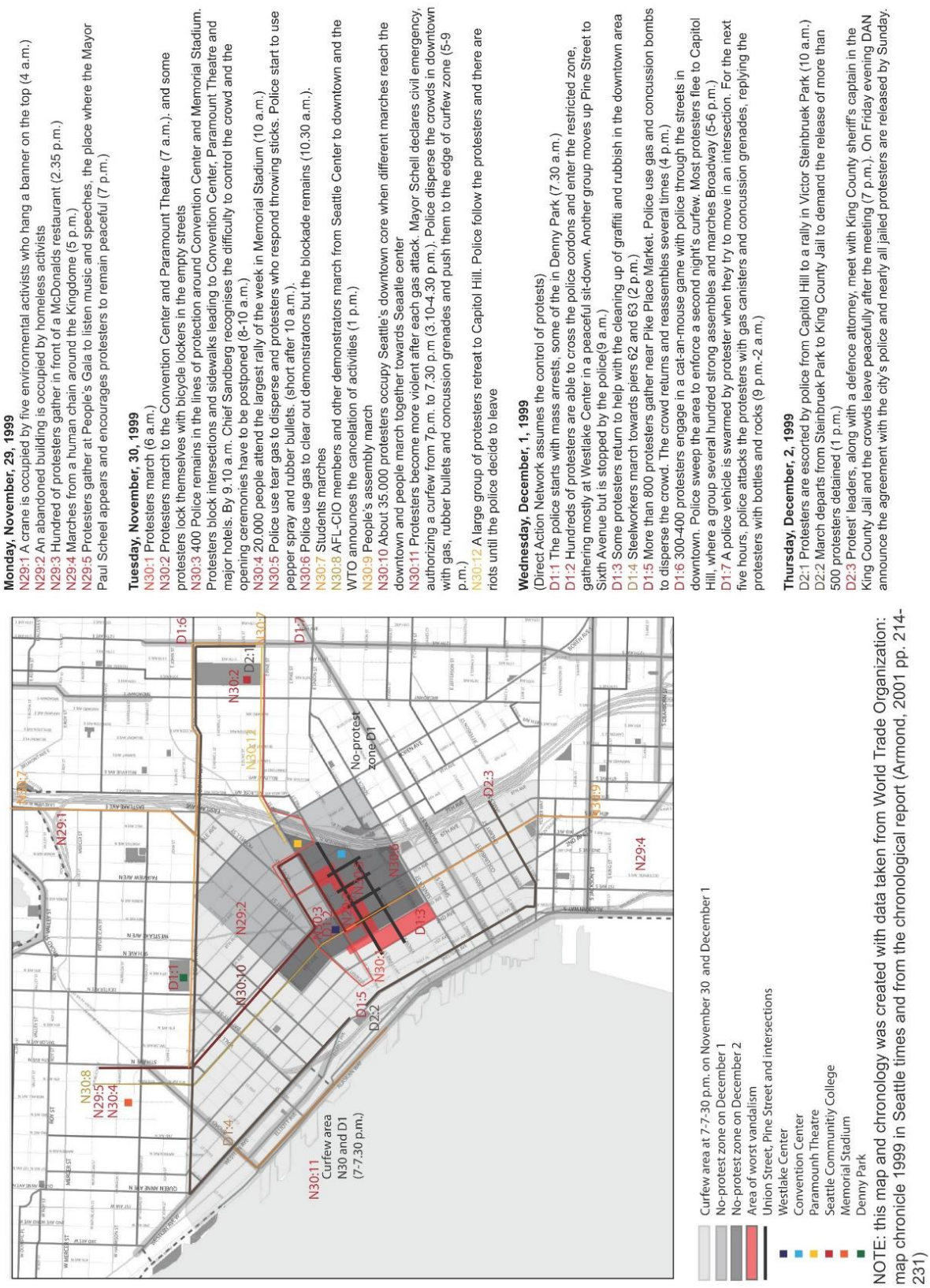

Figure 17 1999 WTO protests in Seattle. Map created adopting the information from "Seattle Times: WTO in Seattle 1999 Map Chronicle".

3. Case studies: Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square

> If History is "Time", as it claims to be, then the uprising is a moment that springs up and out of Time, violates the "law" of History. If the State is History, as it claims to be, then the insurrection is the forbidden moment, an unforgivable denial of the dialectic—shimmying up the pole and out of the smokehole, a shaman's maneuver carried out at an "impossible angle" to the universe. History says the Revolution attains "permanence," or at least duration, while the uprising is "temporary". In this sense an uprising is like a "peak experience" as opposed to the standard of "ordinary" consciousness and experience. Like festivals, uprisings cannot happen every day–otherwise they would not be "nonordinary". But such moments of intensity give shape and meaning to the entirety of a life. The shaman returns—you can't stay up on the roof forever—but things have changed, shifts and integrations have occurred—a difference is made. (Bey, 1985)

3.1. Puerta del Sol

3.1.1. Historical analysis

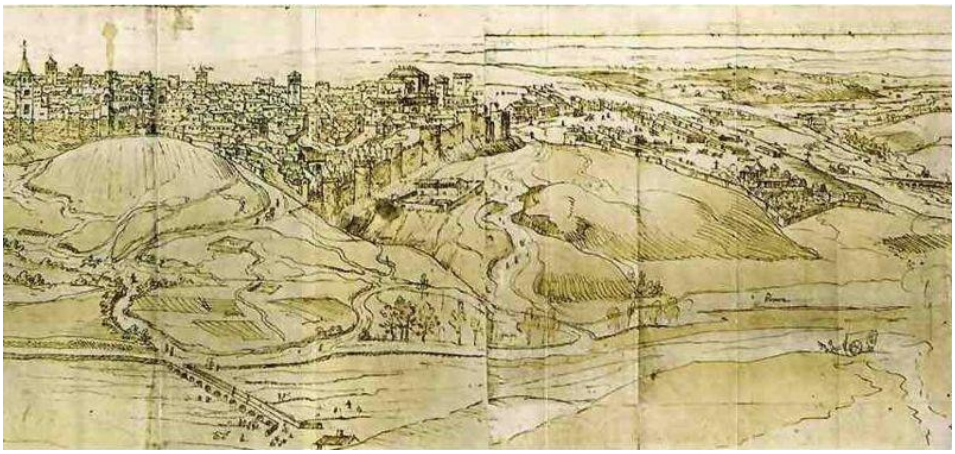

Figure 18 Anton Van der Wyngaerde, 1562. View from Madrid. Source: Wikicommons.

In contrast to Puerta del Sol's crucial role in the history of Spain and Madrid over the last few centuries, its history and the origin of its name are shrouded in uncertainty, both in the explanation of its toponymy and the process of its transformation from gate to square. If there are no exact descriptions, some authors, such as José Maria Sanz Garcia (2000), argue that the impossibility of being more accurate is because the city's first cartographic plan dates from a time after the gate and the Moorish wall had already been demolished. In fact, the lack of cartographic or descriptive material is also related to the city's disrupted history and the transformations of Puerta del Sol in settling the capital in Madrid; theories about Puerta del

Sol's existence as a portal are prior to this date. The first representation of the city with its gates (at the time only with Puerta de Guadalajara[191]) dates from 1562, in a painting by Wyngaerde[192] (*Figure 18*).

Despite the divergences in theories and descriptions, the first two theorists writing about Puerta del Sol as a gate were Juan López de Hoyos and Diego de Colmenares. In a study of contemporary historians, López de Hoyos' thesis seems to be the most followed and adopted; he was the first person to describe the place as a wide area or a square, supporting its current urban configuration. However, there are some contradictions in Hoyos' thesis (Laporta, 2000 p. 11): he supports the construction of the gate only after Guadalajara gate's fire (in 1580)[193], whereas other documents confirm different versions. Following Luis Miguel Aparisi Laporta (2000), we find one contradictory description in *Historia de Segovia* (Colmenares, 1633)[194], where the author mentions the demolition of the gate for the reception of Anna of Austria (Felipe II's[195] fourth wife) on November 26, 1570[196], due to the impossibility of passing through its narrow arch (Cruz, 2007 p. 470). Another contradiction is found in the 1202 Madrid Charter, where the Guadalajara gate is already mentioned: "[a]ny man who throws manure in the centre of the village, in the streets or elsewhere by the door of Guadalajara or by other doors where milestones have been placed, must pay"[197] ([n.a.], 1202). Manuel Mesonero Valles (2000) suggests that the demolition occurred in the 1560s, due to intense urban growth in the 16th century (p. 20). López de Hoyos' thesis to justify the toponymy of the square is adopted, among others, by Valles (2000) and described by Romanos[198] (1831; 1861) as based on two reasons:

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[191] The gate was initially described by two authors – Juan López de Hoyos and Diego de Colmenare – as is transcribed and analysed in Romanos (1861 pp. 68-73).

[192] Antón Van den Wyngaerde, the Flemish painter and surveyor, painted a panoramic view from the city of Madrid in a perspective from the outside, facing out of Guadalajara gate (Garcia, 2000) (*Figure 18*).

[193] Antonio Bouza (1998) cites a description by Jerónimo de la Quintana from 1629 of the Guadalajara fire during the celebrations of the victory over the court of Portugal, in 1580, caused by the enormous number of torches in the city (p. 92).

[194] The excerpt of the original in archaic Spanish: "Asfi eftuuieron hafta ela año mil y quinientos y quaréta y dos, que arruinandofe parte de aquella puerta, fueran quitadas. Y nuefta Cuidad enbio a Diego del Hierro Regidor, que pidieffe fueffen reftituidas: como fe prometio fin auerfe cumplido hafta hoi. Antes fubiendo aquella Real Villa a la grandeza en q hoi eftà con afsiftécia de la Corte: y deshaziédofe la puerta para enfanchar la calle, que hoi conferua el nonbre de Puerta de Guadalaxara: fe perdio efte monuméto." (p. 89)

[195] Felipe II's reign: January 16, 1556 to September 13, 1598.

[196] This information contradicts Correa (1990), who makes reference to the entrance of Felipe II's second wife in 1572 (p. 19).

[197] Translated by the author from the original: "LXXXV. De estercoris. Toto homine qui ienctaret esterco in uilla per las calles uel in alio loco ala porta de gualdafaiara uel a las otras portas unde posuer los moiones, pectet".

[198] Ramón Mesonero Romanos can be considered the first historian of Madrid because, as he states in his book's introduction, all previous writers had failed in their attempts to write the history of the city (Romanos, 1831 p. 1).

first by the east solar exposition of the square, and second because of a fortification wall built by the community, with a ditch and gate for protection, on which a sun was painted on top of the city entrance, after a time of wars and pacification (Valles, 2000 p. 13; Romanos, 1861 p. 266). In Romanos' description of the sun painted on the wall (1844), the author supports the construction of the gate in 1520 with the purpose of fortifying and protecting the city, describing the space as an irregular star-shaped area, connecting all the major streets (p. 231). Despite the short existence of Puerta del Sol as a gate, it remained for many centuries in the memory, crystallized in the toponymy of the square. In the absence of reliable information, there are suppositions about the appearance or the shape of the gate, described as a solid portal both in appearance and materiality[199]. Anachronic to these descriptions are others exposed by Laporta (2000), namely in an article where he refers to a part of Calle Grande and Puerta del Sol being paved in 1498 (p. 12), or the reference to cobblestones being laid for the reception of Princess and Prince Juana "La Loca" and Felipe "El Hermoso", on January 24, 1502. A third mention, from 1503, presents Puerta del Sol as already an open space in the city: "see and note, the road of Puerta del Sol, a piece of land that the race takes the vicar, is to give the other party the way d'Alcala." [200] (p. 13) Like Laporta (2000), Valles (2000) also affirms that Puerta del Sol was already a consolidated area in 1478 (pp. 11, 15), based on documentation dating from 1440–50, in which the open area is described, even if still far from the consolidated city (p. 12). According to Valles (2000), Puerta del Sol was a Christian wall gate, built in the 12th century and transformed into a square as a consequence of urban growth outside the walls of Madrid starting in the 14th century (during this period the city developed eastwards in the direction of Alcalá) (*Figure 19*). Considering these descriptions, we may confirm that, at a certain time, the portal was converted into a square and its demolition built an invisible "arc of Triumph" (Valles, 2000 p. 27), opened to the city of Madrid. According to the given descriptions of the open area, this initial space was still outside the city walls, confirming the nonexistence of open spaces inside the city. It also confirms, as Leopoldo Torres Balbás (1968 [1954]) exposes, that, during Medieval times, the square [designated in Hispanic Arab as the *rahba* (*ribah* or *rahbad* in the plural) or the *suq* (*aswaq* in the plural)] was just a place to install permanent or temporary commercial stalls, not necessarily placed inside the walled city but in an open area (p. 95).

[199] As mentioned before, the gate was described by Juan López de Hoyos and Diego de Colmenares.
[200] Translated by the author from the original: "véa y señalen, camino de la Puerta del Sol, un pedaço de suelo que por la carrera que se toma al vicario, se le a de dar por la otra parte del camino d'Alcala."

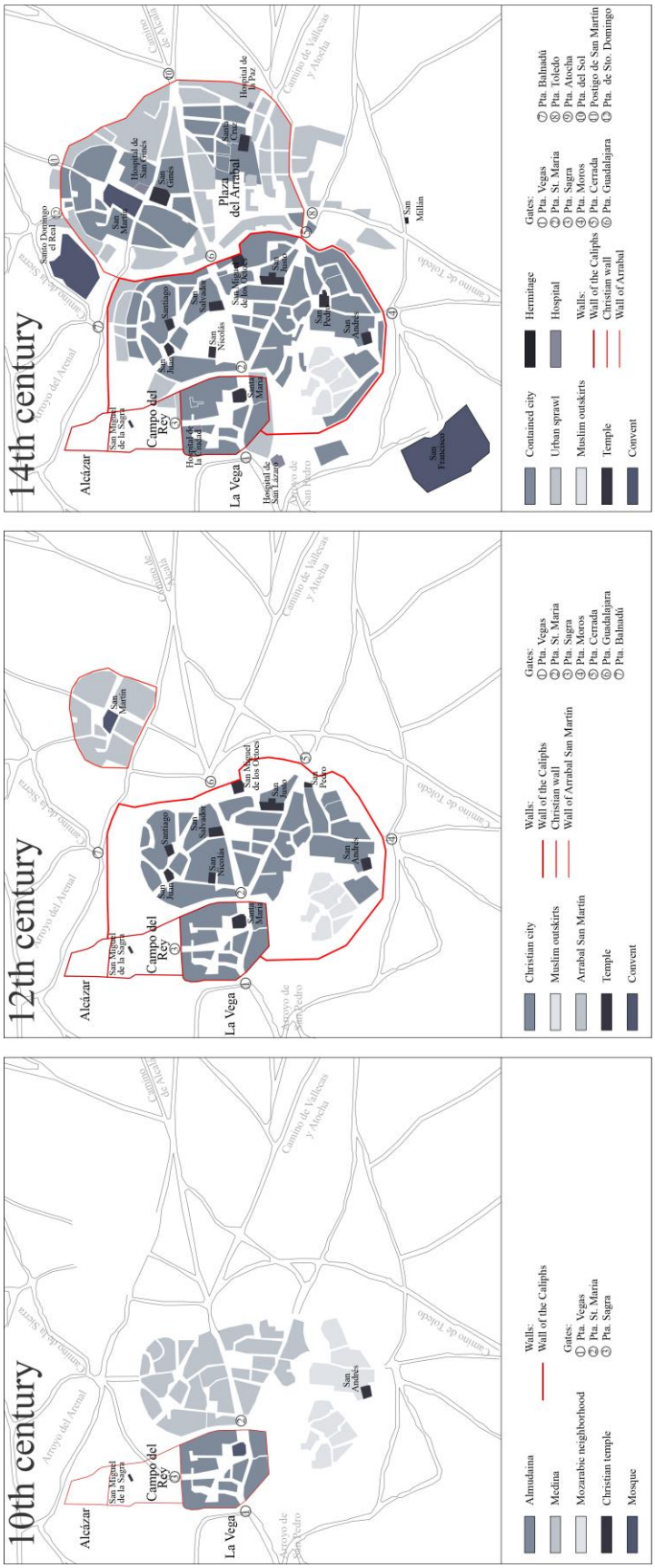

Figure 19 Madrid's urban development, based on the maps of Madrid Histórico. Source: madridhistorico.com.

The recognition of the portal's importance emerged mainly when the city had no really distinct urban areas; the portal is referenced to the entrance of the kings, first for Carlos V[201], and then for his son Felipe II's entourage. When King Carlos V decided to install his court in Spain, all the medieval settlements were narrow urban structures, with modest, low-quality houses. Felipe II's first visit to the city was on January 6, 1560, shortly before his decision to settle the court in Madrid[202], transforming the town into the capital of Spain, on May 7, 1561. As J. A. Gaya Nuño ([n.d.]) says, confirming multiple transformations during this period, not even a century later, Madrid was already the interception of all Spain's principal roads (p. 10) and the country's most populous city, with dramatic growth caused by people migrating from local provinces in search of work (Parsons, 2003 p. 13). The population rose from 18,000 inhabitants in 1561 to 80,000 in 1568 (by the end of Felipe II's reign). Carlos V and Felipe II were the main actors in transforming existing medieval settlements into a regular-grid city, imposing similar norms of regularity on newborn cities. An illustration of these royal wills and norms is the construction of the Plaza Mayor in Valladolid, which Felipe II[203] tried to replicate (in failed trials) in the city of Toledo, or with Juan de Herrera's project for Plaza Mayor[204] in Madrid.

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[201] Carlos V, Holy Roman Emperor (1519–56) or Carlos I, king of Spain (1516–56) and archduke of Austria (1519–21) (Ferdinandy, 2014).

[202] Carlos V, first king of Spain, never had a fixed court, mainly for political reasons but also because there was no city in Spain with notable enough buildings to justify this choice. For those reasons, during his reign, the court moved between different cities, including Valladolid, Toledo, Zaragoza, Barcelona, Granada and Madrid (Vera, 1968 [1954] p. 177).

[203] Felipe II was also the author of the regular urban grid of Mexico City and of the compilation of norms in a legal form of urban and regional land ordinance for the new Hispano-American conquered cities with the document *Ordinances of Discovery, New Settlement, and Pacification* (*Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Nueva Población y Pacificación*), distributed in 1573, containing structural guidelines on how to organize and design a city.

[204] Plaza Mayor remains from the open area outside the city walls, used as a market and at the time of Juan II de Castilla known as the "Plaza del Arrabal". Arrabal is the Arabic derivation from *ar-rabad*, the designation for the populated area outside the walled Muslim city (Ruiz, 2012 p. 179). Felipe II, following the success of the first Spanish Plaza Mayor (in Valladolid, built after the 1561 fire by architect Francisco de Salamanca), in 1580 ordered the transformation of the irregular area of Plaza do Arrabal into a Plaza Mayor to the architect Juan de Herrera who starts on the following year with the regularization of the North and East façades (García, 2008 p. 266). Plaza Mayor, the rectangular square, is the result of the evolution of social life in Spain, and the transformations after the court and the need to have a space for celebrations and festivities (Vera, 1968 [1954] p. 192). The designation Plaza Mayor appears for the first time on June 17, 1532, even if the common designation is still Plaza del Arrabal (p. 197). The square's original project was designed by Francisco de Mora and built by his nephew, the architect Juan Gómes de Mora. The works for the square started in 1617 (approved on September 11) and were finished in 1619 (official opening on November 16). The project went through slight upgrades, but it was during Felipe III's reign, after the first and second fires in 1631 and 1672 respectively, that major transformations happened, mainly by the transformations of Casa de la Panadería. The contemporary layout of the square is different from the original. It was designed by the Neoclassical architect Juan de Villanueva in a difficult reconstruction after a third fire in the square in 1790. The fire destroyed eastern, southern and western façades and the architect transformed the accesses to the square, eliminating occasional entrances and proposing an orthogonal geometry of accesses, as well as some other architectural changes, reflecting bourgeois Spanish lifestyle (Correa, 1985).

In the 16th century, the Puerta del Sol–Plaza Mayor axis was consolidated by the arrival of artisans (Valles, 2000 p. 11) and as a consequence of city growth during the century. Following some theories, the city gate of Puerta del Sol was demolished (uncertain date, around 1560–70), and the area transformed into an urban void, a public space used as a square (Valles, 2000 p. 19). Romanos (1861) references Lopez de Hoyos' description of Puerta del Sol as a wide area: "this was converted into a widely spacious place, called Puerta del Sol"[205] (p. 266), in 1570 (p. 266). Pedro Navascués Palacio (1968) confirms the demolition date as being uncertain, although coincident to the installation of the Spanish court (p. 64). Before its demolition, Puerta del Sol was already one of the main city crossroads or city arteries, connecting the urban fabric with the agricultural areas along Castellana and the surrounding settlements of Ambroz and Viválvaro. Valles (2000), in a topographical analysis of the area and its surroundings, mentions the existence of 43 water pits in Puerta del Sol[206], and the space already being used as a transition from the inner city to agricultural areas, during the 15th century (p. 21). It is this plenitude of water that stimulated King Felipe III's[207] decision to construct the first public fountain in the city, the "fountain of Puerta del Sol"[208], in 1618 (Vera, 1968 [1954] p. 209).

The first plan of Madrid, sometimes cited from an unknown author and some others by Marcelli or De Witt dating from 1622 to 1635, already shows Puerta del Sol as the city centre, with the fountain at its core (*Figure 20*). Analyzing further plans, the square's centrality remained, analogous to its political centrality during the centuries ahead, even after the construction of Plaza Mayor[209] or the Plan Castro[210]. In the plan from De Witt from the early 17th century, the

[205] Translated by the author from the original: "este se fabricó en un lugar harto espacioso, que llaman la Puerta del Sol".
[206] Confirming this theory, during excavation works for the expansion of the metro station in 2003, workers found two water sheets, one of them in Puerta del Sol only 4 metres deep (Rubio & Cózar, 2003).
[207] Felipe III's reign: September 13, 1598 to March 31, 1621.
[208] Following King Felipe III's decisions, several other fountains were built in the squares of the city of Madrid (Vera, 1968 [1954] p. 209). The fountain was designated Fountain Mariblanca only seven years later, when the statue of Ludovico Turqui was placed on top of the monument, in 1625.
[209] Plaza Mayor was built to be the square of representation and became a space for several festivals and celebrations. Besides some Catholic rituals, as the site for monarchic weddings and baptisms, the square was mostly used as a bullfighting arena.
[210] Plan Castro, also referred to as the "Ensanche" (Widening), is the designation of the plan designed by the engineer Carlos Maria Castro, following a royal decree from Queen Isabel II, from April 8, 1857 (Lasarte, 1968 [1954] p. 265). The plan, presented in May 1859 and approved in June 19, 1860, was the first comprehensive urban plan for the city, designed for a time period of 100 years (even if the real urban population grew faster). Besides some other changes, the plan established the demolition of Felipe's wall as well as the division of the city into three distinct territories: the old town (*interior*), the extension zone (*ensanche*), and the outside area, designated as rural (*extrarradio*) (Área de Gobierno de urbanismo y vivienda, 2010) (*Figure 21*).

church and the convent of San Felipe el Real are already represented on the southwest side of the square as well as the convents of Buen Suceso and Nuestra Señora de las Victorias on the east side.



Figure 20 Marcelli–De Witt, 1622–1635. First plan of Madrid. Source: BNE.

The construction of Buen Suceso church (between Calle Alcalá and Carrera San Jerónimo) dates from 1590, but its history and original building were prior, from the times of the plague in Madrid. In 1438, a virulent plague swept through Madrid, and the king built a hospital and a small hermitage on the outskirts of the city (outside the city walls) – the hospital San Andrés – to accommodate affected people (Delclaux & Sanabria, 1991, p. 91). During Carlos V's reign (in 1529), the hermitage and the hospital were refurbished to accommodate the country's first permanent military hospital, renamed the Royal Hospital (Kleiser, 1926, p. 90). Coincident with these works, the area of Puerta del Sol assumed the structure of a square (Valles, 2000, p. 21) as referred to before. In 1590, Felipe II, confronted with the deterioration of a central building, commissioned the refurbishment of both areas (the church and hospital). The works were finished by 1611, during his son Felipe III's reign, and he decided to rename the church Buen Suceso, in honour to a saint he was devotee Our Lady of Good Success (*Virgen del Buen Suceso*), an image coming from the Hospital. Due to the poor quality of construction (Gallo, 2013b), the building underwent several refurbishments until its demolition. José Olmo

undertook the second refurbishment works in 1697–1700. The decoration of the new portico, reminiscent of the Parthenon, took place in 1846 (Romanos, 1861, p. 276). As Antonio Bonet Correa (1978) remarks, during Felipe II and Felipe III's reigns, although a diversity of ideas emerged to transform the city, due to economic difficulties, these intentions materialized only in some works in Plaza Mayor and modest transformations in Santa Cruz Square and Puerta del Sol, keeping the rest of the city in the process of spontaneous development and growth (p. 31).

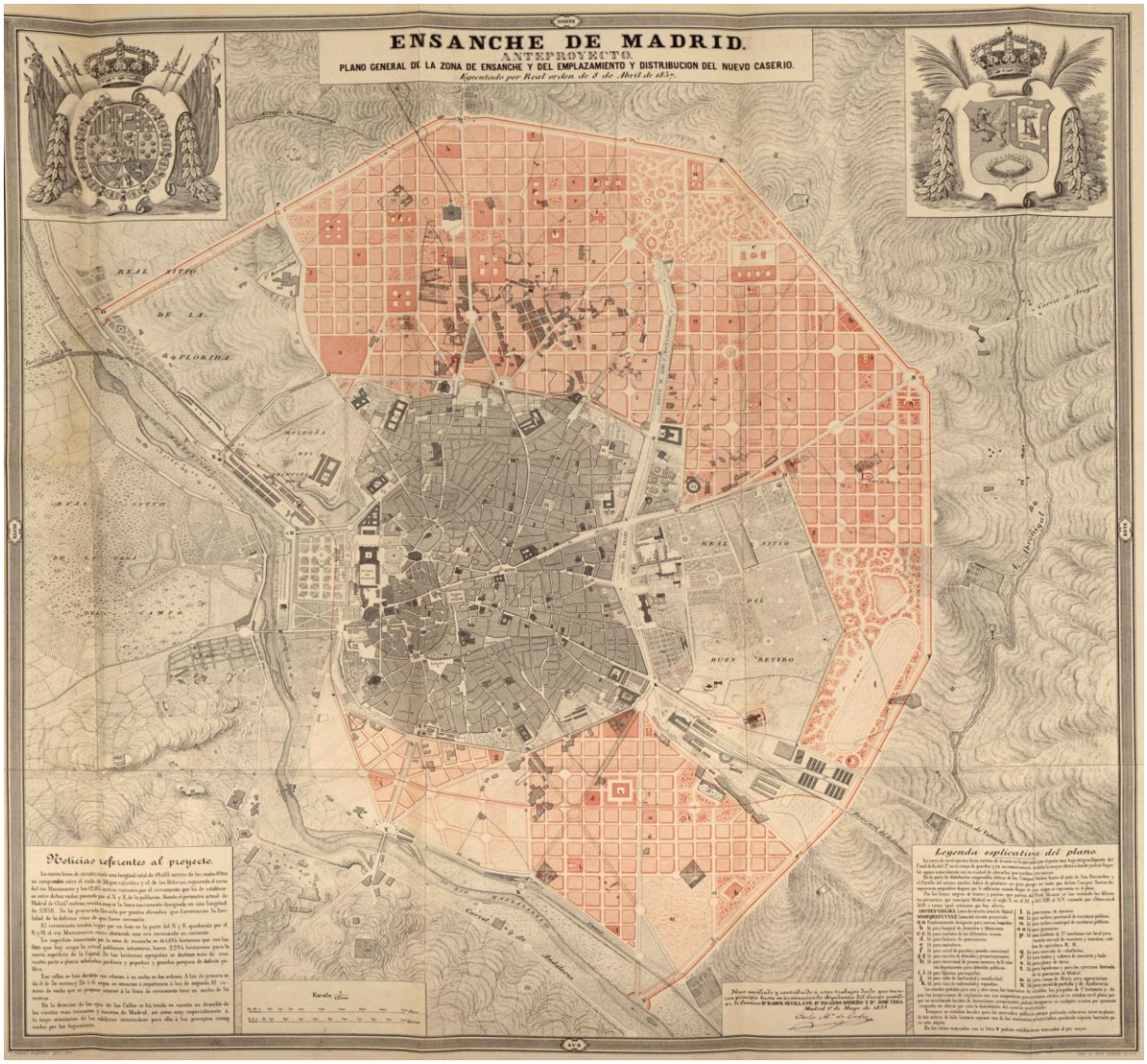

Figure 21 Carlos Maria Castro, 1860. Plan Castro. Source: Biblioteca digital de la comunidad de Madrid.

Despite the low number of effective construction works in the city, those that occurred were mainly due to the clerical class, such as the construction of the church and convent San Felipe el Real, commissioned by Felipe II and baptized in honour of the Saint Philip the Apostle, to

whom he was great devotee. The edifice was built in 1547[211] by the Augustine monastery. For a certain period in history, it was the most notable building in the square and the city, in particular because of the market and shops on the ground floor or the iron-fenced forecourt on the above floor, which was used by inhabitants for social meetings and to share news, confirming the square as the most widely recognized meeting point in the city:

> [t]he gossiping place, the place of gossip and rumours, was, for several years, the iron-fenced forecourt of the church San Felipe el Real, at the exact place where Earl of Villamediana was slain, in the corner where Correos Street and Calle Mayor begin. Even if the building was torn down, people with idle time kept meeting there, perhaps by the spell or the sounds of the street.[212] (Nuño, [n.d.] p. 140)

In 1561, the religious order of priest Juan de Victoria also settled in Puerta del Sol. What was initially a provisional building in front of the Buen Suceso church on August 7 that year, with the celebration of its first mass, became the permanent convent of Nuestra Señora de las Victorias (Kleiser, 1926 p. 90).

During the second half of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th (during the reigns of Felipe II and Felipe III), the city of Madrid was consolidated by the great number of religious buildings, occupying, at that time, one-third of the city's territory. When Felipe IV[213] ascended the throne, the number of religious buildings increased even more (Vera, 1968 [1954] p. 199), confirmed in the words of Jerónimo de la Quintana in 1629 and cited in Vera, when he mentions the existence of 73 religious buildings in Madrid in that year (p. 201). If this disparity of occupation of religious buildings in comparison with civil buildings already predicts hard living conditions, this became even more evident; it became even more difficult to own a proper house with Felipe IV's order to fence and delimitate the inner city in 1625 (p. 206).

In the 18th century, the most notable transformation in Puerta del Sol happened with the construction of Real Casa de Correos, promoting a significant change to the urban grid (see the distinction in the plans in *Figure 22*) and demoting Buen Suceso church to a second level of

[211] The author of the project remains unknown, being known only by the names of Andrés de Nantes by the reconfiguration of the cloisters and Francisco de Mora by the improvement works in 1600 (Osa, 2007 p. 338).
[212] Translated by the author from the original: "Es que el mentidero, el lugar de hablillas y rumores, fueran, durante larguísimos años, las gradas de la iglesia de San Felipe el Real, donde fué muerto el conde de Villamediana, en el preciso lugar donde, esquina a la calle de Correos, comienza la Calle Mayor. No importa que el tal edificio se derribase; los ociosos siguen acudiendo, quizá al conjuro de los variadísimos gritos callejeros."
[213] Felipe IV's reign: March 31, 1621 to September 17, 1665.

importance. Carlos III[214], aware of the importance of spatiality in politics, and the meaning of Puerta del Sol in Spain's capital, aimed to be responsible for changing the urban form in the city centre. He commissioned the magnificent building of Casa dos Correos to the French architect Jaime Marquet, even though there was a previous project from Ventura Rodríguez[215], commissioned by Fernando VI[216], which was complete at the time. Rodriguèz's project was abandoned when, during the first interventions in the area, Fernando VI was succeeded by Carlos III, impeding the continuation of the works. The building was constructed only in 1760–68, but the Spanish architect still managed some of the demolition works, namely of houses 105 and 106[217] in Puerta del Sol, for the construction of his project (Palacio, 1962 p. 68). Focusing on these two different approaches for the building to be erected in Puerta del Sol, the main difference between them focused on the existence of a central rectangular courtyard in Ventura Rodríguez's project, giving shape to the rest of the building, whereas in Jaime Marquet's project, the building presents two nuclear courtyards. The building of three floors was finished just after Jaime Marquet's death and, in the opinion of experts, follows the Louis XV architectural style – a contemporary neoclassical style with some influences of the Classic style (p. 69).

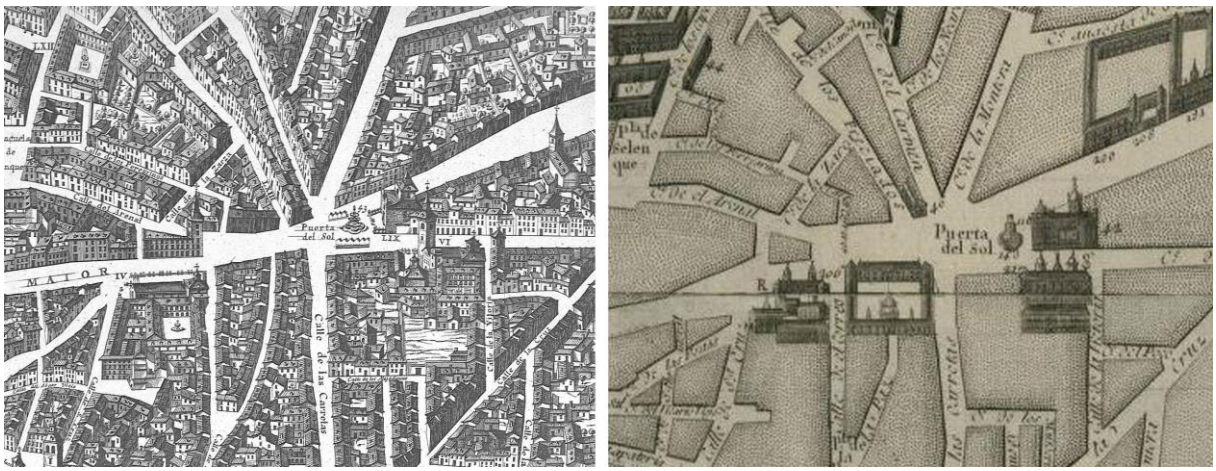

Figure 22 Puerta del Sol in Plan Teixeira, 1656 and in Nicolás de Chalmandrier's plan, 1761.

If Carlos III expressed the need to project the city of Madrid as a capital, he was not a visionary in terms of city growth: the reforms were mainly guided by European Enlightenment ideals of

[214] Carlos III's reign: August 10, 1759 to December 14, 1788.
[215] Ventura Rodríguez was an architect who had worked for the court since his youth. During Fernando VI's reign, the time of triumph, the ideology was expressed through a Nationalist Baroque style (Correa, 1990 p. 98).
[216] Fernando VI's reign: July 9, 1746 to August 10, 1759.
[217] In some maps, the houses show the numbers 205 and 206.

hygiene, such as the creation of new roads and new traffic schemes as well as street lighting, or the creation of more open green spaces and the beautification of some façades (Felguera, 1979 p. 484; Sambricio, 1979 p. 489). The plan, organized by the Italian architect of the reign, Francisco Sabatini, and summarized in the document "Instructions for the new cobbled streets and cleaning of Madrid's streets" (*Instrucciones para nuevo empedrado y limpieza de las calles de Madrid*) (Sambricio, 1979 p. 490), lacked the vision to solve problems for future generations. This plan was never concluded, due to the interruption of the Esquilache riots and King Carlos III's interventions for a classicist makeover of the city (Correa, 1990 p. 95). Valles (2000) justified the centrality of the place during history, first because it was the city's main exit and then because it was the crossing point of the strategic axis connecting Alcalá, Carretas and Montera. The city's urban shape during the centuries ahead followed a polycentric growth, concentric in relation to the square, keeping the centrality of Puerta del Sol; at least until Plan Castro in the 19th century. Until this plan, and following the construction of Plaza Mayor with the main goal of relocating the market from the outskirts to the city centre and erasing the Muslim culture's[218] legacy, in 1617 the two squares were considered as the two poles of an magnet, in which the people of the city used to converge.

As already mentioned, in the period of Casa de Correos' construction, the square witnessed popular turmoil against the dominant power of minister Leopoldo de Gregoris, Marquis de Esquilache (in the reign of Carlos III). Also known as the Esquilache riots, this was the first known popular political use of the square. The decree of Leopoldo de Gregoris, issued on March 10, 1766, aimed to impose a new kind of traditional costume for men, with the substitution of long capes and broad-brimmed hats (*chambergos*) for short capes and three-cornered hats. This adoption of the French style was an attempt to modernize Spain, even if the changes were also justified by security reasons, as long capes could hide weapons and large hats could conceal faces. The demonstrations followed the new orders and occurred from the end of March until early May (Oleachea, 2003 p. 37), having its apotheosis by the end of March in Madrid and a major riot on March 23. As Rafael Oleachea (2003) explains, the turmoil cannot be isolated from the general economic and political situation in the country, as Spain was in the midst of a long period of crisis. The turmoil can be interpreted as the culmination of this long period of dissatisfaction, caused by the ministries' despotism, lack of articulation between ministries (pp.

[218] In the Muslim city, the social function of the square coincided with the market on the outskirts of the walls.

5-9), and consequent deception and depression among the population, living in a country that was unable to compete with any other in Europe (p. 9). After the recession and crisis resulting from the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the fragility of the military regime – one of the most important powers of absolutist regimes (p. 14) – the agricultural crisis between 1762 and 1766 (p. 27) and the consequent rise of the price of bread, to name just a few, were crucial elements to understand the event.

In the afternoon of March 23, Palm Sunday, about 2,000 men gathered in the city centre and walked on Calle Atocha and Plaza Mayor, in the direction of Esquilache's house, while yelling insults at him. During an invasion of Esquilache's house, rioters tried to murder the minister after confrontations with the Walloon guards[219] (*Guardia Valona*). Esquilache was able to escape and take refuge in the Royal Palace (p. 38), but the riots between military forces and civil society intensified, mainly after the Walloon guards' attacks killed a woman on March 24 during the walk to Carlos III's residence to present a petition expressing a list of demands[220]. The number of rioters escalated in the walk and the priest Cuenca, the rioters' representative, tried to meet the king and present the petition in Puerta del Sol[221] (Domínguez, 2009 p. 189), as illustrated by Francisco de Goya in his canvas *The Esquilache Riots*[222] (*El motín de Esquilache*) (*Figure 23*). As Romanos (1861) describes, Puerta del Sol was, at that time, instinctively chosen by the people as the central meeting point; even if the riots happened in several different areas in the city, Puerta del Sol was the place most related with the event (p. 270) because of the square's political charisma also in national politics. Fearing a worsening situation, the king accepted all popular demands, returning peace to the country and population (Montes, 2007).

[219] Special Forces recruited in Catholic Wallonia (now Belgium) for the Spanish Army.
[220] The list of demands included Esquilache's withdrawal, the dissolution of the Walloon guards, the reduction of food prices and the annulment of Esquilache's decree on the suppression of long capes and broad-brimmed hats.
[221] As explained in a further note, the exact location is unknown (Fundación Goya en Aragón, 2010).
[222] As explained in "The Esquilache Riots" fact sheet from "Goya en Aragón" Foundation, the canvas is attributed to Goya and represents a street scene in the city of Madrid but the exact location is not confirmed. The canvas was misunderstood by several authors (Sánchez Cantón and Milicua) and the interpretation of Pita Andrade follows historical facts to justify its composition (Fundación Goya en Aragón, 2010).



Figure 23 Francisco de Goya, ca. 1766, 67. *The Esquilache riots* (*El Motín de Esquilache*). Source: wikicommons.

A peaceful political atmosphere was restored in the city, but the urban configuration and population growth pressure still contributed to worsening living conditions in the city, which was crowded and unable to expand physically[223] to create a better quality of life for the population. In 1787, Jovellanos, in a precursor to the *Plan de Ensanche* (Widening plan) for Madrid, introduced to Floridablanca, at the time Carlos IV's minister[224], the first proposal to improve quality of life in the city – a compilation of norms to solve housing struggles within a plan to extend the city's existing physical structure. His aim was not to create a new city, although he considered the existing urban matrix as negative (Lasarte, 1968 [1954] pp. 254, 255), with the worst problem being the high number of "malice" houses (*casas a la malicia*) in the inner city (Castro, 1860 pp. 61, 62). Jovellanos' plan was never realized; after the great impact in the transformation of Puerta del Sol with the construction of Real Casa de Correos, creating functional changes not only in the square but also in the city structure, no other concrete changes took place in Carlos IV and Fernando VII's [225] reigns.

[223] The city wall was built for hygienic and tax purposes by Felipe IV in 1625, the enormous amount of clerical constructions and the legal obligation for every family to welcome a court employee into their houses.
[224] Carlos IV's reign: December 14, 1788 to March 19, 1808.
[225] Fernando VII's reigns: first from March 19 to May 6, 1808 and second from November 11, 1813 to September 29, 1833.



Figure 24 Goya, 1814. *The Second of May 1808* or *The Charge of the Mamelukes*. Source: Museo Prado.



Figure 25 Goya, 1814. *The Third of May*. Source: Museo do Prado.

If the square did not experience physical transformations, it was the stage for the most important symbolic and political one: the event of May 2 (1808), sometimes considered the birth of

Madrid's modern history. Alfonso de Carlos Peña (2000) refers to the great Madrilenian Ramón Gómez,[226] who considered May 2 as the baptism of the square by the leading role of the Madrilenian people (p. 7). Romanos (1861) coins the day as the blood baptism of the country, a heroic act against the conqueror of Europe (p. 271). Peña (2000) also refers to the writings of Don Juan Pérez de Guzmán Y Gavo, the main Spanish historian, in which he describes the Napoleonic troops as only about 150 Mamelouks but very well armed attacking the unarmed people of Madrid (p. 7). Quite often used is Goya's great painting *The Second of May 1808 – The Charge of the Mamelukes*[227] (1814) (*Figure 24*) to historically substantiate the scene, represented as taking place in Puerta del Sol, even if there are now doubts over whether the clashes really took place in the square. Janis A. Tomlinson, an expert on Goya, argues that the images of Puerta del Sol were used as a background for the scene to create a logical sequence from the squad on May 2 to the shooting scene on May 3 (p. 9). George Demerson substantiates that the possible observations for May 2 may have been taken from the apartment of Goya's son, who was living nearby (Riba, 1963 pp. LV, LVI) in number 9, Calle Zarza (León, 2006 p. 312). Although theorists have now proven the paintings are not valid as historical documents, the mentioned image, together with Goya's painting *The Third of May – the Executions in Moncloa*[228] (1814) (*Figure 25*), is often used to summarize the 24-hour struggle between the Madrilenian people and Napoleon's troops. Apart from the discussion on Goya's paintings, the epic day in the history of Madrid, with an estimated 35–40 deaths (Peña, 2000 p. 10) in front of the Royal Palace, showed the bravery of those people. In the words of the king of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte[229] and his brother Napoleon, who recognized the power of the people and their bravery: "[t]he Spaniards, en masse, behaved as a man of honour"[230] (p. 10), and decided to roll back their intentions to invade Madrid and the territory of Spain. Although some experts

[226] Ramón Gómez de la Serna was a Madrilenian journalist in the early 20th century who made a great contribution to the construction of the city's history with his spatial psychodynamic descriptions of Madrid, considered similar in style to Walter Benjamin's Modern descriptions of Paris (Parsons, 2003 p. 99): "[h]e wrote obsessively, over a period of half a century, on all aspects of the space, culture and phenomena of the city, combining the ambulatory reverie of the *flâneur* with a distinct focus on the social, topographical and mythological landscape of the Spanish capital." (p. 104 [Emphasis in the original])
[227] In Spanish: "El dos de mayo de 1808 – La Carga de los Mamelucos".
[228] In Spanish: "El tres de mayo de 1808 – Los fusilamientos de la Moncloa".
[229] José Bonaparte's reign: June 6, 1808– December 11, 1813.
[230] Translated by the author from the original: "Los españoles, en masa, se portaron como un hombre de honor". This sentence is mentioned in several articles but we could not find the original.



Figure 26 Plate in honour of the people who fought on May 2, 1808, against Napoleon's troops in the square. Puerta del Sol, 2012.

argue that the confrontations happened in front of the Royal Palace (p. 11), because of the political meaning of Puerta del Sol, the brave act is still commemorated in the square with a plate thanking the People from Madrid (*Figure 26*) or the fifty-year celebrations happening there, even amid a scene of construction works (*Figure 27*). It is also notable that this event was not singular and separate from the developments of history, as Laura Desfor Edles (1998) refers: "[t]he nineteenth century was one of continuous political turmoil in Spain" (p. 27); despite attempts to "Europeanize" Spain, Spaniards resisted. The event of 1808 was the climax of the long struggle "between French liberalism and traditional Spanish monarchy" (p. 27), which took shape not by a state rebellion but a rebellion of the multitude after the Treaty of Fontainebleau, signed in 1807 between Carlos IV of Spain and Napoleon I of France, legally allowing access to Napoleon's troops. Several theories justify the event (see García, 2008 pp. 5, 6), but the fall of Carlos IV on March 19, forced by the French, and the non-justified exit of Fernando VII to meet Napoleon on April 10 (López, 2010 p. 140; García, 2008 p. 8), are determining factors contributing to the revolt and the consequent Peninsular War (War of Independence in Spain)[231], which lasted until April 17, 1814.

During the period of war, Puerta del Sol kept its primacy as the spatial core of national politics. In 1812, it was used as the stage for the celebratory military parade of the English Lord Wellington (Arthur Wellesley), who had helped Spain and Portugal against the Napoleonic invasions since 1808. In the beginning of 1812, Wellington initiated his occupation of Spanish territory, after the French troops retreated. He conquered Ciudad Rodrigo on January 19, followed by Badajoz on April 7 and Salamanca on July 22 in the battle of Arapiles ([n.a.],

[231] The Peninsular War was the conflict between Napoleon's military with Britain, Portugal and Spain that started in 1807 with the invasions of Portugal by the coalition of France and Spain. In Spain, the Peninsular War is also named the War of the Independence as French invasions destroyed the Spanish administration, forcing the country to live under the administration of the juntas until the formation of a provisional government in 1810, in Cádiz.

[n.d.]), giving access to Madrid, the expulsion and end of King Joseph Bonaparte's reign and ending the siege of Madrid, which had lasted for two and a half years. The hungry and tired nation, after the long war, enthusiastically celebrated Wellington's entrance in a military parade along the main areas of the city, and especially in Puerta del Sol (Romanos, 1861 p. 272). Romanos (1861) considers these celebrations in the square as the recognition of the spatial politicization of Puerta del Sol, spurring further celebrations. Fernando VII concentrated all events in this same square, including his entrance on May 14, 1814; the entrance of Princess Maria Isabel de Braganza (Fernando VII's second wife) on September 28, 1816; and of Maria Josefa Amalia de Sajovia (Fernando VII's third wife) in 1819, converting the popular square during his reign into the centre for royal proclamations and celebrations (p. 273).



Figure 27 [n.a], [1858]. Celebrations of May 2 in Puerta del Sol, 1858.
Source: BNE.

Following the postwar reign of Fernando VII and his death in 1833, it was during the reign of Isabel II[232] that Puerta del Sol faced its major reformulations (contemporary to other transformations occurring in the country in the new era of noteworthy legal and social transformations). With Fernando VII, the space was used even if in a stage of construction

[232] Isabel II's reign: September 29, 1833 to September 30, 1868.

works with the demolitions of Buen Suceso or by small works as the fountain with Mariblanca's statue. As Palacio (1994) describes, "the triumphalism around desired is limited by the extreme economic situation. There are many desired projects to Madrid but a few are materialized"[233] (p. 401). Fernando VII's reign, beyond inland economic pressure and wars, was also pressed by the loss of Spanish colonies in the New World (apart from Cuba and Puerto Rico). This transformation of territorial power led to a sequence of civil wars between the Liberals and the Republicans against the Conservatives.

Isabel II's reign was politically agitated, leading to repeated military interventions and several revolutions, and ending with the third Carlist war[234] and the queen's deposition in 1868. In a combination of conservative and progressive politics, the image of the city underwent a slow and sustainable process of transformation. Some of the works initiated by Fernando VII were finished, including the plan to expand Madrid, the construction of the water channel – to solve water shortage problems in the city – and, most important in the context of our research, the demolitions of religious buildings with the Ecclesiastical Confiscations[235], as well as the transformation of the squares including Puerta del Sol. "Sol" was, at the time, the paradigm or model of national politics (Garcia, 2000), the space that both the city council and government used to project their aspirations.

In the 1820s and reflecting the new lifestyle of the just initiated Liberal triennium (1820–23), the number of cafés – places where Liberals could meet and have political discussions – doubled in the square. One decade later (in 1832), the square and surrounding streets (Alcalá, Carretas, Carrera, Mayor, Arenal, Carmen and Montera) were the first places in the city to be gaslit (Lasarte, 1968 [1954] p. 261) when, for the celebrations of Isabel II's birth on October 10, the square and streets were lit and Buen Suceso's façade was decorated (Romanos, 1861 p. 274). In 1834, the houses of Madrid were numbered, taking Puerta del Sol as the centre, the point

[233] Translated by the author from the original: "el triunfalismo en tomo al deseado se vio limitado por la penuria de la situación económica. Son muchos los proyectos soñados para Madrid pero muy pocos los, que llegan a realizarse."
[234] The Carlist war was the sequence of civil revolutions from two different factions of royal successions claiming the throne: the Carlists – traditionalist fraction and followers of Don Carlos and his descendants; and the Liberalists – supporters of Maria Cristina and acting for Isabel II.
[235] The Ecclesiastic confiscations refer to a process of transferring monarchic property to the central government, which started in the late 18th century and ended in the early 20th century. The long process, initiated in the reign of Carlos II, gained more expressions in 1798 with the "Confiscations of Godoy" (*Desamortización de Godoy*) in Carlos IV's reign, establishing a turning point and the norms for the consequent series of Liberal confiscations, until 1924.

from which all street numbers started (Laporta, 2000 p. 13). Also in 1834, Mesonero Romanos confirmed that liberal ideologies associated with the idea of progress were imposed on the city (Sambricio, 2008 p. 491) and in the square, as confirmed with the Confiscations two years later. In fact, 1836 was a key year in the square's history, influenced by one of Isabel II's liberal political transitions – the Ecclesiastical Confiscations of Mendizábal (*Desamortización Eclesiástica de Mendizábal*)[236] (1836–37) – and the sequence of decrees transferring properties from clerics to the hands of the state. In Puerta del Sol, this political action was reflected by the transfer of three clerical buildings – the convent of Nuestra Señora de las Victorias in 1836, the convent and hospital of Buen Suceso[237] [238] in 1854, and the convent of San Felipe el Real in 1838[239] – which were later demolished, and the growing expectation in the urban transformation of the square. In 1840, facing strong urban growth (especially between 1835 and 1840), the city faced a new process of administrative division. Puerta del Sol gave its name to the central neighbourhood (in a city in a radial expansion) by the hand of Fermín Caballero (Camino, 2007 p. 31), later abridged as neighbourhood "Sol" in October 31, 1968 (Laporta, 2000 p. 17).



Figure 28 [n.a.] [1840–50]. First daguerreotype from Madrid. Source: El País.

Helping to confirm the importance of Puerta del Sol at this time, we would also like to make reference to the recently found first Spanish

[236] The Ecclesiastical Confiscations of Mendizábal are the most important Liberal confiscations with major economic and social impacts in the history of Spain. The Ecclesiastical Confiscations of Mendizábal was the sequence of decrees by Prime Minister Juan Álvarez Mendizábal, who was in position for a short time during Isabel II's reign.

[237] The Church was transferred to Calle de la Princesa (Garcia, 2000 p. 25).

[238] Some of the remaining structures, part of the archaeological findings for the construction of a new metro station in Puerta del Sol, are displayed in the metro lobby (Muñoz, 2006 p. 166). More recently in 2013 with the excavation works for the conversion of Hotel Paris into a new Apple store, some walls of the Hospital Buen Suceso were found (Gallo, 2013a).

[239] The demolition work started in 1837 and was completed on February 13, 1848. In 1718 the building suffered a great fire, which didn't affect the area of the convent. During the Napoleonic invasions it was converted into a prison and military barracks in 1809 (Osa, 2007).

daguerreotype (*Figure 28*) (Pérez-Lanzac, 2011), dating to around 1840–50 and showing Sol under construction, as well as the Real Casa de Correos tower. In fact, the stage of construction of the tower suggests that the image is from the second half of the century, as the tower was built only after refurbishment works to house the Ministry of the Interior (*Ministerio de Gobernación*) in 1847 to place the telegraphic tower, the year after[240].

Supported by the idea of progress, attentions were focused on the development and expansion of the limits of the city but also on the transformation of its most iconic place, Puerta del Sol. Richard Ford, in 1845, exposed the importance of Sol as "central and the reflection of Spanish life"[241] (Peña, 2000 p. 12). In the document, the author advocates redevelopments in the city and proposes the demolition of the Buen Suceso church (Albo, 1854 p. 11) to transform Puerta del Sol into a rectangular square, surrounded with its greatest buildings: Casa dos Correos, Lorencini, Mariátegui and Cordero [242] (p. 9). One year later (1846), Colonel Mariano de Albo, the engineer and architect in exile until Fernando VII's death and back in Madrid in 1834, was one of the first personalities giving official and public contributions to the transformation of Puerta del Sol, in a selection of newspaper articles in *El Clamor Publico*. First published in 1846 (Palacio, 1962 p. 68), the ideas were later presented in the publication with proposals for the expansion of Puerta del Sol (Albo, 1854). Contemporary to Albo's proposals, Mesonero Romanos also proposed a plan of progress of the city, although taking a more embracing approach and focusing on the expansion of its limits (Lasarte, 1968 [1954] p. 263).

Despite the proposals to solve the problems with extreme agglomeration in Puerta del Sol, the realized solutions were only soft approaches to the problems, such as the demolition of the Mariblanca fountain [243] (in Puerta del Sol since 1618) in 1838 or the repaving of the square in 1848 (Garcia, 2000 p. 25; Palacio, 1973 p. 190).

[240] In 1855, when the Church of Buen Suceso was demolished, the clock tower was moved to another tower on the building. This public clock didn't last long, as in 1856 the Astronomic Observatory of Madrid announced that the time was incorrect. In 1867 a public clock offered by a Spanish watchmaker based in London, Losada, was placed in the tower (Palacio, 1962 p. 70).
[241] Translated by the author from the quote in Peña (2000): "centro y espejo de la vida Española".
[242] Casa Cordero was built in the former area of Convent San Felipe el Real, following the demolitions of the Convent, over some parts of the building purchased by Alonso Cordero for 5 million pesetas (Osa, 2007 p. 240). The author of the project, first known as Casas San Felipe and later converted into Casas de Cordero, was José Sánchez Pescador (Palacio, 1973). The building became notable because it was the first apartment block in Madrid, creating a great contrast with the monotonous constructions in the surroundings (Palacio, 1973).
[243] The statue was moved to the fountain in Descalzas Reales Square (Palacio, 1973).

Even with this sequence of transformations and new works in the square, all transformations were deficient in solving the real problem of traffic congestion. In 1850, in civil society, several debates emerged, ending with an official call in 1853 for new ideas to redesign the square (Garcia, 2000 p. 25) and the approval of new laws to consider this works of public interest in 1855 (Palacio, 1994 p. 419).

In the competition, three projects were presented: Isidoro Llanos proposed just a slight transformation of the square; an anonymous project proposed a monument dedicated to the queen; and Pedro Gómez proposed the demolition of Buen Suceso church as well as of some private houses (Palacio, 1968 pp. 68, 69). Pedro Gómez's proposal was approved by decree in February 1854. The project was controversial, but the government initiated demolitions in April. Some houses and Buen Suceso were demolished, but the revolutionary summer of 1854 and the beginning of the Liberal biennium (1854–56) (as discussed later in this chapter) delayed the implementation of the project; in 1855, six other projects were presented (*Figure 29*).

The group of projects, together with some others, went through a troubled process, with more than one committee of evaluation ending in no conclusive results, but culminating with direct adjudication to the architect Juan Bautista Peyronnet on January 19, 1856 (p. 71) (*Figure 29*, top left). Peyronnet's final proposal for the project was submitted on March 10 and approved 13 days after despite the entailed expropriation of 20,175 square metres (p. 71) – an extremely expensive action considering Spain's economic situation. On December 18, 1856, Puerta del Sol was recognized as the kilometre zero of Spain, the point from which all the major radial streets are measured (Barrero, 2004 p. 550). A kilometre zero slab was laid in the paving in front of Casa de Correos, displaying a map of Spain with the six radial national roads (*Figure 30*).

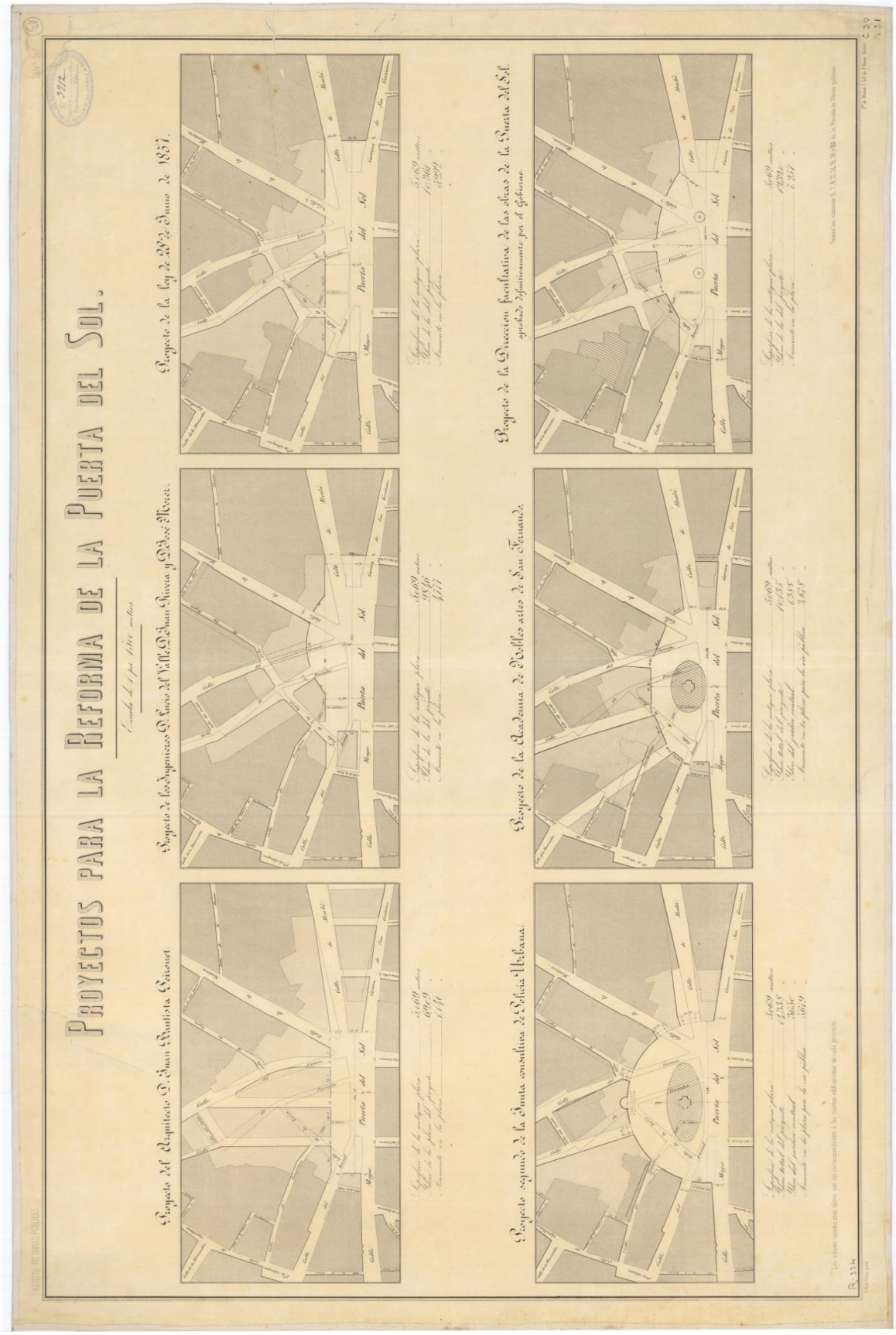

Figure 29 Proposals to redesign Puerta del Sol. Credits: Olarte Gochea. Source: Fondos Cartográficos del Instituto Geografico Nacional (32–A–8).

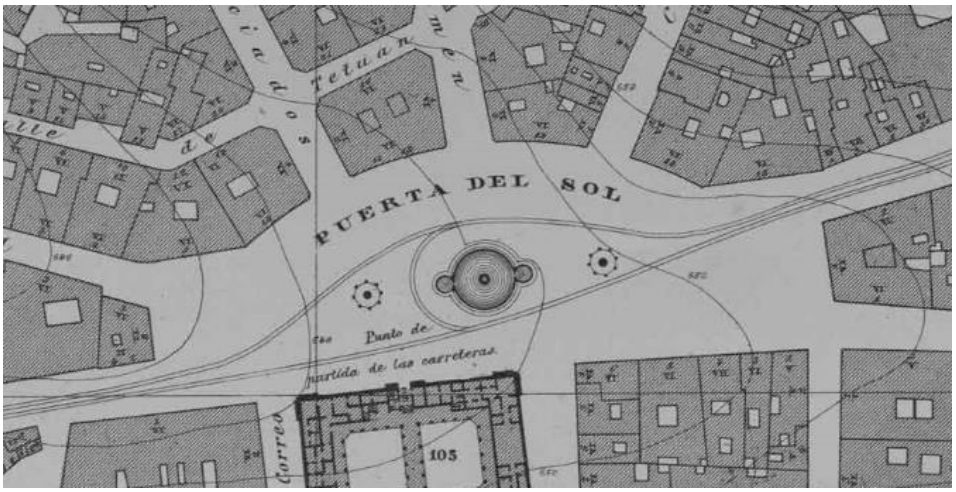

Figure 30 Excerpt from Ibañez de Ibero's plan, 1875. Source: Biblioteca digital de la comunidad de Madrid.



Figure 31 [n.a], [1857]. Puerta del Sol before renovation, 1857. Source: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica.

The country's unpredictable political situation meant that Spain's most important geographical place was surrounded by demolished houses (*Figure 31*), with no new project in place.

Narvaéz[244], during the period of sober policy in the government[245], recognized the square's importance, and decided to commission a new project from the state engineers Lucio del Valle, Rivera and Morer. For the government, the square's importance was only political and functional, to protect against coming insurgencies[246], and not aesthetic, justifying giving this commission to engineers rather than architects[247][248]. The project, with a concentric façade on the square's north side, was approved on June 28, 1857, with much sobriety in terms of areas and demolitions (*Figure 29*, top centre) and slight differences – a larger area of the square and the removal of the concentric façade demolitions (*Figure 29*, top right). The demolition works started in October the same year and were finished in August 1858.

During this period, the project of Puerta del Sol remained a divisive topic in the city, with several other projects being presented in the meantime. The urban police advisory board[249], headed by Juan Reus, presented an alternative proposal (*Figure 29*, bottom left), which was heavily criticized and disapproved by the Duke of Rivas. The proposal included a new street connecting Puerta del Sol to Misericordia Square (purely for aesthetic reasons), which was the focus of severe criticism. In a technical analysis by Víctor Martí Font (1859), one of the reasons not to accept Juan Reus' proposal was the fragility of the city's structure in the case of being barricaded (the most common type of urban struggle in the 19th century), highlighting that the government was less concerned with the functional issues of the square than with its political meaning and the protection of such space:

> the disposition of the project provides another objection for those fearing potential disorders or popular uprisings, as the closure of almost all the connecting streets to Puerta del Sol gives to the square a strategic condition

[244] Ramón María Narváez was prime minister of Spain seven times between 1844 and 1868.
[245] October 12, 1856–October 15, 1857.
[246] Palacio (1994) makes reference to a plan of the barricades erected during the Revenge of July 1854 (17–19) at the Army Geographical Service (*Servicio Geográfico del Ejército*) (p. 419).
[247] Palacio (1973) outlines that the exchange of commodities was the main reason for the works in Puerta del Sol, both by being a place of transition and because the front area of the Church of Buen Suceso was used as a souk: "[t]he real reason that motivated the reform is so contemporary so is worth not insisting on it: the growing burden of circulation." (Translated by the author from the original: "[l]a causa real que motivó la reforma tiene tanta actualidad que no merece la pena insistir en ello: el agobio creciente de la circulación") (p. 188).
[248] A deep analysis of the project and of several proposals from Font (1859) exacerbated the functional reasons of the project.
[249] In Spanish: *Junta Consultiva de Policía Urbana.*

> difficult to take back in the case of being transformed into a centre of an insurrection, as has happened in the past.[250] (p. (16): 193)

The Duke of Rivas reacted and commissioned, for the second time, a project to the San Fernando Academy (Palacio, 1968 p. 73). The new proposal, designed by the architect Aníbal Alvarez, was handed over in October 1858 (*Figure 29*, bottom middle), but was also thrown out, justified by the increase in the need to expropriate.

Following this devastating sequence of new projects, in 1859 the advisory board retreated to Lucio del Valle's masterplan, recognizing his proposal as the most appropriate for the square from where the major streets of Spain departed. Over the initial project, the urban police advisory board worked on a few changes in order to increase the area of the square and to add some other details in a new layout still recognizable as we know the square nowadays (*Figure 29*, bottom right). Construction work on the new square was finished in 1862 (p. 74) and the new configuration presented in Ibañez de Ibero's plan of Madrid (1875) (*Figure 30*). The area of the square doubled – from 5,069 to 12,320 square metres – some streets disappeared – Zarra, Corredos and Duda, as well as parts of other streets – Calle Mayor, Areneros, Peregrinos, Preciados, Carmen, Montera, Alcalá (at the time named Victoria), Carrera de San Jeronimo and Carretas (Garcia, 2000 p. 25) (*Figure 32*). In the long period of the proposals, the occupation of the surrounding buildings and terrains by notable people of Madrilenian society (J. M. Manzanedo, F. Fernández Casariego, A. de Udaeta, J. Font y Canales, etc), and the influence on the capital flow for the development of the city, confirmed the relevance of the square in the urban structure and on the politics of the country, also confirming its importance with the interim designation of the square as "Manzanedo's patio" (*Patio Manzanedo*) (Palomeque, 1979 pp. 506, 507).

In the year of the works' conclusion, the Belgian architect Giraud Daguillon offered a utopian proposal to Queen Isabel II, with the suggestion to open a 30-metre-wide great boulevard, the "Boulevard de la Reina" (Palacio, 1994 p. 420), connecting Puerta del Sol to the Royal Palace (1973 p. 162). The proposal was part of a group of four, preceded by a series of articles in the press that came out between the end of 1850 and the beginning of 1860. Daguillon, with his

[250]Translated by the author from the original: "Pero la disposicion del proyecto ofrece otro inconveniente para el que pueda temer futuros trastornos ó conmociones populares, pues el cierre de casi todas las desembocaduras de las calles que salen à la Puerta del Sol, da á la plaza una condicion do punto estratégico dificil do tomar en el caso de ser, como en otras ocasiones lo ha sido, centro de un movimiento insurreccional."

legacy of working with Haussmann on the construction of Sebastopol Boulevard, proposed ideas that were too visionary for his contemporaries in Spain, and they were never publicly accepted.

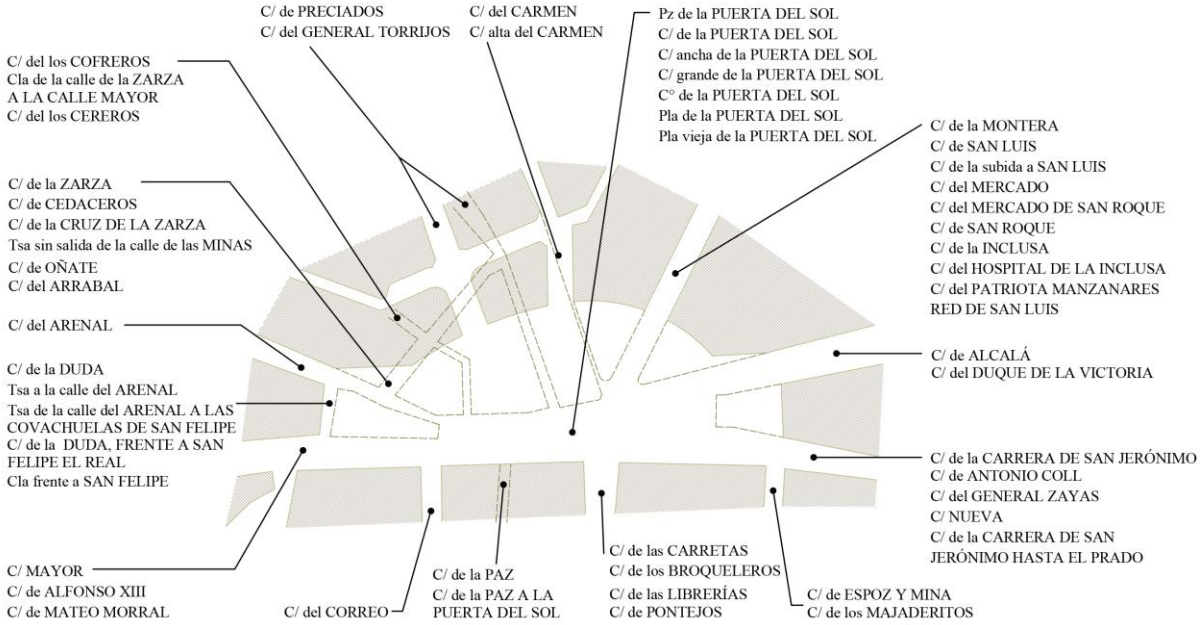

Figure 32 Puerta del Sol map. Map redrawn from Laporta, 2000 p. 37.

In a search for the justification for the long process of Puerta del Sol, Palacio (1968) refutes Font (1859), justifying it with political instability in Queen Isabel II's regime and some other hidden reasons related to the protection of the square from insurrections and the common practice of erecting barricades. The author compares the selection of the project for Puerta del Sol to the plans of Haussmann in Paris, as:

> [d]uring the nineteenth century, the street barricade was the strongest support for all popular revolts. In Madrid, this method of cutting off streets by the erection of barricades [...] was common since the famous May 2, 1808. The irregular streets flocking to Puerta del Sol on which the army could not move and fight its famous cafés of politics discussion, [...], was the form of the seeds of the revolution that were gone with the reform.[251] (p. 75)

[251] Translated by the author from the original: "Durante el siglo XIX la barricada callejera fue el apoyo más firme de todas las revueltas populares. En Madrid, este procedimiento de cortar las calles, levantando barricadas [...] fue normal desde el famoso 2 de mayo de 1808. Las irregulares calles que afluían a la Puerta del Sol, en las que no podía moverse el ejército preparado para luchar en campo abierto, sus célebres cafés de tertulia política [...], constituían un germen revolucionario que con la reforma se estirpó para siempre."

Eric Hobsbawm (1996 [1962]), in a broader approach, calls the period of time in which these actions were circumscribed (between 1789 and 1848 – the transition from a predominantly rural world to a predominantly urban world) the "age of revolutions". This turbulent transition hardly impressed on urban space was dominated by a series of struggles in Europe, based on two types of revolutions: the French bourgeois revolution, and the British industrial revolution. Although the revolution in Spain happened only six years after the period defined by Hobsbawm, we may consider the same order as guiding similar consequences in politics but also in the transformation of urban space.

The revolution of July 1854 (June 28 to July 28) in Spain, although ignored by many historians, is recognized by a few as a historic milestone for Spanish Liberalism (Zozaya, 2012 p. 19). Puerta del Sol is considered a central stage for the events and demands. Starting as a bourgeois reaction to the critical situation of the country engulfed in a political and economic crisis, it ended up giving an opportunity to the origin for the two following years of a Progressive government. The revolution began in 1854, but was being prepared before that: on September 19, 1843, the controversial ministry, presided over by Luis José Sartorius (p. 21), was elected, provoking a decrease in the quality of social life. From November on, numerous moderate groups started to meet clandestinely, but even if Sartorius knew about the hard situation, he decided to remain in power with the queen's support (p. 25). The "conspiracy groups" kept on working, and one month later (in December), some of the strategies for the revolution had already been defined by a group headed by General O'Donnell, Ros de Olano and the brothers Manuel and José Gutiérrez de la Concha (p. 26).

On February 20, there was a first attempt to overthrow the government in an uprising in Zaragoza, but this was repressed on February 22. This was followed by a raid against all political adversaries in Madrid, including the closure of some meeting places (such as the Athenaeum Society) as well as the arrest of many members of parliament and journalists (Goitia, 1984 pp. 66, 67). On June 13, forces and strategies were redefined and a new insurrection was prepared, with General Dulce as Director General of the Cavalry (p. 106), but the event was only planned for June 28, in Vicálvaro (Zozaya, 2012 p. 28). The insurrection occurred, but only for two days; on June 30, the conflicts in Vicálvaro proved to be merely a military confrontation rather than a conservative dispute against the government, culminating with both sides claiming victory.

In the wake of these events, the progressive General Sorrano joined the group, giving a vital contribution to its revolutionary manifesto, later signed (on July 7) by O'Donnell in Manzanares (Zozaya, 2012 p. 29). The document was responsible for converting the military character of the protest into a political one, with the emphasis on people's contributions and loyalty to the monarchy as the promise for some political changes, such as decreasing taxes. The consequences of the manifesto were immediately experienced, with a multitude joining the army and creating its own behaviours to demonstrate for and support the changes in the government. Following the diffusion of the manifesto, the second phase of the insurrection took place. The first uprising happened in Barcelona on July 14 (with a strong participation of the working class), followed by insurrections in other cities and then Madrid, on July 17. Madrid was the city with the most popular participation, even if it started the same day as Queen Isabel II overthrowing Sartorius' ministry, giving his position to General Fernando Fernández de Córdova. The multitude in Madrid first celebrated the queen's decision – with popular musicians playing Nationalist hymns and the city in a euphoric atmosphere – but immediately the mood changed to an atmosphere of uprising. The people were not satisfied with the government's changes and requested further changes to the system (Fontseré, 1854 p. 94). By the evening, at the end of a common bullfight, the multitude walked along Alcalá and in several streets leading to Puerta del Sol. Among the disturbing rumours, with one voice, people screamed: "long live freedom and O'Donnell". The voices were loud and the number of people walking in groups towards the Puerta del Sol increased (p. 94). After a short period of time in the square, the multitude split into several groups to invade some representative buildings – including Casa de Correos, the civil government, Sartorius' and other main ministries[252] – as well as some private houses to destroy the furniture by setting it on fire (pp. 95, 96). The attacks in Madrid were manifestly against the symbols of power or "corrupt power" as expressed by the claims for a "government system ruled by morals and the Constitution" (Zozaya, 2012 p. 34). In an act of "popular justice" – a common strategy used in the beginning of the century (in the rebellion against Godoy and its ministers in 1808 (p. 34)) and in Europe in the mid-19th century – people attacked the properties of politicians and entrepreneurs without causing injuries. The disturbance was strongly repressed by the government, but the multitude reacted and erected barricades in the streets surrounding Puerta del Sol. María Zozaya (2012) argues that these barricades were "organized with modern techniques by the French refugees and

[252] Collantes, Salamanca, Domenech, Quinto, Vistahermosa and María Cristina (Fontseré, 1854 pp. 95, 96).

Mining Engineers" (p. 33), with "cobblestones, chairs, mattresses, barrels, etc" (p. 33), confirming it as a typical struggle of the "age of revolution" (Hobsbawm, 1996 [1962]). The insurrection in Madrid lasted for only two days, but the events and documentation from Puerta del Sol (*Figure 33*) support the crucial role of spatiality in politics. The occupation of key places in the city and the destruction of symbols of power – burned symbolic objects taken from the palaces – were decisive for the victory of the progressive group, "whose triumph would be followed by the period called 'Liberal Biennium' (1854–1856), initially of a popular and progressive character." (Zozaya, 2012 p. 46)



Figure 33 Eugenio Lucas Velazquez, [before 1870]. Revolution of 1854. Rebels burn flags at the Puerta del Sol in Madrid during the Liberal Revolution of 1854. Source: Memoria de Madrid (Inv. 6257).

More than a decade later, Puerta del Sol was again the chosen place to celebrate the victory in the battle of Tetuán, in Morocco,[253] one of the most important moments in Spanish military history. Three days after the end of conflicts (February 7), the news arrived in Spain, and the population reacted with contagious happiness. In the afternoon everyone left their homes and celebrated in the streets, squares and balconies. About 8,000 students held 1,000 flags and all

[253] The Morocco War was declared after the great number of victims in the Ceuta battle and was brief in duration (August 1859–March 1860). Approaching the end of this period of the battle, General O'Donnell was able to convince all the political parties to join under this cause; on February 4, 1860, the Spanish flag was hoisted in Morocco and the troops were back in Madrid.

the population celebrated victory with O'Donnell, while the Spanish hymn was played in Puerta del Sol (Peña, 2000 p. 16). For the preparation of the celebrations and while the troops were on their way back to Spain, a camp was settled near Madrid to allow time to prepare for the great event. Queen Isabel II visited the military camp on the day before the triumphal arrival in the city centre, prepared with an entourage that lasted for one day. On May 11, the troops marched through the city, with the climax happening in Puerta del Sol. During the main celebrations, people waved flags, threw flowers (*Figure 34*) and, on a silver platter, offered a wreath to O'Donnell (p. 16). In Puerta del Sol, the Spanish flag was placed on top of Casa de Correos (at that time already housing the Interior Ministry) to welcome the general (Romanos, 1861 p. 276), as represented in the canvas *The Reception of the African troops in Puerta del Sol* (*Recibimiento del Ejército de África en la Puerta del Sol*) (*Figure 35*), attributed to Joaquín Sigüenza Chavarrieta. One year after this enthusiastic celebration, Romanos (1861) confirms Puerta del Sol's centrality in politics, describing it as the "political-courtier, socio-economic, scientific and literary laboratory of Madrid; the great factory of historical, political, military and financial reputations of the country"[254] (p. 279).



Figure 34 [n.a.], [1860]. O'Donnell's troops' celebrations in Puerta del Sol. Source: BNE.

[254] Translated by the author from the original: "el laboratorio político-cortesano, económico-social, científico y literario de Madrid; la gran fábrica de reputaciones históricas, políticas, militares y financeiras del pai".



Figure 35 Joaquín Sigüenza Chavarrieta, [ca 1860]. *The Reception of the African troops in Puerta del Sol* (*Recibimiento del ejército de África en la Puerta del Sol*). Source: Museum of Romanticism, Madrid.

Madrid, in the 1840s, apart from water deficits, was living in a spatial conflict; its inability to expand its limits over the walls had been exposed and explored by Jovellanos in the late 17th century. Merlo, recognizing the problem, proposed a widening plan for the city in 1848, which was never put into practice. Only in 1857 was the Plan Castro finally commissioned to solve the urban problems. In the decade between the two proposals, the population of Madrid living inside the city walls grew by 30.78% (Palomeque, 1979 p. 508). A previous proposal of Plan Castro was approved by royal decree on July 19, 1860, with some recommendations. Cerdá, with his progressive proposal for the new urban plan of Madrid developed in 1860–62, supported the construction of an urban grid for the expansion of the city. When Cerdá presented the proposal at a municipal meeting in 1863, he was appointed to coordinate the expansion works on the north side of Madrid (p. 509), transferring to him major responsibility for the creation of the new city. The proposal for Cerdá's coordination was not accepted by his superiors, and the evolution, construction and integration of the new city was mainly developed according to real-estate determinations, as they owned large areas of the city. Contemporaneous to this slow integration of the old and new town was the transformation of accesses and roads in the old town, namely around Puerta del Sol, creating a plan of circular streets around the square to solve traffic problems in the square, especially with the implementation of Valles' project. To solve the problem of traffic circulation, in 1861 a project was approved to upgrade

Bailén Street and in 1862, to build another main road connecting Puerta del Sol to the North station (currently Gran Vía) (p. 510).

The Plan Castro redefined the history of Madrid from that moment on, promoting a new class division in the occupation of the city: while middle- and upper-class people abandoned the city centre, looking for larger residences and better quality of life in the *ensanche* – the new urban areas built outside the walls – the emptiness of the residential areas was compensated for an increasing demand from the third sector, which enlarged in number and significance (one notable phenomenon was the large number of banks and financial dependencies installed in Alcalá, between Sol and Cibeles), and the occupation by the lower classes, who finally had the chance to buy houses at lower prices. With cheaper and more affordable houses, part of the population had its first opportunity to have a fixed residence. Apart from all these transformations, social life never moved out from the city core. However, if urban collective and social life was fundamental to reinforce this centre of Madrid, on the other side, the dominance of capital and exchange was crucial to convert the centre into a more desirable place as well as to increase the price of land.

From the 1850s and until the economic crisis that engulfed Spain in 1866[255], the city of Madrid kept expanding and changing its urban fabric and social life, as represented for the first time on the plan of Pilar Morales (*Figure 36*), showing all the transformations that occurred between 1848 and 1860.

In 1860, the Mariblanca fountain, built in 1858 (June 24) for the inauguration of the Channel of Isabel II and initially located in Street San Bernardo, was moved to Puerta del Sol (Laporta, 2004). The fountain had a short life in the square, being removed in 1913 to a third place in Glorieta de los Cuatro Caminos, as its high water projection used to wet passers-by on windy days.

In 1866, the first crisis of Spanish capitalism seriously threatened the opposition of the Moderate Party. The popular will to overthrow the existing political system caused agitation and led to the "Glorious Revolution" (*La Gloriosa*), with the deposition of Queen Isabel II in 1868, followed by the Democratic sexennium. As William I. Knapp ([n.d.]) exposes, Queen

[255] During Isabel II's reign, a financial crash occurred in May 1866, generated by the decrease of incomes from railway companies and the agricultural crisis that impacted the cotton textile industry.

Isabel II's regime was troubled by several factors, both inland and abroad. On the political level, the frequent rise and fall of ministries provoked social and economic crises with the lack of civil participation in politics, while, abroad, the rebellion in Cuba and the war in Peru, as well as the turbulence of several military insurrections between 1864 and 1868, also contributed to the queen's fall.



Figure 36 Pilar Morales, 1866. Plan of Madrid showing all the projects built in Madrid between 1848 and 1866. Source: Wikicommons.

During this period (1864–68), Puerta del Sol saw no physical transformations, but was the stage for two student uprisings – the first in 1865 and the second in 1868 – as well as the celebrations of the Glorious Revolution in September the same year, confirming its central position in the politics of the country. In 1865, students demonstrated in Puerta del Sol in reaction to Narvaez's expulsion of Emilio Castelar from his position as chair of history at the university[256] and the

[256] Emilio Castelar published two satirical articles in the last week of February 1865: "To whom belongs the Royal Heritage?" (*¿De quién es el Patrimonio Real?*), and "The stroke of generosity" (*El rasgo*), exposing the commercial transitions of important land plots in the city centre as Queen Isabel, in an attempt to combat the economic crisis, sold large public properties in the city.

attitude of Madrid University rector, Juan Manuel Montalbán, who refused to dismiss Castelar. Students' reactions started on April 8 and ran until April 11, the most tragic night, also known as the "Night of Saint Daniel" (*Noche de San Daniel*) (*Figure 37*), with ten people killed and hundreds injured. In consequence of this event, the queen was forced to dismiss Narvaez, replacing him with General O'Donnell. The brutal police intervention in the square was followed by a period of information blackout, exacerbating discontent among civil society and an elite that was later responsible for the 1868 revolution. If the revolution of October 1868 emerged as an uprising in Cadiz port (where military ships used to depart for the colonial wars) on September 17, organized by a group of military personnel discontented with Isabel II's policies, led by Generals Prim and Topete, it was determined and celebrated at the central stage of Puerta del Sol.

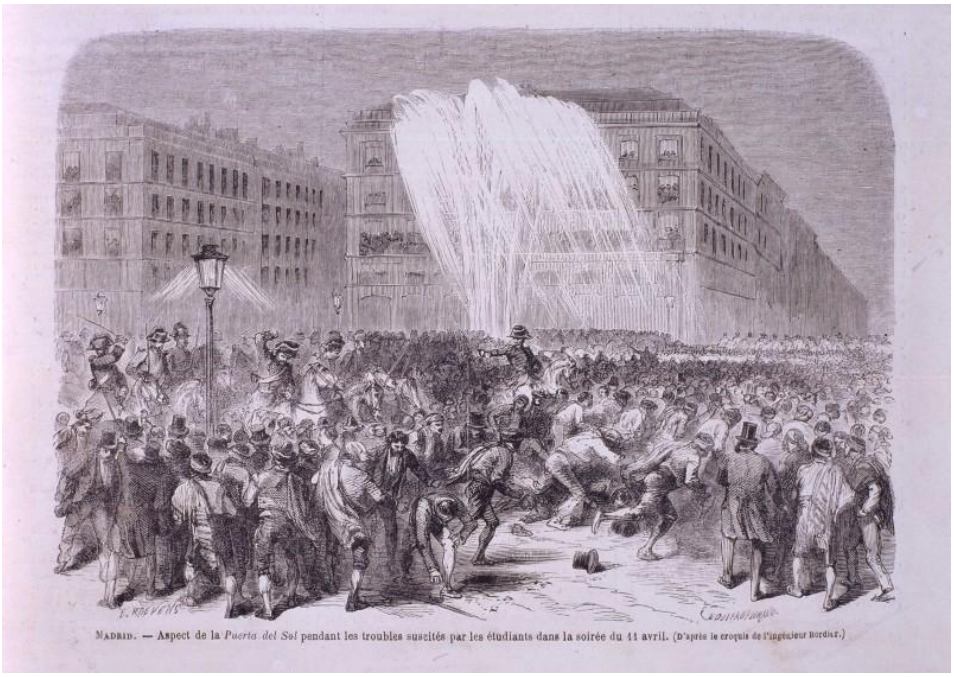

Figure 37 Bordier, ca. 1868. Students' demonstration on April 11, 1865, in Puerta del Sol. Source: Le Monde illustré nº419, 1865.

The revolution, proclaimed with the hymn "long live Spain with honour!" (*Viva España con honra!*) (Soto, 1979 p. 203), was followed by the formation of military juntas and celebrations around the country on September 28. In Madrid, Calle del Arenal, but primarily Puerta del Sol, were the stages for the celebrations, shortly after the first news arrived after the victory of Serrano's troops over the kingdom's troops on Alcolea Bridge ([n.a.], 1868). Popular demonstrations of happiness were held in an atmosphere of liberty and festivity, considered as an honour to the country and a symbol of political progress.

In this brief context we notice that Puerta del Sol's political notability was also recognized in the renaming of the place. Sol had kept the same designation since its origins, with just two exceptions. The first was from 1497 to 1503, when it was also known as the "[c]amino, [c]alle, [c]alle Grande" (Laporta, 2000 p. 17) of Puerta del Sol. The second was during 1868's revolutions and in the Proclamation of the Second Republic (1931), when it was called Arms Plaza (*Plaza de Armas)* (Peña, 2000 pp. 14, 15).

The revolution prepared the provisional government (1868–1871) with General Prim as president. The sexennium was later interrupted by the brief monarchy of Amadeo de Saboya (1871–1873), followed by the First Spanish Republic[257] (1873–1874), ending with the monarchy's restoration by Alfonso XII[258].

Within the provisional government, the city continued to expand, implementing new plans. In 1871, the first tramline was inaugurated, connecting some residential areas to the commercial hub of Puerta del Sol (Parsons, 2003 p. 66). In 1878, Puerta del Sol was electrically lit (*Figure 38*), five years prior to the official electrification plan of Madrid, for Alfonso XII's wedding celebrations, promoting a new experience of the city:

> electric light was also enabling, opening up the previously illicit night world to the respectable public and encouraging a new phenomenon of urban night-life. In the Puerta del Sol, for example, where shops often traded until late in the evening, many of the cafés and bun-shops would remain open throughout the night (p. 78)

In 1885, Puerta del Sol was the stage for demonstrations regarding international politics and sovereignty issues, during Germany's occupation of Carolina's archipelago. As Jerónimo Becker (1924) contextualizes, the demonstration was initially organized by the Liberal opposition, but was immediately appropriated by the Revolutionaries. If, on August 23, some politicians and ex-ministers participated in the demonstration and were key figures of the event,

[257] The first Spanish Republic was a consequence of King Amadeo I's abdication and the collapse of the Democratic Republic. Usually it is divided into two phases. The first was designated the Federal Republic; led by the Revolutionary group and proponents of a Federal Republic, it called for the end of a central state, the division of the country into 17 autonomous regions, and the separation of clerical institutions and the state (each canton became ruled by a revolutionary junta between February 1873 and January 1874). The second phase corresponded to Serrano's dictatorship (until December 1874). Serrano emerged as chief of a provisional government together with Antonio Cánovas, and the Bourbon monarchy was restored with Prince Alfonso XII, ending the Republic with Martinez Campos' military coup.

[258] Alfonso XII's reign: December 29, 1874 to November 25, 1885.

on September 4, with the destructive actions, it became obvious that it was not only the Liberal front acting but also the Revolutionaries, endeavouring to reinstall the Republic (p. 604). As described in the newspaper *La Vanguardia* (1885), the demonstration departed from the centre of Army and Navy (*Centro del Ejército y la Armada*), enlarging along the route towards the German embassy, in Calle Amor de Dios, and Puerta del Sol. In front of the embassy, a man dressed as a peasant climbed the building to steal the German shield, which was later burned on a bonfire in Puerta del Sol. Even if a small group tried to invade the embassy, security forces were able to repel it, and only the shield was taken to Puerta del Sol by a group that diverged from the rally in the Centre of Army and Navy. At 11p.m. the square was packed with a multitude shouting in patriotic resistance. The police arrived shortly after (1.30a.m.), but the people tried to diverge them, acclaiming its presence as part of national defence. Despite the attempts to avoid police, about 50 people were arrested during the night and all the streets were policed to avoid other agglomerations (pp. 3-8). After these episodes and the letters of the Liberal opposition, King Alfonso XII arrived in Madrid, and a new force of patriotism was established in the country before his death.



Figure 38 Jesús Evaristo Casariego [1966]. Inauguration of the lighting system in Puerta del Sol in 1878. Source: Memoria de Madrid.

In 1906[259], Puerta del Sol acquired a new social dimension with the tradition of celebrating New Year's Eve in the square, and the clock tower contributed to this deconstruction of the square's political meaning. Adopted from French tradition, people had gathered in the square to eat twelve grapes by the twelve strokes of midnight since 1894–97 (El imparcial, 1897; El siglo futuro, 1894). Two years later, there were already news stories about the event that prompted the square to be the first choice for these celebrations (Márquiez, 2014), later being televised, since the first transmission of national television in 1956.

If a new style of life seemed to characterize the beginning of the century in Puerta del Sol, it was also a period for the construction of an icon of national politics and deep social renovations, with political agitation during the 1910s being followed by a euphoric mood during the first half of the 1920s and the revolutionary year by the end of the decade and Primo de Rivera's regime. In 1919, the Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges, a key member in the foundation of the Ultraism literary movement in Spain (Fraguas, 2006), moved to Madrid in November and stayed at Puerta del Sol[260].

On November 12, 1912, Prime Minister José Canalejas was murdered in the square – by an Anarchist, according to the news from that time. Despite the headline "[a]n anarchist murders Canalejas" (*Un anarquista asesina á Canalejas*) in the newspaper *El Heraldo de Madrid* (1912), the front page and the content describe the murderer's relation to Anarchist movements. The "murderer" (Manuel Pardinas Sarrata Martín) did not claim his attentions for the attack before his death in the square,[261] and the only confirmed relation with Anarchism was the fact that the prime minister was murdered in front of an Anarchist library during his regular morning walk[262] to the House of Government (also in the square). The prime minister's murder was considered the end of a possible political plan towards nationalizing the Republic and constructing a constitutional modern monarchy, similar to the models being implemented in Northern European monarchies from the end of the 19th century. The murder of the prime minister was also the culmination of several other expectations, as contemporary historians

[259] We have found information with different dates of the first meeting so it remains dubious (Ruiz, 2012).
[260] Jorge Luis Borges lived at number 11, Puerta del Sol. On July 9, 1998, the city council placed a plaque on the building, which now houses Hotel Americano (Fraguas, 1998).
[261] On the day later, an article in *El País* (1912) presents contradictions justifying that Manuel Martín was not an Anarchist, neither from the lists of the policy nor known as being part of or friend to any Anarchist movement.
[262] As a routine, and as described by reports from that time, the prime minister used to ask bodyguards to walk a few metres away from him so was unable to avoid this kind of event.

argue. Enrique Aguilar Gavilán (2012) goes further, considering that Canalejas' plans could have moved Spain out of the economic crisis that led to 1923's depression, and could have represented the end of the constitutional monarchy (1875–1923) (Jackson, 1973 [1965]), emphasizing the role of the event in Puerta del Sol as a turning point in national politics and the history of Spain. Over the following 11 years (until 1923), the country never recovered its political and economic stability, aggravated by the revolutionary general strikes in 1917[263], taking to dictatorship after the military coup and the pronunciation of Primo de Rivera as prime minister on September 13, 1923.

In fact, there are several narratives about the square throughout the 20th century, but only a few changes happened on the topsoil. The most important physical transformation of the square was the construction of the metro station. Then there were only ephemeral transformations, such as the neon advertising signs on the rooftops, some of them also reflecting major transformations in social life. Billboards have been recognized as elements of the history of the place and society and some, such as the Tio Pepe[264] one, became legally protected.

Despite the number of transformations, Puerta del Sol kept its primacy in the urban structure and social life of the city. Even if not so affected by an amalgam of proposals as in the century before, there were still a few proposals, such as the project to connect the south and north sides of the city (Quevedo, Tirso de Molina) through Puerta del Sol in 1908, and Antonio Palacios' proposal of a circular road around Sol to increase access to the commercial and public transport hubs of the city, ten years later (Garcia, 2000 p. 28).

As mentioned before, the first tramline had its central hub in Puerta del Sol, the same square where in 1919 the first metro line was built. In 1910, because of traffic jams, the council started

[263] Revolutionary general strikes in the summer of 1917 in Spain started in August convened by the UGT, a result of the increased cost of living, the wage freeze (Meaker, 1974 p. 38) and the indignation of the working class, in opposition to the bourgeoisie's euphoria. The labour union's main political goals were to overthrow the monarchy, found a provisional government, and summon constituent courts to manage the restructuring of national life (p. 77).

[264] The Tio Pepe billboard was originally placed at number 1, Puerta del Sol (the building that replaced Buen Suceso church and hospital), on December 31, 1935. It was considered one of the most creative advertisements of postwar times (Camps, 2005 p. 40). The original sign – featuring a glass standing in a letter G from González Byass and the slogan "Wines Jerez Coñac" – was different from the well-known redesigned one. Besides several attempts to regulate neon advertisements in Puerta del Sol since 1975, in 2009 the Town Hall declared the sign part of the "historical heritage of the people of Madrid" (Tio Pepe). On April 18, 2011, the billboard was taken down from number 1 during works for the new Apple store. It was redesigned for a second time and placed on top of number 11, Puerta del Sol, on April 24, 2014 (Efe, 2014).

to plan a metro line. The project was initiated in 1914 by a team of three engineers – Carlos Mendonza, Miguel Otamendi and António Gonzales Echarte – and presented in May. The construction works started only after the foundation of the Metropolitano Alfonso XIII company (*Figure 39*), which, in 1917 (January 24), was responsible for the line's management. By July that year, the company had the budget to start the construction, which ran until the opening on October 17, 1919[265] (Gómez, 1983 p. 72). In 1919, the first line (south–north, from Puerta del Sol to Cuatro Caminos) was opened, and the sections towards Atocha central station and the extension to Puente de Vallecas were concluded by December 1921 and May 1923 respectively. In the explanatory document of the third line (Otamendi, 1924), the protagonist of Puerta del Sol station is evident: "undoubtedly, the most important work of Madrid's Metro"[266] (p. 8); "[t]he decoration, which in accesses to all stations is sober [...] has been enhanced in this lobby or central hall, as it is going to be the heart of these arteries of underground feasibility in Puerta del Sol and Puerta del Sol is itself the heart of Madrid"[267] (p. 12). The access to the metro station, built in 1919, was in Art Deco style, designed by Antonio Palacios and Miguel Otamendi between 1917 and 1919. In the 1924 document, the author mentions the need to create a central hall in which all the passengers intersect with three more accesses, one in front of Hotel Paris, the second facing the House of the Government and the third to Calle Carmen (p. 11) (see the schematic plan in *Figure 40*).

If urban transformations in Puerta del Sol were few in the beginning of the century, we may also relate this to the political agitation in the country during this period; in particular, Canalejas' murder in 1912, the crisis of 1923, and the instability and dictatorship of Primo de Rivera until 1930 that bet on large infrastructural works in the country.

In 1929, student protests in the streets of Madrid and other Spanish cities led to the fall of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship[268] in January 1930 and, directly after, to the resignation of Berenguer's

[265] In the period between the two dates, there are descriptions of the place being a chaotic space: "[i]n the dense traffic hub of the Puerta del Sol, trams, cars and taxis competed for space with horse-drawn carriages, wandering sellers and pedestrians, to hazardous effect." (Parsons, 2003 p. 78)

[266] Translated by the author from the original: "constituyen sin duda alguna la obra de más importancia del Metropolitano madrileño".

[267] Translated by the author from the original: "La decoración, que en los accesos de todas las estaciones, es sobria [...] se ha realzado en este vestíbulo o hall central, puesto que va a ser el corazón de estas arterias de la viabilidad subterránea de la Puerta del Sol y la Puerta del Sol es a su vez el corazón de Madrid".

[268] In 1928, Primo de Rivera's dictatorship started to decay. If with his initial policies of large public construction he could decrease popular dissatisfaction as well as the number of demonstrations, from 1928 on, class divisions became more pronounced and difficult to control. Primo de Rivera, in an attempt to save his regime, proposed an

government[269] on February 14. This was followed by the victory of the left in municipal elections on April 12. King Alfonso XIII[270] resigned the throne and went into exile, and the Second Republic of Spain (1931–1939) was proclaimed the same day (April 14, 1931). Puerta del Sol was the stage for the popular demonstration of happiness and enthusiasm with the refounded Democratic Republic, officially established at 4p.m., when the tricolour Republican flag was hoisted at the House of the Government (Gonzalo, 2000 p. 25) and the president of the provisional government, Niceto Alcalá-Zamora, gave his first speech on the balconies of the House of the Government. (Alcalá-Zamora, 2000). During the day, thousands of people celebrated in the square (*Figure 41*, *Figure 42*), chanting "[l]ong live Spain! Long live the Republic!" (p. 25). Notwithstanding the euphoria in the country, the Second Republic of Spain was proclaimed contemporary to the worldwide economic depression. Inland, political factions became more radical and antagonistic, particularly after attacks on the Church and the burning of convents in May 1931 (Camino, 2006 p. 16). Among some political moves and defying social and political transformations (with the new constitution being published on December 9, 1931); the failed insurgency on August 10, 1932; the launch of the Falange Party in Madrid led by Antonio Primo de Rivera[271], on October 29, 1933; the victory of the right wing in almost all the country and the victory of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE[272]) in Madrid in the parliamentary election of November, 19, 1933; a state of war was declared in the country by the government on October 7, 1934. Two years later, the events led to the victory in the parliamentary election on February 16, 1936, of the left-wing Popular Front Party (*Frente Popular*) in Madrid and around Spain (Camino, 2006; Jackson, 1973 [1965]). The government paid particular attention to Madrid and created a plan and a special public budget of 80 million pesetas for the implementation of architectural and urban projects (Gonzalo, 2000 p. 36),

alternative constitution, but this act promoted a series of disagreements among Socialists, who moved away from Primo de Rivera's politics. Primo de Rivera's constitutional project to institutionalize the monarchy failed, after evidence of lack of supporters, the financial crisis after international investors had left the country prompted by 1929's Wall Street Crash, and the growing opposition from an intellectual elite. In 1929, two international events organized in the country – the Barcelona International Exposition and the Ibero-American Exposition in Seville (Casanova & Andrés, 2014) – were used by the monarchy as a political manifesto. Despite the success of both events they also enounced political and social crises. On January 27, 1930, Primo de Rivera resigned and left the country.

[269] The Berenguer government is the designation of the government formed with Dámaso Berenguer as prime minister. After the fall of Primo de Rivera in January 1930, King Alfonso XIII ordered Berenguer to create a government to reestablish normality in the country.

[270] Alfonso XIII's reign: May 17, 1886 to April 14, 1931.

[271] Antonio Primo de Rivera was the oldest son of General Miguel Primo de Rivera, also a Fascist ideologist.

[272] In Spanish: *Partido Socialista Obrero Español.*

contributing to an urban lifting of the city's image, even if Puerta del Sol remained unchanged until the destruction caused during the Civil War.

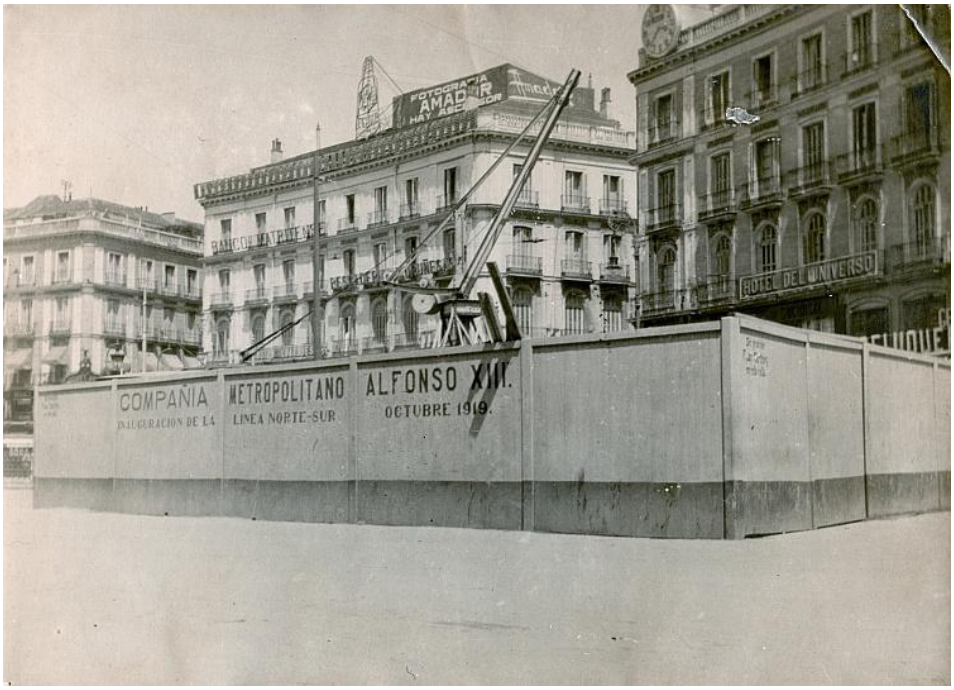

Figure 39 [n.a.], [1917]. Metro construction works in Puerta del Sol. Source: Memoria de Madrid.

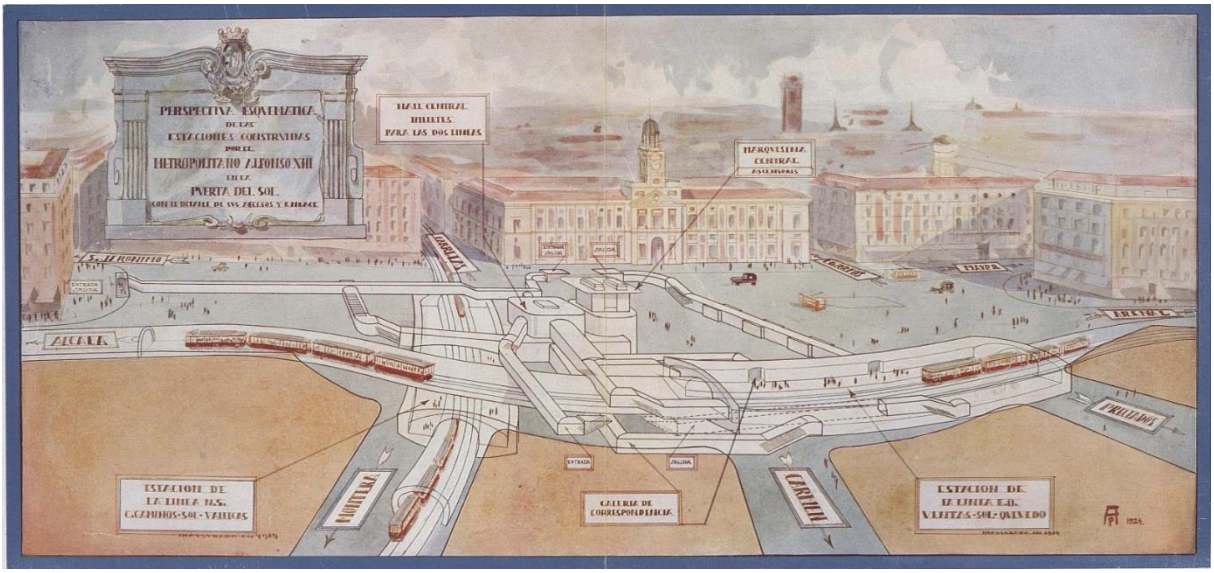

Figure 40 Miguel Otamendi, 1924. Schematic perspective of the accesses to Puerta del Sol Station. Source: Otamendi, 1924.



Figure 41 [n.a.], 1931. Proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic on April 14 in Puerta del Sol. Source: Biblioteca Histórica Marquês de Valdecilia.



Figure 42 Alfonso Sánchez Portela, 1931. Proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic in Puerta del Sol. Source: *Chaves, 2007*.

Large parts of Madrid were destroyed during the Spanish Civil War. The city centre was not the most affected[273] area, but there were still some heavy bombardments, one of them in Puerta del Sol, opening a hole in the metro line (*Figure 43*). Visiting this period of Spanish history we may recall that, since the implementation of the Second Republic of Spain in 1931, the events of October (5–18) 1934, which almost made the Republic destitute[274], were those that deeply contributed to the increase of political spirit among the Spaniards and the rise of trade unions[275]. In 1936, the left-wing victory at the elections of February showed this widespread discontent with the government.

[273] The most affected zones of the city were the western neighbourhoods, being later, in Franco's regime, the first to be reconstructed by the architectural junta.

[274] On October 1934, the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right (CEDA) pressured the government to be part of it. Socialists and Liberals reacted in a major strike action, fearing CEDA and the establishment of Fascism in the country. Major strikes took place throughout the country on October 5 and, on October 6, Luis Companys declared the Republic of Cataluña as part of the Federal Republic of Spain. On October 7, the government reacted, declaring a state of war, in order to pacify insurgents and provoke major political instability (Jackson, 1973 [1965] pp. 199-224). On these same days, in Madrid some Socialist militants advanced to the Ministry of the Interior, in Puerta del Sol, in a demonstration organized by Primo Rivera to support Lerroux, the Republic and Spain (*Figure 44*).

[275] The Spanish population was mainly divided into two major unions: the General Union of Workers (UGT), headed by LarNovgo Caballero, and the National Confederation of Labour (CNT).

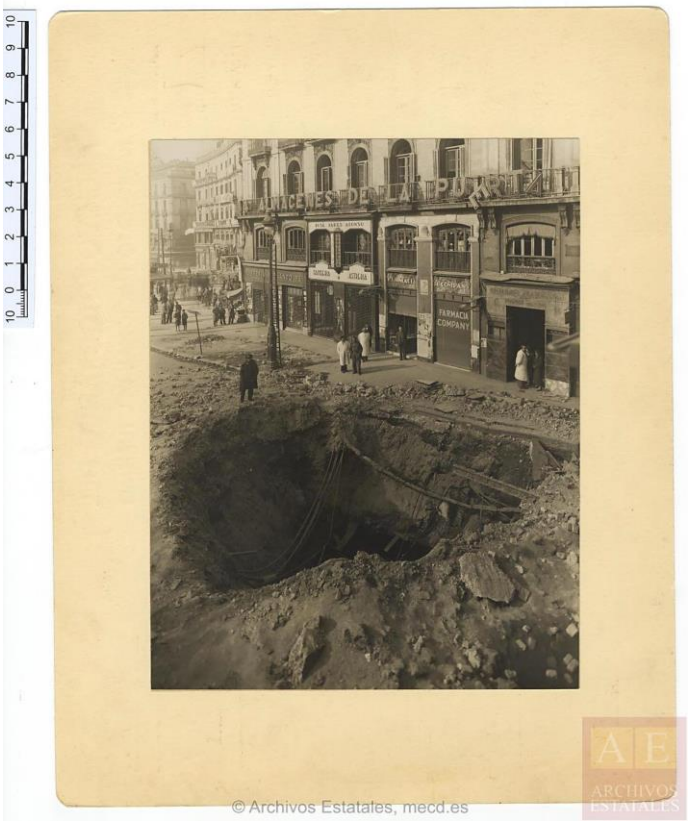

Figure 43 [n.a.], [1939]. Puerta del Sol in the corner with Alcalá. Source: Ministerio de Cultura [Archivo Rojo].

As reaction and after Calvo Sotelo's[276] murder on July 13, 1936, the military uprising threw Spain into a deep social revolution.[277] After June 17, the repressed classes of workers and peasants tried to end the military uprising, destroying all symbols of hierarchy in order to affirm equality in the country. In this atmosphere of popular insurrection, Spain was plunged into profound political and social transformation, led by Communist and Anarchist groups and unions. Two of the greatest transformations, both in urban and rural areas, were expressed by the occupation of all industry in the urban areas and the abolition of money in some regions of the country (Jackson, 1974 pp. 70, 74). In Madrid, as well as in some other large urban areas, social transformation was also expressed by female emancipation (women wore trousers for the first time and fought shoulder to shoulder with men), the protection of female rights (such as permission for abortion), the abolition of traditional costumes, and the conversion of palaces into social schools, orphanages or other collective spaces. One month of such deep changes triggered an upsurge in anger in the military faction, which, on July 18, initiated a counter-revolution. Organized by Falangists and Carlists, they declared the power of a general and the abolition of civil supremacy (one of the main principles of the Second Republic) in every city. The abolition of agricultural reforms, prohibition of the right to strike

[276] José Calvo Sotelo was the finance minister in Primo de Rivera's military dictatorship, being exiled after the regime's fall. Back in the country with an amnesty in 1934 and influenced by the growth of Fascism in other countries in Europe such as Germany and Italy, he became a key figure of the right wing in Spain, trying to gain control of the Falange in 1935. In 1936, after elections, he was one of the harshest voices against the government and was murdered in an act of revenge by members of the Assault Guard (*Guardia de Asalto*) police.
[277] July 17, 1936 is the official date for the beginning of the Civil War, with Franco's attempted coup d'état, even if he preferred to call it a "national uprising" (Edles, 1998 p. 5).

and administration of the economy by a group of personalities chosen by the military were the three major changes. General Francisco Franco[278], one of the most notable members of the military forces, was nominated as head of the government and military operation by the junta on September 29. He took advantage of his power to proclaim himself head of state on October 1. To Franco, there were two important rules to win over Spain: to not destroy the cities, and to conquer Madrid. Madrid was one of the most battered cities, and an example of a deep struggle between the two sides of power, with Puerta del Sol and the conflicts in the place a kind of figurative example of the political confrontations. Despite the events during the first half of the month, the struggle with the military forces and severe political control of Franco was felt by October 15, when military cannons besieged the city. The Communist Party (together with the Communist Youth and Socialist Youth) immediately reacted to protect the territory, even if the cities and towns in a radius of 25 kilometres around the Madrid area were already occupied by military brigades and Madrid was crowded with refugees from those areas. By the end of November, the Nationalist Front attacked the west side of Madrid at two strategic points: Casa de Campo and University City (p. 93). As a consequence of this military approach, Prime Minister Largo Caballero[279] made an important decision that changed the course of events. Caballero, convinced of the Nationalist victory over Madrid, transferred the government[280] to Valencia on September 4 and appointed General José Miaja to command the city's defence. Miaja's nomination was a surprise: in just one night, he was able to twist the population's mood from disappointment to a new will for victory. In twenty-four hours, the population erected barricades, organized collective kitchens and infirmaries and prepared for the conflicts by occupying trenches. On this same day (November 6), the Revolutionary forces moved to Casa de Campo to protect the area and delayed the Nationalists' intentions to invade Madrid on November 7. In the streets of Madrid, people chanted "[n]o pasarán"[281], while 30 kilometres west of Madrid a large battle between General Varela and General Miaja was taking place. At this time, and shortly after the creation of the International Brigades, a group of around 1,000

[278] Francisco Franco was the Caudillo (authoritarian leader) of Spain from October 1, 1938 to November 20, 1975, and prime minister (p*residente del gobierno*) of Spain from January 30, 1938 until June 8, 1973, remaining as head of state and commander in chief of the military until his death in 1975.
[279] Largo Caballero was prime minister and minister of defence from September 1936 to May 1937.
[280] Simultaneous to the transfer to Valencia, Largo Caballero expanded his government of Republicans, Socialists and Communists with four Anarchist ministers.
[281] "*No pasarán*" (in English: "They shall not pass") is the translation of the French slogan "*On Ne Passe Pas!*" used by French General Robert Nivelle in the battle of Verdun, during the First World War, and later adopted on several occasions to express a position against the "enemy". In Madrid people adopted it as a chant for the anti-Nationalist world.

foreign fighters (Germans, French and Italians) arrived in Madrid to support Miaja's forces. Between November 8 and 18, the battle had no interruptions and on November 14, Miaja's forces were strengthened with the military column of the Anarchist Buenaventura Durruti. After the most intense days of conflicts – November 16 and 17 – Franco recognized the impotence of his forces and, even if one of his main goals was not to destroy the cities, he ordered an aerial bombardment of Madrid (except over Salamanca neighbourhood). On the day after, massive support for the Nationalist Front arrived with international forces from Germany and Italy, who officially recognized Franco's forces and came as the ultimate effort to demotivate civil society. People still resisted, and confrontations in Madrid lingered until March 1937, making it the most long-lasting city of resistance.



Figure 44 [n.a.], 1934. Demonstration in Puerta del Sol in the morning of October 7. Source: Plataforma 2003.

Focusing on the territory of Puerta del Sol during the war, as written above, in one of the aerial attacks, a bomb opened a 20-metre-wide hole near Alcalá Street on November 17 (*Figure 43*). Even if Franco's forces did not succeed in invading Madrid, about a month later, during the New Year celebration, he ordered another aerial attack at midnight, coinciding with the twelve strokes of the clock. Manuel Chavez Nogales ([n.d.]) describes the event, saying that the state of ruin and the decadence of the square depleted attendance at the event, being witnessed only

by a few journalists, in contrast to the euphoric mood of previous years. Twelve bombs were fired in time with the twelve strokes (even if the public clock was already destroyed):

> [h]alf-dozen journalists, who had gathered to eat twelve grapes at Puerta del Sol, had to seek refuge, gripping to one of the defilade walls of the House of Government, and there, huddled, heard explosions one after another by twelve strokes, which, cheerfully, as a joke, have brought death and destruction to many other places of Madrid.[282]

Between November and January, Varela's brigade invested in clashes in Casa de Campo, trying some diversions over the north during the first month.

After a harsh winter, in March the Nationalists crossed the Republican front but the Revolutionary group formulated a diversion manoeuvre, creating confusion among the Italian troops and causing such a number of deaths that they gave up. The Italian troops failed in Guadalajara on March 18, Franco's ultimate attempt to invade Madrid, and from that day on, all the battles until Franco's victory were contested in other cities and towns. On April 19, Falange joined the Carlists, headed by Francisco Franco, who, on April 23 dissolved the junta to protect Madrid. In the country, Nationalists kept up their confrontations, occupying Tarragona on January 15, 1939, Barcelona on January 26, Gerona on February 4 and Minorca five days after. Negrín's[283] government was dissolved and Negrín fled to France on March 5. In Madrid, a second Communist revolt occurred between February 7 and March 11, but was not able to deal with Nationalist forces. On March 28, Francisco Franco entered the capital (Jackson, 1973 [1965] pp. 261-269), installing his regime[284] in the country, and the victory of the Nationalist Front was celebrated in Puerta del Sol (*Figure 45*). Even in a square partly destroyed after the clashes during the previous years, the political power of the square was so strong that no other area of the city replaced its supremacy for the affirmation of the new regime. Following the descriptions from M. Sánchez del Arco (1939) (in the right-wing newspaper

[282] Translated by the author from the original: "La media docena de periodistas que se habían juntado para comer las doce uvas en la Puerta del Sol, tiene que buscar refugio pegándose a uno de los muros desenfilados del caserón de Gobernación, y allí, acurrucados, oyen una tras otra las explosiones de los doce obuses que, alegremente, como por broma, han llevado la muerte y la destrucción a otros tantos hogares madrileños."

[283] Juan Negrín was the last prime minister of Spain until the Franco regime, in office from May 17, 1937 until April 1, 1939.

[284] The dictatorial regime set up by General Francisco Franco lasted for about four decades. It can be roughly divided into three phases: 1939–51, with Catholic ideology, military repression and Fascist policy; 1951–59, when internationally isolated Fascism was replaced by Neo-capitalism; and 1959–74, dominated by a new wave of Franco repression despite economic growth and the liberalization of religious, political and social life (Edles, 1998 pp. 5, 6).

ABC), people celebrated the "new Spain" in Puerta del Sol, the most symbolic place of the country or, as he calls: "the sensorium of Spain". In the square people shouted together "[l]ong life to Franco! Ahead Spain!"(*Viva a Franco! Arriba España!*), even if some other descriptions refer to a crowded square as a place of meeting both of Nationalist supporters as well as of the starved people (Revista primera plana, 1969). Some days after, on May 19, the official victory parade in Madrid (with 120,000 soldiers) and the official speech took place through the main streets of Madrid – Prado, Recoletos, Castellana – ending in the square Cánovas del Castillo, as can be seen in the documentary *The Great Victory in Madrid* (*El Gran desfile de la Victoria de Madrid*) ([n.a.], 1939). Beside these other chosen places, it was in Puerta del Sol that the first reactions were felt and heard.



Figure 45 Otriz, 1939. Peopl celebrating the arrival of Franco in Madrid's Puerta del Sol on March 28, 1939. Source: ABC.

During Franco's dictatorship, Puerta del Sol retained its political notability but with a different character, with Casa de Correos being transformed into the political prison of the State Security Office (*Dirección General de Seguridad*). The square became recognized as the political icon of repressive Fascist power, the place where Communists and Socialists were detained, and where any kind of agglomeration was forbidden and repressed by the regime. During this fifty-year-long dictatorship, Puerta del Sol underwent another transformation in use towards a commercial hub, with El Corte Ingles being settled on the surroundings, among some other shopping centres, shops and cafés.

Apparently the lack of intervention in Puerta del Sol was not a chance action but a clearly defined political strategy. In the aftermath of war, the regime considered Madrid the "treacherous city" (Camps, 2005), so all transformations, or the lack of them, were part of a political program. As Pedro Montoliú Camps (2005) refers, during the war there was already a faction of the Nationalist regime with the intention to "burn Madrid" because of the "Marxist symbolism of the city"[285] (p. 40) and relocate the capital to Seville. The proposal from Ramón Serrano Suñer[286] was never accepted by General Franco, who was planning to convert Madrid into the Empire's capital (as opposed to idea of a Federal capital of the Republican times) or a capital of the Imperial (as opposed to German and Italian Fascist regimes with their grand new urban and architecture styles). Following Muguruza's proposals of a revival and patriotic approach, the city was planned as an image of the Imperial times of Juan de Herrera's style of the 16th and 17th centuries. In a first meeting with the members of the local authority (*Corporación Municipal*) on May 20, the words of Serrano Suñez were:

> what does not precisely mean the great Madrid on the material and proletarian of the socialist and republican's city councils but Madrid with moral greatness that corresponds to the capital of a heroic Spain. Work so that we can eradicate the Spaniard (*españolería*) tragedy of a decadent and traditional Madrid, even if destroying the Puerta del Sol and House of Government, which is a breeding ground for the worst political germs (p. 41 [Emphasis in the original])

This was a clear expression of the regime's will to erase the Republican and insurgent history of the city by the construction of a new urban image, even if based on the demolition of some of the most iconic places of that history, including Puerta del Sol. In Serrano Suñer's words in 1939 we can see the utopian project of Palacios from one year before. In his plan, Palacios proposed the demolition of all buildings, reflecting the wills of his political faction of the Nationalist Front, during the time of war with massive bombardments of the city (Fraguas, 2006) and the construction of a new large square surrounded by 15,000,000 cubic metres of magnificent buildings, two of them with 141-metre-high towers. In a high expression of power, the square was meant to be a tribute to the Catholic kings Carlos V and Felipe II (*Figure 46*).

[285] Translated by the author from the original: "el simbolismo Marxista que la ciudad tenía".

[286] Ramón Serrano Suñer was a politician who started his career after the implantation of the Second Spanish Republic to defend his conservative ideologies. During the first stages of Franco's dictatorship, Suñer became General Franco's (his brotherin-law) political advisor, occupying the political offices of Minister of the Interior (1938–40) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1940–42) (Biografías y Vidas, 2004-2015, [n.d.]).

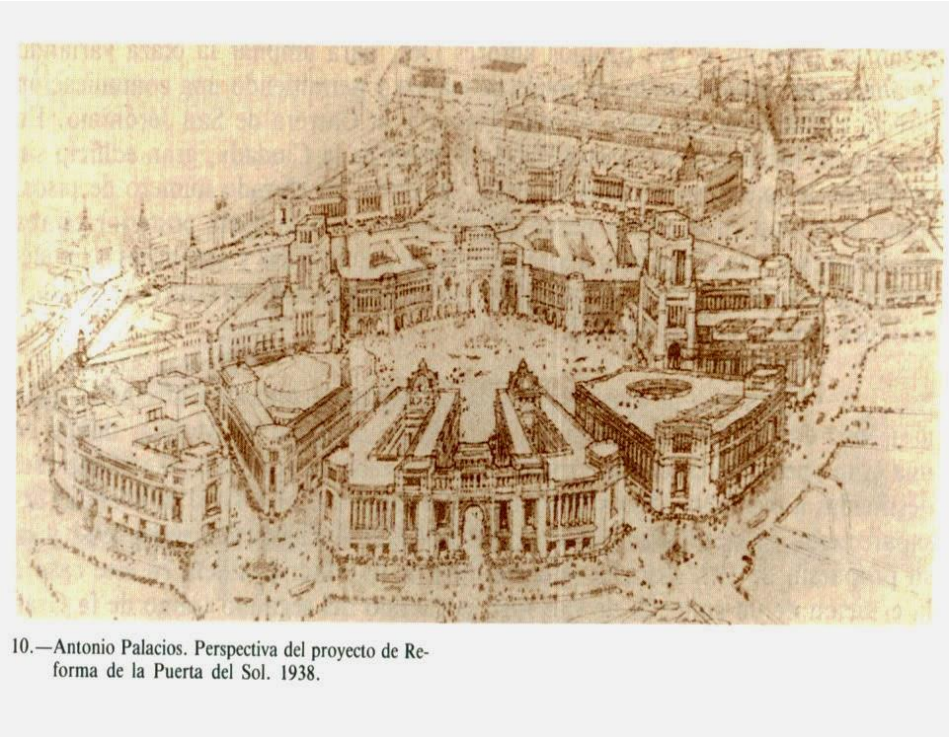

Figure 46 Antonio Palacios, 1938. Urban reform of Puerta del Sol.
Souce: elmadridquenofue.

In the postwar period, architecture and urbanism could not be perceived as a "critical policy domain" (Goldsmith, 2011), but Falangists, after the Nationalist victory, were given a crucial role in the institutionalization of architecture and urban planning with the foundation of the National Architectural Assembly (*Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos*) in June 1939. In the meeting, Pedro Muguruza presented his General ideas about the national plan for planning and reconstruction (*Ideas generales sobre el Plan Nacional de Ordenación y Reconstrucción*) and Pedro Bidagor some ideas on the "organic planning" of the city, a "trope that legitimated hierarchical and centralized power relations by locating the model for such centralization in the natural world" (p. 334). In this same meeting, José Moreno Torres announced himself as director of the Junta for the Reconstruction of Madrid (*Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid)*; Pedro Muguruza became responsible for the new image of the regime through the "General Direction of Architecture" (*Dirección General de Arquitectura*); and the direction of the Junta for the Reconstruction of Madrid (*Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid)* was given to Pedro Bidagor, who headed the office from 1939 to 1969.

In October 1939, the junta was charged by decree with the planning of the new "Great Madrid", a plan that could reflect the capital as a symbol of the Empire (in a similar approach to German and Italian urban planning principles of Hitler and Mussolini) – hierarchical, and with large

arteries to connect the heart of the country with the rest of the nation (Neuman, 2010 pp. 103, 104). The decree ordered Bidagor to make a plan of Madrid in a radius of 12 kilometres around Puerta del Sol, considering it as the centre (Echávarri, 2009). The masterplan of great Madrid (*Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid*), broadly known as Plan Bidagor, was published in 1942, adopted by law on November 25, 1944, but institutionalized by decree only in 1946. Puerta del Sol, the core of the plan, ironically had no proposal; all the efforts were concentrated on pulling the economy and tourism towards the newly developed area along the Castellana, defined in the Plan Bidagor as the "new commercial centre".

In 1951, with the second phase of the regime towards liberalization and internationalization, policies changed and so too did the urban plans. The triumph of the liberal philosophy in 1957 spurred the transformation that would culminate with the new plan for the city, "Plan de Estabilización", in 1959.

In the 1950s, reflecting the new lifestyle and the dominance of the car, Puerta del Sol was again the focus for a transformation in a proposal headed by the architect Manuel Herrero Palacios. As with Franco's government, Puerta del Sol had lost its political character, becoming a commercial hub, and the project's initial goal was the proposal of new urban furniture and traffic circulation improvements by the elimination of tramlines. Palacios' project was restricted to a new plan for traffic circulation and parking and the creation of small green areas with fountains in the middle of the streets. New benches and the substitution of the lighting system completed the project. During the expansion works of Puerta del Sol, which were finished in 1959, the kilometre zero slab was set upside down, showing the east arrow in the direction of west. Ironically, this error was detected only 50 years later by the press, being then turned to the original orientation (Barrero, 2004 pp. 553, 554).

Despite the pressures during the dictatorship, also on the universities after the July 1943 University Planning Act (*Ley de Ordenación Universitaria*) banning all demonstrations of (political) ideology in the academic realm (Gurruchaga, 2008 p. 27), in 1954 opposition to Franco's regime emerged among Communist students, leading to a wave of student protests in 1956. If the meetings were circumscribed to small groups in the universities, all the demonstrations were organized, up till then, by the University Youth Union (SEU)[287] and in

[287] In Spanish: *SindicatoEspañolUniversitario*.

support of Nationalism. The protest of January 1954 (starting on January 25) (Payne, 1999 p. 415) initiated a period of change. A patriotic demonstration, organized by the SEU against British rule over former Spanish colonies, was planned for the same date of the celebrations of Queen Elizabeth II's first visit to Gibraltar. Taking place in front of the British Embassy, the Nationalist demonstration was brutally repressed by the police. As the group was in general coordinated with the regime, the police's attitude surprised everyone. As a reaction to police aggression to the students and the wave of violence, a spontaneous counter-demonstration was organized in Puerta del Sol, promoting a turning point in history as well as in the political tendencies inside the universities. From that moment on, there was a conflict between police and students and a crack inside the SEU. In 1955, students organized a public tribute to Ortega y Gasset, coming to the streets after his death on October 18. At that time, the philosopher was respected and followed by several, including some Falangists. In the words of one student interviewed by José Maria Maravall funerals were an escape from political expression (Maravall, 1978 p.163 quoted in Gurruchaga, 2008 p. 64). In the course of 1956 and in respect to the possibility of organizing cultural events in the academic realm, students used the Congress of Students Writers, which was allowed by the rector Pedro Laín Entralgo, to diffuse their political ideals. On February 1, 1956, they published a manifesto as an attempt to extinguish the SEU and to hold a National Congress of Students without the group. The reaction was felt immediately with the suspension of unions' elections and classes and the declaration of a "state of exception" in the country. The manifesto also incited other repressive measures as the ban on the first demonstration since the end of the Civil War planned for the same day, February 7. Despite the ban, students took to the streets, protesting around the university (Gabriel, 2012 p. 14), and the information spread in the city. In the following three days, students demonstrated around the city, mainly in a rally leading to the Ministry of Education in Calle San Bernardo but also towards Puerta del Sol. Under this civil agitation, the demonstrations lasted for about a week and, in the opinion of some authors, was responsible for creating fragilities inside Franco's government and leading to the end of Fascism a decade later (p. 1). The protests, harshly repressed by Franco, emphasized both that dissatisfaction with the regime was not circumscribed to the working class and to the youth student elite, and that there was a generation gap between old Nationalists with memories of the Civil War as well as fear of that time, and the youth without those memories and fearing for their futures (p. 50). The event could not provoke the clash of the system but several moves inside the government and a political crisis happened.

Puerta del Sol kept its unchangeable commercial character for a long period, with no other manifestations of national or local politics. In 1967 it hosted the statue with the symbols of the city (also represented in Madrid's flag), *The Bear and the Strawberry Tree* (*El oso y el madroño*)[288], produced by the sculptor Antonio Navarro Santafé. The statue was initially placed on the corner of Calles Jerónimo and Alcalá and later moved to other areas of the square (Garcia, 2000 p. 30), being nowadays, and since 2009, in front of Calle Alcalá. The construction and decision to locate the statue in Puerta del Sol followed an order from the Cultural Department of Madrid to the Mayor Carlos Arias Navarro, on November 14, 1966 (Verdú, 2009).

In 1974 one more important political event happened in the surroundings of Puerta del Sol, but only because of the impossibility of it happening in the square and closer to the State Security Office (*Dirección General de Seguridad*)[289], with its insurmountable police protection. On September 13, Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA)[290] launched a major fatal attack (even if it neither claimed nor denied responsibility, as did the Communist groups after the attacks were attributed to both groups by the authorities (Preston, 2005 [1986] p. 49)), killing 12 people in the Café Rolando in Calle de Correo, besides Puerta del Sol. In order to understand the relation of this history with political history, and following more recent information about the crimes, we must go back to the murder of Prime Minister Luis Carrero Blanco[291], in "Operation ogro" (*Operación ogro*) on December 20, 1973. ETA detonated 50kg of explosives under the prime minister's armoured car, in its passage through Claudio Coello Street, on a daily routine of coming from morning mass (generalisimofranco, [n.d.]). ETA claimed responsibility for the murder, with the motive being Carrero Blanco's relation with the Francoist regime since 1951, being a key figure of Francoist ideology, and of attempting to bring Opus Dei to the

[288] The statue is a symbol of the city. The elements come from those used on shields since the 12th century, comprising the bear, representing the bear hunted by Alfonso XI at his country house near Madrid, and the strawberry tree, representing the division of territory after the medieval conflicts between the county and the clerics, which was decided by the division of land: the meadows would be controlled by the church and the forests by the king. By the abundance of such species in the area, together with their medicinal properties against pests, it was chosen to replace the tower on the city shield (ABC, 2014).

[289] Although the decision to move the State Security Office happened straight after the fall of Francoism in 1975, the services were completely transferred to another building by the summer of 1992 (Sanz, 1992). Since 1985, Casa de Correos has also housed the Comunidad de Madrid.

[290] In Basque: *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*. ETA started to use terrorism in 1967 and became the most significant terrorist movement in Europe (together with the IRA in Ireland). It had a strong influence on Spanish politics, particularly during Franco's regime (Tusell, 2007 [2005] p. 226).

[291] Luis Carrero Blanco was prime minister of Spain in Franco's regime, following General Franco for a period of six months, from June 9 until his death on December 20, 1973.

government. If 1973's attack was a clear threat to the state and the regime, this second one, in 1974, which was also meant to kill politicians who frequently used the café near Puerta del Sol, was considered a flop, killing 12 civilians, among whom were students, workers and a police officer. In a brief appreciation of these facts we note that Puerta del Sol was the shield of the regime.

During the autumn of 1975 Spain was blamed in Europe. The sentencing to death of some political prisoners triggered a wave of demonstrations around Europe and the consequent end of external exchange, deepening the clash between the realities lived in the country with other countries of Europe. On November 20, 1975, General Francisco Franco died and King Juan Carlos I[292] led the transition to a parliamentary democracy:

> [i]t was obvious from the start that he was to play a major role in the transition. He was asked to facilitate the break with the past, or *ruptura*, by ruling as an absolute monarch while he enabled Spain to move towards democracy; however, rather than ruling, what he actually did was to point the way ahead. He was described as the "motor for change," and a historical work that focuses on him was aptly titled The Driver of Change (*El piloto del cambio*). In fact, it was his job to cut the Gordian knot of the Spanish political situation at the end of 1975 […] and in addition to act as a shield to prevent the military breaking in on the political process. (Tusell, 2007 [2005] p. 274 [Emphasis in the original])

The democratic transition is an ambiguous term that varies from a period of two to thirty years[293], according to different approaches and authors. Despite its time span, in terms of major

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[292] Juan Carlos I was previously called back to Spain by Franco to prepare for the succession. Alfonso XIII, Juan Carlos' grandfather, was the last king governing in Spain, being exiled with the implementation of the Second Republic in 1931. Infant Juan of Spain, father of Juan Carlos I, spent all his life abroad and was never accepted on the throne. In 1948, Franco called the then 12-year-old boy back to Spain, overriding the king's rights, to prepare the prince for the transition after his death. With Franco's death, Juan Carlos assumed the role of governing the country, and was proclaimed king of Spain on November 7, 1975.

[293] Even if it is not the focus of our research, we give a brief framework of this amalgam of dates as periods that define the concept of "transition". In the majority of cases, authors consider Franco's death as the beginning of the period of transition to Spanish parliamentary democracy, culminating, in some cases, with the first general elections after his death on June 15, 1977 (Aragonés, 2006 p. 139) and in some others with the constitution approved by referendum in December 1978 (Tusell, 2007 [2005] p. 323; Aragonés, 2006 p. 141). There are other versions of the institutional end, such as the first Spanish general elections in March 1979 with the victory of the Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD), the party that was already in government (Aragonés, 2006 p. 141); with the failed coup in February 1981 (also known as the 23F), when a small right-wing anti-democracy (p. 141) group headed by Coronel Antonio Tejero tried to take over parliament – an attempt destroyed by the king's discourse on television condemning the acts; or when a stable democracy was confirmed by the Socialist (PSOE) victory in the elections in October 1982 (p. 140). Although we consider a radical approach, there are still some suggestions that the period of transition ended only with Spain's integration into the European Economic Community in 1986, even if this integration was possible only for democratic regimes. Apart from the wide range of possible ends, there are also some variations in the date on which this transition started. As alternatives to Franco's death, some consider

political transformations, it is crucial to point out the role of social movements in the transition, mainly until the end of the dictatorship. Manuel Castells (1986 [1983]) gives us a detailed framework about the foundation of neighbourhood social movements in Madrid[294] – "Citizen Movement" (*Movimiento Ciudadano*)[295] – in the 1970s. The formation of the movement was crucial to the end of Francoism and the emergence of democracy. It also initiated significant social and urban changes in the city right after the end of dictatorship (p. 301), and in particular until municipal independence in 1979, when the Citizen Movement, riven by internal political disparities, disarticulated and disappeared (p. 327). Noteworthy, and important to understand its powerful capacity to provoke urban changes, is the previous work and in the context of the urban crisis[296] caused by the politics of dictatorship. Even if not the only cause to end the regime, the deteriorated political condition after the early 1970s outlined a possibility in the growth of the number of protests by the Citizen Movement as well as its empowerment. Franco, aware of the fragility of the regime after the 1956 student protests and subsequent growing number of demonstrations in 1968[297], decreed in 1969 the "state of exception" in the country (p. 310), but the number of demonstrations kept growing (in the country and in Madrid) until the fall of the regime. In 1979, with people's wills being absorbed by the democratic process and of collective forgetfulness of the times of Civil War and the repression of the dictatorship, social movements decreased in public and political participation.

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the institution of the Organic Law of the State (*Lei Orgánica del Estado*), decreed in 1966, a move towards the democratic process, as it opened up the possibility of creating political institutions, whereas others point to Carrero Blanco's murder in 1973.

[294] We focus on the case of Madrid as it is the focus of our research; also, as Castells (1986 [1983]) argues, it was the city that saw the largest intensification of protests and mobilizations (p. 301).

[295] The "citizen movement" was built around local neighbourhood associations, based on a strong structure for its ability to work and demand for changes on a diverse range of urban subjects as housing, education, public health, transportation, green spaces, local social life or political demands (Castells, 1986 [1983] pp. 313, 314), among others, as well as the ability to stand up for different social classes and interests (pp. 317, 318). The fragmentation of the group endowed it with a high level of resilience, but this was also the main reason for its internal fragmentation.

[296] As an urban crisis is not measured by lack of housing but by poor living conditions and in 1974, 54% of Madrid inhabitants were living in houses with deficient conditions, the consequence of political interests (Castells, 1986 [1983] p. 303). The current model of urban planning was developed based on the concentration of economic activity in the city centre, the absolute control over urban development by the financial sector or banks, and the lack of social control as well as an authoritarian state that repressed all forms of social demonstration (pp. 308, 309).

[297] "From the middle of the 1960s to the time of Franco's death, the number of strikes increased fast. If in 1966 there were about a hundred, in 1968 the number had tripled to 309." (Tusell, 2007 [2005] p. 222)

The themes of memory and historical evolution of the country, and particularly of Madrid[298], is widely discussed as part of a political and social transition. If the times of the Second Republic were closely related to the difficult conditions experienced during the Civil War, people also wished to erase from memory the period of dictatorship and severe repression. Tusell (2007 [2005]) recalls Paloma Aguilar's expressions of the "recognition of a collective guilt" in the process of transition to democracy, as both sides were to blame for the Civil War and tried to avoid any kind of conflict and disorder after 1975, in order to avoid the experiences of the 1930s. They also tried to focus on the present and invent a new "civic identity", breaking with the stigmas of authoritarianism (pp. 25, 26). Even if there were a few demonstrations during the democratic transition[299], it seems that all of them were outside of Puerta del Sol. The transition was also carefully planned by King Juan Carlos, aware of the need of the transition towards a democracy and of the strong legacy from Francoism. Juan Carlos I, facing a parliament of the regime and a society in majority who were also followers of the regime, first decided to keep a man of the regime to head the government, nominating Carlos Arias Navarro as prime minister. Juan Carlos I planned every step of the transition in detail; the decision to keep men of the regime allowed him to nominate a progressive chief of the government, his former professor Torcuato Fernández-Miranda, who became recognized with his constitutionalist laws and rules. The government didn't last long, as the king planned a U-turn of the situation. In his visit to the United States for the U.S. Congress and Senate, Juan Carlos I declared, on June 2, 1976, Spain's commitment to democracy. The position was a shock to the Francoist faction of society, impelling Arias Navarro to resign. Back in the country, the king took a risky decision and nominated Adolfo Suárez[300] as prime minister of Spain on July 3 the same year. The nomination was not easily accepted by the left, due to Suárez's background and relation to Franco's regime. However, it proved to be the best decision when, in five months, he was able to convince all the parties in the assembly to vote for the Political Reform Law,

[298] Madrid was the most "destroyed" city during Francoism, as it was Franco's home and the city of authoritarian control. As Tusell (2007 [2005]) underlines, for these reasons, for a period of time Barcelona was seen as the "good" city, closer to the democratic model of France, and Madrid as the "bad" example (pp. 23, 24).

[299] Although the majority of sources refer to the lack of civic participation in the period, Aragonés (2006) points out the large number of strikes and demonstrations in the period 1976–87, involving over 100,000 people in Madrid (p. 144).

[300] Adolfo Suárez was prime minister of Spain from July 3, 1976 to February, 25, 1981. In the first months Suárez was prime minister nominated by the king, and after the first free elections in 41 years, he was prime minister elected by the people. Adolfo Suarez won the democratic elections of June 15, 1977 in the party union of the Democratic Centre (UCD).

successfully ending Francoism. Approved by consensus, the law was finally implemented after passing by referendum on December 15, 1976. Suárez was able, only by debate and exposition of ideas, to convince all the parties that monarchy was the only way to fight Francoism.

The long period of the unpoliticized Puerta del Sol ended with the celebration of PSOE's victory in the democratic elections of 1982 (October 28). As Juan Francisco Fuentes Aragonés (2006) remarks, the long period of "disenchantment" after the Constitution[301] of 1978 culminated with a movement of rupture that was possible with the victory of the left front, as a reminder of the period preceding the Second Republic. For the whole night, people celebrated in the streets around Puerta del Sol and Calle Jerónimo, where Felipe González[302] made his first speech from the balcony of Hotel Palace (*Figure 47*). The transition in 1982 led to two decades of economic prosperity in the country.



Figure 47 Antonio García Gallo, 1982. Puerta del Sol and Calle Jerónimo in the night of October 28, 1982. Source: desafinadoagg.

If PSOE's remarkable victory in 1982 brought hope to society, it didn't take long for the first 24-hour strike to occur. The strike, held on June 20, 1985, was convened by several trade unions, including CCOO and UGT, against proposed rectifications of pension plans. In Madrid, trade unions gathered in Puerta del Sol for the final speech.

On December 14, 1988, a second general strike paralysed the country. Two days later, in Madrid[303], people abandoned their work to occupy the streets, walking in large rallies in the direction of Puerta del Sol. The city centre became packed with people complaining against

[301] The Constitution of Spain was approved by King Juan Carlos I on July 26, 1977 and later by referendum on December 6, 1978.
[302] Felipe González was president of Spain from October 28, 1982 until May 3, 1996.
[303] The demonstration in Madrid occurred only two days after the public transport strike on December 14.

governmental economic and political policies and demanding better working conditions for the youth. The rally route ended in Puerta del Sol; the "reconquering" of the strategic place was already a victory in the political history of the country, as well as of place. As in the words of CCOO's lawyer Isabel Martín, the approval of Puerta del Sol as the final destination of the demonstration was an anticipation of the great success of the demonstration and demands: "[w]e've won, regarding Puerta del Sol."[304] (El País, 1988) On December 16, about 700,000 people gathered in the square (*Figure 48*), and two days later 8 million workers and 3 million students around the country supported the strike, called by the UGT and CCOO unions. With PSOE's massive victory in 1982, expectations in the left wing grew, but over time a wave of disillusion grew, manifested particularly with the Youth Employment Plan (*Plan de Empleo Juvenil*) proposal [305], renamed by strikers as the "Youth Slavery Plan" (*Plan de Esclavización Juvenil*). The triumph of the general strike and occupation of Puerta del Sol during the night of December 13, 1988, confirmed it as well as the government's consequent move back in relation to the presented proposals (Carretero, 2013), when Felipe González recognized the workers' union action as a "political victory" (ABC, 1988).



Figure 48 [CCOO], 1982. Demonstration in Puerta del Sol on December 16. Source: El Huffington Post.

[304] Translated by the author from the original: "Hemos ganado en lo relativo a la Puerta del Sol".
[305] A proposal to create a new type of employment contract for the youth (between 16 and 25 years old) with a minimum wage and 100% contribution from the state to the employers' social welfare responsibility (Carretero, 2013).

Tierno Galván[306], the first mayor of Madrid, was also responsible for transforming the image of Madrid when, in 1986 and still in the midst of democratic transition, he initiated 27 large urban projects to eradicate the traces of Franco's dictatorial city. The projects focused particularly on revitalizing Madrid's public spaces, to increase "a feeling of common ownership and civic pride" (Stapell, 2010 p. 52). Puerta del Sol was one of the symbolic monuments and places of Madrid to be restored[307]. The responsibility for renovating Puerta del Sol went to a multidisciplinary team, led by Javier Ortega and Antonio Rivière Gómez and supervised by Antón Capitel, reflecting the will of some democratic institutions. The projects also had ecological and accessibility concerns and focused on the transition from a city of cars to a pedestrian city. The project of reorganizing Puerta del Sol and the surrounding streets included pedestrianizing the streets and part of the square, restricting traffic to the southern area of the plaza (p. 160). Aside from traffic restructuring and some other changes, the attention of this project centred on the controversial and iconic streetlights[308] – an inspiration from Otto Wagner's Viennese



Figure 49 Jaime Pato, 1987. Protesters tying themselves to streetlights in Puerta del Sol. Source: ABC Madrid (February 8).

[306] Enrique Tierno Galván (1979–1986) was the mayor of Madrid in the period of transition (from 1977 until his death in 1986). The election in 1979 established the independence of the municipal administration, and for the first time independence from the government of the nation. Aware of the independence of the capital, Tierno Galván was the dominant force behind the project for the city's urban transformation, with a cultural program to wipe away the old times of Francoism and return to a democratic model, articulated with the foundations of a new Madrilenian identity (Stapell, 2010).

[307] In the beginning of Tierno Galván's term in 1977, Puerta del Sol and the surrounding buildings got the legal frame of protected heritage.

[308] The thin, long streetlights became popularly known as suppositories (*supositorios*) or matchsticks (*cerillas*) because of their shape (Larson, 2014 p. 181).

streetlights from 1904 – that were installed in December 1986. The controversy[309] coincided with Tierno Galván's death and marked a period of political transition, affecting some of 1986's renovations that stuck to the reconstruction of 14 buildings and the restitution of the Mariblanca statue (even if it was a replica of the original). In the square, Mariblanca assumed a similar position to the original, which had been removed in 1838, but was set on a plinth, being in 2009 transferred to a different position, beside Calle Arenal. Since this date and despite several efforts to substitute the streetlights, Puerta del Sol kept its image unchanged until 1991 with just a slight transformation created by the plantation of 15 strawberry trees[310] in large containers throughout the square (Europa Press, 1991). Starting ten years after the fall of the regime, in 1985, the Real Casa dos Correos also underwent transformations, eradicating memories of dictatorial times and reflecting the new ideals of democracy. The project to re-layout the interior of the building in order to convert the prison of the State Security Office into offices for the autonomic department of the Community of Madrid (*Comunidad de Madrid*) was designed by the architect Ramón Valls Navascués. The works ran for one year, until 1986. Ten years later, the building was reorganized once again, to host the president of the Community of Madrid (*Comunidad de Madrid*).

In terms of political demonstrations, Puerta del Sol was also the place for occasional events in the city, such as the demonstration against the implementation of the Law of Protection of Public Act (*Protección de la Seguridad Ciudadana*), also known as "ley Corcuera", which mobilized trade unions, intellectuals and artists in a march from Plaza Cibeles to Puerta del Sol on November 11, 1991 (El País, 1992; 1991b). In 1992, Puerta del Sol was the stage for two demonstrations against the wave of terrorism growing in the country. In a first attempt in reaction to criminal attempts of ETA two days before, trade unions (UGT, CCOO and *Federacion de Asociaciones de Vecinos*) and all political parties (PP, PSOE, CDS and *Izquierda Unida*, among others) united in the call for demonstrations on February 8. During the day, only

[309] Apart from critics in the newspapers, there were also demonstrations for and against the removal of streetlights; some architects tied themselves to the lamps to protect the elements in the square (*Figure 49*), while about 70–100 people demanded their removal. Besides public demonstrations, contentious articles spread in the newspapers (see section of articles in El País from December 1986 until its substitution in February 1987). Despite the long list of supporting letters, Madrid's mayor, Juan Barranco, ordered the removal of the elements and proposed new ones, inspired by King Fernando's style. The project was to be financed by Spanish companies, but the substitutions were not formalized until the PP took power in 1994. The substitution only happened on the inauguration of King Carlos III's statue (El País, 1995).

[310] Initial information makes reference to 30 elements (Agencia Servimedia, 1991).

about 8,000 people went to the square, while about 2,000 spent the night. In the words of the organization, the event was a flunk, as the call wasn't strong enough to mobilize the people of Madrid, but also because it became instrumentalized by radical Nationalists (ABC, 1992; Duva, 1992). A few months later, on April 4, the Spanish association against terrorism, Gesto por la Paz, organized a second demonstration[311] in Puerta de Sol with the same demands and intentions and mobilized several hundred people (El País, 1992).

In 1994 (December 17), the equestrian statue of King Carlos III, by the sculptors Miguel Ángel Rodríguez and Eduardo Zancada, by popular decision was placed in the centre of the square (Erdem, 2013 p. 30). On December 13, the statue arrived in the square, where it was put on a provisional platform. On this day, and for the following 13 days, the people of Madrid could vote to choose their preferred final location (from among five different areas of the city) for the statue in the square (Carandell, 1993; Díaz, 1993).

Two years passed and the square's most iconic building was closed for works, as the former Casa de Correos and its tower were in a state of ruin. The refurbishment was finished in 1998, after some surprises in the course of the works. The inauguration of the new house of the president of the Comunidad de Madrid in 1998 was attended by the king, who made his first speech from the famous balcony of Casa de Correos, in a similar position to the president of the provisional government, Niceto Alcalá-Zamora, by the proclamation of the Second Republic of Spain in 1931 (Tecglen, 1998).

During the following years, Puerta del Sol kept its primacy as the place to gather, demand and publicly express opinions. In 2002, a fourth democratic general strike[312], convened by the trade unions CCOO and UGT against changes in employment protection and the Basic Law on Employment (*Ley Básica de Empleo*) approved by the executive of the Conservative President José María Aznar, took place in the square. The strike and demonstration were attended by a massive percentage of the working class and were considered a success by trade unions and communications, even if the words and data from the government were running counter (Díaz, 2002; El País, 2002). In Puerta del Sol, people gathered during the evening of June 19 (10p.m.), at the beginning of the 24-hour strike, and this was the space chosen for the speeches after the

[311] The first demonstration that was organized by Gesto por la Paz in the capital.
[312] The first general strike in the history of Spanish democracy occurred in 1985, the second in 1988 and the third in 1994, all during Felipe González's government. The first was motivated by proposed changes in pensions, the second against the removal of the Youth Plan of Employment and the third against labour reforms.

rally from Cibeles to Sol. Aznar's government kept claiming the failure of the strike even after a series of mobilizations that followed, in October. The government retreated, replacing most of the controversial issues and appointing a new minister of labour:

> [g]iven the government's response to the strike that included not just a reversal of the most contentious provisions but also a government reshuffle, the government's claim that the strike had been a failure can be interpreted at best as a feeble attempt to save face in light of widespread public opposition to the planned reforms. (Hamann, 2012a p. 182)

The fifth 24-hour general strike happened under the Socialist government of Zapatero, prompted by reforms in the pension system, announced in February 2010. Following a few mobilizations and social dialogue between trade unions and the government, the government declared the decision as a proposal not to be negotiated. The trade unions reacted by calling a general strike on September 29. As Kerstin Hamann (2012b) says: "[t]he general strike […] did not affect the government's labour reform. However, in a subsequent cabinet reshuffle, the Minister of Labour Corbacho was replaced by Valeriano Gómez, a UGT member […] who himself had participated in the general strike." (p. 205)

During these initial years of democracy, the square was not only appropriated for political reasons by trade unions but also for other political occasions, as in the case of the demonstrations organized by Mariano Rajoy in 2005. Mariano Rajoy, after the election defeat in 2004, initiated a movement of strong opposition to the government and Zapatero, taking into consideration themes never before used and focused in politics, such as combatting terrorism and national territorial issues (Rubio, 2014). We pay particular attention to the demonstration of December 3, 2005, due to the impact on the population and the importance of the place for the politician. Rajoy, with the motto of protecting the unity of the country and against Zapatero's proposal to grant independence to Catalonia, gathered about 47,300 people in the square (Marcos, 2005). We focus on the demonstration as it contributed to Rajoy's political message once in opposition and the place he closed for any political manifestation when in government, in 2011 (Álvarez, 2011).

Considering the physical aspects of the square, during the years between 2003 and 2009, Puerta del Sol underwent one of its greatest transformations, although mainly beneath the surface, to host Madrid's major commuter metro. On the surface, the station's vestibule was built in the shape of a half shell, designed by renowned Spanish architect and member of San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Antonio Fernández Alba. The designer conceptually justified the

shape and design of the structure as a representation of Madrid: the small entrance symbolises the city and the larger entrance the metropolitan area. In other words, the chosen materials – steel and glass – reflected the lifetime of the square and was simultaneously a tribute to the toponymy of the place: a gate that reflects the sun (Álvarez, 2009b; 2009a). Beneath the ground was built the large station (7,500 square metres), housing three metro lines and two train lines, including a hall to accommodate the museographic works of the ruins of Buen Suceso church, found on June 7, 2006 (Alcaide, 2006b; 2006a).

The construction of the station took seven years (2003–09) (Alcaide, 2009a; El País, 2003). If the archaeological findings justified one year's delay, the initial phase was also political; requirements from *Izquierdas Unidas* (IU) and social activists Ecologists in Action (*Ecologistas en Acción*) asked for a proper Environmental Impact Study that could contemplate the social and commercial impact of the works as well as a phasing proposal to attenuate those effects. In 2005, the works were interrupted by a Heritage General Directorate's (*Dirección General de Patrimonio*) order, justified by the need for a new study of those impacts (Olaya, 2005). Consequently, the square was completely closed only for a short period and not for two years as initially announced. During the works on the square, the surroundings also underwent transformations, with two streets being pedestrianized – Calle Montera in June 2005 and Calle Arenal in November 2006. By the end of the metro station works, 57% of the area of the square was also pedestrianized (enlarging from 6,681 to 10,466 square metres). It was also converted into a mineral square (Rivas, 2009) with the removal of the trees that were planted in 1991[313]. The design of the new square was widely contested by architects and associations, largely by young architects who complained about the lack of public participation in the decision on the final layout for the "heart" of their city. These complaints did not affect, change or delay decisions but, for the opening ceremony of the square, the city council organized an event as a kind of compensation for the lack of participation. On this day, representatives from different

[313] The discussion about the plantation of the trees in the square was restored after the occupations of 2011; in 2012, the city council presented a proposal for the plantation of around 50 trees in the square, together with new areas for esplanades (Gallo, 2012). The proposal was removed two weeks later as the project was unviable (Gallo, 2013a).

parties – Aguirre[314], Blanco[315], Gallardón[316] and Zapatero[317] – publicly presented in an uncommon agreement relating to the public works process (Alcaide, 2009b). Although the construction works of the station were finished by June, the topsoil works continued.

In September the same year, three icons of the square were replaced or moved: the statue of Madrid's shield was moved to a different location in the square; the kilometre zero slab was replaced by a new one; and the statue of Mariblanca was returned to the square.

Right after the long process of works that restricted the square in its proper use in 2009 and 2010, civic appropriation of the public space was restored with the celebrations of the 79th year of the Second Republic. On April 14, 2010, people gathered in the square and on April 17, the rally also culminated in the square.

In 2014, the country's biggest Apple store opened in the refurbished former Hotel Paris[318] building, located at number 1, Puerta del Sol. The opening of the new store also suffered some delays, as during the construction works findings were discovered of the 15th century hospital Buen Suceso. Because of the archaeological findings and given its huge importance, the owners decided not to keep the structure visible but buried it, creating a symbolic line on the floor to signal its existence (Gallo, 2013b).

3.1.2. Physical configuration

Puerta del Sol is nowadays one of the most famous squares or places of Madrid. The square, which remarkably has no designation of "Square", inherently has the life experience that relays on the etymology of the square, the central place of social encounter and debate. As José Antonio Blasco (2013b) refers, the square underwent significant transformations since its foundation: from a gate (access to the city) (15th to 17th century); to an outdoor irregular square (17th to 18th century); to an almost regular square (18th to 19th century); to the formal square

[314] Esperanza Aguirre (PP) was president of Madrid from November 21, 2003 until September 26, 2012.
[315] Jose Blanco López (PSOE) was the minister of public works and transport from April 9, 2009 until December 21, 2011.
[316] Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón (PP) was the mayor of Madrid from June 23, 2003 until December 22, 2011.
[317] José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero (PSOE) was the prime minister of Spain from April 16, 2004 until December 21, 2011.
[318] Hotel Paris was the first hotel in Madrid. It opened in 1864 (after two years of construction) by the hand of Lamberto Fontanella. The project was realized by the architect Jerónimo de la Gándara, on the plot of the former royal hospital and church of Buen Suceso (demolished in 1854), and closed in 2006 (May, 31) after being sold to the Apple group. During the initial years, and until the opening of Hotel Ritz (1910) and Hotel Palace (1912), it was considered the city's most luxurious hotel (Gallo, 2013a). For 76 years, Hotel Paris featured the Tio Pepe billboard on its roof.

of the 19th century, until its recent image of a square that should be interpreted as both the underground and topsoil works and layout. Despite all the transformations and centralities/decentralities of the urban grid, over a period of six centuries, the square has kept its primacy as the locus and spirit of the city, sometimes even considered as the "heart" of the city or the country in political terms.

At the beginning of its existence, Puerta del Sol was the eastern access to the walled city, working together with four other gates along the surrounding wall (southern Puerta Toledo, eastern Puerta Alcalá, and northern Postigo de San Martín and Puerta de Santo Domingo) (Romanos, 1861 pp. xxiii, xxiv). All the gates were located in the direction of existing accesses to the city. Puerta del Sol was built to replace Puerta Guadalajara, after the fire, in the direction of the road with the same name, subsequently becoming the city's main gate. On the exterior of each gate, and according to the Muslim culture, there was always an outdoor open area, next to the wall, which was the place for the market. Puerta del Sol was the major access to the city, which expanded east in Medieval times. In 1561, with Felipe II's nomination of Madrid as the capital of Spain, a new city wall (Felipe II's wall) surrounding the city was built (finished in 1566). The gate of Puerta del Sol was demolished and converted into the peripheral space converted into the core of the city, an irregular square, a crossroads of several streets, as shown in Plan Teixeira (*Figure 22*). With the centrality of the square in the city, several other buildings were proposed and built in the surroundings. In a society dominated by Catholicism, in short time the square became surrounded by clerical edifices such as the Convent of Buen Suceso (built in 1590), the Church and Convent San Felipe el Real (built in 1547), and the Convent of Nuestra Señora de las Victorias on the east side of the square (converted in 1561).

Confirming and contributing to the centrality of the square was the public fountain built in 1618 in the middle of the open space, "the fountain of Puerta del Sol", from where water bearers used to collect water to distribute to people around the city, adding to the bustle of the already busy area.

By the end of the 18th century, plans for the construction of Real Casa dos Correos contributed to the beginning of deeper transformations in the square towards the regularization of the limits of the square. The building was finished and designed by the hand of the architect Jaime Marquet and commissioned by Carlos III, but the project had been initiated by Ventura Rodríguez as a commission from Fernando VI. In the plans of Ventura Rodríguez, later followed by Marquet, the footprint of the building imposed the regularization of the south

façade of the square. The building was concluded in 1768 and the square of Puerta del Sol acquired a certain regularity, an example that was taken into consideration in further transformations during that century and in the century ahead.

Apart from the transformations provoked by the construction of the central edifice of the square, also used to house the Ministry of the Interior since 1847, the subsequent transformations occurred mainly after the Real Decree of the Ecclesiastical Confiscations, which transferred properties from the clergy to the hands of the state and promoted a new wave of urban transformations. With the confiscations, it was possible to demolish the buildings on the southern front of the square and new ones could be built, taking as reference the Real Casa de Correos. In 1845, Casas de Cordero was finished and in sequence with the other buildings – Casa dos Correos, Lorencini and Mariátegui – it was able to build a straight front to the square. Together with the demolition of the Convent Buen Suceso, Puerta del Sol acquired a rectangular shape. Three years later, in 1848, the demolition of the fountain (at the time already designated as "Fountain Mariblanca") that was placed in the middle of the square also contributed to the definition of the formal shape of the square.

In the 19th century, the formal layout was still a problem for traffic; agglomerations in the square and the convents' demolition were not enough to solve the problem, as identified by Castro in his plans of 1857. In society, debates emerged leading to the official call for new ideas and proposals in 1853. The final decision for the transformation of the square collided with a turbulent phase in the history of Puerta del Sol; Lucio del Valle's project was only finished and the square inaugurated in 1862, in the layout we still know nowadays.

Blasco (2013b; 2013a) makes a great framework of the importance of Puerta del Sol in the city grid and urban shape, contextualizing the origins, transformation and role of the set of ten streets connecting the square with different areas of the city, as well as considering Puerta del Sol as the centre of a constellation of streets and squares, which the author calls the "solar system" (*sistema solar*) of Madrid. In a comparison of the actual layout of the city (via Google Earth) to the evolution of the city considering the maps of 1656, 1769 and 1872, the author concludes that if the "solar system" was defined during the 19th century it was only definitely concluded in the early 20th century, by the construction of Plaza del Callao with the finalization of the Gran Via.

In fact, as mentioned during this chapter, Puerta del Sol played a crucial role in the history and evolution of the country as well as in redefining Madrid's urban image. The square as the nodal

element of the city has been recognized since its foundation, formalized with the integration of the kilometre zero slab in the square in 1856.

Focusing on the elements of the place before the square itself and the surrounding buildings, apart from the kilometre zero slab there are other elements, the most notable being the metro station entrance in the square's southeast area. The glass and iron module has existed in the square since major works for the metro station's expansion were finished in 2009. The module, in the shape of a half-shell, was conceptually justified by the architect Antonio Fernández Alba as representing Madrid, both as a large territory (the metropolitan area) and as a compact city. The materials used are considered to be an allegory of the square, reflecting the sun in the structure of glass, as in the toponymy of the locus. The metro station entrance became contentious after the replacement of the former one, an Art Deco piece, built in 1919 by the architects Antonio Palacios and Miguel Otamendi for the inauguration of the city line's first section. North of the metro entrance, *The Bear and the Strawberry Tree* (*El oso y el madroño*), Antonio Navarro Santafé's sculpture of the symbols of the city of Madrid, has been aligned with Calle Alcalá since the year of the metro line's inauguration. The commission and placing of the statue in the square was one of the few minor transformations of Puerta del Sol during Franco's regime. In 1966, Mayor Carlos Arias Navarro received an order from the Cultural Department of Madrid, and the statue was inaugurated in 1967. The initial location is the same as the current one, but between 1986 and 2009 it was located in front of Calle del Carmen, moved for the transformation works implemented by the end of Francoism by the hand of Mayor Enrique Tierno Galván. Already in the northwest part of the city, slightly diverted from the middle of the square, the statue of King Carlos III acquired its final location on December 1994, after a period of popular decision. The statue, by Miguel Ángel Rodríguez and Eduardo Zancada, is a reproduction of an existing statue made in wood and plaster, and measuring around 2 by 2 metres, in Madrid's San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts Museum. The bronze statue was commissioned in the early 1990s with the intention of recognizing Carlos III's great works in Madrid; he was considered Madrid's best "mayor", even though he never held this position. The statue is about 9 metres high and is placed on a granite plinth with inscriptions honouring the king; on the sides are names of the personalities and constructions in the city of his time.

On the west side of the square, aligned with the beginning of Calle Arenal, is one of the square's main symbols: the statue of Mariblanca. The existing statue, installed in 1986 in a similar position to the original, is a replica made of the same material. The small statue of Mariblanca

was, at least until the reformulation of the square in the mid-19th century, the most iconic element in Puerta del Sol; an artwork by Ludovico Turqui, bought by Felipe IV to be placed on top of the fountain in 1625. The statue gives name to the existing fountain of Puerta del Sol, the city's first fountain, from the time of Felipe III, who ordered its construction in 1618. In 1838 the statue was removed from the fountain and the square, going on a tour around the city. First to the fountain in Descalzas Reales Square, after vandalism attacks a replica replaced the original, but the journey continued. In 1986 the statue was back in the square, being replaced in its original location in 2009 with the transformations of Puerta del Sol.

In the middle of the square and surrounding the central statue two fountains endure in the memory of the people – the element responsible for building the square's atmosphere over time. As described above, the space moved through several shapes over the centuries – from an open area on the outskirts of the city, to a gate to the royal city, until the central and formal square of representation. However, since the beginning, or at least since the irregular square of the 17th century, the element of water became permanent in different configurations and was responsible for creating certain atmospheres in the city centre. The existing twin fountains are part of Manuel Herrero Palacios' 1959 plan for the square: two Baroque-style fountains, surrounded by narrow flowerbeds. In the square's last reformulation (1986) by architects Antonio Rivière, Javier Ortega and Antón Capitel, when the whole square was pedestrianized, the twin fountains remained in the same location, but the elements were replaced by new ones, and the old ones moved to Paseo de Federico García Lorca. Talking about the fountains of Puerta del Sol also recalls the history of the city, even more so as Madrid is one of the rare European capitals not by a river. Madrid's history and evolution is marked by the lack of water and the important role of its fountains, from Felipe III's fountain in 1618, to his son's recognition with Mariblanca's notable artwork, or from Felipe V[319], who ordered architect Pedro de Ribera to construct a new fountain, to Queen Isabel II's construction of the channel[320], and the new fountain with a 30-metre-high water jet, commissioned to architect Antonio Ruiz de Salces for Puerta del Sol (Palacio, 2015 p. 100). The fountain, the first that was built with just an aesthetic proposal, was inaugurated on July 28, 1860, and was also useful for refreshing users in summertime. When the fountain was finished, the square of Puerta del Sol remained under construction until 1862.

[319] Felipe V's reign: November 6, 1700 to January 15, 1724.
[320] The 94-kilometre channel, finished in 1858, increased the amount of water available in the city from 3,000 cubic metres to 81,125 cubic metres.

Only then, when the fountain became a central element, was the water jet replaced for a lower one. The fountain, even with the lower jet, remained a divisive subject among the government and the population for a long period of time. In 1897 (January 15), the feature was taken down and substituted for a light pole – the element that reigned supreme in the square until the 1959 project.

Complementary to the square's urban features, the surrounding buildings are the focus of a brief analysis in the following paragraphs. We start with the most notable building, the Real Casa de Correos, responsible for spurring later transformations in the square and in the plans of Madrid. King Fernando VI, aware of the square's reputation, its lack of identity and the political need to replace religious buildings with civil ones, commissioned architect Ventura Rodríguez to construct an official building in the plots of numbers 105 and 106. Carlos III replaced his brother in 1759; aiming to renew the city's image, he kept to his brother's intention, but replaced the architect with Frenchman Jaime Marquet, to give a fresher image to the square more in tune with the European style of the time. The works of Real Casa de Correos were finished in 1768, giving the desired new image to the square, with a regular south façade. In 1847, the Post Office (*Casa de Correos*) shared its central building with the department of the Ministry of Interior (*Ministerio de Gobernación*). After Buen Suceso was demolished, the convent's clock tower was moved to a tower built for that purpose on top of the Ministry of Interior. The public clock was not kept in the square for long; after complaints, it was substituted in 1867 by a new one, an offer from the important Spanish watchmaker Losada, who had a prosperous business in England. The clock became part of the square's history, especially after the Spaniards adopted the French tradition of eating twelve grapes by the twelve strokes of midnight on New Year's Eve.

During Franco's regime, the Real Casa de Correos was converted into a political prison, the State Security Office (*Dirección General de Seguridad*) – generally known as the DGS – being the interior of the building renovated after the fall of the regime to host the president of the Community of Madrid. The works started in 1985 under architect Ramón Valls Navascués, and the president of the Community of Madrid (*Comunidad de Madrid*) moved in 1995.

East of Real Casa de Correos, Casas de Cordero – the first building with a formal ground floor and first floor to host commerce and residential areas on the floors above – was also an important project in the history of Spanish architecture. Casa de Cordero was on number 1, Calle Mayor. It took its name from its owner, Santiago Alonso Cordero, who in 1842 purchased

the Convent San Felipe el Real and commissioned private houses from architect Juan José Sánchez. Apart from the referred distinctions of the building, the project, finished in 1845, also created a new square at the back of the building: the Plaza de Pontejos (*Figure 50*).

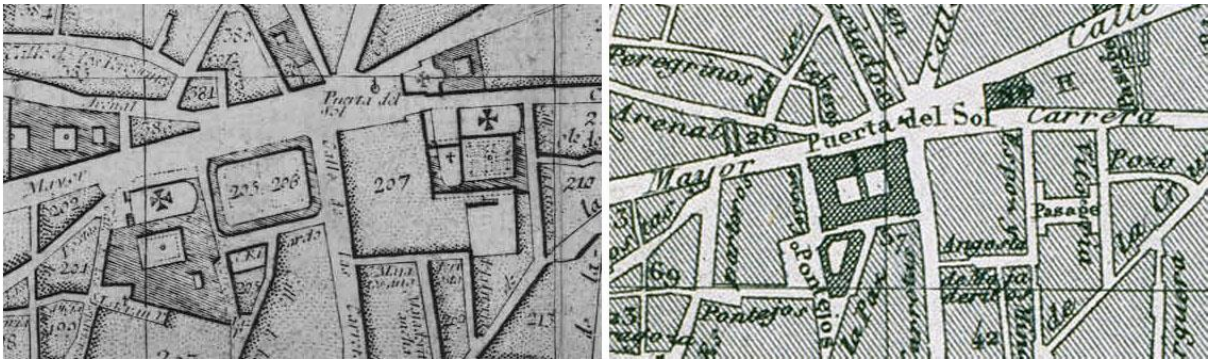

Figure 50 Excerpt from two plans of Madrid, the first from 1875 of Don Tomás López and the second from 1848 made by Coello. Sources: Biblioteca digital de la Comunidad de Madrid and Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Keeping the same order in the map, the houses on the north façade of the square were part of the 1959 plan to give unify the square. In a project coordinated by Lucio Valle, architect Antonio Ruiz de Salces drew the image of the edifices, promoting a unified identity to the façades even if each building was then designed by different architects – Gándara, Gómez, Ulíbarri, Morán Lavandera, Cubas, Ruiz de Salces, Peyronnet, Eguía, etc.[321] (p. 110). The information and drawings in the document "General plan for the new Puerta del Sol and surrounding streets" (*Plano general de la nueva Puerta del Sol y sus calles afluentes*) (*Figure 51*) were important in creating the square as we know it today. The works were finished in 1862 (*Figure 52*), except the building in the plot of the Church Buen Suceso, which was finished one year later. This building, nowadays hosting an Apple store, had a long history since the demolition of the Church of Buen Suceso, being the plot first occupied by a hotel designed by architect Jerónimo de la Gándara for its owner Lamberto Fontanella (Marqués de Casa Fontanellas). The hotel was finished in 1862 and, since its inauguration in 1864, was Madrid's most important hotel. Hotel Paris retained its reputation until the early 20th century, when other

[321] Considering the letters in Lucio del Valle's plan (*Figure 51*) and focusing on the buildings surrounding the square: building I – owner: Juan M. Manzanedo, architect: Antonio Ruiz Salces, 1861; building H – owner: F. Fernández Casariego, architect: Juan Morán Lavandera, 1860; building G – owner: F. Fernández Casarieg, architect: Juan Morán Lavandera, 1860; buildings E and F – owner: Antolín de Udaeta, architect: Francisco de Cubas (Marqués de Cubas), 1860; buildings C – owner: Antonio Maltrana, architect: Cirilo Uribarri, 1860; buildings A and B owned by Juan M. Manzanedo, architect of the B – Alejo Gómez, 1860 (Blasco, 2013c).

hotels appeared in the city, undermining its status. The long period of the Civil War worsened the situation, and it closed in 2006. After three years empty, the Apple Company bought it in 2010 and works for the new store continued until its opening in 2014.

On the southeast side of the square, the buildings on the plot of the Convent of Nuestra Señora de las Victorias were a private initiative of Manuel Matheu. Manuel Matheu bought the convent to demolish and promote the transformation of the quarter. This was achieved with the opening of the street Espoz y Mina to Puerta del Sol and the construction of a French-style passage – Passage Matheu – a commercial street initially covered with a steel and glass canopy. Architect Antonio Herrera de la Calle was responsible for the project's new buildings and streets, with works running from 1843 to 1847 (Blasco, 2013c). This project inspired further transformations in the city. The transformation of the buildings facing the square (numbers 2–6) took into consideration the façade styles of Puerta del Sol; number 6 was occupied by the well-known bookshop San Martín, owned by Antonio San Martin since 1886. The bookshop passed through the generations up to its close in 1992. Its historical recognition is also related to José Canalejas's murder on November 12, 1912, and a plaque to his memory still remains there.



Figure 51 Litografia de Castell (Madrid), 1859. General plan for the new square of Puerta del Sol and surrounding streets (*Plano general de la nueva plaza de la Puerta del Sol y sus calles afluentes*). Source: Biblioteca Digital de la Comunidad de Madrid.



Figure 52 A. Alonso Martínez, February 1862. Puerta del Sol before the conclusion of urban reform. Source: 20 minutos (Colección Olmedilla, Madrid).

To conclude the square's physical description, we must also focus on the famous Tio Pepe billboard, which, since April 24, 2014, has been at the top of number 11, Puerta del Sol (Efe, 2014). This advertisement on the roof of Puerta del Sol is legally protected by an exception to the 2009 law regulating outdoor advertisements in the city (BO. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2009). When the law forbidding this type of advert came out, it proved divisive. After some discussions, the government accepted four exceptions in the city, one of them the Tio Pepe billboard. The original neon commercial, a different version to the rebranded one, was considered one of the most creative of postwar times and placed on top of Hotel Paris at number 1, Puerta del Sol, on December 31, 1935.

3.1.3. Social and discoursive analysis during the occupation

> We created a myth, a place embodied with an idea of political belonging distinct from existing social movements, and the government has tried to react with another myth, of the economic and tourist macrocentre of Madrid. This puts us in a symbolic struggle.[322] (Andreu, 2012) (member of Commission of Analysis of 15–M)

Without doubt, May 15, 2011, was a landmark in the history of Puerta del Sol, Madrid, Spain and the history of social movements in a broader context, as well as marking a turning point in the country's politics., if we can mention the relevance of the event since its beginning: "[w]ithin days there were squares being (temporarily) occupied all over Europe" (Maeckelbergh, 2012 p. 208). From the few who decided to spend the night in the square to the masses who joined over the following days, the June 19 march was also a landmark, with over 200,000 people mobilized in the country, 40,000 (Gil, 2011) of them in Madrid.

One week before Spanish municipal elections (May 22), people from all quadrants gathered to protest in the streets of Madrid, to demonstrate their discontent with political parties and politicians – mainly with the neoliberal conservative right PP and the neoliberalized left PSOE. The main issues were the economic crisis and austerity policies, the unemployment rate and the housing crisis, caused by the 2008 financial crisis, along with corruption and the controversial Sinde Law (*Ley Sinde*) – a provision of Spain's Sustainable Economy Act to regulate internet copyright, approved by PSOE, PP and CiU in parliament (Guzman, 2012 p. 167).

After a series of smaller demonstrations in April, the call for general demonstrations on May 15 came out from the then recently created digital platform Real Democracy Now (*Democracia Real Ya!*)[323]. The grassroots citizens' association, comprising approximately 200 small organizations, was initially orchestrated by some elements of the groups Anonymous, Youth Without Future (*Juventud sin Futuro*)[324] and Do Not Vote For Them (*No Les Votes*). They

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[322] Translated by the author from the original: "Nosotros creamos un mito, un lugar en el que se concretaba una idea de pertenencia política distinta a los movimientos existentes, y el Gobierno ha querido responder con otro mito, el del macrocentro económico y turístico de Madrid. Esto nos sitúa en una lucha simbólica."

[323] Real Democracy Now (*Democracia Real Ya!*), also known as Real Democracy NOW Platform! (*Plataforma Democracia Real Ya!*) affirms as one of its main goals the creation of an ethical revolution, as it is written in the manifesto (Democracia real YA!, [2011]); a similar principle to the May 1968 social movement.

[324] If the majority of sources relate and recognize the Acampada in Sol as a conquest of the platform DRA, the foundation of the group and its success on May 15 may also be rooted in a movement born in the universities – Juventud Sin Futuro (JSF) – four years before the major event of 2011. In 2007, by the discussion of the Bologna Process imposed by the European commission, a process to be finished by 2010, Judith Carreras, Carlos Sevilla and Miguel Urbán published the book *Eurouniversidad. Mito y realidad del Proceso de Bolonio*, discussing the

gathered first on March 2 with two common goals: the abolition of the system designed for the greed of the few, usually favouring markets and some politicians; and the creation and implementation of a new democratic system, "real democracy". In its genesis, the digital platform was strongly influenced by alterglobalization movements. However, this was a movement of individuals with their own wills and not a coalition of groups, as in preceding cases, as well as taking inspiration from Stéphane Hessel's book *Indignez–vous!*[325]

The platform with the slogan: "[w]e are not products in the hands of politicians and the bankers" mobilized tens of thousands in the streets of the country. In Madrid, after the success of the afternoon's protest, a few elements decided to continue the protest in non-violent practice, spending the night in the centre of the capital. Shortly after the decision, and with no strategy to keep up the protest, the peaceful sit-in in Puerta del Sol was attacked by the police, and 24 people were detained. The attacks reinforced the group, with 30–40 others joining in solidarity. On this first night, the group decided to set up camp in the square and stay there until the election of May 22. The decision was announced on social media, attracting more people to the square and gaining international attention.

If social media has a crucial role in perpetuating contemporary political events, as this case illustrates and as we will focus on in detail later, the language and lexicon used in these moments also have a great impact on the event and influence the dynamics of perpetuation. Considering the lexicon, the initially used buzzwords, adopted from Stéphane Hessel's book, provoked a transition of the multitude from the feeling of outrage (*indignados*) to hope. This fact may be considered one of the group's best achievements and a transformation that supported the movement's endurance.

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commodification of education and opening up a debate inside the institutions. In that same year, a demonstration called by the Students Assembly against the Commodification of Education (ACME) was attended by about 5,000 students. In 2008, a group of students of the Complutense University (in Madrid) assembled in the institution to discuss the theme following with a discussion with the rector Carlos Berzosa. Berzosa, who considered the document of public interest, discussed the process with the students in the university cloisters. Following this initial spur, discussion and engagement decreased until the spring of 2009, when several demonstrations took place around the country. Inside the universities, the theme keeps up for discussion and a proper students' union was created for the theme. The students' union didn't last long, being replaced by the end of 2010 by the newborn association JSF. JSF was created in the academic sphere yet with broader ambitions of raising awareness on the precarious condition of the youth. On April 7, 2011 the demonstration called by JSF on social networks was a success, attended by 7,000 people. On May 15, the movement was back in the streets, under the umbrella of DRY, and during the Acampada, was responsible for the universities' stall (Zamiatowskii & Polo, 2011).

[325] The original French title was translated to English as *Time for Outrage!* and in Spanish as *Reacciona!*

The effect caused by the phenomenon surprised everybody both outside and inside the organization, including politicians who were able to react and comment just a few days later, and journalists, trade unionists and intellectuals involved in social movements' studies (Tremlett, 2011) who joined and commented only after the initial spur. DRY's spokesman Jon Aguirre Such (Elola, 2011) confirmed that the reaction to the protest was also a revelation to them; the success of May 15 was the result of the organization's work over several months, but May 17 was a "magic day". What happened in the squares was a kind of dream or miracle when the confluence of circumstances – the small group that decided to spend the first night in the square and the reaction to the call on social media after the evictions during the night – drew around 4,000–6,000 people to the "major square" of the country, in support of the movement (Elola, 2011). The event evidenced what was commented on before: messages spread on social media are potent, but also bring to light a much more important reality: a new state of political awareness. From May 15 to 18, the camp "of the few" was converted into the "square of the 99%". If on May 16 the numbers in the square grew in relation to the previous day, the reaction to police intervention on that night predisposed the escalating growth on May 17 (see Appendix B "Acampada Sol" Chronomap 1/2).

Considering the description of the event in the first days, support came from all spheres worldwide. Hessel's book, the movement's most influential literature, drew in other collaborators, among them the economist José Luis Sampedro, who became a preeminent figure of the movement with his public message of support at the Madrid book fair, a few days after the beginning of the Puerta del Sol occupation (Europa Press, 2011). Sampedro's declarations were not a revelation, considering his previous support for the outraged in the preface of Hessel's book: "I am outraged and react due to the constant lie that the only possible way out of the crisis is by neoliberal rules"[326] (Cruz, 2011). Together with Sampedro, intellectuals such as Manuel Castells, Eduardo Galeano, Jean Plantureux (Plantu) and Eduard Punset also supported the movement from the beginning.

Going back to Hessel's claim, we may note that Hardt and Negri (2009) had theorized on the theme two years prior. Based on Spinozian theories on indignation as the common power of the multitude – the instrument to fight inequality and create common wealth and the possibility of

[326] Translated by the author from the original: "estoy indignado y reacciono ante la mentira reiterada de que la única salida posible de la crisis que se nos presenta sean las medidas neoliberales."

a democracy (p. 56) – the authors propose indignation or Spinozian "hope" as the engine of society. Even if it is not our proficiency to analyse it and the theory was broadly criticized by others, Hardt and Negri had already predicted this movement of the squares, although it was Hessel's work that fuelled the discussion and pulled the indignant to the squares. Hardt and Negri (2004) also explained the impossibility of predicting these events (p. 357), but circumscribed their emergence in the city, the place of the production of the commons, the place that promotes encounters and in which people exchange goods and ideas, the place of biopolitical production, and so the ultimate place where these events can happen.

Alain Touraine (2013) justifies the relation of Hessel's words with the movement, as social movements cannot be interpreted as a psychological initiative but initiated by the condition of a certain psychological disposition in determined and favourable conditions. If some authors consider it just a coincidence in the political and social context, the fact is that Spain had already been in a period of crisis for three years, with an unemployment rate of 20% (over 30% among the youth) and the two-party system in government unable to deal with the crisis, mainly generated by the bursting of the real-estate bubble in 2008[327]. In the mid-1990s, new policies had converted all Spanish land into urban ground, encouraging a construction boom[328] and what Harvey (2004) designates "accumulation by dispossession": the form of exploitation and centralization of wealth and power in the hand of a few institutions with the suppression of rights of the commons and the commodification of cultural and intellectual values (pp. 73-76). In Spain, labour costs were low, decreasing with the high numbers of migrants in the country (around 10% of the population), in a negative rate of –0.57% of the average income (Alcántara, 2011 p. 125). The period of material expansion did not last long. Although Spain had been considered a success for some years, following the 2008 financial crisis, the country succumbed to the bursting of the real-estate bubble and fell into a full-blown regime of crisis. There are several arguments to explain the crisis, but, as Spinoza had already concluded, being exposed to poverty exalts the bodies and, in those conditions, the multitude become a common power to struggle for common wealth, the primary force for the existence of democracy. In Spain, following Spinoza's prediction, when society was pressed with the supersession of sovereignty with the commodified nation-state, the consequent increase of disparity, exclusion or lack of

[327] After the 2008 financial crisis, Spain kept its annual economic growth at 3.5% (Alcántara, 2011 p. 125).
[328] Between the 1990s and 2007, more private houses were built in Spain than in France, the United Kingdom and Germany combined (Alcántara, 2011 p. 125).

solidarity came to the streets to make evident their fear of the future and the financial impossibility of supporting it in the present.

The phenomenon of the Acampada in Puerta del Sol was unique in the cycle of protests (Tarrow, 1993). From the figures to the events, it is important to focus on contemporary struggles in other countries and continents. By the temporal proximity with the Arab Spring uprisings, no one denied its influence; all the more so when, at first, the Spanish movement was overwhelmed compared with the Arab countries. There are some similarities: the restoration of the public square; the will of public gathering and assembly; the horizontal organization of the events by anonymous citizens instead of marches arranged by political parties or trade unions and with a list of demands; the lack of group identities based on race, religion, class or political orientation; the lack of anti-globalization slogans; the use of social networks and the tactics of non-violent civil disobedience such as sit-ins and occupations. The last tactic may be considered an appropriation of prior cases but also a reply to Hessel's call to peacefully rise up against capitalism and the power of the banks. Despite the similarities there were also inherent discrepancies between the cases, as in the content of the discussion of democracy. In the Arab countries, the people were struggling against authoritarian regimes and calling for the transition to a democratic regime (even if the youth were also calling for participatory democracy, and not a transition based on the existing models of the West). 15-M was protesting against welfare dismantlement and demanding the wills of the multitude as the structure for constructing a transition in the existing democratic regime.

To understand the 15-M movement we have to remember the lessons from the squares of the Arab countries – such as Maydan al Tahrir in Cairo, Perl Square in Manama or Qasba Square in Tunis – particularly with regards to the political appropriation of space and the spatialization of the struggle: "[t]hat visual irruption symbolic and violent of the masses in urban space and in nuclear areas of the metropolis is already the image of the possible revolution of XXI century"[329] (Sevilla, et al., 2012 p. 17). We should also remember the European context, as with the Icelandic Pots and Pans revolution in 2008–09, the anti-austerity movement in Greece in 2010, or the Portuguese protest Geração à Rasca in 2011.

[329] Translated from the original by the author: "Esa irrupción visual, simbólica y violenta de las masas en el espacio urbano e nuclear de las metrópolis es ya la imagen de las revoluciones posibles del siglo XXI."

In Iceland, at the beginning of the financial crisis, the consequence of implementing neoliberal politics in 2002, the major state banks were privatized. In October 2008, in the wake of the banking crash, three banks collapsed, driving people to hold protests in front of the house of the government (*Alþingishús*) in Reykjavik. On November 25, 3,000–6,000 people initiated the Pots and Pans revolution, demanding the government's resignation. Followed by major events in early 2009, the largest national protest since anti-NATO demonstrations in 1946, run for two years, with thousands of people holding regular meetings in front of the parliament building. On April 2009, their victory gained traction in the polls with parliament's move from a right-wing party majority to a left-wing coalition and a group of citizens – the "constitutional council". The citizens' group immediately started a program of reforms and redrafted the constitution.[330] This became the first "crowdsourced constitution", approved in parliament in the spring of 2011. In a brief parallel with the 15-M movement, we recognize in both the will to initiate a constituent process giving voice to the multitude and giving up representative democracy.

Greece was (and is still) deeply affected by the 2008 financial crisis, after several years being supported by the real-estate bubble – at least until the preparation for the Olympic Games in 2004 – and a long-term inadequate tax on wealth (Panayotakis, 2013). Under these national conditions of struggle, the large mass mobilizations of 2008, triggered after the murder of an unarmed youth in December, caught everyone by surprise. In a society that was living, for some time, inebriated by possibilities and far from the realm of politics, the mass demonstrations of 2008 enunciated what was later confirmed in the mobilizations of 2010: it was a turning point in the country's culture of protest. For the first time, the protests were not organized in the common typology of social movements and with the occupation of streets – usually methods used by the Anarchists and left-wing social movements and parties – but by a heterogeneous group including university students, immigrants and precarious workers (Simiti, 2014; Panayotakis, 2013). In 2010, the "emotional map" of Greece suffered a deep shift when austerity measures were imposed in exchange for a financial bailout from the EU and the IMF to avoid the country defaulting on its debts. If "Socialist" party PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) was able to get advantage of 2008's demonstrations by running on an anti-austerity platform, their victory was short-lived. In April, they declared their own "suicide" with policies

[330] The Icelandic constitution and is still the original adoption of the Danish constitution made in 1944, amended for seven times.

and measures accepted as exchange for EU and IMF loans. With deep financial crisis hitting families, the protests in Greece escalated. In time they also became violent, especially from 2011 until the 2015 elections. The heterogeneity of the social movement in the 2008 protests was already symptomatic of a transition, but it was only when the protests moved from the streets to the squares that the fragmentation of the groups was overcome, leading to the force of the multitude. On February 23, 2011, there was a first attempt to occupy Syntagma Square, but the limited number of participants was evicted by the police, preventing what could have been the first camp and occupation of the square. If the initiative did not succeed, it was a driving force to the 15-M and an impetus to the Greek movement to go back to the square in May. On May 25, with the wave of solidarity with the Spanish movement and occupations in central squares of several cities, the group finally succeeded in occupying Syntagma and other squares in Greece's major cities. Apart from the similarities with tactical interventions, the 15-M and the Hellenic movements both adopted an anti-austerity discourse, against the government, the political elite and major institutions.

The Portuguese Geração à Rasca protest, triggered by precarious working conditions and the lack of hope or justice felt in the country, should also be mentioned. On March 12, 2011, people from all quadrants took to the streets in several cities to demonstrate their affinity with the cause. The protest's slogan, "secular, nonpartisan and peaceful"[331], reflected the movement's composition, which, supported by several civil society associations (Soeiro, 2014 p. 67), was distinct from the marches organized under political affiliation or trade union interventions. In a brief comparison with 15-M, we may recall the similarities in the organizational structure of Democracia Real Ya, reflecting this new reality and built up from civic movements as well as on the opposition to bi-partisanship and the refusal to be instrumentalized by them.

In a parallel to the described situation, Sydney Tarrow (1993) analyses the cycle of protests in Italy in 1965–74. In the author's systematization of information and list of common issues that must be followed to be considered in the same cycle, the most distinctive one is the "expanding repertoires of contention" (p. 286), which transforms the weapons of protest into fashionable and efficient elements of the struggle. In the examples the author focuses on, all of them are spatial weapons or elements that are efficient by the occupation of certain areas, in general of urban space: the barricades during the French Revolution, the occupation of the factories in

[331] In Portuguese, the major slogan in the call for the 12M protest: "laica, apartidária e pacífica".

1912–20, or sit-downs in the French Popular Front. Adding to Tarrow's examples, we could include the sit-ins and occupations of the universities in 1968 or the recent case of the common occupation of the squares with the lack of connections with political parties or trade unions. As Tarrow (1993) also remarks, a cycle of protest is characterized by the use of a similar system of tactics and strategies, sometimes going through from smaller- to larger-scale structures. Adopting Tarrow's methodology, we can consider the 15-M movement as part of the same cycle of protests in the academic year of 1967–68 in universities of Italy, France and the US, and other countries (Werenskjold, 2010) by the general use of sit-ins, which were adopted by other spheres of the society such as secondary schools, in the academic year after (pp. 297,298). In the list of similarities, the 1968 social movements also brought about the emergence of new social actors and collective organizations (p. 291) that we recognize in the squares of contemporary struggle. Two other features of the 15-M social movement that share similarities with events of 1968 are: (1) the multitude composition with a majority of youth, supposedly as they were also the most affected by the crisis and the unemployment rate; and (2) the ability to gather in the group people from all strata and classes. If both movements are youth-led popular revolts against established systems, which highlight flaws with this generation, the 1968 revolts' roots emerged in the academic sphere, while 15-M, even if considering the importance of JSF's previous work, is rooted in a broader societal group: unemployed youth, precarious workers and others. Considering the dissimilarities between the movements, the 1968 discourses were part of the first phase of capitalism and a society with no lack of employment, whereas the second announces the end of such a phase, with a huge rate of unemployment and a fear of an uncertain future.

Marina Prentoulis and Lasse Thomassen (2012) consider the Acampada's most important aspect to be the visibility given to the real crisis in political representation and the condition of citizens as being only passive elements rather than political subjects. If in the Spanish election of May 22 this fact was not revealed so notably, with only a slight increase in blank ballots (1.23% higher than in former elections) and reduced abstention (Alcaide, 2011), the event did increase political awareness, mainly among the youth. The real numbers in the elections may raise some doubts, as Solnit (2006) says, about ways to measure the effectiveness of protests. It is common to analyse the impact on the wider public, in the media, and on the government, but uncommon to measure the impact on the protesters who became a force in public space (p. 174). Undoubtedly, 15-M induced a U-turn, mainly among the younger generation, who, for the first time, had a political discourse and opinions. María Luz Morán, a sociologist at

Complutense University of Madrid expressed this new reality in an interview: "[y]ou go to have coffee or you are standing in the subway and you hear conversations about politics. It's been years since I heard anyone talking about politics." (Daley, 2011)

In the case of 15-M in Puerta del Sol we can also correlate this rise of political awareness with the practice of spatial politics: the movement reclaimed space, and not any other space but the heart of the city, calling themselves "The Republic of Sol" (Santaeulalia, 2011). The themes of the Acampada and the politics of 15-M are very broad, and include many points of discussion. Considering the focus of our thesis, one of the most commonly discussed themes has been the reconstruction of the role of public space in politics. This has been represented by the transition of the "politics of the streets" to the "politics of the squares"; by occupation as a radical urban political practice; or the rebirth of the Lefebvrian concept of "the right to the city" – there is a constituent desire to be part of the production of the "urban", a process of the production of the common through an "exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization." (Harvey, 2008) In the claim of Puerta del Sol the protesters were also reclaiming symbolic and discursive aspects of the square's history – as the 1808 War of Independence (*Figure 24*), the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931 (*Figure 41*), or some of the other events we discussed in the first part of this case study – and by the replication of the self-organized structure and the power of Anarchism during the Civil War. Miguel Robles (2015), in the visual essay "The Square: from spectator to container of social affect. Puerta del Sol Square as a Paradigm", traces the relation between the events of 1808, 1931 and 2011 and their crucial roles in transforming Puerta del Sol into one of the "most powerful symbols of social affectivity for Spanish society" and the receptor of social emotions. The square is transformed in the physical and imaginary representation of the wills, partly symbolised in the self-built area with a self-government in which the relationship with services such as the library, infirmary or kindergarten are transformed into the symbolic claim to save and recover the public services.

The spatial occupation of Puerta del Sol lasted almost a month, between May 15 and June 12 (see Appendix B "Acampada Sol" Chronomap). The protesters reproduced a city reduced in scale[332], the "Indignados' city" (Trilla, 2011), laying the foundations to create a "new society" with no concrete demands or by the practice of occupation as refusing to say something while

[332] As in an article in the Spanish newspaper *El País*, the "minirepublic" was transformed into a "microcity" on Thursday 18 around noon (Elola, 2011).

saying it. Mitchell (2012), who claims the practice of occupation as a political discourse, considers the "*occupatio* as the seizure of empty space" (p. 10 [Emphasis in the original]), simultaneously the production of "a space of fullness and plenitude." (p. 10) The spatial occupation of the square was the trope of the 15-M movement's claims; they formed a network of self-management based on the ability to act effectively and set up a model that could be extrapolated to broader society: "the social order it seeks to bring about" (Butler, 2011a). The occupation created conditions to show the possibility of construction based on affectivity and the possibility of generating movements. Merrifield (2013) considers affectivity the main reason for the endurance of the movements, based on the Lefebvrian theory of moments, as in the "Politics of the encounter":

> [p]eople here encounter one another because of certain attributes. People discover "interpellated group" commonality because bodies and minds take hold in a space that is at once territorial and deterritorial, in a time that isn't clock or calendar time but eternal time. One could even say that this coming together of bodies and minds, this common action, is a process that involves *subjectivity yet is itself without any subjectivity*. (p. 34 [Emphasis in the original]).

Jaume Trilla and other authors (2011) consider the themes of the camp settled in Puerta del Sol, which they call the "Indignados' city", in a comparison with the broad meaning of the city and its history. In these authors' approach, the camp, or "Indignados' city", is a multiple and labyrinthine city, comprising several layers: the (1) the "encampment city"; (2) the "agora city"[333], where people can freely listen, debate and discuss ideas; (3) the "exchange city", with invisible walls, distinct from ancient physical walled cities[334]; (4) the "contest city", recalling

[333] As in the Hellenic city-state, the *ágora* was the public square of political, cultural and social power, a structure that was adopted by the Roman Empire as the *forum*. During the occupations of the squares, the structure of the camp restored this idea of meeting, relation and debate, as described in the words of Dolz (2011): "[a] few meters from the Congress of Deputies has emerged another parliament. Another democracy is born at zero kilometer and has transformed Puerta del Sol in a large *ágora*. Instead of deputies seats there are square meters of pavement; rather than a president of the Congress, there is a moderator who studied Classics but actually is an actor for living." (2011 p. [n.p.]; [Emphasis added])

[334] The "exchange city" of 15-M is part of the evolution of the control system over time, from the Medieval physical walls to regulate access to the city and a strategy of protection and to collect taxes from rural products and commodities coming in, to the invisible walls protected by security, closed-circuit television (CCTV) or other control systems of industrial cities that are still able to regulate access and collect taxes (even if through bank operations), or to the most recent paradigm of the city with no walls (Sassen, 2005) based on the development of network systems and connections. In the realm of this new paradigm, as the authors explain, the city becomes a node of a network connecting flows of information and capital, not tightly bound to national boundaries and their systems of regulation but still able to control access, separating people by the access and use of information and to the network. Above all these patterns of control, in Sol, the community gathered in the square was able to supersede the mechanisms of control to practise political activity, go back to the genuine idea of the Hellenic *ágora* in the construction of the communities of the future based on the emergent model of molar politics.

historically similar moments; (5) the "security city", in which surveillance is everywhere and people's lives are being controlled; (6) the "digital city", where people can build a common platform based on the complex multiplicities of the individual; and (7) the "educator city", or the city that could transform the "Indignados' city" into a city of fair citizenship.

If the Hellenic *ágora* was the space for democracy, in Puerta del Sol people discussed the idea and possibilities of direct and participatory democracy. Stavrides (2012) describes camps inside the square where these "communities in movement" gather and occupy as the "'city of thresholds' in which encounters and dispersed initiatives build spaces where people explore a public culture based on solidarity and mutual respect" (p. 589). Recognizing the value of the cumulative affectivities collected in the square and in a synthesis of these theories and nominations, the 15-M movement baptized the square as "Square solutions" (*Plaza Soluciones*) (*Figure 53*), the genesis of the desired future or the ground zero of citizenship.



Figure 53 Bea O. M. Sui, 2015. Metro entrance on May 21, 2011.

In a cartographic and theoretical approach to the movements and the effects of contemporary occupations of the squares, Alexander Vasudevan (2015 [2014]) traces a relation with the historical legacies of the occupations in the Paris Commune, as well as to the long list of factory and university occupations in the late 20th century, to justify the transformation of the spatial aspects of the city with the most recent approach of the Lefebvrian "right to the city"; "a political process that materializes the social order which it seeks to enact." (p. 318) It is in the "spatial grammar" of the people assembled in the square that relies on the possibility of constructing the commons or the possibility of building "the necessary conditions for social justice and new autonomous forms of collective life" (p. 318). Kristin Ross (2015) draws a similar conclusion on the Paris Commune; she recognizes the importance of the commune not by the capacity to change the juridical form of space and time but by the transformation of the nature of space/time. In all cases, as Álvaro Sevilla-Buitrago (2015) also remarks after Butler (2011a), the specificity of each "emergent political action is deeply determined by the landscapes and territories thereof" (p. 93), even if they all have the will of political

transformation and the same goal of a molar transformation of society as a whole. When we observe the process of physical occupation of Puerta del Sol during the Acampada, we note a movement of expansion and adaptation to the physical aspects of the territory: first from the occupation of one area of the square to the whole square; a second moment of expansion to other territories outside the square, with assemblies taking place in surrounding streets and squares; and the final expansion to the neighbourhoods on May 28. In this process of dendritic expansion we can also extrapolate to the emergence of newly structured political parties and political engagement. This "(semi-) illegal" (Maeckelbergh, 2012 p. 214) occupation and expansion transformed public space into common space or urban commons by the type and intensity of use. The "spatial grammar" in the process converted Puerta del Sol to a hybrid space, being a physical space as well as a trope of the horizontal structure that builds a network of squares and people.

After the initial month in the square it is also important to mention four other stepping moments of expansion: June 19's March; the Indignant People's March to Puerta del Sol on July 23; the March to Brussels; and the international demonstration on October 15, "15O". On June 19, approximately three million people marched in 80 Spanish cities, virtually connecting together in one march towards Puerta del Sol, where the one in Madrid ended. On July 23, people walking from divergent poles of the country[335] in the Indignant People's March finally gathered together in Puerta del Sol. The march, organized in eight columns, met at Sol under the slogan "Welcome Dignity". From Sol, people initiated a march to Brussels (July 26 to October 8)[336], collecting international support along the route. On October 15, the massive international demonstration 15O[337] comprised 1,087 events in almost 1,000 cities in 87 countries on the five continents ([Colective work], 2011 p. 132). If the territorial and spatial aspects of this expansion

[335] Eastern route (departed from Valencia on June 20); Murcia route (departed from Murcia on June 20); northern route (departed from Santander, Bilbao and Pamplona on June 23 and 29); northwestern route (departed from Santiago de Compostela, Vigo, Ferrol, Avilés and Gijón from June 24 to 30); southern route (departed from Cádiz on June 24); southeastern route (departed from Málaga and Motril on June 25); northeastern route (departed from Barcelona on June 25) and N-II route (departed from Zaragoza on July 7).

[336] The march to Brussels also comprised several routes: Toulouse march (departed from Toulouse on July 24), later gathering with Meseta's route (departed from Orleans on September 9); Mediterranean route (departed from Plaza de Cataluña in Barcelona on August 8); German march (departing from Maastricht on October 8) and Netherlands march (departing by bicycle from Den Haag on October 10). Parallel to the pedestrian and cycle routes, there was also a British route, and individuals from different parts of the world gathered in Brussels on October 8.

[337] In Spain, the march was organized in 80 cities and the events were more crowded than in the demonstrations of June and July ([Colective work], 2011 p. 133). In Madrid, Cibeles Square was central stage but Puerta del Sol and the surrounding streets were also packed with people.

are symptomatic of the power of the movement, it is worth mentioning that it was still an expression of the transformation and growth of political awareness achieved by the capacity to "act affectively" (Purcell, 2013b p. 139). The network of affectivity and these territorial and physical aspects of the encounter emphasizes Lefebvre's condition of the urban, in which "*separation* and *segregation*" are "the enemy of urbanization, […] 'the enemy of assemblies and encounters'" (Merrifield, 2013 p. 272 [Emphasis in the original]), although these encounters are always related with the whole social fabric. Endorsing this aspect, Merrifield, as Castells (2013 [2012]) also referred in the wake of the events, underscores the crucial role of virtual space and encounters as the production of space in itself. As validated nowadays in the recuperation of public space, the space exists by the possibility of extending virtual and physical realms and the extension of encounters from one realm to the other. Confirming this mutual existence is the number of messages tweeted with hashtags of the event and the activity on the networks. BIFI (Institute for Biocomputation and Physics of Complex Systems) recorded 581,749 tweets, coming from 87,569 users (Borge-Holthoefer, et al., 2011), during the first days of the Acampada, and stressed the number of websites and social networks created during the first month as well as their intense use (see also the work developed by Javier Toret and the group @datanalysis15M (2013) on the complex systems study of 15-M development on social media in three moments: gestation, explosion and globalization). Still in the virtual realm, the relation of social tools with emerging politics, a generic and powerful idea with no central subject (SuNotissima, et al., 2012) must also be emphasized. Experiments on the internet have created a paradigm shift in the construction of power narratives based on a common ground, in resistance to the trinomial doctrine of executive, legislative and judicial powers. Commonly referred to as technopolitical practice, the mechanism used by the multitude is able to produce a general intellect; this is able to spread information autonomously from traditional media and create "smart swarming" campaigns (actions through smartphones or wireless devices), empowering ways of organization and meeting.

Regarding technopolitics, the movement recognized the networked approach to politics as a political power (opposed to the concept of political parties) in the experience of the squares and taking it as a model. Apart from the one-month experience, after the dismantling of the camp on June 12, the movement held periodic assemblies in Madrid and other cities in the following months to discuss their goals and wills to organize reappearances in the square in August the same year and for annual celebrations of the Acampada. The August event was brief, but was able to create cracks in the system of capitalist reproduction (Janoschka, et al., 2015) and initiate

a new regime of politics based on the "politics of the place". As authors refer, recalling Halloway's theory of cracks, these events and social movements are the only opportunity to rethink social change against the capitalist regime (p. 80). In spatial aspects, as Alberto Corsín Jiménez and Adolfo Estalella (2014) refer, the assemblies in the squares brought a new meaning to politics: "revitalizing the practice of neighbourly politics and in the process reinventing classical urban topoi" (p. 151). Based on the process of consensus, it also brought a new possibility for the construction of collective thought or collective intellect. The process of assembling brought a new language to social movements, in comparison with the alterglobalization movements, and provoked the possibility of a continuous process grounded in everyday lives, afterwards. Enrique Dans (2011) recognizes in this moment of Spanish politics, the "Transition 2.0". After the long period of political transition from the dictatorship to representative democracy, this second transition brought to light political aspects of social life that had long lain dormant. If during the initial period of transition the emergent system was an expression of the wills of the multitude, or at least accepted by the majority, the times, events and gatherings in the wake of 2011 evidenced a massive need for change and hope of the possibility of constructing a new democratic model and political process. In the event of August 2, when police removed the information tent and the organic garden (structures that remained from the end of Acampada) from the square, as Mark Purcell (2013b) notes, the whole formation of the multitude was clearly expressed in the moment and will to reconquer the square. In the march from the Congress to Puerta de Sol, once they were confronted with a fenced square surrounded by armed police cars, people "reacted and decided spontaneously, much like a flock of starlings" (p. 140) to divide into several side streets, diverging the traffic of the city and aggregating in surrounding squares of Puerta del Sol, to prepare to "reconquer" Sol, finally achieved four days later. The collective movement was already a figure in the politics of difference: people did not react as imaginary receivers, but as producers of knowledge, relationships, tactics and stories (Pena, 2011 p. 11).

On the two-year celebration of 15-M, Amador Fernández-Savater (2013) writes on the "unseen" effects of 15-M, focusing on the Citizen tides or the actions taken by the PAH (Platform for People Affected by Mortgages)[338] as cases of social transformation. The 15-M movement set

[338] PAH (*Plataforma Afectados por la Hipotéca*) was established in Barcelona in February 2009 as a reaction to the bursting of the Spanish housing bubble after the 2008 financial crisis. Nowadays it has 150 branches across Spain.

up the "prototype"; the "open, process-based world, replaces any fixed model" (Gutiérrez, 2013b; 2013a). The PAH has been, since its foundation, but with growing emphasis after the events of 2011, one of the most active grassroots organizations in the genesis of a new generation of politics. Ada Colau, one of its founding members and now mayor of Barcelona, is the most prominent figure, elected by the citizen platform Barcelona en Comú in June 2015. In the process of transformation of the movement of the squares to the citizens' platform that can stand for election, we should not exclude the importance of the first political power born from 15-M, Partido X, Partido del Futuro or the impact of the "movement-party" (Santos, 2015) Podemos. The citizen network, launched on the internet on January 8, 2013, was created by an anonymous group and defined as "a method" (Morel, 2013) instead of adhering to the common structure of political parties. Podemos[339], initially formed for the European election and later for general elections, has been a political phenomenon, challenging and changing outdated political narratives with the introduction of a new political vocabulary that empowers citizenship. The political model was based on the politics of proximity – built upon local working groups or circles spread in several cities of Spain but also abroad, organized as self-managed assemblies drawn beyond the 15-M experience. It perpetuates the politics of the square (the streets), as in the case of the March for Change[340], organized on January 31, 2015, with the participation of 100,000–300,000 people (Iglesias, 2015 p. 19).

While we observe and analyse these facts, we are aware that this is only part of the process and there is a risk of romanticizing the reality. Nevertheless, assuredly, this is a transition. This process is just the beginning and will influence ways of perception and dynamics – between citizens, government regulators and economic interests – that may force political changes and influence the decision-makers in the policy-making process.

[339] The political party Podemos ("We can") was launched in January (16) and formally founded in March (11) 2014, headed by the political scientist Pablo Iglesias Turrión. The foundations of the party emerged from the 15-M movement and were initiated in the manifesto "Mover ficha: convertir la indignación en cambio", signed by 30 intellectuals. Its principal aim was the creation of a party list for the European election of 2014. By the presentation of the manifesto on January 16 in Lavapiés, Madrid, the first group announced the will to create the party based on three principles: the collection of 50,000 signatures (collected in less than 24 hours); the creation of a political program by public participation; and unity with other Leftist parties and movements.

[340] March for Change follows the layout of the Marches of Dignity organized in February 2014, when hundreds of thousands of people walked from several parts of Spain to meet in Madrid on March 22 to discuss in the streets and squares their living conditions under the crisis; it was also a revival experience of the 15-M.

3.2. Taksim Square

3.2.1. Historical analysis



Figure 54 Matrakçi Nasuh, [1537]. Plan of Istanbul [detail].
Source: Istanbul Library University.

The narrative view of Istanbul, expressed on the map of Istanbul by Nasuh [1537] (*Figure 54*), shows the "Ottoman capital as it has taken shape between the mid-fifteenth and the early decades of the sixteenth centuries" (Anadol, 2010 p. 314). Across the Golden Horn, a city wall fences Galata, while on the outskirts is a landscape of flowers and trees. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the pattern of Pera[341] was still of a typical countryside, but "was quite different outside the Galata walls. Up to the eighteenth century, Pera was covered with orchards and vineyards and known as the 'vignes de Pera'" (Çelik, 1993 p. 30).

[341] During the first part of our study about the history of this place, we use the term "Pera" to designate the same area that we later call "Beyoğlu". Both terms refer to the same district, on the North Horn of Istanbul. During the Ottoman period the area outside the walls was called Pera by the Greeks and Beyoğlu by the Turks. Pera is the Greek-derived name for Beyoğlu, meaning "across" representing the area "across the Golden Horn" (Gül, et al., 2014 p. 64), a designation commonly used by Europeans until the proclamation of the Republic.



Figure 55 Maksem in Taksim Square.

In the first half of the 18th century, the Taksim area started to attract attention with the construction of part of the aqueduct, from which Taksim derives its name. "Taksim" means "division" or "distribution", as the pastoral hinterland was the place chosen to install the "*maksem*" (distribution chamber) (*Figure 55*) during the reign of Sultan Mahmud I[342]. To solve the city's water problems, the sultan ordered the construction of a great water supply network, bringing water from Belgrade Forest to distribute to other parts of the city. The still-existing[343] chamber (or reservoir) (*Figure 56*), a limestone octagonal building with an octagonal roof, was finished in 1732[344] and strongly influenced this area's development, providing water to the peninsula of Galata. The recognition of its importance is shown by the attribution of its name both to the district and to the square on its construction. Because of the water supply, Pera started to attract foreigners to settle in the neighbourhood; also because it was the only area near the city centre where it was still possible to build upper-class residences.

During the Ottoman Empire, in 1780, Sultan Selim III[345] aimed to modernize the Ottoman army and create an urban landmark. He commissioned the Taksim Military Barracks (*Taksim Kışlası*) project to the Armenian architect Kirkov Balayan (Bozdogan, 2002 p. 27). The building, finished in 1806, in a mix of Ottoman and European architectural styles, was partly demolished

[342] "Ahmet III had planned to build a supply line from Bahçeköy but this project was finally realized by Mahmud I, in 1731 […] the central length of the Taksim Waters supply line is 25Km." (Çeçen, 1996 p. 95)
[343] The historical water tank located on the south front of the square was restored and opened as an art gallery in 2008.
[344] The structure has an inscription in Ottoman Turkish dating the construction from 1145, which corresponds to 1732 in the Gregorian calendar (Erdikmen, 2013 p. 139).
[345] Sultan Selim III's reign: 1789–1807.

by the Janissaries[346] one year later, during the Kabakçi Mustafa Pasha Rebellion[347] against Selim III's reforms. The reforms implemented on the Empire's institutions, influenced by the French Revolution, were considered a threat to the Medieval institutions and to the Janissaries. In 1811, Sultan Mahmud II[348] ordered the reconstruction of the barracks, commissioning the project to the architect Hafız Mehmet Emin Ağa. Repairs continued in 1814 and the works were finished in 1818 by the hand of Marki, Komanyas and Nikol (Erdikmen, 2013 p. 141). Since then, the building underwent several repairs, one of them circa 1862, in an Oriental style with "pointed onion-shaped domes rising on both sides and the ornamental features" (Yilmaz, 2013 p. 13) (*Figure 57*). In 1909, when the military barracks were being used by the Army of Action and the militia returned from the Balkans to end the reactionary system of the Young Turks and the implementation of the Second Constitutional Era against the sultan, the building was bombarded and seriously damaged. The counter-coup, also known as the "Incident of March 31 (named according to Rumi calendar), happened on April 13, 1909" (p. 13), destroyed the building; it was never fully repaired.



Figure 56 Date of the construction inside the *Maksem:* 1145 in Ottoman Turkish (corresponds to 1732 in Gregorian calendar).

A focus on the construction and history of the square calls for a brief social and political framework of the long transition from the end of the Ottoman Empire to the foundations of the Republic. For seventy years, the Ottoman Empire underwent intense social, political and economic transformation towards its modernization, a process also reflected in urban layout

[346] The Ottoman elite infantry corps.
[347] Also known as the Ottoman coup or "Kabakçi Mustafa Revolt" (Yilmaz, 2013 p. 13).
[348] Sultan Mahmud II's reign: 1808–1839 (Çelik, 1993 p. 32).

and population growth. The urban pattern was significantly transformed during this period, especially on the north side of the city, towards a European style. Strongly influenced by the large foreign population living in the North Peninsula, in 1838 the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty was signed, giving the same rights to British and native tradesmen to trade in the country. A year later, Abdülmecit I[349] (also known as Tanzimat), with the assistance of European ambassadors, announced a decree opening the frontiers to Western European countries and declared himself emperor (Zwierlein, 2012 p. 84). The 1838 decree intensely influenced population growth, with people predominantly settling on the northern side of the city.



Figure 57 [n.a.], [n.d.]. Entrance to the Artillery barracks from Talimhane after 1909, photography. Source: SALT Library.

Ten years later, in 1848, in reaction to the population growth in the first half of the 19th century, especially in the areas of the North Peninsula, the emperor decided to create a new neighbourhood in Pangalti. In 1839, Helmuth Von Moltke presented the first masterplan (*Figure 58*) for the whole city, even if it was circumscribed to the south side of the city. This plan was the first of several, showing the influences of Haussmann's plan in Paris. Reşid Pasha[350], after diplomatic missions in the European capitals, was delighted with Paris' city design as an expression of power and order, and went home with the desire to apply the same

[349] Abdülmecit I's reign: April 23, 1839–1861 (Çelik, 1993 p. 32).
[350] Ottoman statesman and diplomat who took a leading part in the reform known as the "Tanzimat" ("Reorganization") (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2014b).

order and standards in Istanbul. The plan was meant to create large avenues and wide arteries, reflecting both an arithmetic image of the city and the possibility of controlling fires. The plan was never implemented (Çelik, 1993 p. 50), but the connections with Taksim were already represented in it as country roads.

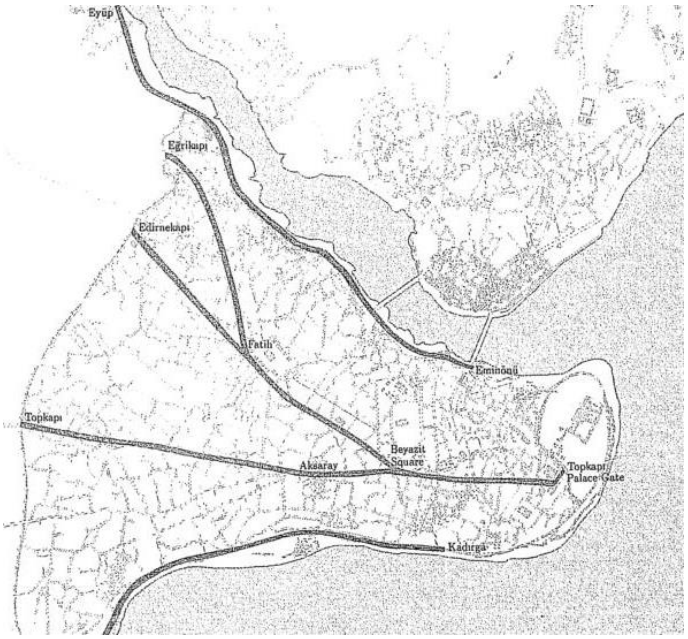

Figure 58 Helmuth Von Moltke, 1839. Istanbul plan. Source: Zeynep Çelik, 1993, p. 105.

During the following decades, the population in the north of the city kept growing and, in 1862, a wide road was proposed to connect Taksim and Pangalti. During this period (1838–1908), the city underwent a phase of intense construction that saw the building of the city's main connectors: "the Divanyolu in Istanbul, the Karakoy–Ortakõy road that follows the Bosporus shoreline, and the Taksim–Şişli route on the northern side of the Golden Horn." (Çelik, 1993 p. 159)

The Taksim–Pangalti road was finished only in 1869. Together with its construction, the non-Muslim and Christian cemeteries (the largest known as Grand Champs des Morts, or Tepebaşı and the smaller as the Petit Champs des Morts, or Taksim) (*Figure 59*)[351] were transferred to Şişli[352] (*Figure 60*), an area still on the city's outskirts (Çelik, 1993 p. 39). During the main road's construction, in 1863 a fire destroyed some houses in Beşiktaş; to deal with the city's narrow structure in these areas, as well as the population growth in Pera, an imperial decree ordered the replanning of the whole peninsula, both in small-scale interventions and by large-scale masterplans (p. 67). In 1864, still during the construction of the Taksim–Pangalti road, two city parks were planned: Taksim and Tepebaşi. Taksim Park was finished first, opening in

[351] The great open landscape in the area of the cemeteries is still represented in the early 19th century, as in Melling's ([1809-1819]) canvas.

[352] In Neumeier (2013) we find a different version, mentioning that the cemeteries were transferred except the Armenian one and proven with the Plan Cadastral d'assurances that Jacques Pervititch elaborated in 1925. Bilsel (2010b) mentions that the upper part of Park nº2 from Prost was settled in the area of the Armenian cemetery (p. 363). In fact, there is a note from Prost proposing to remove the cemetery before the new constructions, dating from December 10, 1936 (Prost, 1937a pp. 59, 60). This version was recalled to public discussion with the Gezi events.

1869, after some civil pressure and a five-year delay considering the Sixth District Administration intentions. Taksim was the first public park (in the Western style of a public park) realized in the Ottoman capital (*Figure 61*). It was followed by the construction of the picturesque garden in Tepebaşı, on the plot of the former Petits-Champs (Anastassiadou, 2012 p. 53).



Figure 59 Antoine Ignace Melling, [n.d.]. View from large cemeteries near Pera (*Vue du Champ des Morts, près de Péra*), gravure in large folio (415 x 580mm). Source: Melling, 1809–1819.

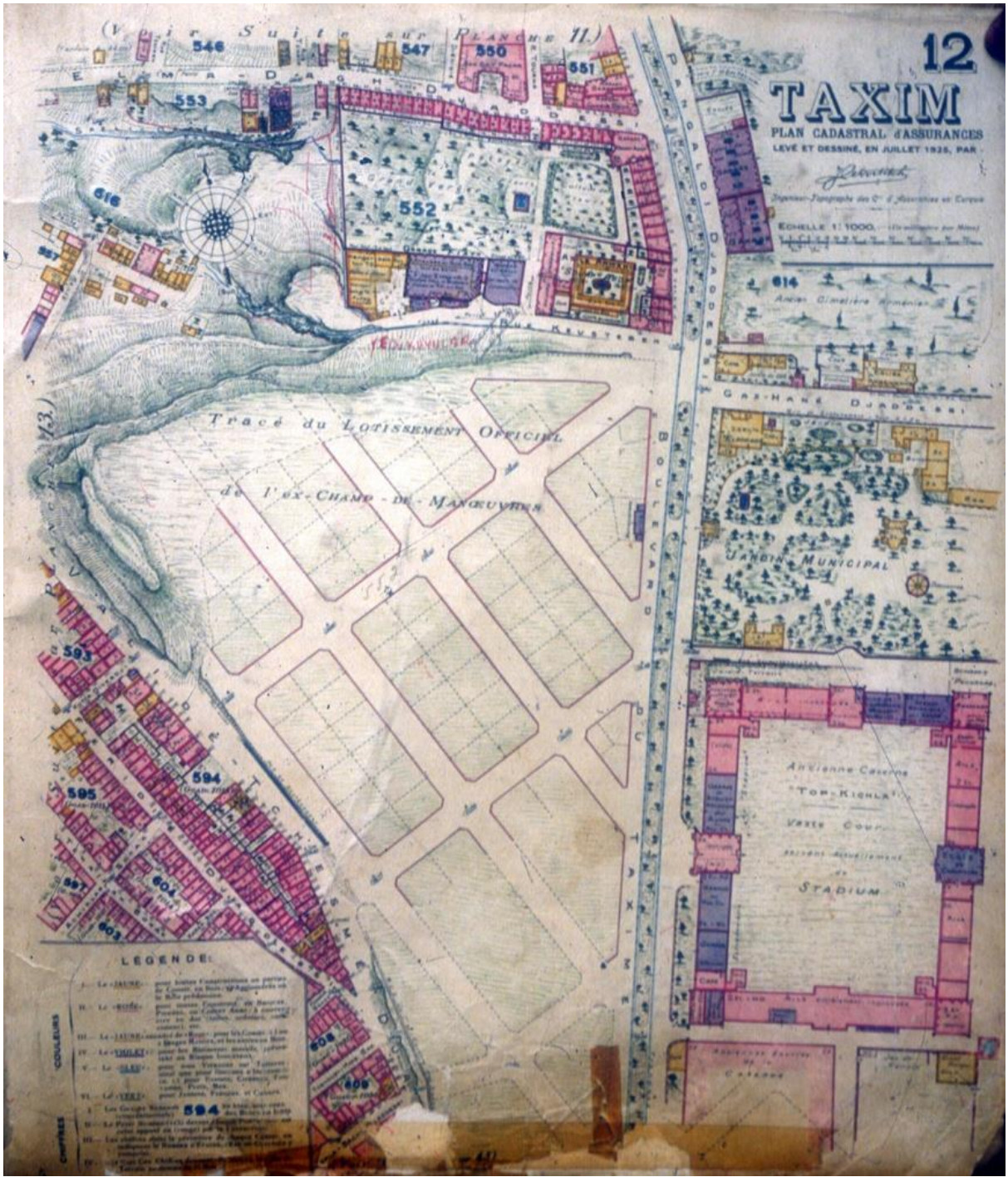

Figure 60 Jacques Pervititch, 1925. Taksim barracks, municipal garden and Armenian cemetery on the insurance map. Source: Istanbul Technical University.



Figure 61 Plan of Taksim Park. Source: Çelik, 1993 p. 69 [a reproduction from the original document, available at Basbakan Arsivi, Írade, Dahiliye, nos 40886, 42291].

After the Pera fire (*harik-i-kebir*)[353] in June 1870, the borough was forced to rebuild the area to deal with the continuous population growth. If Istanbul's modernization was broadly developed some years later by Henri Prost, before the proclamation of the Republic, the city design already included some Modernist principles, as expressed in André Auric's plans from 1912 (*Figure 62*). André Auric was a French engineer from Lyon appointed in 1910 to lead the Infrastructure Department of the Municipality of Istanbul for a period of three years, to design and supervise gas, water and transportation public works (Gül, 2009 p. 67) – "The Embellishment and Cleaning up of Istanbul" (p. 68). The plan was one of the most remarkable for the city, reflecting Modernist principles with large boulevards in the connections to the city centre, designed to accommodate a new linear sewage system but also with tree alignments to accomplish aesthetic and hygienic ideals: "[w]here air and sunlight penetrate, the doctor does not go" (p. 68). For the reconstruction of the burned-down areas in Pera, Auric proposed similar principles, closely relating the sewer installations and streets widening, in a scheme that shows a boulevard connecting the city centre with Taksim (*Figure 62*).

In the 70-year period between the first Treaty (1838) and the Young Turks revolution (1908), the leadership of the Ottoman Empire changed several times, being headed by five sultans[354]. The country faced a broad spectrum of political (military, education and administrative)

[353] The fire started from a house in Feridiye Sokağı and, in just six hours (Ebru & Kate, 2010, p. 78), destroyed more than 3,000 buildings (Çelik, 1993).

[354] "Mahmut II (1808–39), Abdülmecit (1839–61), Abdülaziz (1861–76), Murat V (1876), and Abdülhamit II (1876–1909)." (Çelik, 1993 p. 32)

reforms, some of them towards Europeanization. Besides political reforms, the country went through massive industrial improvements to face competing prices and commercial offers coming from Britain.

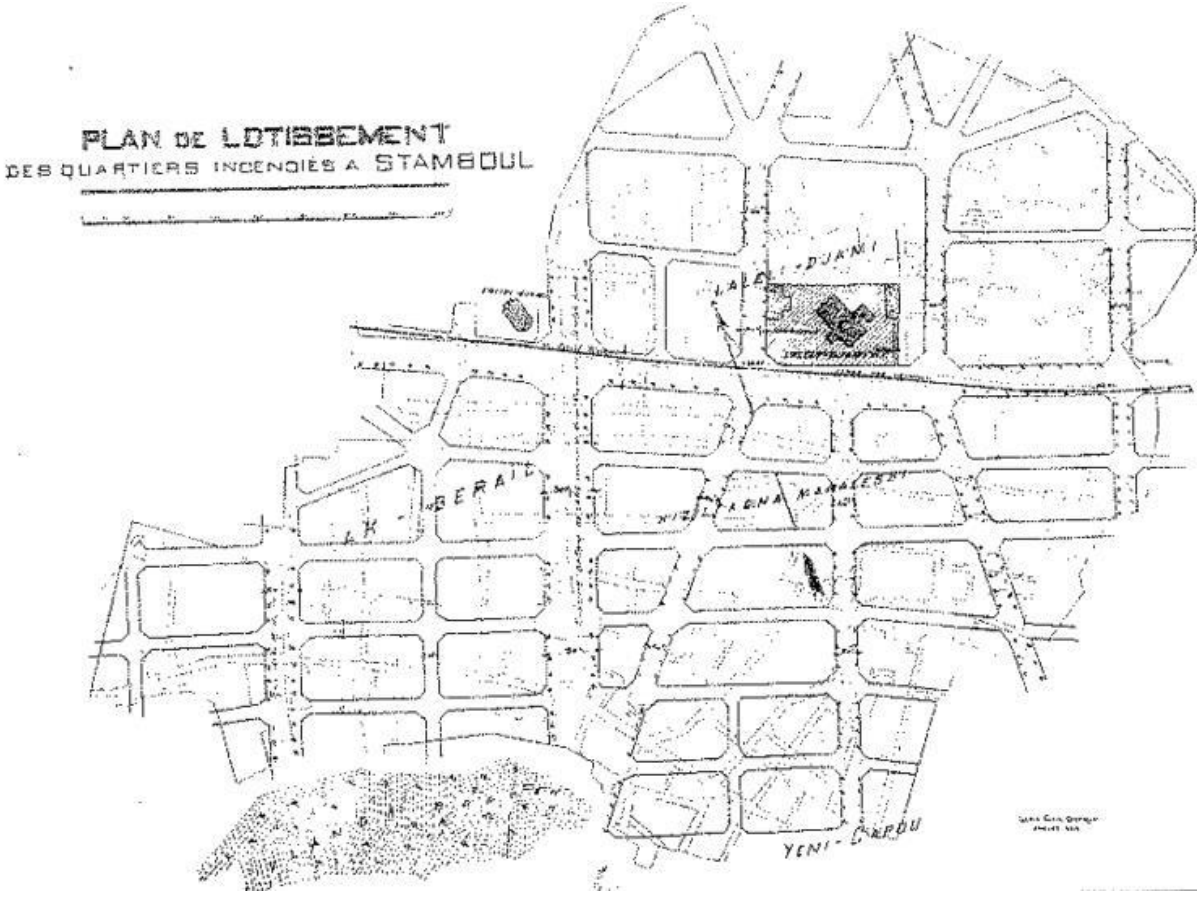

Figure 62 André Auric, 1912. Plan published in Génie Civil Ottoman. Source: Gül, 2009 p. 70.

In 1908–9, the Young Turks[355] revolution was considered a national milestone. Reflecting Western European influences in the political, economic and social realm, this dictated the end of Abdülhamit II's autocratic reign as well as the Ottoman Empire, and prepared the ground for the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Stimulated by the Russian Revolution of 1905–07 and by the decision to unite revolutionary forces in the Committee of Union and Progress of 1906, and confirmed one year later in the Congress in Paris (Lutsky, 2008 [1969]), the young revolutionary generation was also influenced by 19th-century European elitist theories (Hanioglu, 2001 p. 3). In 1909, the group with revolutionary ideas for radical change

[355] The Young Turks emerged as a revolutionary group in 1902, and peaked in 1908 (July 3) (Hanioglu, 2001 p. 3).

in the state and society replaced Abdülhamit II to create a constitutional government, staying in power until the defeat of the Empire in 1918. The period, although fleeting, was a crucial contribution for further Republican years, mainly in the creation of the municipal structure and the ability to implement public works in the capital. As Ipek Yoda Akpinar (2010) notes, "the architectural and urban fields had already become major arenas for the representation of the transformation from the one party period in the post-war." (p. 169)

In 1923, the Ottoman Empire was abolished and the Republic declared on October 29. Turkey became the sole secular country in the Islamic world (p. 169). With the proclamation of the Republic, the Turkish government decided to move the capital to Ankara; Istanbul's history was associated with destruction, war and fires, and was not considered suitable for implementing the new ideologies of progress, modernization and secularization. For almost a decade, and until the plans of the 1930s when the government decided to create spaces representing the new ideologies of the Republic in other cities than the capital, Istanbul was secondary in national spatial politics.



Figure 63 [n.a.], [n.d.]. Taksim Military Barracks, Stadium Entrance. Source: SALT Library.

On November 13, 1918, before the end of the First World War, the allied forces occupied Istanbul, taking over Taksim Barracks as well as hotels or French and Italian hospitals. The Taksim Barracks was used as the French Senegalese soldiers' encampment, having no other use with the end of the war until 1921, when it was converted into a football stadium. Named Taksim Stadium[356] (*Figure 63*), it had a crowd capacity of 8,000–10,000, and was the first stadium in the country for national matches. In 1923, already after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, the stadium hosted the Turkish national team's first match. The ground was used for several events, but after clashes at an apparently friendly match of 1934, the municipality decided to build a new stadium close by and eradicate the place's military associations[357].

Istanbul was being developed by the masterplan of French architect Henri Prost[358] (between 1936 and 1951)[359], and Taksim Stadium was planned to be demolished to convert into a modern public park honouring President Ismet İnönü. Even though the new İnönü Stadium had not yet been completed, Taksim Stadium was closed in 1939 and the barracks demolished in 1940 (*Figure 64*) to start Prost's works. The plans for the square and park were approved in 1938 (Pinon, 2013), but the park was only finished in 1944, by the name of İnönü Gezisi[360] (*Figure 65*).

> The İnönü Gezisi (İnönü Promenade) was established on a site with an area of 26,000 square metres, and was specifically planned as a walking route with grassed areas, flowerbeds, magnolias, trees, seating benches and kiosks for concerts of the Municipal Philharmonic Orchestra. (Gül, 2009 p. 116)

As Canâ Bilsel (2010b) explains, at that time the public space was commonly used for the projection of the Republic's values (p. 354). The creation of an area with a Western image and

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[356] The stadium was used for several sports. Besides football, wrestling and equestrian competitions were also held there.

[357] During the Republican period, the former military barracks were converted into schools and public buildings (Automaticturk, 2013).

[358] Henri Prost was a leading figure from the first generation of French urbanists. After plans for several cities in Africa, the plan for Istanbul was his second contract with the Turkish government. In 1924, Prost was invited to plan Izmir, after the 1922 fire. In 1932, he was invited to participate in the city planning competition for Istanbul, together with German planner Elgötz and French urbanists Agache and Lambert. Even though Elgötz's proposal was chosen as the best and most realistic, Henri Prost was directly invited in 1936 to conduct the planning of the city, working as head of the city's planning office from 1936 to 1951.
The Turkish government invitation's was not a coincidence, as Prost had been in the city in the academic year 1904–05 with the Prix of Rome to study the archaeological remains of Constatinopolis and returned with great drawings of Hagia Sophia and the Imperial Palace (Bilsel, [n.d.]).

[359] The masterplan for the European side was finished on October 17, 1937 (Bilsel, 2010a) (*Figure 67*).

[360] The official name was never popular among the population, who called it Gezi Parki (Çelikkol, 2014 p. 11).

a square that could rival in scale the largest squares in the world, particularly Red Square (p. 355), were the main aims of Prost's project.



Figure 64 [n.a.], [1940].Taksim Artillery Barracks demolishions Source: Eski İstanbul Fotoğrafları Arşivi [Old Istanbul Photo Archive].

Henri Prost, and later Auguste Perret, became the most important planners of Istanbul city, responsible for the vital role in the new urbanity and social life in the subsequent years. Following the invitation to plan the city, Henri Prost, despite his sensitivity to Ottoman culture (he had spent a year studying the ancient city's archaeological remains) and knowledge of the cultural differences in the use of public spaces by Islamic societies, decided to implement similar principles to Haussmann's planning of Paris. Prost, in the masterplan for Istanbul, took a destructive attitude towards the city's existing layout, prioritizing a new and modern city of the Republic. As in Haussmann's practice (Yildirim, 2012; Bilsel, 2011 p. 104), the new public spaces would be symbolic of and manifestos for the new political power of the secular Turkish Republic (Yildirim, 2012). In his 1947 speech "Les Transformations d'Istanbul", Prost lists the three fundamental issues for the city's transformation: the "transportation (*la circulation*), the hygiene (*l'hygiène*) and the aesthetics (*l'esthétique*)" (Bilsel, 2011 p. 105). He explained that there were two kinds of transformations: a "structural transformation of the existing city by setting a transportation infrastructure and a system of green spaces; and the transformation of the existing urban fabric." (p. 105) Considering the principles and strategies, Prost divided the

masterplan of Istanbul (Prost, 1937e; 1937d; 1937c; 1937b; 1937a) into two separate plans (*Figure 66*): the Old Istanbul Plan and the Plan of Galata–Pera (the North of the Golden Horn) (*Figure 67*) (Académie d'architecture, 1960), organizing the transportation system into two principal arteries to connect both sides of the city[361]. These arteries or large avenues connect old Istanbul to Taksim Square and then go north, through the Atatürk and Galata bridges, as explained in Bilsel's (2007) transcription of part of the masterplan's descriptive document[362]:

> [t]he urban circulation network that Prost studied in detail was organized around a spine that crossed the city from north to south connecting the newly developing settlement areas on the north to the old city. This road, which started at Taksim Square – the Square of the Republic – on the north, went through the old quarters on the west of Pera, crossed the Golden Horn by Atatürk Bridge and continued directly following the valley between the two of the seven hills of the historic peninsula. It crossed the old city from north to south to end up at the proposed central station at Yenikapı. A second connection, in the north–south direction, started again from Taksim Square, crossed Pera and Galata through tunnels and viaducts before passing the Golden Horn by the Galata Bridge. (p. 104)

This original version of the park, a layout shaped by the large central esplanade, was designed by Philippe Leveau, a landscape architect working with Prost. The central clearing was surrounded by alleys with tree alignments, followed by large blocks of buildings. Before the park's construction in 1942, the original layout for the esplanade was altered to include an elevated platform and steps separating Inönü esplanade and Taksim Square, designed both to offer a view of the ceremonies in the square and to create a monumental entrance to the park (Bilsel, 2010b p. 357) (*Figure 65*). The last version, as we know it nowadays, was designed by architect Germain Grange, another member of Prost's team (Pinon, 2013). At the inauguration of the new open space, the pedestal for the statue of President İsmet İnönü, a central element of the design, was already built in the middle of the park, but the statue was never erected as the new regime kept rejecting proposals for the monument.

[361] Together with these arteries, 90km highways were opened between 1939 and 1948 (Yildirim, 2012).
[362] Excerpts from the unpublished document "Mémoire Descriptif du Plan Directeur de la Rive Européenne d'Istanbul", in *Les Transformations d'Istanbul, Plans Directeurs*, vol. 3, 1937.



Figure 65 Jacques Pervititch, 1943. Taksim Gezi Park plan with the name of İnönü Gezisi on the insurance map. Source: Istanbul Technical University.



Figure 66 Henri Prost, [n.d.]. Excerpt of Istanbul masterplan. Source: IFA / AA, Fonds Prost.



Figure 67 Henri Prost, 1937. Istanbul European side masterplan at 1:5000 scale, Galata–Pera (Beyoğlu). Source: IFA / AA, Fonds Prost.

In addition to the park, Prost's plans included Taksim Square, the centrality of the "new city" and a political symbol with a monument honouring the leaders[363] in the War of Independence (1919–1922). The square was a project by Prost, while the base of the monument and the surrounding garden were designed by Italian architect Giulio Mongeri. The square and the base of the monument were finished in 1926, but the Taksim Republic Monument[364] (*Figure 68*) was concluded only two years later, in 1928. With the new monument the square was officially renamed Republic Square, although people kept calling it Taksim Square. The streets surrounding the square were also renamed, introducing a new language to the city for future generations: *Cadde-i Kebir* became *Ístiklal Caddesi*, the Liberty Street and Barracks Street became *Cumhuriyet Caddesi*, the Avenue of the Republic (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 55).



Figure 68 [n.a.], [n.d.]. Taksim Republic Monument, 1930s.
Source: SALT Library.

With the inauguration of the Taksim Republic Monument, all military celebrations and official meetings were transferred to the square (Erdikmen, 2013 p. 144). Together with other projections of economic power and new liberal policies, Taksim Square started to become the major civic space for the social expression of wills.

[363] The monument is inscribed with the "heroes" Atatürk, General Çakmak, General Inönü, etc. (*Figure 69*).
[364] The government commissioned the monument to Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica.



Figure 69 Taksim Republic Monument.

Going back to the three principles of Prost's plan in his 1947 speech, we recognize the first and second with major expression in the design of Taksim and its surroundings, but the third, the aesthetic one, as secondary. In fact, Prost's aesthetic principle was more concerned with the old peninsula as a glorious landscape; the preservation of historical monuments; the creation of a new silhouette of the city[365]; and the creation of several squares and open spaces in the city, although it is also expressed in some details of Republic Square and İnönü Gezisi. Prost's first principle was concerned with the design of public open spaces in the city, including promenades, parks, boulevards, esplanades, panoramic terraces and squares (Bilsel, 2011)[366]. The second issue, hygiene, is expressed mainly by the proposal of these spaces. The plan for the city included two parks in the heart of the old city: the Archaeological Park (surrounding Topkapı Palace, the Acropolis of Ancient Byzantium, and the Byzantine Hippodrome, with other archaeological structures), and Park nº1, surrounding the Byzantine land walls and going along the valley of Bayrampaşa Creek towards the city centre, including in the original plan the proposal of a zoo, botanical gardens and sports facilities. Around Taksim, this principle had its major expression, with the proposal for the largest green area, Park nº2 (*Figure 66*), as will be discussed later. The same plan from Henri Prost envisions the aesthetization of the urban space (Bilsel, 2010a p. 250) with the intention to build a city of public squares – four squares (Prost,

[365] Prost paid particular attention to the historical buildings, making a long list of Byzantine and Ottoman structures to preserve. Closely collaborating with the Turkish Association of the Friends of Istanbul – French, German and American institutes of archaeology – he tried to create the best integration of those monuments into pedestrian promenades with monumental trees. (Bilsel, 2007 p. 106; Académie d'architecture, 1960 p. 203) With some of the Ottoman buildings, Prost proposed preserving the façades and reconverting the structures.
[366] Between 1939 and 1948, 18 public squares were built in the city (Yildirim, 2012).

1937c pp. 5,6) and Taksim Square as a space for the construction of a "theatre, conference halls, exhibition and conventional halls, indoor stadiums for sports competitions, clubs, a post office, parking garages, etc"[367] (p. 6).

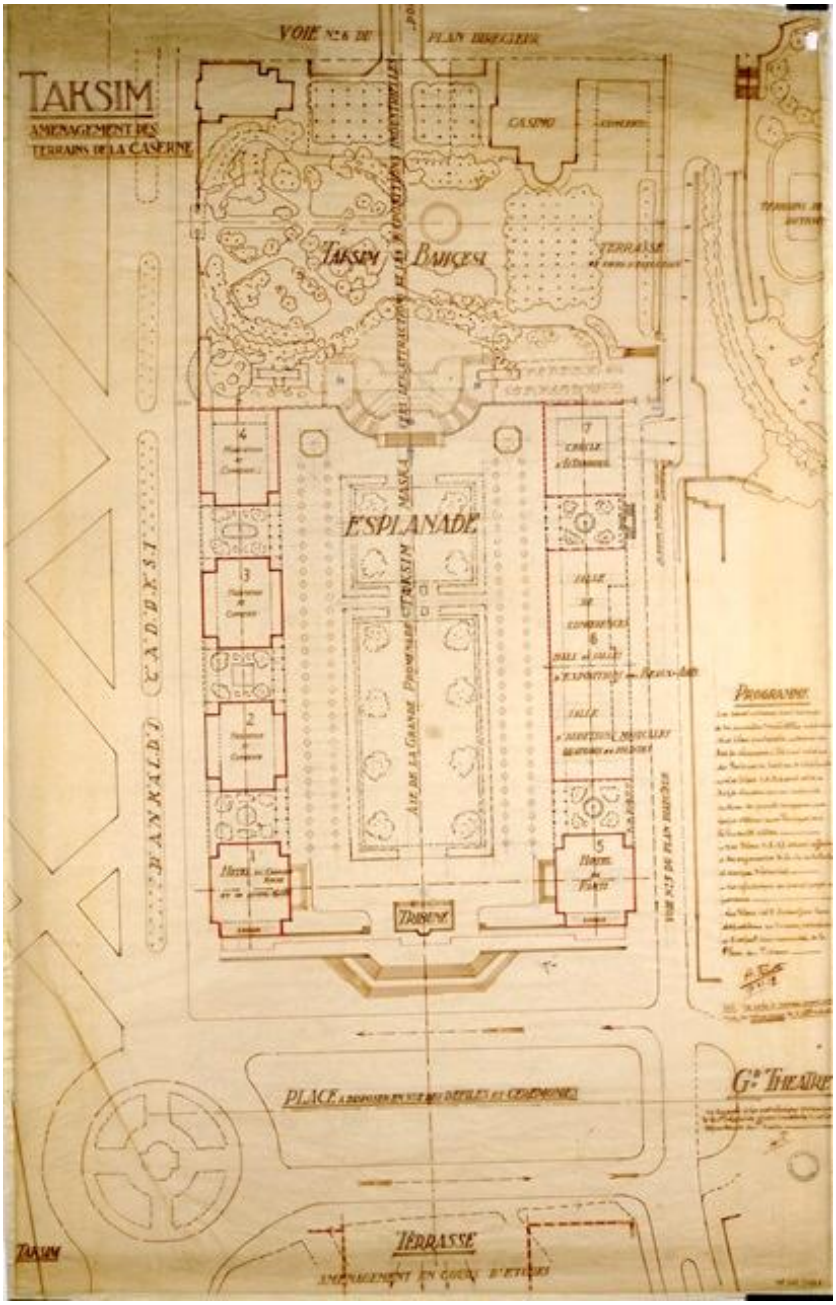

Figure 70 Henri Prost, 1935–1959. Taksim Square project.
Source: IFA / AA, Fonds Prost (HP–DES–027–01–01).

[367] Translated from the original by the author: "Théâtre, Salles de Conférences, Salles d'expositions et de Réunions, Salles de Matchs, Cercles, Services postaux, Gare Automobiles, Parcs à Voiture etc".

The two parks are mentioned in "Les transformations d'Istanbul" (p. 50). Park nº2 is also represented in the Beyoğlu Structural Plan as a large park for recreation and the "lungs" of the city. Prost, together with Aron Angel[368], imagined the approximately 20 ha of land along the valley linking Maçka, Harbiye and Dolmabahçe Palace[369] as the "Taksim Boulogne Woods"[370] (Bilsel, 2011 p. 108). In the spirit of French urban transformations, the main aim of the park was the preservation of large green areas, even if some attention was also paid to vehicle lanes and promenades as well as to visual relations with the Bosphorus. The park was planned to include Dolmabahçe Stadium, some sports facilities, an exhibition hall, and an amphitheatre, these two last structures designed by Aron Angel. The park's entrance would be the formal garden of İnönü Gezisi, which would connect the woods with an informal garden on the north side of the Gezisi (*Figure 70*). The works started, the surrounding buildings were completely demolished, the Taksim garden and the pedestrian bridge on the north side were concluded, but the plan was never fully implemented.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Menderes,[371] with the Democratic Party (DP)'s victory in 1950, envisioned a new phase of transformations in the city. The prime minister dismissed Henri Prost and transferred responsibility for the new projects to Turkish architects and planners. With the revision of projects for the city, Menderes publicly announced that Istanbul would have "an entirely new face and be made into a modern city"[372] (Akpinar, 2010 p. 172). After the long period of works, the city went through another four years (1956–60) of radical spatial and social transformations with the new constructions (pp. 170, 171) and 7,000 demolitions (p. 173). As Akpinar (2010) says, Istanbul's urban transformations created the

[368] Aron Angel (1916–2010) was the first Turkish urban planner who worked with Henri Prost. For more than a decade, they prepared the first structural plan for Istanbul, with Angel assuming responsibility for the city's new green areas (Pinon-Demirçivi, 2010).

[369] The palace was commissioned by Sultan Abdülmecid I in 1843 and was finished in 1856. By the end of the works, the surrounding area had developed quickly (Çelik, 1993 p. 42). The palace was used by the sultans of the Ottoman period but also by Atatürk until his death.

[370] The Bois de Boulogne is the second-largest park (846 hectares) in Paris' suburbs, located on the western edge of the 16th arrondissement. The park was planned and designed between 1852 and 1858, when Napoleon III wanted to redesign Paris in the style of London's Royal Parks. Initially, he contracted the landscape architect Varé to plan the park but quickly replaced him with engineer Alphand and landscape architect Barillet-Deschamps (Mairie de Paris, 2010).

[371] Adnan Menderes was one of the Democratic Party (DP) founders in 1946 and Turkish prime minister between 1950 (May 22) and 1960 (May 27), during Celâl Bayar's presidency. Menderes was executed on September 17, 1961 by the military junta after the 1960 military coup.

[372] As Akpinar (2010) says: "Menderes was personally involved with the urban demolitions and urban reconstruction to such a detail that he was nicknamed as 'the head architect of Istanbul'" (p. 173).

spatiality of different politics, and Taksim Square and its surroundings became the most desired ground to announce the new era's style. By making visible the space of the city to its inhabitants, Menderes aimed to move the city and population from the secular reform of Republican times (in terms of language and social sphere) to a Modernist approach in the American and Western style (pp. 175-177). A cover of *Time* magazine[373] synthetizes this notion with its title: "What Constantine made, Menderes will remake" (p. 183). One example of American influence on Menderes' liberal political ideology and High-Modernism architecture was expressed in the construction of the Municipal Palace (p. 186) and Hilton Hotel (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 56) – the latter also considered a political message against the Soviets (Akpinar, 2010 p. 186). The Hilton Hotel, opened in 1955, was built on the grounds of the planned Park nº2. The location of the project caused popular debate and the resignation of Aron Angel, who had been Head of the Structural Plan for more than three decades. He expressed his disappointment in his resignation letter: "I am ashamed to work in an institution dominated by personal interests." (Erdikmen, 2013 p. 7)

Contemporary to the liberalization of the state with the handover of power to the hands of private capital, 1955 was also a year of popular uprisings, with escalating conflicts caused by the Turkish presence and sovereignty in Cyprus. On April 21, a group of university students organized a debate on the situation in Cyprus; after the meeting, they marched towards Taksim, to leave a garland on the statue (Akaş, 2004 p. 67). During the march, students got support from the population, and the number of people increased along the route. After the protest and in the following months, the situation in Cyprus worsened, with some Turks being wounded during conflicts in Cyprus, and public discontent generalized to the whole population.

On September 6 and 7 the same year, Taksim Square was the stage for one of the city's darkest events, triggered by false rumours of a bomb attack on the house where Atatürk was born. In reaction to the news, student associations, unions and the Association of Turkish Cyprus (KTC) called for a public demonstration in Taksim Square. In the square, people started to gather peacefully, but this initial moment was followed by vandalism attacks on the non-Muslim (mainly the Greek minority) community and their property, in the neighbourhoods around Taksim (p. 4). The pogrom, also known as the "Istanbul pogrom", caused more than 11

[373] *Time*, 15.08.1957 (Akpinar, 2010 p. 183).

deaths[374], tens of rape victims among the Greek Orthodox women, and the destruction of a great part of their cultural heritage (Güven, 2011 pp. 4,5). The confrontations were stopped only nine hours later, when a martial law was declared that ran for six months in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir (Çelik, 2013). The government blamed Communists for the violence, although it was later proven that the acts were organized inside the government and by the Democratic Party (DP) in articulation with the organizations that guided the meeting, the march and the attacks (pp. 5-7).

Already in 1959–1960, following the Cyprus crisis and consequent worsening of the internal political situation, students started to protest regularly around the country, with the major focus on Istanbul and Ankara. The National Turkish Student Union[375] (NTSU), together with local student unions, tried to get permission to demonstrate for their rights and better conditions in the higher education system, but was never allowed. The issue of the universities' autonomy was considered in the budget of the commission on January 14, 1960, but was not taken seriously by the governors (Akaş, 2010 p. 73). Demanding freedom of expression, on March 2, 1960, some students took part in a silent march in Istanbul. Arriving in Taksim Square, the demonstration was suppressed by a group of plainclothes officers, who attacked the students. Facing the deterioration of their situation and repression, on April 28 and 29, 1960, Turkey was paralysed by large-scale student demonstrations. Organized by Istanbul University students, the wave of demonstrations quickly spread around the country. Events got out of control when the president of Istanbul University, Siddik Sami Omar, asked the police to leave the campus. Two students were killed by the police in the conflict. The government tried to black out the information but were unable to. It decreed a martial law and a curfew in Istanbul and Ankara on May 1 (Associated Press, 1960). The restrictions did not stop the conflicts, and clashes continued until the fall of Menderes and the DP government with the coup d'état on May 27, 1960. Student protests also ran until the coup (Gorgas, 2013); in fact, they may be considered as crucial to the coup[376], by their social and political character:

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[374] Dilek Güven (2011) says that "between 11 and 15 people died" (p. 5).

[375] In Turkish, *Milli Türk Talebe Birliği*.

[376] Student unions had a great impact in the coup d'état, but their national power came from before, as in the Taksim Square occupations in 1924 and 1933 (Yilmaz, 2013 p. 20). In 1924, by its foundation, the students met in Taksim Square to manifest social and political discontents and demand their wills. In 1933, in reaction to the attacks on the Turkish cemetery in Bulgaria, the NTSU organized a meeting in the Bulgarian cemetery, on April 17. The meeting was followed by a march towards Taksim Square, where eight students were arrested.

> Turkish universities in the 1960s were natural centers for protest. In the first place, students were literate and informed, reading Marxist works at a time when events in Cuba and elsewhere suggested revolution was possible. Moreover, students were grumpy: Turkey had only eight universities to serve a population of around 35 million. Even with highly selective acceptance rates, universities were over-flowing (Silverman, 2013).
>
> Since 1965, when the Turkish Workers' Party was established, a very serious Leftist rhetoric had taken hold in universities. (Akaş, 2010 p. 97)

Our focus is on Taksim Square, although the relation with Beyazit Square is notable in prior events and the coup. For over one month, students gathered in the square to protest, and May 27 was no exception. Following the student union's words, the "events have started" (Öncü, 2013b p. 99), students left their classrooms to meet in the square and protest against the government, with some clashes occurring between protesters and police as on previous days. With the coup, General Refik Tulga was appointed governor as well as mayor of Istanbul, and Colonel Turan Ertuğ became deputy mayor. In addition to political changes, one of the new government's main goals was to keep imprinting the new history of the country in the urban fabric. This included renaming the square where the gatherings had happened: "[i]n August 1960, the name of the area surrounded by the university and the Beyazit II Külliye (an Islamic social complex) was changed to Hürriyet (Freedom) Square, and until the 1980s was referred to by this name" (p. 99) (*Figure 71*). The new political reforms with expression in urban space continued. In 1961, three proposals (Luigi Piccianato, Hand Högg and Turgut Canserver) were submitted for a competition to convert Hürriyet Square into a large open area in front of the university.

A few years later, on June 6, 1950, a demonstration was organized by students of Istanbul Technical University to ask for better quality in the higher education system. Students first met in the university gym and marched to the square, stopping to garland the statue with flowers. The event ended peacefully, and another demonstration was organized on August 4 by Istanbul University students, together with other organizations and three political parties, to complain against the Communist regime and the war in Korea. This event started with Faik Güven's (Istanbul University's student union's secretary general) speech of discontentment and extended to the university in Izmir, the same day. After the speech, students went to Taksim Square to leave flowers on the statue (Akaş, 2004 p. 64). On December 9, students were back in the square, this time in a demonstration organized by the National Turkish Student Union. The demonstration was organized with the University of Ankara, to protest against the Korean War and honour the death of the soldiers. In Istanbul, students gathered in front of the university at Beyazit at 1p.m., and marched to Taksim. In the square and facing the statue, students listened to speeches, held five minutes' silence, and shouted "'[d]own with communists, long live Mehmets!' (the generic name given to Turkish soldiers)" (Akaş, 2004 p. 64). From the square, the crowds marched to Şişli neighbourhood, to sing the national anthem in front of Atatürk's house, and were back at university around 4p.m..

If, during this period, Beyazit Square was the focal point of the city and its history, Taksim Square was remembered as reflecting the emotional atmosphere of those days, and the Freedom Monument (*Hürriyet Aniti*) honouring the killed students was built from May 27 to 29, 1961 (p. 99). The Freedom Monument was erected in front of Atatürk Cultural Centre (*Figure 72*), in the shape of a bayonet, representing the bayonets used by the police to disperse the protesters during the events in the months before the coup (Associated Press, 1960).



Figure 71 Beyazit Square was renamed Hürriyet (Freedom) Square after the 1960 coup. Source: NTV Tarih.

With the conclusion of the monument on May 29 as well as on June 8, students organized two marches to celebrate the coup; Taksim Square was the place selected to mirror the Republican wills of the students. The crowds walked to the centre of the square to leave a garland at the statue (Akaş, 2010 p. 75).

After the coup, students were back in the square in 1962 and 1971. The first time, on January 9, was in reaction to the fire in Atatürk house. Students gathered in Taksim to march to Harbiye, where they sung the national anthem and held two minutes' silence to honour the first Turkish president (Akaş, 2004 p. 45). In 1971, the students were back in Taksim to express their disappointment with the enormous number of private universities that had opened in the country since 1965, creating unequal opportunities for the youth. The protests cut the traffic around the square, and some of the private universities were closed by a constitutional court decision (Öncü, 2013a) consequent of the protest. As Cem Akaş (2004) affirms, after the coup, university students became a very influential political group involved in preserving Atatürkist reforms, a political drive they lost by the end of the decade, forced by police and political establishment pressures. In 1968–71, they transferred their political actions, engaging in European and North American collective action student tactics, "boycotting classes, questioning their lifestyles, demanding better education and more freedom" (p. 97).



Figure 72 Freedom Monument in Taksim Square. Sources: kulturistanbul and Milliyet (June 29, 1966).

After the coup, and despite an alliance with the United States[377], the country's stability in the following years was never fully achieved. Beside political disagreements in Cyprus, the Greek crisis over Cyprus in the winter of 1963/4[378] emphasized political polarization within civil society. The divergence grew over the decade together with anti-American sentiment, mainly among Communist, Nationalist, religious movements and other organizations. In 1968, people exteriorized the sentiment by the visit of the United States sixth fleet[379] to patrol Turkey's Mediterranean borders and prevent Turkish forces aiding Turks in Cyprus. The navy's presence was a turning point, triggering demonstrations and counter-demonstrations in the country and some confrontations in Beyazit and Taksim squares. Since 1967, the US Sixth Fleet had visited Istanbul, and those visits triggered demonstrations around naval ports, as Amy Holmes (2014) reports:

[377] Turkey's economic and political situation in the aftermath of the Second World War was fragile. The country was neutral through the war years, but after the war political leaders decided to ally with the United States and Turkey became part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Turkey's main goals were protecting its national sovereignty against Soviet threats and the guarantee of loans and financial assistance.

[378] Cyprus became independent from Britain in 1955. On August 16, 1960 (Kasaba, 2008 p. xvi), the Republic of Cyprus was proclaimed, ruled by the Greek-Cypriot president Archbishop Makarios and the Turkish-Cypriot vice president Fazil Küçük, to protect the interests and constitutional rights of both parts of Cyprus. The president did not accept the power-sharing constitution, considering it unworkable, and spent three years trying to amend it. In December 1963, Makarios asked for a revision of the thirteen points of the constitution to be able to govern, but his decision triggered a wave of escalating violence between the two communities in the country and abroad, in Turkey and Greece (Ahmad, 2003; 1993).

[379] The Sixth Fleet was the United States Navy's military operations in the Mediterranean Sea with a base in Naples and a presence since the early 19th century.

> [a]ccording to a Naval Dispatch Summary from June 27, 1967, the "Anti–US/ Sixth Fleet protest march" attracted around 500 "Turkish student demonstrators" as well as 1,500 "spectators and sympathizers." Because the demonstration took place on the fleet landing, sailors were prevented from leaving the ship until the protest was over. (pp. 70, 71)
>
> During a subsequent visit of the Sixth Fleet in October 1967, activists distributed a flyer that compared Istanbul to Saigon, where the Seventh Fleet was docked, to draw parallels between the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the U.S. presence in Turkey. The flyer argued that Istanbul, once the capital of the Ottoman Empire, had been reduced to a "Centre for Sexual Relaxation" (p. 71).
>
> During a visit of the Sixth Fleet the following spring in April 1968, some of the demonstrators went a step further and rather than merely passing out flyers, tried to interact with the sailors by stealing their caps (p. 71).
>
> Between July 17 and 23, 1968, the Sixth Fleet, including a number of ships such as the carrier Independence and several destroyers, anchored in Istanbul. On the first day of shore leave, the soldiers were greeted by a small group of students carrying signs bearing the inscription "Beat it, Fleet" and "NATO: No. (p. 71).

The rally organized in July 1968 was the first in the city centre, attended by more than 5,000 people (*Figure 73*). The initial event was followed by acts of vandalism directed against American institutions. The wave of discontent quickly spread to Ankara, Izmir, Trabzon and Konya. At the end of one week (between July 17 and 23) of clashes against American imperialism and physical confrontations between the students and the police, about 20 American sailors were wounded and one Turkish student killed (p. 71). As a consequence, and to prevent the growth of envy, the US Sixth Fleet visits were transferred to Izmir port for a certain period. On February 16, 1969, when the government decided to bring back the US Sixth Fleet to Istanbul port, the city faced the largest and most



Taksim in July 1968. Source: Courtesy of Fahri Aral, Bilgi University, Istanbul, in Criss, 2002 p. 478.

pluralist anti-American demonstration, with more than 30,000[380] people involved. The event was organized by an alliance of leftist political parties, trade unions, workers and students, so was no longer just a student demonstration, although the whole program of meetings and marches was headed by student leader Deniz Gezmiş[381]. The meeting began peacefully in Beyazit Square in the historical peninsula; from there the protesters marched towards Taksim Square (Pérouse, 2006 p. 233), where the atmosphere became violent with right-wing neo-Fascists and Islamists attacking the protesters. Attacks with stones, iron bars and knives on the protesters were previously organized by the right wing to destroy the unity of the movement[382] (Holmes, 2014 p. 73). By the end of the day two people – Duran Erdoğan and Ali Turgut Aytaç – had been killed and 200 people injured. The day became known in history as "Bloody Sunday" (*Kanlı Pazar*), after Radio Istanbul's emergency appeals for blood donors for the large number of injured people, and the epithet was used in several newspapers' headlines (*Figure 74*) on the following day.



Figure 74 Daily newspapers' headlines on the day known as "Bloody Sunday" (Kanlı Pazar). Source: Milliyet.

Over the course of history, some events of which have already been mentioned in this research, Taksim Square became a "reflection" of each political time. Recognizing the political value of the place, the square was the chosen stage for the Workers' Day celebrations[383] since the 1970s, a glowing period of social movements that expanded with the new constitution of 1961 allowing the formation of workers' unions and strikes. The first workers' union was created in the same year of the implementation of the constitution (1961), gathering 11 unions with affiliations to

[380] Some sources refer to 50,000 people (Ulus, 2011 p. 125; Pérouse, 2006 p. 233).
[381] Deniz Gezmiş was a Turkish revolutionary, politically engaged since the early 1960s. He founded the revolutionary movement the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) after getting into the Law University in 1968. Gezmiş was blacklisted since he publicly booed minister Seyfi Öztürk at the international students' conference in 1968. Gezmiş led the demonstrations in 1968 and the events of the "bloody week" in 1969. He was arrested twice, first in July 1968 (released on October 20, same year) and was then detained for two years from September 1969, when he led the occupation of the president's office in İstanbul (Yilmaz, 2013 p. 109).
[382] In 1969, the navy's presence was a common theme discussed by civil society and political leaders.
[383] The Workers' Day celebration was never a consensual matter, being allowed only for short periods in Turkish history. Under the Ottoman regime it was allowed in 1910–1912 and 1921–1923; and in Republican times in 1976–1978 (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 58) and 2010–2012, although spontaneous demonstrations were organized in other years.

the Socialist Turkish Workers' Party (TWP)[384] and the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (Türk-Is)[385]. In the 1960s, social movements flourished, and the major one – the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Union (DISK) – was founded in 1967 by some Socialist leaders who had diverged after Türk-Is' split. Under this new political-legal framework, social life and workers' rights improved during the 1960s, even if in the 1970s, facing worldwide economic stagnation and decreasing emigration, the Turkish labour market underwent a period of recession and the abolition of some of those rights. Beside the market depression and restrictions, workers' confederations were in conflict with the state, and in 1970 the government proposed amendments to the law of unions in order to assert stronger control over them.

As a reaction to social and political pressure and popular discontent, the events of June 15–16, 1970, are the best examples, with about 100,000 people (possibly the most extensive workers' demonstration in Turkish history) gathering spontaneously. The demonstrations started unexpectedly in Istanbul and Izmir with the Justice Party (JP) government's spokesman openly declaring their intentions to eliminate DISK. The event united all workers more by their political discontent feeling than the economic situation, but those responsible, unable to control the large number of people, ordered police intervention. Clashes with the police caused five deaths and hundreds of injuries. The government, fearing consequences after the clashes and an urban guerrilla campaign by the militant leftist university students (Berik & Bilginsoy, 1996), declared martial law on the evening of June 16, and a state of emergency. With forced peace in the streets, the amendment to the law became law in July 1970. The decision was celebrated by Türk-Is, but, the following year, facing an internal political struggle, the union law was amended once more. Rights for unions were banned, and strikes allowed only by permission of the martial law commander. Following these new laws, workers' social conditions decreased and, in 1972–1973, real wages declined for the first time since the 1950s.

In the 1970s, social pressure and political disillusionment increased, even if it had no public visibility; with the 1971 law, the number of demonstrations decreased and the few that were organized were immediately repressed by the government. In 1976, demonstrations were once

[384] In Turkish, *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (TIP). The political party was established in the aftermath of 1960's coup, on February 13, 1961, the same day the Ministry of the Interior lifted the ban on political activities. During its first decade, the party worked on the construction of social awareness in the country (Holmes, 2014 p. 63).
[385] In Turkish, the abbreviation for *Türkiye Işçi Sendikaları* (Holmes, 2014 p. x).

more allowed in the country, and during this year DISK organized the first Labour Day[386] celebration in Taksim Square. The date was celebrated with no incidents, despite the general political dissatisfaction, and DISK scheduled the following year's meeting straight away.

The 1977 event, more publicized, had a much larger attendance, but the numbers were also influenced by right-wing discourses on the proposal to build a mosque in Taksim Square[387] and the political pressure of the right wing[388] on the prime minister. The May 1 celebrations, planned by DISK as a dynamic performance[389] with a double site approach to Taksim Square, started peacefully. People were "gathering in Beşiktaş and moving via the Barbaros Boulvard and gathering in Saraçhane Square moving across the Golden Horn" (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, pp. 58,59) (*Figure 75*). They walked towards the focal point, the central location of Taksim Square, for the general meeting. DISK aimed both to give a new meaning to the place and the people's meeting, "[t]he significance of order, both for the assembly (maintained by DISK and the state) and the space (of the city and the square), was of special importance not only as a device of control, but also for creating new meanings for those who gathered" (p. 62). The DISK organization aimed to change the meaning of the square for good, so it would be considered as a civic square by



Figure 75 Map of the procession route. Drawing: Tali Hatuka. Source: Baykan & Hatuka, 2010 p. 61.

[386] The labourers' day was officially established as a holiday in Turkey in 1923, called Workers' Day (İşçi Bayramı). In 1924 it was banned after mass protests and violence, and in 1925 the government banned the holiday. In 1935, the May 1 holiday was reinstated just for peaceful celebrations and renamed "Spring and Flowers Day" (*Bahar ve Çiçek Bayramı*). In 1977, after the violent wave of demonstrations in Taksim, the holiday was banned once more. Only in 2009 was it recognized as an official holiday, under the designation of "Labour and Solidarity Day". Permission to celebrate in Taksim came the year after.

[387] Baykan and Hatuka (2010) advance that the National Front coalition officially proposed to the government the construction of a mosque in the square after the clashes, placed behind the water reservoir on May 13 (p. 68).

[388] In December 1976, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel decided to hold general elections, booked for October the year after, as the only way to get out from the increased leadership of right-wing partners. On April 5, 1977, the Justice Party (JP) and the Republican People's Party (RPP) voted to anticipate general elections for June 5 (Ahmad, 1993 p. 169).

[389] The performativity of the route must be related to the Turkish word for demonstration, "gösteri" – the same word for a performance on the stage (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 58).

Turkish society. The event started peacefully at around 9a.m. in the gathering squares, never predicting the final tragedy that would come later. Already in Taksim Square, people gathered peacefully to listen to DISK's General Chairman Kamel Turkler as scheduled, even if the speech started two hours late because of the large crowds flowing into the square. By the end of the discourse, when the president asked for one minute's silence in memory of those who had died in the cause of workers' rights, there was a first gunshot, followed by others. Together with police sirens, this caused panic among the massive crowd. The panic spread, stimulated by the police's invasion of the square with cars and deafening sirens. The police ordered people to lie down, but the crowds were trying to escape from the square. The larger avenues were blocked by the police and people had to go through narrow streets, some of them being trampled to death. Hundreds tried to escape via Kazançi Street, but a parked truck blocked the streets, and some were crushed to death trying to get out. The massacre killed 34 people, wounded hundreds of others, and about 500 people were detained. The day, baptized "Bloody May Day", was the last celebration in the square for a long time as, after the incident, all celebrations were banned until 2010. The massacre influenced June's elections, with a high turnout of voters (72.4%) (Ahmad, 1993 p. 168), but also the year after the celebrations and the history of Taksim Square. In 1978, large crowds were back in the square, motivated by growing fear of Fascism and a desire for democracy. In 1979, the government prevented the massive influx in advance, imposing a curfew in the city and surrounding the square with police security (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 64).

In 1980, Turkey went through another coup d'état[390]. This was also reflected in the history of Taksim Square: "the process of the square after the 1980s reveals the change of use from political reasons to other purposes such as transport and entertainment" (Çelik, 2013). Taksim Square was often chosen as the primary space for political expression; it was: "a site often selected for public demonstrations in critique of the state [...] emblematic site in urban public consciousness for the enactment, production, and regeneration of the political" (Navaro-Yashin, 2002 p. 1). Lately, however, the square has been transformed into a global public space, with policies encouraging the promotion of significant events: concerts, New Year's Eve celebrations and similar festivities, and not for political discourse. Taksim has been emptied of

[390] The coup d'état on September 12, 1980, was headed by Chief of the General Staff General Kenan Evren and was the third in the Turkish Republic's history. After the 1960 coup on May 27, headed by an "independent" military group and the 1971 coup, on March 12 known as "Coup by Memorandum", the 1980 coup was recognized by the conflicts between the right and left wing.

its "natural" political sense, considering "natural" the space as the ground where the political becomes real, the spatial typology of *meydan*, the privileged space for citizens' political engagement. As Aysegul Baykan and Tali Hakuta (2010) conclude: "the *meydan* as particular typology generates participatory actions and becomes a mediator space between citizens and regime. In a city of *meydans*, Taksim is certainly key *meydan* of national significance." (p. 65 [Emphasis in the original])

As discussed above, in the aftermath of 1980's coup, Taksim was kept closed to public gatherings. The same policies continued in the administration of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan[391] years later. Erdoğan, fearing civil society's appropriation of the square, retained its commercial and hub character, aiming to annihilate any possibility of recovering its political nature. Erdoğan, according to his political and religious convictions, proposed overlapping the main Republican symbol of the city with the introduction of symbols of Islamist ideology, with the construction of a new mosque in the square. This proposal was suggested after his election as mayor in 1994 and immediately considered by Party zealots "a direct affront to the institutional legacy of Kemalist secularism." (Kasaba, 2008 p. 367) Even if the intention to Islamise the Republican square with the construction of a mosque had been considered provocative – as expounded by the Islamists and the Conservative groups since the 1950s (Gül, et al., 2014 p. 68) and one of the key reasons for the strong attendance at the 1977 demonstration – Erdoğan defended the idea, stirring controversy in all social spheres. Only in 1977 did he give up the idea, when the Welfare Party was forced out of power (p. 459). With the discussion of this divisive theme, Erdoğan was able to keep Taksim Square free of demonstrations for the whole time of his mandate. However, in 2007, by the 30-year anniversary of Bloody May Day, labour unions started agitating around the idea of commemorating the event in Taksim Square and tried to overturn the ban. The labour unions affiliated with DISK[392] (Hürriyet Daily News, 2007) aimed to reclaim Taksim Square as a symbol of the struggle for better working conditions and for the eight-hour workday, but Istanbul's governorship did not accept the proposal and said it would

[391] Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has been president of Turkey since August 28, 2014. Before that he was chairman of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and prime minister of Turkey between March 14, 2003 and August 28, 2014. On March 24, 1994, Erdoğan was elected mayor of Istanbul by the Welfare Party (RP), a position he kept for one mandate, until November 6, 1998. All the positions were elected by Islamic parties: the Justice and Development Party founded in August, 2001 by Erdoğan and the Welfare Party founded in 1983, by Necmettin Erbakan. (Kasaba, 2008 pp. 366, 374).

[392] Following the same source, Faruk Büyükkucak, representative of Türk-İş, announced the decision to celebrate the day in Kadıköy to avoid conflicts, even if they still recognize the will to celebrate in Taksim Square (Hürriyet Daily News, 2007).

be possible to demonstrate in any other square in the city except Taksim (IndustriALL: Global union, 2009). These discussions stand out in the domain of the square as a political battle between the government – which accepted the demands of the working class at a legal-institutional level – and the labour unions, convinced of the opportunity to take a step further in the conquest of the symbolic and ideological square.

Without official permission, DISK convened the meeting for the square. The government reacted to discourage the crowds, banning public and private transportation to access the square. All public transport was cancelled; 41 schools in the surroundings were closed; private parking forbidden; and buses coming from outside the city were checked, and forbidden to enter the city (Eğilmez, 2012 p. 440). By the end of the day, instead of the 50,000 people expected, only 1,000 people were able to reach the square (p. 441); the preventative measures were sufficient to dissuade the majority. Despite the low attendance, those people in the square still witnessed inappropriate police attacks with pepper gas, water cannons and baton attacks (Eğilmez, 2012, p. 440; Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 65). The clashes ended with 23 injured and 695 in custody, proving that in 2007 Taksim was: "a space–time monument, with socio-political connotations that are still highly contested." (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 65)

In 2008, police repression was, once more, used against those trying to meet in the square. The date was also a turning point in the future legal use of the square. Considering the descriptions of the facts, taken from Application no. 38676/08 (European Court of Human Rights, 2012), the organization of the celebrations – by the Confederation of Public Employees' Trade Unions (KESK)[393] and some civil organizations that joined DISK – notified the Beyoğlu district that there would be a gathering at Taksim Atatürk memorial at 1p.m. on May 1; permission was granted on April 29. Subsequently, the Minister of the Interior and government spokesman announced that the gathering would not be possible in the square, due to the lack of security of the square and the intensification of security measures, and recommended alternative squares for the gathering. As Gülten Üstüntağ (2014) reports:

> [i]n response to the workers' unions demands to celebrate Labor Day in Taksim Square, Erdoğan has called on them to forget about it and reiterated his government's earlier position that unions could hold rallies in İstanbul's Yenikapı Square, Maltepe Square or Kartal if having a space was an issue.

[393] In Turkish: *Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*.

On May 1, public transport was cancelled; accesses to Taksim Square were blocked; schools were closed, and almost 30,000 police officers dispatched to prevent the celebrations (Eğilmez, 2012 p. 441). According to the legal description of facts, the clashes started early in the morning, when the police tried to disperse members of DISK and KESK gathering in front of DISK headquarters, first with a law "warning them that they were acting in violation of the Assemblies and Marches Act (Law no. 2911)" (European Court of Human Rights, 2012) and later by force, "by spraying them with pressurised water, paint and tear gas, both inside and outside the DİSK building". By the end of the day, Istanbul Governor Muammer Güler announced that 530 protesters had been arrested and 38 people injured, including eight policemen and one journalist (Democratic Turkey Forum, 2008).

Labour unions persisted in choosing Taksim for celebrations, as a reminder of 1977's event and as a political statement and a demand to the government to recognize May 1 as a national holiday. Still in 2008, on Labour Day eve, the AKP government declared May 1 as "Labour and Solidarity Day", but did not recognize it as a public holiday (Uçkan, [n.d.] p. 14). It was made official one year later, on April 22, under the same generic designation (Eğilmez, 2012 p. 441). The joint statement condemning the government approach submitted by DISK and KESK to the European Court of Hyman Rights[394] played an important role in changing the right of use of the square, namely for political events. The court's final sentence – DISK and KESK v. Turkey, Application No. 38676/08 (European Court of Human Rights, 2012) – became known only on November 27, 2012, although the government immediately started to change policies for the square. In 2010, the 33-year ban was lifted for peaceful demonstrations in Taksim. The government ordered tight police control at the first event, and Erdoğan tried to instrumentalize it, first by announcing the reopening of the square for celebrations with pride, and second by joining the event. During 2010, 2011 and 2012, thousands of people celebrated the day in the square with just minor incidents in 2010 and 2012. In 2013, the square became central to the struggle between civil society and the government, but this year and its events are part of a further detailed analysis.

3.2.2. Physical configuration

Taksim Square is now the heart of modern Istanbul, the symbol of a Republican state with its Monument of the Republic, but it is also an image of contemporary lifestyle, hosting different

[394] The statement was also supported by the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC).

kinds of events, demonstrations of all political spectrums and other social gatherings for a mixture of cultures. The square is the focal point for tourists and locals, both by its altimetric relation with the surroundings (on top of the hill) and as the confluence of shopping areas, nightlife spaces or the cluster of hotels.

Being the main transport hub[395] of the city for a long time was also a key factor in its development. The square has become a space of contradictions, a space that the government wants to adopt and imbue with an image of being a global public space, encouraging cultural events, concerts, New Year celebrations and other festivities. However, at the same time, it is a space where civil society tries to express their political and social struggles.

Apropos to an analysis of Taksim Square is the cultural meaning of *meydan*, mainly its structural differences with the conception of Western squares, the inner space controlled and delimited by surrounding façades. As discussed in Baykan and Hakuta (2010), the Turkish word *meydan* means a large open area or a junction of several axes, with no implications of rigid and structural layouts. With the distinct processes of space creation, the use of the word and its symbolism changed. If the Western square is usually a confined place for staying in, the *maydan* is a space of flow, nowadays of circulation of people and transport, as in the origins or water and air. Baykan and Hakuta (2010) also relate both conceptions with religion, placing the first as a holy area and the second as a mundane space (p. 52), so inducing different kinds of space appropriation and use. Pérouse (2006) makes a great contribution to the comprehension of the concept, tracing the transformation of the word through history. The author concludes, in a "voyage" through the dictionaries, that the word faced a chaotic evolution through military, religious, political and urban meanings, including in the analysis the transition to the Republican interpretation of the space and its uses. If during the Ottoman period the *meydan* was related to mystical and religious aspects, "a kind of metaphor of the universe on earth"[396] (p. 226), or military ones, "the space for training and provisioning of the Janissaries"[397] (p. 226), in Republican times, the word became an abstract concept, disconnected from its territorial connotation and imbued with political or religious connotations, as a space for political discourses and festivities or merely an extension of the mosques (p. 242). Throughout

[395] Until the transformations of Istanbul's metro network in 2013, this was the city's central station and is still an important connector of three metro lines.
[396] Translated by the author from the original: "sorte de métaphore sur terre de l'univers".
[397] Translated by the author from the original: "étant le lieu d'entraînement et de ravitaillement des Janissaires".

Byzantine and Ottoman times, its geographical location was the principal condition: Byzantium[398] was planned with open areas; even if in the transformation of Ottoman Constantinople[399] most of those areas were covered with constructions, some open spaces remained, like the forums in the peninsula of Istanbul.

As we have focused on main events and the history of some buildings during the Historical analysis, we will now briefly analyse the actual conditions of the square and its architectural environment, including in this survey Gezi Park as part of the square's limits. Taksim is a non-rigid shape with dispersed borders, located at the highest point of Beyoğlu district. Its topographical condition justified both the installation of the water reservoir in the first half of the 18th century and the construction of the military barracks due to its strategic location for protection.

During the Ottoman period, the limestone octagonal building of the *Maksem* was built in the reign of Sultan Mahmud I to solve water problems in the North Horn district of Galata. Finished in 1732, the building had a great impact on the development of Taksim area and its surroundings. Originally built as a water tank, the building was recently converted into an art gallery by the municipality, opening in 2008 under the name Taksim Cumhuriyet Art Gallery (*Cumhuriyet Sanat Galerisi*), even if its original name is still used.

During the 18th century, the Taksim area was dominated by the large non-Muslim cemetery and the *Maksem*, but in the 19th century the area underwent the rapid development of the whole neighbourhood. The military barracks (*Topçu Kışlası*) were finished in 1806 with the training grounds of the Janissaries (*Talimhane*) west of the building. Taksim Garden (Municipality Garden), on the north side, was officially opened in 1869. The large cemetery – Grand Champs des Morts – was mostly replaced to Şişli, leaving only the Armenian cemetery north of the garden and the Muslim cemetery (*Büyük Mezaristan)* on the slopes of Gümüşsuyu.

Northeast of the military barracks site is the Taşkışla building, nowadays Istanbul Technical University's Faculty of Architecture. The first plans for the building, under Sultan

[398] Byzantium was the site where the Greek colony from Megara settled in 657 BC, circumscribed to the old peninsula.
[399] Constantinople was the capital of the Roman and Byzantine Empires since 330 BC, becoming the new capital of the Roman Empire in 334 BC. In 1453 it was taken by the Ottomans and converted to the capital of the Ottoman Empire. The designation was the same until the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, even if the Ottoman Turks had already used the unofficial designation of Istanbul since 1453.

Abdülmecid's rule, were for the construction of a military medical academy. The architect W. James Smith was appointed to design the academy in 1849, but the building's purpose changed and it was concluded as a military barracks and warehouse for the arsenal to protect Dolmabahçe Palace. After the 1894 earthquake, it was rebuilt by the hand of architect Raimondo D'Aronco. In 1909 it was occupied, together with the Taksim military barracks, by rebel troops. In 1944, it was restored by architects Paul Bonatz and Emin Onat, and Istanbul Technical University opened in 1950.

With the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, the square faced its most prominent periods of transformation towards a Western secular style and was recognized as the focal point of the new ideology, the square of the Republic. The square became a symbolic focus, but also one of the most important elements of the city circulation scheme.

In the transition from the Ottoman Empire and the Republic, the military barracks was converted into a stadium in 1920, then used as a school until demolitions in 1940. Still in the early 1920s, the area of the training grounds, Talimhane, was reorganized into housing quarters in Prost's plans, and approximately 67,000 square metres were subsumed in the plan as a middle-upper class residential neighbourhood with Art Deco-style buildings (Erkut & Shirazi, 2014, p. 173). The new neighbourhood was built right after the plan.

In the middle of the square, the Prost plan foresaw a roundabout, framing one of the most notable elements from this time – the Monument for the Heroes of the Republic (*Figure 68*) – responsible for renaming Taksim "Republic Square" in 1928. The base of the monument and the landscape around it were designed by Italian architect Giulio Mongeri in 1926. Two years later, the monument, commissioned by the government to Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica, was finished. Contemporary to this, the south and east façades of Taksim started to consolidate with the construction of private buildings.

In the 1940s, under President İsmet İnönü and Mayor Lütfi Kırdar, the 26,000 square metres of the demolished military barracks were converted into İnönü Gezisi park (nowadays Gezi Park), which was inaugurated in 1944.

The quick development of the surroundings and the square as a space for public events and a connector between the city's old and new settlements contributed to the emergence of new proposals. In 1930, a plan was accepted for an opera house, the Atatürk Culture Centre (AKM), but with a long-term construction; it opened only in 1969 (Le Monde, 1969). One of the first

Modernist-style buildings in Turkey, it was always controversial. In the mid-1930s, the Turkish Republic commissioned the project to French architect August Perrét, to be built in the centre of Taksim. Due to financial restrictions, the works only started in 1946 under the supervision of Turkish architects Faruk Akçer and Rükneddin Güney. 1960's coup saw the initial project for an opera house changed to the development of a large area devoted to arts and cultural events. The cultural centre opened on April 1969, but only for a short time; on November 27, 1970, a fire started during the performance of a play expressing terror of religious dogmatism – Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*. Suspicions of sabotage were never proven, and the building was closed, reopening in 1978. In 2005, the AKP administration announced a plan to demolish the existing structure and build a shopping mall on the plot. The controversial decision triggered public discussion and was the central theme of debate during the 10th International Istanbul Biennial. Despite the controversy and discussions between different parties, a bill to reconstruct the building was approved in November 2007 and announced by the prime minister before the end of the biennial (Demirkoparan, 2011). With the decision to renovate, the responsibility for the AKM was transferred to the newly established European Capital of Culture Agency (ECOC), but the discussions between parties lasted so long that the building was never renovated; it is still now considered "one of the biggest flops of İstanbul 2010" (Today's Zaman, 2011). The AKM was back in the news in March 2013, when its renovation was once more on the political agenda, with plans to open in October that year (Hürriyet Daily News, 2012a). The controversial theme was considered in protests in 2013, but nothing really happened. The AKM is now (2016) maintained, partly demolished in the interior but with the façades standing.

In 1955, the Hilton Hotel (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 56) opened, cutting the area of Park nº2 (in Prost plans) and giving impetus to further hotel complexes to be proposed in the area. Another pioneering hotel, Divan Istanbul Hotel, opened in 1956 in the top north of the park. The construction of Marmara Taksim Hotel on the south side of the square followed the AKM, and the 20-storey building opened in 1976. The Grand Hyatt Hotel, between Divan Hotel and the Taşkışla building, consolidated the north face of the park in 1992, and Ceylan Inter-Continental, a 23-storey five-star hotel north of Gezi Park, opened in 1996 (Hürriyet Daily News, 1996).

It was in the 1990s that the Talimhane hotel district was a spur to the structural transformation by which we know the area now. Prost's plans from 1938 failed, as the intended middle-upper class area became a low-middle income commercial area. In the 1950s and 70s, with waves of rural emigration, people settled in Taksim's surroundings and in the neighbourhood, converting

abandoned shops into small workshops. The neighbourhood's socio-economic structure was already poor, but decreased further when Tarlabaşı Avenue opened in 1968, creating a barrier between the Talimhane neighbourhood and the economically rising parts of Beyoğlu. 1980 saw a further decline when local businesses decided to move to Şişli, Nişantaşı or to the Anatolian side (Erkut & Shirazi, 2014, p. 176). With the policies to transform Istanbul into a global city in the 1990s, there were some efforts to improve the zone. However, it was only in 2004 with the implementation of the Talimhane Area Pedestrianization Project and the NATO summit that the area started to attract fresh interest, mainly due to its strategic position near Taksim Square and to Congress Valley; it was transformed into the hotel district, with 42 hotels and 89 commercial establishments.

More recently, Taksim Square has seen a new wave of ideas and projects, even if only part of them have been concluded. As mentioned before, "The new Taksim project" was the spur for 2013's demonstration, a project officially presented by Mayor Kadir Topbaş in 2011, including the divisive transformation of Gezi Park into an "Ottoman-style" building and the pedestrianization of the square and surrounding streets. The events of 2013 interrupted the works that started on October 29, 2011, but the tunnel beneath Cumhuriyet Caddesi was finished, as well as the pedestrianization of the streets between Gezi Park and Taksim and around the roundabout with the Monument of the Republic. Nowadays, even if this phase of the project has been concluded, the area feels arid, being uncomfortable for pedestrians.

3.2.3. Social and discoursive analysis during the occupation

> It wasn't clear if this was a protest, a picnic, a march or a revolution. Anywhere there was an elevated platform people filled it like a stage, and below them the ground was packed with a crowd that stared up glowingly at a crowd. This is politics without the podium, with the centre pulled out and the public gazing up only at their gazing selves. (Buckland, 2014)

Events in Gezi Park and Taksim Square, which started on May 27[400], 2013, were, at first, related with the protection of Gezi Park, against the demolition of the park and the logging of the trees and opposing the construction of yet another shopping mall in the city – the 94th (Turkmen-Dervisoglu, 2013) – this one in the shape of the 19th century military barracks[401]. If this first meeting in the square and its motivations were just "the spark that start the prairie fire", adopting Badiou's (2011) expression, the protesters were just waiting for the right time to demand deeper political changes – against state corruption and in favour of democracy and transparency in politics – as became obvious in the course of the protests. The Konda report (2014) reveals the protest's main motivation to be the protection of human rights and freedom of expression (p. 21). Analyzing the whole body of answers in the report, it is obvious that the majority were complaining against state policies[402]. The same survey confirmed that, even if the majority of people involved in the protests decided to participate after images of police brutality and the prime minister's statement, about 30% were already involved, either by participation with the "Taksim Platform"[403] or by information received on the interventions in the park. The same document reveals that the people involved with the Gezi protests were not involved with political life (pp. 16, 17); the greater majority were apolitical and dissatisfied with AKP policies mainly due to the government's impositions in the private sphere or by the non-recognition of their lives. Concerning this fact, it is important to highlight the crucial role

[400] Often reported as starting on the 28th, in fact bulldozers started work half an hour before midnight; the first tweet to call people to protest was sent at 11.47 p.m.

[401] The demonstration was not the first; there had been one with 1,000 people in Taksim Square on October 14, 2012 (Yildirim, 2013 p. 60). The protest followed the first public presentation for Erdoğan's new project to pedestrianize Taksim Square, in the "2023 Vision of Turkey" meeting on June 1, 2011 (SALT Research, 2011).

[402] Giving a single answer to the question: "Why are you here and what do you demand", the five most frequent results were: for freedom (34.1%), to demand for rights (18.4%), against dictatorship and oppression (9.7%), to demand for the government to resign (9.5%), and for democracy and peace (8%) (Konda, 2014 p. 81).

[403] Taksim Platform (in Turkish *Taksim Platformu*) is a citizens' initiative, grouped after the government's proposals for the area around Taksim and Gezi Park. The social platform claims a more transparent consulting process and the possibility to propose alternative plans for the square (Ekmekci, 2014; Aktar, 2012).

of "Taksim Solidarity"[404] during the event as, beside other reasons, it was responsible for facilitating young Turkish people's first political participation; for the majority, it was the first time they had been involved in decisions for their city and the country.

On this theme of group composition, the new groups that gathered in the square showed a formation distinct from previous struggles, as Baris Karaagac and Gaye Yilmaz (2013) expose in their article on the political differences between the new groups that emerged with Gezi and formal labour organizations. In the article, authors compare the rate of unionization in Turkey with the Organisation for Economic Co–operation and Development's (OECD) average. While the number in Turkey decreased from 38% in 1980 to around 6% today (2013), the OECD countries' average showed the opposite development in the same period, increasing from 11% to 17%. The numbers express general discontent with the current government's neoliberal policies[405] and the restrictions being imposed on people's lives, making for us clear that, in a different context, the event would not have assumed national proportions. The proposal for the mall would have been considered just one more public work in the city or, if contested, attended only by environmentalists and other technicians. If the attendance of people from the first day exceeded all expectations, compared to other similar events, we briefly focus on and relate the event to previous decisions and acts of indignation that were being debated among Turkish secular society. Republicanism and freedom of expression were being banned and the government was expressing both neoliberal and Islamic wills on political decisions, challenging the country's secularism. In the previous months, two public events to celebrate the Republic and Workers' Day were banned; the first on October 29, 2012 in Ankara[406] and the second in Taksim Square, on May 1, 2013[407] which was marred by police attacks with tear gas and water

[404] Taksim Solidarity is a network that started in the first days of the protests in the park and rapidly transformed into a group of 124 trade unions, political parties, sports club fan groups, and community groups, including Taksim Platform.

[405] A set of multiple political reforms of market-led regulatory restructuration – either as a utopian project to reorganize international capitalism or a political project to give more power to the economic elites (Harvey, 2007 p. 19) – by the privatization of services, economic deregulation and cuts to social spending in order to dismantle the policies and institutions of welfare states (Karaman, 2013 p. 3413).

[406] The governor of Ankara banned the celebration of the Republic's day, fearing anarchic expression. Tens of thousands of people marched to Ataturk's mausoleum, but police used tear gas to disperse the crowds (RT TV, 2012).

[407] After two years of peaceful protests and the long history of strong regulation on the use of the square, Istanbul Governor Hüseyin Avni Mutlu justified the prohibition with the workings around the square. Members of labour unions insisted on the celebrations in the square and attendees were attacked by police using pressurized water (Today's Zaman, 2014).

cannons. Beside the attacks, the AKP was concocting various projects and proposals to eradicate the memory of the Republic.

As Pelin Tan (2013b) poses, the event was an antagonistic revolt, broader than just the protection of trees: it was a struggle against the new Turkish urban policies that "have become a justification for acts of segregation, encouragement of a neoliberal capitalist lifestyle" (2013b)[408] and an opportunity to "commoning together" (2013b). In the square, people claim to be politically active, opposing Erdoğan's position with his construction of a political discourse based on the occupation and domination of space, working on and over the collective memory and using the architecture of spaces as a means to change society and perpetuate, in time, his name and the lifestyle he aims to impose on Turkey.

Analysing Erdoğan's actions and words we recognize his awareness on the issue of visibility in politics or on the Rancière's (2004 [2000]) theorization that "[p]olitics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time" (p. 13). Erdoğan gives use of urban spaces as a "medium of material and representational space in which different ideologies are transformed into concrete forms to produce cultural, national meanings or political control" (Yildirim, 2013 p. 60). If the use of architecture as a medium of political is recogognized in the contemporary practices, as Atil Cem Çiçek (2013) concludes in his text on the relation of ideology, power and the architecture, that in the Turkish history very often ideology and architecture go together, "architecture is a mass communication style and a statement device" (p. 246) used from the Ottoman times to the Republican times or nowadays. Erdoğan's policies intended to erase sites, memories or rights, some of them overlapped with different languages and ideological symbolism. In the recent history of Istanbul and its national policies, we can see some cases where iconic buildings and spaces were demolished – as happened with the

[408] In this text, the architect recovers the Lefebvrian concept of the right to the city, claiming the importance to build the commons and access urban resources based on the collective power of individual liberties.

historical Emek Movie Theatre in Istanbul's Beyoğlu, on May 26, 2013,[409] and as proposed for Atatürk Cultural Centre[410].

Still on an the framework of the practices that triggered the event, we must refer some other proposals for new laws undermining freedom of decision and expression that went together with the architectural transformations: the proposal to ban abortion[411]; alcohol consumption in public[412] and demonstrations of affect in public space[413] or the opposition to LGBTI rights[414]; cases of TV, radio and internet censorship and policing[415]; and efforts to fortify Islamic ideology, as by the building in the shape of the Ottoman military barracks, proposed for the site of Gezi Park, and the construction of the mosque in Taksim[416]. All these issues on segregation

[409] Emek Theatre, an 1884 project by architect Alexandre Vallaury, opened in 1924 under the name Melek. In 1958 it was publicly owned, renovated and reopened with the same name on April 19. Since that date it was used as a stage for public demonstrations, such as the celebration of the first May 1 after the 1980 coup. In 2010 it was purchased by a private company, closed to demolish and build a shopping mall. The protection of the heritage space was organized under the motto "Emek is Ours" (*Emek Bizim*). After two years of protests and legal battles, the demolitions were approved, starting in April (Ali, 2013). The demolitions were followed with protests, which were brutally attacked by police interventions, ending in May (Letsch, 2013).

[410] Atatürk Culture Centre (AKM) opened in 1969, and, as Turkey's first Modernist-style building, has always been controversial. Although the government had evidenced intentions to renovate the AKM for five years, during the feverous days of the Gezi Park protests, Prime Minister Erdoğan revealed the intention to take a step back, announcing the construction of a mosque on the AKM site: "[a] mosque will be built in Taksim" (Hürriyet Daily News, 2013b; 2013a), as if in defiance of the protesters.

[411] In May 2012, Prime Minister Erdoğan declared abortion as "murder" and the will to ban it, or to reduce the time limit to 6 weeks (instead of 10 weeks), after 40 years of permission. The declarations raised a wave of protests, mainly from feminists movements and health professionals (Al Jazeera, 2012). In 2014, abortion was banned in hospitals, with no prior discussion (Hürriyet Daily News, 2014a).

[412] On May 24, 2013, the AKP government presented a bill to ban alcohol consumption between 10p.m. and 6a.m. as well as banning its commercialisation and display in the vicinity of schools or mosques (The Economist, 2013).

[413] One week after the announcement at a subway station in Ankara "to act in accordance with moral rules", a performance, featuring several couples kissing simultaneously, took place at the same subway stop as a protest against the Islamization of Turkey (The Huffington Post, 2013).

[414] On September 12, 2012, the main opposition parties provided a proposal to protect gay rights in parliament. The AKP vetoed this, alleging that gay rights were not part of the constitution (Hürriyet Daily News, 2012b). Since then, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) rights have become a national issue, with the opposition, civil society and international human rights' institutions opposing the leading party.

[415] Freedom of expression has been restricted during the AKP mandate. During the Gezi protests the restrictions were even tighter: (1) police force applied against people protesting peacefully to protect an urban green area and asking to take part in their city's decisions; (2) the end of *NTV Tarih* magazine, an obvious case of censorship of the free Turkish press; (3) TV censorship, with the lack of coverage of the protests as the use of the image of a penguin as symbolised during the event or the going on censorship in some TV programmes, or internet policing with some websites being banned (Erdikmen, 2013). The most divisive moment came during the summer of protests, when Erdoğan denounced Twitter as a troublemaker in contemporary societies. Since this moment, the prime minister has not hidden his criticism of social media and threatened to shut down Facebook and YouTube. After threats, Twitter was blocked for a 12-hour period in the country, following Erdoğan's speech in Bursa, on March 20, 2014, where he announced the intention to do it (Hürriyet Daily News, 2014b). The ban went against President Gül's will, constitutional rights, and the court's decision for permission. Two weeks later, the Constitutional Court removed the ban, considered a violation of free speech (Hürriyet Daily News, 2014c).

[416] The struggle for the Islamisation of the symbols of the Republic, namely in Taksim, with the construction of a mosque; an intention that came from Erdoğan's 1994's mayoral campaign or before from Erbakan's governance,

were mirrored in the struggle for the protection of Gezi Park, as this journalist expressed during the event:

> [h]ere in Turkey, we are not all the same. There are Turks, there are Kurds, there are Alevis, there are minorities. There are gay people, straight people, there are all sorts. We want everyone to be accepted and respected. This government wants to squeeze us under a Muslim identity. We do not want that. Enough is enough. (Ferentinou, 2013)

The protests in Gezi became a unique case in Turkey's grassroots movement, distinctive through lack of support from institutional organizations and related with the multimodal structure of contemporary social movements, which empower people with the idea of the production of the commons and, even if related to local issues, always act on a global scale. Apart from the relation with contemporary social movements, we would also like to mention the similarities with the reaction to the creative–destructive spatial dynamics that featured in the Commune of Paris of 1871, in reaction to Haussmann's plans for the city and the eviction of a certain social class from city life.

Related to some uprisings in the past or with the global wave of protests that emerged after the Arab Spring, local concerns – urban transformations in Istanbul and in the country – were also vital to the event. Giving body to the political and economic situation in Turkey before June 2013, we must focus on the implementation of a neoliberal agenda to push Turkey from the economic crisis of the 1970s. In 1979, Turgut Özal, working at that time for Turkey in the World Bank (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2014a), was called to advise Demirel's government and head an economic reform program inspired by the Latin American economic model (Azem, 2012) as well as support preparation for the 1980 coup. After the coup, Özal[417] was deputy prime minister, and implemented political reforms for the transition of Turkey into a neoliberal system.

In the 1980s, Özal's liberal economic policies led Turkey to a high economic growth rate[418] and, in the 1990s, the financial bubble started to reflect in spatial appropriation. Liberal politics

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in 1996 (Daloglu, 2004). Erbakan's announcement of the will to build the mosque in the square was counterproductive, ousting him from office and creating strong divisions. Erdoğan, as successor, brought back the vow, adjudicating the project to the architect Vefik Ahmet Alp. The new project was publicly presented in September 2014, proposing marked architectural differences from the former classical-style mosque (Ahmet Vefik Alp, [n.d.]).

[417] Özal is compelled to resign in 1982 after a bank scandall and in 1983 creates his own party – the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*) (ANAP) –, to continue with his politics in 1983.

[418] An annual rate of over 5%, the highest among the OECD countries (Laciner, 2009 p. 160).

and the economic boom instilled confidence in the population, causing a radical change in economic and social structures. With industrial developments being settled in urban areas, the rate of emigration from rural areas to the cities grew, increasing a proportion of 75% living in cities (Laciner, 2009 p. 161). The dynamics of spatial transformation, one of Özal's political moves towards a global economy, promoted a rapid increase in emigration and the opportunity to go ahead with large-scale urban developments. In Istanbul, urban plans were initiated by Mayor Bedrettin Dalan, an engineer and co-founder of the ANAP Party with Özal, with the ambition to change the city, especially the North Horn: "Dalan's projects were as radical as Haussmann in Paris or Moses in New York." (Keyder, 2010 p. 181)

If the ground for neoliberal politics was prepared by the Özal government, the great turning point towards an Islamic neoliberal approach occurred only after 1994's elections (March 27), with the victory of Islamic parties in almost all the country's municipalities[419]. Since 1990, and for four years, the country resisted neoliberalism and rapid growth and focused on the accommodation of emigrants and social policies. In 1994, the government established a neoliberal mode of governance interwoven with an Islamist discourse, invoking populist and communitarian ideals to win the majority of "support from the shantytowns of Istanbul" (Navaro-Yashin, 2002 p. 23). Erdoğan, by then mayor of Istanbul, tried to revive Dalan's project for the construction of a global city – a symbol of regional and global power – but faced an economic and political crisis[420] simultaneous to massive immigration to the city, forcing him to adopt softer policies while laying the groundwork for the Public Administration Reform (PAR). This set of liberal measures, giving autonomy to the municipalities, followed the massive economic crisis in 2001, forcing the IMF to intervene and legitimating the need for a market-oriented reform of the public administration (Karaman, 2013 p. 3416). A period of credit expansion was coincident, promoting an immeasurable real-estate market expansion. Prime Minister Erdoğan was then in the privileged position to significantly change the image of the city and the country. If the city was meant to look orderly and clean for tourists and investors, policies supporting large-scale urban development were justified with the country's integration into the global networks of capital flow. In the case of Istanbul, the government created an agency – the Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) – to mediate the relocation of

[419] The Welfare Party (RP) won 6 out of 15 municipalities, including Ankara and Istanbul (Karaman, 2013).
[420] "Between 1994 and 2001, the economy receded three times at rates unmatched in the whole history of the Republic" (Karaman, 2013 p. 3416).

people due to the construction. Since the 1960s, the city had physically expanded by informal occupation of public land; to facilitate the quick pace of development, the agency was responsible for moving those people living in the informal areas to affordable mass housing on the peripheries. TOKİ became a major influence on market-rate housing in Turkey (p. 3418), leading to the bursting of the bubble in 2007–2008. Erdoğan, to create a clean and organized city, played with an "aestheticization of politics"[421], as Keydar (2010) describes:

> [n]ew zoning measures permitted the available funds to be channelled into high-rise business towers, imparting a new skyline to the city, especially on the highlands between Taksim and Maslak. Thus, the physical appearance of the city has changed over the last decade: the central districts have improved immeasurably in their appearance: all the buildings are finished, roads and sidewalks are in good shape, cafes and restaurants and attractive shops abound. There are a large number of malls, hotels, and business towers in the immediate surrounding areas. (p. 183)

The AKP administration's policies promoted urban segregation through large-scale projects – such as the Marmaray[422]; the inter-continental bridge over the Bosphorus[423]; the road tunnel that was being built across the Bosphorus[424]; the Golden Horn Metro Bridge[425], and the third international airport[426] (Pérouse, 2013) – but were still able to control inflation and manage people's discontent; a political manoeuvre that can be explained by the efficient use of Islamic power on politics, as Ozan Karaman (2013) explains. The use of religion as a political weapon seems to be a conceptualized antagonism, but in this case was resolved by a "process of absorption (synthesis)", in the abolition of the "right of the city" to those evicted and thrown out to the peripheries (sometimes more than 50km away), "leaving little space for discussion and used as 'mutual reinforcement'" (p. 3419). This subject is also exposed in discussions with

[421] Walter Benjamin (1978 [1955]) introduced the concept by the interpretation of mass propagandist events such as big parades and sports events prepared by the Fascist regimes (of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco) in war times, to divert the attentions of the mass population. Fascism introduced aesthetics into political life (p. 241) on a large scale, being able to give an idea of preserving the rights of expression while protecting property. By the end of the book, the author suggests this self-alienation caused by the Fascism could lead to the end of humanity, thus experienced as an aesthetic experience (p. 242).

[422] The Marmaray is a rail line in the city of Istanbul, connecting the European to the Asian side through a tunnel beneath the Bosphorus strait. The project, which was planned to be concluded in 2009, had its opening ceremony on the 90th celebration of the Turkish Republic, on October 29, 2013 (Railway-technology, [n.d.]).

[423] The Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge (*Yavuz Sultan Selim Köprüsü*) or the Third Bosphorus Bridge is planned to be open in May/June 2016.

[424] The road tunnel called as Eurasia Tunnel (*Avrasya Tüp Tünel*) connecting Kazlıçeşme on the European and Göztepe on the Asian side of Istanbul is planned to open in October 2016.

[425] The Golden Horn Metro Bridge opened on February 15, 2014.

[426] The Third Airport is planned to open in February 2018.

experts, academics, writers, investors and city-dwellers in the documentary *Ekumenopolis: City Without Limits* (2012).

After this brief framework on the radical urban transformations taking place in Istanbul for more than a decade, in what follows we aim to contextualize AKP politics and the beginning of confrontations in Gezi Park and Taksim Square in 2013.

Taksim Square, after the Republican interventions and the demolition of the Ottoman barracks in 1940, became the central space of Turkish political discourse, ideology and identity, as has been illustrated in the historical context. Although it is the only green space in Taksim area and surroundings– the busy centre of Istanbul's European side – the site has, since the proclamation of the Republic, become the symbol and memory of this new era of Republican ideology. Taksim and its surroundings became, through Prost's plans, the new centre of Republican Istanbul. Since the AKP Party decided to build the space in the style of the 19th century military barracks and pedestrianize the whole area, converting Gezi Park's public space into a private area to accommodate either a shopping mall or a luxury hotel, a group of people (academics, architects, environmentalists and rights-based non-governmental organisations) created the group Taksim Platform to demand a more transparent process to redesign the space.

On May 27, when the government decided to start works in Gezi Park and bulldozers arrived to uproot the old trees, the small group of activists created a barrier in front of the machines. Since the first moment of the protests, Taksim Platform joined with other groups, under the umbrella of Taksim Solidarity, getting a broader involvement and coverage as well as being responsible for almost all the activities in the following days. By night on this day, about 50 people decided to occupy the park, setting up tents, and spreading the news on social media.



Figure 76 Ceyda Sungur, the "woman in the red dress", being pepper-sprayed in Gezi Park on May 28. Source: Reuters.

The demolitions restarted on May 28, around noon, surrounded by a police contingent. The day was marked by the disproportionate amount of tear gas and pepper spray used against the protesters, later symbolized in the image of the "woman in red"[427] (*Figure 76*). The police's brutal reaction against the few protesters in the park increased public anxiety, tension between people and the government, and consequently the number of people in Gezi Park as well as in other solidarity events around the country. May 29 is considered the critical day, triggering several demonstrations around the country, mainly in the aftermath of Erdoğan's speech. In a ceremony of the foundation of the third bridge's construction, coinciding with the celebrations of the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul in 1453, Erdoğan defied the protesters, saying:

> [s]ome people are saying this and that are happening in Taksim Gezi Park and they are planning to make demonstrations there, et cetera. Do whatever you want. We've made a decision, and we are going to implement our decision. If you have any respect for history, please research the history of that place called Gezi Park first. We are going to revive history there. In addition to that, we will open to the public Taksim Square with our project of making it a pedestrian zone, humankind will be able to promenade there, with landscape [architecture] and everything. (Erdoğan quoted in Automaticturk, 2013)

[427] Ceyda Sungur, the "woman in red", is the woman in the iconic image that also became a symbol for female protesters in Istanbul during the event. Internationally, support came from eight deputies in Italy, who wore red clothes in a parliamentary discussion on the rights of abortion and in support of Gezi.

In reaction to the speech, the number of protesters peacefully demonstrating in the park grew drastically, both in the sit-in during the day and spending the night in tents. For two days (May 30 and 31), police attacked the camp very early in the morning (5a.m.) to dismantle and burn the tents, attacking the peaceful protesters with tear gas. The reaction was the conversion of the "small camp" of peaceful demonstrators into a nationwide anti-government protest against the less pluralistic society and politics and concerns regarding the secular state and way of life. Images recorded by one of the protesters quickly spread on social media,[428] and the protest expanded to Taksim under the slogan: "[e]verywhere is Taksim, everywhere is resistance" (Hürriyet Daily News, 2013b). In Istanbul, Taksim Square became crowded, even with a blackout of information in the conventional communication channels. The Turkish people had learned lessons from the Arab Spring and other recent uprisings, being able to connect and send updates by social media and away from government control, as the number of people attending demonstrations in Istanbul and around the country on May 31, scheduled a few hours earlier the same day, confirmed. Under incessant police attacks, the estimated number of protesters in Beyoğlu district at 8p.m. was 100,000 (Hürriyet Daily News, 2013c). In the evening, demonstrations occurred in other cities, going on overnight. In Istanbul, at around 3a.m., hundreds started crossing the Bosphorus Bridge from the Asian to the European side of the city, crossing the police barricades and blocked accesses in the surroundings of Taksim to reach the square. Early in the morning on June 1, the city was in a state of exception, with public transport blocked and the news reporting more than 40,000 people gathered near the bridge (Henderson, 2013). Around the country, in 67 other cities, thousands of people gathered in public spaces at solidarity meetings. Saturday June 1, mainly in Istanbul but also in Ankara and İzmir, was marked by several struggles with the police and detentions as well as Erdoğan's defiant speech:

> [t]hese types of meeting with people that you have gathered around you, with some extremists, marginal groups will not contribute to anything. If the matter is to organize a rally, if at this point, the matter is a social movement; I'll get up and organize 200,000 where they gather 20. I'll get 1 million people as my party, when they gather 100,000. (Erdoğan, 2013)

[428] New York University's Social Media and Political Participation Lab (2013) realized a study on the frequency of tweets during the Turkish protests (from May 31 to June 11): in the first 24 hours, 2 million tweets were sent, at a frequency of 3 per minute. Relevant to note is the difference with the Egyptian revolution as in a geo-comparison; tweets in the Turkish case were 90% inside Turkey and 50% in Istanbul, whereas, in the case of Egypt, only 30% were in the country (p. 2).

In his televised speech, Erdoğan tried to restore order to the country, intimidating the protesters with his power and with police control: official reports refer to 1,730 people detained in 235 protests, in 67 cities during these first days (Amnesty International, 2013 p. 55).

The struggle was obviously no longer focused on protecting Gezi Park, but the construction of the "Ottoman-style building" for a shopping mall was still a divisive topic for three main reasons: the demolition of existing spaces; a clear expression of Islamic ideology in the urban landscape; and a reflection of the capital-oriented ideology and "market fetishism" (Adanalı, 2011). Apart from the ideological struggle, Erdoğan was forced to roll back his decisions for the first time in 11 years of AKP rule. On May 31, shortly after 5p.m., when the news was already being censored, the silence was broken to announce Istanbul court's decision to suspend the shopping mall construction, confirming what Murat İzci (an expert on retail service) explained the day after: that there were too many malls in Turkey (Kömürcüler, 2013), and large numbers of them were being closed. In a public speech on June 2, Erdoğan insisted that the mall would not be built, but the plans for the mosque's construction remained. The defiant message to the protesters became a self-destructive weapon, instigating more people to join the protests, even from abroad. In a translated version of the speech (Zakyol, 2013): "[w]e won't be deterred by a couple of looters coming to the square [...] Yes, we'll build a mosque", Erdoğan tarnished the image of the protesters, using the ambiguous Turkish term "*çapulcu*" (normally translated as "looter" or "marauder") to describe them and immediately reinforcing the relation of politics with Islamism when affirming the construction of the controversial mosque. Opposing Erdoğan's intentions, protesters adopted the neologism "chapulling" in a positive way, calling themselves "chapullers" and promoting a viral message on social media. People from all around the world supported the Gezi occupiers by calling themselves "chapullers". Noam Chomsky (2013) uploaded a YouTube video on June 4 presenting himself with a banner saying "I am also a *çapulcu* in solidarity." (p. [Emphasis added]) In fact, the creativity of transforming the government's destructive strategy and Erdoğan's insults into humour was one of the group's strongest weapons as one protest poster described by Dinçer Demirkent (2013) confirms: "in the first day we were terrorists, in the second day we were provocateurs, in the third day we were demonstrators and in the fourth day we became a people" (p. 2).

Going back to the plans for the mosque's construction, it is imperative to recall that Gezi Park and Taksim Square were first designed as projections of power in public space: the construction of the military barracks as an expression of national armed ideology; the resignation of Abdülhamit II after the military barracks attacks during the "Incident of March 31"; its

demolition for the construction of the "new" Istanbul with open spaces and large squares and parks as a symbol of Republican times; the ban on civic celebrations, such as May 1, during most of the years of the actual Republic; the image of a bourgeois society of liberal politics with its contemporary cultural agenda, dominated by public events for capitalist consumption, of a typical global square. Erdoğan's intentions to imprint a religious character on it is a strategy of applying architecture as politics of memory, erasing the symbols of the Republic and building new symbols of an Islamic society, in a reminder of Benjamin's (1978 [1955]) theory of the aesthetics of power or the notion of the "introduction of aesthetics into political life" (p. 141).

For 19 days (until June 15, when the police destroyed barricades and forced people to leave the park, four days after the destruction of the barricades around the square and its evacuation), Taksim Square and Gezi Park were a space of anomy, a Temporary Autonomous Zone (TAZ) (Bey, 1985); a common tactic of contemporary struggles against a global "enemy", "a guerilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it", to stress certain social and political issues. Although the period of struggle in Turkey extended out of the occupation of the park and the square[429], these days of the barricaded area, an "autonomous zone with *duration*" (Bey, 1985) showed a political struggle between dominant and dominated powers, the ideologies of the multitude or a "lawless utopia", the will for the construction of the commons and the abolition of sectarianisms. Concerning this last issue, we recall the capacity of the multitude and of the horizontal structure of the Taksim Solidarity platform to "dilute" segregations or supersede the Turkey Communist Party's (TKP) attempt to instrumentalize the event – keeping reds flags raised and shouting anti-government slogans – converting it into a space of the society (see Appendix C "Gezi Commune" Chronomap 2/2).

In Taksim, as in other cited historical cases, resistance over space is crucial to reinforce ideological principles. Sometimes this protection is materialized by the construction of a system of barricades (see Appendix C "Gezi Commune" Chronomap 1/2), which, as in the theoretical strategy, must adapt on both local and global scales. As in ancient strategies of occupation, this one was built considering the topographic condition but also with the map of accessibilities, closing all the entrances to the square and park as an interim solution to give access in case of

[429] A police report declared that in the period between May 28 and September 5, there were 5,532 protests, attended by 3,600,000 people, across all provinces of Turkey, except Bayburt (BIA News Desk, 2013).

emergency. All the streets were closed with barricades, three of them built from burned police cars (Postvirtual, 2013) and some others also with burned material. The streets – Gazhane Bostani Sk, Dolmabahçe Gazhane Cd and İnönü Cd – leading down to the river, where main clashes between police and the multitude happened during the first days, were reinforced with 23 barricades on the night of June 2 (Postvirtual, 2013). Together with these streets, all the others were barred except İstiklal Street, for quick access in case of emergency. For the same purpose, the barricades on the northeast side were built as mobile structures to make it easier to evacuate wounded people from the camp infirmary, located beside the Intercontinental Hotel. The strategy of the system of barricades, although in the global language of resistance, also proves that Bloody May Day (1977) was still present in the collective memory by the permanent need to find open streets for emergency exit.

Inside the system of barricades, in a utopian atmosphere, the protesters reproduced a kind of ideal city or a test model of a democratic city, but also the model of a house. The physical space of the park was divided into theoretical areas to debate important themes for the construction of a more just society, overlapping the mimetic image of a house and a city. The "city" in Gezi and Taksim was not as labyrinthine as the ones built in Tahrir and Puerta del Sol, because it was based on the formal structure of the park instead of the wide space of the square. The square and the park became the stage of political encounter, the "house" to debate general issues, usually those avoided in contemporary dominant political discourse, with representatives from different wings gathering together and sharing the common. As shown in the Appendix C "Gezi Commune" Chronomap 2/2, despite this coming together of different political parties and social movements, it was still possible to identify dominant spatial occupations inside the park and the square. The spatialization of politics occurred mainly by the spaces of their stalls, but also as the left-wing political parties preferred to stay in Taksim Square for its symbolism (especially after 1997's confrontations). In the park, some Socialist and Communist groups were also dominant around the central stage, the focal space for political debate managed by the heterogeneous group Taksim Solidarity. In the park, right beside the square, a second group of Communists gathered next to three different ideological groups: a faction of the Anarchists (the majority were gathered on the north side of the park, next to the logistics of donations), the Kurds, who for the first time joined with other groups and political parties in public, and a faction of the (anti-capitalist) Muslims (the other group was next to the improvised mosque built out of two party tents, on the north side of the park). The Nationalist wing was also represented in the park, raising flags of the Turkish Republic and spreading the image of

Atatürk. The group, mainly gathered close to the library and the mosque, fearing Erdoğan's politics, joined the large-scale resistance movement in public for the first time in history. In the park, there were two other ideologically dominant areas: one on the east side, where all the football fans from Istanbul's rival teams (Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray and Beşiktaş) came together; and the second, in the core of the park, with some minority groups' stalls, mainly divided into LGBTI and ecologist themes.

In an interpretation of the space produced during the occupation, the park replicated a hybrid of private and public space, clearly related to the character of the common space. The private zones of the "house" – represented by the key areas of the kitchen, library, toilets, resting and sleeping areas on the surroundings – interwove and merged with the public sphere of the *polis*. In the heart of the "private house" was the stage, the central element for the construction of the city, the space of political discussion or the "Platonic point of view" of "a locus of public activity and the exhibition-space for 'fantasies'" (Rancière, 2004 [2000] p. 13). The production of this "model city", binding private and public spheres together in one space, illustrates the projection of the will of contemporary society for the construction of the common and the return of a political debate rooted in daily concerns (this last point is a legacy from 1968's struggles). If the physical stage was the central element in the park, we can also consider the park itself as a stage, a "hidden-common"[430] or an anti-monument. The area dropped 19 stairs from the surroundings streets, transformed into a monument (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]) both by the "carnivalesque" atmosphere and by the lawless or space of anomy. As Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) describes, the creation of the space of monument may happen "by what may take place there, and consequently by what may not take place there (prescribed/proscribed, scene/obscene)" (p. 224). This "anti-monument" generated a fertile context for the implementation of spatial micro-practices that were responsible for its permanence over 19 days. If the role of Taksim Solidarity was crucial in the production of micro-practices, or the football fans for the construction and maintenance of the barricades, another vital contribution, among others, came from the Anarchist movement Revolutionary Anarchist Action (DAF), which produced the eBook *An Anarchist Criticism to "OCCUPY" as an Activity of 99%*[431], published in Turkish and English.

[430] A "hidden common", as people used to know about its existence but did not use it in daily life. Valeri and Sungur (2013) coin the place with this designation, as it is a hidden area in relation to the surroundings. After some cuts and clearings it was not as enclosed as before but still limited by barriers created – the bus stops on the south side (demolished with the new project for the square) and the streets on all other sides.
[431] EBook available online at http://issuu.com/faaliyet/docs/an_anarchist_criticism_to_occupy.

The leaflet, produced in 2012, gave an interpretation of the Occupy Wall Street movement and recommendations for Turkey on the capacity to organize and carry out direct action and the ability to build and manage barricades.

In the staging ground, the creativity of micro-practices kept the event in time, the necessary time to create the image of a group, the general dissatisfaction with representative democracy and its unsuitability for public participation. In the "anti-monument" maintained by the micro-practices, the group had time to unite and express common needs of the society:

> [w]e have an open library, free lectures and forums for conversation. Even though nothing is free outside of the park, there is no currency inside; food and medicine are provided by the public for the public. The park is like an open book; texts and quotes abound. It is a learning experience for everyone. (Altay, 2013)

If the tools, actions, practices and messages in the use of a non-commodified space (free shared meals, the common use of the park and barricades surrounding the commune area) were deeply enrooted in Anarchist ideology, they became an expression of all strata of society and not just of a fringe.

If part of the problem of this investigation is the lack of distance to analyse such phenomena or the inability to have a global vision of the consequences, we must affirm that this case presents a rich context on the political symbolism of urban space, the city as a projection of the society, and the event as a turning point in the history of Turkish social movements, which for the first time were concerned with the Lefebvrian concept of the right to the city and were able to get support from the broader spectrum of society. The masses of apolitical youth[432] and students[433] joining the protest highlighted a transition in Turkish civil society in terms of involvement in local and national urban and social issues. As Moira Valeri and Ceyda Sungur (2013) say, this was the moment when the debate on urban transformations was turned into a city's demand of the right to the city and a national concern.

According to a class analysis of the movement in Gezi, exposed by Cihan Tuğal (2013), there was a raising of awareness in a broad range of the working class; not only the typical proletariat class, which he defines as constituting the Spanish, Arab and American uprisings, but what the

[432] According to Konda Survey (2014), the ages of 51.1% of people in the park ranged between 21 and 30 years old (p. 8) and 79% profiled were not affiliated with any political party (p. 17).
[433] According to Konda Survey (2014), 36.6% of the protesters were students (p. 11).

author calls a "class-blindness" (p. 168), a middle-class bourgeoisie: "[t]hose without any social science and/or socialist/Marxist training looked down on the lower classes and/or talked about the need to 'go to' the lower classes and enlighten them about the evils of the governing regime" (p. 168). The raising of awareness was expressed by a new experience of the public sphere lived in the park as not only a space restricted to state control, but also in the strong participation in the assemblies[434] (*forums* in Turkish) organized after the main event, in several neighbourhoods around Istanbul, including in middle-class districts in the centre as in Beşiktaş and Kadıköy (Tuğal, 2013), and in several areas around the country. After the days in the square and the park, Turkish society expressed the need to keep up the experience of the construction of the commons, discussing alternative ways to construct a pluralistic society in a model of direct democracy and claiming urban space for its use. This was a clear illustration of the "collective biopolitical body" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 30), a power animated by the recognition of its inner productive forces. All the assemblies kept, besides other topics under discussion, a permanent working group under the name "struggle with urban transformation" (Yilmaz, 2014 p. 35), to discuss the urban transformations taking place in their neighbourhood and in the city. Emphasizing this turning point in public awareness, the recognition of the importance of urban transformations in the construction of the city and the impacts on society, it is also important to emphasize the distinctions with the reactions to a similar process in the 1940s. If the urban transformation process then was similar to nowadays – also being used in the process of eroding the collective memory and history of the city to impose new ideologies of Modernism (Yildirim, 2013) – at that time, the demolition of the historical structure of Taksim Artillery Barracks and many other monuments did not provoke any critical discussion.

At the assemblies, people also discussed the opinions and suggestions coming from philosophers engaged with contemporary politics, as the warning came from Badiou to not resemble the West and profit from the moment to create a new kind of political regime (2013). A similar proposal was suggested by Tariq Ali (2013), who reminded readers of the lack of a real opposition in the country (as both Conservative Islamism and Conservative Nationalism agreed with neoliberal politics), and suggested that the movement convert its energy to the creation of a new political party that could fight in the years ahead. Žižek (2013) recalls the

[434] Following the detentions on June 17 and the closure of Gezi and Taksim, people gathered in several public spaces in their neighbourhoods. Although Gezi Park reopened on July 8, clashes continued and people kept on their local meetings.

particularities of the Turkish movement (against corruption, the authoritarian Islamist ideology or the privatization of public space) and uses a local discourse for the complex process of global capitalism and how it affects some particularities of Turkish reality. The author also reminds people that they should forget that the actual problem must be assumed as an open question, or with no defined demands: "No Demands" (as he supported the discourse in the OWS movement, in 2011). Chomsky's (2013) support on a YouTube video enounced the global dimension of the protests, transposing the idea of being a Turk in Taksim Square and Gezi Park to an omni-dimensional concern of a global Taksim, a space that, thanks to the new reality of social networks, is being lived everywhere, despite being in different geographic locations.

Another expression of the contemporaneity and pertinence of the events and their relation with the most emergent themes to focus in Turkish society was the ideals and concretizations in the 13th Istanbul Biennial. The main themes of the biennial, proposed before the events in Gezi and Taksim under the title "Mom, Am I a Barbarian?"[435], were: the urban transformations in Istanbul in the last decades; the capacity of art and social movements to produce a discourse and awareness on political questions of democracy; and the relation of art and politics or the definition of common spaces. The Gezi resistance in June 2013, two months prior to the Biennial, was a turning point in Turkey's political history, and forced deep transformations on the form and content of the exhibition. Some artists were obligated to create new content for the exhibition; others adopted the proposals for the public space to be shown in inner spaces; some new artists were added as the theme had to be reviewed; and some of the proposed spaces changed, as Gezi Park, Taksim Square and Tarlabaşı, among others (Erdemci, 2014 p. 14), were forbidden or become over-burdened with meaning by use over the time. Among the 88 artists presented, the "standing man"[436] (Erdem Gündüz) was one of the artists exhibited, together

[435] "Mom, Am I a Barbarian?" adapts the title from Lâle Müldür's book, a discussion on the idea of being a barbarian and its relation to the Greek idea of the citizen and the right to the city. As explained by the curator, "the ancient Greek word *barbaros*, the antonym of *politis* (citizen), derived from the world polis (city-state), hence, inversely related with rights to the city" (Erdemci, 2014 p. 23 [Emphasis in the original]).

[436] The "standing man" (*duran aran* in Turkish) was a performance by Erdem Gündüz. The creative practice of demonstration, after the strong repression against all forms of demonstration and occupation of public space, became viral in Istanbul, around the country and also abroad. Erdem Gündüz, on Monday June 17, 2013, at around 6p.m., walked across Taksim Square and stood still for six hours in front of Atatürk Cultural Centre with his hands in his pockets and a rucksack between his feet. In a few hours, more people joined the protest and the event was live-streamed. The act of civil disobedience became viral; following Gündüz, Yonca S. also became an iconic image. Yonca stood for nearly 30 hours in the place where Ethem Sarısülük was shot in the head, in Ankara, and used Twitter to spread information about her act. On the morning after, Ethem's brother Mustafa and his wife joined the protest. In several speeches by both authors, there were always statements in support of those affected by police violence and unreported in the media: "[p]eople who have been resisting for the past 18–19 days around

with artists from the 1960s and 1970s whose artistic practices also challenged the processes of urban transformation and gentrification in the cities of Paris, New York and Amsterdam (p. 25).

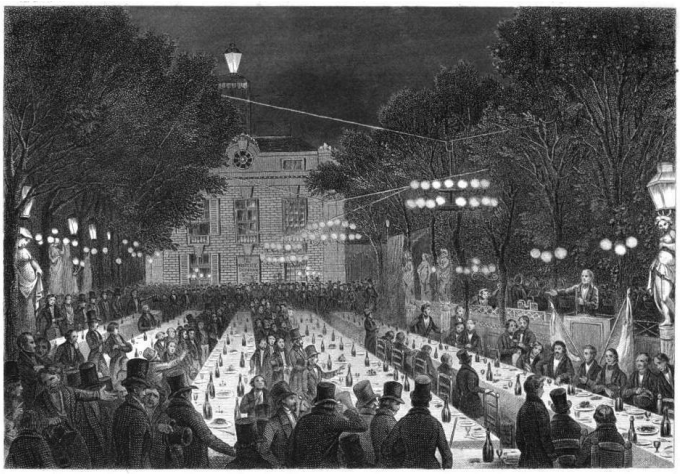

Figure 77 Salmon et Nargeot, 1860. *Banquet at Château-Rouge* (July 9, 1847). In Élias Regnault, Révolution française – Histoire de huit ans, 2éd., t. III, Paris, Pagnerre, 1860. Source: Flommons.

In a comparison with our control cases, there are some spatial similarities with the French commune of 1871, a square that also became barricaded, a space of anomy in an act of resistance to the Haussmanian operation of urban governance tactics. Another similarity we must recall (even if we just make a brief introduction of the 1848 French revolution and the event in Istanbul that happened after the period of occupation) is related to alternative ways of resistance, such as the French campaign of banquets (*Figure 77*), which ran from July to December 1847 and then in February 1848, terminating with the proclamation of the Second Republic, and the fast-breaking organized by the protesters on the first day of Ramadan, July 9, 2013, in İstiklal Avenue (*Figure 78*). Starting in front of Galatasaray High School and ending near Taksim, in front of the cordon blocked by TOMA (Intervention Vehicle to Social Events), the event was organized in reaction to Istanbul's Beyoğlu Municipality fast-breaking event organized in Taksim Square. For the first time, the municipality moved the place of the *iftar* meal from a tent in Gezi Park to the middle of Taksim Square, supporting the protesters, who were forbidden to use the square. The

Turkey have not been understood. Therefore, my form of resistance, the stand I took, might have also not been understood. I stood in Taksim, which the media watched constantly so that I may be seen" (a statement from Gündüz for the Hürriyet TV and translated from the Turkish by Pieter Verstraete (2013 p. 3), "[b]y standing, I felt that I was finally able to pay my respects to Ethem and his family. I felt that I could mourn and express my sorrow for all the people who were hurt, injured and dead during the three weeks of resistance" (Yonca in the interview to norhetorik, reproduced by Verstraete (2013 p. 6) and against the government: "I am of the opinion that our current system is dysfunctional; […] And I think, for that matter, the status quo must be altered" (statement from Gündüz for the Hürriyet TV and translated from the Turkish by Verstraete (2013 p. 6), "[t]he government ordered us to 'go home'. I was not going home, but standing here, continuing to resist. I felt like shouting out loud, 'No sir, I am not going back home!' and here I am 'standing.'" (Yonca in the interview to norhetorik, reproduced by Verstraete (2013 p. 6)).

The "standing still", after Gündüz's initial detention, became an officially approved legal way of protest (both by the declarations of Interior Minister Muammer Güler on June 18 and Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç, on the day after), even if unable to stir up any political move. Despite political apathy, Gündüz made a great contribution to the discussions in the assemblies in a week of serenity and reflection.

iftar meal in İstiklal Avenue, organized by two leftist Muslim groups – the Revolutionary Muslims and the Anti-Capitalist Muslims – supporters of the protests, was attended by thousands of people and transformed into a peaceful demonstration against the ruling order. People demonstrated and, 30 minutes after the call for prayer, police tried to diverge the crowds, ordering the people to leave the streets. The large and peaceful crowd reacted and the police had to pull back, enabling the multitude to enter the square and gather in front of the Monument of the Republic (Trimmel, 2013).



Figure 78 Istanbul's Beyoğlu Municipality fast-breaking event in Taksim Square (first image) and the Anti-Capitalist Muslims' fast-breaking event in İstiklal Avenue. Source: Hürriyet Daily News, 2013d.

Compared to the events of May 1968, we must recall that this youth movement was triggered by the weakening of De Gaulle's long-term government; a similar condition to Erdoğan's long-lasting political life, which changed over political offices for two decades. In France, the students faced the police in the streets to stop the unbroken cycle of power, as happened after the second day of occupation in Gezi Park. In France, the uprising was ignited in the universities; in Gezi, there was also a crucial and critical mass coming from the academic realm as well as the involvement of certain universities. The event, triggered by a wider range of

people participating in social movements and gathered under the umbrella of Taksim Solidarity, as Tariq Ali (2013) says, is more reminiscent of Paris or Prague in 1968 than the struggles against authoritarian regimes in the Arab Spring and the case in Egypt.

From the WTO in Seattle, Gezi protesters adopted the tools of social media to arrange and disseminate information about the meetings, the occupation of both virtual and physical space, as well as the capacity to relate local and national issues into worldwide claims and the possibility to engage civil society, political parties, unions and social movements in one whole movement. Some of these last similarities also resemble the "new new" social movements, with the strong influence of the Arab Spring, the OWS and the diversity of social movements in Europe. As with 15-M in Spain, Taksim Solidarity expressed a list of demands, those demands that OWS refused to put on a list, or that never came out, in the case of the Arab Spring uprisings (even if these last cases had different inputs, and were more concerned with the abolition of the "tyranny of the majority"[437]).

In a focus on the aftermath, it is also significant that, from the core of Taksim Solidarity, as happened with 15-M, emerged new political parties with alternative models of democracy, an attempt to include demands to affect actual political discourse. Even if within distinct origins, influences and results of the Spanish cases, the Gezi Party (GZP) was launched as a horizontal structure, in which the leaders were entitled just as spokespeople[438]. In an interview one month after the party's foundation, one of the founders declared that there were thousands of people willing to join the party, even if they didn't have a specific political program (Kazim, 2013). If the news of its foundation was optimistic about the municipal elections booked for March 2014, the initial spur has faded away quickly. Talking with the architect Birge Yildirim (2014), she explained that the reason for its short duration was due to the population not recognizing that the horizontal structure of the Gezi movement could be converted into a party. Apart from the Gezi Party, the People's Democratic Party (HDP), launched shortly before the Gezi events, in August 2012, has also played a crucial role in the events, as well as in the perpetuation of some claims in the aftermath, particularly in the reunification of different political and cultural identities and the abolition of gender and religious minorities. Apart from references to the Gezi Park protests during the extraordinary congresses and Selahattin Demirtaş' presidential

[437] A term that became popular with Alexis Tocqueville in 1835 to designate the Absolutist regimes.
[438] Following the official information, the party was founded in October 2013 by 28 people, organized using social media tools such as Facebook and Twitter.

campaign in 2014/15, the party continues to call for a democratic society rooted in a process of municipal participative democracy.

Following these brief considerations, it becomes obvious that, if in one hand "architectural representation" is a significant way to leave "'a permanent stamp' on a country" (Gül, et al., 2014 p. 68), on the other hand, conflict over space has always been a political expression of the conflicts with freedom, segregation and control against the existing heterogeneity in Turkish society. Revising the history of the square and the park, it becomes evident that, after the proclamation of the Republic, and since the government decided to imprint the Modernist ideology of the Republic on other cities than the capital in Ankara, Taksim area was the most iconic place to do it. Atatürk, then Menderes, and more recently Erdoğan (as mayor, prime minister and today as president with the support of Kadir Topbaş[439]) used the square to express their own political and religious ideologies. Taksim Square has become not just a square but "the soul of a nation." (Kimmelman, 2013) After the protests, this "soul" reflected a divided society. However, besides other political topics, the protests enhanced the rise in awareness for the protection of the global commons built over time and open to all (Harvey, 2012 p. 72), instead of public spaces or public goods (a matter of state power) (p. 72), as well as the power and will of the multitude to achieve it, giving corporeity to Hardt and Negri's (2009; 2004; 2000) theories.

Visiting Taksim Square and Gezi Park at the end of 2014, the atmosphere of the place was of political and social repression, of struggles going on behind the visual and physical routines and realities. Both the park and the square are suspended in time; lives pass, but nothing really happens there. The place is kept under surveillance all day, no social activity is allowed[440] and

[439] Kadir Topbaş has been mayor of Great Istanbul since 2004 (March 28), elected by the AKP Party.

[440] Although most of the protests and demonstrations planned in the aftermath of the events of June were transferred to the neighbourhood of Kadiköy, every effort to gather in Taksim Square was immediately suppressed by police. On December 27, 2013, Taksim Platform called for a protest in Taksim against government corruption and the resignation of three ministers through social media. The police reacted and attacked the groups that were gathering in İstiklal Street and next to the German Hospital (in the neighbourhood of Cihangir), to avoid its proximity to the square in advance (Hürriyet Daily News, 2013d). In March 2014, in several provinces of Turkey, people gathered in honour of Berkin Elvin, who died on March 11, after 269 days in a coma caused by a tear gas canister being shot in his head during the Gezi protests. In Istanbul, after the long march, people tried to read a statement in Taksim Square, but police brutally attacked in İstiklal Street, detaining several people during the night (Hürriyet Daily News, 2014d). The celebration of Workers' Days, a date of political tension, was forbidden by the prime minister in advance, but the main trade unions convened celebrations in the square. On the day, about 40,000 police were on duty and all roads closed to traffic since the early morning. Some people tried to reach the square but were attacked with water cannons and tear gas, weapons used by the police continuously in the main accesses to avoid any possibility of getting in the square (BBC news, 2014).

if any happens it is strongly repressed. On the other hand, public opinion has strongly criticized all the presented proposals for the reconstruction[441] of the place; the project for the square advance slowly, nor do new projects begin. There is a strong clash of powers reflected in a place that is suspended in the middle of works. Not even the demolition of Atatürk Cultural Centre has been finished; it is being used as a hanger for banners, as happened for the 76th anniversary of Atatürk's death or used to advertise other celebration dates (*Figure 79*). As Kimmelman (2013) said in 2013: "Taksim, the lively heart of modern Istanbul, has become Mr. Erdogan's obsession, and perhaps his Achilles' heel." The reality experienced on this visit is of an uncertain future, an immanent aura of possibilities that may start at any time or never. For sure, the future of Turkish politics will be expressed in the square and park, and whatever happens in this place will be reflected in politics.



Figure 79 Atatürk Cultural Centre on November 9, 2014.

[441] After the controversial project and works for the square's pedestrianization, transforming the traffic hub into a 10,000-square-metre pedestrian zone and the construction of the divisive building in the shape of the Ottoman barracks in the place of Gezi Park, which sparked the June 2013 wave of protests, several moves have been made. During the protests, as mentioned before, the use of the Ottoman-style building changed from a mall to a luxury hotel or a cultural centre. The proposals for a mosque in the square came back with new projects and were strongly complained about. After the most controversial period, Mayor Kadir Topbaş showed images of a new project on February 5, 2014, during an opening ceremony in Istanbul. The mayor presented a new landscape project with more green areas and many more trees, but the proposal was harshly criticized when someone noticed the statues of the heroes of the Republic, inscribed in the Monument of the Republic, were being removed. The works were announced to start in March but, even though the statues were replaced in the monument (Hürriyet Daily News, 2014e), nine months later the works had not begun and there is still no idea when this will happen.

4. Conclusion: "there is no conclusion"

"There is no conclusion" is an expression adopted for the title of this chapter, not to express the lack of an end to this thesis, but to emphasize that our research is just part of a process. This research set out to explore the dialectical relationship between social movements and space/place, focusing on the case studies of Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square and how these squares have been used as political weapons or instruments of power. The examples are considered as samples of those others that spread around the world in the cycle of protests that emerged in 2011, but are also used to examine the relationship of the projection of power and architecture. Focusing on contemporary social movements, we note that its spatial condition and the act of occupation have been one of the most progressive practices in the recent history of struggles; a fact that also becomes an identity of these movements and the main issue relating the disparate cases among them. There is a long tradition of social movements' studies, but it is also true that their epistemological relation with spatial aspects often follows a more generalist or metaphorical approach. Recognizing that the study of social movements' practices rarely, if ever, considered the physical aspect of space, we thought it important to take a theoretical and analytical approach to the subject in the academic realm of architecture. Greater consciousness in architecture is a precondition for political engagement (Aureli, 2011); apart from the other aspects referred to above, the feeling of community experienced in the camps of the squares has also been a significant critique of the evolution of cities and the inherent feelings of fragmentation or emptiness that have been growing since the breakdown of the city into functions according to "social needs".

4.1. Empirical findings

In the course of this research, we sought to learn how and why spatial aspects became dominant in political discourse. We approached the study of recent social movements in comparison with four historical cases, as well as with an analysis of Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square, considering its history in close relation with its political context. In order to validate our formulations, we scrutinized an initial assumption: what kind of relation can be observed between the use of the spatial "artefact" of the square in minor and major politics? The research includes a historical study of the processes of politicization and depoliticization of the squares over time to legitimate the practice in contemporary cases but also to bring to light its use and impact in different periods of time.

Considering our cases studies, we can validate the importance of space – namely, the square – in the discourse of recent social movements, both by (i) the extensive linguistic use of the spatial concepts, and (ii) the effective occupation of space and specificity of spatial practices and tactics. Considering the first point, an extensive use of the words related with spatial aspects incites an effective occupation and a feeling of belonging (to a place/community) and creates a breach in the hegemonic organization of contemporary power structures. As discussed in Appendix A, the square became a polysemantic concept – more evocative of possible futures embedded in political ideology, an abstract list of demands of these possibilities for the future or a possible organization – than a denotative concept describing something recognizable in our cultural perception of the word. In general, the square and all the list of spatial references have been transferred to a symbolic position. Its *representamen* has been altered to a concept that is still in construction, containing in itself both the production of meaning and the production of the real. Focusing on the effective occupation of these iconic spaces, the act of occupation acquired a broader meaning, here used as a political weapon but also as a signifier of the process of looking for a meaning for life:

> [c]onversely, this explains the palpable joy that overflowed the occupied squares of the Puerta del Sol, Tahrir, Gezi […] It is the joy that attaches to every commune. Suddenly, life ceases being sliced up into connected segments. Sleeping, fighting, eating, taking care of oneself, partying, conspiring, discussing all belong to the same vital movement. Not everything is *organized*, everything *organizes itself*. The difference is meaningful. (The Invisible Committee, 2015 [2014] p. 88 [Emphasis in the original])

The squares are transformed into republics of a community to come, of a political desire with no defined rules, boundaries or even an inner shape that is simultaneously the expression of the desired life. The space is also acquired by the practices of use, breaking down the neoliberal logics of contemporary society of a space ruled and determined by the value of exchange. In the public square, the recreated space of a house is the recognizable societal organization that brings a sense of belonging and promotes the communal experience. As everyone recognizes how to act in the private sphere, once in a public "shared private life", the sense of organization comes intuitively. In the everyday life of the squares, the communities of singularities are able to easily convert the experience of "virtual proximity" that generally rules society and the youth generation that massively occupy the squares, into physical closeness, recognizing in this transformation the possibility for the construction of a new *dispositif* that is able to chart a path for a new constitutional process. In the life of the camp, a regime of singularities takes the place of the existing "[c]ontemporary power […] of an architectural and impersonal, and not a

representative or personal, nature" (p. 83). As hegemonic power has moved out of political structures, in the squares we see the power of the multitude transitioning to a new configuration, of a collective force built from a social body aggregating several expertises, with no identified leader and consequently no identifiable fragilities. Working and acting together in the square, the political body strengthens its position by the expansive body of knowledge, organized as a technical force instead of a government or political party but also by the lack of identifiable fragilities, where police or hegemonic power are used to attack first.

At this stage, we can also question if the organization of these forces would need a specific place, or such types of space as the squares, to occupy. During the history of social movements, we have observed the transition from social movements with figureheads with the goal of generating policy or cultural change to social movements with the aim of generating awareness about an issue (Feldmann, 2016 p. 6) – a transition that went along with the move of the quarters to the streets (Hobsbawm, 1994 [1973]). From the most disruptive practices, such as the construction of the communes and the revolutionary groups barricading city centres, to the long-term actions disputed in time and sometimes expressed in the streets, we can recognize the recent social movements as a hybrid case of both examples, acting for the creation of new paradigms in the social realm and simultaneously practising disruptive actions in public space. The difference between recent actions and previous ones is also defined with the long-term occupations of the main squares of the cities. The occupied squares become part of the political message and spur the visibility of the movements, creating awareness for the struggle in a group of civil society that rapidly disseminates to other strata and groups.

In the study of these cases, we can focus on several particularities of the organization and action. However, we should never dismiss the specificities of each place involved in the construction of the movement and recall, as discussed in Chapter 2, that a square is never an innocuous, neutral, inaccurate or apolitical space, but a nodal element of the several fluxes that cross the city at every moment; not only of people and traffic, but also of power. Recognizing the centrality of the square and the new organization of the structures of power, people may recognize in these spaces the possibility to block the system, and the fluxes of power, by blocking the squares. In a square materially (with barricades or other structures) or immaterially confined, the collective bodies – the multitude or the movement – become the central and pivotal subject of the public realm and the central infrastructure of political power. The collective's power increases with the visibility acquired with physical expression and exposition as well as by the shared information and work in the virtual space. For a certain

period of time, a square of a certain city is not just the centre of that urban context but acquires a broader centrality under international focus, detaching from the society "the social order it seeks to bring about" (Butler, 2011a). Within the contained space, the act of blockage gets different configurations – with physical, bodily or imagetic boundaries – according to the reaction of hegemonic power and policy or defined by the inner tactics adopted by the movements in the construction of their "republics" or simply the organization of the "house". In Puerta del Sol, 15-M stayed in Sol for 29 days with no physical barriers, whereas in Taksim, the 19-day struggle for the central square and Gezi Park was maintained by a complex system of barricades – at least 39 fixed and removable ones –, closing the surrounding streets of the square and park. In both cases, the occupations were also maintained by the large number of bodies in the central areas and the tactics on articulating and disseminating information. In Puerta del Sol, outside the square's limits, the movement was able to expand its physical territory during the days of the Acampada, with a daily regime of assemblies in the surrounding squares – Isabel II (also known as "Opera"), Callao, San Martin, Dezcalzas, "Cordilândia", Carmen, Caja de Ahorros, Jacinto Benavente, Tirso Molina and Pontejos squares. During the days of the Acampada or Gezi Camp, the squares of Puerta del Sol and Taksim expanded their limits with the masses of bodies involved in public discussion, converting the realm of public space into common space with the large number of singularities politically engaged in the real production of the square, the city and politics, as well as by the number of interconnected public squares occupied in the countries or with the wave of solidarity movements that disseminated in squares around the world by the contagious effect of the virtual idea of Puerta del Sol or Gezi Park.

Apart from the expanding movement of the squares and the conceptual definition of these squares, the physical delimitation of certain spaces has been considered a common practice in the praxis of social movements, essentially in contemporary cases, against a global "enemy" (Bey, 1985). The liberation of an area from state control is the only possibility to experience "constituent power" but also to work on the construction of process-based unconventional or non-normative models. Considering Loughlin's (2014) synthesis or Negri's (Buckley, et al., 1999) and Arendt's (1990 [1963] p. 62) discussions on the theme (as discussed in Chapter 2.2), the concept must always be considered as a relational process – a process that resists institutionalization – a negotiation not of "the people" considered as an entity that can be represented (the majority) but of the several singularities (the multitude) that comprise the unit, simultaneously transforming and being transformed by political power.

In addition to the political dimension of the social movements experienced in these territories, we can also recall the importance of the construction of alternative political parties. Partido X in Spain and Gezi Partisi in Turkey were two cases that disrupted the conventional system of representation and the force of figureheads. Social movements also helped transform the then-recently-born party HDP in Turkey: it was deeply influenced by the experiences lived in the square, and became not only a pro-Kurdish party but also a party promoting the coexistence of diverse cultural, religious and gender identities. In Spain, after 15-M, we witnessed the foundation of new parties, based on the constitutional process of the squares. Podemos, a party created as a "movement-party" (Santos, 2015) is the most successful case. It was based on the legacy of the constituent process from new and recent social movements, but in the intersection of participatory democracy and the representative model. Inspired by the participative process on the streets, the party focuses on constructing a new political discourse, disrupting the existing models and motivating people to participate in politics even when disaffected by representative regimes. Like Podemos in Spain, the HDP in Turkey also defies the institutional model of politics. Podemos got 7.98% of the votes in its election debut (European elections held on May 25, 2014) only four months after the party's foundation. Emphasizing participatory democracy and advocating an egalitarian regime and the protection of minorities, the HDP won over 12% of votes in its election debut, denying the AKP a majority and Erdoğan's wish to review the constitution. These parties, which we consider a success of the movement of the squares, are two examples of the political will reborn in the public space. They are a small part of a broader group denouncing the political crisis in our democracies – such as Syriza in Greece or the successful case of the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) in India, to not mention only European cases.

The contemporary moment and movements and the possible futures that might emerge from the movements of the square give us hope to continue the research. While waiting for the developments, we could recall the relation of the squares, in particular our case studies, with the political development of their countries. The squares were appropriated by social movements as well as being used as the locus for hegemonic political performances or transformations promoted by the conflict between the two forces. Restating part of our research question on the close relation of the square and spatial aspects to the politics of the multitude but also to hegemonic forces, we wind back to the historical development of the squares presented in Chapter 3 to briefly contextualize the different modes in which it was done. In this approach we could say that the political desire to transform Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square dates back almost from their origins and assumes different expressions: (1) stage of events that

change the country's political history; (2) place for celebrating other historical political moments; (3) projection of "hegemonic power" or (4) reflection of social and cultural changes. We will briefly try to prove this in subsequent paragraphs with information collected from the historical sub-chapters.

(1) Considering the first point, we would divide these into major and minor events according to their impact on political turns or their influence on the creation or transformation of policies. Inside this category we can still separate the events by those produced by (a) "hegemonic power" or (b) those taken by social movements and occasionally expressed in the will of trade unions.

(a) There are three "major events" in the Spanish case, two of them in the transition from the 18th to the 19th century – first the Esquilache riots in 1766 (the first major popular uprising in the square), and second the May 2 uprising in 1808, a popular rebellion against the French imperial occupation, recognized even by Napoleon as a brave act of the people of Madrid. The 19th century was the most troubled; the second half of the century was plagued with the Revenge of July 1854, a milestone for Spanish Liberalism (Zozaya, 2012 p. 19), followed by the Glorious Revolution in 1868, establishing a democratic period.

The Esquilache riots voiced displeasure with Marquis de Esquilache's decree imposing new costumes on men; it was also an expression of disappointment with the country's political performance, engulfed in crisis after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), as well as the five-year agricultural crisis and consequent rise of the price of bread and other foods. The riots occurred in several areas of the city, but its historical and graphical representation focused on Puerta del Sol. This highlights the square's charismatic relevance in the national political sphere; it was the place where the rioters could provoke changes in the political sphere, as the occurrences ended when King Carlos III accepted all the demands named by the people in the square, to restore peace in the city.

The May 2 uprising in 1808 – the popular rebellion of poorly armed men against Napoleon's invasion of the city – is considered by Romanos (1861) as the blood baptism of the country. After a 24-hour struggle against a large offensive of French troops invading Madrid and the declaration of martial law, the short reign of Fernando VII ended with José Bonaparte being proclaimed king and Spanish resistance against French rule increasing in the Peninsular War that ran until 1814.

During the second half of the century, the revenge of July in 1854 was the zenith of a revolution being prepared for more than a decade by the bourgeoisie, in reaction to the worsening of living conditions under Sartorius' administration. The uprising happened in different areas of Spain, but in Madrid, with higher popular participation, it started the day Queen Isabel II dismissed Sartorius. The population celebrated and agitated for deeper changes in the system, attacking private property, destroying symbols of power, and occupying strategic places, such as Puerta del Sol, where barricades were erected. The struggle ran for two days and was decisive in the transition to the Liberal government.

In the Turkish case, we identify four cases of "major events", one considered created by hegemonic power – the counter-coup of March 31 – and the other three by insurgent power, promoting changes in policies or governments.

The counter-coup was organized by a Conservative and Islamist group, headed by Dervish Vahdeti, to put down the Young Turks – in power since 1908 – to restore the 1876 Ottoman constitution and re-establish the sultan's power. The struggle ran for a few days in Constantinople, and the conflicts were decided with attacks in Taksim, when the Taşkışla barracks and the Taksim barracks were set on fire. After some hours of fighting, the barracks were almost destroyed. The militias surrendered due to heavy losses, and for a few days Dervish Vahdeti had Istanbul in his hand.

There are also two events that started as peaceful demonstrations that forced the reinterpretation of the turning strategies of the ruling power. In 1955, with peaceful demonstrations called by a group of organizations in reaction to false rumours of a bomb attack on the house where Atatürk was born, a wave of violence spread in the neighbourhoods around Taksim, including attacks on the Greek Orthodox community. The pogrom, which lasted for several hours, caused several injuries and 11 deaths, denounced the "real face" of the government and its extremist ideology against minorities. In 1977, with the well-organized demonstration for the May 1 celebration in Taksim, the high attendance and the police reaction exposed the impactful meaning of the square for both political forces and the strength of religious influence on politics. The large number of people in the square not only expressed the celebratory atmosphere of Workers' Day, but could also be interpreted as a message against the right-wing influence on the prime minister's decision and wish to convert the ideology of the square with the construction of a mosque. On the other hand, with the brutal use of force against peaceful demonstrators, causing tens of deaths and hundreds of injuries, the struggle for the square became even more evident

as a political contest. The day was baptized "Bloody May Day", and all celebrations in the square were banned for more than three decades. The high turnout of voters in June's election was also reflective of the event.

The fourth case we consider in this category is the period that started with a wave of student demonstrations and ended with the fall of the government and the coup d'état of 1960. As mentioned in the historical survey of Taksim Square, in 1959–60 the country was living in a harsh political period. The students were forced to demonstrate their struggle in the square even if applications for permissions to demonstrate in the square were always banned. As an alternative, on March 2, some students of a technical university decided to go on a silent march claiming freedom of expression. However, on arrival in Taksim Square, the group was attacked by the police. The police reaction and the government's decision to control any form of opposition to the ruling power precipitated a series of other protests and demonstrations in the country, with two large-scale student demonstrations on April 28 and 29 being repressed by the police. The government tried to control the insurgents and decreed a martial law, but the conflicts continued until the coup on May 27, 1960, and the fall of Menderes' government.

(b) In the category of "minor events", in the Spanish case we consider some demonstrations that were able to cause slight changes in policies or more significant modifications over a larger timespan. The student demonstration in 1865, prompted by Narvaez's order to expel Emilio Castelar as chair of History and the refusal of Madrid University's rector, triggered a five-day uprising that caused several injuries and deaths and ended with the queen dismissing Narvaez. In 1885, a demonstration organized by the Liberal Front, in opposition to international policies with the German occupation of Carolina's archipelago, was appropriated by Revolutionary forces. This promoted a turn in Liberal action and decisions, culminating with the return of King Alfonso XII to restore stability in the country.

More recently, already with the democratic regime reinstalled after the long period of Francoism, and subsequent to the first political use of the square to celebrate PSOE's victory in the 1982 elections, the square's political character was restored, being the place chosen for the meeting in the first 24-hour strike of 1985. Three years later, the trade unions convened a second general strike and once more gathered in Puerta del Sol to demand better working conditions for the youth. Despite the consequences, in the words of CCOO lawyer Isabel Martín, the occupation of Puerta del Sol was considered, in itself, an anticipation of successful negotiations. Days later, Felipe González recognized the trade unions' political victory, and the

government moved back with its Youth Employment Plan. In further general strikes, the square retained its political primacy as the place of meetings and protests. The fourth was convened against changes introduced in employment protection and the Basic Law on Employment in Aznar's government, and the fifth to complain about reforms in the pension system announced by Zapatero. In both cases – in 2002 and in 2010 – the strikes and the occupation of Puerta del Sol were able to provoke administrative moves; in the first the retreat of the announced measures, and in both the change of the head of the Ministry of Labour.

In the Turkish context, we focus on three demonstrations held in the square notable for their raising of awareness in international politics as well as their increase in political participation. In 1955, during the country's process of liberalization, university students organized a demonstration to convey their disagreement with the Turkish military presence in Cyprus. Along the "students" march towards Taksim Square, it became evident that the event was just the driving force for a general demonstration of discontent with Turkey's long participation in the conflict. After the 1960 coup, and with the students as the major political drivers in preserving Atatürkist reforms, two marches were organized, one in 1962 and the other in 1971, with large participation in the streets. From 1968 onwards, as happened worldwide, students also engaged with international politics, as in the course of the demonstrations condemning the American presence, namely of the US Sixth Fleet, in patrolling Turkey's Mediterranean borders in the conflict in Cyprus. Following a series of minor demonstrations in the ports of Istanbul, a major rally was organized in July 1968. The large attendance at the protests in the city centre was met with police attacks and the death of students in the conflicts. In a society that was polarized over international politics, the government decided to move visiting ships to Izmir port for some months, but in February, with their return to Istanbul, a new demonstration was organized. The arrangement of the protests united several organizations, and the massive participations evidenced the general disapproval among civil society. However, the attacks in Taksim Square by a right-wing group also showed a polarized Turkish society. The dark episode, also known as "Bloody Sunday", ended with two deaths and about 200 people injured.

Together with the power of the students, the 1960s were also marked by workers' unions flourishing under the new constitution of 1961. In 1970, with the growing number of affiliates, Turkey faced its most extensive demonstration, when people spontaneously decided to gather in public to show their disapproval with the government's wish to abolish the DISK, after a long process of trade union law amendments. The event was harshly confrontational and, due to the procedure of amendments to the law, the government declared martial law from June 16

onwards. With the ban extended for years after, in the early 1970s the rights of unions, working conditions and wages decreased to incomparably low levels.

(2) The square as the main place for historical celebrations was one of the most recognizable uses of such places, even if not the most common nowadays.

Puerta del Sol throughout its existence has been used as a stage for celebrations, both by hegemonic power and by the multitude. In 1868, the Glorious Revolution, a project of Generals Prim and Serrano to overthrow Isabel II's unstable government, contested in Cadiz, ended successfully. Queen Isabel's deposition, followed by the Democratic sexennium, was strongly celebrated in Puerta del Sol. In 1931, celebrations for the implementation of the Second Republic were also held in the square. Part of celebrations around the country, thousands of people aggregated around Puerta del Sol in a euphoric atmosphere to mark the refounding of the Democratic Republic. The regime was officially established with the tricolour Republican flag being hoisted at the House of Government (Gonzalo, 2000 p. 25) at 4p.m. and the president of the provisional government, Niceto Alcalá-Zamora, giving his first speech on the balconies (Alcalá-Zamora, 2000).

In 1939, after the long period of civil war, when Nationalist forces won the battle in the capital on March 28, General Franco entered the city to install the regime. Victory was celebrated in Puerta del Sol, a place with unparalleled supremacy, as it was the chosen place even in a scenario of destruction with the clashes in previous years. Later, when the official parade for the celebrations took place along Prado, Recoletos and Castellan on May 19, Puerta del Sol was the stage for counter-demonstration.

With the fall of the long dictatorship and democracy reinstalled in the country, the long period of an unpoliticized Puerta del Sol was broken with the celebration of the PSOE's victory in 1982's democratic elections.

In Turkey, the long struggle for Taksim Square was also confirmed with the impacts of the events in the square on politics. Often adopted as the space for physically expressing the struggle, the square has also been adopted for celebrating or imprinting certain turning points in the political history of the country or of the city. One such case was the construction of a symbolic monument – the Freedom Monument (*Hürriyet Aniti*) – in the square after the 1960 coup, even if the main square of the events was Beyazit Square. The monument in honour of

the killed students was built from May 27 to 29, 1961, in front of the Atatürk Cultural Centre, the meeting point for the two marches organized by the students after the coup.

In 1976, when the long ban against protesting and organizing events in Taksim Square was finally lifted, DISK organized Labour Day celebrations in the square, as well as marking in 2007 the 30-year commemoration of the "Bloody Day". In the latter case, we may recall that after the long ban, extended by Erdoğan's policies after the 1980 coup, the prime minister tried to dissuade the protesters, closing all the accesses to the square. With labour unions affiliated with DISK reclaiming the square as a symbol of a struggle for better working conditions, the government reacted by the use of police force to deter the celebrations and the occupation of the square. In 2008 and 2010, Erdoğan adopted different strategies with the same main goal. First he declared May 1 as Labour and Solidarity Day, but did not recognize it as a public holiday or allow the use of the square for gatherings. Second, in 2010, obligated by the court's decision to allow the celebration of the day in the square, Erdoğan publicly announced the event and joined the celebrations.

(3) The squares have been the preferred spaces in the urban field for the projection of hegemonic power, either: (a) by implementing new projects or constructing representative buildings, or (b) the demolition of such buildings; (c) by using the space as representation, or (d) for patriotic celebrations and military parades.

(a) Focusing on the physical transformations of the square, Puerta del Sol is recognized as an auspicious place in politics, stimulating its transformation as a representative act. Fernando VI and Carlos III, in the second half of the 18th century, took a visionary and active attitude to Puerta del Sol's political spatiality, as expressed by the construction of the iconic building of Casa de Correos. The Real Casa de Correos, a proposal of Fernando VI but built in Carlos III's reign, was the square's first non-religious iconic edifice, and spurred greater transformations both in the square and also in the city. Carlos III's determination to transform Madrid into an image of a European capital lacked visionary plans to resolve city growth and ultimately failed, with Casa de Correos being the most notable political transformation of the city at that time.

Almost a century later, the square was surrounded by demolished buildings after the Ecclesiastical Confiscations in the decade before. In 1857, Prime Minister Narváez decided to commission a new project for the square. In the public realm, his main goal was the resolution of traffic problems, but apparently there was also the wish to protect the square from insurgents

and their occupation and barricades. The project, initially alienated from aesthetic responsibilities, was tasked to the engineers Lucio del Valle, Rivera and Morer.

Slightly different from former cases was the reinterpretation of the existing buildings during Francoism. With the Real Casa de Correos transformed into the political prison of the State Security Office (*Dirección General de Seguridad*), the square was recognized as an icon of Fascist repressive power.

After Francoism, with the first mayor of Madrid, Tierno Galván, the square underwent deep changes. Some of these involved transforming the car-dominated city to a city for pedestrians; others reflected the democratic transition and the need to eradicate all dictatorial traces and memories to restore a democratic feeling and introduce new political messages in the square. The project for the public space was, in 1986, designed under the responsibility of a multidisciplinary team, led by Javier Ortega and Antonio Rivière Gómez and supervised by Antón Capitel. Their major aim was to recover the social character of the former Puerta del Sol and transform its character as a connector and distributer of the traffic system. One year before (1985), and a decade after the end of the dictatorship, works in the Real Casa de Correos to eradicate all traces of the prison and prepare for the installation of the Community of Madrid (*Comunidad de Madrid*) were also initiated, with the project led by architect Ramón Valls Navascués.

In Istanbul, the story of Taksim's transformation with implicit political meaning started prior to its existence as a square and a park; it started in the first half of the 18th century with the construction of the water distribution chamber, the Maksem, in Sultan Mahmud I's reign. The construction of the building to provide water to the neighbourhood promoted rapid and deep changes outside the Galata walls. A few years later, Sultan Selim III selected the area for the construction of a new military barracks as part of his scheme to modernize the Ottoman army, one of the regime's most representative forces. The edifice was an urban landmark of that time: an expression of the new architecture with European influences, and a style that flourished years later in the Tanzimat period. It was designed by the Armenian architect Kirkov Balayan and finished in 1806. The building was destroyed right after its inauguration in the battle with the Janissaries, but Sultan Mahmud II ordered its reconstruction in 1811. The building went through a long period of reconstructions, with several architects' interventions, moving through different styles and influences in architecture. There were only two years between the military barracks' last reformulation in an Oriental style circa 1862 and the plans for the construction of

a park in the neighbourhood. During the construction of the road linking Pangalti and Taksim in 1864, the municipality also announced a plan to build two parks in the city. Five years after such promises, in 1869, it was under pressure from civil society that the park was built and finished. Taksim Park was the first public park in Istanbul, reflecting the Occidental urban lifestyle's influences.

In the 20th century, the functional use of the military barracks, with the decrease of military power in the Ottoman Empire's final years, became obsolete. Its last military use occurred in 1918 with the French Senegalese soldiers' occupation in the First World War. After that the building was converted into a football stadium, in 1921, and used as a sports ground until it was demolished for the construction of the new park and a square as a symbol of Republican times. The square was almost concluded in 1926, but plans for the park were approved only in 1938 and the project concluded in 1944, eradicating the military memories, which were superseded by Republican hope and a new lifestyle.

As in the transition to Republican times, the government expressed the will of the new era in the square. Menderes also aimed to express in the public space the political transition from the secular Republic to the Modernist approach in a Western style; an expression of the Liberal model of the Democratic Party. During Menderes' mandate, the city underwent a new long period of works. One of his higher ideological expressions was the permission for the construction of the Hilton Hotel in the grounds of Henri Prost's planned Park nº 2.

(b) The projection of hegemonic power in the physical structure of a city is most commonly expressed by construction. However, in some cases, its opposite – the process of demolition – can have as notable an impact as the first. Concerning these cases, in Spain we have to mention two cases: the Ecclesiastical Confiscations, which transferred church property to the state and private hands, and the Nationalist Front's aerial attacks on Puerta del Sol during the Civil War – all the more notable because one of Franco's main goals was the physical preservation of Madrid.

Mendizábal's Ecclesiastic Confiscations were one of the most significant political decisions that contributed to Puerta del Sol's transformation. The Real Decree of 1836 and the consequent demolitions – in the same year (convent of Nuestra Señora de las Victorias); in 1838 (convent San Felipe el Real); and in 1854 (convent and hospital of Buen Suceso) – were the pinnacle of Liberal ideologies. With permission to demolish the square's south and east façades, the square could finally be reshaped and expanded.

During the period of the Spanish Civil War and the struggle to conquer and protect the capital, the symbolic meaning of the attacks on Puerta del Sol is also notable. The first, on November 17, opened a hole 20 metres wide; the second occurred during the New Year's Eve celebration, when just a few journalists were gathered in the square. As mentioned above, one of Franco's main goals was to avoid the destruction of the city.

In Istanbul, the leverage of politics in deconstruction was not so expressive. It happened for the first time with the demolition of the military barracks in 1938 for the construction of the Gezi Park, corroborating the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic and the abolition of the central role of the military forces to the state. With a dissimilar meaning, it also happened by Menderes' decision to allow the construction of the Hilton Hotel in grounds previously planned for a large park for the city – not by demolition but by the impossibility of carrying out the planned project, which was also a clear and impactful use of the architectural representation on politics.

(c) Throughout the history of the squares, the use of its space for representation is also notable, with the use of the square for passage or celebrations strengthening the power of figureheads.

Puerta del Sol was renowned for its appropriation by the monarchy, at least since Felipe II's decision in 1561 to settle the court in Madrid. Felipe II, as well as his father, entered the city through the portal of Puerta del Sol. In the reigns of Felipe II and Felipe III, the country's economic difficulties permitted only slight transformations in the urban layout. Although only a few works were effectively realized, Puerta del Sol was always one of those spaces where at least modest transformations occurred, corroborating the crucial importance of leaving at least some traces of the kings' reigns expressed in the particular space of the city's central square.

After the French invasions and with the Spanish monarchy restored, Puerta del Sol expanded its centrality. At the time it was already considered a paradigm or model of National politics (Garcia, 2000) and, despite multiple conflicts, repeated military interventions and several revolutions, both Fernando VII and Isabel II aimed to use and transform the square. Fernando VII used it as a stage for multiple monarchic events and festivities. Continued by Isabel II, these also initiated the demolitions of religious buildings, with the Ecclesiastical Confiscations that would allow the deep transformation of the square.

The Real Casa de Correos was also a main place for political representation. Following the long and deep transformation during Francoism, it remained closed for 11 years, the works being

initiated only in 1985 and mainly triggered by the ruinous state of the clock tower. The three-year works went along with the refurbishment of other spaces. The reopening and inauguration of the new House of the President of the Community of Madrid happened in 1998, and was celebrated with a speech by the king from the balconies – where Niceto Alcalá-Zamora, president of the provisional government, had announced the Second Republic.

In the Turkish case, the models of representation are much more diffused, although we can recognize some related with political aspects and some others from the influence of religion on politics. In the beginning of the Republican era, the first case was more notable, while the second was recognized with the presence of Islamised parties in the government, namely in Erdoğan's government. In the new era of the Republic, Prost proposed a roundabout with a garden in Taksim Square. The space was designed to include a monument in honour of the heroes of the War of Independence. With the conclusion of the works and the statue, the square was renamed Republic Square, in line with the new ideologies that the government aimed to imprint on society. With the new designation of the square, the surrounding streets were also renamed to *Ístiklal Caddesi*, Liberty Street or *Cumhuriyet Caddesi*, the Avenue of the Republic (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 55). Confirming the wish to change the meaning of the square was the decision to transfer all military celebrations and official meetings to the square (Erdikmen, 2013 p. 144). Reinforcing the official aspect given to the square was the reinterpretation underlying the modifications of the project for the park. In the middle of the process, Henri Prost transferred responsibility for the design of the park's central area from Philippe Leveau, who had proposed a central esplanade, to Germain Grange, who added an elevated platform in between Inönü Esplanade and Taksim Square to offer a view of the ceremonies held in the square.

A second factor we consider elemental to include in this representative approach to the square is the series of attempts to rework the square's meaning to express the restoration of religious impact on society and politics. The first Islamic attempt to abolish the square's secular symbolism comes in the form of the National Front coalition's proposals for the construction of a mosque in the square (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, p. 68). If this idea seemed anachronistic with the 1980 coup, Erdoğan restored it when he became prime minister. The contentious postulate that had been recurring in the last four decades of Turkish politics, re-emerging once in a while and then vanishing by the reaction and pressure of civil society, happened for the last time during Gezi's occupation. The confrontation of powers was also tested by Erdoğan when he tried to instrumentalize some of the left-wing or civil events organized in the square. This

happened with the forced depoliticization of the square during his mandate as mayor of Istanbul, and in the appropriation of the square in the celebrations of Workers' Day when he was prime minister. After the 1980 coup, in a country living through a long period of political, economic and social instability, the strategy to change the square's meaning was exacerbated with the conversion of the political significance of the square to a commoditized space, positioned towards consumption.

(d) Even if somehow overlapping the last point concerning representational space, we believe we can still make this last division to include some military parades in the Spanish case. During the Napoleonic invasions, the political meaning of Puerta del Sol was never eradicated, as proven in the celebrations of the Spaniards on the entrance of the allied British forces in 1812. Crossing other streets of the city, the military parade of Lord Wellington (Arthur Wellesley) was enthusiastically celebrated all over the city, but with special enthusiasm in Puerta del Sol, as described in Mesonero Romanos (1861).

With the victory in the battle of Tetuán (Marrocco), Puerta del Sol was once more the chosen place for the celebration of the brief battle. With a long and well-prepared parade for the reception of O'Donnell's troops and the celebration of the victory in 1860, the events organized in Puerta del Sol (at the time a construction site), were symptomatic of the place's crucial centrality. Ironically, as Romanos (1861) describes one year later, Puerta del Sol was a social laboratory, the space of commutative public and private interests and the projection of the capital, a "courtly theatre", but also the main focus of foreign writers focused on or based in Madrid and Spain.

(4) To end this brief summary of the political uses of the square throughout history, we would also like to mention those that are sometimes not so evident but are expressed in social and cultural terms.

In Madrid, one of these facts occurred with the new political regime introduced with the Liberal triennium (1820–23), when Puerta del Sol went through certain transformations that were the ultimate expression of the country's new ideologies and political openness. Not so territorially entrenched was the exponential growth in the number of cafés in the square in the 1820s. These were the main spaces where Liberals held public discussions, and the cafés' rapid proliferation expressed the rapid and deep social and cultural transformations. One other expression of the new times and new lifestyle was the implementation of gas lighting in the city. Ephemeral illuminations were experienced for the first time in Puerta del Sol during celebrations for Isabel

II's birth, and two years later were part of the plan for illuminating the city. In the same decade, Madrid's houses were numbered, taking Puerta del Sol as the starting point for the numbering process. The centrality of the square was such that Sol gave its name to the neighbourhood in 1840 and, in 1856, was recognized as the kilometre zero of Spain – the point from which all the major radial streets were measured.

Following the long period for the redesign of the layout and works in the square, when it was finally finished (1862) the renewed centrality was distinguished by the occupation of the surrounding terrains by an upper class, building there some of the most relevant architectural elements of that time.

Nearly one century later, in the early 20th century, the square upheld its primacy in reflecting social and cultural changes. This was seen in the tradition of New Year's Eve celebrations, already initiated in the century before and consolidated in the transition of the century, or in the construction of the first tramline in 1919 to connect Puerta del Sol to Quatro Caminos and later to the south, including Miguel Otamendi's spectacular project for the station in the square. According to him (Otamendi, 1924), the metro station in Sol should be the heart of the metro network project, as the square was the heart of the capital (p. 12).

In Franco's regime, the transformation of the square and its surroundings followed a trend of depoliticizing public space, inculcating a commercial character on the surroundings of the square. Manuel Herrero Palacios' project, finished in 1959, also expressed the regime's attempts towards the country's internationalization and liberalization. This was reflected in slight transformations in the traffic system, harmonized with small green areas, two fountains, and furniture and lighting poles.

Nowadays the square continues to reflect its commercial character. Even if interrupted by demonstrations in the democratic transition and more recently with the tremendous political imprint of the Acampada in 2011, both the new designation for the metro station, renamed "Vodafone Sol" (even if only for three years) in 2013 and the opening of an Apple store in 2014 are clear expressions of that ideological intention.

The story of the Taksim area emerges with the recognition of a new space where a different lifestyle could be expressed and that was being conditioned by the lack of space in the historical peninsula and inside the Galata walls. With the construction of the Maksem, mainly foreigners moved to the neighbourhood to live in large upper-class houses, as this was the first place close

to the city centre where such houses could be built. If the cultural transformations in this phase were mainly a necessity from an Occidental minority living in the city, with the implementation of the Republic, the "destructive attitude" of Prost and his proposals of large open areas and avenues were a statement of the promotion of a life in the outside and the end of an Islamic state and Islamised culture. Together with these proposed open spaces in the urban grip, the new social transformation was also embodied in the number and type of cultural structures proposed for the square and Park nº2, the "Taksim Bois de Boulogne".

With the narratives expressed over the preceding paragraphs, we may conclude the inherent relation of such specific spaces of the urban structure and the politics of the country. Several other small stories may be missed in our interpretation of the history. However, the history of each country can undoubtedly be interpreted in the transformations and performances in the squares, in our viewpoint with not many more inconsistencies than the history written by the history or the political history of each country.

4.2. Theoretical implications

The facts, both in the spatial context of the social movements in the squares and in the historical background of each square, were crucial to validate our question. However, undoubtedly, the theoretical framework that we considered in Chapter 2 was no less important to contextualize politics and its dynamics as well as how it has been claimed in spatial terms in political philosophy or tactically adopted in other cases.

A discussion on the theoretical implications of the research supports the facts and events focused in Chapter 3, but is also a significant contribution to a broader body of research and disciplines, and not only in the sphere of our field of study. Narrowing the focus to the occupation of Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square in 2011 and 2013, the symbolic level of the square was notable in the discourse of social movements, of a society in struggle demanding deep changes in politics, on the relation with the financial and economic system, but also inside the structure of the society. The rupture in daily routines, supplanted by the massive presence of bodies in the squares, has recovered Arendt's (1998 [1958]) theories on the construction of politics, always preconditioned by the presence of bodies and its relations in a determined space. On the one hand, the presence of bodies in the square may have revealed the new politics; on the other hand, with the use of the new technologies in a society with the cult of the image, the squares have sent signals that could hardly be ignored. Judith Butler (2011a), in her speech at Zuccotti Park, was the first to bring Arendt's theories to light in a determined connection with

the wave of the movements of the squares. She reaffirmed Arendt's assumptions but also called the physical sites as part of this new political theory, presenting a defiant and antagonistic posture to the capitalist conception of space and existing political dynamics, frequently hidden from common knowledge. From the experience of politics practised in the square we can catch a glimpse of a new model emerging based on the politics of transparency, contradicting the actual regime, but also the transposition of a society based on relations of "virtual proximity" (Bauman, 2003) to the expression of needful physical closeness.

If the multitude in the square abandoned their routines in private life, it is curious that they recreated them in the square, representing a new feeling of an unlimited community. Reading Lefebvre (1991 [1974]), we recognize this pattern as the projection of his theories to the reality, or what he frequently claimed to be necessary for the desired social and political transformation. In one way, everyday experiences are inseparable from lived space; conversely, democracy is nothing but the struggle for democracy, a process in continuous work that has to intervene in the spatial practices of everyday life. In the squares, the multitude, freely assembled, open up a hypothesis to undermine the existing practices of neoliberalized politics and space management based on the right of property, replaced here by the right of use. By the practices of use, the multitude is able to project common ideals, build a common project and work on the real conception of "the right to the city". In a critique of some other prior experiments, the movement of the squares has put into practice and substantiated: (i) the importance of practice; (ii) the changes in the notions of productions towards a conception in the context of biopolitical production; (iii) or the construction in community, something that emerges as in Arendt's politics, in between the people working and discussing for the same main goal.

In the theoretical framework of our research, Hardt and Negri's contribution was also crucial, in our viewpoint, in interpreting the events in Taksim Square and Puerta del Sol. In their trilogy (2009; 2004; 2000), the authors introduce a theoretical background for the interpretation of the dynamics of the current political constitution and the definition of its antagonist collective subject; if they "strive to understand the present […] [they] also challenge and inspire its readers to invent the future" (Hardt, et al., 2009). Hardt and Negri ground their theory of politics in the field of research of "biopolitical production", already in the antagonist pole of the dichotomist conception of capitalism vs. Socialism of modernity. The "commons" – the common wealth of the material world but also the results of social interaction and production – is a central concept explored in the authors' body of work. If, to the authors, the commons represents the radical alternative and a possible crack in the extended control of capital, the experiences in the squares

of Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square, among all the others, have put into practice some of those disruptive ways to participate in community and in politics, but also highlight the necessary variations in the conception. The expressed wish to change and build their own physical and political territories was also articulated in the process of the extension of the square, brought to the scale of local communities, organized in the neighbourhoods after the initial events, or even connected to the council structure. For example, some city councils, including Madrid's, introduced a general participatory process in the council's political program.

If Hardt and Negri's concepts of the Empire, the Multitude and the Commons are crucial concepts in interpreting the political dynamics of the contemporary system as well as in the possibilities of thinking about the eruption of new forms of life and political organization – those disruptive of the Modernist dialectic relations of power – we recognize a non-alignment with a certain hopelessness in the words of the authors with the movements of the squares. We are not suggesting that all the political changes may arise or have arisen from the practices in the squares and in the period of the events, but we certainly recognize its importance in the formation of the multitude and the most rapid transformation within the events than in other conditions.

The occupations of the squares, although fleeting moments with inherent autonomous temporality, are necessary alternatives for the construction of the plural and shared project of a constituent process. It is through this experience that it is also possible to crack the ruling order and existing political paradigms in several aspects and in expectable ways as it "unfolds within the fractal dimensions invisible to the cartography of Control" (Bey, 1985). First, the act of occupation in itself is already a political gesture by the exclusivity of a body to occupy only one space at a time. Second, the construction of a political process must be considered one that requires some experience, practice and growing of awareness to participation. Third, the autonomy of the multitude in the production of the commons defies the regime of property that sustains neoliberal regulation by the exercise of the police to preclude the exercise of politics (Rancière, 2004 [2000] p. 89). Fourth, in the occupation, the multitude give a new opportunity for the construction of political institutions with the reintroduction of the conflict, or the tension between opposing forces, in the language and forms of politics. Fifth, if we are looking for the transition to a political paradigm that is a process, it is only possible once those singularities have gained awareness and practice, and those experiences were possible in the squares. In summary, the communities in Puerta del Sol and Taksim Square, together with all the others not mentioned here, can be considered as prototypes for the construction of these alternative

forms of autonomous organization or direct democracy within a state model. They are self-defence mechanisms against the incursion and domination of capital into politics and defy or clarify the non-real idea of the current representative regimes of power. Defying the systems of power, the lack of real power they have became more evident. It also confirmed how dispersed an effective power is and how obvious that it is now more immanent in life than represented by figureheads or governments.

Bearing in mind the relations of power in contemporary society as well as the struggle of the multitude, we must recall some former events and social movements and enable the creation of a genealogy of protest from what emerges in the contemporary cases under analysis. The Paris Commune of 1871, as well as all the other communes established in France at that time, could be considered just spaces of isolation, but they were in fact, confined spaces for the creation of a living organism, built in everyday experience, an experiment that could replace the state. The 72 days of the Paris commune were a "working existence" or a laboratory of politics working in the void of the state and creating an experience that was later adopted in social movements' repertoire. Some of those tactics are still embedded in the praxis of social movements today, such as the delimitation of space through the creation of barricaded areas or the culture of encampment, as Ross (2015) focuses on in the similarities with contemporary cases. In the May 1968 movement, Lefebvre (1969) already recognized the transition to a postmodern struggle, opposing the typical struggles of Modernity based on the dichotomy of capitalism and Socialism and focused on the void of institutional representation (p. 69). With the seven-week occupation of Tiananmen, the institutional space of representation of the square was transformed into a site of dissent. Even if the rights of students and the rights of citizens did not prevail with the final military attacks, the Tiananmen protests established a new meaning to the place, reacquired by the practices of use with the students continuously reshaping it to give it a new meaning. In this case, some other new particularities in the act of protest emerged, transforming the event in an example of further socio-political struggles. Despite some others, Tiananmen was the first televised protest, adopting non-violent strategies and symbolic tactics. It was able to transform a student protest into a protest of civil society. Most of all, it had a non-leadership structure (even if it was a combination of different groups), and was a network of people with no hierarchy; a collective body affectively reshaped to coordinate itself (Purcell, 2013b p. 143). In the streets of Seattle in 1999, embedded in the process of reclaiming the public space, we have seen the emergence of a new and complex reality in the realm of social movements. The event produced a mutation in subjectivities (Lazzarato, 2006), and an

emancipatory globalized public sphere took shape, opening up the possibility of a politics of the multitude. With the launch of IndyMedia, social movements around the world became part of the same network, making visible and part of the same cycle both local and national struggles. The new communication tools were the backbone to convert several dispersed struggles into a global struggle against an anonymous enemy, allowing the coalition of several types of anti-capitalist activists under the same umbrella of a global justice movement.

Looking back at the cycle of struggles that emerged in 2011, some years have passed since the experiences of the camps and, as we mentioned in the introduction, despite the passion that this theme may evoke, we must also be aware of the risks of romanticizing or fetishizing both the social movements and the spatial aspects. We aim to avoid these risks, but nonetheless we are impelled to formulate a final set of general orientations or conclusions on the theme. These are:

i.) Place matters in politics

The history of social movements is narrated in relation with the physical appropriation of space. The chosen places for the protest camp, in general, have a symbolic relation with the struggle, but also shapes the ways its occupiers and demands are perceived by the public and framed by the media; it "affects how state authorities, police and local communities will react." (Frenzel, et al., 2014 p. 459) The physical location of the protest may define the protest itself. This aspect has become stronger over the course of history, with more emphasis in the most recent cases where the issues of the struggle were harder to make visible as "the global system of consumer capitalism, or target audiences which are otherwise disconnected" (p. 460). In the course of our research, we took cognizance of the symbolic meaning of places, how it changed through history, and how multivalent the meaning is according to the experiences each one has there. The invocation of certain place names is deeply associated with the affective relation to the facts and constructions that occurred in these places; in a reference to a place resonates all the occurrences and struggles that happened there, making the place a meta-discourse on social movements.

ii.) The square as infrastructure for a new political discourse

Away from the Hellenic ideal, we can recall the square as a central element in the construction of politics, first by the fact that power is no longer embedded in the normative regimes of politics, but is immanent in life and immersed in physical structures. If space is not neutral, the protest camps in the squares are "representational spaces" where activists and everyone can

come together to share ideas and build new common ones. They are places where, in physical proximity, a collective identity is strengthened and reinforced. The void of the square – a spatial void that still affects and is affected by those who use it – is the in-between space where politics can be practised, as Arendt (1990 [1963]) argued. It is also the symbolic space of the Derridean "democracy to come"; "a promise that has to be kept even though – and precisely because – it can never be fulfilled […] because it involves an infinite openness to that which comes – which also means, an infinite openness to the Other or the newcomer" (Rancière, 2010 p. 58). The structure of the square can be interpreted in itself as the emancipatory meta-discourse.

iii.) The square expresses the struggle for the construction of the commons

The protest camps can be considered as the catalysts for an initial gathering and interaction of people and activists, but in time it aggregates and represents common goals and ideals. First because the square is the core of a city both in its material aspect – it is usually a hub of the city – and immaterially; it is commonly recognized as a collective place. Squares have the ability to bring the community together and facilitate people to share, absorb and build the new in the interconnection of experiences, as in a figurative representation of the square as a hub of diverse streets and contexts. Second because the experiences of the camps are much more intense than generally in daily routines: in a single day, a wide variety of encounters happen with the diversified role of activities. These encounters carry the potential for people to act in new and convergent ways (Frenzel, et al., 2014 p. 464), aligning themselves with their asymmetries in the construction of "the difference that matters" (Ahmed, 1998 p 67 quoted in Frenzel, et al., 2014 p. 464). In these experiences, people can construct an individual identity immersed in the collective identity of the group. The squares become "laboratories where people have come together to assemble alternative lifeworlds and articulate new forms of contentious politics" (Vasudevan, 2015 [2014] p. 17). The network of affectivity that takes shape in the construction of a common project is crucial to keep the camps in duration, but nonetheless shapes the self and reinforces the relation of everyday practices with politics, an axiom that subsists beyond the squares.

iv.) Occupations transform the city

In a first moment we focus on the structural and physical transformation of the city from the point of view of the camps settled in the squares and consequently on the improved dynamics of the surroundings. In a broader perspective, as the Invisible Committee (2015 [2014]) identify, "the core of the commune is precisely what eludes it, what traverses it yet always remains

beyond its appropriation" (p. 206). In this sense, the "common things" that are expressed in the camps transverse the time and spatial boundaries of the event. Once the practice of politics is introduced into everyday routines, the constituent process of the multitude is able to keep the transformations of their environment, practising politics of proximity and working in the networks of affectivity, either in negotiation and interaction with the state or apart from governmental institutions. Quite often forgotten, or erased by hegemonic power after the event, these aspects must be remembered in the community that resisted in the squares in the construction of the common, but also need to be spread to other areas of the city and other audiences.

The proposals and positions in this dissertation have revolved around the relation of the physical space of the square with the social movements and the relation with the projection of different types of power in it. Now, nearly at the end of this process, we recognize that, rather than having closed the subject, a range of new questions has arisen in the course of the investigation. How can these spatial practices used by social movements have effective and long-term political impacts? Does spatial occupation mirror the possible construction of alternatives to future ways of living? How and why have the experiences in the squares in a globalized world triggered different ways of power demonstration, changes in government and types of regimes, limitations or laws, or simply modes of life? What is the relation of place-making (global centrality vs. isolation) with the possibility of development of radical alternatives? These questions, as well as the exploratory approach of the study of social movements and politics in the realm of architecture, can invite further investigation into political dynamics through the lens of architecture, contributing to and relating a broader approach of the discourse of architecture, or merely thinking about space and politics as a unified problem. In the role of personal interests there's the aim to follow the research, focusing not only on the central and iconic spaces of the cities but also on relatively isolated areas, where, more often, we find some democratic experiences surviving and developing in time. We consider here, just to give an example, the democratic process going on in the independent region of Rojava, and often considered as a successful case of the Arab Spring.

In part as a reflection on Rojava, recent social movements and academics are now focusing on Murray Bookchin's theories, the same influencing Öcalan's Democratic Confederalism. Adopting Bookchin's analogy of the organic phenomenon of politics with the organic process of the flowering of a plant, we end this thesis by embracing this analogy as a recommendation for the development of social movements as well as academics exploring these themes: to keep

in motion, always sensitive to empirical variations and able to keep the path adopting the best of those conditions. Aware that we should always avoid using someone else's words to end a thesis, we cannot help recalling Purcell's (2013b) recommendation and never forget that we will always have the possibility of: "the way back to Tahrir, to Sol, to Syntagma, to Tiananmen." (p. 158)

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Appendices

A. New social movements and text analysis: the linguistics of the square

> [T]hese movements were born in something like a communicative laboratory, and indeed, the glue that holds them together seems initially to be linguistic, cooperative, and network based (like many forms of cognitive labor). (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p. 65)

1. Methodological praxis framework and theoretical justification

As discourse analysis is a powerful tool to understand contemporary social life, we considered essential in a first moment, to conduct a brief analyse on the discourses of the "new new" social movements (used on the) /that have been using public squares. We analysed n (add number) interviews with some of the activists, collected on the internet in (specify: NGO websites / newspapers / youtube videos, etc). This analysis was carried out in the beginning of the research in order to get a preliminary validation of our generic hypothesis.

In this research we consider the simple definition of discourse as "the use of language in social interaction" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 2) and that any discourse is based on technology, despite its kind. Even if we often consider technology as the new devices, which arrived recently in our society, as television, internet or newspaper, we should not neglect that all the discourse is based on technologies, even if they are already naturalized processes and have passed through what Pierre Bourdieu calls "genesis amnesia" or the erasure of memory of the process of learning such practice. Back in the definition of Scolon and Scolon (2004) the discourse is a way "in which people engage with each other in communication" (p. 4), so we must consider that (1) discourse is not only language and (2) the discourse is technologized not only by the key devices we use to associate with but also over a wide range of variables, either material, as the built environment or the furniture in a room, or intangible factors as how the media circulates across time and space (where has the body as a medium of discourse space in this definition?).

Our approach follows a mediated discourse theory and works on both levels of *nexus analysis* and *nexus practice* (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). First, the *nexus analysis* is used to map the constellations of frequencies and linkages which built the *nexus practice*, and which is then used on the micro level or as a qualitative method to analyse the relations in the chains as to understand how is constituted social practice. Both analysis levels have a correlation and unfold the social practices or the "habitus", a "systems of durable dispositifs" (p. 11) in which

"disposition" seems particularly appropriate to express what is covered by the concept of *"*habitus": the result of an organized action, having a meaning very close to such words as structure; a manner of being, an "habitual state (in particular, concerning the body) and, especially, a predisposition, a tendency, a propensity or an inclination." (p. 12) For this research, we used the discourse analysis to unfold the real dimension of the square that is embedded in the discourse of social movements.

As mentioned before, our approach to the discourse analysis of social movements is based on the definition of "nexus analysis "(Scolon & Scolon, 2004) as it combines micro and macro analysis and also considers it crucial to keep both scales in dependence, as broader social issues are grounded on the micro–actions of social interaction and micro–actions follow the largest cycles of social organization and activity. "Nexus analysis" is the unification of two levels: "the micro–analysis of unfolding moments of social interaction or a much broader socio–political–cultural analysis of the relationships among social groups and power interests in society" (p. 7). Following this theoretical basis we used the methodology proposed by authors (Scolon & Scolon, 2004), in particular, the exposed at the appendix "A practical fieldguide for nexus analysis" (pp. 152-178), designed to guide researchers who need to use "nexus analysis" as research tool, defined by three activities, as is shown in *Figure 80*.

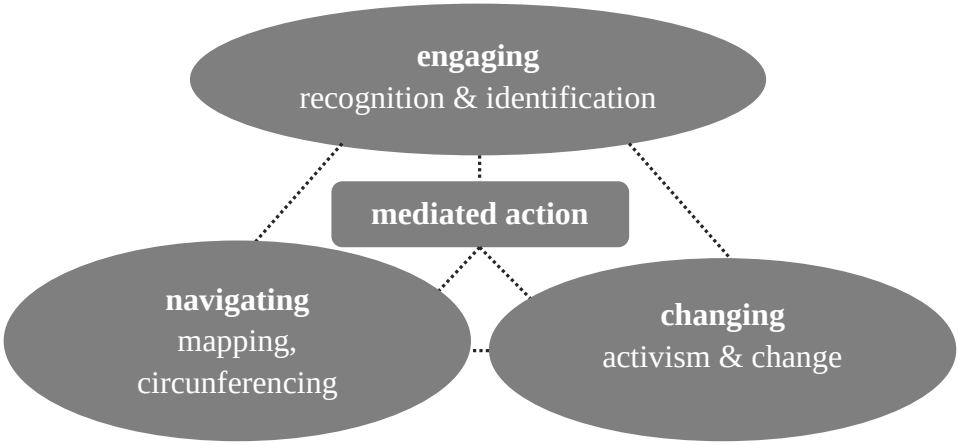


Figure 80 Activities of nexus analysis (Scolon, et al., 2004 p. 153)

As presented in the fieldguide, the first goal of the process "[e]ngaging the nexus of practice" aims to identify social actions and social actors involved in the production of a certain social issue, which is a heuristic way to narrow down the sample and define a "zone of identification", i.e. the nexus where the participant can take a place. The first step is the recognition and identification of the nexus of practice which is linked with three main factors: "the historical bodies of the participants in the action, the interaction order which they mutually produce among themselves, and the discourses in place which enable that action or are used by the

participants as mediational means in their action" (p. 153) and is followed by five key activities: (1) establish the social issue to study; (2) find the crucial social actors; (3) observe their interaction; (4) identify the most important cycles of discourse and (5) define the zone of identification.

Considering three focus cases as well as all the international waves of uprisings, we believe that people were aware of the key importance both of globalization and technological upgrade as well as the location of protest or the messages linked within the place. Following the fieldguide parameters, our second step was to identify the crucial actors. We decided / (opted for interviews, because) that it would be more useful to analyse a corpus of interviews that were produced at the time of the events instead of focus groups for the following reasons: First because those interviews are close in time with the events, second because when we are analysing social movements that pretend to be organized in an horizontal structure and often with anonymous identity, it would be difficult to get in contact with them or even to identify those actors and third because even of the Scolon identified risk on choosing a focus group that confirm our point of view instead of having an impartial opinion to analyse.…. There are several definitions for focus groups (organized discussion (Kitzinger, 1994), collective activity (Powell & Single, 1996), social events (Goss & Leinbach, 1996) and interaction (Kitzinger, 1995)) and even if Scolon and Scolon (2004) defend that is useful to define focus groups, they also advert for its possible limitations (pp. 157-8).

The "cycles of discourse" aim to identify what kind of discourse is most used in the scene and actions. As we mentioned above, our compilation of interviews was collected on the internet so we cannot identify a clear cycle of discourse as actors were not directly observed in the site of engagement or in a particular time and space with particular presence in the scene or interaction. If Scolon and Scolon (2004) argue that we have a nexus of practice "when the social action is routinely taken as a recognizable time and place" (p. 14) we considered to be able to point out our nexus of practice by the deep relations that social actors (activists) have with the place or with those squares during events.

Having established our zone of identification, clearly delimited as we are analysing discourse of some of the activists that were involved with events of Midan al–Tahrir in Cairo, Puerta del Sol in Madrid and Meydanı Taksim in Istanbul in real–time we can now foresee the importance of space in their discourses. In advance and in order to consolidate our research, we can predict

that square, relations with the urban commons or the logics of the place are the social actor's buzzwords we will be able to identify on the linguistics analysis of their discourse.

In addition to the interviews, we opted for a survey research to complement the first data set and to decrease subjectivity of our conclusions. Even if this is not a suited method for the investigation of "meaning system" (Potter, 1996), it is important to confirm initial proposals and produce valid results, considering that "without these techniques, all sorts of subjective interpretations have free rein and there are no criteria for distinguishing the good from the bad and the valid from the invalid." (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 133)

1.1. Data sample and data analysis process

We did discourse analysis of 20 interviews collected from the internet, of activists from Taksim Square, Tahrir Square and Puerta del Sol. These interviews were mainly produced in the pinnacle of the events in those squares, namely in 2011 in Spain and Egypt and 2013 in Turkey.

From Egypt, nine interviews:

1. Mahmoud Salem (Egyptian Blogger Sandmonkey) – "Pitched Battles, Peaceful Rallies; Tensions High in Cairo; ElBaradei Calls for Mubarak to Step Down". CNN, Feb. 4, 2011 (Spitzer, 2011).

2. Alaa Al Aswany (novelist) – "Narrating the revolution". The Cairo Review, February 16, 2011 (MacLeod, 2011a).

3. Mona Eltahawy (columnist and public speaker) – "Revolution in Cairo". PBS, February 9, 2011 (PBS, 2011).

4. Amr Khaled (populist Muslim) – "Faith and hope in Egypt". The Cairo Review, February 123, 2011 (El-Katatney, 2011).

5. Ahmed Maher (April 6 Youth Movement founder) – "Asharq Al–Awsat talks Egypt's April 6 Youth Movement founder Ahmed Maher". Asharq Al–Awsat, February 10, 2011 (Asharq Al-Awsat, 2011).

6. Amr Hamzawy (political analyst) – "From dictatorship to democracy". The Cairo Review, February 19, 2011 (MacLeod, 2011b).

7. Alber Saber (atheist blogger) – "Brotherhood will drive the people to secularism". Daily News Egypt, January 27, 2013 (Enei, 2013).

8. Esraa Abdel Fattah ("facebook girl") – "I Want a Democratic Egypt". The Cairo Review, February 27, 2011 (Bohn, 2011).

9. Mohamed Salah al–Azab (writer) – "On Writing and Revolution: An Interview with Mohamed Salah Al–Azab". Jadaliyya, June 27, 2011 (Stone, 2011).

From Spain, five interviews:

1. Angel Borrego Cubero (architect) – "The beauty and vision of Spain's revolution". Waging Non Violence, May 27, 2011 (Farrell, 2011).

2. M. Grueso – "'Esta revolución es muy copyleft'. Entrevista a Stéphane M. Grueso a propósito del 15M". Interface: a journal for and about social movements, Volume 4 (1): (May 2012) (Romanos, 2012).

3. David Marty (activist and writer) – "The state of Spain's 15M and Revolucionary Organization (II)". Independent Reader, Jun 2, 2012 (Roblin, 2012).

4. Armando (philosophy teacher) – "El 15M puede servir para pensar con el movimiento sindical combativo otras maneras de hacer huelga". Rojo y Negro 251, November, 2011 (Nafarroa, 2011).

5. Jon Aguirre Such (Democracia Real Ya! platform speaker) – "Entrevista–chat Jon Aguirre Such". Informacion.es, June15, 2011 (Informacion.es, 2011).

From Turkey, eight interviews:

1. Avi Blecherman (livestramer) – "Interview #2.2.3: Streaming from Taksim". No Rhetorike, July 8, 2013 (No Rhetorike, 2013e).

2. Jezebel (Jess Henson) (writer, social media manager and digital strategist) – "Interview #4.2.2: Gezi – one month on the social networks". No Rhetorike, July 3, 2013 (No Rhetorike, 2013d).

3. Ozan Tekin (Turkish authot and activist) – "Interview: Turkish protesters reject neo–liberalism not Islamism". Ahram Online, June 4, 2013 (Shaker, 2013).

4. Eylem Kaftan (filmmaker) – "Taksim Square protest movement". Coop média de Montréal, June 26, 2013 (Christoff, 2013).

5. Anonymous (web activist) – "Taksim Square protester: Humor and pacifism help fight police brutality in Turkey". 15min.lt, June 2, 2013 (Milašius, 2013).

6. Kate Cullen (sociology student) – "Interview #4.1.8: Kate Cullen, 'Siyahli Kadin', the woman in black". No rhetorike, June 24, 2013 (No rhetorike, 2013b).

7. Berk Sarper Şenol (student protester) – "Interview #4.1.7: #direngezi is in the neighborhoods". No Rhetorike, June 25, 2013 (No Rhetorike, 2013c).

8. C.D.A. and B.O. (couple of protesters) – "Interview #4.1.6: Taken under custody. A story explained from the inside and from the outside". No Rhetorike, June 24, 2013 (No Rhetorike, 2013a).

1.2. Procedings

To run this analysis, we have decided to use the Qualitative Data Analysis Software Maxqd, in which we organised all documents that will be further presented. In a first phase, we divided the data by countries and defined analysis units. To identify these units we have done a systematic quantitative analyses of the content of each interview: We divided the syntax and semantics elements and from the semantic elements we've chosen the most important ones to analyse in each discourse. In each document we tested our list of domains expressed over key words, by word frequency test, applying a stop–list for the syntax elements. We thereby aimed to decrease the subjectivity in this process.

- Change
  - hope (dream)
  - future
  - freedom (free)
- Social movements
  - activism
  - people
    - collective
    - assembly
- Power
  - democracy
  - rights
  - society (civil)
- Revolution
  - protest
  - resistance
  - manifestation/demonstration
- Place & Space
  - country
  - city (Cairo, Madrid, Istanbul)
  - street
  - square
  - acampada
  - Gezi
- State & Religion
  - state
  - system
  - secular
  - Mubarak
  - Erdogan
  - religion
    - Brotherhood
    - Islam
    - Muslim (no brotherhood)
    - Catholic
- Media
  - TV
  - news
  - internet: facebook and twitter

Figure 81 List of themes and categories.

From this collection of three analysis documents (organized by country) we composed a final one with all the twenty interviews, in which we substituted local references for more generic terms, replacing the name of cities, countries and squares for its generic reference. This working phase produced an inventory of possible relational themes and categories for content classification as the hierarchical order presented at **Erro! A origem da referência não foi encontrada.**.

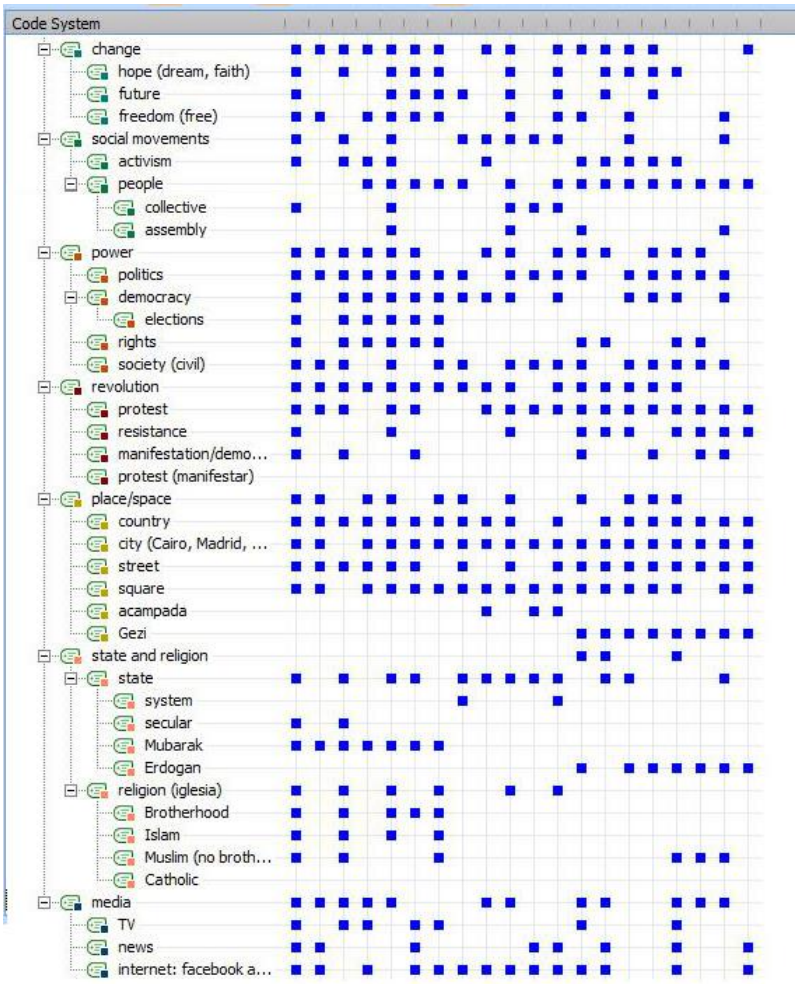


Figure 82 List of themes and categories distribution by text.

Theme – the themes were defined based on the semantics of what we identified as the generic events discourse as well as in the relation with the main impetuous for our research. The goal is to validate which are their main concerns; to burden that spatial and urban questions play an important role on their discourse, to validate that the magnitude of spatial issues is not only projected in their actions but also on a linguistic level, even if it is not the most common approach. In a first moment we identified three thematic variables, considering the main focus

on the media and the purpose of our investigation: Power, Place & Space and Media. During the process of analysis some other matters became evident and relevant to the research so we included in new variables or, as in the case of power, subdivided in three new ones: power, social movements and state, ending up with seven themes: change, social movements, power, revolution, place/space, state and religion and media.

Category – categories were defined by the most common topics mentioned under each theme. Each category is objective, exclusive and well confined on its signifying units. Although it is always a subjective choice, we assessed the elements with a word frequency test and some categories were divided in more than one variable in order to better understand some slight deviations in each national discourse. This list was built on a trial and error procedure, as presented above on **Erro! A origem da referência não foi encontrada.** and *Figure 82*.

With these lists of variables, the frequency (*Figure 84*) proved that, even if not often mentioned in media or approached in an investigation, the most often used expressions or words show the concern related to geographical questions (26,1%) followed by the discourse of social movements (17,5%), uprising or revolution thematic (14,7%), the linguistics of power (14,2%), state or religious themes (13,8%) and by the end the concerns on the future (6,3%) and media (7,3%).

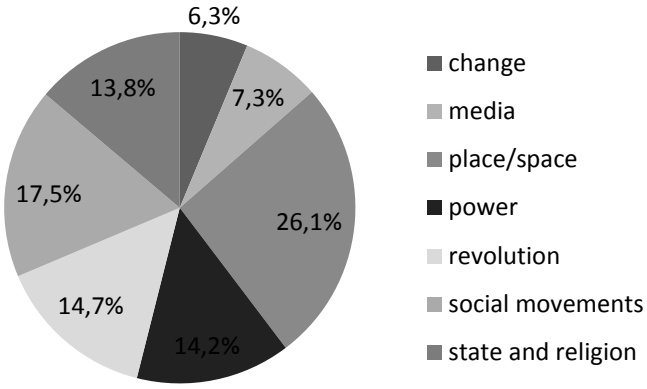


Figure 84 Themes frequency analysis.

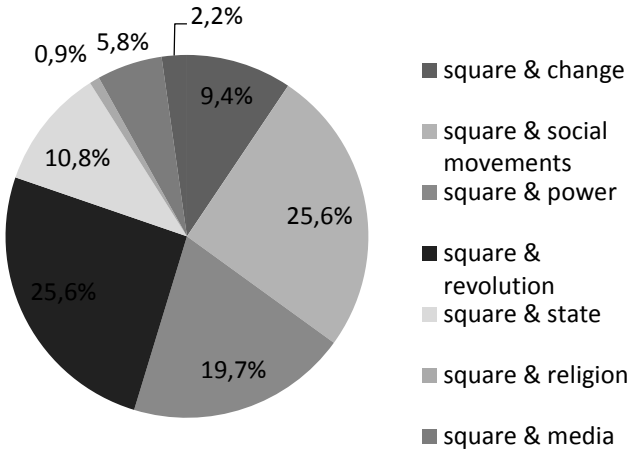


Figure 83 Square variables frequencies.

Even if we were not expecting these results, they already confirm the relevance of our research purpose because of the major use of geographical terms. In a second phase we decided to analyse the

term "square" and related categories, to understand how important the square is, not only on generic national or local level, but in a broader meaning, and in comparison with spatial aspect, as shown on *Figure 85*.

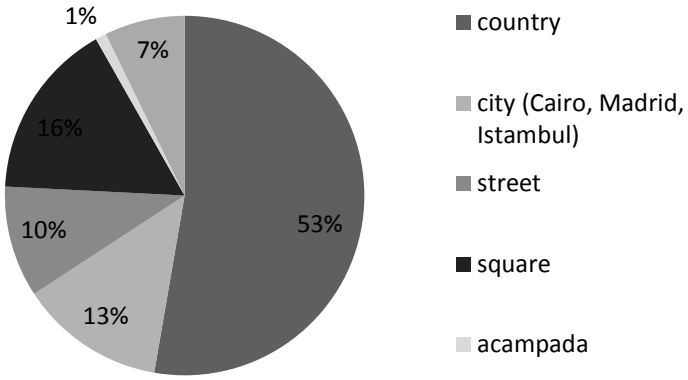


Figure 85 Place & Space variables frequencies.

We are now able to retrieve some deductions. From the chart next side we can note that the square became, in the discourse of social movements, an international common that interviewees consider as important to preserve. Even if the country – either by the name of each country, nationalities or just when mentioned in a generic dimension has the highest frequency, appearing more than half of times (53%), the square is the second most frequent variable (16%). Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) remind about Fairclough's words that confirm the primacy of the square: "discourses work together with other non–discursive dynamics in the constitution of the social, whereas the other approaches do not distinguish between the discursive and the non–discursive, all the approaches agree that discursive accounts of reality are important and have social consequences" (p. 145). Scolon and Scolon (2004) with their concept of nexus analysis also consider that more important than the discursive content of the message may be the socio–cultural context in which the message is produced.

Discursive practice is mediated by the relationship between social practice and texts (linguistic features) and therefore texts simultaneously shape and are shaped by social practice, influencing processes of production and consumption. In this second part we analyse the "square" variable, using discourse analysis to categorize short frames of each sentence where the word square appears and its relation with main themes – social movements (25,6%); revolution (25,6%); power (19,7%); state (10,8%); change (9,4%); media (5,4%); geography (2,2%) and religion (0,9%). Analysing the framed sentences or sentences as a whole we get the frequency that is mentioned before or in the *Figure 85*. Further than just the percentage of each category we wanted to analyse the relation between categories. As both categories – square & social movements and square & revolution– got the same weight in these analyses, we used a second

method to verify the frequency. Using Maxqda, we draw a map of co–occurrence (*Figure 86*), in which we can notice that the category "square & social movements" is more tangled with other categories (five relations) than subjects concerning the revolution (only four relations).

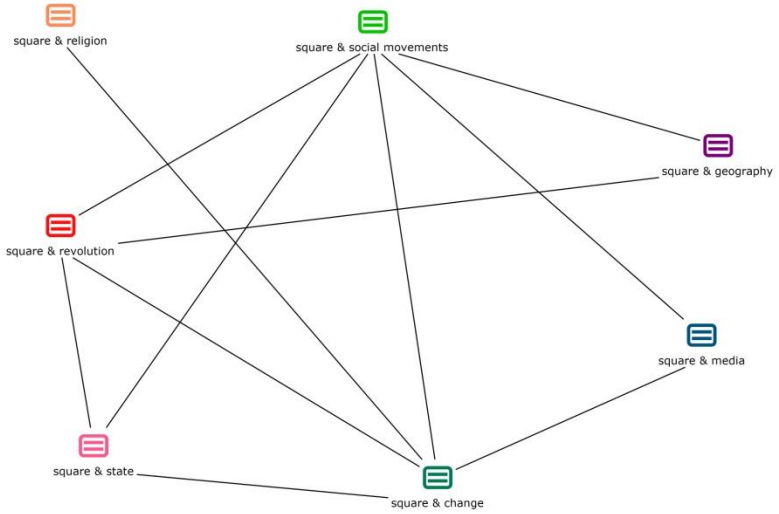


Figure 86 Co–occurrence model.

As a conclusion of this phase of discursive analysis and before the conclusions we show in Table 1, the list of sentences we analysed in each text and categories, showing as well the frequency of each category by text as well as in the whole *corpus* of analyse.

Table 1 List of sentences (segments), categorization and frequency

Doc	Segment	Code								Total
		square & change	square & social movement	square & power	square & revolution	square & state	square & religion	square & media	square & geography	
Spain #1	• Madrid's Puerta del Sol, have not surprisingly led some commentators to say that the Arab Spring has arrived in Europe.	1	1	1				1		4
	• 15M, Spanish Revolution, Take the Street, Take the Square		1	1	1					3
	• street violence outside Madrid Courthouse at Plaza de Castilla			1						1
	• Puerta del Sol protests				1					1
		11,1 %	33,3%	33,3 %	33,3 %					9
Spain #2	• Puerta del Sol ha algunas intermediaciones de la comisión de respeto	1	1							2
	• Llegamos a la Puerta del Sol y yo me fui a dormir.		1		1					2
	• leí un tweet a las 9 de la mañana: "nos hemos quedado en Sol"		1	1				1		3

	• Nunca he dormido en la plaza porque tengo la suerte de vivir muy cerca y no me ha hecho falta,				1					1
	• se quedaron a dormir en la Puerta del Sol, pero la tecnología permitió que al día siguiente lo supieran millones	1	1					1		3
		18,2 %	36,4%	9,1%	18,2 %			18,2 %		11
Spain #3	• sitting down while holding a peace sign in a public square		1		1					2
	• encampment on the main city squares all over the country	1	1		1				1	4
	• encampment at the Puerta del Sol in Madrid decided on whether or not they should leave		1		1					2
	• All of them insisted it was time to move out of the Puerta del Sol and most agreed		1							1
			44,4%		33,3 %				11,1 %	9
Spain #4	• lunes después de la manifestación había 10 chavales y chavalas en la Plaza del Castillo	1	1							2
	• querían tomar la plaza, manifestarse de forma continua allí.		1	1	1					3
	• se fue juntando gente en la plaza		1	1						2
	• resuelto los problemas en otras plazas			1						1
	• se há centrado en ambas plazas: en momentos de tensión o de desorientación	1	1							2
		20,0 %	30,0%	10,0 %	10,0 %					10
Spain #5	• no autorizar los conciertos den la Plaza de Chueca			1						1
				100,0 %						1
Egypt #1	• I mean, when I look at Tahrir Square, when I see other parts of the country that also have risen up	1	1		1					3
	• it's not just Tahrir Square in Cairo; it's not just these upper–middle–class kids with their iPads and with their computers and with Facebook	1						1		2
	• mass demonstrations in Egypt in 2003 against the invasion of Iraq. Tahrir Square, which we're watching now		1		1					2
	• all these [people] who supposedly had been in Tahrir Square		1		1					2
	• because I know from friends in Tahrir Square		1							1
	• members of the Muslim Brotherhood for being with them in the square		1				1			2
		16,7 %	41,7%		25,0 %		8,3 %	8,3%		12
Egypt #2	• I went into McDonalds next to Tahrir to use the bathroom		1		1					2
	• stay in the square	1	1		1					3
	• Some stayed in the square	1	1		1					3

	• The Egyptian Revolution is on January 25th in every square in Egypt	1	1		1				3
	• Tahrir Square as a society in miniature	1		1					2
	• Tahrir Square at the time of the sit–ins for example, from the 28th of January to the 11th of February, the day that Mubarak left was like a utopia, like an ideal society in every sense	1		1					2
	• square was as clean as could be.	1							1
	• Tahrir Square was totally organized without any planning	1		1					2
	• A Hundred Steps from the Revolution: A Diary from Tahrir Square								0
	• thousands of people marching in the street so we went down and joined them as they headed towards Tahrir Square		1		1				2
	• to get to the square and occupy it		1		1				2
	• slept at a friend's house near Tahrir, and then went back the following morning.		1						1
	• independent publishing house Dar Merit, it being so close to Tahrir Square		1					1	2
	• those present in Tahrir Square were elites		1						1
	• there is a kind of nostalgia for what took place in Tahrir Square.		1		1				2
	• nostalgic for the days you spent at Tahrir		1		1				2
	• the time of the sit–ins and such at Tahrir		1		1				2
	• Their plan was to get everyone into Tahrir Square			1		1			2
	• attacking people 5 minutes after we went back to the square			1		1			2
	• easy to get into the square			1					1
	• High ranking officers came out and addressed the crowd at Tahrir Square itself	1		1		1			3
	• hey'd trap us in Tahrir Square			1		1			2
	• go down to Tahrir, come home and write							1	1
		18,6 %	27,9%	18,6 %	20,9 %	9,3%		4,7%	43
Egypt #3	• thought that now we should go to the other streets and to walk in them so the numbers increase and we can meet and arrive in the main square		1		1				2
	• provide coverage for what happened in Tahrir Square							1	1
	• There is no leader that says we should go to Tahrir Square and we should leave Tahrir Square	1	1						2
		20,0 %	40,0%		20,0 %			0,0%	5
Egypt #4	• I was in Tahrir every day		1		1				2
			50,0%		50,0 %				2

Egypt #5	• You could see the difference between the Egyptians in Tahrir Square	1								1
	• I talked for about thirty minutes [in Tahrir Square], trying to explain to people that we are asking for our rights.			1	1					2
	• the regime sent the thugs [into the square] and people were killed			1		1				2
	• You could see the difference between the Egyptians in Tahrir Square			1						1
	• the victory in Tahrir to a democratic state			1	1	1				3
		11,1 %		44,4 %	22,2 %	22,2 %				9
Egypt #6	• because in Tahrir, Muslims and Christians were together and had the same dream.	1	1		1		1			4
	• there's no fear. People became very positive. I can't tell you that now. Wait and see what will happen. I was in Tahrir Square.	1		1						2
	• What our army and youth did in Tahrir is Egyptian civilization		1	1	1	1				4
	• At that time I was in Tahrir,		1		1					2
		16,7 %	25,0%	16,7 %	25,0 %	8,3%	8,3 %			12
Turkey #1	• The square was filled with citizens who came in support	1	1		1					3
	• Protesters wearing helmets were listening to a piano recital with the police surrounding the square		1			1				2
	• those gathered in the square were getting the news on Twitter				1			1		2
	• Taksim Square was occupied by civilians, and nobody spoke about it on Turkish television		1		1			1		3
	• I remember moments of resistance on Taksim Square		1		1					2
	• Taksim, when folk stood on balconies and leaned out of their windows with pots and spoons		1		1					2
	• Some of them were gathering at Taksim Square.		1		1					2
	• the gas that is used in Taksim was made in Israel			1						1
	• the day before the police took over Taksim Square			1		1				2
	• the barricades protecting Taksim and talked about their resistance				1					1
	• in moments of resistance and clashes with the police the day they took over Taksim Square.			1	1	1				3
	• It was the evening after a hard day of battle in Taksim Square.				1					1
	• "Her yer Taksim, her yer Direniş" (all TAKSIM, all resistance)				1					1
	• Fady broadcasting live from Tahrir Square							1		1
	• news from Gezi Park and Taksim Square began reaching the world,							1		1
		3,7%	22,2%	11,1 %	37,0 %	11,1 %		14,8 %		27

Turkey #2	• I first heard about what was happening in the square and at the park				1			1	2
					50,0 %			50,0 %	2
Turkey #3	• and tens of thousands joined the struggle in Taksim Square to keep the park safe		1	1					2
	• the police retreated from Taksim		1	1	1				3
	• call Taksim Square Tahrir		1		1				2
	• Many activists were explicitly referring to Tahrir Square		1						1
	• government's plans to restructure Taksim Square is a part of a broader neo–liberal programme.			1		1			2
	• want to turn Taksim, the centre of the city, into a place for the upper classes			1					1
	• Taksim Square was nowhere near Tahrir in terms of numbers			1	1				2
	• government's plans to restructure Taksim as a whole.			1		1			2
	• fed up not only with the plans for Taksim Square, imposed with no consultation at all with citizens			1		1			2
			23,5%	41,2 %	17,6 %	17,6 %			17
Turkey #4	• Taksim has been occupied		1		1				2
	• main square of the city occupied by protesters		1		1				2
	• community living around Taksim Square to this plan			1		1			2
	• Taksim Square, the government is trying in different ways to transform the city, especially this area, into a Dubai inspired place			1		1			2
	• restored military barracks, in the middle of Gezi Park, in Taksim Square.			1		1			2
	• just off Taksim Square							1	1
	• here, in Taksim Square				1			1	2
			15,4%	23,1 %	23,1 %	23,1 %		15,4 %	13
Turkey #5	• This is what we see in Taksim every day		1		1				2
	• Taksim Square protests are less an offshoot of the Arab Spring		1		1				2
	• 200–300 people staged a sit–in in Gezi Park, located in Taksim Square		1		1				2
	• police backed out of Gezi and Taksim		1	1		1			3
	• there will absolutely not be any intervention in Taksim or Gezi		1	1		1			3
	• police arrived in the square				1	1			2
	• first ambush was in one of the roads to Taksim			1					1
	• "to take off the political party flags" that were hung on one of the controversial buildings in the square			1		1			2
	• "too active on Twitter with regards to Taksim"				1		1		2
			26,3%	21,1 %	26,3 %	21,1 %		5,3%	19
	• "Let us go, let us crash Taksim!"		1	1	1				3

Turkey #6	• (a couple kilometers away from Taksim Square)							1	1
			25,0%	25,0 %	25,0 %			25,0 %	4
Turkey #7	• first days of protests in Kuğulu Park and Kızılay Square		1		1				2
	• I was at Kızılay Square.		1		1				2
	• Kuğulu Park and Kızılay Square protests were intervened by riot police			1	1	1			3
	• in Kızılay Square. Riot police and antiriot (TOMA)			1	1	1			3
	• main road to Kızılay Square was blocked by antiriot police and antiriot vehicles			1		1			2
	• main square of Ankara was under a fog of tear gas.			1		1			2
	• distance of Kızılay Square, so we heard what happened				1				1
	• ”After I heard that, I rushed from my home to Kızılay Square				1				1
	• heard what happened in Taksim from Facebook and Twitter.				1		1		2
			11,1%	22,2 %	38,9 %	22,2 %	5,6%		18
		21	57	44	57	24	2	13	5	223
		9,4%	25,6%	19,7 %	25,6 %	10,8 %	0,9 %	5,8%	2,2%	100,0 %

1.3. Results

The radar chart of Spanish thematic distribution (*Figure 87*) shows, in general, that the discourse of Spanish social movements about the squares is more related with the context of social movements in themselves and in part with power or event matters.

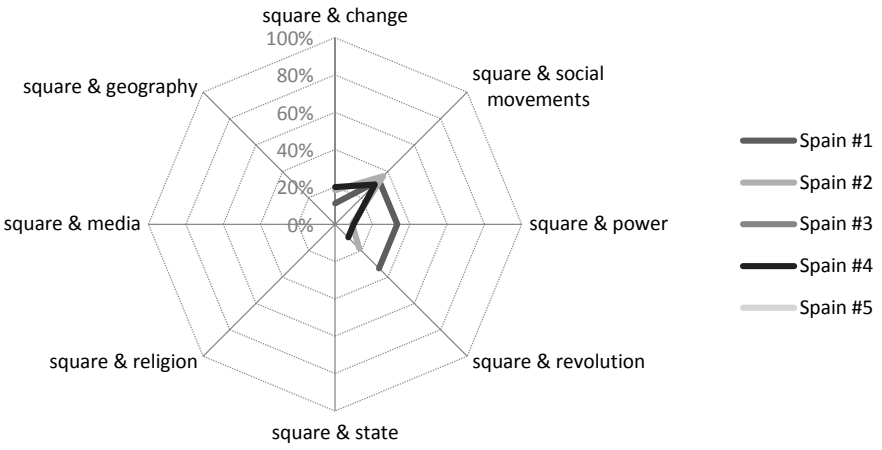


Figure 87 Spain: thematic distribution by text.

The radar chart of Egyptian thematic distribution (*Figure 88*) shows a balanced distribution around the thematic areas related with power and the state, followed by the topics of social

movements and revolution or uprisings. Here we may note that there are also some concerns on religion.

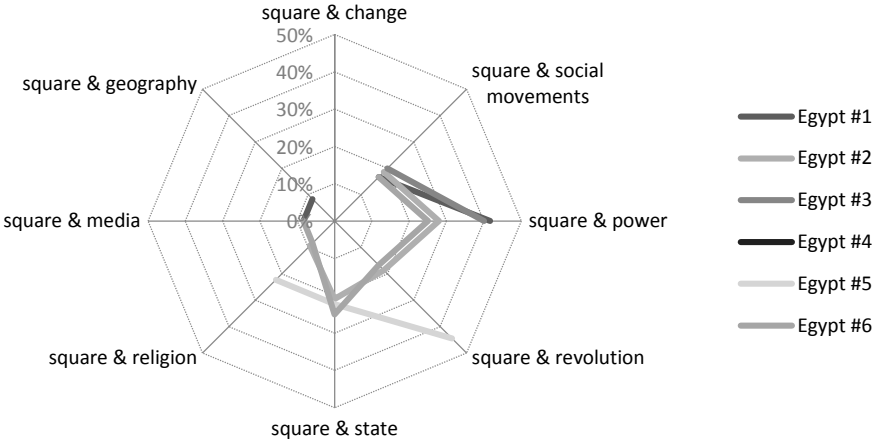


Figure 88 Egypt: thematic distribution by text.

From the radar chart of Turkish thematic distribution (*Figure 89*) we note that the social movements discourse in Turkey is unbalanced, varying its intensity on the subjects of social movements, state, power and revolution even if more concerned about the power than the other two.

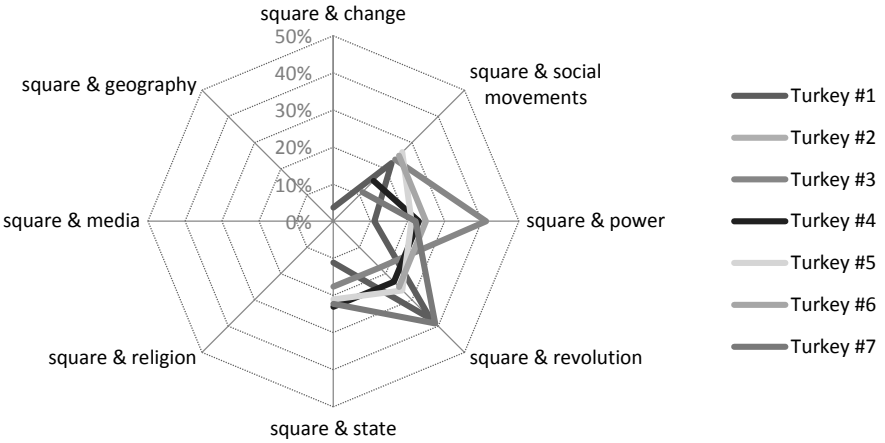


Figure 89 Turkey: thematic distribution by text.

1.4. Discussion

Our discourse analysis applied to the study of twenty interviews from activists from Spain, Egypt and Turkey events contributed to a clearer understanding of the most important thematic

areas that were being addressed in the global discourse but also the importance of the place and the spatial logics, despite the already proven importance via the occupation of the squares.

With regard to the first level of analysis, we noted that the linguistic discourse emphasizes the character and sense of the place by the frequency of times we found geographically related aspects, such as references to countries, cities or even the names of squares and parks. In a second level, we verified that despite the national identities, that can have broader connections than only the territorial thematic areas, the square is the second most frequently used category (16%), under the theme "Place & Space" (*Figure 85*), even more often that the city designation (13%). Comparing these data, we may extrapolate and conclude that the word square has a broader meaning: it is a polysemantic concept, more evocative than denotative. Not only a physical place but a generally symbolic place, the square contains in itself the production of meaning and the production of the real, the internal logics of the discourse.

Applying a qualitative discourse analysis based on the *nexus practice* methodology which considers that writing mediates social action, we focus on the content of each segment previously delimited and based in the data we may come to the following conclusions: 1) the square as a polysemantic word, defining more than a concrete space, as above mentioned; 2) the square is both the locus and the discourse for performing counter–power; 3) in our perception, the square can express a political ideology. Despite variability of the discursive from country to country (*Figure 87*, *Figure 88* and *Figure 89*), if we join the events that are inseparable from discourse we may validate that the square aims to be institutive of a new order. In order to validate this assumption we will briefly provide some exemplary sentences from the interviews:

1) square as a polysemantic word:

Puerta del Sol protests
You could see the difference between the Egyptians in Tahrir Square
there's no fear. People became very positive. I can't tell you that now. Wait and see what will happen. I was in Tahrir Square.
"Her yer Taksim, her yer Direniş" (all TAKSIM, all resistance)
Let us go, let us crash Taksim!"

2) square is both the locus and the discourse for performing counter–power

I mean, when I look at Tahrir Square, when I see other parts of the country that also have risen up
to get to the square and occupy it
There is no leader that says we should go to Tahrir Square and we should leave Tahrir Square
I was in Tahrir every day

The square was filled with citizens who came in support

3) square can express a political ideology

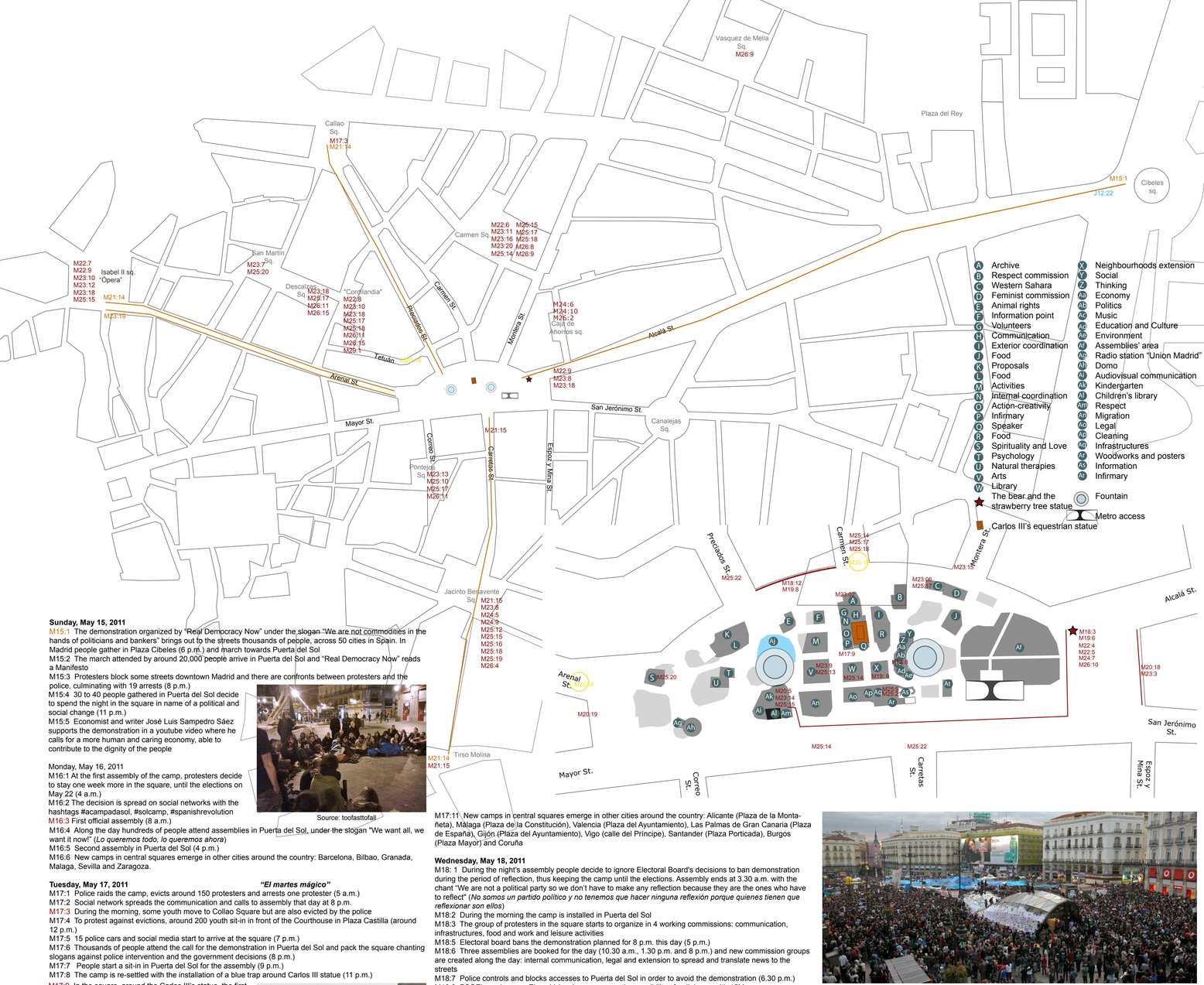
"Madrid's Puerta del Sol, have not surprisingly led some commentators to say that the Arab Spring has arrived in Europe"

querían tomar la plaza, manifestarse de forma continua allí. [they wanted to take the square, protest in permanence there.]

Tahrir Square as a society in miniature

call Taksim Square Tahrir

B. “Acampada Sol” chronomaps



Sunday, May 15, 2011

M15:1 The demonstration organized by "Real Democracy Now" under the slogan "We are not commodities in the hands of politicians and bankers" brings out to the streets thousands of people, across 50 cities in Spain. In Madrid people gather in Plaza Cibeles (6 p.m.) and march towards Puerta del Sol

M15:2 The march attended by around 20,000 people arrive in Puerta del Sol and "Real Democracy Now" reads a Manifesto

M15:3 Protesters block some streets downtown Madrid and there are confronts between protesters and the police, culminating with 19 arrests (8 p.m.)

M15:4 30 to 40 people gathered in Puerta del Sol decide to spend the night in the square in name of a political and social change (11 p.m.)

M15:5 Economist and writer José Luis Sampedro Sáez supports the demonstration in a youtube video where he calls for a more human and caring economy, able to contribute to the dignity of the people

Source: toofasttofall

Monday, May 16, 2011

M16:1 At the first assembly of the camp, protesters decide to stay one week more in the square, until the elections on May 22 (4 a.m.)

M16:2 The decision is spread on social networks with the hashtags #acampadasol, #solcamp, #spanishrevolution

M16:3 First official assembly (8 a.m.)

M16:4 Along the day hundreds of people attend assemblies in Puerta del Sol, under the slogan "We want all, we want it now!" (*Lo queremos todo, lo queremos ahora*)

M16:5 Second assembly in Puerta del Sol (4 p.m.)

M16:6 New camps in central squares emerge in other cities around the country: Barcelona, Bilbao, Granada, Malaga, Sevilla and Zaragoza.

Tuesday, May 17, 2011 ***"El martes mágico"***

M17:1 Police raids the camp, evicts around 150 protesters and arrests one protester (5 a.m.)

M17:2 Social network spreads the communication and calls to assembly that day at 8 p.m.

M17:3 During the morning, some youth move to Collao Square but are also evicted by the police

M17:4 To protest against evictions, around 200 youth sit-in in front of the Courthouse in Plaza Castilla (around 12 p.m.)

M17:5 15 police cars and social media start to arrive at the square (7 p.m.)

M17:6 Thousands of people attend the call for the demonstration in Puerta del Sol and pack the square chanting slogans against police intervention and the government decisions (8 p.m.)

M17:7 People start a sit-in in Puerta del Sol for the assembly (9 p.m.)

M17:8 The camp is re-settled with the installation of a blue trap around Carlos III statue (11 p.m.)

M17:9 In the square, around the Carlos III's statue, the first symbols and elements of the occupation start to appear: people bring sofas, beds and chairs to spend the night sleeping there. Black flags and a logo representing strength (a fist), magic (moon) and Puerta del Sol (sun) is installed around the statue



Source: flickr hivemind.net

M17:10 Protesters decide to organize under working commissions and spread the information on the web (1) Audiovisuals and graphics: responsible to collect visual registries in the camp and of the movement as well as for the construction of the boards, banners and the decoration of the camp; (2) Legal Affairs informs the people on what to do in case of detention and mediates with the police, furnishes the movement with legal counsel and mediates with the police; (3) Internal coordination takes care of the information and volunteer management as of the coordination of the commissions and the provision of such information; (4) Infirmary provides first-aid assistance, manage medical supplies and give some advices on health, nutrition or the sanitary conditions of the camp; (5) Action is responsible to organize in-house and plan actions for raising awareness and public information; (6) Communication takes care of social media, action and coordination of internal and external information. The commissions also integrates the translation sub-commissions that help conveying movement-related developments in the world; (7) Acampada is the last commission to be created to manage and give structure to the acampada; (8) Migration is responsible for making proposals regarding issues of migrants in the country and the protection of freedom of expression; (9) Extension (neighbourhoods, national and international) is responsible to extend the protests of the square in space and time. The group plans connections with other sectors, social agents or collectives; (10) Kindergarten is the space for the child; (11) LLibrary collects books from different genres and authors and is responsible for managing the material and creating a database; (12) Electoral information gives information on the Electoral system; (13) Working groups - Acampada is divided in 7 main working groups: politics, economy, environment, social rights, education and culture, cultural thinking and finance; (14) Respect commission manages conflicts inside of the camp as well as with neighbours or local businesses and gives advice on how to behave inside of the camp; (15) (16) Food "A" and "B" is one of the most important commissions of the camp, managing donated food and establishing shift meals. The group is responsible to collect given food, cook, manage and serve; (17) Recycling centre is the area for recycling; (18) Infrastructure and cleaning: Infrastructure takes care of the construction of the camp and management of built elements. The commission is organized under themes to give answer to all the needs and the Cleaning commission is responsible to keep the camp cleaned and healthful; (19) IInformation gives answer to people's doubts on the extension and duration of the camp and manage petitions; (20) W.C. (21) Assemblies area, (22) Speaker's corners where everyone can express ideas and proposals



Source: #Acampadasol

M17:11 New camps in central squares emerge in other cities around the country: Alicante (Plaza de la Montañeta), Málaga (Plaza de la Constitución), Valencia (Plaza del Ayuntamiento), Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Plaza de España), Gijón (Plaza del Ayuntamiento), Vigo (calle del Príncipe), Santander (Plaza Porticada), Burgos (Plaza Mayor) and Coruña

Wednesday, May 18, 2011

M18: 1 During the night's assembly people decide to ignore Electoral Board's decisions to ban demonstration during the period of reflection, thus keeping the camp until the elections. Assembly ends at 3.30 a.m. with the chant "We are not a political party so we don't have to make any reflection because they are the ones who have to reflect" (*No somos un partido político y no tenemos que hacer ninguna reflexión porque quienes tienen que reflexionar son ellos*)

M18:2 During the morning the camp is installed in Puerta del Sol

M18:3 The group of protesters in the square starts to organize in 4 working commissions: communication, infrastructures, food and work and leisure activities

M18:5 Electoral board bans the demonstration planned for 8 p.m. this day (5 p.m.)

M18:6 Three assemblies are booked for the day (10.30 a.m., 1.30 p.m. and 8 p.m.) and new commission groups are created along the day: internal communication, legal and extension to spread and translate news to the streets

M18:7 Police controls and blocks accesses to Puerta del Sol in order to avoid the demonstration (6.30 p.m.)

M18:8 PSOE's spokesman Elena Valenciano opens up the possibility of a dialogue with 15M

M18:9 Spanish actor Willy Toledo joins the crowd in Puerta del Sol to give support to the protests

M18:10 TThe crowd at the square ignores the Electoral Board's decision and packs Puerta del Sol (8 p.m.). At 8 p.m. everyone celebrates by clapping hands together

M18:11 The organization asks everybody not to make reference to any political party (8.20 p.m.)

M18:12 A large board is created in a scaffolding between Preciados and Carmen streets. The first billboard placed says "We are not against the system, the system is against us" (No somos antisistema, el sistema es anti-nosotros) (8.30 p.m.)

M18:13 Police cordon has to retreat 10 meters to leave space for the multitude gathered in the square (10 p.m.)

M18:14 Esperanza Aguirre criticizes the camp in Puerta del Sol

M18:15 New camps in central squares emerge in other cities around the country: Mataró, Lleida, Huelva (Plaza Antiguo Colombino) and Logroño

M18:16 Internationally, the movement obtains support with rallies in Amsterdam, London and Oporto



Source: L. Marcha Plural

Thursday, May 19, 2011

M19: 1 In the night's assembly people reinforce the decision to ignore the Electoral Boards advice and keep in the camp

M19: 2 Commission meetings to organize the space and works in the square (2 a.m.)

M19: 3 Hundreds of people who have spent the night in the square start to organize and clean the space (8 a.m.)

M19: 4 The Electoral Board meets once more to discuss the situation, after a 39,000 signatures petition is delivered (12 p.m.)

M19: 5 15M movement entitles itself as "Toma la plaza"

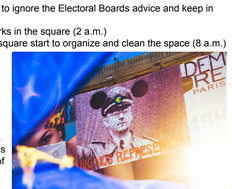
M19: 6 Midday's assembly in front of the bear and the strawberry tree's statue has higher turnout than the previous one with thousands of people attending to discuss common proposals for the movement. Some of the discussed subjects cover the themes of the Electoral law and Basic rights such as house, income, public health, education and free circulation of people (12-3.30 p.m.)

M19: 7 During the afternoon's assembly, people approve by consensus the decision to keep the demonstration on Saturday

M19: 8 Under an enthusiastic atmosphere, a new billboard is placed in the scaffolding with a picture of Goebbels (minister of propaganda for the German Nazi party) with the Euro symbol over the hat and the slogan "they don't represent us" (*no nos representan*) (10 p.m.)

M19: 9 Action Committee proposes neighbourhood's assemblies in all neighbourhoods of Madrid for the day after at 5 p.m. (10.25 p.m.)

M19: 10 At the end of the day and after a long meeting, the Electoral Board declares illegal all "rallies and meetings" called for May 21 (Day of Electoral reflection) and May 22 (Election Day) (11.30 p.m.)



Source: flickr hivemind.net

Puerta del Sol, Thursday evening. Source: ecopepodo

M19: 11 IIn Puerta del Sol, the multitude reacts with quick organization of thematic assemblies in the square (11.55 p.m.)

M19: 12 Prohibition stirs up protesters: other camps appear in 41 new cities of Spain (57 camps in total) and from abroad, an (international) support arrives with 13 (new) camps and demonstrations in several cities, such as Lisbon, Rome, Paris, New York, Brussels, Goteborg, Stockholm, Birmingham, Istanbul, Budapest, Bologna, Padua, México, Hamburg and Sydney

Friday, May 20, 2011

M20:1 In the morning the square is cleaned and organized (7 a.m.)

M20:2 Organization confirms that no political party has tried a dialogue with the movement

M20:3 Ten thematic assemblies (10 a.m.)

M20:4 I.U. (Izquierdas Unidas) it will appeal against the Electoral Board's decision to ban demonstrations (11.30 a.m.)

M20:5 A kindergarten of 20 square meters is inaugurated (1 p.m.)

M20:6 General assembly (1 -2 p.m.)

M20:7 The number of working commissions increases with multiple new themes and including one of respect (1.50 p.m.)

M20:8 Tv channel "Sol TV" created by the journalists Pepa González and Kike Álvarez for live stream of Puerta del Sol beats views with 50,000 viewers from over 50 countries (2.20 p.m.)

M20:9 Electoral Board denies the permission for the demonstration during current day (3.30 p.m.)

M20:10 Organization asks for peaceful reaction in case of verbal or physical attacks

M20:11 Organization installs two solar panels in the square to charge laptops and mobile phones (4.30 p.m.)

M20:12 Organization declares recording forbidden in four areas of the camp: legal, communication, kindergarten and infirmary (5 p.m.)

M20:13 Organization calls on the website for a silent scream at 5 minutes past midnight, to open up the Day of Electoral reflection. The meeting place is 10 minutes prior in front of "The bear and the strawberry tree" (6.20 p.m.)

M20:14 A human chain is created to control the accesses from the metro station as the square is packed. Police is obligated to divert transit from Alcalá Street

M20:15 A new commission is created to discuss environmental affairs in their first assembly (6.30 p.m.)

M20:16 In the 6 p.m. assembly, due to the amount of people in the square, commissions decide to expand the intervention area to the surrounding streets and install the working commissions in there. The proposed streets include Tetuán, Carmen and Arenal as Preciados and Jacinto Benaventura Streets were already being used by the working assemblies of politics, education, economy and environment

M20:17 In the afternoon assembly it is decided to keep the Saturday morning demonstration (7 p.m.)

M20:18 Protesters climb in the historical building of the Tio Pepe billboard to place a banner saying "Indignados"

M20:19 Several people climb the historical building of the "La Mallorquina" to fix a large banner saying "Democracia Real Ya" (9.25 p.m.)

M20:20 The Spanish government decides not to evacuate people from Puerta Del Sol if there is no disorder (9.30 p.m.)

M20:21 Commission of control distributes a leaflet with behaviour procedures in the square, forbidding alcohol and on how to proceed in case of detention (10 p.m.)

M20:22 Thousands of people keep arriving in Puerta de Sol (11 p.m.)



Puerta del Sol friday evening. Credits: Uly Martín (El País)

Ministry of Interior estimated that about 58,000 people attended the Acampada during the day

M20:23 Internationally, in Japan, people gathered in front of the Embassy

Saturday, May 21, 2011

M21:1 Massive Day of Electoral Reflection starts with a night of civil disobedience , with hundreds of thousands performing "a silent scream"

M21:2 3.000 to 5.000 people spend the night in the square

M21:3 Legal commission collects signatures to keep the tents permanently in Puerta del Sol (11 a.m.)

M21:4 Acampada self-proclaims as a city-state, self-managed by an Assembly ready to survive beyond May 22

M21:5 Cleaning commission cleans the square after the long and crowdy night (11.30 a.m.)

M21:6 Retailers and taxi drivers complain with the sails' decrease and inaccessibility to the square

M21:7 The number of policemen increases in the square and in the surrounding streets with 7 vans parked in front of Real Casa de Correos, other 7 in Carmen Square and some others in Maestro Victoria Street

M21:8 General assembly translated into deaf-mute language (1- 2 p.m.)

M21:9 A new map of the new organization of the camp is distributed (2 p.m.)

Some of the differences from the previous days are: the camp occupies a larger area of the square with tents, Action Committee and Infirmary's commisions move to different locations and new commissions appear, tents and stalls: (11) Study area; (17) Food "C"; (19) Lost and found information stall; (22) Volunteers; (23) Feminist commission that is responsible to keep social balance in the square and the abolishment of gender inequality. The commission is also responsible to manage gestural communication; (24) Extension and informatics is responsible for the wireless maintenance and the management of information on websites, blogs and social media



Silent scream. Credits: Pedro Armestre/AFP/Getty Images



Source: #Acampadasol

M21:10 The movement creates a radio station and a newspaper to diffuse ideas and proposals of the commissions in the city neighbourhoods (4 p.m.)

M21:11 Protesters build an ecological garden in the square, using the borders around the fountains (4 p.m.)

M21:12 Concert with volunteer musicians (3.30 – 4-30 p.m.)

M21:13 In the general assembly 20 local assemblies are convened in Madrid and t10 of other areas of the region to May 28 (4.40 p.m.)

M21:14 Three street processions starting from Callao, Ópera and Tirso Molina to Puerta del Sol (6 -6.30 p.m.)

M21:15 Working commissions in the Jacinto Benavente Square, Carretas Street and Tirso Molina are raid by the police (8 p.m.)

M21:16 Thousands of people pay a tribute to the day of reflection, with one minute of silence in a performative gesture with hands up (9 p.m.)

M21:17 Through the night thousands of people keep arriving in Puerta del Sol, as in previous days



Day of reflection. Credits: EFE. Source: 20minutos



Day of reflection. Credits: Cristóbal Manuel, Santi Brugos and Álvaro García. Source: El País

M21:18 During the evening's assembly the main theme under discussion is the permanence in the square. Due to the large affluence and number of pending issues the assembly has to be postponed for the next morning

M21:19 International support keeps growing with demonstrations in Cork, Berlin, Vilnius, Sydney, Phnom Penh, Guadalajara, Mexico City, Santo Domingo, Lima, Santiago de Chile, Tokyo, Lisbon, Paris, London and São Paulo. International press is also deeply focused on the events in the square



World map of Acampadas on May 21

Sunday, May 22, 2011

M22:1 People in the square celebrate the beginning of the Electoral Day with the slogans "they call it democracy and it is not" (*lo llaman democracia y no lo es*), "the people united will never be defeated" (*el pueblo unido jamás será vencido*). All along the night, the square is packed with people sleeping or just hanging around

M22:2 Elections go unnoticed for campers and even if some of them are voting there is still no references to the parties or results along the day

M22:3 Working commissions assemblies happen regularly except the one scheduled to Jacinto Benavente Square that has to be relocated due to the police control of the square (11 a.m.)



May 22. Credits: Paul Hanna. Source: Publico

M22:4 General assembly in front of "The bear and the strawberry tree" statue has large affluence and takes long to start but 30 minutes later, and after the request made to the media to only record from far without focusing on faces, the organization starts, following the thematic order: (1) the permanence in the square; (2) Legal Commission and Chief Commission of Respect will give their opinion on the theme; (3) how to act in case of eviction; (4) electricity, offers and Inditex

Each commission gives their opinion and vote on the decision to keep or not the camp: Feminists and Legal commissions vote to stay; Health vote the same although highlights that is crucial to keep the same order on works; Infrastructure vote to stay until a social change; Extension to the neighbourhoods votes to stay until is needed; Food votes to stay but focuses on some management issues to be solved; Information votes to stay but aims to extend to neighbourhoods; Arts votes to stay. Education and Culture abstains. Audiovisual votes to stay; Internal Coordination votes to stay but asks for a better coordination and more collaboration; Environment votes to stay at least for one more week; Informatics and Respect commissions vote to stay. The library commission couldn't get a consensual decision. Social and Politics and Health commissions vote to stay. The final decision of the assembly is to stay for one more week. The decision on how to stay is a theme to be under discussion at the 6 p.m. assembly. Following the list of issues on debate at the assembly, it is also discussed how to react in case of eviction and the group decides to create the Permanence commission (1) to be responsible for the theme. In the electricity issue, there is no consensus on how to behave in case of end of solar panels energy, wether to take from urban lamps or not. On the issue of Inditex donation, assembly decided not to accept even if they still don't know the content (12-2.30 p.m.)

M22:5 Tango (beside "the bear and the strawberry tree statue") (6 p.m.)

M22:6 Assembly of economy (Carmen square) (7.30 p.m.)

M22:7 Assembly of journalism (Ópera) (9 p.m.)

M22:8 Education and culture meeting (Cortilandia) (10 p.m.)

M22:9 Teachers meeting (Ópera) and Free meeting on the Electoral results (Caja Madrid Alcalá) (11 p.m.)

M22:10 Silent scream in the square (11.59 p.m.)

Monday, May 23, 2011

M23:1 During the night a group of people keeps working with the infrastructure commission (5 a.m.)

M23:2 Beside the Communication commission an area of archive to keep leaflets, banners and posters is installed (9 a.m.)

M23:3 Workers remove banners and posters from the façade of Puerta del Sol 1, acquired by Apple group (9.20 a.m.)

M23:4 General assembly (1 p.m.)

M23:5 Trade confederation of Madrid asks a meeting with Acampada spokesman to discuss the decrease in the trades (1.15 p.m.)

M23:6 Western Sahara installs a tent in the square (2 p.m.)

M23:7 Assembly of Music (San Martín Square) and of the Commission of assemblies (4 p.m.)

M23:8 Assembly of Theatre (Caja Madrid), Assembly of the Commission of assemblies (Jacinto Benavente square) and working group meeting for the social issues (5 p.m.)

M23:9 Arts assembly (5.30 p.m.)

M23:10 Talk on Education and culture (Ópera) and short- term politics meeting (Cortilandia) (6 p.m.)

M23:11 Talk on Environment Economy meeting, Assembly of neighbourhoods, Meeting of the thinking group, Assembly for the rights of animals (Carmen square) (7 p.m.)

M23:12 Meditation (Ópera Theatre) (7 p.m.)

M23:13 Meeting of Political action (Pontejos Square) (7 p.m.)

M23:14 Kindergarten meeting (7 p.m.)

M23:15 Talk on culture (education and dance) (Feminists stall) (7 p.m.)

M23:16 Assembly on finances (Carmen square) (7.30 p.m.)

M23:17 General assembly. The proposal to create a 5 meters perimeter around the shops for the circulation of people, to solve some of the trade problems, is not allowed due to lack of consensus (8.30 p.m.)

M23:18 Meeting on Health issues (Caja Madrid), meeting on Journalism (Opera), meeting of labour commission, meeting of the coordination of extension, meeting on migration (Carmen street), Alternative education and Legislation meetings (Cortilandia), Short-term politics meeting (Descalzas square) (9 p.m.)

M23:19 Protest parade (Arenal Street)

M23:20 Meeting on 15-M action (Carmen Square) (10 p.m.)

Tuesday, May 24, 2011

M24:1 The assembly approves by consensus the removal of banners and posters from shop windows but not from the front of big companies. It is also decided to not accept the invitation of the "59 Segundos" television to participate in a political debate (12-1 p.m.)

M24:2 Neighbourhoods commission confirms local assemblies at 8 p.m. (1.40 p.m.)

M24:3 Acampada organization confirms to keep working on the possibility of virtual assemblies although there are still some technical problems to be solved (1.48 p.m.)

M24:4 Organization initiate a campaign against the banks, asking the people to withdraw 155 euros (2 p.m.)

M24:5 Meeting for analysis (Jacinto Benavente square) (3 p.m.)

M24:6 Assembly on social issues of children (Caja de Ahorros Square) (6 p.m.)

M24:7 Meeting of the commission on diversity (The bear and the strawberry tree statue) (7 p.m.)

M24:8 It is diffused a manual of civil disobedience, informing the contents of Sinde law (Ley Sinde) and with suggestion on how to behave with the diffusion of information on the web (7.45 p.m.)

M24:9 Meeting of neighbourhood commissions (Jacinto Benavente Square) (8 p.m.)

M24:10 Development and cooperation meeting (Caja de Ahorros) (8 p.m.)

M24:11 Neighbourhoods' assemblies broadcasted in Puerta del Sol (8 p.m.)

M24:12 It is diffused a rally "Marcha de las columnas" around the country booked to June 19 (10.46 p.m.)

Wednesday, May 25, 2011

M25:1 Working commission keeps occupied on the removal of banners and posters from shop windows (1 a.m.)

M25:2 Organization officially calls for more people to join the movement and to appear in the working meeting and assemblies (11.30 a.m.)

M25:3 In the morning assembly, graving voices call for the construction and publication of a manifesto with concrete proposals of the movement, main goals and demands, as already happened in other cities of the country (Barcelona and Sevilla), to keep fighting with the same intensity

M25:4 The website to report experiences in Puerta del Sol (http://hacksol.tomalaplaza.net/) is created (12 p.m.)

M25:5 At noon's assembly the abolishment of bullfights is approved (1 p.m.)

M25:6 In a speech, Javier López (CCOO General secretary) mentions the similarities between the campers discourses and demands and the ones from the trade unions (2 p.m.)

M25:7 Legal assembly (3 p.m.)

M25:8 Development assembly (4 p.m.)

M25:9 Assembly of infrastructure (4 p.m.)

M25:10 Infirmary assembly (Pontejos Square) (4.30 p.m.)

M25:11 In the afternoon's assembly, assistants agree to remove the tents from the square on Thursday at 6.30 p.m. to give access to public cleaning services (Selur) as there is need of a deeper cleaning during the night (5 p.m.)

M25:12 Social work assembly, Commissions assembly (Cortilandia), Communication evaluation (Jacinto Benavente square) (5 p.m.)

M25:13 Arts assembly (5.30 p.m.)

M25:14 Communication assembly (Carmen square), Neighbourhoods extension assembly, Assembly of the commission of respect, Environment meeting (Carmen street), violinists meeting (Library) (6 p.m.)

M25:15 Audiovisual assembly and Economics working group (Carmen square), Feminists assembly (Jacinto Benavente square), Animation assembly, Mediation and music dynamics classes (Ópera), Child musical parade (from kindergarten to the bear and the strawberry tree statue) (7 p.m.)

M25:16 Group dynamics(3) meeting (Jacinto Benavente square) (7.30 p.m.)

M25:17 Music assembly (Carmen street), Western Sahara documentary (Western Sahara tent), Dramatics readings (Carmen square), Politics working group meeting (Pontejos Square), Education and culture working group (Cortilandia and Descalzas Square), Theatre (Ópera) (8 p.m.)

M25:18 Short-term and long-term politics assemblies (Cortilandia), Migration and Thinking(4) assemblies (Carmen street), Health assembly and Infirmary (Alcalá), Animals rights assembly (Carmen square), Labour working group (Jacinto Benavente Square) (9 p.m.)

M25:19 Feminist commission assembly (Jacinto Benavente Square) (9.30 p.m.)

M25:20 Library and Music assembly (San Martin Square), Legal assembly, Assembly of activities (Alcalá), Spirituality assembly (5) (10 p.m.)

M25:21 Infrastructures assembly (11 p.m.)

M25:22 Information assembly (Carretas Street), Internal coordination assembly and Commission of respect assembly (Preciados Street) (12 a.m.)

M25:23 Internationally, the movement keeps growing with new camps in Argentina, Badia Del Vallès and Sant Boi de Llobregat and specially in Syntagma square (Athens) where 7,000 people gathered after a rally attended by more than 50,0000 people

Thursday, May 26, 2011

M26:1 Campers informatics launch the social network "Take the square network" (8.50 a.m.)

M26:2 Health working group assembly (Cajas de Ahorro) (11 a.m.)

M26:3 The acampada website keeps on development and the workers advertise new functionalities and thematic sections: international, neighbourhoods, debate of ideas on democracy (1 p.m.)

M26:4 Commission of Media analysis and of Communication strategy meetings (Jacinto Benavente Square) (3 p.m.)

M26:5 Assembly of protesters approve a "Minimum Consensus Program". The movement spreads on the website four main proposals: electoral law reform, fight against corruption, separation of public power and domains and mechanisms to guarantee the politics liability

M26:6 Along the day, some support comes from national and international important personalities, such as the Spanish guitar player Miguel Ríos, Spanish singer Niña Pastori, British writer Chris Stewart, Spanish musician Kiko Veneno, Spanish actors Juan Echanove and Penélope Cruz, Spanish writer Javier Cercas or the Spanish economist, politician and writer Eduardo Punset

M26:7 A men starts removing posters and banners in the Acampada but the act is interrupted by the police in order to avoid conflicts

M26:8 Communication Commission assembly (Carmen Square) (6 p.m.)

M26:9 Economy working group assembly (Vázquez de Mella Square) and Environment working group assembly (Carmen Square) (7 p.m.)

M26:10 Reflection and demonstration on the thematic of pensions. More than one hundred people demonstrate against the regime of pensions in Puerta del Sol (7 p.m.)

M26:11 Long-term politics working group assembly (Pontejos Square), Education working group assembly (Cortilandia and Descalzas Square), Hacksol working group assembly (Patio Maravillas, Pez Street, 21) (8 p.m.)

M26:12 General assembly (8 p.m.)

M26:13 Bicicrítica (every last month Thursday's parade) announces it will end at Puerta del Sol (Cibeles Palacio Oriente) (8-9 p.m.)

M26:14 Social intervention working group assembly (Alcalá) (8.30 p.m.)

M26:15 Education working group assembly (Cortilandia and Descalzas Square) (9 p.m.)

M26:16 Internal coordination meeting (12 a.m.)



Source: la Informacion



Spirituality and Love tent. Source: la Información



Credits: Jorge París. Source: 20 minutos

Notes:

(1) Permanence commission is responsible to think and decide on when and how to leave the square.

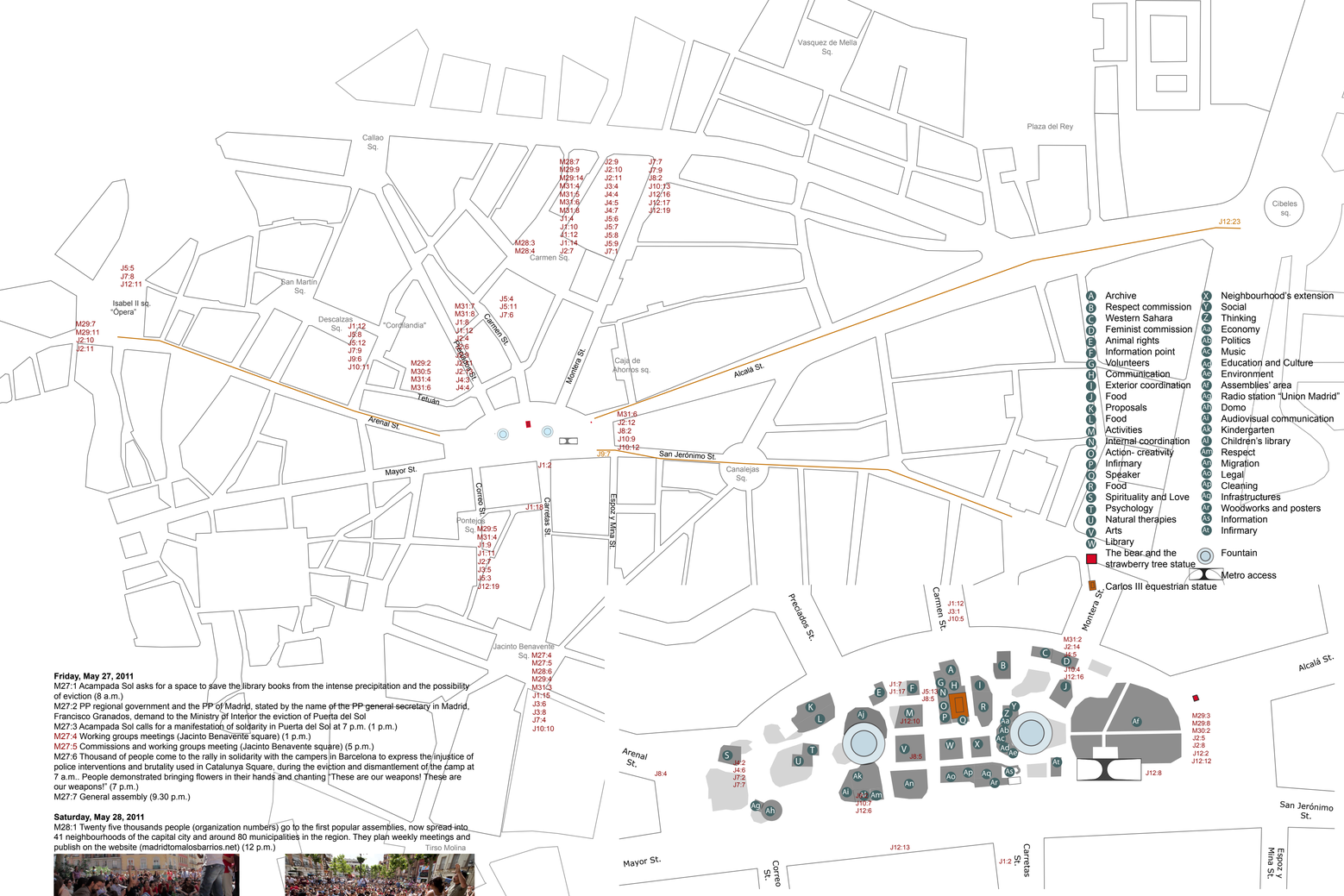
(2) Commission of assemblies or commission of commissions is responsible to collect all the information from different meetings and groups in the square.

(3) Group dynamics commission builds and diffuses the methodological sequence and presents the proceedings to be followed in each meeting and assembly, establishes moderation dynamics and drafts General assembly minutes.

(4) TThinking commission is responsible to create and bring ideas to improve the functioning of the camp and improve the overall system.

(5) Spirituality and love tent and commission was initially part of the Arts commission but untied and is responsible to bring hope and happiness in the square and other commissions.

Map and chronology built from news taken from: 20minutos.es, #Acampadasol, cibernoticias EXPRESS, El País, periodico Público, El Mundo, lainformación.com, spainrevolution, Independent, The Washington Post



A Archive
B Respect commission
C Western Sahara
D Feminist commission
E Animal rights
F Information point
G Volunteers
H Communication
I Exterior coordination
J Food
K Proposals
L Food
M Activities
N Internal coordination
O Action- creativity
P Infirmary
Q Speaker
R Food
S Spirituality and Love
T Psychology
U Natural therapies
V Arts
W Library
The bear and the strawberry tree statue

X Neighbourhood's extension
Y Social
Z Thinking
Aa Economy
Ab Politics
Ac Music
Ad Education and Culture
Ae Environment
Af Radio station "Union Madrid"
Ag Domo
Ah Audiovisual communication
Ai Kindergarten
Aj Children's library
Ak Respect
Al Migration
Am Legal
An Cleaning
Ao Infrastructures
Ap Woodworks and posters
Aq Information
Ar Infirmary
Fountain
Metro access
Carlos III equestrian statue

Friday, May 27, 2011
M27:1 Acampada Sol asks for a space to save the library books from the intense precipitation and the possibility of eviction (8 a.m.)
M27:2 PP regional government and the PP of Madrid, stated by the name of the PP general secretary in Madrid, Francisco Granados, demand to the Ministry of Interior the eviction of Puerta del Sol
M27:3 Acampada Sol calls for a manifestation of solidarity in Puerta del Sol at 7 p.m. (1 p.m.)
M27:4 Working groups meetings (Jacinto Benavente square) (1 p.m.)
M27:5 Commissions and working groups meeting (Jacinto Benavente square) (5 p.m.)
M27:6 Thousand of people come to the rally in solidarity with the campers in Barcelona to express the injustice of police interventions and brutality used in Catalunya Square, during the eviction and dismantlement of the camp at 7 a.m.. People demonstrated bringing flowers in their hands and chanting "These are our weapons! These are our weapons!" (7 p.m.)
M27:7 General assembly (9.30 p.m.)

Saturday, May 28, 2011
M28:1 Twenty five thousands people (organization numbers) go to the first popular assemblies, now spread into 41 neighbourhoods of the capital city and around 80 municipalities in the region. They plan weekly meetings and publish on the website (madridtomalosbarrios.net) (12 p.m.)






Neighbourhood's assemblies: Latina, Moratalz, Ciudad lineal, Getafe, Leganés and Carabanchel. Source: flickr Acampada Sol

M28:2 Flashmob "Sol one minute reflex" (*Sol un minuto de reflejo)* (3 p.m.)
M28:3 Communication commission calls people to come to every commission meeting (Carmen square) (6.p.m.)
M28:4 Economy and Environment commissions meetings (Carmen square) (7 p.m.)
M28:5 General assembly (8 p.m.)
M28:6 Feminist assembly (Jacinto Benavente square) (9.30 p.m.)
M28:7 Migration meeting (Carmen square) (10 p.m.)
M28:8 Internationally, in Greece people call for a European mass protest on May 29th.

Sunday, May 29, 2011
M29:1 Group dynamics meeting (Cortilandia) (9 a.m.)
M29:2 "Hymn of happiness" rehearsal (Cortilandia) (10.30 a.m.)
M29:3 "Hymn of happiness" (The bear and the strawberry tree statue) (10.45 a.m.)
M29:4 Theatre meeting (Jacinto Benavente square) (12 p.m.)
M29:5 Long-term politics (Pontejos square) (12 p.m.)
M29:6 Assembly with neighbourhood's spokesmen: presentation of proposals and conclusions of previous day popular assemblies and discussion on the theme to stay or not in the square (12 p.m.)
M29:7 Expressive movement class (Ópera) (12 p.m.)
M29:8 Talk on "Journalism and war" (The bear and the strawberry tree statue) (5 p.m.)
M29:9 Communication commission assembly (Carmen square) (6 p.m.)
M29:10 Poetry and music recital (6 p.m.)
M29:11 Music assembly (Ópera) (7 p.m.)
M29:12 In General assembly people discuss wether to keep or not the camp in the square but despite some divergent opinions, the movement decide to stay. The assembly has a massive participation and before final decisions working commissions present their opinions: Respect, Permanence, Psychology, Coordination, Electricity, Spirituality and Thinking Commissions say no staying arguing existing conflicts; Commission of Action proposes a symbolic staying for one more week; Information proposes a new layout for the camp; Library Commission proposes to stay until get a minimum consensus; Commission of proposal, National and International extension Commission vote to stay in the square; Legal and Communication Commissions abstain; Neighbourhood's, Education, Politics, Infrastructure and Informatics Commissions couldn't come to a consensual decision. Some of the proposed alternatives or solutions are the restructuration of the camp; the separation of the movement and the camp or find a house to keep on working (8 p.m.- 12 a.m.)


General assembly, May 29. Source: Acampada Sol

M29:13 Hacksol meeting (Pez Street) (8 p.m.)
M29:14 Cinesol (Carmen street) (10.30 p.m. – 2.15 a.m.)
M29:15 Internationally, French police dismantles the camp settles at the Bastille Square in Paris. In Greece, historical protests are recorded in 60 cities with 100.000 people in the streets of Athens under the slogan "Throw them all out!"

Monday, May 30, 2011
M30:1 At the assembly people define midnight as the end of works to not interfere with neighbour's routines (12.15 a.m.)
M30:2 Acampada organization meeting to discuss previous day conclusions of the assembly and the way to keep on the camp
M30:3 Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior informs of the possibility to evict the camp in Puerta del Sol
M30:4 In a press release Platform "Real Democracia Ya" announces they will not create a political party but will bring some proposals to the parliament such as the end of political privileges; fight against unemployment and the right of house, the Electoral law reform, maintenance of the welfare state system, bank control and the abolishment of Synde law. In the meeting, organization announces further actions (12 p.m.)
M30:5 Commission of commissions, working groups and commissions meet to find solutions for the new image of the camp and to the identified problems mentioned on previous day general assembly, namely existing minor conflict with locals (Cortilandia) (4 p.m.)
M30:6 Platform "Real Democracia Ya" announces the preparation of a national, European and international demonstration for October 15 to continue with 15M demands

Tuesday, May 31, 2011
M31:1 Group dynamics meeting (2 p.m.)
M31:2 Feminist meeting (4 p.m.)
M31:3 Media analysis (Jacinto Benavente square) (3 p.m.)
M31:4 Long-term politics meeting (Pontejos), Finances and Functional diversity meetings (Carmen square), Strategy meeting (Cortilandia) (7 p.m.)
M31:5 International cooperation, Economic politics and Group dynamics meetings (Carmen square) (7.30 p.m.)
M31:6 Thinking and Employment meeting (Carmen street), Legislation meeting (Cortilandia), Social action (Alcalá) (8 p.m.)
M31:7 Education meeting (Cortilandia) (8.30 p.m.)
M31:8 Short-term politics meeting (Cortilandia), Anima Rights meeting (Carmen square) (9 p.m.)
M31:9 General assembly. In the items of the agenda, the main point of discussion is the maintenance of the camp in Puerta del Sol and the groups decide to split up the camp in parts and leave a portable structure in the square and define a date to the end. All the commissions support the restructuration of the camp and at midnight the decision is approved by consensus (9 p.m. – 12 a.m.)

The deadlock

J1:1 Prime-Minister Deputy and Minister of Interior, Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, promised that police will not use excessive force to end the camp although warning the campers that they have to leave
J1:2 Infrastructure assembly (Carreteras Street) (10 a.m.)
J1:3 Madrid City Council, Regional Government and the Government Office accept the construction of an info point in the square to replace the camp
J1:4 Group dynamics workshop (Carmen square) (10.30 a.m.)
J1:5 Group dynamics assembly (Cortilandia) (3 p.m.)
J1:6 Infrastructure commission has started a slight transformation on the organization of the camp with the relocation of the meditation working group
J1:7 Legal assembly, Extension assembly with other camps (via skype) (4 p.m.)
J1:8 Commissions assembly (Cortilandia) (5 p.m.)
J1:9 Neighbourhood's assembly (Pontejos square) (6 p.m.)
J1:10 Environmental education assembly (Carmen square) (6.30 p.m.)
J1:11 Long-term politics assembly (Pontejos square) (7 p.m.)
J1:12 Environmental assembly (Carmen square), Social and Education Assembly (Cortilandia), Thinking assembly (Carmen street), Culture assembly (Descalzas square) (8 p.m.)
J1:13 General assembly in which it was meant to be discussed the ways for restructurating the camp. Due to phenomenal technical problems the themes were discussed in commission meetings but the lift up of the camp is confirmed to happen until next Monday. The group couldn't find a consensual decision on the way to lift the camp or sustainable reasons to stay or solutions to solve the fatigue lived in the square (8 p.m.)
J1:14 Migration assembly (Carmen square) (9 p.m.)
J1:15 Feminist assembly (Jacinto Benavente square) (9.30 p.m.)


General assembly, June 1. Credits Maria ML

J1:16 Madrid Businessmen's Confederation President and Chamber of Commerce President, Arturo Fernández put a deadline to the Government to put an end to the camp
J1:17 Legal assembly (10 p.m.)
J1:18 Information assembly (Carretas/Pontejos corner) (12 a.m.)

Thursday, June 2, 2011
J2:1 Acampada Sol announces the first 15M square's spokesmen official meeting to be held in Puerta del Sol on June 3, 4 and 5. The main goal of the meeting is the organization and coordination between the groups and cities as well as the discussion of the possibilities of working together
J2:2 Informatics commission launch on the internet, the chronology of blogs, websites and profiles creation
J2:3 Infrastructure commission is the busiest in the camp with all the restructurations in need. As decided on previous day evening assembly, Informatics and communication will use in one same group and will keep the same physical position in the camp. Some others restructuration focus on the fuse of Infirmary, Natural therapies, Psychology and Spirituality in one, Migration, Sahara, Syria and Palestine into one (but three last stalls decided to move out of the square on Sunday after this decision)
J2:4 Group dynamics assembly (Cortilandia) (3 p.m.)
J2:5 Concert (The bear and the strawberry tree) (5 p.m.)
J2:6 Commissions meetings to discuss the possibilities to lift up the camp and of its restructuration (Cortilandia) (5 p.m.)
J2:7 Animal rights, Communication, Environment (Carmen square), and Long-term politics (Pontejos) commissions meetings (6 p.m.)
J2:8 Circus (The bear and the strawberry tree) (6 p.m.)
J2:9 Spirituality (stall) and Strategies (Cortilandia) and Finance (Carmen square) commission meetings (7 p.m.)
J2:10 Short-term politics (Ópera) and Economics (Carmen square) commission meetings (7.30 p.m.)
J2:11 Migration, Thinking, Environment (Carmen square), Education (Cortilandia) and Group dynamics (Ópera) commissions meetings (8 p.m.)
J2:12 Cooperation and development commission meeting (Alcalá) (8.30 p.m.)
J2:13 Informal education commission meeting (Cortilandia) (9 p.m.)
J2:14 Feminist commission assembly (stall). Commission declares the will to abandon the square after previous night occurrences and keep the work on other ways, still within the group of the Acampada
J2:15 General assembly (9.30 p.m.)
J2:16 Global extension and Free schools assemblies (Descalzas square) (10 p.m.)
J2: 17 José Luis Sampedro praises 15 M movement in his book launch at the book fair

"Those who attack the 15 M movement are yesterday, they are tomorrow"(1)

Friday, June 3, 2011
J3:1 Food assembly (Carmen Street) (1 a.m.)
J3:2 During the day, the elements responsible for the foundation of the acampada gathered in private to discuss the continuation of the camp and decide unanimously to split up the camp and keep the work with neighbourhood commissions and social networks
J3:3 Extraordinary assembly of communication (4 p.m.)
J3:4 Communication assembly (Carmen square) (6 p.m.)
J3:5 Workshop on chauvinism (Pontejos square) (8 p.m.)
J3:6 Analysis meeting (Jacinto Benavente square) (8.30 p.m.)
J3:7 General assembly with the beginning of the official Inter-camps Assembly #acampadasunidas. Two important dates for mobilization are chosen: June 11, coinciding with the formation of the Local Committees and June 19 for global mobilization (9.30 p.m.)
J3:8 Feminist meeting (Jacinto Benavente square) (9.30 p.m.)

Saturday, June 4, 2011 ***#interecampadas***

J4:1 Along the day, 53 squares of the country are represented in Puerta del Sol where elements of other cities and regions will work together on assemblies and working groups to find ways to keep the struggle (from 10.40 a.m.)
J4:2 Spirituality commission meeting (stall) (1 p.m.)
J4:3 Group dynamics assembly, the commission study alternatives to lift up the camp, maybe based on the system by majority or minimum consensus, as used in other squares of the country (Cortilandia) (5 p.m.)
J4:4 Working groups and commissions meeting (Cortilandia and Carmen square) (5 p.m.)
J4:5 Feminist (stall), Animal rights (Carmen square) commission meetings (6 p.m.)
J4:6 Spirituality commission meeting (stall) (7 p.m.)
J4:7 Talk on Energy and Environment (Carmen square) (7 p.m.)
J4:8 General assembly (8 p.m.)
J4:9 Direct action (every working group tent/stall) (11 p.m.)
J4:10 Workshop on the platform n-1.cc (next to Internal Coordination tent) (12 a.m.)

Sunday, June 5, 2011 ***Distrust***

J5:1 Assembly of information with the resume of several meetings and assemblies during the Inter-camps Assembly #acampadasunidas as well as of the neighbourhood's assemblies that run on Saturday. It is decided that each city group will lead the camp autonomously (12 p.m.)
J5:2 Along the day, the atmosphere lived between the campers is also of fear of the infiltrators.
J5:3 Long-term politics commission meeting (Pontejos square) (2 p.m.)
J5:4 Strategies commission meeting (Cortilandia) (3 p.m.)
J5:5 Short-term politics commission meeting (Ópera) (4 p.m.)
J5:6 Rural environment meeting (Carmen square) (5 p.m)
J5:7 Aquatic environment meeting (Carmen square) (5.45 p.m)
J5:8 Environmental action meeting (Carmen square), Alternative pedagogies (Descalzas square) (6 p.m)
J5:9 Environment commission meeting (Carmen square) (7 p.m)
J5:10 General assembly: at the assembly the multitude should decide when to leave the square as proposed by the Legal commission that believes it is important to schedule a fixed date but the decision had to be postponed due to the intense rain and because there was four people against the lift of the camp (7.30 p.m.)
J5:11 Education and Legislation commissions meetings (Cortilandia) (8 p.m)
J5:12 Education and Culture commission meeting (Descalzas square) (9 p.m)
J5:13 Workshop on the platform n-1.cc (next to Internal Coordination tent) (11.59 p.m.)

Monday, June 6, 2011
J6:1 It is convened a demonstration to June 7 in front of RENFE train station at 9.45 a.m. against the formation of the Regional Parliament
J6:2 It is convened a demonstration to June 8 at Canalejas square at 7 p.m. against the Reform of Collective Negotiation law in debate in the same day at the Congress of Deputies
J6:3 Following weekend decision to boycott every Mayor inauguration, it is convened a demonstration to June 11 at Plaza de la Villa at the same time as Mayor Alberto Ruiz Gallardón takes the office
J6:4 In the morning some of the commissions disappear and the camp starts the reorganization but still with more than 30 commissions. Infrastructure commission works on the cleaning and transformation of the layout in order to have a cleaner and more open space
J6:5 General assembly. Due to the intense rain the decision to leave on Sunday 12 had to be postponed to the day after. The Legal commission proposed the date coincident with the celebration of the fourth week in the square (8 p.m.)

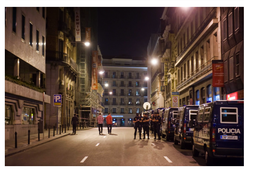

Camp reorganization June 6. Credits: Santi Carneri. Source: fotoreportajeando

Tuesday, June 7, 2011
J7:1 Group dynamics workshop (Carmen square) (11 a.m.)
J7:2 Awareness workshop (Spirituality stall) (1 p.m.)
J7:3 A large canopy is installed in the square to ensure evening assembly
J7:4 Analysis working group meeting (Jacinto Benavente square) (5 p.m.)
J7:5 Feminist working group meeting (stall) (6 p.m.)
J7:6 Strategies working group meeting (Cortilandia) (6.30 p.m.)
J7:7 Spirituality (stall) and Finance working group meeting (Carmen square) (7 p.m.)
J7:8 Short-term politics working group meeting (Ópera) (7.30 p.m.)
J7:9 External connections (Carmen square) and Culture working group meeting (Descalzas square) (8 p.m.)
J7:10 The general assembly of Puerta del Sol attended by around 3000 people, reaches the important consensus: dismantle the camp by June 12th, at noon. The proposal of Legal commission was approved by the Commissions of Infrastructure, Feminist, Extension to neighbourhoods, Information, Communication, Extension to other cities, Proposals, Internal coordination, Health, respect, Arts and Migration as well as from the working groups of Theatre and Social work. Commissions of Food and Politics did not comment. The assembly also introduced a new system of voting, adding the possibility to those who disagree, to present proposal until the day after regarding different possibilities.


General assembly, June 7. Credits: Javier Bauluz -Piraván. Source: Periodismo humano


Tent of the general assembly, June 7. Source: 20minutos

Wednesday, June 8, 2011
J8:1 The outraged move from Puerta del Sol to the Congress of Deputies to demonstrate against the Reform of Collective Negotiation in discuss at that hour. The march goes from Puerta del Sol to the meeting point Canalejas square and at the Congress about 1.500-2.000 people stay in protest until 2 a.m. In the case of being evicted from the Congress, protests would meet at midnight in Cibeles square but there was no need to apply the B plan has police didn't intervene (7 p.m.- 2 a.m.)
J8:2 Social (Alcalá), Thinking and Environment (Carmen square) commission assemblies (8 p.m.)
J8:3 General assembly (8 p.m.)
J8:4 Age discrimination commission assembly (Arenal corner) (8.30 p.m.)
J8:5 Arts (stall) and Internal coordination commission assemblies (stall) (10 p.m.)
J8:6 Internationally, in Istanbul, a group of students inspired by 15M and the "Arab Spring" installs a camp in Taksim square, three days before elections



June 8, march to the Congress and back in Puerta del Sol 6 hours later. Credits: Nacho Guadaño

Thursday, June 9, 2011
J9:1 Commission of action launch the program for June 12th
J9:2 Library commission (library) and Proposals commission assemblies (12 a.m.)
J9:3 Confederation of Specialized Commerce of Madrid (COCEM) claim €30 million compensation to the Minister for their losses
J9:4 Action commission assembly (5 p.m.)
J9:5 Talk on the new world order (The bear and the strawberry tree statue) (6 p.m.)
J9:6 Chi Kung class (Descalzas square) (7 p.m.)
J9:7 Around 2.000 "outraged" rally one more time in front of the Congress to show their solidarity with protesters in Valencia where 18 people were injured and five arrested on previous evening demonstration

Friday, June 10, 2011
J10:1 Rally against the Reform of Collective Negotiation at the headquarters of the Spanish Confederation of Entrepreneurial Organizations (CEOE) and the Ministry of Labour
J10:2 15 M movement organization launch the programme of the events on Sunday
J10:3 Along the day, campers start to pack and prepare for the end of the camp. Books belonging to the library are moved to Teatro Puerta Estrecha, in Lavapiés and the Documentation archive is also empty.
J10:4 Feminist working group meeting (stall) (11 a.m.)
J10:5 Direct Action working group meeting (Working groups stall) (2 p.m.)
J10:6 Group dynamics working group meeting (3 p.m.)
J10:7 Program of action lift up the camp (Action stall) (5 p.m.)
J10:8 Coordination working group meeting (5 p.m.)
J10:9 Community spaces (Alcalá) (7 p.m.)
J10:10 Analysis working group meeting (Jacinto Benavente square) (7.30 p.m.)
J10:11 Cultural thinking working group meeting (Descalzas square) (8 p.m.)
J10:12 Social intervention working group meeting (Alcalá) (9 p.m.)
J10:13 External connection working group meeting (Carmen square) (10 p.m.)

Saturday, June 11, 2011
J11:1 About 3.000 people went to the demonstration in Plaza de la Villa, as convened by the Acampada days before. The square was fenced by the police and protesters decide to diverge in and the rally in different ways. Gathered in Sacramento and Pretil de los Consejos Streets to boycott the Mayor Alberto Ruiz Gallardón inauguration. Despite police cordon some of the protesters, mainly the middle age ones, could cross safety lines and access the square being later evicted by the police.
J11:2 Along the day, campers keep working on packing elements and on the preparation of day after celebrations
J11:3 Call for the global demonstration on June 19 and launch of an international website takethesquare.net



Banner in Puerta del Sol. Credits:VPA. Source: 20 minutos

Sunday, June 12, 2011 ***No nos vamos, nos expandimos***

J12:1 Silent scream to celebrate the beginning of the day, the end of 28 days of camp in the square and a party baptized as the "Reconstruction of SOL" (12 a.m.)
J12:2 Collective awakening "Sun salutation" (The bear and the strawberry tree statue) (10 a.m.)
J12:3 Puerta del Sol Camp is dismantled, but the movement of the squares goes on
J12:4 Spanish Police website is hacked by "Anonymous"
J12:5 Cleaning, reconstruction and moving works start (11 a.m.)
J12:6 Poems and writings on 15-M (Library) (11 a.m. every half an hour)
J12:7 Theatre happening "transition" (all spaces of the camp) (12 p.m.)
J12:8 Popular food (Metro exit) (2 p.m.)
J12:9 Collective dynamics "solar circus" (3 p.m.)
J12:10 Charanga band "Sol Sostenido" (activities area) (3.30 p.m.)
J12:11 Short-term politics commission meeting (Ópera) (4 p.m.)
J12:12 Animal rights performance (The bear and the strawberry tree statue) (4 a.m.)
J12:13 Drag King Workshop (Km 0 slab) (4.30 p.m.)
J12:14 Gymnastics (4.50 p.m.)
J12:15 General assembly with the topics: short-term politics, achievements and strengths manifesto, every commission resumes and plans. Legal has announced the will to produce a citizenship aware of their rights and duties. Health commission has supported health service with quality supported by public taxes. Education has claimed the right to public school and an inclusive education. Economy have proposed a Labour reform as well as the reform of the system of pensions and the decrease of week working hours (5 p.m.)
J12:16 Shrinking thematic meeting (Carmen square), Feminist commission meeting (stall) (6 p.m.)
J12:17 Environment assembly meeting (Carmen square) (7 p.m.)
J12:18 Last general assembly under the slogan "We're not going, we expand" (No nos vamos, nos expandimos) (8 p.m.)
J12:19 Cities thematic (Environment) meeting (Carmen square) and Short-term politics commission meeting (Pontejos square) (8 p.m.)
J12:20 The square is baptized with the new slab embedded in the base of Carlos III statue
J12:21 Towns and Municipalities of Madrid assembly ending with the flashmob "tree/ collective hug" (árbol / abrazo colectivo) (7 p.m.)
J12:22 Silent scream
J12:23 After silent cream, hundreds of protesters rally to Cibeles square blocking Gran Vía (12 a.m.)
J12:24 At the end of the camp there were still around 50 people resisting for the staying in the square


The cleaning of the square. Credits: Silvia Navarro García


Informations point, June 12. Credits: Santi Carneri. Source: fotoreportajeando



Carlos III staututue. Credits: Silvia Navarro García



June 12, after and before the up of the camp. Credits: Cristobál Manuel. Source: El País

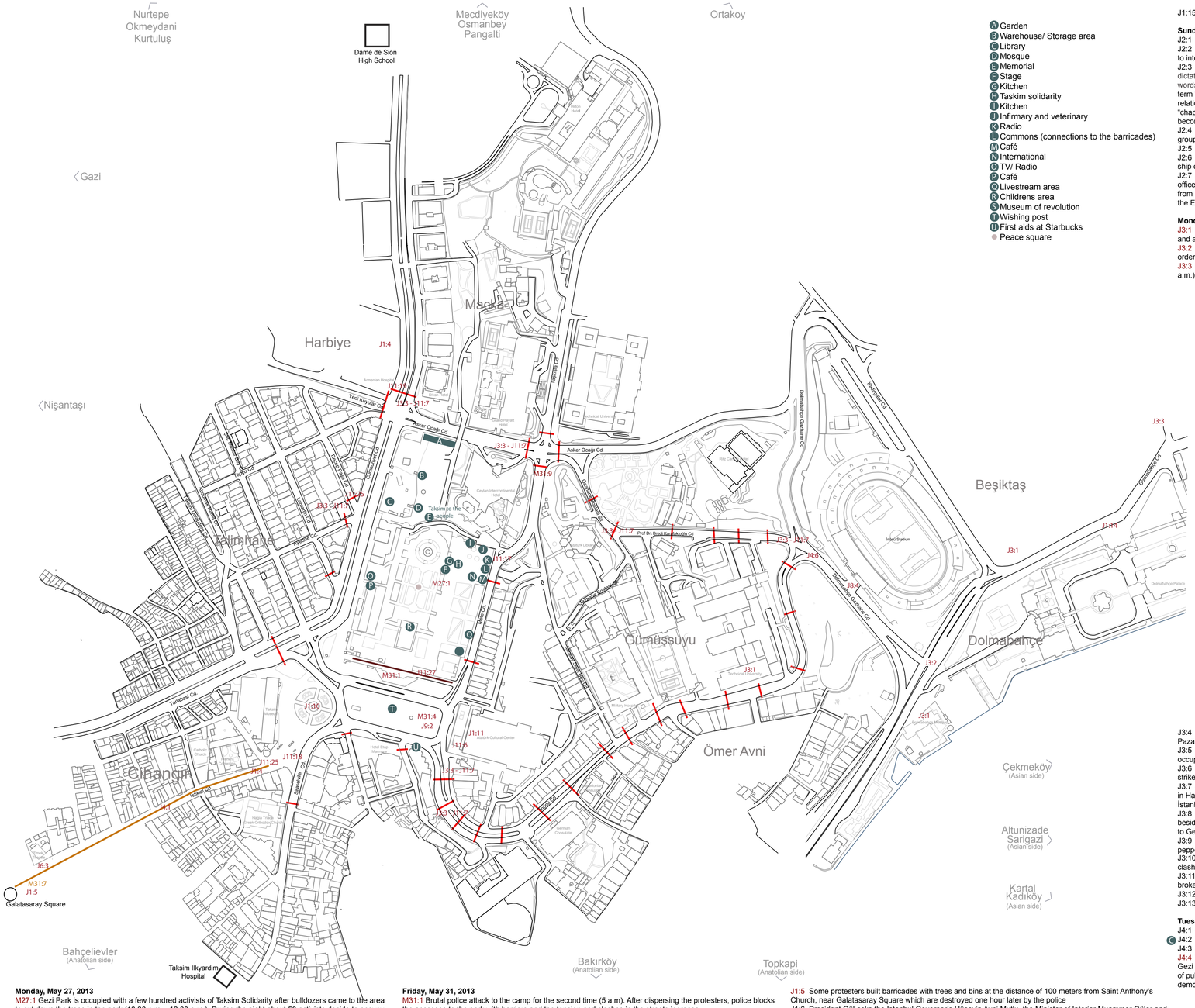


Slab in the statue of Puerta del Sol. Credits:Juan Luis Sánchez. Source: Periodismo Humano

Note:
(1) Translated from the orginal by author: "Los que atacan el movimiento 15-M son el ayer, ellos el mañana."

Map and chronology built from news taken from: 20minutos.es, #Acampadasol, cibernoticias EXPRESS, El País, periodico Público, El Mundo, lainformación.com, spainrevolution, Independent, The Washington Post

C. “Gezi Commune” chronomaps



Monday, May 27, 2013
M27:1 Gezi Park is occupied with a few hundred activists of Taksim Solidarity after bulldozers came to the area to cut down the trees in the park (10.30 p.m. - 12.00 a.m.). During the night about 50 activists decide to occupy the park, setting up tents and spreading the news on social media

Tuesday, May 28, 2013
M28:1 The number of activists increase
M28:2 Police forces people out of the area and the demolitions restart (12 p.m.)
28:3 Deputy Sırrı Süreyya Önder (Istanbul Peace and Democracy Party) intervene and blocks the bulldozers
M28:4 Crowds of protesters increase and initiate to use humour as a tactic, offering food and readings to the police
M28:5 During the afternoon police attacks the peaceful sit-in, spraying tear gas. The image of the "woman in red" would became symbol of the excessive use of force against the peaceful protesters (4 p.m.)
M28:6 The number of protesters enlarge and the tactics of using humour start with the protesters offering food and readings to the police

'Woman in red'. Credits: Osman Orsal

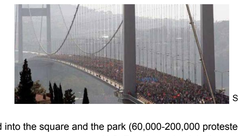
Wednesday, May 29, 2013
M29:1 Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's statement "No matter what you do, we gave our final decision about Gezi Park" brings more people to the streets
M29:2 Construction vehicles restart the demolitions
M29:3 Sırrı Süreyya Önder stands against the bulldozers
M29:4 The number of protesters increase as hours pass by and a large number of people stay in the park during the night

Thursday, May 30, 2013
M30:1 Brutal police attacks to the camp, burning protesters' tents without a warning (5 a.m)
M30:2 Construction vehicles restart the demolitions
M30:3 Sırrı Süreyya Önder stays in front of the bulldozers and stops the demolitions but is shot by police with a tear gas bullet
M30:4 Police brutality attacks the protesters creating a breaking point in the dimension of the protest with a massive affluence of protesters as consequence
M30:5 Activists make a call through social media for a major gathering in the park
M30:6 In order to stop the strong affluence in the park, the Mayor of Istanbul temporarily close down Taksim subway
M30:7 Water cannons and panzers arrive to disperse the crowd (6 p.m.)
M30:8 In the evening there are more than 10,000 people in Gezi Park

Friday, May 31, 2013
M31:1 Brutal police attack to the camp for the second time (5 a.m). After dispersing the protesters, police blocks the accesses to the park with barriers and the tension and clashes in the streets increase
M31:2 Taksim Platform ask the press to repress the attack, and tries to enter the park again (10 a.m.)
M31:3 More than 100 people, including reporters, stay beside the park and are attacked with tear gas and pressurized water. Three of the reporters are wounded
M31:4 Sit-in protest in Taksim Square (1 p.m.). Police intervention and raids during the afternoon provoked the organization of a major gathering in the evening through social media. Several injured people
M31:5 News from the Taksim Gezi Park is prohibited by the government
M31:6 Highly politicized Çarşı group (supporters of Beşiktaş Gymnastics Club (BJK))announces via social media the intention to join Taksim protests and book the meeting for May 31 evening. A march starts with 300-400 supporters in the stadium and increases to about 5,000 until Harbiye
M31:7 In the city center in the European side - around Taksim, in Galatasaray Square and İstiklal - as well as in Kadıköy, in the Anatolian side of the city, the streets became full of people during the evening. Attacks over the protesters increase with a helicopter spraying tear gas around İstiklal, Beyoğlu, Tarlabaşı, Harbiye and Şişli. (7 p.m.)
M31:8 A first aid clinic is set up in a Starbucks cafe. People donate medicines and volunteered doctors and nurses help the injured
M31:9 Informed that more police was in direction of İstiklal street, public services and commerce announces the dicision to keep opened to help injured people. A Public bus driver built the first barricade with his bus to protect the civilians (10 p.m.)


Source: postvirtual

Saturday, June 1, 2013
J1:1 During the night people stay in the streets and those who can not go out start to protest from their windows, clacking kitchen tools and pots
J1:2 Facing the public transport lockdown, 40,000 people start to walk from the Anatolian side, crossing the Bosporus Bridge (6 a.m.)
J1:3 Erdoğan speech defying the protesters is televised "I'll get up and organize 200,000 where they gather 20. I'll get 1 million people as my party, when they gather 100,000" (11 p.m.)
J1:4 Police continue to block all the streets leading to Taksim Square (İstiklal Avenue, Sıraselviler Avenue, Harbiye and Gümüşsuyu) and slowly withdraw in the afternoon
J1:5 Some protesters built barricades with trees and bins at the distance of 100 meters from Saint Anthony's Church, near Galatasaray Square which are destroyed one hour later by the police
J1:6 President Gül asks the Istanbul Governor's Hüseyin Avni Mutlu, the Minister of Interior Muammer Güler and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan for the police withdraw from Taksim (2.30 p.m.)
J1:7 Police, unable to handle the enormous number of protesters flooding into the square, withdraw removing the barricades from the square and park. Protesters reconquer the area where they stay in a peaceful protest for several days (3.45 - 5 p.m.)


Source: ladukovska

J1:8 Tens of thousands flood into the square and the park (60,000-200,000 protested, depending on the source)


A woman stays in front of a water cannon. Source: National Turk

J1:9 People are back in the park, after one day away
J1:10 Leftist parties and organizations put their signs and flags on the monument in the middle of the square
J1:11 Late afternoon, some people go up the Atatürk Cultural Centre and fix the first banner
J1:12 CNN Türk broadcast a documentary about penguins while strong confronts take place in the square (evening)
J1:13 Reports of Facebook and Twitter are blocked and access to the internet unusually slow


J1:8 Aerial view of Taksim square on June 1. Source: funnygod

J1:14 Clashes continue in Beşiktaş outside the Prime Ministry Office and in the streets leading to Taksim square
J1:15 After midnight, police forces fall back from Beşiktaş

Sunday, June 2, 2013
J2:1 During the night clashes continue in Beşiktaş
J2:2 In the morning, Taksim square and the west surroundings are calm and people organize a cleaning brigade to intervene in these areas (10 a.m.)
J2:3 In a televised speech, Erdoğan keeps defying the protesters "I ask in the name of God, Tayyip Erdoğan is a dictator? If you are the kind of person who can call someone who serves their people a dictator, then I have no words for you". In the same speech, Erdoğan tarnish the image of the protesters using the ambiguous Turkish term "çapulcu" (normally translated as looter or marauder) to describe them and immediately reinforce the relation of politics with Islamism when affirming the construction of the controversial mosque. The neologism "chapulling" is adopted by the protester in a positive way. Calling themselves as "chapullers", the message becomes viral on social media
J2:4 Demonstrators are back in the square, even if less in numbers than on the day before and all the political groups are represented in a quiet demonstration against the inflexibility of Erdoğan (2 p.m.)
J2:5 Hundreds of people go to the top of the Atatürk Cultural Center
J2:6 Hackivist group Anonymous take down several Turkish government websites as condemning the censorship of social media
J2:7 Despite the tranquil atmosphere lived in the square and the park, in Beşiktaş, in front of Erdogan's working office, police uses water cannons to disperse protesters while protesters hijack a construction vehicle to protect from police. Police close down the highway in Uzunçayır, to prevent the protesters from passing from the Asian to the European side

Monday, June 3, 2013
J3:1 During the night several clashes occur in Beşiktaş, between protesters and police. Mosques, hotels, shops and a university in the area are transformed in makeshifts
J3:2 In the early hours of the day, police blocks the highways and several truck drivers escort the protesters in order to shield them from police water cannons and tear gas in Beşiktaş (2 a.m.)
J3:3 Protesters in Taksim Square start to erect barricades to keep out the police coming from Beşiktaş (3.45 a.m.). Erdoğan leaves the country for a three-day tour on North African countries.


Barricade at İstanbul Technical University's entrance
Source: showdiscontent







Barricades along Gümüşsuyu Cd.
Sources: Barbaros Sezen/Barış Candan

Barricades lined up on Inonü Cd. and İstanbul Technical University's entrance
Sources: aşak Ertür /showdiscontent

J3:4 More than 100,000 people wear black clothes in a response to the facebook event 'Black Monday' (Kara Pazartesi) in protest against government
J3:5 A whirling dervish with a gas mask performs in the occupied Gezi Park
J3:6 During the afternoon, several unions call for a general strike increasing the numbers in the square after work
J3:7 Abdullah Cömert (22), loses his life during the clashes in Hatay and Mehmet Ayvalıtaş (20) in a car accident in İstanbul
J3:8 Beşiktaş and Galatasaray football fans join the protest, beside Çarşı football fans and march from Beşiktaş stadium to Gezi Park late afternoon
J3:9 Police attacks football fans with water cannons and pepper spray (8 p.m.)
J3:10 Throughout the evening demonstrations are held in the various neighbourhoods of Istanbul. Violent clashes occur, mostly in Beşiktaş and around Taksim Square
J3:11 TV game show Kelime Oyunu ("Word Game") on Bloomberg HT TV, hosted by Ali İhsan Varol, silently broke the media censorship and support the protests by querying about the event
J3:12 Protesters light candles in Gezi Park which spell out "Taksim Square is ours"
J3:13 Technical University's cafeteria in Beşiktaş is transformed into a makeshift infirmary


Source: youtube istanbul dan gelen gazli dervis

Tuesday, June 4, 2013
J4:1 Gezi Park is calm during the morning, with yoga classes and other activities
J4:2 The library and food stalls in the Gezi Park is finished
J4:3 Artists protest together on İstiklal street
J4:4 The solidarity group "Taksim Solidarity" (*Taksim Dayanışması*), issues a list of demands for the protection of Gezi park and Atatürk Culture Center, the resignation of politicians who have been involved with the oppression of public rights, the ban of gas bomb, the release of the detained protesters and the end of bans over public demonstrations in Taksim and Kızılay Squares



Graphic list of Taksim demands. Source: Taksim Platformu

J4:5 Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç meets the President Abdullah Gül to announce the negotiations with protesters are expected to start on the day after and apologizes for the excessive use of police force
J4:6 During the evening clashes continue in Gümüşsuyu, Beşiktaş

Wednesday, June 5, 2013
J5:1 Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç meets with six elements of Taksim Solidarity group but rejects their demands
J5:2 Students of the Istanbul Kurtuluş High School decide to join the strike and protests (11.40 a.m.)
J5:3 Thousands of workers are gathered in front of the DİSK building, in Şişli (12 p.m.)
J5:4 Education Union and Istanbul University students join KESK's march towards Taksim (1 p.m.)
J5:5 The community from Sarıyer (25Km north of Istanbul) , which was marching with thousands of people for two days, arrives in Taksim (1.20 p.m.)
J5:6 Members of the Confederation of Public Workers' Unions enlarge the crowds in the surrounding Taksim square and Gezi Park (1.30 p.m.)
J5:7 A minute of silence to honour the workers who lost their lives during the massacres in 1977 at the DISK's entrance in Taksim Square (1.40 p.m.)
J5:8 Tens of thousands at Taksim Square and Gezi Park (3.30 p.m.)
J5:9 Several high school students boycott classes and join the demonstrations as well as the women of the Antalya People's House (Halkevi), bringing more people to the streets and the square (5-9 p.m.)
J5:10 In the park, the day is dedicated to rename the spaces. Demonstrators, opposing the state power of erasing the memories, open a symbolic street dedicated to: the murdered Turkish-Armenian journalist and human rights' activist Hrant Dink, assassinated in 2007, for being an outspoken critic of the government; the Pınar Selek Square, a Turkish sociologist who exiled in 1998 and "the Peace Square" (the Hrant Dink Street connects the Peace Square with the children's playground)



J5:11 Turkish Doctors Union (TBB) announce that two people have lost their lives and 4,177 people were injured (of which 43 are severe) since the beginning of the clashes
J5:12 The evening is highlighted by the celebration of the holy Muslim night of Lailat al–Mi'raj with several activities

Thursday, June 6, 2013
JJ6:1 Holy Muslim night of Lailat al–Mi'raj celebrations remain during all night in Gezi Park
J6:2 The atmosphere in Taksim Square and Beşiktaş is peaceful for the whole day
J6:3 Artists held a march from Galatasaray Square, near the Emek Theater, to Gezi Park
J6:4 In the park, some people dedicate their time to study for the exams and build a playground for the kids and their families. Some mathematics, physics and biology classes are provided under the slogan "The name of the classroom is the people, our lesson is freedom"
J6:5 In the park, the concert of the day is cancelled in honour to the three protesters that were killed and a memorial is built

Friday, June 7, 2013
J7:1 Late in the night, Erdoğan returns to Turkey from his four-day tour to North Africa. Thousands of supporters go to the airport greeting him in an exceptional event supported by the party. Buses to the airport are commandeered and the metro remains open until 4 a.m.
J7:2 In the airport Erdoğan gives a speech in front of thousands of AKP supporters with the same defying discourse relating the protests "These protests must end immediately"
J7:3 In the park, the atmosphere is of mutual repect: while the group calling themselves as the "Anti-Capitalist Muslims" do their Friday pray in respect to those who died, the others show respect, avoid drinking and protecting de park
J7:4 Amnesty International starts a campaign to stop the police due to more than 2,000 injured civilians
J7:5 Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan expresses his support to the demonstrators in Gezi Park
J7:6 Some famous musicians and television artists join the protests in Gezi Park

Saturday, June 8, 2013
J8:1 AKP officials hold a four-hour meeting to decide the plan of action
J8:2 Taksim solidarity publishes a press release, reminding their demands, the lack of political actions and calling for the participation in a rally to Taksim Square on June 9 (11.20 a.m.)
J8:3 Hundreds of fans of Fenerbahçe move towards Taksim (6.50 p.m.)
J8:3 Thousands of fans of Beşiktaş gather in front of the Kartal monument (7.00 p.m.)
J8:4 Çarşı, Galatasaray's, Fenerbahçe's and other football fans groups meet in the National Stadium Inonü and walk to Taksim Square in a historical move in Turkish sports history (at 9 p.m. they arrive in the square)
J8:5 Istanbul Mayor Kadir Topbaş states that the municipality will not retreat with the plans to build a replica of the old Artillery Barracks but announces the will to convert into a city museum
J8:6 In the name of the "Protection of the National Will", AKP schedules two counterdemonstrations for June 15 and 16 in Ankara and İstanbul, respectively
J8:7 Taksim gets crowded and peaceful with tens of thousands gathered in. Together with the multitude in the main square there are other marches and protests happening at the same time in the city



J8:7 Taksim Square. Source: showdiscontent

Sunday, June 9, 2013

Some of the barricades around Taksim Square and Gezi Park


ITÜ Taşkışla. Credits: Barış Tolga Candan (flickr)



Intercontinental Hotel (June 8). Credits: Bernardo Ricci Armani (flickr)


Mobilde barricades next to the infirmary. Başak Ertür (ibraaz)


Mete Cd. Source: postvirtual


Mete Cd. (June 3). Source: abc news


Gazhane Bostani Cd. Source: demotix


Gazhane Bostani Cd. (June 7) [Polis (police) renamed by Halk (people)]. Credits: Carol Williams (flickr)


Barricade being renamed after after Abdullah Cömert death, Gümüşsuyu İnönü Cd. (June 7). Credits: Başak Ertür (ibraaz)


Gümüşsuyu İnönü Cd. (June 4). Source: wikipedia

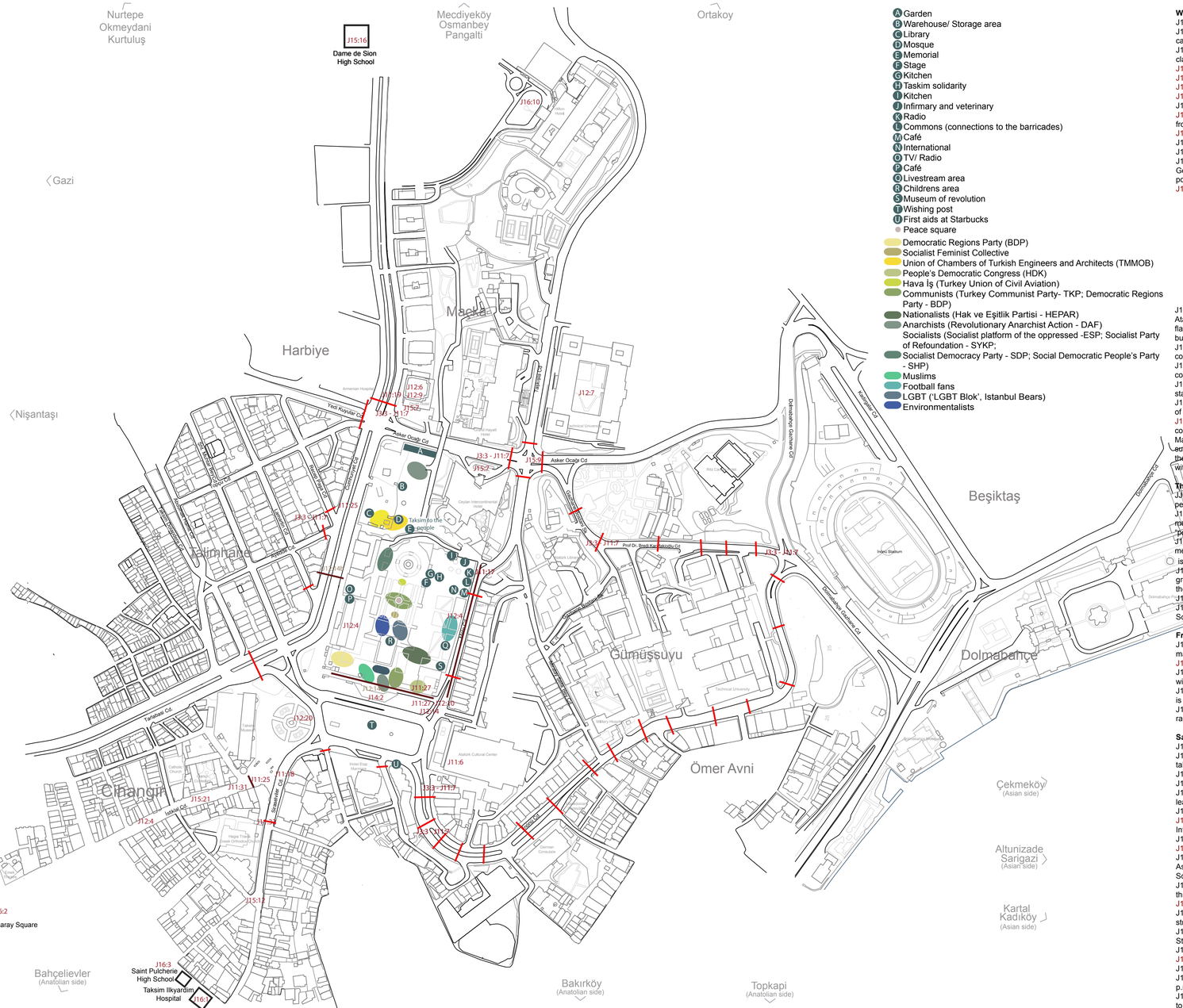


Next to the Mamara Hotel, (June 6) [Left banner: "Freedom for the turban and alcohol". Right banner: "You pissed on the mosque walls this time Tayyip". Credits: Carol William (flickr)


Sıraselviler Cd. (June 2). Credits: b. traven (Crimethinc.)


Talimhane. Credits: Başak Ertür (ibraaz)

Map and chronology built from news taken from: Al Jazeera English, BBC, New Yorker, CNN, Hürriyet Daily News, Aydınlık daily, showdiscontent, Jadaliyya, Jodi , BBB Türk, Brandon Jourdan, crimethinc, uncube, the Journal, gezipark.nadir, İstanbul'da, adukovska, funnygod



- A Garden
- B Warehouse/ Storage area
- C Library
- D Mosque
- E Memorial
- F Stage
- G Kitchen
- H Taskim solidarity
- I Kitchen
- J Infirmary and veterinary
- K Radio
- L Commons (connections to the barricades)
- M Café
- N International
- O TV/ Radio
- P Café
- Q Livestream area
- R Childrens area
- S Museum of revolution
- T Wishing post
- U First aids at Starbucks
- Peace square

- Democratic Regions Party (BDP)
- Socialist Feminist Collective
- Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB)
- People's Democratic Congress (HDK)
- Hava Iş (Turkey Union of Civil Aviation)
- Communists (Turkey Communist Party- TKP; Democratic Regions Party - BDP)
- Nationalists (Hak ve Eşitlik Partisi - HEPAR)
- Anarchists (Revolutionary Anarchist Action - DAF)
- Socialists (Socialist platform of the oppressed -ESP; Socialist Party of Refoundation - SYKP;
- Socialist Democracy Party - SDP; Social Democratic People's Party - SHP)
- Muslims
- Football fans
- LGBT ('LGBT Blok', Istanbul Bears)
- Environmentalists

J9:3 Members of the leftist group Halkevleri (People's Houses) arrive in Taksim Square with the demands of Gezi Park resistance movement written on banners (3.15 p.m.)
J9:4 Galatasaray supporters march from Galatasaray to Taksim Square (3.15 p.m.)
J9:5 Members of the student's organizations Genç Umut (Young Hope) and Kolektifler (Student's Collective) march to Taksim Square through Istiklal Street (3.25 p.m.)
J9:6 The speakers from the platform salute the crowd with the words "Women are here to stand against the abortion ban, to claim their bodies and their lives, LGBTIs are here to stand against the hate crimes" (3.55 p.m.)
J9:7 The Taksim solidarity meeting begins with a concert (4-7p.m.)
J9:8 Erdoğan tells to a crowd of supporters in Adana "Patience has its limits"
J9:9 In Gazi district clashes start (11p.m.)

Monday, June 10, 2013

J10:1 President Gül approves the bill to restrict the sale of alcohol from 10 p.m. until 6 a.m.
J10:2 With the peace continuing, Vice Prime Minister Bülent Arınç announces that Erdoğan will meet protesters on Wednesday in find a solution for the park
J10:3 Resistance grows not only in Taksim Square but also in several neighbourhoods around Istanbul where smaller groups join to camp and discuss ideas (8p.m. at Sarıgaz, 9 p.m. in Kartal, İktelli , Pınar Aydın, Okmeydanı and Gazi)

Tuesday, June 11, 2013

J11:1 Early in the morning, police breaks down barriers and spray tear gas in one other attempt to re-take Taksim Square
J11:2 Protesters join hands in a human chain to prevent police entering the park and to protect metro's access (10.30 a.m.)
J11:3 Istanbul governor Hüseyin Avni Mutlu asks the Gezi protesters to return home, claming the lack of security "Take your kids away from Taksim Gezi Park. The park is not safe anymore" and justify last police interventions in the square to remove the banners from the square (10.50 a.m.)
J11:4 A small group of protesters threw Molotov cocktails to the police to create a buffer zone between the police and the crowds (some refer they are members of the Socialist Democracy Party (SDP) and some others they are uncovered police officers)
J11:5 Banners are removed from Atatürk Cultural Centre and Atatürk statue. Only a Turkish flag and an Atatürk poster remains on the façade (11.30 a.m.)
J11:7 Police removes the barricades
J11:8 Amnesty International Turkey meets with Istanbul Governor Hüseyin Avni Mutlu but the meeting ends in "disappointment"
J11:9 Taksim solidarity issue a press release voicing concerns about the police attacks to the park, reminding that none of the demands have been realized and calling for a demonstrations at 7 p.m. (11.35 a.m.)
J11:10 Police also intervene with a gathering at the Gezi Park scheduled for 1 p.m. with tear gas and pressurized water. Taksim Square gets under a thick cloud of tear gas as of 1:30 p.m. (12.15 p.m.)


J11:2 Human chain to protect the park and metro entrance

J11:11 50 lawyers are arrested during the day at the Palace of Justice and released at night the same day (12.40 p.m.)
J11:12 Internet is cut down for hours
J11:13 Police continues spraying tear gas in the surroundings of Taksim to prevent people to reach the square, namely in Sıraselviler, Tarlabaşı and Elmadağ
J11:14 Police attacks the protesters in Gezi Park but the protesters resist and repel police out (2 p.m.)
J11:15 Demonstrators set up a barricade in Talimhane (2.20 p.m.)
J11:16 "Educational Union Number Universities Branch (Branch 6) and Çarsi groups make a call to everyone to meet in Taksim at 7 p.m.
J11:17 Police forces attacks at Mete Avenue nearby the camp's infirmary (5.10 p.m.)
J11:18 Police removes the barricades in Sıraselviler street (6.00 p.m.)
J11:19 While some police attempts to remove the barricades in front of the Divan Hotel, people erect new ones (6.15 p.m.)
J11:20 Police lifts the barricade at the main entrance of Taksim Square (6.35 p.m.)
J11:21 Taksim solidarity march is attended by fifty thousand people and the police is back in a corner of the square with 6 water tanks (7 p.m.)
J11:22 Police invade the square (7.30 p.m.)
J11:23 By the evening, Taksim Square and Gezi Park are crammed with people but police attacks again with tear gas and water cannons. The masses retreat from Taksim square to the surrounding neighbourhoods (8.15 p.m.)
J11:24 Taksim Solidarity calls for a noisy demonstration on the streets of the city (9 p.m.)
J11:25 Tens of thousands of people are at the Cumhuriyet Street and police attacks people with stun grenades those who try to reach Taksim via Istiklal (9 p.m.)
J11:26 The street lights in Taksim Square are shut down (9.22 p.m.)
J11:27 Protesters set up barricades in front of Gezi Park (10.40 p.m.)
J11:28 Police enter in Gezi Park, attacking people around with tear gas (10.40 p.m.)
J11:29 Tens of thousands of people of Gazi, who have been subjected to enormous violence from the Turkish police, block the main artery of the city (11 p.m.)



Atatürk Cultural Centre. Credits:Christiane Gruber (Islamic Art and Visual Culture blog)

J11:30 Police torn down the tents of BDP, Socialist Feminist Collective, TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects), HDK and the workers union Hava İş at Gezi Park (11 p.m.)



Peace and Democracy Party (BDP). Credits: Brandon Jourdan



Socialist Feminist Collective. Source: SFC facebook


People's Democratic Congress (HDK). [Former Labor, Freedom and Democracy, renamed in 2012, to create an umbrella party to bring together different leftist groups in Turkey]. Source: HDK facebook


Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB). Source: TMMOB

J11:31 PProtestors in Istiklal Avenue force the entrance in Taksim square (11.30 p.m.)
J11:32 Police walk down from Sıraselviler to Cihangir and attack the demonstrators who are gathered there or try to reach the area (11.45 p.m.)
J11:33 People write down their blood types on their arms in case they get hurt (12 a.m.)


Hava Iş (Turkey Union of Civil Aviation). Source: Flickr International Transport Workers' Federation

Wednesday, June 12, 2013

J12:1 Thousands of peopleare still flewing in Gezi Park (12.15 a.m.)
J12:2 Police attacks the square. Starting from the east side, the infirmary is attacked for three times with water cannons and gas bomb attack (12.30 a.m.)
J12:3 Istanbul Governor Hüseyin Avni Mutlu and Istanbul Police Chief Hüseyin Çapkın visit the square after the clashes (12.40 a.m.)
J12:4 Heavy gas bomb attacks on Istiklal (12.50 a.m.)
J12:5 Gas bombs are being fired to the tents in Gezi Park (1.30 a.m.)
J12:6 From the tens of thousands in the park, some retreat and take refuge at Divan Hotel (2.13 a.m.)
J12:7 Police starts to remove barricades at Taşkışla (2.16 a.m.)
J12:8 Demonstrators are back in Gezi Park (3.30 a.m.)
J12:9 Divan hotel is transformed into an infirmary and a chain of people has been created to carry the injured from the park to the hotel (2.51 a.m.)
J12:10 Police cleans Taksim square and removes the barricades around Gezi Park (4.02 a.m.)
J12:11 The park is calm (6 a.m.)
J12:12 In the morning people start to clean up and reconstruct the destroyed objects in the park (6.30 a.m.)
J12:13 Prime-minister Erdoğan meet with a group of 11 representatives of Taksim solidarity platform regarding Gezi park protests and supposedly to listen their demands. By the end of the meeting Erdoğan raises the possibility of bringing the issue of the demolition of Gezi Park to a referendum
J12:14 People start to build stronger barricades around Gezi Park while Taksim Square is taken by the police


J12:14a. Source: Erman Yuksel (Al Jazeera)


J12:14b. Source: Erman Yuksel (Al Jazeera)

J12:15 Police reinforces the protection around Atatürk Cultural Centre and hang two huge Turkish flags and an Atatürk picture on the façade of the building (12.24 p.m.)
J12:16 2,000 lawyers protest against of their colleagues' detention (7 p.m.)
J12:17 The TV stations that broadcasted live coverage of the protests are shut down
J12:18 From several districts, thousands of people start to march towards Taksim (9 p.m.)
J12:19 Demonstrators form a human chain in front of security forces in Taksim square
J12:20 Thousands of people attend the live piano concert, performed by German pianist Davide Martello and the Turkish musician Yigit Ozatalay, in support to the Gezi Park protesters. The evening in the square is subdued and peaceful, in contrast with the previous night (11 p.m.)


Atatürk Cultural Centre. Credits: Christiane Gruber (Islamic Art and Visual Culture blog)


Source: Emrah Gürel (Doğan News Agency)

Thursday, June 13, 2013

JJ13:1 In the morning, Gezi park is packed with people
J13:2 Taksim Solidarity makes a call to everyone to meet at Taksim Square at 7 p.m. to protest against "police terror" (4 p.m.)
J13:3 Taksim Solidarity starts the press announcement shouting the slogan "Taksim is Ours, Istanbul is Ours" (7 p.m.)
J13:4 In response to the Governor of Istanbul's intimidation, asking the mothers to take their children home, a group of mothers form a human chain in the park between protesters and the police and keep their children with them (9.15 p.m.)
J13:5 Several groups gather in their neighbourhoods to start a march towards Taksim Square
J13:6 Prime minister meets, for the second consecutive day, with a group of 19 elements from the Taksim Solidarity Platform (until 3.45 a.m.)

Friday, June 14, 2013

J14:1 Mayor of İstanbul Hüseyin Avni Mutlu has a meeting with a group of 150 young protesters at theDolmabahçe Saat Kule Cafe (12 p.m. – 5 a.m.)
J14:2 Hundreds of doctors stand on the steps of Gezi Park (1 p.m.)
J14:3 Taksim solidarity organizes 7 forums around Gezi Park to present and discuss details about the meeting with the prime minister (3.30 p.m.)
J14:4 Ethem Sarısülük, who was allegedly shot by a police officer on June 1st in the demonstrations in Ankara, is declared brain dead (4 p.m.)
J14:5 German pianist Davide Martello reappears at the square to play for a second time in the name of democracy and freedom (21 p.m.)

Saturday, June 15, 2013

J15:1 The government speaks of a referendum and the resistance is in danger of being pigeonholed
J15:2 People start speaking of reducing the number of tents. Many political parties and organizations agree to take down their tents and converge under one large tent
J15:3 During the day, Taksim and Gezi Park lives a festive atmosphere
J15:4 Taksim Solidarity announces that Gezi Park resistance will continue (7.30 p.m.)
J15:5 Police interrupts the peaceful day, enter Gezi Park and proceed to beat up people and force everyone to leave the park using teargas and taking down the tents. Members of the press are not allowed inside (8 p.m.)
J15:6 In several neighbourhoods of Istanbul people start taking to the streets in protest (9.15 p.m.)
J15:7 Police attacks the medical clinic inside Divan Hotel and tries to arrest those who have taken refuge in the Intercontinental Hotel (9.30 p.m.)
J15:8 Heavy machinery enters Gezi Park (9.40 p.m.)
J15:9 Hundreds of people start erecting barricades in Taşkışla (10 p.m.)
J15:10 Thousands of people who assembled in their neighbourhoods (Sarigazi, Çekmeköy and Kartal in the Asian side of Istanbul, Bakırköy, in the Anatolian side and in the Gazi Quarter) initiate marches towards Taksim Square (10 p.m.)
J15:11 Amnesty International's Turkey Director Murat Çekiç reports police attacks inside the Divan Hotel throwing tear gas inside the hotel while the injured people were trying to reach upper floors (10.30 p.m.)
J15:12 People in Sıraselviler stop the police from advancing near Hokazade Street (10.30 p.m.)
J15:13 People from Kurtuluş are on the streets and the march from the Gazi Quarter is already 50,000 people strong (10.50 p.m.)
J15:14 The crowds gathered in Kadıköy (Asian side of Istanbul) meet with the column arriving from Bagdat Street to march together towards Taksim Square (11.19 p.m.)
J15:15 Police attacks people gathered in Mecdiyekoy and Ortakoy with tear gas (11.20 p.m.)
J15:16 Dame de Sion High School is converted into a medical clinic (11.24 p.m.)
J15:17 Hundreds of people in the Gazi Quarter of Istanbul block the traffic on the highway
J15:18 Tens of thousands of people assemble in Kadıköy reach Uzunçayır (on the Asian side of Istanbul) (11.30 p.m.)
J15:19 Thousands of people march from Nişantaşı to Harbiye and people from Gazi Quarter are getting closer to Taksim (11.50 p.m.)
J15:20 The columns coming from Nişantaşı and Gazi Quarter are already close to Taksim (11.50 p.m.)
J15:21 Thousands of people gather in Istiklal and erect barricades (11.55 p.m.)


Istiklal Avenue during the night of June, 15 to 16
Sources: Center for the Study of the Drone / Flickr Dan van Moll

Sunday, June 16, 2013 (during the night)

J16:1 Police shoots gas canisters around Taksim Ilkyardim Hospital (12.06 a.m.)
J16:2 New barricades are erected at the fish market near Galatasaray Square, in Istiklal Street (12.08 a.m.)
J16:3 Saint Pulcherie High School opens doors to assist injured people (12.20 a.m.)
J16:4 The column from Bahçelievler reachsTopkapi and the other from Gazi Quarter joins the one coming from Nurtepe (12.20 a.m.)
J16:5 Police attacks people with water cannons in Istiklal (12.30 a.m.)
J16:6 Tens of thousands people gathered in the Osmanbey area are attacked by the police (12.45 a.m.)
J16:7 RedHack hack the official TV channel of the parliament (1 a.m.)
J16:8 Thousands of people march on the E-5 highway from the Asian side towards Taksim (1 a.m.)
J16:9 Barricades are formed around Osmanbey Metro Station (1 a.m.)
J16:10 Police invades the Hilton Hotel (1.28 a.m.)
J16:11 The column in Uzuncayir (near the Bosphorus Bridge) crosses police barricade and marches towards the bridge (1.54 a.m.)
J16:12 Taksim Solidarity declare four urgent demands against the brutal attacks while there are tens of thousands of people marching towards Taksim from almost all areas of Istanbul (2 a.m.)
J16:13 Police attacks people in Halaskar Gazi (Şişli), near Okmeydani and those that are marching towards the Bosphorus Bridge (2.30 a.m.)
J16:14 Police crosses the barricade in Osmanbey and people are obligated to retreat (2.50 a.m.)
J16:15 People from Altunizade (the Asian side of Istanbul) march towards the Bosphorus Bridge (3 a.m.)
J16:16 Police attacks in Okmeydani and in Altunizade (3 a.m.)
J16:17 Police continues to attack around 10,000 people gathered in front of Taksim Ilkyardim Hospital (3.25 a.m.)
J16:18 Thousands of people are assembled in Pangalti (3.45 a.m.)
J16:18 Thousands of people are assembled in Pangalti (3.45 a.m.)
J16:19 Police attacks the people in Bosphorus bridge, shooting gas bomb (3.48 a.m.)
J16:20 Tens of thousands coming from Kartal cross the Bosphorus Bridge (4 a.m.)
J16:21 Police attacks the people who are crossing the Bosphorus bridge and gathered in Osmanbey (4.15 a.m.)
J16:22 Police attack by firing rubber bullets in Cihangir and Okmeydanı (4.30 a.m.)
J16:23 Major conflicts are over, with just small groups that continuing to protest (8 a.m.)

Some of the groups and parties represented in the park


Communist Party of Turkey (TKP). Source: mckinstry


Several socialist groups (Socialist platform of the oppressed -ESP; Socialist Party of Refoundation -SYKP; Socialist Democracy Party - SDP; Social Democratic People's Party - SHP). Source: Ezilenlerin Sosyalist Partisi facebook



Revolutionary Anarchist Action (DAF). Source: Robert Graham


Hak ve Eşitlik Partisi (HEPAR). Source: Hak ve Eşitlik Partisi (HEPAR) youtube


The "Anti-Capitalist Muslims". Credits: Christiane Gruber (Jadaliyya)


Greenpeace activists. Credits: Volkan Cagali (Greenpeace)



"LGBT Blok". Credits: Brandon Jourdan

Distinct areas in Gezi park


A Credits: Can Altay (creativetimereports)


C Credits: Emrah Gürel (Hurriyet daily news)



D Credits: C. M. Kosemen


E Credits: Christiane Gruber (Islamic Art and Visual Culture blog)


G Courtesy of Tumblr (uncube magazine)


J Credits: Merve Bedir (uncube magazine)


N Credits: C. M. Kosemen (cmkosemen blog)


R Credits: Gündem (Kizil Bayrak)



S Credits: Christiane Gruber (Jadaliyya)


T Credits: Magali Corouge (BBC)


Credits: Stephan Dahl



Stalls and sleeping area. Credits: Christiane Gruber (Islamic Art and Visual Culture blog)

Map and chronology built from news taken from: Al Jazeera English, BBC, New Yorker, CNN, Hurriyet Daily News, Aydinlik daily, showdisscontent, Jadaliyya, Jodi , BBB Türk, Brandon Jourdan, crimethinc, uncube, the Journal, gezipark.nadir, İstanbul'da, adukovska, funnygod