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FOOTPRINT

COMMONING AS DIFFERENTIATED PUBLICNESS:
EMERGING CONCEPTS OF THE URBAN AND OTHER MATERIAL REALITIES
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Introduction
Commoning as Differentiated Publicness
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In the midst of the present global economic crisis, surges of civil unrest and large-scale social urban movements alike have become prevalent and recurrent phenomena across the world. Although the discontents that fuel these social movements are widely variegated, they nevertheless share one commonality: the partial or complete recognition of a structure of domination, or else a critical reflection on the crisis of the status quo.[1] Whether opposing authoritative regimes and demanding political representation, expressing outrage at the draconian economic measures that directly affect the living conditions of society at large, or as a revolt against the privatisation of public space, recent years have seen the undeniable rise of a differentiated social attitude of contestation and resistance to the prevailing politico-economic practices of late capitalism.

The syncretism of contemporary social movements and the growing momentum of the commons movement both illustrate the civil distrust of any form of institutional government and the rejection of deep structural categories embodied in the dualities of state/market, public/private, objective/subjective and universal/local. In opposition to politics without a public, what Hine calls a cynical 'postmodern politics',[2] the commons movement faces important challenges and opportunities: firstly, to liberate politics from the forces of state and market; and secondly (and perhaps more importantly) to assume a renewed role as a viable alternative to the failure of the project of the public – 'the promise

of liberal modernity to construct a neutral space in which we could meet each other as individuals with certain universal rights' – a framework upon which many of our ideas of social justice are founded.[3]

Within this context, the global rise of commons movements in recent years is significant in two interconnected respects. Firstly, as David Bollier comments, as a social movement it represents a paradigmatic response or counterpoint to 'the pathologies of modern markets, government, science and large institutions'.[4] Secondly, it marks civil society's growing interest in moving away from conventional politics and public polity and, alternatively, towards formulating pragmatic working systems beyond the frameworks of the market and the state. In this way, new social and political spaces of self-governance, empowerment and self-determination can be opened according to local circumstances and needs. This direction encompasses an understanding of the commons not only as a resource but also a process and a practice: the practice of commoning.

Although any explanation of the emergence of contemporary social movements, including the commons movement, tends to refer to the current politico-economic crisis of global capitalism as the culprit of social discontent and mobilisation, there are other, equally revealing and relevant perspectives and angles that require investigation. One of these is the relationship that exists between the rise of social movements and the question of

space. This includes at least two of the main issues of contemporary social movements mentioned in the preceding paragraphs: on the one hand, the erosion of the public/private dichotomy, and, on the other, the question of social practices, commoning included. In this sense, it is paramount to open current discussions about contemporary social movements to consider other, less explored theorisations and interpretations that offer alternative insights into the main discourse. In other words, the notions of the public and the private, as well as the practices conventionally associated with them, need to be rethought and problematised from a position that examines the relations between social movements and spatial (urban) concerns.

The failure of the public project and the subsequent discussions that this has opened has deep implications for the built environment. If, for a good part of the twentieth century, the definitions and characteristics of the private/public dichotomy dominated the leading urban discourse, sustaining a claim to function as a measure for determining the success or failure of urban life, today it is becoming increasingly clear that the production of urban space largely pertains to the sphere of private interest, especially in terms of monopolisation. In the absence of an operative concept of the public, it is important to investigate the implications of the erosion and systematic privatisation of the public sphere in the urban environment. The question here is whether the public and the private – as clearly defined, opposing poles within a dichotomy – have exhausted themselves as valid categories of enquiry in endless dialectical oppositions. As the failure of the public as a relevant critical category in present discussions has attested, it is sensible to consider a more nuanced understanding of the public and the private, an understanding that offers a plural account of their numerous 'in-betweens' as differentiations of degree rather than of kind. Moreover, the breakdown of the operability of the public/private binary in urban discourse today heralds the resurgence of

a 'thirding', namely the commons, as a viable category of inquiry that arguably is assuming much of the role of what was once considered the public. Although it goes without saying that such an asseveration needs careful assessment, it nevertheless offers latent and real possibilities.

Differentiated publicness: urban commoning as 'thirding'

Urban spaces and spaces of resistance merge with one another to constitute a spatial production that is not only part of a developing crisis, but also of its counter-form. From marginalised 'grey spaces' and residential areas, to vast open squares and their digital counterparts, contemporary spatiotemporal asymmetries constitute a population of locales with diverse rhythms of function, spread across a spectrum of complexity.[5] Acts of spatial resistance are entangled in a multiplicity of configurations of diverse urban processes. Hence, commoning practices emancipate urban potentialities and actualise them, thus defining spaces through emergent social practices. By challenging existing frameworks, such as the public/private binary mentioned above, they facilitate the emergence of differentiated forms of social and political subjectivity. It is through the appropriation and management of the commons that latent possibilities within the socio-spatial domain are awakened. But in order to examine commoning practices we need to account not only for what they are and how they are managed, but also for what they can do. From this pragmatic perspective, the environment in which these practices take place is considered non-linear, dynamic and productive. By formulating a relational understanding of practices and their milieu, it is possible not only to define, but also to trace and evaluate the differentiated subjectivities that emerge from them, and speculate on their spatial affects.

From within the framework and understanding of commoning practices, and before postulating renewed modes of distribution for common goods,

it is important to focus on the environment in which these practices circulate. This requires an ecological and relational understanding of economies. Maurizio Lazzarato's reading of late capitalism is telling in this regard. According to Lazzarato, capitalism is a 'producer of worlds'.[6] He understands capitalism not as a mode of production but as the production of modes. In other words, capitalism today does not create the object of consumption (goods), nor its subjects (workers, consumers), but the very world within which these object and subjects exist. Lazzarato's reading distances itself from classical analytical economic theory from Adam Smith to Karl Marx, as well as from the critique of institutions (the firm, the state, the empire, the factory), since these are not the source of power relations but their crystallisation.[7] Unlike the Smithian or Marxian factory, Lazzarato's conception of the 'cooperation between minds' produces public, collective and common goods.[8] When socialised (exchanged, transmitted, diffused, shared and consumed), the modalities of the collective increase the value of such goods, while creating new, differentiated forms.[9]

It is the actualised practices of management and exchange of commons that eventually reshape the environment in which they take place. Beyond mere descriptions, the connection between emerging commoning practices and spatial issues holds the potential for revealing the relational multiplicities of the milieu in which they take place. If, as the opponents of neoliberal capitalism claim, neoliberal strategies principally aim at the appropriation of common goods and the enclosure of spaces, which Ivan Illich referred to as 'vernacular culture', then any form of resistance would certainly benefit from choosing the cooperation of differentiated practices over binary capital-labour relationships.[10] This implies the rise of non-hierarchical practices, which unlike more militant forms of resistance, may spread horizontally, constantly re-evaluating short-term configurations and long-term ambitions. From this angle, a relational understanding of social

urban practices, commoning included, and the spatial affects that they entail, may be considered a 'thirding' that stands 'in-between' the long-standing public/private dichotomy. In other words, the practice of commoning may be understood as a form of differentiated publicness.

John Dewey's concept of 'conjoint action' is relevant in this regard because it refers to the emergence of a public and its capacity to produce effects from the generative field of shared practices.[11] Jane Bennett's understanding of Dewey's theory offers a way out of the paralysing private/public debate. Bennett's position is that conjoint actions do not necessarily emanate from human beings alone but encompass other forms of non-human agency, which effectively moderates what is 'possible' when thinking about the public as a confederation of (spatial) bodies.[12] A confederation of bodies is not a voluntary association; it is aggregated by shared experiences of a common threat, which, over time, constitute a problem.[13] In this sense, a public emerges as a response to a particular problem, and the practices that emanate from it are potential approaches towards finding a solution.[14] A public is a contingent and temporary configuration, and since problems vary, so does the population of publics that emerges in response. At any given moment, various differentiated publics either crystalise or dissolve, or merge or dissipate into different associations. Hence, contemporary commoning practices are a public's response to a common problem. The apparent similarities between practices, far from being part of a reductive taxonomical categorisation of forms of resistance, are above all similar and complex ways of treating a population of problems. For Dewey, the field of political actions and their practices is part of an ecology: bodies of publics compose and decompose as a consequence of common affects and the practices that are developed around, from, and with them. Moreover, these understandings of conjoint action, and the publics that emerge from such action, raise

the issue of consequence over that of intention. Responsibility becomes a matter of responding to common threats, and rather than identifying specific sources of threat in an accusatory way, it offers a pragmatic problem-solving approach to politics.[15]

In much of the more traditional discourse on the commons, notions of control, scale and hierarchy take a central position, working as common denominators of sorts across a spectrum of variegated perspectives and theoretical points of departure.[16] Whilst more critical approaches to these issues critique the tendency to highlight the local and the non-hierarchical as the loci of the contemporary urban commons, they tend to do so from an operative point of view, namely by questioning the management of the commons – their regulatory mechanisms of accessibility, restriction and enclosure – according to shifting public/private variations. When investigating the urban commons, this importantly implies problems of scale. In his book *Rebel Cities* David Harvey,[17] for instance, when discussing the commons via a reading of Elinor Ostrom's work, engages directly with the problems of scale.[18] He claims that it is impossible to transfer sensible management from one (smaller) scale to another (larger) one without shifting the nature of the commons.[19] As an alternative, he advocates 'nested' hierarchical forms of organisation, which are able to counter larger-scale issues that micromanagement cannot. While this is an important point to consider, it reduces the understanding of the commons to its rules of management, thus neglecting the 'act' of commoning itself. In this light, then, the problem of the commons raises the need for the problematisation of its practices.

Most approaches to the issue of commons that take the public/private dichotomy as a starting point seem to adopt a rather normative stance. The crucial point, however, is the study of the practices themselves, as it is through them that potential alternatives may be actualised. Rather than homogenising these practices solely under general guidelines and rules, they should be studied in their differential relations, since it is through their relations that the urban environment is shaped. If Hardt and Negri's claim stands, namely that the metropolis constitutes a vast commons produced by collective labour, then the urban environment and the practices that unfold in it require an understanding that accounts for both: their actual expression, and for the space of possibilities that they constitute.[20] Hence, commoning practices may be understood through their ability to unbind the 'outside', the virtual, and their potentialities. Returning to Lazzarato's elaboration, it is arguable that private practices (from neoliberal institutions to monopolisation) actively confine the virtual. They neutralise the power of invention and creativity; they codify repetition, draining the power of variation and ultimately turning everything into simple reproduction.[21] But most importantly, when reduced to mere expressions of power – be it economic, legal or political – they ignore the potential of the 'active' becoming implicit in any form of practice. When, on the other hand, social practices are regarded in their full ecology; that is, when they are read through the notion of multiplicity, they depolarise dialectics. And this is significant because it problematises the practice of commoning. This raises the question of how an approach to commoning that distances itself from a dialectics may rephrase the potential powers implicit in such forms of practices.

In this sense, understanding political action and practice as a means of affirmative empowerment may come in handy. Rosi Braidotti, for instance, claims that a shared desire for specific transformations becomes actualised by collective efforts, thus forming transversal assemblages that aim to produce affirmative politics and ethical relations.[22] According to her, the political-ethical core of a subject is connected to the effects that the power of the subject's actions has on a relational environment, and not to moral intentionality. Repressive

and positive power potentials – 'potestas' and 'potentia' – condition themselves in the unfolding of relationships. In tandem, the ethical ideal is the increased capacity of the subject to enter into multiple relational modes.[23] Hence, commoning practices may be seen as the actualisation of differentiated networks of yet unexploited and/or unimagined relational powers. They become practices of negotiation based on the urgency of mediating the thresholds of a shared life.[24] By extension, no understanding of commoning, or of differentiated forms of publicness, can be complete without questioning the possible and nuanced forms of commoning as material embodiment. An analysis of 'commoning as practice' has to take full cognisance of its affected material states in a variety of distributive social and urban situations. This conjointly raises a reversal to the same question, being the processes and material realities with regard to inaccessibility of the public. In other words, how and in what way would practices of commoning be affected if the urban deliberately closed all spatial and latent possibilities for any form of commoning and its material embodiment? Such questions require the introduction of fine-tuned analytical tools with the capacity to trace the critical moments when substantial qualitative changes take place in the socio-spatial realities of urban environments, and at the same time synthetically incorporate future trajectories of emerging practices.

The current issue of Footprint offers an array of diverse insights into contemporary commoning practices. Emanating from different angles of enquiry, the articles address the question of the 'commons' as a result of rethinking the public/private dichotomy in light of developing forms and relationships. The notions of cohabitation and co-production, for instance, reveal the emergence of a variety of geopolitical ecologies and new forms of citizenry.[25] The articles in this issue respond to these enquiries from a variety of perspectives that include: rethinking these ecologies; providing

accounts of the potentials of renewed urban citizenry and the new types of legitimacy involved; an analysis of political practices and strategies as empowering the agency of self-organised urban movement; the critical assessment of spatial initiatives; the investigation of emerging bodies and the question of autonomy across a spectrum of scales and negotiation, and an analysis of and speculation on the mechanisms of contemporary commoning that configure urban and material reality through the realisation of new materialities.

Stavros Stavrides invites the reader to conceptualise urban commoning as a complex process that involves more than mere spatial production. His contribution advances the understanding of commoning as encompassing not only complex processes of subjectification, but also commoning institutions and the rules for their development and use. He interprets urban enclaves not as closed, rigid spaces, but rather as thresholds of negotiation, namely as specific spaces, and their rules of use as constitutive of socio-spatial practices that uncover the potential of constant transformation via the formulation of porous borders of inclusion.

Close to Stavrides' position, Stealth.unlimited (Ana Džokić and Marc Neelen) regards commoning as a dynamic urban phenomenon, largely dependent on the process of open-ended institutionalisation implicit in the commons. This contribution scrutinises the notion of 'institutionalised commons' and explores a set of scripts, rules and agreements through which commoning practices validate, secure and perpetuate their existence. Through an extensive, in-depth historical analysis, and with the aid of numerous contemporary examples, the article uncovers the tensions between dynamic and static properties of commoning.

Following on this perspective, Michele Vianello introduces the Italian enquiry into developing a critical position towards emergent concepts of

the commons. While this contribution investigates the implications of the so-called institutionalisation of commons, it also questions the role of legal and juridical scholarship in the foundation of the commons. In a careful analysis of the laws and policies of the cases introduced in the article, the author discusses the possibilities of a truly emancipatory commoning practice within these frameworks. In other words, the contribution raises the question of how emerging urban practices may be coupled with the crystallisation of new rights unfolding in urban space.

From a different angle, the contribution by Lucía Jalón Oyarzún offers a thorough theoretical investigation of the tools commonly used in studies on urban commoning practices. The article condemns the prevalence of stagnated methodologies used in urban discourse, claiming that these have worked in unison with the emergence of the modern state and its techniques of control and power over space and social practice. Furthermore, the author argues that a critical examination of contemporary political practices and the new sensibilities they entail is crucial for the architectural discipline.

The contribution by Gökhan Kodalak advances the plea to condition the sensible. Utilising as its framework the recent social uprising and protests that occurred in Istanbul's Gezi Park, the article introduces the concept of the 'anomalous architect' as a mediator in the actualisation of common spaces and their shared experiences. By examining the porosity of practical and spatial limits, this contribution formulates a methodology for creating a border condition: a monstrous alliance capable of emancipating potentialities.

Karin Bradley investigates how the development and advance of digital technologies may positively affect urban commoning. By examining the concept of open-source urbanism, the contribution explores and discusses a set of case studies in the US and France, arguing that the methodological and technical similarity of urban planning and digital programming may significantly strengthen a wide host of urban practices. The article considers the potential these methods and techniques have for self-managed commoning bodies. From the formulation of managerial manuals, their free distribution and open access, to their applicability in a variety of different scenarios, the article claims that these techniques hold the potential to transgress and surpass traditional institutions, thus unveiling yet untapped social virtualities.

The last contribution, by Christina Ampatzidou and Ania Molenda, explores the affordances of new media technologies on the configuration of the urban environment. Media, technology and emerging forms of activism are examined here as a means of delineating the hybridisation of physical and digital spaces, thus formulating new technologically informed commons. The article argues that digital technologies have contributed to the establishment of a collective informational database that can afford 'pop-up' urbanism through the stratification of territories based on spontaneity, adaptability and the unsanctioned use of space.

Notes
1. Julie Gibson and Katherine Graham, *A Postcapitalist Politics*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; 2006), p. xix.
2. Dougald Hine, 'Commoning the City', in *STIR magazine*, 2 (Summer 2013), <http://stirtoaction.com/commoning-in-the-city> [accessed 22 November 2014]
3. Ibid.
4. David Bollier, *'The Quiet Realization of Ivan Illich's Ideas in the Contemporary Commons Movement'*, <http://bollier.org/blog/quiet-realization-ivan-illichs-ideas-contemporary-commons-movement> [accessed 22 November 2014]
5. Oren Yiftachel, 'Critical theory and "grey space":

Mobilization of the colonized', in *City*, 13, 4, 2009.

6. Maurizio Lazzarato, 'From Capital-labour to Capital-life', in *Ephemera. Theory of the Multitude*, 4, 3 (2004), p. 188.

7. Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*, trans. by Seán Hand (London: Continuum, 2006).

8. Op. Cit. 6; Lazzarato, p. 199.

9. Ibid., p. 200.

10. The notion of 'vernacular culture', coined by Ivan Illich, refers to the realm of everyday life in which people create and negotiate their own sense of things. Ivan Illich, *Shadow Things* (Marion Boyars: London, 1981).

11. John Dewey, *The Public and its Problems* (Ohio: Swallow Press, 1954), p. 16.

12. Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter* (London: Duke University Press, 2010), p. 95.

13. '[P]roblems give rise to publics, publics are groups of bodies with the capacity to affect and be affected; problems are signals that the would-be or protomembers of a public had already encountered the indirect effects of other endeavouring bodies, effects that have decreased the capacity for action of the protomembers. A public is a cluster of bodies harmed by the actions of others or even by actions born from their own actions as these trans-act; harmed bodies draw near each other and seek to engage in new acts that will restore their power, protect against future harm, or compensate for damage done – in that consists their political action, which, fortunately or unfortunately, will also become conjoint action with a chain of indirect, unpredictable consequences.' Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, p.101.

14. Dewey, *The Public and its Problems*, p. 137.

15. This approach is close to what Henri Bergson refers to as 'action-oriented perception'. Henri Bergson, *The Creative Mind: An Introduction to Metaphysics* (New York: Citadel Press, 1946), p. 113.

16. See, for example, Garrett Hardin's classic article 'The Tragedy of the Commons', *Science,* (1968).

17. David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (London: Verso, 2012), p. 69.

18. Elinor Ostrom, Governing the Commons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

19. Harvey, *Rebel Cities*, p. 69.

20. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 250.

21. Maurizio Lazzarato, 'The Concepts of Life and the Living in the Societies of Control', in *Deleuze and the Social*, ed. by Martin Fuglsang and Bent Meier Sorensen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 176.

22. Rosi Braidotti, 'Interview with Rosi Braidotti', in *New Materialism*, ed. by Rick Dolphijn and Iris van der Tuin (Michigan: Open Humanities Press, 2012), p. 35.

23. Ibid., p. 36.

24. Rosi Braidotti and Rick Dolphin, 'Deleuze's Philosophy and the Art of Life Or: What does Pussy Riot Know?', in *This Deleuzian Century,* ed. by Rosi Braidotti and Rick Dolphin (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2015), p. 19.

25. The notion of 'co-production' as discussed by Iain Low questions levels and processes of participation within present-day urbanisms. He states: '[W]hat we really need to think about is what *mediates "disorder"*, or *what allows for things to co-exist within a context of uncertainty*. This is where I would situate the practice of *co-production*. Previously the emphasis fell on "participatory practice". Co-production discusses, within a horizon of interconnectivity, the possibility of bringing people and organizations together to *co-participate*. The challenge is one of how difference might co-exist. […] It is not so much a question of being a master designer or master builder but to rather design and manage relations through the agency of design in a particular situation.' (Author's emphasis) Iain Low, 'Pondering (South) African Urban Development. Oppositions and Correlations', in *African Perspectives (South) Africa. City Society, Space, Literature and Architecture*, ed. by Gerhard Bruyns and Arie Graafland (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2012), p. 272.

Biographies

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Common Space as Threshold Space:
Urban Commoning in Struggles to Re-appropriate Public Space

Stavros Stavrides

Common spaces and the urban order of the 'city of enclaves'

The city must be controlled and shaped by dominant power relations if it is to remain a crucial means for society's reproduction. But the city is not simply the result of spatiotemporal ordering in the same way that society is not simply the result of social ordering. Order, social or urban, is a project rather than an accomplished state. Therefore it is important that we locate the mechanisms through which the project of urban ordering is being shaped and implemented if we want to discover the forces that resist or overturn this ordering. Ordering mechanisms do not simply execute certain programmed functions but constitute complicated, self-regulating systems that interact with urban reality and 'learn' from their mistakes. Urban ordering, the metropolis itself, is a process, a stake, much in the same way that dominant social relations need to be reproduced every day.

Urban order is the impossible limit towards which practices of spatial classification and hierarchisation tend in order to ensure that the city produces those spatial relations that are necessary for capitalism's reproduction. Ordering mechanisms are not only meant to tame a complicated and highly differentiated form of human *habitat* (perhaps the most complicated one in human history so far), they are also, to use Foucault's bold term, 'mechanisms of social normalisation'. Foucault insists that normalisation is not simply the result of the legal system: 'techniques of normalization develop from and

below a system of law, in its margins and may be even against it'.[1]

In terms of urban ordering, normalisation includes attempts to establish spatial relations that encourage social relations and forms of behaviour, which are meant to be repeatable, predictable and compatible with the taxonomy of the necessary social roles. Normalisation shapes human behaviour and may use space (as well as other means) to do so.

Normalisation is a project and also a stake. It is not simply imposed on populations; it has to infiltrate every capillary of society in order to be effective. It has to be connected to words and acts that mould everydayness, but also to acts of dominant power that frame those everyday molecular practices. Normalisation is undoubtedly a project of domination, a project that seeks to mould society's subjects, and thus it has to be the result of a certain arrangement of power relations.

Before the current economic crisis, the governing elites thought they had reached the capitalist heaven, where money magically begets money.[2] They imagined that they could at last do away with the obstacles to profit that labour creates. As the economic 'bubbles' burst, the importance of mechanisms that bind people to dominant policies once again became evident. It is these policies that currently shape the normalisation project through their focus on two important targets. The first of

these is to ensure that social bonds continue to treat individuals as economic subjects, as subjects whose behaviour and motives can be analysed, channelled, predicted and, ultimately, controlled by the use of economic parameters and measures alone. The second is to ensure that people continue to act and dream without participating in any form of connectedness or coordination with others that does not contribute to the creation of profit.

Both targets are strongly connected to the hegemonic shaping of the contemporary metropolis. It is the control of this urban environment that aims to preserve our society's precarious balance by ensuring that people continue to act as selfish and obedient individuals. The powerful live and work in fortified citadels. The rest are offered either the doubtful security of enclosed spaces of consumption and living, or are forced to work and spend their lives in areas circumscribed by sanitised urban zones. Urban ordering is therefore oriented towards the expansive urbanity of a 'city of enclaves'. Urban enclaves tend to be self-contained worlds in which specific forms of spatial ordering prevail.[3] Ordering is guaranteed by rules that apply only inside each enclave. A peculiar, site-specific sovereign power is thus established in urban enclaves in the form of an administrative apparatus that imposes obligations and patterns of behaviour, and therefore defines the characteristics of the enclave's inhabitants.

Specific rules are applied in the ordering of a large department store, in the way one enters a bank or a corporate tower, and in the layout and use of a shopping mall or a huge sports stadium. Urban islands may be huge building complexes, like the ones described above, but also whole neighbourhoods, as in the case of so-called 'gated communities'. Spatial ordering is connected with behaviour normalisation in all cases. Normalisation is explicitly or implicitly performed through the enforcement of regulations, which often present themselves as purely innocent management decisions. The contemporary metropolis is 'an archipelago of "normalized enclosures"'.[4]

Immersed in their everyday, enclave-defined lives, people tend to accept each enclave's rules of use as an indisputable normality. They even understand these rules of use as the functional decrees of well-intentioned authorities. They abandon themselves to the promises of those rules, which guarantee what law is supposed to guarantee: protection. People learn to abandon their rights in exchange for this protection. And, of course, protection (from whatever the authorities present to people as a threat) is the deepest and most consistent alibi used to make rules seem 'natural'.[5]

Yet urban ordering and the corresponding normalisation policies do not go unchallenged. Actually, a widespread – albeit latent – loss of faith in this society's promises has triggered various forms of disobedience and resistance. Normalisation remains a contested and precarious project in a period of crisis with no apparent way out. Emergent new forms of resistance are importantly connected to acts that shape urban space in order to create new social bonds and build forms of collective struggle and survival.

Practices of this kind lead to collective experiences that reclaim the city as a potentially liberating environment and reshape crucial questions that characterise emancipatory politics. In this context, the city becomes not only the setting but also the means to collectively experiment with possible alternative forms of social organisation. Moreover, the sharing of space becomes a crucially important stake, both as a means of experimenting and as one of the goals of such experiments.

Common spaces are those spaces produced by people in their effort to establish a common world that houses, supports and expresses the community they participate in. Therefore, common spaces

should be distinguished from both public spaces and private ones. Public spaces are primarily created by a specific authority (local, regional or state), which controls them and establishes the rules under which people may use them. Private spaces belong to and are controlled by specific individuals or economic entities that have the right to establish the conditions under which others may use them.

David Harvey offers a dense synopsis of the discussion concerning the nature of commons in general and common space in particular. He insists that the common is not 'a particular kind of thing' but 'an unstable and malleable social relation between a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet-to-be-created social and/or physical environment deemed crucial to its life and livelihood'.[6] Thus common space can be considered as a relation between a social group and its effort to define a world that is shared by its members. By its very conception, such a world can be stable and well defined, completely separate from what is kept outside and from 'outsiders'. This is indeed the kind of world that can be contained in an urban enclave: enclaves can be secluded common worlds, as in the case of a *favela*, or a gated community.

However, common space can also be a porous world, always in the making, if we consider the relation that defines it as dynamic, both in terms of the formation of its corresponding group or community and the characteristics of the common world itself. Jacques Rancière revealingly re-theorises community through the notion of 'common world'. This world, according to him, is more than a 'shared ethos' and a 'shared adobe'. It 'is always a polemical distribution of modes of being and "occupations" in a space of possibilities'.[7]

Consequently, common space may be shaped through the practices of an emerging and not necessarily homogeneous community that does not simply

try to secure its reproduction but also attempts to enrich its exchanges with other communities as well as those between its members. Common space may take the form of a meeting ground, an area in which 'expansive circuits of encounter' intersect.[8] Through acts of establishing common spaces, the discrimination and barriers that characterise the enclave urbanity may be countered.

In the prospect of re-appropriating the city, common spaces are the spatial nodes through which the metropolis once again becomes the site of politics, if by politics we mean an open process through which the dominant forms of living together are questioned and potentially transformed. The following is a description of the collective experience of re-appropriating the metropolis by a group that almost ignited Gezi Park occupation in Istanbul, Turkey, in their struggle to defend a park that was to be destroyed by the government's plans. 'The struggle for Gezi Park and Taksim Square set a new definition of what public space means. Reclaiming Taksim has shattered AKP's [governing party] hegemony in deciding what a square is supposed to mean for us citizens, because Taksim is now what the Resistance wants it to mean: our public square.'[9] Interestingly, the group's name translates as 'Our Commons'.

The prevailing experiences of urban enclosures, and the dominant vision of recognisable, identity-imposing enclaves, colonise the thought and actions of those who attempt to reclaim politics. We need to abandon a view that fantasises about uncontaminated enclaves of emancipation.[10] Threshold experience and the threshold metaphor offer a counter-example to the dominant enclave city.[11] Rather than perpetuating an image of such a city as an archipelago of enclave-islands, we need to create spaces that inventively threaten this peculiar urban order by overturning dominant taxonomies of spaces and life types. Spaces-as-thresholds acquire a dubious, perhaps precarious,

but also virus-like existence: they become active catalysts in processes of re-appropriating the city as commons.

Thresholds may appear to be mere boundaries that separate an inside from an outside, as in a door's threshold, but this act of separation is always and simultaneously an act of connection. Thresholds create the conditions of entrance and exit; thresholds prolong, manipulate and give meaning to an act of passage. This is why thresholds have been marked in many societies by rituals that attempt to control the inherent potentialities of crossing. Guardian gods or spirits dwell at thresholds because the act of passage is already an act that creates a potential connection between an inside and an outside. Entering may be taken as an intrusion, and exiting may convey the stigma of ostracism.

Thresholds acquire symbolic meaning and are often shaped in ways that express and corroborate this meaning. Societies construct thresholds as spatial artifices that regulate, symbolically and actually, practices of crossing, practices of bridging different worlds. And these practices may be socially beneficial or harmful. Societies also use the image and the emblematic experience of thresholds to metaphorically ascribe meaning to changes of social status that periodically and necessarily happen to their members. Passing from childhood to adolescence, from single to married life, from life to death, from apprenticeship to the status of the professional, from trainee to warrior, and so on, are cases of supervised social transformations that mould individuals. Societies often understand these changes as the crossing of thresholds: initiation procedures guarantee a socially 'safe' crossing by directing neophytes to the 'other' side.[12]

As the anthropologist Victor Turner has observed, threshold crossing contains an inherent transforming potential that is not necessarily bound to the rules of social reproduction. People on the threshold experience the potentiality of change because during the period of their stay on the threshold a peculiar experience occurs, the experience of '*communitas'*.[13] People who have lost their previous social identity but have not yet acquired a new one linger on the threshold of change 'betwixt and between', almost reduced to the common characteristics shared by all humans.[14] Social differentiation may appear quite arbitrary during such an experience. A kind of equalising potentiality seems to dwell on thresholds. Liminality, the spatiotemporal quality of threshold experience, is a condition that gives people the opportunity to share a common world-in-the-making, in which differences appear as pre-social or even anti-social.[15]

Initiation threshold spaces are defined through the ritual practices that bring them into existence. Such threshold spaces are under society's surveillance and any form of '*communitas'* is carefully limited to an ephemeral initiatory existence. However, in thresholds that give space to and shape institutions of expanding commoning, '*communitas'* is experienced as an always-in-the-making community of participating commoners. Rather than experiencing the potentialities of equality by being ritually reduced to a common zero degree of humanness (as do the initiated in rites of passage), through their acts the people involved construct a community of equals because they choose to define at least part of their life autonomously and in common. Emergent communities of creators and users of city space: is this not a prospect that would transform city space into common space, into space-as-commons?

For commoning to remain a force that produces forms of cooperation through sharing, it has to be a process that oversteps the boundaries of any established community, even if this community aspires to be an egalitarian and anti-authoritarian one. Emerging subjects of commoning actions transform themselves by always being open to 'newcomers'

and by becoming newcomers themselves.[16] In the process of expanding commoning, which directly defies capitalist society's enclosures, thresholds may become both the image and the setting of emancipating experiences of sharing. Thresholds are potential socio-spatial 'artifices of equality'.[17]

Institutions of expanding commoning?
This is where the problem of the 'institutions of commoning' arises.[18] By its very constitution as a tool of social organisation, an institution tends to circumscribe a community as a closed world of predictable and repeatable social practices. Thus, institutions of commoning may also be employed to define specific commoning practices, and the corresponding community of commoners be considered as a closed, self-reproducing world. But this may – and often does – lead to forms of enclosure.[19]

For commoning practices to become important pre-figurations of an emancipated society, commoning has to remain a collective struggle to re-appropriate and transform a society's common wealth by continually expanding the network of sharing and collaboration.[20] Although collective experiences such as those of Syntagma Square's self-managed tent city (one of the many instances of the recent occupied squares movement that includes the European 'indignant citizens', the Arab Spring and the Occupy movement) may represent an inspiring example of a culture based on equality, solidarity and collective inventiveness, the exemplary power of the corresponding common spaces persists only when they remain 'infectious', osmotic and capable of extending egalitarian values and practices outside their boundaries. Central squares became important for the recent occupy movements because they had the capacity to become crucial nodes in a developing network of neighbourhoods and cities. It was police attacks and authoritarian government policies that tried to limit the metastatic character of those common spaces by forcing the occupiers to barricade themselves

in defence. Spatial porosity, however, was restored every time people were left to develop their inventive and spreading miniature cities: micro-squares within a reclaimed public square.[21]

Dominant institutions legitimise inequality, distinguishing between those who know and those who do not, between those who can take decisions and those who must execute them, between those who have specific rights and those who are deprived of them. Thus, dominant institutions that focus on the production and uses of public space are essentially forms of authorisation that stem from certain authorities and aim at directing the behaviour of public space users.[22]

It is undeniable that there also exist dominant institutions that seem to be grounded in an abstract equality: real people with differentiated characteristics, needs and dreams are reduced to neutralised subjects with abstract rights. Thus, in public space, general rules apply to homogenised users, ones who can have access to a specific place at specific hours of the day and under specific conditions (including the use of discreet or conspicuous surveillance).

In spite of their different roles in social normalisation, both types of dominant institutions classify and predict types of behaviour and deal with only those differences that are fixed and perpetuated through the classifications they establish. There are obviously differences in terms of content: an institution that aims at guaranteeing a certain form of equality (no matter how abstract) is different from an institution that openly imposes discrimination.

Institutions of expanding commoning explicitly differ from dominant institutions (institutions of domination) as well as from those institutions which articulate practices 'enclosed' commoning. This makes them potentially different 'social artifices', which are oriented towards creating different social bonds.

Three essential qualities characterise institutions of expanding commoning. Firstly, institutions of this kind establish the basis of comparisons between different subjects of action and also between different practices. Subjects of action and practices themselves become comparable and relevant: what is at stake is to invent forms of collaboration based not on homogenisation but on multiplicity.[23] Instead of maintaining or creating distances between different subjects and practices (within a rigid taxonomy), institutions of this kind encourage differences to meet, to mutually expose themselves, and to create grounds of mutual awareness. Mere coexistence does not capture the potentiality of comparison. Differences mean something because they can be compared. Differences are relative and relational.

Let us consider an example: in the case of the occupied Navarinou Park in Athens (a parking lot converted into a lively urban square and garden through a neighbourhood initiative), people could have created distinct working groups with participation based on each one's knowledge and abilities. This, however, would latently reproduce a role taxonomy derived from the 'innocent obviousness' of existing differences. As a young architect who participated in the park's assembly recalls: 'People involved felt that they had to reposition themselves outside of their normal position and profession.'[24] Even in her areas of expertise, she was careful to express her opinion 'as one opinion among others, and not as the expert's opinion'.[25] What makes Navarinou Park an experiment in common space creation is that any form of work and cooperation is implicitly or explicitly an act of collective self-regulation and self-management. Collecting garbage can become a test in such a prospect, as can also be a discussion regarding direct democracy in the park's assembly. The rules established by the assembly formed institutions of commoning, as did the rules that established a rotation of duties (as in the collection of garbage). Institutions of

expanding commoning need to be flexible because 'newcomers' need to be included in them without being forced to enter a pre-existing taxonomy of roles. Comparability is the motor force of expanding commoning.

However, comparability is not enough. Institutions of commoning need to offer opportunities as well as tools for translating differences between views, between actions and between subjectivities. If comparability is based on the necessary and constitutive recognition of differences, translatability creates the ground for negotiations between differences without reducing them to common denominators. 'An emancipated community is a community of narrators and translators.'[26] Obviously, this is quite difficult since dominant taxonomies tend to block the processes of establishing any socially recognisable common ground that is not based on the predominance of the ruling elites. Translation seeks correspondences, but it cannot and does not aspire to establish an absolute, unobstructed mirroring of one language with another. An institution does – or should do – the same, thus keeping alive the expanding potentiality of commoning. Indeed, 'the common is always organized in translation'.[27] Expanding commoning does not expand according to pre-existing patterns; it literally invents itself. Translation is this inherent inventiveness of commoning, which constantly opens new fields and new opportunities for the creation of a common world always-in-the-making.

Another example from Navarinou Park that may seem trivial, but which is not, concerns schoolchildren from the nearby public elementary school, who were invited to participate in the activities of the park yet were not treated as simply potential users of the park. They were encouraged to leave their mark on the park by planting their own small garden, by participating in the construction of colourful benches with broken ceramic tiles, and by organising their own small events in the self-constructed

outdoor theatre. What passes unnoticed in these experiments is that inviting schoolchildren (or any newcomer) to get involved poses problems of translation. What do children discover, express or ask for by participating? How can their aspirations be dealt with without simply using them as fuel for the initiative's engine?

A third characteristic of institutions of expanding commoning has very deep roots in the history of human societies. Social anthropologists have thoroughly documented the existence of mechanisms in certain societies that prevent or discourage the accumulation of power. Depending on the case, these mechanisms are focused on the equal distribution of collected food, the ritual destruction of wealth, the symbolic sacrifice of leaders, carnivalistic role reversals, etc.

If institutions of commoning are meant to be able to support a constant opening of the circles of commoning, they need to sustain mechanisms of control over any potential accumulation of power, either by individuals or by specific groups. If sharing is to be the guiding principle of self-management practices, then the sharing of power is simultaneously the precondition for egalitarian sharing and its ultimate target. Egalitarian sharing, which needs to be able to include newcomers, has to be encouraged by an ever-expanding network of self-governance institutions. Such institutions can really be 'open' and 'perpetually in flux', but in very specific ways connected to the practices of expanding commoning.[28] Power is first and foremost the power to decide. If, however, the power to decide is distributed equally through mechanisms of participation, then this power ceases to give certain people the opportunity (whether legitimised or not) to impose their will on others.

Raúl Zibechi has carefully studied the mechanisms used by the struggling communities in El Alto, Bolivia, observing how specific communities chose to 'disperse power' rather than build institutions that reproduce centres of power accumulation.[29] He describes how a continuous dialectic between centralised, open assembly decisions and dispersed initiatives of action by smaller groups keeps a struggling community alive, inventive and open to the contribution of each and everyone. Although he chooses to see these practices as non-institutional or non-institutionalised, a wider interpretation of institutions, such as the one employed so far in this text, may consider the practices of El Alto's 'commoners' as open institutions of commoning explicitly targeted at the elimination of institutionalised power centres. We could even transform his remark on communities-in-the-making to a bold definition of institutions of expanding commoning. He says: 'Community does not merely exist, it is made. It is not an institution, not even an organization, but a way to make links between people.'[30] Perhaps it is institutions of expanding commoning that make egalitarian links between people, thus producing an open community.

In the recent Occupy movement, as well as in many other forms of direct democracy that were tested in neighbourhood initiatives, an open assembly explicitly tried to establish equality in terms of decision-making. Everyone had the right to participate. In many cases, decision-making was not based on voting but on consensus reached through extended, and sometimes exhaustive, debate. To establish equality of opinions is a difficult process. It depends on who is willing to participate, the importance of the decision, how decisions are linked to specific tasks, and who chooses to assume the burden. Moreover, a further important issue is how a person forms an opinion. How is this influenced by access to knowledge, education and experience? What role do physical abilities play? Frequently, perceived advantages in all these areas latently legitimise certain opinions as superior to others. How does one treat the opinion of somebody who rarely participates in the everyday hard work of

maintaining a common space? And do those who participate more frequently have the right to decide against the opinions of others?

The main argument put forward for accepting forms of concentrated power by participants involved in a movement is efficiency. Quick and coherent decisions, they say, need to be taken by representatives, who, of course, should be elected democratically. Yet the experience of the Squares movement has shown that an obstinate insistence on direct democracy can also create coherent decisions (decisions that do not constantly change the targets or the framework) and an efficient distribution of collectively agreed upon tasks. The Spanish 15M movement, for example, was organised on the basis of daily open assemblies that voted on proposals formulated by thematic commissions, which had titles such as 'power', 'action', 'coordination', 'logistics', and so on.[31] Of course, institutions of expanding commoning have to deal with difficulties arising from a change in scale. This is a very well known problem of direct democracy. If, however, power dispersion remains a guiding principle and is established through institutions that give form to a decentring/re-centring dialectic, then questions of scale become questions focused on the organisation of different levels of participation.

Zapatista autonomous municipalities and *Juntas de Buen Gobierno* offer a relevant, very interesting and inspiring example. As is well known, Zapatistas never chose to base their emancipating struggle on indigenous Maya fundamentalism. They chose neither to accept the *reality* of self-referential traditional societies excluded from Mexican civil society, nor to struggle for an independent Maya state.[32] For Zapatistas, autonomy meant self-governance of Zapatista communities and the creation of a second level of autonomous institutions, which would interconnect and coordinate community decisions and activities through the *Juntas de Buen Gobierno*. Zapatistas attempt to limit the possibilities of an accumulation of power to community representatives by insisting on a rotation in 'government' duties (with very short rotation cycles). This may limit efficiency, if efficiency is measured by managerial standards, but it effectively educates all the people in community self-governance.[33]

Comparability and translation form potential links between strangers and therefore create possibilities for exchanges between them. Egalitarian sharing can support a continually expanding network of exchanges that is open to newcomers. What these three characteristics of emergent, open institutions of commoning establish is forms of sharing that defy enclosure and consider equality both as a presupposition for collaboration and a promise for a just society.

There is perhaps one more social relation that expands and also transforms egalitarian sharing: the gift. Most anthropological approaches demonstrate that gift exchanges are based on explicit or latent obligations that enforce (or euphemise) asymmetries of power.[34] There can be, however, forms of offering that essentially transgress self- or group-centred calculations and possibly hint towards different forms of togetherness and solidarity. In conditions of harsh inequality (including differentiated access to knowledge and poorly developed individual abilities due to class barriers), commoners of expanding commoning should realise that they often need to offer more than they expect to receive, to speak less and hear more from those who are not privileged speakers, and to contribute to common tasks without demanding an equivalence among the individual offers.[35]

Protest camps in many parts of the world were actually sites of commoning practices that encouraged the giving of gifts. In the occupied Tahrir Square in Cairo, for example, offering food was part of a process that extended socially important habits of hospitality, usually connecting the realm of

the family house to the appropriated public space. Maybe this is an essential part of the process of converting an occupied square or protest camp into a collectively crafted home.[36] Food offerings thus contributed to forms of sharing across space that 'enable alternative forms of circulation and distribution, and encourage forms of relationality different from capitalism (in both its welfare and neoliberal renditions)'.[37] Solidarity is both a prerequisite of egalitarian sharing and a set of practices that creates equality through offering.

Perhaps what the collective experiments with space commoning during this crisis modestly suggest is the possibility of reclaiming the city as a collective work of art.[38] To devise common spaces means something much more than to succeed in re-appropriating small pieces of still available open space. It means, explicitly or implicitly – sometimes fully consciously, sometimes not – to discover the power to create new, ambiguous, possibly contradictory, but always open institutions of commoning. Space, actual physical space, but also metaphorical, imaginary space, becomes not only the ground that is necessary in order to see those institutions function, but also the space that shapes institutions of commoning and is shaped by them.

Threshold spatiality may host and express practices of commoning that are not contained in secluded worlds shared by secluded communities of commoners. The porosity of threshold boundaries permits acts of sharing to expand the circles of commoning through comparison and translation. However, thresholds do not simply permit. They explicitly symbolise the potentiality of sharing by establishing intermediary areas of crossing, by opening inside to outside. As mechanisms that regulate and give meaning to acts of passage, thresholds can become powerful tools in the construction of institutions of expanding commoning.[39]

In the contemporary capitalist city, people have to invent forms of life in order to survive. To help release the power of doing that capitalism continuously captures and traps in its mechanisms, we need to participate in the creation of spaces and institutions of expanding commoning.[40] If autonomy has any meaning as an anti-capitalist venture, then it must be constructed in, against and beyond the metropolis by overturning the dominant taxonomies of urban spaces as well as the dominant taxonomies of political actions.

Notes

This paper includes reworked parts of the following texts to be published in Spanish:

Stavros Stavrides (forthcoming), 'Creating Common Space: Occupied Navarinou Park in Athens as an Experiment in Autonomy', in *De la Comuna a las Autonomías. Historias de Libertad y Autodeterminación* (Mexico City: Bajo Tierra Ediciones).

Stavros Stavrides (forthcoming), 'Normalization and Exception in the Contemporary Metropolis', in *Neoliberal Urban Policies Reader* (Madrid: Observatorio Metropolitano and Traficantes de Sueños).

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Jeffrey Alexander, *Performative Revolution in Egypt*, p. 58.

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Biography

Stavros Stavrides is Associate Professor at the School of Architecture, National Technical University of Athens, Greece, where he teaches a graduate course on social housing and a postgraduate course on the meaning of the metropolitan experience. He has published five books (as well as numerous articles) on spatial theory.

Instituting Commoning

STEALTH.Unlimited (Ana Džokić and Marc Neelen)

A commons arises whenever a given community decides it wishes to manage a resource in a collective manner, with special regard for equitable access, use and sustainability.
(David Bollier)[1]

Central to most contemporary definitions of the commons are three elements: a community, a resource and a form of collective management. Although at first glance the management element may look like the most obvious and almost technical aspect of communing, it actually may be its most defining and political aspect rather than the neutral category it easily presupposes.[2] In the course of this article, we will therefore explore the background to the notion of management itself, and consider how certain forms of management are inscribed in the more conventional understanding of commons, especially as stated in Elinor Ostrom's research on Common-Pool Resources.[3] We will call these the 'institutions of the commons', or as Ostrom calls them 'institutions for collective action'.[4] The paper then looks at the forms of management required to achieve what Stavros Stavrides calls 'liberated commoning', discussed later in this text. This not only puts us on a path to new forms of institutions, but also to new forms of 'institutioning': in other words, both the act of self-instituting (self-organising) and self-institutionalising a community around certain commons, including the actual forms of governance this takes in relation to the community and its resources.

To understand the liberating aspect of self-instituting, we will take a look (back) at some remarkable examples from the early urban commons movement of more than a century ago, and at how such institutions were formed. This will bring us to a more contemporary understanding of what such institutions are today, or could possibly become tomorrow, based on interactions, conflicts and agreements, particularly with public institutions, as in the example arising from democratisation efforts in Italy in recent years, or ongoing attempts in cities in Croatia and Spain.

Coping with management

To begin, let us return to the notion of management. Although the term is often used when describing the constituting elements of the commons, it has developed an equally disputed connotation in that very same context. From 2011 to 2013, a 'technical government' took control in Italy, implementing budgetary reforms and austerity measures that brought Italy a step closer to becoming a technocracy: 'Technical and leadership skills would be selected on the basis of specialised knowledge and performance, rather than democratic election by those without such knowledge or skill deemed necessary.'[5] It is not difficult to see why such practices are deepening the rift with the commoners, who strive instead for 'real democracy'. Such technocratic (rather than democratic) interventions are understood as implementations of so-called new managerialism, a commonplace practice in the

private sector, known for the imposition of a powerful management body that keeps professional skills and knowledge under tight control and is driven by efficiency, external accountability, monitoring, and an emphasis on standards.[6] If managerialism is something to be cautious about, what does the term 'management' actually stand for?

The field of resource and environmental management, which is quite close to the commons, has recently held intense discussions about what management entails. It is of interest to have a look at this since, notably, resource and environmental management is also the field from which the 'historic' commons originate. Following the semantic roots of the word, geographer Dean Bavington critically explores the understanding of management in the environmental field as it shifts over time from management as control to management as careful use and, finally, to management as coping.

> The meaning of management as handling and rational control entered the English language in the 16th century from the Italian *maneggiare* which referred to the training of horses […]. Through management, wild and unpredictable horses were broken and administered through their paces, trained to trot, gallop, and high step by controlling their separate movements and gait in time and through space. […]. To be successful, managers must eliminate or drastically reduce the complexity, wildness and freedom of all those targeted for management. Indeed from the perspective of management, wildness, freedom, diversity and complexity often represent 'problems' demanding solutions through control, handling and training.[7]

Bavington goes on to explain that in the early seventeenth century, this meaning of management was influenced by the introduction into English of the French word *ménager*, which has its roots in housekeeping and means a 'mode of careful usage', which is possible once something is stripped of its wildness, complexity and uncertainty and prepared

for optimal use. However close this may come to forms of stewardship, Bavington warns that this management as 'careful use' is highly connected to management as control because it requires the pre-existence of a relatively controlled material or symbolic environment before it can take place.

The confusion around the word manager – which entered the English language in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries and encompasses both the meaning of trainer (*menaggiare*) and custodian (*ménager*) – still exists today.

These two etymologic roots may leave many contemporary commoners rather in despair. Understandably, some larger or less formalised structure or mechanism to mediate a common resource is necessary – the institution – but the form of cooperation inscribed in these two forms of management leaves little space for the more tangential, emergent form of institutioning that many people seek today.

However, in resource management, a third meaning of management is increasingly finding expression, one that brings some relief. Bavington explains that this understanding of management, mainly invoked in situations where uncertainty, complexity and surprise have rendered command and control techniques useless, implies exactly the opposite of the two historic meanings of management:

> Rather than meaning to control and to use carefully, 'to manage' can also mean to simply cope with a situation, person, problem or complex process […]. We use this colloquial meaning of management […] when we say 'I just managed to get this paper done on time,' or 'I just managed to pay rent this month.' When we utilise management in these ways we are referring to situations far removed from that of a controlling authority or from being in a position to map, plan, simplify, direct, husband or steward reality to serve our wishes.

When we manage as coping we are the ones being controlled or carefully used by someone or something. Managing, in the sense of dealing with and coping with uncertainty and complexity, is now a dominant theme in resource and environmental management and in contemporary life in general.[8]

Shortly, we will see how this relates to concepts such as liminal practices, as explored by the architect and theoretician Stavros Stavrides. But first, we will take a look at the very influential definitions drafted by political economist Elinor Ostrom regarding the management of common resources.

Beyond the boundaries of a blueprint

In the summary of her book, *Governing The Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action,* Ostrom states that any group attempting to manage a common resource in a sustainable manner must resolve a number of issues in order to create institutions for collective action. Her research (on natural resource commons) revealed that groups that are able to organise and govern their behaviour successfully use the same basic design principles, helping them to overcome problems in creating these institutions. Eight principles characterise successful commons:

1. Define clear group boundaries.
2. Match rules governing use of common goods to local needs and conditions.
3. Ensure that those affected by the rules can participate in modifying the rules.
4. Make sure the rule-making rights of community members are respected by outside authorities.
5. Develop a system, carried out by community members, for monitoring members' behaviour.
6. Use graduated sanctions for rule violators.
7. Provide accessible, low-cost means for dispute resolution.
8. Build responsibility for governing the common resource in nested tiers from the lowest level up to the entire interconnected system.[9]

While it is essential to acknowledge the importance of Ostrom's research, and particularly the design principles for their clarity of concept, the resulting commoning institution has a quite stratified character. One should, however, keep in mind that it is based on findings resulting from often long-term functioning, natural common-pool-resource types of practices, and hence in mainly rural settings compared to the 'urban commons' under investigation here. Since 1990, when Ostrom published her book, commons have been increasingly emerging in cities where public spaces and institutions have shaped the urban context and governance up until the recent withering of the welfare state and its accompanying privatisation processes. Impacted by this shift, the current search for new institutions of the commons considers accessibility (known to us from public institutions), but seeks different, more direct modes of governance. The resulting contemporary understanding therefore particularly disputes the rigidity and enclosure expressed in Ostrom's design principles. Stavros Stavrides, when expressing his understanding of commoning institutions, has this to say:

> If institutions are forms through which people organise their ways of being together, and if these institutions always represent some forms of coagulation, some forms of concretisation of power relations, then it is not enough for us to just be for commoning as a liberating process. It is not enough for us to find new institutions that look like the institutions that are in the service of the dominant classes. We have to find not simply other institutions, but perhaps new forms of institution.[10]

Stavrides points to forms of institution that are significantly more open and fluid than those which Ostrom tried to define. He subsequently speaks about finding common ground. In other words, a commons that understands itself as a continuous space of emergence, a space that persistently keeps itself in a state of flux:

This definition of the commons is always a dynamic definition, because if you - as societies and communities - tend to close this world and believe that what defines us has its borders and those outside the borders are others, then we come back to these either enclosed societies reminiscent of traditional ones, or the new forms of enclosure that are connected to the capitalist idea of a definition and classification and profit accumulation. […] We have to rethink the commons as a flexible condition through which communities define themselves in a process of being open to other also emerging communities. This might produce a new form of coordination between people and organised communities that does not exist as differentiated entities but as entities in the process of finding and negotiating with one and another. Commoning, as I stress it as a process and not an end product, is important to be viewed as a process in where [*sic*] people discover the potentialities of sharing something. I also stress the fact that commoning includes the process in which you define the uses and rules and forms of regulation in where [*sic*] you keep this process alive. You need constantly to be alert in avoiding that this process solidifies and closes itself and therefore reverses its meaning. If commoning tends to close itself in a closed society and community, and it defines its own world, with certain classifications and rules of conduct, then commoning reverses itself and simply becomes the area of a public which reflects a certain authority that is created in order to keep this order going as a strict and circumscribed order. Commoning that is not in a flux reverses its meaning.[11]

Here, the notion of liberated communing as a 'practice through which commoning invents, creates and, by itself, creates its own institutions, its own forms' is essential.[12] It is evident that such a definition of the institutions of commoning drifts away from the strict demarcation of a community and its set of rules, and goes beyond the governing of a resource per se as the earlier Ostrom definition envisioned.

When it comes to 'institutioning' commons, Saki

Bailey, a scholar of political economy and law, first points to the actual difficulty of defining the commons community:

If you have a community, how do you define it? Do you define it by its inhabitants, by the people who live in a city, do you define it by the nation, do you define it as a global community? Is the community criteria based on citizenship, or simply on being human, or based on the actual participation in the cultivation and management of a resource? Or is it based on geography?[13]

Whereas Ostrom states that group boundaries must be clearly described, Bailey points to the notion of contractual communities as defined by legal scholar Carol M. Rose, who affirms that such communities often appear like commons on the inside, but operate like private entities (and private property) on the outside. This makes the right of access, or the right to benefit from a specific common, highly problematic:

What we are promoting is a kind of tribalism. It is a kind of anarchy. If that's the policy – I am ok with that. But, if we are not proposing anarchy, then we have to understand that the management of a common has to be connected to the right of citizenship, and to the rights of the constitution. I do not have an answer to this, but to me it is the biggest problem to the commons: how do you define a community without creating exclusions. And even citizenship creates exclusions: you exclude people like migrants. Tricky questions that should be addressed and answered.[14]

Apart from the difficulty of defining a non-excluding community, when it comes to governing a resource, the actual property regimes around that resource come into play. First of all, Saki Bailey explains that the conventional classification of goods into public, communal and private does not correlate with the legal regimes: public, private and customary law (this last to a minor degree in the European context) that govern them. This is something already pointed

out by Ostrom, when she states,

> Common-pool resources may be owned by national, regional, or local governments; by communal groups; by private individuals or corporations; or used as open access resources by whomever can gain access. Each of the broad types of property regimes has different sets of advantages and disadvantages, but at times may rely upon similar operational rules regarding access and use of a resource […] Thus, as discussed below, there is no automatic association of common-pool resources with common property regimes – or with any other particular type of property regime.[15]

Whether related to material commons (with legal regimes like land titles, etc.) or immaterial commons (with intellectual property rights, copyrights, etc.), the respective commons challenge to different degrees the idea of ownership as an absolute one. Property is actually a bundle of rights, which is different from the concept of absolute ownership or *dominium plenum* that stems from Roman and English law and has influenced most European legal systems.[16] The Nordic countries, having been less affected by Roman law, have a different approach to ownership. In their context, private property can be subdivided into many different rights, such as the right of use (for instance, the right to live in a condominium apartment without being the absolute owner of it).

Building upon this, Bailey confirms that the choice of legal regime regarding property, rights of use, etc. is not automatic (natural), and therefore it is in our hands to change it. (As a side note, it is also this aspect of self-determination that offers a community and its commons such an emancipatory potential).

According to Bailey, this reality of choice leads to the conclusion that we need to investigate new types of property distribution through the decree of law. Property distribution may, in turn, deeply influence the way we institute the commons and the

modes of governing we enable around a resource. At first sight, the prospect of profoundly changing property distribution, access rights, or the openness of a community may look like formidable challenges. However, in the world of commoners, such challenges have been met before, as we will discuss shortly.

A glance backwards from the future
Observing the discussion around urban commons that has sprung up in recent times, it is almost ironic to note how much it has been explored as if it were an emergent phenomenon or a novel invention. Already over a century ago, urban commons, in the form of cooperatives set up by citizens, began to have a major impact on urban life and on what eventually became the welfare state. By commoning basic needs, such as housing and food, city dwellers, mainly workers and craftsmen, took these out of the commodity loop. Today, their struggle and the capacities they developed have apparently largely disappeared from our collective memory, therefore it is a good moment to go back to some of the origins of this movement.

The Industrial Revolution in Europe, sparked the appearance of the cooperative movement, as cooperative movement protagonist Karen Zimbelman explains:

> As people moved from farms into the growing cities, they had to rely on stores to feed their families because they could no longer grow their own food. Working people had very little control over the quality of their food or living conditions. Those with money gained more and more power over those without. Early coops were set up as a way to protect the interests of the less powerful members of society – workers, consumers, farmers, and producers.

In England, consumers were frustrated by the abuses of storeowners, many of whom adulterated products to increase their profits. In many cases,

workers' wages were paid in company 'chits' – credit that could only be used at the company's stores. The average consumer had very few choices and little control. Groups of these people began experimenting with various methods of providing for their needs themselves. They decided to pool their money and purchase groceries together. When they purchased goods from a wholesale dealer and then divided them equally among themselves, they were surprised at the savings and higher quality of products they were able to obtain.[17]

In 1843, after a failed strike by the textile mill workers of Rochdale, England, the millworkers decided to abandon ideas for a further strike or to seek charitable donations, and instead opted to take one of their most pressing issues, the provision of affordable food, under their own control. Twenty-eight of them founded the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society and started preparations to establish a food store as an alternative to the company store. As Zimbelman stunningly describes, after a year of saving they opened their own store in December 1844, selling butter, sugar, flour and oatmeal. Due to the refusal of the gas company to supply the store with gas to light it, they found themselves selling candles as well. The Rochdale Pioneers developed a list of operating principles (Rochdale Principles) to govern their organisation, which in a slightly updated version are still guiding cooperatives today. Notably, the first principle states that cooperative societies must have a membership 'open to all persons able to use their services and willing to accept the responsibilities of membership, without gender, social, racial, political or religious discrimination'.[18] This openness is reminiscent of the current call for a 'liminal' demarcation of the commons (vis-à-vis the Ostrom definition).

Just as the Rochdale Pioneers faced resistance from the establishment right from the start (the refusal to supply the shop with gas is one example), so other groups setting up cooperative efforts encountered similar obstructions. This might be relevant to keep in mind when considering the current struggles for the commons. Another important step in the attempts by citizens to control their own lives was the emergence of cooperative housing. Although the first known appearance was in Rennes (France) in 1720, it took a further century, until the mid-1800s, for the initiative to flourish in England, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the USA and Sweden.[19] Looking back to that time, some striking similarities with today's tendencies can be found. Let us look, for example, at the case of early cooperative housing in Amsterdam.

In the late 1800s, the Dutch government treated housing as though it were an issue to be dealt with solely by each individual member of society. Yet for many living in the cities, acquiring affordable housing was a sheer impossibility. Housing quarters had become overcrowded as a result of the rush of workers to the city, with thousands of families packed in shanty-like conditions, paying exploitative rents amidst diseases such as cholera and typhus. With the cooperative movements on the rise, it became clear that the housing issue was the next to be taken into collective hands. In Amsterdam, a small group of people had been cautiously preparing for this. In May 1868, they launched a trial run of the Amsterdam People's Journal (Amsterdamsch Volksblad), in which they outlined the blueprint for their endeavour. Six weeks later, in the first official number, its simplicity became clear: the newspaper called upon the citizenry to establish a fund to build houses, and with a payment of just ten cents per week, 5000 members, 'supervised by a pragmatic friend of the people', would have enough capital to start a cooperative after one year.[20]

It was a daring idea, and something that focused the attention of the citizenry, as well as the establishment and the police. Due to detailed reports by

the last, we have considerable insight into how this idea came into being on Monday, 2 November 1868, when the Construction Society for the Acquisition of Private Housing was established in The Swan Café on the Nieuwendijk in Amsterdam.[21] The difficulty in gathering the capital was countered by a remarkable, although not perfect, solution: members of the Construction Society would pay ten cents per week over the course of 50 weeks, thus raising enough capital for a five-guilder share. Such a share would give access to a lottery that, in turn, would give the 'beneficiaries' access to a house that meanwhile would be built with the funds gathered. The rent for such a house would be no more than one guilder per week, an astonishingly low amount, and those who paid this sum for twenty years would become full owners of their house. Although not everyone would have the luck to gain their own house, those left without one would share in the pride of having kick-started this remarkable initiative.

> For the men of the Amsterdam People's Journal, that Monday, 2 November 1868 must have been an unforgettable day. […] On 24 October, the People's Journal published the construction company's regulations. The previous day, placards had been used to call the population of Amsterdam to meet the following night. The posters attracted the attention of the police and the public, and, thanks to all the fuss, the meeting in The Swan Café on the Nieuwendijk a resounding success. Over 700 citizens, almost all workers, flocked there. They filled the hall and adjacent rooms, flooded the large courtyard, and had even to find a place on the street. […] That first night, between 400 and 500 people became jubilant members, but it did not stop there. In the days that followed, another hundred citizens joined, by 17 November, there were already 1145 people, and by April 1869, over 2000 of Amsterdam's workers were affiliated with the construction cooperative.[22]

In the period up until 1901, the year in which the first Law on Housing was introduced in the Netherlands, the Construction Society had already built the impressive number of 940 houses. The success of this cooperative would pave the way for many others in The Netherlands, a spirit that also took hold in many other European countries at that time. Eventually, over a period of many decades, this cooperative housing movement became completely absorbed into the housing policies of the welfare state. But before the state took over, some other remarkable experiments took place.

Whereas the Construction Society built its success on a lottery, decades later, in the 1950s, the Castor movement in France took a much more cautious approach to the access of commonly constructed houses. In a discussion about instituting the commons, it is a story that should not be overlooked.

The first major project of the Castors (Beavers) cooperative self-construction movement began in 1948 in Pessac, close to Bordeaux, as a response to the lack of housing after World War II. Building on its success, the initiative developed in several regions of France until it was operating nationally with nearly 50,000 members. The extraordinary endeavour in Pessac began with a group of 150 naval industry workers, helped by the factory priest, who formed a cooperative to build their own homes. They could not get a bank loan for materials, but managed to convince the French State to award them credit based on the labour they would invest. During the three years of construction, the Castors' members kept a logbook of the time they had invested in completing the building of 150 houses, roads, the common house with a library and a water tower, all of which was a remarkable act of solidarity and non-opportunism. No worker was allowed access to his house until all of the others had been finished. Their relationships, based on cooperation and the sharing of fundamental values, created a strong community

spirit that it is possible to trace even today. As the cultural critic Antoine Perraud aptly remarked:

> Does such a project seem possible today? On the technical side, no problems: the block without mortar still exists and the many ecological habitats constructed from straw, soil, and timber show that we can still happily self-construct taking some precautions. The first obstacle may be societal in that it is more difficult to gather the expertise of manual work to build collectively. The 'workers' are now more likely tertiary workers whose daily working tool is the computer. This obviously does not prevent us from collectively reflecting on the organisation of the habitat or from collectively facing the challenges for a project like this [...] The second obstacle is legal: the Chalandon Act of 1971 abolished the opportunities brought about by the 1947 Act on cooperation: the status of cooperative living is no longer recognised. The inhabitants of Les Castors Pessac thus became owners much like any other after 1971.[23]

Of note, however, is that since 2008, the French Association of Housing Cooperatives, Habicoop, has been engaging in action for a legal change that would enable cooperative housing again in France, and would give it certain tax benefits.[24]

As already mentioned above, much of the cooperative movement had merged into the welfare state by the 1960s and 1970s, when mass housing became an agenda for many European countries. However, the arrival of the 1980s libertarian Thacherite doctrine heralded the end of this and, regrettably, turned many of the earlier cooperatives, at that time public properties, into privatised entities. It is only now, a century after the surge in cooperative movements in Europe and the US, that similar commons – concerning housing, land ownership (community land trusts) and basic provisions such as energy – are shyly taking the stage again. The resources these commons provide have once again become difficult to access, not least

due to the mortgage crisis, austerity measures and existential issues that pushed many citizens out of their homes – and onto the squares. As a result, the accompanying commons institution(s) are ready for a contemporary remake. In this regard, many people also want to see the re-emergence of self-determination in the existential part of their lives, as was the case with the historic examples explored above.

Commons and its institutions: exploring new terrain

When speaking about the Squares movements (in particular Tahrir Square in Cairo, Puerta del Sol in Madrid, and Syntagma Square in Athens), the 'resource' of the square itself also becomes an institution of commoning, as Stavros Stavrides describes:

> I believe that space is not just another kind of product – space cannot be simply public, common or private, which is one level that connects space to commons – I believe that space is also an institution of commoning, that space gives form to practices of commoning, that rethinking space is essential in rethinking the processes of commoning.[25]

Along with the principal difficulties concerning the definition of communities, the necessity to revise the legal regime related to property (as pointed out by Saki Bailey), and the reassurance found in the breathtakingly daring examples of the early pioneers, opens the horizon to a rather different, if as yet largely unfamiliar type of commons institution.

While the Squares movement can be understood as the most dynamic or visible practice of commoning-in-the-making, some other practices of local decision-making can give a sense of direction to such forms of engagement. Over the course of the previous two years, we have encountered examples of contemporary commons being proposed, tested and operated in various European

contexts. From these, three commons 'institutions' stand out: the hybrid civil-public partnerships being experimented across Croatia, the social centres in Spain, and the participatory budgeting in the Italian city of Grottammare. While aware that this is a very narrow selection of European examples, they nonetheless open a perspective on what contemporary commons institutions can be or could become.

Let us first take a look at the civil-public partnerships that are currently being shaped throughout Croatia. The necessity to explore such partnerships lies in the particular post-transitional context found in former socialist countries, where the cultural, social and educational institutions of the (welfare) state have withered away. Similar conditions can also be found increasingly in the 'former' West, from Sweden all the way to Spain. On the one hand, a large, ramified network of public institutions and their facilities loses its content and potential (factories, former public buildings, etc.), and on the other hand, an important network of civil society and cultural organisations (formed often, but not exclusively, by NGOs), frequently finds itself without spatial resources and in unsustainable economic circumstances.

These emergent networks have taken on an important role in defining new (post-) public commons. Teodor Celakoski, one of the initiators of these hybrid cultural and social institutions in Croatia, explains:

> The hybrid model should ensure the stability of the institutional framework in a way that public institutions guarantee long-term use of public infrastructure for social purposes. On the other hand, it should ensure the involvement of users in its management, their horizontal self-organisation and the variety of facilities and programs. There is also a formal legal ground on which such a model can be based. It is an institution of mixed-type, established through a common act on the part of local authorities and civil society organisations.

Use of this legal possibility opens up space to compensate for the deficiencies of a sluggish and outdated institutional framework that no longer can adequately meet the growing needs of both the organised civil society and the wider local community.[26]

In regard to this, the role of space can also be important as an initiator of commons itself, as Stavros Stavrides explained earlier. Examples of hybrid institutions of this kind, such as Pogon in Zagreb and Rojc in Pula, are based to a large extent on the potential offered by a physical space.

Pogon-Zagreb Centre for Independent Culture and Youth comprises two venues measuring 80 and 450 square metres respectively, which are used by some fifty different organisations for between 250-300 various cultural/artistic events and projects per year. It labels itself cunningly as being 'not an independent institution, but […] the institution of the independents: through its purpose (supporting independent cultural and youth scene), the way it is managed (civil-public co-management) and its context (direct result of initiatives taken by the independents)'.[27] It is operated jointly by the Alliance Operation City (a local network of youth and cultural associations) and the City of Zagreb. This hybrid model provides long-term sustainability as the result of a balance between public financing and supervision on the one hand, and independent programming and participatory decision-making on the other. How has Pogon managed to institute this? Its organisational statement explains:

> *Equality in access* – Pogon's resources are accessible to all the users and their programs on equal conditions. Our users are: NGOs, informal groups, artists, art organisations, individuals organising cultural and youth programs (contemporary arts and culture; related social, theoretical, and policy activities; various youth activities).
>
> *Transparency, simplicity, and flexibility in*

programming – programming rules and procedures are clear and accessible online. Anyone who needs to use Pogon's resources may find all the details on our website, including the calendar, a standard contract, pricing, etc. There are no privileged users, and every user must go through the same simple procedure of applying through an online form. […]

Partnership and collaboration – the very core of our model is the cooperation of different groups and organisations. Alongside the founding civil-public partnership, Pogon is based on a partnership of two complementary civil society sub-sectors – culture and youth. This partnership is a result of joint values, shared interests, and complementary needs.[28]

Social Centre Rojc in the coastal city of Pula is based in a massive former army building measuring 16.739 square metres, making it the largest venue in town. Since the Yugoslav Army left Rojc in 1991, it has gradually been taken over by civil society organisations. First they occupied the building, then, after formalisation measures by the Pula Municipality in 1999, they were given utilisation contracts. To date, the hundred or so organisations have regular utilisation contracts with no financial obligations toward the Town of Pula other than electricity bills.[29]

In recent years, with help from the initiators of Pogon, Rojc has seen a transition towards civil public co-management, which the users first devised in the Rojc Alliance Association. Due to its different background – first squatted then 'instituted', rather than instituted before taking over the venue – the level of openness, transparency and equal access, which make Pogon such an exemplary case, at Rojc still remain a major hurdle to be taken. Nonetheless, it once again shows that civil public co-management is not limited to small experiments at the fringe of society. In recent years in Spain, an informal network of social centres has sprung up. From our own account in Madrid it is obvious that they span an entire range: from the more to less formalised,

from large to relatively modest venues, and from formal partnerships with cultural or municipal institutions to anarcho-squats. What they do have in common, however, is the strong desire to explore participatory models of governance and the need to address a society that finds itself in an urgent crisis. When looking at the different social centres and their struggle to forge 'proper' or adequate forms of institutioning, one should bear in mind the sheer grandiosity of the task of dealing with the issues of a collapsing healthcare system, the consequences of eviction or foreclosure on housing, the deteriorating situation of migrants – and of Spanish democracy itself.[30] However improvised, ad hoc or in flux, the social centres are a seedbed of new urban commons and their institutions ('innovative' would be the proper term in the land of neo-conservatives, but pioneering they are without doubt).

Whereas many of the Madrid social centres find themselves in limbo with the municipality or the government, the situation in the Italian city of Grottammare is a very different one. It features an example of how a municipal government can decide to common, or, in more conventional municipal terms, to democratise important aspects of its governing capacity – in the form of part of the city's collective budget. As in most other cases, this initiative did not emerge without a crisis. In 1994, after a collapse of the local municipal government, the new city government took a drastic turn and implemented participatory budgeting:

[A] process of democratic deliberation and decision-making, and a type of participatory democracy, in which ordinary people decide how to allocate part of a municipal or public budget. Participatory budgeting allows citizens to identify, discuss, and prioritise public spending projects, and gives them the power to make real decisions about how money is spent.[31]

Participatory budgeting is most renowned for its implementation in Porto Alegre (Brazil, 1.5 million

inhabitants) since 1989. In Europe, one of the first implementations has been in Grottammare, on the Adriatic coast in Italy, where it has been experimented alongside a number of other democratising reforms. Grottammare is one of the rare Italian costal cities where beaches are not fenced and are completely public. Pier Paolo Fanesi, coordinator of participatory budgeting in Grottammare, explains the mood during the gatherings:

> I can tell you how I experience the atmosphere during the participatory budgeting meetings. It is never easy to understand beforehand what will happen. Most of the time the people that come bring open issues to the meetings. Problems they themselves have tried to solve but without success. It's very impressive to see how these meetings become a container of information. Also for politicians and experts. The assemblies are never quiet meetings where you are bored.[32]

When the new local government took over in 1994, it was so inexperienced in governance that, out of necessity, it turned to the local population for assistance in running the city through a programme of participation and solidarity – not at all fashionable ideas at that time in Italy. Lacking any experience in participatory budgeting, the city had to explore it the hard way:

> In the early stages, the Participatory Budget was presented as a path still poorly structured, highly spontaneous and unconscious. […] The Social Forum in Porto Alegre, and the ensuing debate that has developed around the theme of participation, served to cement and consolidate the structuring of the process, a phenomenon actually already in place. […] Without going into technicalities, today the structuring of the Participatory Budget is divided into two cycles of seven shareholder meetings. The first, called 'administrators listen to the citizens' (October), aims to determine the requests for intervention and planning, leaving the second cycle, 'I Decide Too' (January/February), to perform the important work of ordering the priorities,

both those concerning requests and neighbourhood projects, and those concerning citizens.

> Between these two phases, there are two boards of technical feasibility that have the goal of rationalising all the requests made in the first cycle. The first, consisting of engineers and politicians (mayor and aldermen) is designed to remove all the requests and projects impossible to achieve due to lack of expertise and resources. Then it is time for a second technical workshop called the Participatory Board of the Districts, made up of politicians, technicians and a spokesperson chosen from within each assembly of the first cycle. This step has a definite value and substantiality warranty. Here, in fact, we proceed to a rationalisation of the requests and projects that emerged in the first cycle […]. The district intervenors are those who provide a commitment of human and financial resources and thus pose a precise administrative/political choice. We talk about the management of an area, a cultural event or road works. Finally, the citizens intervene, engaging in some cases rather importantly with the budget and making its effects felt on the whole community […]. Once we have exhausted these steps, we proceed with the last step, the municipal council members.[33]

This process constitutes a radical move away from representative democracy, firstly because it does not acknowledge political representation. No citizen is represented by anyone else; the only form of delegation that is allowed is the family proxy, where one family member can represent a whole family.

The participatory process, however, does not stop at budgeting. Over time, more and more areas of decision-making have been explored, even as far as decisions regarding the General Urban Plan of the city. Although many cities today claim a participatory process, few achieve the scope that Grottammare has been able to reach.

And finally, the political dimension

We have travelled quite a distance from the initial exploration into the semantic origins of the term 'management', moving from the (disputed) blueprints for commons' government to the rise of the courageous pioneers of past commons, and finally arriving at the pioneers of present and potentially future commons. Yet however promising these new commons initiatives are, and however novel their forms of instituting may be, these initiatives are not sufficient to build a society.

From the earlier cooperative urban commoners we learnt that it was necessary to form a larger political framework that would ease the daily struggle and existential necessities in their lives. To a certain degree, this was done successfully by the welfare state model, which acknowledged the struggles and developed some of the commoning institutions on a much larger scale; for instance, the public housing programmes. On the other hand, this latter system has led to an increasing distance between societal institutions and citizens. Today, with the disappearance of the welfare state, new structures for collective action and governance – commoning – need to be reinvented, a task that is up to all of us. As Saki Bailey argues above, essential choices in achieving this, such as the legal regime, are not mandated by any kind of natural classification. Therefore they are political decisions that need to be taken by a community – that is, by us.

Notes

This paper is based on the 2012-2013 post-master research *In Search of Common Ground*, which explores issues and potential directions for urban commons today, and the resulting conference entitled *Commoning the City, The Stockholm Conference 2013* (April 2013), which involved a number of the contributors quoted in this text.
In Search of Common Ground was set up by STEALTH. unlimited at the Royal Institute of Art (KKH), Stockholm, in collaboration with Professor Henrietta Palmer of Mejan

Arc. It included three expeditions across Europe to study emerging practices of urban commons, and eleven seminars. This paper is based on one of the chapters of the forthcoming publication that encompasses the results of the conference, interviews with the speakers, and extrapolations of future opportunities and implications regarding urban commons.

1. David Bollier, *The Commons, Short and Sweet*, 2011, <http://bollier.org/commons-short-and-sweet> [accessed 22 June 2014].

2. Peter Linebaugh, in his book *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2008), provides a magnificent insight by turning the notion of commons from a noun into a verb, therefore emphasising that in the very act of commoning, or of (re)producing in common, lies the essence of the commons.

3. Common-pool resources or common property resources (CPRs), as described by Elinor Ostrom, are natural or human-made resource systems where one person's use subtracts from another's use, and where it is often necessary, but difficult and costly, to exclude other users outside the group from using the resource. While the core resource (e.g. water or fish) is to be protected or nurtured in order to allow for its continuous exploitation, a limited number of units can be harvested or consumed.

4. Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

5. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Technocracy> [accessed 22 June 2014].

6. This is according to Fred Inglis' review of the book by Robert R. Locke and J. C. Spender, *Confronting Managerialism: How the Business Elite and Their Schools Threw Our Lives Out of Balance,* (London: Zed Books, 2011), <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/books/confronting-managerialism-how-the-business-elite-and-their-schools-threw-our-lives-out-of-balance/418797.article> [accessed 22 June 2014].

7. Dean Bavington, 'Managerial Ecology and Its Discontents: Exploring the Complexities of

Control, Careful Use and Coping in Resource and Environmental Management', in *Environments*: *A Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 30, 3, (2002), pp. 3-21 (p. 11).

8. Ibid., p. 13

9. <http://onthecommons.org/magazine/elinor-ostroms-8-principles-managing-commmons> [accessed 22 June 2014].

10. Stavros Stavrides, from the talk 'Commoned Future: Inventing Open Institutions and Spaces of Sharing' at *Commoning the City*, The Stockholm Conference 2013 (Stockholm, 11 April 2013).

11. Stavros Stavrides, from the interview by Marc Neelen and Henrietta Palmer following *Commoning the City*, The Stockholm Conference 2013 (Stockholm, 12 April 2013).

12. Taken from the talk by Stavros Stavrides, 'Commoned Future' (Stockholm, 11 April 2013).

13. Saki Bailey, transcript from the interview by Alexander de Cuveland and Dubravka Seklić, following *Commoning the City,* Stockholm Conference 2013 (Stockholm, 12 April 2013).

14. Ibid.

15. Elinor Ostrom, 'Private and Common Property Rights', in *Encyclopaedia of Law and Economics*: *The History and Methodology of Law and Economics,* ed. by Boudewijn Bouckaert and Gerrit De Gees (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000), p. 338.

16. *Dominium plenum* is the unlimited right of an owner to use his property as he deems fit, without accountability to anyone. It unites *dominium directum* (ownership) with *dominium utile* (user right).

17. Karen Zimbelman, in *Orientation to Co-ops and to Wheatsville Co-op for Co-op Employees* (Austin: National Cooperative Grocers Association, 2007), p. 22.

18. International Co-operative Alliance (ICA), <http://ica.coop/en/whats-co-op/co-operative-identity-values-principles> [accessed 22 June 2014].

19. Richard Siegler and Herbert J. Levy, 'Brief History of Cooperative Housing', in *Cooperative Housing Journal* (Washington: National Association of Housing Cooperatives, 1986), p. 12.

20. Dennis Bos, doctoral dissertation *Waarachtige voks-vrienden. De vroege socialistische beweging in Amsterdam, 1848-1894* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2001), p. 103.

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23. Antoine Perraud, 'Utopie et logements: les castors de Pessac' (translation by the authors), <http://blogs.mediapart.fr/blog/aurelienpere/170412/utopie-et-logements-les-castors-de-pessac> [accessed 23 June 2014].

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27. <http://www.upogoni.org/en/> [accessed 05 July 2013].

28. <http://www.upogoni.org/en/about/organization-and-management/> [accessed 23 June 2014].

29. <http://zagreb.openinstitutions.net/rojc/> [accessed 23 June 2014].

30. In March 2013, the total number of eviction orders executed since 2008 by the Spanish courts was 252,826, <http://www.thelocal.es/20130413/spanish-region-blocks-home-evictions> [accessed 23 June 2014].

31. Eva-Maria Verfürth, interview with Giovanni Allegretti, *More Generous Than You Would Think*, 2013, <http://www.dandc.eu/en/article/participatory-budgeting-about-every-voice-being-heard> [accessed 23 June 2014].

32. Pier Paolo Fanesi, transcript from the interview by Marc Neelen and Henrietta Palmer, following *Commoning the City* (Stockholm, 12 April 2013).

33. Pier Paolo Fanesi, *Grottammare Partecipativa* (2008), pp. 1-2 (translation by the authors), <http://www.

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Biography

STEALTH.unlimited (architects Ana Džokić and Marc Neelen, Rotterdam/Belgrade) is a practice that spans urban research, spatial intervention, curating and cultural activism with the aim of mobilising a way of thinking about and constructing the city based on the principles of shared authoring. Ana is a practice-based PhD candidate at KKH in Stockholm and Marc is currently a visiting professor at the SSoA, University of Sheffield.

New Rights and the Space of Practices:
Italian Contributions to a Theory of the Urban Commons

Michele Vianello

Introduction

Italian scholarship has been giving a substantial contribution to the theoretical production on commons, introducing original themes and perspectives and providing input that in recent years has influenced the debate beyond national borders. Foreign authors such as Saki Bailey and Michael Hardt have spotlighted problems that originally emerged in the Italian context, either through case study research or through theoretical investigation. Together with the slow but constant diffusion of an 'Italian theory' connected to the *operaismo* of the 1970s, Italian and other international scholars have shared many of the relevant assumptions drawn from contemporary Italian reflections on commons, thus contributing to the process of making the Italian debate increasingly relevant internationally.[1]

This paper tackles and expounds two themes that have emerged in the Italian debate on the commons and which are relevant to the advancement and critical appraisal of this concept in the disciplines of planning and urbanism: the legal aspects relating to the commons, and the problems facing practices that enable the reproduction of the commons. The legal perspective mostly deals with the problem of legitimising the commons as institutions that confront and challenge the public and private spheres in the task of managing resources. With regard to practices, the focus is on the interconnection between space and those actions that enable either the collective, social reproduction

of a resource, or the actual management of that resource in a commons institution.

The Italian legal perspective, as this paper will show, originated and thrived as a debate within juridical scholarship, where the scope and the objectives of research have been continuously refreshed and extended in response to the changes in society from the 1970s onwards. This approach attempted to address the unfitness of abstractly stated positive rights, and to revitalise the debate around the source of rights in the Italian civil law-based legal system, still maintaining – in most cases – a reformist attitude rather than a revolutionary one. Contextual factors, including political ones, have proven to be a great obstacle in the translation of these discourses into comprehensive legal reforms aimed at giving a legal source to new rights of commoning. Recent developments have nevertheless pushed the legal perspective on the commons to engage directly with activism, and to tackle *urban* commons in the process. It is maintained here that this situation, while making theoretical problems more difficult and contradictions more strident, has been forcing the research to look at practices as the key element for both the reproduction and the managing of resources held in common. Looking at the practices that animate the reproduction and management of commons from the standpoint of urbanism and planning means directly linking them in the analysis to the space in which they take place, thus providing the research with a possibly fertile heuristic contribution.

As this paper focuses on the context in which a number of theoretical approaches are put forward (Italy), and since many aspects of the above-mentioned themes arise from very specific Italian contextual factors, some justification seems necessary in order to understand how contextually produced knowledge can lead to a certain degree of relevant generalisation.

Three reasons for justifying contextual knowledge are proposed here, however the list is provisional and might be extended:

1. Knowledge produced in a specific context has seen an increased legitimisation as a means to achieve general theoretical advancements, given that the validity of local circumstances as a test bench for general *theoretical* problems is becoming accepted. This observation is a necessary specification for planning where repeatability of approaches and 'experiments' is not part of the discipline.[2] Argumentations defending this view (for specific heuristic purposes) are given by Flyvbjerg,[3] and are also based on a renewed formalisation of case study research in the social sciences, for instance by Yin.[4] Despite the fact that Italian case studies remain marginal to the proposed argumentations, some of them, in the form of references to specific situations, will be invoked to illustrate the points made.

2. A second, complementary reason is the evidence-based tendency to question the universal validity of a *general* and predictive theory in social sciences, as planning is considered to be here, and the consequent validation of isolated theoretical 'patches', so to speak, that gathered together compose multifaceted general theories.[5] These patches may eventually correspond to contextually specific situations. The idea of 'Realrationalität' applied again by Flyvbjerg to an analysis of the power structures concealed in the apparently transparent and accountable planning decision-making

process in Alborg, Denmark,[6] revealed an entire new set of underlying elements when it was adapted by Yiftachel to analyse Israeli contexts.[7]

3. A third reason for linking speculative constructions to contextual situations lies in the necessity to avoid self-demonstrative theories that pretend objectivity and exhaustiveness, especially when tackling the analysis of complex, ongoing processes from a disciplinary perspective. This preoccupation has explicit precedents in critical Marxist theory, and especially in the criticisms made about the sterility of any disciplinary or technical knowledge production that builds on its own corpus of literature or its own discourse or rationales, disregarding internal contradictions and complexities.[8] In this regard, Lefebvre introduced a different modulation of the same idea, in which he explicitly referred to planning. In *Right to the City* he insisted that planning – a discipline concerned 'with the material conditions of the future' – either implicitly or explicitly put forward a 'project of the future' that contains a specific perspective on reality, in a process that he calls 'transduction'[9] – an idea that has many links to the methods he had previously devised in connection with dialectical materialism.[10] The heuristic validity of such a research attitude seems to hold, in that the material, contextual conditions of the present are comprehensively assumed and stated as part of the investigation problem, and the results are not ideologically contained in the formulation of the research questions, as Lefebvre himself clarifies.

The Italian juridical research
In order to understand how legal aspects were identified in Italian scholarship as elements central to the analysis of commons, and how they became so important in shaping the local approach to research, various contextual peculiarities must be considered as part of the explanation. For the sake of simplicity, and in order to keep the focus on the disciplinary field of planning and urbanism, those peculiarities that relate to spatial issues and influence planning

or planning-related issues are prioritised.

A specific Italian characteristic is the rather recent regularisation of the customary land-use rights for private agricultural lands that were established in 1927 under the Fascist regime. This was carried out by setting up a commission whose objective was to abolish customary land-use and regularise public land-use by creating a clearer set of rules. The procedure also entailed the compensation of local communities, either with land concessions or through monetary refunds. This process was framed within the slow national harmonisation of laws that began after Italian unification (declared in 1861), and it aimed to erase the contradictions and ambiguous relationships that existed between customary rights and the bundle of rights connected to private land. It was also carried out with the objective of modernising agricultural production. A clear-cut line was thus drawn that limited customary rights to publicly owned land. This was quite accurately mirrored in the importance given to property during the process of recognising building rights in many of the central aspects of the general planning law of 1942, another law from wartime Fascism, later modified but never thoroughly reformed.

It should be noted that the specific structure of the Italian legal system also played a role in the research on commons. The system, based on civil law (which has two parallels in the Anglo-American context: the legal systems of Louisiana and Scotland), establishes rules that can only be interpreted by the judicial system, where custom plays a very minor role, if any. In fact, as noted by Elinor Ostrom, there is a substantial contradiction between the existence of customary land-use rights and legal systems based on statutory rights such as the civil law system.[11] This contradiction often forced complex interactions to occur between customary rights of land-use and appropriation, and property statuses confined to remote areas in countries where the civil law system is in place, such

as rural regions or mountain valleys, an observation that finds several confirmations in Italian Alpine communities, for instance.

The problems posed by the conflicted relationship between statutory rights and customary rights were known to Italian juridical scholarship, and they indeed inspired much of the research on commons both in historical and legal terms. One of the most remarkable of these experiences was the journal *Quaderni Fiorentini per la Storia del Pensiero Giuridico Moderno* [*Florentine Journal for the History of Modern Juridical Thought*], first issued in 1972. From the outset, in the introduction to the first issue written by Paolo Grossi, the journal proposed that one of its main objectives was to bridge the abstractness and universality of 'positive' right (that is, expressed in abstract principles) with the concrete material conditions that were its source in contextualised historical situations (therefore connected to customs): a preoccupation that echoes the one expressed in the third point of the introduction to this text.[12] Along the same lines, Paolo Grossi (an author whose work has been seminal in the Italian debate on commons), in his book *Un Altro Modo di Possedere. L'Emersione di Forme Alternative di Proprieta' alla Coscienza Giuridica Postunitaria* [*A Different Way of Possessing. The Rise of Alternative Forms of Property in Post-Unification Juridical Awareness*], frontally addressed some problems connected with the commons, in particular the juridical debate revolving around the theoretical contradictions and the practical problems of the legitimacy of the individual and collective 'appropriation' of land – a purposely ambivalent term that encompasses issues related both to property and usage in a historical perspective.[13]

The original Italian approach to the study of commons-related issues focused on the legitimacy of the source of rights of appropriation and their adequacy in responding to actual situations. The approach was quite diverse in its outcomes and

was characterised by both radical philosophical critical readings,[14] and approaches that showed a closer adherence to concrete juridical problems, even addressing the possibility of comprehensive reforms.[15] However, in almost all cases, the principles of constitutional theory, either interpreted in radical, insurgent and autonomic terms, or instead with a focus on recognisable legal aspects, have to some degree underlain most Italian reflections and speculations, sometimes even by opposing the idea of institution, but more often than not in close connection to problems regarding the legitimacy of the source of rights. This perspective, which, at the cost of some simplification, will be referred to as *constitutionalist* here, due to the emphasis put on the sources that constitute the origin of rights, can be considered as one of the distinctive features of Italian research on the commons.

Of course, as is the case with most international theoretical production on the commons, the Italian debate entertained a very ambiguous and dialectical relationship with the idea of public and, as noted by Marotta, developments of the debate since the 2000s have been marked by what he calls the 'original flaw' of being structured around the hastened privatisations of the 1990s, the economic crisis of the 2000s, and the consequent inability of the public administration to manage the commons as a resource.[16] It is within this framework that in the Italian debate the commons can be considered as a third term, in addition to 'state' and 'market'. In fact, most of the production on the commons, especially the most influential on public opinion, has in a sense questioned the current idea of the state as an agent and regulator of the free market. It further aimed to restructure the state, giving it a new scope as the body guaranteeing the existence and functionality of commons institutions, managing resources for the general good through identifiable groups of citizens, either alone or in association with local institutional bodies. Implicitly, an idea of state as a hierarchical structure that holds together

a horizontal organisation of the commons was thus put forward.

Legal scholarship and changes in the law

While awareness of the threat that human activities pose to global commons was rising internationally along the lines indicated by the research that earned Ostrom her Nobel Prize for Economics, in 2007, the Italian Ministry of Justice established a commission for the reform of the civil code. This commission, headed by Stefano Rodotà, a respected constitutional jurist and one of the most well-known contributors to the *Quaderni*, was set up in order to prepare a draft for a comprehensive reform of the property categories envisaged by the national legal system, introducing the new category of *beni comuni*. The Commission proposed that *beni comuni* would be 'the things that have utility for the exertion of fundamental rights as well as for the free development of the individual'.[17] This legal definition means that there are things deemed functional and necessary to the individual's fundamental rights (in a civil law system they are stated in the constitution), that these things can neither be sold nor marketed, nor should profit be made from them at the expense of the *free* development of individuals. Thus, *beni comuni* in the Italian context, often roughly translated as 'commons', actually refers to commons in the sense of commonly pooled resources that are considered fundamental and should be preserved from the logic of profit, although it does not necessarily exclude the possibility of their economic use and appropriation (for local communities, for instance). On the other hand, the commons as a possible institutional component is not specified in the draft of the law, which has since caused some confusion. As Marotta clarifies, the draft has, in fact, the limitation of listing as commons 'natural' assets that were in most cases already under some sort of public control, but were susceptible to either being privatised, or made available in concession for private profit. The underlying idea seems to be one of shaping a legal source of rights for the emergence

of new forms of organisation that will take care of the management of these resources, but still in the form of organisations (or institutions in the constitutional sense) that would do so on behalf of the public, yet whose institutional form would not be mandatory or set. In general terms, the draft proposal that was advanced by the ministry commission, further discussed by parliamentary commissions, and eventually brought to debate in the two legislative chambers, was aiming to make up for the missing legal source that could legitimise the setting up of new institutional arrangements involving a separation of usage and management (e.g. by groups of citizens) and property (namely of the state and its bodies), in a wide set of flexible arrangements for collective action in the management of common resources. One of the peculiarities that creates a dramatic difference is that in the proposed commons list, heritage (*beni culturali*) was included as a public asset that should be considered a category which, more than any other in the draft, would open up new scenarios for a direct legal link between the idea of commons and urban settings. However, while this draft was providing new instruments for handing the power over public assets to local communities and groups of citizens, it was leaving private property practically untouched.

When the reform was crushed by a change of government with a different political agenda (namely that of persevering with privatising public assets or conceding them for private profit), a new consensus, stimulated by the failed attempt to reform the civil code, not only rekindled theoretical research but also caused the idea of the commons to slowly emerge from enclosed intellectual circles and enter new realms and real-life situations of struggle and contestation where the term 'commons' came to assume a whole new and more flexible meaning. While the state's mechanisms of inertia and oppression were unrestrainedly demonstrated by the specious blockage of the reform, the theoretical reflection on the commons with its constitutionalist

background was used to structure hitherto informal discourses and local activism, which began to be organised along new lines.

In 2011, an event marked a turning point in Italian civil society's perception of the potential the commons held for opening new perspectives in collectively managing resources. As a result of a vast campaign conducted in order to gather 500,000 signatures, a bottom-up initiative called for a national, legally binding, abrogative referendum to stop approved norms that would entail the privatisation of water supplies and services. This coincided with a parallel campaign advocating a new ban on nuclear energy production and the cancellation of a bill tailored to exempt the then prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, and his cabinet ministers from prosecution. The astonishing success in terms of turnout (more than 25 million people, or over 56% of voters, of which over 90% chose to stop the set of bills) was characterised by a massive campaign using unconventional means of communication, activism networks and word of mouth, with the slogan 'water as a commons' extensively recurring. Despite the fact that the referendum happened in the aftermath of the Fukushima disaster, which very likely dramatically influenced the result, the catchword 'commons' was the absolute protagonist of all campaigning, presenting a very complex interaction of social factors, and providing a basis for political organisation and mutual recognition among citizens cooperating to achieve a victory in the polls.[18]

Although initially largely ignored by all the major political parties and mainstream media, in the aftermath of the referendums, the use of the catchword 'commons' made a sudden exponential rise to become one of the most frequently heard words in slogans in all the centre-left political campaigns for the rest of 2013. During the parliamentary elections, the catchword 'commons' became popular even amongst the major parties that had hitherto flirted with privatisation and favoured a *Blairist* approach

as the key to Italian economic resurgence. As a discursive approach to the idea of commons was gathering strong popular consensus and effective strength in public discourse, the widespread and indiscriminate use of the term, and several misappropriations, began to make it less and less meaningful as a tool for investigating new types of national resource management.

Expanding the discourse on the commons in Italy: weaknesses and new potentialities

After the referendum success, euphoria swept across the nation: it seemed like a scholarly reflection on new possible legal arrangements had encountered the favour of public opinion and that change could happen through the means foreseen in the legal system itself. But as the following months, and then years, went by, and the term 'commons' began to be contended by mainstream and shallow electoral discourses, state bodies failed to approve new implementation norms to make the referendum abrogation effective. A generalised sense of anxiety started to grow. Ugo Mattei, a constitutional scholar who had produced rigorous works, such as the treaty *La Proprietà* [*The Property*] on the underlying philosophical and juridical problems of the definition of property in Italian civil law, wrote a manifesto that seemed to express this anxiety.[19] His book, *Beni comuni: Un manifesto* [*Commons: A Manifesto*] contained a monolithic and exhaustive narrative on how commons should become a new comprehensive paradigm in the Italian context, aiming at the re-appropriation of the term into a singular teleological narration. According to Mattei, the commons (unclearly defined in a mix of historical, economic and legal references) would be destined to one day overcome the evils of the market and become the new paradigm for a new and better society, miraculously horizontally organised and free of hierarchies.[20]

Mattei is mentioned here as the representative case of an attitude exemplified in numerous publications issued between 2011 and today.[21] The many writings, some also authored by non-scholars, were creating more confusion than clarity, mixing definitions of commons as resources and commons as institutions, and misleadingly identifying all sort of things as commons without accurate criteria (justice as commons, job places as commons, etc.).

This attitude, guilty of oversimplification and a partial annihilation of the complexity of the concept of commons that had emerged in the very recent Italian debate under the banner of political commitment, did not always help to advance the commons. However, the attitude is not entirely dismissed here for two reasons – the first, due to its good intentions. It was inspired by the desire to support and sustain a demand for new comprehensive narrations by civil society, and the will to promote a new theoretical engagement that would produce knowledge to back up collective demands, especially in opposition to the distortion the idea of commons had undergone for mere electoral reasons. Furthermore, the study on the setting up of commons institutions in Agua Blanca in Ecuador showed how unifying narrations were a key element in the mutual recognition and motivation for commoners to set up a new institution of this kind, a phenomenon that is very rare and consequently poorly studied.[22]

The second reason is connected to the fact that, since the failed attempt to reform the Italian civil code, many social movements had been restructuring their discourses and struggles around the concept of commons. The procrastination by state organs in approving the implementation norms for the abrogation decided in the 2011 referendum led many scholars to directly engage with the movements in order to understand how their demands could fit into the emerging idea of commons in the Italian context, a process that also inevitably led to some dilution of the rigour of academic research. Stefano Rodotà and Ugo Mattei, as consultants for the Teatro Valle in Rome, which had been occupied

by its employees to stop the privatisation of its management and that of other theatres in Italy; and again, Ugo Mattei as an advisor to the local activists in Val Susa in the north west of Italy, who were protesting against the construction of an high speed train line, and others in different contexts, all chose to simplify the discourse around the commons in order to meet the activists halfway through the deployment of practices of occupation, protest and appropriation. They were applying theory to real life situations by advocating more direct control over state-run local resources. Once again, the underlying idea that animated scholarly involvement was to understand how groups of citizens could devise better ways of taking care of the commons on behalf of the state, whose only logic seemed to be the maximisation of (private) profit, economic efficiency and budget cuts. In other words, they were trying to understand how the application of legally-defined abstract rights to actual practices could offer new insights into revitalising the source of those rights, making them once again the true expression of a community of citizens; and how this could also produce immediate change and illustrative precedents in the process.

The concept of the commons in its discursive expansion, reaching out to civil society, as Mazzoni and Cicognani had demonstrated in their study of the activists campaigning for the referendums, had mostly been used as a means of mutual collective recognition and for organisational purposes and only partially discussed with the actual objective of constituting new 'institutions' with the characteristics of commons.[23]

The alliance between research and social movements regarding the concept of the commons is a complete novelty in Italy and, having indicated the reasons why the simplifications it would entail might not be that problematic (at least in the short run), I suggest that it might actually open up new possibilities for rigorous research. After a phase

of expansion in the use of the word commons, it became necessary to narrow the focus and extract new, heuristically fruitful perspectives out of these experiences, along the lines advocated in the book *Contro i beni comuni. Una critica illuminista* [*Against the Commons: An Enlightenment Critique*] by the constitutional jurist E. Vitale – a provocative title which conceals a book that is much more benevolent towards the commons than one might expect.[24] In a nutshell, Vitale maintains that a new programme of research should seek a broad perspective, even something along the lines of a great narrative (à la Lyotard) involving society, but not at the expense of clarity and rigour.

There seems to be a contradiction in the apparent counter-position between engaged intellectuals who expand the discourse on the commons while diluting their theoretical structure, such as Mattei, and the rigour advocated by Vitale. How far the insurgent character of new experimental practices of appropriation and protest can be served by rigorous theoretical constructions is an open issue. Nevertheless, the thought of Lefebvre, who investigated similar problems in his *Right to the City*, comes to mind. When, as previously mentioned, Lefebvre discussed planning as a discipline concerned with the material conditions of the future, he was condemning technocracy but also advocating a legitimate 'science of the city' that could help to structure visions, demands, shared desires and objectives, and even shape 'mature planning projects'.[25] As Wyly recently put it in other words: a 'positive' approach can be radical.[26]

But before proceeding to discuss some aspects of how this could be done, and, more precisely, what contribution urbanism and planning could make to this specific endeavour in Italy, I will offer some final considerations on the insurgent character concealed in a constitutionalist approach that pretends to achieve change through legal adjustments.

A robust constitution

Much of the discourse around the commons world-wide, especially in the Anglo-American context, have put forward the idea that an insurgent organisation confronting financial powers and banks should be horizontal, without hierarchy or structures of power, and that it should experiment with new forms of deliberative democracy and refuse the principle of majority decision-making. Even though this Zuccotti Park rhetoric is certainly fascinating and beautiful to contemplate, it does not seem to bother the financial powers at all. On the contrary, what does bother them are actual constitutional rights. This is exemplified in a paper published by the JP Morgan Bank Research Center in 2013, which frontally attacked Southern European constitutions for the strong set of absolute and positive rights stated in their charters, which the authors claimed posed an unreasonable obstacle to an otherwise reachable economic recovery by leaving more room for the free market.[27] According to the paper, the Southern European constitutions are the culprits because they impose rigid obstacles to privatisation and the full development of the free market, and to the liberalisation of the 'labour market'. Furthermore, these constitutions are inspired by socialist principles, something obviously unsettling for a bank, and probably horrifying for an American one.

The reasons that attract the harsh criticism of the JP Morgan researchers are similar to those that make me suggest that everyone interested in the commons should consider the principles of constitutionalism as something worthy of attention.

For instance, Article 43 of the Italian constitution declares explicitly that assets and services, even productive assets such as industrial plants, can be expropriated for a fair price and given to groups of citizens for them to manage autonomously if other arrangements fail to comply with the objectives of the common good, and if specific conditions are met.[28]

For the many who view institutional structures as oppressive instruments of state power that need to be counteracted with insurgence and revolt, it might be useful to recall the insurgence that is already contained in some of these legal institutions, such as the anti-fascist resistance that inspired consistent parts of the Italian constitution, or, again, the anti-colonial sentiment that inspired the writing of the Indian constitution.[29] For these reasons, the social movements that are animating Italian struggles today often refer to the constitution as one of the main paths towards the affirmation and recognition of new rights.[30]

These considerations may help to cast new light on concepts that are otherwise difficult to grasp without reference to constitutional theories. One such concept is 'multitude', proposed by Hardt and Negri as the conceptualisation of the body of people that constitute the source of rights, as opposed to the 'people'.[31] By stating that 'we the multitude' decide our rights are such and such, Hardt and Negri were trying to reintroduce, in very abstract terms, difference and singularity in the group of people who are at the source of those rights. This approach is not a negation of the existence and even the necessity of fundamental principles, but a restatement of their legitimacy and endurance, challenging constitutional posits that date back to Hobbes.[32] It echoes theorisations of the past, in which the project of an autonomous and insurgent democracy was backed up by reflections on its foundations and legitimacy as much as on the de-legitimisation of opposing systems.[33]

Italian commons might tackle the problem of their legitimacy as a problem of constitutive rights.

The role of practices

The alliance between legal scholarly research and activism brought back into the spotlight real-life practices (of occupation, appropriation and protest) as a central element of analysis and a key element

for the advancement of the theory of commons. It is maintained here that a link can be drawn between two different categories: on the one side, customs as the original, underlying source of rights of traditional and medieval, mostly rural, commons institutions, and on the other side, 'practices' as a revised category used in order to find valid sources of rights in contemporary commons, which we might call *urban.*

The still vague definition of contemporary commons as urban does not necessarily arise from commons in an urban setting as we might commonly understand it. Rather, it arises from the characterisation of the productive and economic ties that in contemporary times link together the land and economic processes in an indistinct bundle that disregards and physically blurs the borders between cities, countryside, wilderness, etc.; a process described by Lefebvre as the underlying historical process of urbanisation implicit in capitalistic development and giving rise to a multifaceted entity that he calls the *urban*,[34] a term later used for analytical purposes by authors such as Merrifield.[35] This change in conditions, which is reaching its full scope today, calls for renewed categories in order to help us understand how commons can adapt and be restructured.

The idea of practices originated from a critical analysis of daily life, which, with a different declination, had a common root in critical Marxist theory.[36] It was later developed by Foucault,[37] Bourdieu[38] and De Certeau,[39] among others. The attempted partial definition given by De Certeau seems useful and appropriate for the purposes of this analysis for two reasons.[40] Firstly, it ties the role of practices to the shaping of discourse (and therefore to theoretical construction), which is appropriate given the input the Italian debate is currently receiving from practices. Secondly, it draws upon the definitions given by the other two aforementioned authors. It therefore encompasses Bourdieu's idea, which links

practices to the creation and preservation of an 'economy of a place'– an economic rationale that he presents as the opposite of the maximisation of profit, and aimed instead towards the social reproduction of resources – and Foucault's idea that links practices to individual resistance and to the affirmation of the difference.

Practices, according to De Certeau, have a fundamental characteristic that distinguishes them from customs, one that in the legal sense became attached to them in the pre-modern legal Italian tradition mentioned at the beginning of this essay. Customs were specific activities (famously, the grazing of cattle), exerted by some individuals over the land owned by somebody else, with the aim of appropriating parts of it. These activities were regulated by customary rights, a type of legal bind in the form of what nowadays (in modern terms) we might call a contract between specific individuals (sometimes not everyone in the community enjoyed them). Practices, on the other hand, are recognisable and repetitive activities (Foucault, underlining this aspect, refers to them as procedures) that are not necessarily specific to certain individuals, but are defined by the fact of their possible application by any individual, with the aim of appropriating and socially reproducing the *economy of a place.*

Italian activist groups aim to reassert the existence of practices that are able to socially reproduce the value of *urban* commons, whether in terms of their embodiment in a cultural heritage site: a theatre in the case of the *Teatro Valle Occupato* [*Occupied Valle Theatre*] in Rome; in a natural site: the Susa valley and the *NoTav* movement, or in the complex interaction of heritage and nature: the Venice lagoon movement, *No Grandi Navi – Laguna Bene Comune* [*No Big Ships – The Lagoon as a Commons*]. In order to preserve these places for future generations, they aim to remove them from the hands of the market or from their controversial administration by the state.

If we consider the city, or the *urban* in more appropriate Lefebvrian terms, as the place where social commons are appropriated and reproduced as Hardt and Negri propose, it becomes quite evident that it is the practices, or certain practices, that are responsible for reproducing a commons. As a clarifying anecdote, Harvey, in *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, describes how the vibrant street life of a popular neighbourhood in Baltimore became a product to be exploited as the 'character of the neighbourhood' on the real estate market, which led to gentrification and eventually to the disappearance of the street life (or to the depletion of that commons).[41] Despite the suggested aspects contained in Harvey's story, it is hard to pin down and univocally define what is concretely meant here by 'practices'. Specific examples will help to illustrate some common characteristics that might help provide an initial outline of those practices that reproduce *urban* commons.

Before doing so, an introductory remark and two further specifications are necessary. As anticipated by Soja, many social movements are structuring themselves by building rather diversified identities and focusing their interests on matters of social injustice.[42] Italian social movements advocating the commons are no exception: they put forward a commons agenda to promote social justice in ways that are deeply intertwined with spatial problems. Due to this characteristic, it is reasonable to tackle the definition of practices from a spatial perspective and in light of the disciplinary perspectives of urbanism and planning, rather than addressing them in sociological terms.

However, in order to understand how this can be done, a distinction needs to be made between urban commons as institutions and urban commons as resources, while still recognising the overlapping aspects that these two categories entail. The definition of commons as institutions that collectively manage a resource is greatly indebted to Ostrom's

identification of their most important aspects in her seminal work *Governing the Commons*.[43] Ostrom uses the label 'design principles' of the commons to enumerate the similarities that are found in working, self-managed institutions that successfully deal with the appropriation of natural resources that risk depletion. This idea of design principles has had considerable success and can be found in several studies about the commons,[44] which are efficaciously synthesised and listed by Agrawal.[45] However, on closer examination, as Harvey lucidly remarks, the very nature of the design principles of these commons institutions (limited number of appropriators, fixed borders, monitoring, etc.) identifies them as enclosures.[46] But this is not always a bad thing. On many occasions, these types of commons have produced significant positive results in urban contexts by protecting blocks, buildings and parcels of urban land from building speculators, and preventing the extraction of urban rent for private profit, despite their reliance on private property or appropriation through enclosure to achieve their objectives. Nevertheless, in the Italian context, they have added an extra design principle to their characterisation: the provision of spaces and services open to all.

This has been the case in many important Italian experiences related to the *centri sociali* (something similar to *squats* in a UK context), which in a way derive from the Case del Popolo (People's Houses), but are illegal and informal. The important novelty that is now emerging, with Teatro Valle as a significant example, is the constitution of transparent norms that allow any individual to enter and participate in the commons (or be expelled from it), according to a set of shared rules that are publicly accessible, collectively modifiable and to which one can appeal. This approach justifies and sets limits for the legitimacy of the enclosure operated by such a commons institution, even if an enclosure of this kind is probably serving the general interest better than the market, as in the case of the *Teatro Valle Occupato*.[47]

If, on the other hand, we consider commons as resources, things are then brought to a more abstract level with a higher degree of complexity, yet provide interesting possibilities. The social movement *No Grandi Navi – Laguna Bene Comune* [*No Big Ships – The Lagoon as a Commons*] protesting in Venice against gigantic, new generation super cruise liners docking in the old city is a relevant example. The cruise industry markets Venice as a tourist destination because of its picturesque character and the high cultural value of its museums and architecture; however, this immense flow of tourism, especially the cruise ship traffic, is cheapening and destroying the city's character and fabric by promoting a fast and superficial form of tourism, accompanied by serious environmental consequences that the citizens of Venice must pay for.[48] There are several levels at which this issue should be addressed, such as limiting the number of ships on the lagoon, comprehensively redesigning the harbour infrastructure so as to limit interference between the different appropriators, or making the rather opaque management of the Port Authority (partially privatised in the 1990s) transparent and accountable. However, putting aside the classic and much-analysed problems of the commons, which might usefully be applied in a specific analysis of the Venice lagoon, a central problem for this paper to consider is how commons practices should be recognised. This could, for instance, be done by a direct transfer of tax revenues for purposes that are vital in reproducing the commons. In the case of Venice, this could include social housing in the old part of the city to retain a few of its original inhabitants; the provision of welfare services, and the renovation of public space; for instance, the creation of parks in the small abandoned industrial areas hidden among the labyrinth of canals. This approach, already known as 'green taxes', might be further advanced by establishing an institution, in association with the population, for the direct control and guidance of the source and use of these taxes, similar in spirit to the initial public budgeting carried

out in the 1990s in Porto Alegre, Brazil, yet avoiding the direct ties with one political party that was the case in that city.[49]

From among existing planning instruments, some experimental practices are emerging that, although not legally binding in the Italian planning system, do provide a direction. New experiments with planning instruments that deal with natural resources, such as the *contratti di fiume* [river community contracts] try to establish new cooperation among municipalities that share a body of water. The immensely complex and innovative work on the River Simeto by Laura Saija and a team from the University of Catania has also shown how these planning instruments may be able to create a bridge between traditional techniques of resource management and the participation of local communities and citizens as possible appropriators of the resource, for example through mapping their practices of appropriation, using aspects such as the perceptions, desires and memories that link the inhabitants with the river.[50]

Three cases have been considered here as representative of three possible commons that planning and urbanism can address in the Italian context in light of the idea of practices, and according to the categories that have emerged from scholarly legislative research: a cultural heritage site, a natural resource, and a mix of the previous two. For the sake of clarity and simplicity, the argumentation is limited to these three cases, but naturally the list could encompass more specific or more ambiguous situations, such as the reimplementation of new forms of traditional commons in rural areas, or resolving the legal grey area that surrounds many abandoned villages all across the country due to difficulties in establishing their zoning definition in univocal and legitimate terms. As a final remark, it should be noted that the Italian contributions to a theory of the commons outlined here have not dealt with the issue of customary uses of private

property, or the separation of building rights from ownership of land in consistent parts of planning law. This fact might be considered to be a defect by readers coming from different traditions and contexts; however, contemporary Italian theory on the commons must be framed within the specific and contingent urgency of stopping the privatisation of public assets. An extension of these reflections on private property might eventually spring from further legal research into the legitimacy of new applications of the aforementioned Article 43 of the Constitution. This might be something along the lines of the principle stated in Article 183 of the Brazilian Constitution, which concerns the social value of the ownership of urban land, in association with the study of occupation practices focused on the affirmation of citizens' fundamental rights and the achievement of the common good. At the moment, though, this is not the case.

Conclusions

Two approaches taken from Italian theoretical production on the commons have been presented here in order to provide foreign planning and urbanism scholarship, *mutatis mutandis*, with possibly fresh insights within their specific contexts, drawing on the idea that local contexts can give substantial indications on the way forward for the advancement of theory. These approaches belong to two categories:

1. An approach connected to law, outlined with reference to research conducted by legal scholars between the 1970s and today;

2. An approach connected to practices, introduced here with reference to the development of legal research linked to social movements.

This initial framework derives from a particular research intention: today, scholars dealing with the commons are faced with the difficult task of finding heuristically useful research perspectives from which

to make practical sense of the many sophisticated and comprehensive readings of the processes of 'late capitalism' and the deployment of a 'neo-liberal paradigm', etc. Unfortunately, when applied to the commons, these perspectives often lead to extreme oversimplifications or abstract constructions due to their separation from the context in which they found their *raison d'être*. Drawing on this intuition, legal theoretical production has been chosen for its capacity to provide precise descriptions and heuristically valid approaches that can elucidate current problems and standstills connected to privatisation, financial crisis and the triumph of a neo-liberal paradigm. Furthermore, it also provides theoretical backup for practices of change *while* getting one's hands dirty in the process.

In Italy, and probably in other countries as well, the legal system seems to hold some concrete possibilities for introducing changes relevant to the establishment of new commons. Wyly's observations on the ability of social movements to win legal battles in courts seem to point to the same idea,[51] as does the importance of the legal case described at the start of Soja's *Seeking Spatial Justice*.[52]

The second approach proposed here is related to *practices*, a term chosen with the aim of updating the idea of *customs* as the source of rights, particularly in contemporary commons. While this idea has yet to be defined in a complete manner, some examples provide hints on how it could underpin the recognition of a negotiating power for groups of citizens in some aspects of planning, such as allocating a share of tax revenues to be used for collective purposes, recognising rights to the direct management of heritage buildings or sites, or the right to have a voice in deciding the appropriation of natural resources. One of the main differences that should be noted is that practices might provide a basis for the recognition of rights, given their capacity for regenerating commons in an entirely different way from the one traditionally

associated with customs. In fact, while customs were connected to the appropriation of resources in ways that could be compared in many aspects to modern private contracts (validity in determined circumstances for specific individuals), practices have a more universal and general scope. In fact, practices can be activities carried out by individuals who reproduce and appropriate a social resource, yet are not necessarily formally organised.

Approaching the problem of commons, particularly urban commons, and presenting an initial outline of the idea of practices as an operative concept and the source of new rights is not exempt from difficulties and contradictions. Nevertheless, rather than looking into new forms of collective private property (as the traditional commons were, in a sense), it has the potentially generative role of providing research with a tool that is connected to a sort of collective right to counteract the externalities generated by privatisation.

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Biography

Michele Vianello graduated in Architecture from the IUAV University of Venice (2009). He has been working in urban planning and urban design studios in Italy and Portugal. Since 2011 he has been working as a teaching assistant at Politecnico di Milano in masterplanning studios, policy design and urban design process management courses. He is currently a PhD candidate at the IUAV University of Venice. His thesis explores urban protests and civil society demands and their influence on local planning in Venice and in Italy.

Common Spatialities: The Production of the Multitude

Lucía Jalón Oyarzun

Ah, the multitude, so much pomposity to describe a mass of muddled bodies, a tangle of parts and parts of parts. […] That revolutionary body, yes, but how to set it in motion. How to pull it out of its apathy? That is the science, the new science of reality. The movement of the multitude.

(Karnaval, Juan Francisco Ferré, 2012)[1]

The Gezi Park barricades in Istanbul, the OWS occupation of Zucotti Park in New York City, the tents of the *indignados* movement in Spain, the London Blackberry riots or the seizure of Tahrir Square in Cairo to demand the overthrow of a dictator. As new forms of social coexistence and relationship are being configured, and new spaces for encounter and conflict produced, architecture feels that essential questions concerning its activity are being addressed in each and every one of these situations. And yet, we seem unable to relate to them and grasp their significance as we fall again and again into old metaphors and tools. In this paper I propose the following hypothesis: if the modern architectural discipline – its theories, strategies and tools – emerges along with the modern liberal state (and its particular understanding and practice of politics as the management and administration of life), the recent forms of political action bursting from their confinement and reclaiming a new relation to the sensible, demand – and might help develop – a new understanding of architecture.[2] One that will make it evolve from a technical and disciplinary knowledge towards a critical practice integrated into the action of the multitude.

The common as production of the multitude

Against traditional inert readings of the common as a natural or cultural resource, we understand the common as the production of the multitude, the actualisation of its practices.[3] The common and the multitude must be thought of together through this productive link. In order to understand and awaken the political and architectural potential underlying the common, we need to dive into the spatial dimensions of the multitude. To achieve this, we will look further into these two notions as we try to move beyond the banality and depoliticisation brought about by their recent popularisation.[4]

This movement has led to many contemporary authors – from Antonio Negri or Paolo Virno to Jean-Luc Nancy or Giorgio Agamben – to talk about a 'crisis of the common'. As the concept is hollowed out, ghostly impressions of it fill our everyday world. Once understood as a shared abstract dimension, the bond that gave coherence to our social life, the common is now a meme in the hands of the market, the media or the post-democratic political scenario. The common has been turned into a spectre of what it once was at the precise moment that it has become the core of our new economic system. Many names have been given to this new productive order: immaterial, cognitive or post-Fordist capitalism among others. But all definitions point to the same circumstance: our languages, communications, affects and knowledge, as well as our ability to produce space through their unfolding, are its driving force. And so, just as the productive

and produced condition of the common has come to the fore, so has its seizure. A seizure of the common enacted through the emptying of its meaning. A hollowing out that conceals the processes of expropriation, privatisation and manipulation that are taking it over.[5]

What is the common beyond these ghostly versions? It is first, a dynamic notion that involves 'both the product of labor and the means of future production'. It is then, not only 'the earth we share but also the languages we create, the social practices we establish, the modes of sociality that define our relationships, and so forth'.[6] The common is threaded through our everyday existence, its minor practices and rhythms, and therein lies its deep architectural significance. Even though communication and language are the most usual instances of this shared quality of the common, here we present space as a further prime case of this produced and productive condition of the common.[7]

In order to acknowledge the production of space as common, it must be considered as a constitutive part of the multitude's actions and practices. No longer a static scenario where things simply unfold, but a constituent movement that resides in the relationship between the body of the individual, understood as the generator of one's own spatiality, and the constituent activity, constantly renewed, towards a common spatiality.

One's own spatiality is defined through the body's performativity, and it expresses the complex topological extension formed by the sensible world at every moment, echoing and empowering the crosses, knots, forces, densities and proximities that shape the experiential fabric in which bodies interweave. As this spatiality of one's own resonates with that of others, not by addition or overlapping, but through the characteristic movements of composition and decomposition of the constituent 'doing' of the multitude, a new common spatiality is produced:

'The flesh of the multitude produces in common in a way that is monstrous and always exceeds the measure of any traditional social bodies…'[8] [fig. 1]

Multitude: the many (seen as being many) against the One

So, if the common is the production of the multitude, what is the multitude? The Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza was the first to propose a positive reading of the multitude in his political philosophy.

[The multitude] indicates a plurality which persists as such in the public scene, in collective action, in the handling of communal affairs, without converging into a One, without evaporating within a centripetal form of motion. Multitude is the form of social and political existence for the many, seen as being many: a permanent form, not an episodic or interstitial form.[9]

The multitude appears as a non-sovereign organisation of individuals. Unlike unitary ideas such as the mass, which implies a lack of differentiation of its parts, or the modern concept of the people, the multitude is defined through a constituent movement materialised in its common production, not by an external determination. The multitude is not defined by what it is, but for what it does.

Traditionally, political philosophers before Spinoza had focused on the relation between the 'individual and the state (or sovereign) and the people and the state (thereby collapsing all mass movements into "the people")'.[10] To counter these two abstract juridical oppositions, Spinoza turned to the actuality of experience present in the work of politicians and historians. From these sources he took five terms 'to designate the forms of collective life: *populus, plebs, vulgus, turba, multitudo'.* [11]

Though none of the classical authors Spinoza turned to shared any kind of sympathy for these figures, they accorded them nonetheless a central role in history. They were seen as necessary to

Fig. 1   The monstrosity of the common flesh is both productive and produced. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, 'Disparate de Carnaval' (1816-1823). Source: Wikimedia Commons.

social life, even if it was through negative and mainly destructive movements.[12] And so, when he began to consider the actions of the multitude as the immanent force constituting every political regime, the pejorative role this term had had in his early political writings was turned into a positive and productive dimension.

The fundamental role of the collective subject in the constitution of our political organisation was brought to the fore by the seventeenth-century crisis and revolutions.[13] While against the background of a failing Dutch republic, Spinoza explored the constituent role of the multitude, it was the fear of the masses inspired by the English revolution that shaped Thomas Hobbes and John Locke's liberal philosophy.[14]

Just as Spinoza anchored the multitude in the agency of the individual body, Thomas Hobbes was writing about another body: the unitary body of the Leviathan. A body in which, as shown in an engraving from its first edition, the bodies of the people 'are turned unanimously toward the face of the sovereign'. Denying any will to the multitude and emptying it of any subjectivity, Hobbes formed 'the bust of the Leviathan through a connection without relationship, in which *multitudo* recalls *solitudo'*.[15] [figs. 2-3]

Facing a State of Nature described as chaotic and confrontational – 'a war of all against all' – Hobbes placed the origin of the State in a civil covenant. A pact that forms civil society, and one through which human beings agree to submit by handing over their individual power to an absolute sovereign. The sovereign becomes, from then on, the guarantor of the social order through a transcendent structure of laws and rights. For Spinoza, however, the collective political subject 'is not created by a contract' but 'is incessantly engendered and re-engendered by a consensus that must be perpetually renewed'.[16]

Two contrasting understandings of the origin of political organisation thus arose: on the one hand contract theory and the modern liberal state; on the other, Spinoza's materialist philosophy (what Antonio Negri termed the anomaly of the seventeenth century). The former gave birth, through the notion of representation, to the idea of 'the people' and thus created a gap between the individual and power. The latter sought to explore the constituent movement of the multitude; a process of negotiation that had to be constantly renewed and which required the presence of the bodies and the recognition of their performativity.[17]

The aforementioned crisis of the common means the emptying of its meaning. The creation of a void filled with commonplaces to conceal the continued process of expropriation and appropriation of the common. If the hollowing out of the term defines the present phase of this crisis, the partition, distribution and seizure of the common has a longer history: one tightly related to this divergent understanding of the collective subject and the exception as Modernity's foundational form of political organisation. Accordingly, and before we delve into the role of presence and performativity in the spatial definition of the multitude, we need to look into the spatial construction of the exception. How the land was turned from a sensible sphere into blank disposable space. And how the individual came to be fundamentally defined by his condition as owner.

Separation and appropriation: the exception

> Wherever modern sovereignty took root, it constructed a Leviathan that overarched its social domain and imposed hierarchical territorial boundaries, both to police the purity of its own identity and to exclude all that was other.
> (*Empire*, Antonio Negri & Michael Hardt)[18]

The construction of the exception as the precise definition of what belongs to the inside and the
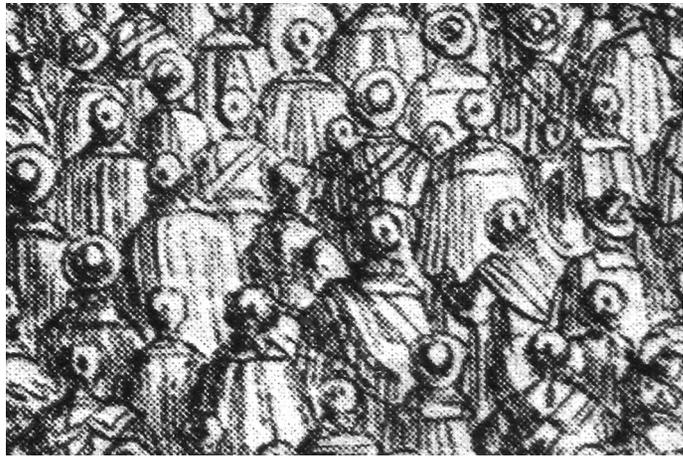
Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 2:   Frontispiece for the first edition of Thomas Hobbes' 'Leviathan' (1651), engraving by Abraham Bosse.
Source: Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 3:   Frontispiece for the first edition of Thomas Hobbes' 'Leviathan' (1651), detail. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

outside of a specific legal and political organisation became one of the founding pillars of Modernity's political order.[19] A condition extended thenceforth to all areas of life in a precise spatial translation.

It was the German political theorist Carl Schmitt who further exposed the connection between modern sovereignty and the exception (as well as its situated condition). In 1922 he coined the deeply Hobbesian formula: 'Sovereign is he who decides on the exception.'[20] The sovereign unitary body of the *Leviathan* was revealed in the delimitation of an 'inside' and an 'outside' of the law (thus, its spatial and grounded dimension). The law could only act where material boundaries had been demarcated, where the exception had been physically built. This statement would have been unthinkable without the developments that, over the previous five centuries, had linked the concepts of land and territory with property through a technical and scientific progress that was making it easier and easier to accurately delineate, map and publicise borders.[21]

The extension of the exception as a political instrument accompanied the transformation suffered by the concept of property between the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Thomas Hobbes' known formula – 'to give to every man his own' – certified in 1651 the conversion of man into owner.[22] Property became a defining part of human nature and a determinant factor in the relation between men. It was the birth of a possessive individualism.[23]

The public/private binary: two ways of appropriating the common of men
As the exception as a political ordering tool extended, emerging concepts such as 'public order' or 'public facilities' pointed to the appearance of a specific kind of separation: the public-private divide. In the following centuries, this division was to gain a fundamental dimension in the production of common space and has, still today, a radical importance for architecture and urbanism.

Jürgen Habermas began *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, by discussing the terminological difficulty presented by such words as 'public' or 'public sphere'. They 'betray a multiplicity of concurrent meanings', he affirmed. Their diverse temporal and cultural origins mean that 'when applied synchronically to the conditions of a bourgeois society that is industrially advanced and constituted as a social-welfare state, they fuse into a clouded amalgam.' If publicness sometimes conveys a condition of access – a public space is the one open to all – in other instances it may refer to public institutions – their publicness being defined by its relation to the State. A State understood as a 'public authority' for 'it owes this attribute to its task of promoting the public or common welfare of its rightful members'.[24]

This concept of public or publicness has its origin in the political organisation discussed above. A division is created between a public space ruled by the sovereign and shaped by the laws of the State, and a private space in which the political potential of the citizen is enclosed and reabsorbed as a principle of personal freedom. A redefined notion of individual freedom as the fundamental essence of the new man rested on the possessive condition already mentioned.

This direct link between the public-private divide and the modern definition of property has been wonderfully addressed by Judith Revel and Antonio Negri. Through their vindication of the common as production they note how the public-private binary symbolises no more than 'two ways of appropriating the common of men'. When we refer to the private, property appears as 'an appropriation of the common by a single man, that is to say, an expropriation from all others'. Meanwhile, when we refer to the public, the problem of the social contract comes

to the fore:

> [A] problem of the social contract – problem of modern democracy: since private property generates inequality, how to invent a political system where everything, belonging to everyone, nevertheless belongs to no one? […] There we have the public: that which belonging to everyone belongs to no one, which is to say, that which belongs to the State.

And it is here that a redefinition of the common becomes fundamental, for, as Revel and Negri wonder: aren't we that same State? Aren't our bodies the ones giving form to the Leviathan? Accordingly,

> Something has to be invented to prettify [the State's] seizure of the common: make us believe, for instance, that if it represents us and appropriates the rights from our production, it is because this 'we' that we are, is not what we produce in common, not what we create and organize as common, but that which allows us to exist.

And so, the inert readings of the common are created to support this idea:

> The common, the State tell us, does not belong to us since we don't really create it: the common is our earth, our fundament, it's what we have under our feet: our nature, our identity. And if this common doesn't truly belong to us – to be is not to have – the seizing of the common by the State isn't called appropriation but (economic) management, delegation and (political) representation.[25]

The identity of the link between the two elements, public and private, is brought to the fore. Both of them are revealed as just two forms of ownership. Consequently, the division is invalidated and thus inoperative.[26] A space for the possible redefinition of relations between the individual

and the configuration of his environment opens up immediately.

Therein resides one of the main reasons that architecture seems unable to find its way into the fields opened up by the recent social urban protests: the architectural discipline and the multitude have been speaking on two different political planes. As the extension of the modern property regime denies the creativity and political potential of the multitude through the division and appropriation of their common production, politics is turned into a complex machine for the policing and management of that production.

The spatial construction of the exception: from territory to flesh

The exception as an organisational device, and its transformation into the concept of property were at the centre of the enclosure of England's common lands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The new techniques for the spatial construction of the exception appeared by means of the surveyor's and the cartographer's tools, as they proclaimed 'the need for every land-holder to "know one's own"'.[27] From the end of the sixteenth century, and as formal estate mapping became a common practice, more narrative or pictorial maps gave way to new representations based on accurate measurements. These maps were not only useful for knowing and working the land but also served as a 'statement of ownership, a symbol of possession such as no written survey could equal'.[28]

'The perfect Science of Lines, Plaines, and Solides (like a divine Justicier,) gave unto every man, his owne.' Thus wrote surveyor John Dee in the prologue to the 1570 English translation of Euclid's *Elements of Geometry*.[29] Geometry was subjected to the already mentioned Hobbesian expression, and along with the newly developed techniques of perspective, was an essential accomplice in this reification and reduction of the lived landscape into

facts and figures. These technical innovations transformed men's perception of the world. They offered a new image of space as an inert or abstract structure 'set before and logically prior to a disembodied viewer', dissociated from either experience or any social or political relation.[30]

These techniques of separation evolved as the spatial construction of the exception grew more and more complex. From the dominion of the territorial scale by means of geography and cartography, they reached the urban and architectural scales as the disciplinary exception succeeded the sovereign one. The emerging field of urban planning and a renewed architectural discipline became part of the set of technical knowledge and procedures at the service of the new biopolitical governmentality.[31] Politics had become the administration of life; its goal, the better optimisation of the population's (statistical instance of the people) productive force. But the evolution of the biopolitical exception did not stop there; it has kept advancing until it has reached the contemporary forms of biopolitical tattooing in which the exception has become engraved right into our flesh.[32]

The connection between exception, property and space in the enclosure of the commons was clear: the act of seizure and delimitation of properties radically transformed the built and lived landscape.[33] When the disciplinary exception ordered the movements and doings of the modern population, the connection was just as straightforward.[34] But nowadays, when the act of partition reaches our flesh and acts within the whole sphere of the sensible, an analysis of the spatial consequences of this process becomes more elusive and complex – but also more necessary for architecture.[35]

In 1982, in the interview *Space, Knowledge and Power*, Michel Foucault affirmed that architecture had been left behind as master of space. He understood that the architects were 'not the technicians or engineers of the three great variables – territory, communication, and speed'.[36] Together with disciplinary specialisation, architecture had left outside its domain many of its previous fields of competence.[37] From being an organiser of space it had become a builder of boundaries. Form (defined for its capacity to materialise limits), rather than disposition (potential relations and organisations between forms), became the centre of theory and practice. In disposition lies, not architecture as discipline, but an architectural condition as the organiser of space that operates on the whole of the sensible world. A sphere that is read, architecturally, from the body, and no longer understood as an abstract point in a Cartesian grid but as an extension and topological continuity within the world.

The common as actualisation of the political: space as multiple corporeality

How does this body, as the generator of space, relate to the common? To clarify this relationship we need to differentiate between the concepts of politics, the political, and their relation to the common. In the modern era, politics has become a complex assemblage of management and control devices that organise and optimise the lives and production of its subjects.[38] As we have seen above when discussing the public-private divide, these politics work upon the appropriation and distribution of the common.[39]

Meanwhile, the political allows us to think, not of a domain or specific knowledge or strategies, but of a primary condition: where does the original movement towards the organisation of the sensible lie, and how does it link the individual body to the common? From the terrain of political philosophy we move into that of fundamental philosophy. The problem of the political does not lie in the organisation and management of the community but in its original moment, in the articulation between power and act. The political is the potential for action inherent in every individual, and the common, the

actualisation of that potential (the materialisation of a given set of relations between bodies).[40]

The landscape that results from this reading is a multiple corporeality, a field of relations in which we discover ourselves not only placed but enmeshed, and in which the limit turns from the boundary between realms into a common bond, the flesh of the world.[41] A zone of ambiguous definition appears where the spatiality of one's own, produced in the actualisation of the body's political potential, inter-weaves with others in order to constitute a common spatiality, the political action of the multitude.

We see how different readings of the political imply different understandings of space and archi-tecture. Space as seen from politics possesses a characteristic configuration determined by perfectly referenced coordinates that allow for a view from an outside that is beyond us, the watching stare of discipline and order. The political as potential emerging from the body means that spatial config-uration rests in the actions of the bodies, be they human or non-human actions.[42] The relevance of this performative factor entails the abandonment of a codified disciplinary thinking in favour of a prac-tical art. On other occasions, and through specific case studies, we have developed two conceptual tools: the figure of the acrobat (analysis of one's own spatiality) and the multitude-architect (proc-esses of common spatiality composition), which start to outline an architecture as a physics of the bodies.[43] And it is precisely to this notion, with its reasons and implications, that we want to turn now.

A physics of the bodies: the simultaneous rela-tion of the individual and the multiple
Spinoza could not consider politics, ethics and physics separately.[44] In order to develop his polit-ical works he had to stop and go back to ethics. And to allow these to unfold he needed physics to fully grasp the movements of the composition and decomposition of the bodies and forces that constitute the world.

In much the same way, to read architecture as a physics of the bodies we need to understand the centrality of the political and the common. The political generates a spatiality of one's own; that is, belonging to that same body. A spatiality of one's own that spreads throughout the perspectival horizon and the material dimensions, and defines the potential field of action produced and activated by that individual.[45]

The possibility of a spatiality of one's own implies its immediate relation to other rights and powers: other bodies understood as forces. The resulting and unavoidable conflict should be understood, not as the 'pathology of the political mechanism [but as] an ineradicable element of its physiology'.[46]The modern contract theory running from the *Leviathan* until the banning of disagreement in our post-polit-ical era, proceeds from the illusion that this conflict can be controlled and resolved.[47] But Spinoza's radical realism assumes it as its point of departure. For him, physics and politics cannot be thought of separately because 'human society is not separate from and opposed to nature; it is part of it'.

Spinoza writes in the Part IV of the *Ethics*, 'There is in Nature no individual thing that is not surpassed in strength and power by some other thing. Whatsoever thing there is, there is another more powerful by which the said thing can be destroyed.'[48] Every singular being lives enmeshed in 'a battlefield that occurs, first of all, inside us, but which imme-diately presents itself in a plural, instantly political dimension'. Because in that battlefield, and 'faced with the changeability and the variety of phenomena that envelop the existence of each individual, the "only" thing one can do is affirm and exploit one's multiplicity'. Multiplicity becomes 'a weapon […] or a strategy for the survival and affirmation of one's being'.[49]

The production of a common spatiality requires this simultaneous focus: on the individual and on the multiple. It is impossible to think of the individual without the dimension of multiplicity that lies in its own ontological definition. The same distortion arises when we reduce the multiple to the one by denying the singularity of its parts. In order to undertake any investigation into the spatial dimensions of the multitude and its production of a common spatiality, we need to explore concepts and tools that work without negating this simultaneous relation. For that, we turn, through Étienne Balibar to the work of Gilbert Simondon. 'The metaphysical doctrines of individuality, which lead to the classical dualisms of interior and exterior [or] a priori and a posteriori knowledge' have always depended on an understanding of the individual as 'an (ideally) stable form'.[50] Against this, Simondon introduced the notion of metastable equilibrium. Contrary to the dominating hylomorphic scheme, individuation is presented not as definite form given to inert matter but as a process of becoming. The separation between subject and object disappears; there are no longer men, objects, animals, societies or machines, only individuations.[51]

Composing the multitude: bodies, dispositions and situations
As we move beyond the subject-object divide, architecture might stop being the builder of the exception's walls in order to regain a broader role in the organisation of space. The notion of form loses its predominant role to that of disposition.

Traditionally, architectural form has materialised through the relationship between an inside and an outside. The inside being 'the position assumed by an acting subject', and the outside, 'the state of things in which the subject acts': a relationship where the fundamental role of form is to define 'the limits that constitute related, but different, parts'.[52] Thus, maintaining the separation between a subject and an object, between the action and the situation in which it takes place, this notion of form reaffirms a reading of space as an empty void or scenario. A limitation picked up by Keller Easterling when she notes how 'spaces are rarely considered to possess disposition'. The situation or state of things in which the subject unfolds his action appears as an inert assemblage of 'objects or volumes, not actors with agency or temperament'.[53]

We must take into account that these actors – the bodies that produce a common spatiality through their agency – are not just 'passive clump[s] of matter rusting in an otherwise vital universe'.[54] They are force-full entities whose existence configures 'a world that would not have been the same without [them]'.[55] Animate or inanimate, human or non-human, these entities 'are defined by their affects or their capacity to act and be acted upon'.[56] Or, to use our previous terms, they are defined by the political potential underlying their material being.

The built environment no longer appears as an assemblage of lifeless parts but as the common production of a multiplicity of bodies: humans, animals and vegetation, but also objects or built forms. Objects and built forms that must also be considered as actors with a potential for action and reaction, holders of 'dispositions, tendencies, propensities, or properties that interact with other factors'.[57]

Bodies – and thus forms – possess agency, 'a quotient of action that exists without the need for the actual movement or event'.[58] Disposition operates and relates through agency, through the latent potential of all the individuals that compose a singular spatial configuration. If disposition appears as the spatial configuration of the political, the situation through which it becomes actualised can be described as the materialisation of the spatial common. Situations are understood as immanent and self-organising event-spaces composed of bodies, practices and discourses.[59] This process

Fig. 4: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 'Netherlandish Proverbs' (1559). Source: Wikimedia Commons.

of actualisation 'is always poised for compositional variation – subject to reorganisations and disorganisations – as its inexhaustible "virtuality" or potential continually rearticulates itself'.[60] This simultaneous and productive relation between bodies, disposition and situation, takes us back to the fundamental role of presence and performativity in the production of the common.

There is no need for new tools and/or metaphors to provoke yet another twist in architectural formal representation, but ways to bring this material presence to the centre of our practice.[61] What we are looking for is the instrumental to seize on this interwoven spatial complexity, as the minor practices of the everyday unfold in the production of a common spatiality. The knowledge and instruments to place us, navigate, and operate within the spatial production of the multitude.

Orientations within the common production of the multitude

We have established three fundamental concepts for understanding the multitude's production of space: the *body* as generator of a singular and common spatiality, *disposition* as the potential holding configuration of an assemblage of bodies, and *situation* as actualisation of that joint potential, and thus, as common. Now we want to put forward a set of strategies that might help us explore, navigate and operate within this spatial production of the multitude. These three concepts – exploration, navigation and operation – conform what we have termed, counter to previous concepts of the project, projective interpretation.[62] A practice that recognises the potential of one's own spatiality and which, through a deep understanding of the situations in which it is embedded, enhances the range of possibilities opened up in the production of a common spatiality.

Exploring the situation through an enhanced role of experience. The body understood as 'a polymorphous musical instrument saturated by natural and invented interacting periodicities […]; a shifting and dynamic manifold endlessly generating *structure* (that is, desire) on the run, a system whose possibilities have yet to be fully posited, or, at best, a field of experimentation without limits…' Against 'the mysterious, subjective genesis of the drawing/idea', the body as tool for knowledge, tuned to the everyday productive practices and producer himself.[63] Minor practices, habits, routines that help us keep in mind that the common is not result, but a permanent production that cannot be reduced to any kind of episodic form. This permanent condition of the multitude is defined through two main temporal dimensions. We can talk, first, of a background time. A temporality founded in everyday life habits that form 'a nature that is both produced and productive, created and creative – an ontology of social practice in common'.[64] And second, we have *kairos* or opportune time: 'the opportune moment that ruptures the monotony and repetitiveness of chronological time [and] has to be grasped by a political subject'.[65] Likewise, in the spatial configuration of the common, we can talk of a background spatiality and the need to detect, invent and build the right spot or spatial *kairos*.

Practices materialise in trajectories and tactics.[66] Trajectories that go deeper than the trace of a singular movement in order to bring together the manifold relations tied to the body as it threads the possibility of a common spatiality. Tactics operate within it, always on the move, without a place to call one's own, but with the capacity to create the set of relations that configure a spatiality of one's own. Tactics playing with the possibilities opened up by this spatial production, by chance and events in order to turn them into opportunities and right spots.

While analysing the differences between the spaces of politics and those of the political, we noted that when the performative factors come to the fore, the codified disciplinary theories fall behind

in favour of a practical knowledge. Controlling the capabilities or disposition of forms, codifying them or technically optimising them is impossible. They demand, on the contrary, an art of doing: 'Disposition, as the unfolding relationship between potentials, resists science and codification in favor of art or practice.'[67] When we deal with nothing more than 'working concepts, derived from experimentation in contact with the real', we need to pay closer 'attention to the operations of making' against more abstract theoretical descriptions. And as we discover the field as 'a material condition [and not as] discursive practice',[68] we need to look for 'a new materialism for architectural practice'.[69]

We want to finish with one image analysed by Laurent Bove to unfold his definition of a common politics: a politics that rests in the immanent workings of the body's power and affects rather than in 'its external manipulation'. [fig. 4] The image is the depiction of the *Netherlandish Proverbs* created by Pieter Bruegel the Elder in 1559. The proverbs are singular practices that materialise a folk wisdom: 'life strategies […] that come together, in a non-controlled way', and thus, in common.[70] Practices brought together by anonymous individuals producing the multiple assemblage of a common space. This image helps us to move away from the clichés that, in recent times, have entrapped the notion of the multitude and its production of the common. Far removed from reductions to episodic forms such as the swarm or the crowd, and its description as carnivalesque explosions, we see, within this image, the deep spatial and social complexity of the common.[71]

Such an object of research compels us to wonder about research itself. For '[t]he concrete – life itself – is partial and irremediably inapprehensible, incoherent and contradictory.' There is no longer an object of research. This common production, this unfolding of minor practices, 'cannot be reduced to a description' or an abstraction.[72] It is within the

entanglement of doings, enmeshed in its trajectories and tactics, that knowledge is conformed.

Notes

1. Juan Francisco Ferré, *Karnaval* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 2012).

2. Taking as the point of departure the extraordinary investigation of Sven-Olov Wallenstein, *Biopolitics and the Emergence of Modern Architecture* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2009).

3. Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt describe them as 'a relatively inert, traditional notion that generally involves natural resources. Early modern European social theorists conceive of the common as the bounty of nature available to humanity, including the fertile land to work and the fruits of the earth, often posing it in religious terms with scriptural evidence'. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 139.

4. As shown, for instance, in many of the references to the common made throughout the different pavilions of the 2012 Venice Biennale 'Common Ground'.

5. Peter Pál Pelbart, 'Una crisis de sentido es la condición necesaria para que algo nuevo aparezca', in *Fuera de lugar: conversaciones entre crisis y transformación*, ed. by Amador Fernández-Savater (Madrid: Acuarela Libros, 2013), pp. 45-61.

6. Hardt and Negri, *Commonwealth,* p. 139.

7. 'We can communicate only on the basis of languages, symbols, ideas, and relationships we share in common, and in turn the results of our communication are new common languages, symbols, ideas, and relationships… the common is produced and it is also productive.' Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004), p. 197.

8. Hardt and Negri, *Multitude.*

9. Paolo Virno, *A Grammar of the Multitude,* trans. by Isabella Bertoletti, James Cascaito, Andrea Casson (Los Angeles, California: Semiotext(e), 2003).

10. Warren Montag. *Bodies, Masses, Power: Spinoza and*

His Contemporaries. (London: Verso, 1999), p. 75.

11. Ibid., p. 76.

12. Ibid.

13. 'The Dutch Anomaly', in Antonio Negri, *The Savage Anomaly: The Power of Spinoza's Metaphysics and Politics,* trans. by Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), pp. 3-21; Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'The General Crisis of the European Economy in the Seventeenth Century', *Past and Present* 5, 1 (1954), pp. 33-53; and Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', *Past and Present* 16, 1 (1959), pp. 31-64.

14. Montag, *Bodies, Masses, Power,* p. 90-124.

15. Filippo del Lucchese, *Conflict, Power, and Multitude in Machiavelli and Spinoza: Tumult and Indignation*, (London: Continuum, 2009), p. 118.

16. Alexandre Matheron, quoted in Montag, *Bodies, Masses, Power,* p. 92.

17. For an extended analysis of the idea of constituent power and its workings through the modern era, see Antonio Negri, *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State,* trans. by Maurizia Boscagli (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

18. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

19. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. by Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

20. Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, trans. by George Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 5, quoted in Stephen Legg and Alexander Vasudevan, 'Introduction: Geographies of the Nomos', in *Spatiality, Sovereignty and Carl Schmitt. Geographies of the Nomos*, ed. by Stephen Legg (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-25 (p. 6).

21. In 1984, Michael Walzer adopted the term 'art of separation' to refer to this relation between the new forms of state organisation and the appropriation and distribution of the land. The liberal State born in the seventeenth century required a ceaseless process of 'drawing and policing of boundaries'. For, if 'the old, preliberal map showed a largely undifferentiated land mass, with rivers and mountains, cities and towns, but no borders', the liberal theorists 'drew lines [and] marked off different realms' that created the socio-political map we inhabit today. See Michael Walzer, 'Liberalism and the Art of Separation', *Political Theory*, 12, 3 (1984), pp. 315-30.

22. Antonio Negri. 'Pour une définition ontologique de la multitude', *Multitudes* 9 (2002), pp. 36-48.

23. C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) and Pier Vittorio Aureli, *Less is Enough* (Moscow: Strelka Press, 2014).

24. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT press, 1989).

25. Judith Revel and Antonio Negri, 'Inventer le commun des hommes', *Multitudes,* 31 (2008), pp. 5-10.

26. We are thinking here of Giorgio Agamben's notion of *inoperosità* as developed in *Homo Sacer*.

27. Andrew McRae, 'To Know One's Own: Estate Surveying and the Representation of the Land in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 56, 4 (1993), pp. 333-57.

28. Paul Dean Adshead Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), quoted in Nicholas Blomley, 'Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence: The Frontier, the Survey, and the Grid', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 93,1 (2003), pp. 121-41.

29. Blomley, 'Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence', p. 127.

30. McRae, 'To Know One's Own', p. 341.

31. Throughout this process, architecture would lose 'its role as the bearer of traditional orders and aesthetic hierarchies', and thus, 'its traditional authority as a symbolic form' in order 'to be a node in a network of knowledges and practices through which individuals were formed and a modern social space emerged'. (Wallenstein, *Biopolitics,* pp. 14-15). For an extended explanation of the concept of governmentality and its relation to the biopolitical state, see Michel Foucault,

Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78, trans. by Graham Burchell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

32. Gilles Deleuze, 'Postscript on Control Societies' in *Negotiations: 1972-1990*, trans. by Martin Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995)*;* and Giorgio Agamben, 'Bodies Without Words: Against the Biopolitical Tattoo', *German Law Journal*, 5, 2 (2004), pp. 168-69.

33. As studied in: Blomley; McRae; Matthew Johnson, *An Archaeology of Capitalism.* (London: Blackwell, 1996); and R.A. Butlin, 'The Enclosure of Open Fields and Extinction of Common Rights in England, circa 1600-1750: A Review', in *Change in the Countryside: Essays on Rural England, 1500-1900,* ed. by H.S.A. Fox and R.A. Butlin (London: Institute of British Geographers, 1979), pp. 65-82.

34. It was then that the modern notion of the project was configured: a projection of an idea or model organisation of the world to be laid out onto the fabric of the real (a working very close to Hobbes projected contractual fiction). This phase in the development of the architectural discipline can be defined by the problematisation of two key elements. First, the perfecting and mastering of the new representation tools (the construction of space no longer becomes a question of interpretation and adjustment produced on the go) that will turn architecture into a powerful technique that accurately dominates space partition; and second, the development of a specific authoring figure, a single mind capable of generating a whole new configuration of things.

35. Jacques Rancière formulated the concept of the 'partition of the sensible' to describe the consequences and meanings of this process: 'I call the distribution of the sensible the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it. A distribution of the sensible therefore establishes at one and the same time something common that is shared and exclusive parts. This apportionment of parts and positions is based on a distribution of spaces, times, and forms of activity that determines the very manner in which something common lends itself to participation and in what way various individuals have a part in this distribution.' See 'The Distribution of the Sensible: Politics and Aesthetics' in Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, trans. by Gabriel Rockhill (London: Bloomsbury, 2013). p. 7.

36. Michel Foucault and Paul Rabinow, 'Space, Knowledge, and Power', in *The Foucault Reader,* ed. by Paul Rabinow (New York: Random House, 1994), pp. 239-56, (p. 244).

37. Stan Allen, 'Infrastructural Urbanism' in *Points + Lines: Diagrams and Projects for the City* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), pp. 48-57.

38. Commenting this definition of politics, political thinkers such as Slavoj Žižek, Jacques Rancière or Chantal Mouffe have baptised our time as a post-political era. Experts, technicians and social engineers neutralise all form of disagreement through the non-stop flow of consensus.

39. Revel and Negri, *Inventer le communes hommes*, pp. 5-10.

40. Negri, *Insurgencies*, mentioned in Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, pp. 29-33.

41. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible: Followed by Working Notes*, trans. by Alphonso Lingis (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1968) and the analysis of Marina Garcés in the prologue to Maurice Blanchot, *Escritos Políticos: Guerra de Argelia, Mayo del 68, etc.: 1958-1993* (Madrid: Antonio Machado, 2010), and Marina Garcés, *Un Mundo Común*, (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2013).

42. Graham Harman, *Tool-Being: Heidegger and the Metaphysics of Objects* (Chicago: Open Court, 2002); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); John Paul Jones, Keith Woodward, and Sallie A. Marston. 'Situating Flatness', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 32, 2 (2007), pp. 264-76; Levi R. Bryant, *The Democracy of Objects* (Ann Arbor: Open Humanities Press, 2011).

43. Lucía Jalón Oyarzun, 'Acrobats in the Rooftops of Tehran', in *Think Space Pamphlets,* (Zagreb: Zagreb

Society of Architects, 2011) and Lucía Jalón Oyarzun and Pedro Hernández, 'Arquitecto-multitud', *La Tempestad,* Mexico, September 2013.

44. 'To produce a new metaphysics, the philosophy of the world and the physics of the mode must insert themselves in the world, appreciate and exalt the ethicality of the singular and plural mode.' Negri, *Spinoza*, p. 84.

45. The use of 'own' or 'belong' does not imply the possessive quality discussed before but the restoration of the notion of property as right (and thus, as power). As Nicholas Blomley explains: '[P]roperty theorists and lawyers have long argued that property itself has little to do with things, worrying at the analytical confusions that arise when we conflate property (a set of relations) with objects. As Macpherson puts it, "Property is not things, but rights, rights in or to things."' Nicholas Blomley, 'Making Private Property: Enclosure, Common Right and the Work of Hedges.' *Rural History,* 18, 1 (2007), p. 1. Also interesting is the materialist description made by Spinoza when he denies the 'world of juridical transcendence […] that remains by definition external to what actually exists'. See Montage, p. 91.

46. Del Lucchese, *Conflict, Power, and Multitude,* p. 78.

47. Erik Swyngedouw, 'The Zero-Ground of Politics: Musings on the Post-Political City', *New Geographies,* 1,1 (2009), pp. 52-61.

48. Benedictus Spinoza, *Complete Works,* trans. by Samuel Shirley, (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub, 2002).

49. Del Lucchese, *Conflict, Power, and Multitude,* p. 116

50. Étienne Balibar, 'Spinoza: From Individuality to Transindividuality', lecture delivered in Rijnsburg on 15 May 1993 <http://www.ciepfc.fr/spip.php?article236> [accessed 08 January 2014]

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54. Katharine Meehan, Ian Graham, Ronald Shaw and Sallie A. Marston, 'Political Geographies of the Object', *Political Geography,* 33 (2013), pp. 1-10.

55. Harman, *Tool-Being*, quoted in Meehan, et al, 'Political Geographies of the Object', p. 3.

56. Meehan, et al., 'Political Geographies of the Object', p. 3.

57. Easterling, 'Disposition', p. 251.

58. Ibid.

59. Jones, Woodward and Marston talk of 'site' and the necessity of a 'site ontology'. This definition of *'site'* as an *'event-space'*, a term filled with temporal dimensions that links a given spatial configuration to a precise moment, leads us to propose its change to that of 'situation'. If 'site' helps us anchor the concepts to the raw materiality of the territory, *'situation'* helps completing the idea with its temporal dimension. John Paul Jones, Keith Woodward, and Sallie A. Marston, 'Situating Flatness', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 32, 2 (2007), pp. 264-76.

60. Ibid. p. 265.

61. In 2009, the architect François Roche warned about the risks of reductive analogies that turn the multiple into a formal metaphor: 'Swarm intelligences cannot be reduced to morphological toolings or computational exercises. It has to be a part of the research, but it cannot be the core of it, still less its technoid alibi.' Léopold Lambert, '# SWARM /// Interview of Francois Roche', *Boite a Outils (The Funambulist)*, 17 September 2009 <http://thefunambulist. net/2010/12/23/interviews-francois-roche-swarm-23/> [accessed 08 January 2014].

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63. Brian Boigon and Sanford Kwinter. 'Manual for 5 Appliances in the Alphabetical City: A Pedagogical Text', *Assemblage,* (1991), pp. 30-41.

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Biography

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A Monstrous Alliance: Open Architecture and Common Space

Gökhan Kodalak

Common Space

The built environment is a contested field on which a multitude of material bodies and immaterial forces encounter each other, forming alliances and assemblages at every turn while simultaneously contending against and disintegrating one another. Architecture, insofar as it is defined as shaping, composing and interpreting this environment in any medium or milieu, becomes an ontologically political domain in the original sense of the word (*politikos*), since it affects – and is inseparably affected by – the everyday life of 'citizens' and their socio-spatial interactions. In the domain of architecture, however, spatial actors do not share the same degree of power and agency in decision-making and space-shaping processes. Within the contemporary built environment, spatial actors are situated in three occasionally overlapping but relatively distinct networks according to their degree of agentive power. The highest degree belongs to *networks of authority*, which consist of norm-setting legislators, dominant in determining and establishing rules of spatial configuration in conjunction with the relevant bureaucratic and administrative institutions, and also with clients and capital investors who are dominant not only in deciding the contents and whereabouts of envisaged architectures, but also in commissioning their planned constructions together with the relevant financial and organisational apparatuses. In comparison, *networks of expertise* possess a moderate degree of agentive power and consist of intermediary actors such as architects, engineers and scholars and their respective associations. To clarify the role of intermediary actors with a simple example: architects, contrary to their delusional self-identification as omnipotent masters of the built environment, *lack* the autonomous power to function without legislators and clients. Rather, they are positioned *around* power; that is, architects have to reflect on and operate the power held by networks of authority in order to sustain their decision-making capabilities.[1] Finally, the lowest degree of agentive power belongs to *networks of performance,* which consist of depotentiated spatial actors, especially everyday users, who are excluded from the decision-making processes of architectural production and configuration almost altogether, and are forced to 'passively experience' whatever is 'imposed upon them', despite their protean patterns of manipulation and resistance.[2] These three networks, however, are not constituted by static structures, essential identities or universal formations; rather, they are composed of overlapping activities, historical discourses, conflicting apparatuses and differential individuations located in specific spatiotemporal contexts within rapidly globalising and urbanising built environments.[3] Although the built environment is constructed with contributions from all spatial actors, networks of authority, in terms of their ability to organise and shape the built environment according to their worldview (*Weltanschauung*), are *hegemonic* over the others.[4] This is why, as Georges Bataille has subtly put it:

[A]rchitecture never expresses 'the true nature of societies' themselves, but rather manifests highlighted representations of hegemonic powers who articulate 'authoritative command and prohibition', inspire 'good social behaviour and often even genuine fear', give rise to monuments symbolising their authority to group 'servile multitudes under their shadow, imposing admiration and wonder, order and constraint', and thus, 'speak to and impose silence upon the crowds'.[5]

If we acknowledge that architecture, 'in addition to being a means of production' is also 'a means of control, and hence of domination', then it is time to confront, for starters, this fundamental question: how do networks of authority and expertise end up forming an alliance to exclude everyday masses and networks of performance from decision-making processes and render them as predominantly subordinated end-users?[6]

The user is the constituent spatial actor who generates life and sustains vitality within architecture. Peculiarly, however, users *do not exist* in the architectural milieu 'with respect not to their being, but to the intensity of existence' permitted to them by networks of authority and expertise, 'which results in their being virtually inexistent in it'.[7] This imposed user inexistence manifests itself in the form of three types of user alienation from the built environment.[8] The first takes place during *codification processes*, when norm-setting legislators and apparatuses discuss, decide and establish virtual norms and regulations for built environments without user participation or contribution. For example, master plans and zoning plans – in addition to regional and urban planning systems, development acts, conservation protocols, environmental plans, land-use policies, etc. – are a set of regulations implemented by institutional apparatuses to designate how a particular territory can be spatially configured and architecturally shaped in terms of its function, height, volume, lot coverage, share of green spaces and countless other features. Even

before actual architectural projects are conceived and constructed, these regulatory bodies already set virtual limits to architectural possibilities and determine key decisions without any user contribution. The second aspect of user alienation occurs during *construction processes*, when clients and investors make alliances with architects and experts to decide, conceive and build actual architectures that largely, if not totally, exclude user involvement and feedback.[9] These exclusionary alliances are embodied, for instance, in professional contracts and design briefs that not only elaborate technical and financial details, but also consist of a set of explicit instructions used to transfer, as directly as possible, the clients' initial requests and demands to the architects. Contracts and briefs thus assure the limits of the architects' power by imposing that what stays outside the sphere of clients' interests shall stay outside the architects' concerns as well. While architects are guaranteed a certain amount of authority, social status and wealth as remuneration for their submissive compliance in siding with their clients' interests over those of others, users realise that their opportunity to use, experience and interpret architectural constructs, which in any case are already preordained and have restricted options, is allowed to occur only after architects and clients have finished with these constructions. The third alienation that users undergo develops during *experiential processes,* when they become aware that they are allowed to experience architectural constructs only insofar as they do not change, manipulate or reconfigure the closed source-codes, inflexible regulations, predetermined functions, choreographed experiential possibilities, and crystallised forms and structures. The architectural construct is therefore experienced by users as 'an obstacle, as a resistant "objectality", at times as implacably hard as a concrete wall', which is 'not only extremely difficult to modify in any way but also hedged about by Draconian rules prohibiting any attempt at such modification'.[10] As a *fait accompli*, architectural constructs are imposed upon users

without allowing them the possibility to substantially intervene, contribute or manipulate the compositions. Excluded from these processes, users are, by necessity, required to adapt their spatial needs and desires to the limited options these constructs offer, and make the best of predominantly inflexible cages that allow no opportunity to shape, regulate or channel their needs and desires. As a result, users are constantly instructed to accept and even desire their imposed repressive destiny – *amor fati*. This remains one of the primary unresolved tensions of architecture, for how should we define users and everyday spatial actors, if not by their characteristic ability to continually change their own destinies and desires?

Recently, a Spinozist concept, namely 'the multitude', has been updated and applied to contemporary political theory by, among many others, Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, and it may prove to be quite useful if expanded and applied to spatial and architectural theory, especially when reconsidering the distribution of agentive power among spatial actors.[11] For Spinoza, *multitudo* is a multiplicity of singular bodies that perseveres in collective action as a constituent power, acting on 'the right of the commonwealth' without transferring these rights to any form of external sovereignty, and maintaining its differential character without converging into a homogenous identity.[12] From the very definition of the multitude two primary tensions arise that can also be used as a roadmap for spatial actors engaged in becoming a multitude. The first concerns *deconstructing* external claims of sovereignty that hinder the capability of the multitude's collective action on *common interests*; the second is about *constructing* differential and self-organised collectivities, and with them, *common spaces* against the internal danger of them becoming hierarchical totalities. However, before elaborating on the deconstructive and constructive capacities of the multitude, I need to identify the common as a distinct notion from that of the public or private in terms of its relation with the built environment.

Public space, contrary to conventional wisdom, does not correspond to shared territories where society can freely *present* itself, but instead designates governed zones where society is *represented* by networks of authority – predominantly state apparatuses – who not only own, but also control public spaces with their formative regulations, surveillance methods, symbolic monuments and, if necessary, police officers.[13] The contemporary public space, defined tactfully by Rem Koolhaas as 'what remains of the city once the unpredictable has been removed', has been structured on a rapidly globalising scale as a heavily indoctrinated and anesthetised domain with an illusionary façade of social freedom and self-expression.[14]

Private space, contrary to conventional wisdom once again, does not refer to personalised places where a certain number of people interact and relax in comfort and intimacy, but rather denotes the forcible exclusion of all spatial actors from expropriated territories by their privileged 'owners' and 'masters'. Today, the most alarming side-effects of the brutal privatisation of the spatial environment can be witnessed in the form of discriminatory urban gentrification,[15] ever-increasing slum settlements,[16] catastrophic ecological consequences,[17] paranoid gated communities,[18] and the compulsive mallification and theme-parkification of entire districts, including our everyday lives.[19]

Common space, finally, *lies underneath* both private and public spaces as *the commonwealth of all our natural and cultural milieus*, accessible to everybody, and with the equal right of acting on its commonality. Just like natural substances, such as air and water – which are already in the process of being privatised – and cultural immaterial substances, such as language, the Internet and love; *space is also a common*, yet it has been forcibly appropriated through top-down

configurations, enclosed in the form of territorial properties, and controlled by networks of authority through public and private apparatuses of capture. Lately, David Harvey updated Henri Lefebvre's influential demand, 'the right to the city', which was not 'a simple visiting right', but rather 'a transformed and renewed right to urban life',[20] adding that it is also 'a right to change ourselves by changing the city'.[21] Instead, what we might pursue today is to construct *the right to common spaces*, not as a demand from networks of authority, but as a self-initiated and self-sustained collective claim that starts by changing ourselves into the differential multitude so that we can unearth unpredictable experiences and symbiotic dreams and change the world without taking power.

The multitude's *deconstructive capacity* instigates emancipatory pursuits that aim to liberate appropriated common spaces by defying the hegemonic claims of networks of authority and their expertise in monopolising norm-setting, decision-making and space-shaping processes concerning the built environment. Attempts to open up new possibilities within predefined structures can be equated with a reader's quest to create new meanings from existing written texts. Although texts are 'composed with the vocabularies of established languages' and, like predetermined spatial configurations, 'remain subordinated to the prescribed syntactical forms', readers nonetheless 'make innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests' and establish their own 'desires that are neither determined nor captured by the systems in which they develop'.[22] Similarly, the multitude acts as a deconstructive force by unshackling prearranged territorial boundaries and smoothening unilateral stratifications to uncover a 'multi-dimensional space' in which new possibilities can emerge, 'blend and clash'.[23] Such a framework wherein 'the reader is indeed always ready to become a writer' disturbs conventional boundaries and 'forces us

to re-examine the separation between author and reader'.[24] Likewise, rather than succumbing to the role of passive consumers, the multitude becomes a body of spatial hackers who decode over-codified fields that have been strictly configured to regulate and control spatial actions, thus opening up new possibilities on a rigid 'checkerboard' by enabling 'the production of an area of free play' and transforming stratified grids into 'liberated spaces'.[25] On their own, however, deconstructive processes never suffice. The multitude *does not find* the common space as a buried treasure underneath other spaces, but only unfolds its *virtuality* through a rebellious rupture, which means that common spaces still need to be actualised by the multitude with a simultaneous *construction*.

The multitude's *constructive capacity* radically transvalues agentive relations among spatial actors. Decisions, roles and agentive capacities are no longer determined by self-proclaimed authorities or experts, rather, the collective will of all spatial actors concerned with and affected by relevant spatial configurations is utilised for action with a reciprocal and polyphonic ethos.[26] During this constructive process, the imposed passivity of users is shaken off and the fourth wall is breached. In a similar fashion, in the Theatre of the Oppressed, spectators are no longer satisfied with silently watching the show produced and acted by representative actors and directors; instead, they restore their 'capacity of action in all its fullness' and implement the changes they want to see in the play by becoming 'spect-actors'.[27] This is how the multitude becomes a body of co-creators who redefine architecture as a collective, open-source and process-driven performance, injecting dynamism, mutability, and unpredictability into spatial configurations, and negotiating temporary conditions of common decisions by utilising differential needs, conflictual interests, and the mercurial desires of all the interested and relevant spatial actors. Thus, common space emerges as an open and inclusive meshwork where the

multitude freely shares, utilises and sustains a pool of commonwealth based on forms of participatory self-organisation; where it collectively generates new material and immaterial productions; and where it reciprocally rearticulates individual expediencies through constantly renegotiating, redefining and reproducing their social commonality, while synchronously retaining their 'innumerable internal differences'.[28] Common space is constructed by a multitude of cooperative bricoleurs as a *zone of utilisation*: that of sharing and operating what is common; a *zone of participation*: that of allying with bodies and relations within a horizontal assemblage; a *zone of production*: that of generating ever new commons; and a *zone of differentiation*: that of inventing passages to new possibilities and fresh ruptures. This is not another nostalgic appraisal of the Paris Commune or May '68, but rather a retroactive conceptualisation of a recent, gut-led experience: I was there at Gezi.

Gezi Event

The humble protest that started in Gezi Park turned into an Event overnight, shaking Istanbul at its very core. Before too long it had swept the whole nation, becoming a source of inspiration for the entire globe.[29] The Gezi Event emerged from a peaceful sit-in and occupation protest on 28 May 2013. The reaction of the state apparatus was brutal: protesters were attacked with tear gas canisters, subjected to physical violence and their occupation tents were set on fire. This in turn evolved into a nationwide mobilisation consisting of sit-ins, strikes, online activism and hacktivism actions, protest marches, self-organised park forums and millions of people in the streets.[30] The Gezi Event started as an environmental protest against the threatened demolition of Gezi Park that was, and, thanks to the Event, still is one of the few surviving green areas at the core of Istanbul's metropolitan fabric, accommodating over 600 sycamore trees in an area of nine acres. The protestors' defence of the park's existence was not a reactionary quest to solve

contemporary ecological problems with a romantic return to the so-called harmonious totality of primordial Mother Nature, but rather a radical pursuit to sustain the transposed framework of natural and cultural milieus within contingent urban layouts. In an age when cities themselves have become *the predominant natural habitat,* not only for humans but also and increasingly for a diversity of other species, Gezi advocated sustaining existing assemblages of nature and culture, while simultaneously imagining new interpenetrations and hybridisations. However, the Gezi Event was not solely about *the* environment, but rather about *environments* in the broadest sense. It was about the natural as well as the cultural environment, about the spatial as well as the mental environment, and about the ethical as well as the politico-economic environment. In fact, Gezi represented nothing less than an awareness of the inadequacy of current environments we live in and the desire to simply imagine new possibilities, open up new spaces, and construct new milieus ourselves.[31]

The Gezi Event also began as an architectural protest against the planned reconstruction of Taksim Artillery Barracks because of its top-down decision-making mechanisms, exploitative politico-economic dimensions, and symbolic imposition of cultural and moral norms. The Barracks, to give a compact historical background, were originally built in 1806 by Krikor Balyan, at a time when the Ottoman administration was undergoing radical military reforms after the paradigmatic transformation of warfare brought about by the French Revolution. The building attained its eclectic style, which combines a mixture of Ottoman, Russian and Indian architectural vocabularies, when it was reconstructed after incurring damage from several fires.[32] From the nineteenth century until the First World War, it housed a variety of activities because of its easily reprogrammable large courtyard: acrobatic shows, horse races, and accommodation for Greek pilgrims. The building, after its transformation into a football stadium for

two decades, was demolished in 1940 according to the master plan of Henri Prost, a French city planner who was to become one of the influential figures in shaping Early Republican Istanbul.[33] Gezi Park was opened in 1943 as the starting point of Prost's continuous green promenade and has remained a park ever since, providing a refreshing green niche at the metropolitan core amongst congested urban fabric and vehicular traffic. On May 2013, state and municipal apparatuses, after bending green space protection ordinances, decided to construct a replica of the Artillery Barracks through top-down decision-making mechanisms founded on at least three primary motivations. Throughout the modern history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic, ruling powers have insistently exhibited their authority by reshaping Taksim Square, deemed the centre of Istanbul, and hence the centre of the empire or nation state.[34] On a symbolic level, the ruling government wanted to reconstruct Taksim Artillery Barracks as an emblematic icon to represent their ideological alliance with the Ottoman heritage and their will to promote a neo-Ottoman cultural identity. On a politico-economic level, the public park was deemed unprofitable by the reciprocal alliance of state institutions and neoliberal capitalist apparatuses, and thus, under the guise of historical reconstruction, it was decided that one of the most valuable urban spots in Turkey should be 'developed' in a more 'efficient' manner by erecting a shopping mall. Finally, on a moral, disciplinary level, the aim was to castigate and ostracise the 'undesirable others' of society who were frequent users of the park but did not fit within the imposed conservative cultural norms: transsexuals, immigrants, homeless paupers, labouring classes, alcohol drinkers, street artists and 'marginal youth'. When the demolition crew arrived at the park, however, they were confronted by the deconstructive activity of the multitude par excellence. State apparatuses attempted to convert the *public space* they possessed with a top-down strategy into a profitable and symbolic *private space*, only to be

stopped by the multitude with a common agenda. Gezi was not about protecting a 'public space' – if by public we understand a space given to people by public authorities – it was rather about reclaiming a *common space*; that is, a space taken, occupied and activated by people themselves, without the need of a sanctified permission by any authority in the first place. [fig. 1]

'Change life! Change Society! These ideas lose completely their meaning without producing an appropriate space,' says Henri Lefebvre.[35] The Gezi Event utilised innovative spatial dynamics and architectural craftiness, combined with the empowering constructive capacity of the multitude, and transformed the park along with Taksim Square, if not all the streets, parks, and squares that joined its nationwide resonance, into emergent architectural playgrounds. The massive front façade of the Atatürk Cultural Centre facing Taksim Square was converted into an animated patchwork of a myriad banners, flags and posters. Gezi Park itself was transformed into a bottom-up spatial laboratory with barricades as defensive formations, communitarian food exchange spots, shared libraries, occupation tents as transient residential zones, political assembly platforms, performance stages, kindergarten tents, medical and veterinary clinics, self-sustained social media stations, urban eco-gardens, and a labyrinthine network of main and capillary alleys which connected all these spots together and at the same time provided a variety of niches for gathering, entertainment and resistance. Instead of a focus on end product *architectural objects,* the experimental meshwork of Gezi produced process-driven *architectural festivals*. This performative approach, to recall Hakim Bey's 'Temporary Autonomous Zones', unfolded a never-ending capacity for divergent social interactions and convivial spatial mutations, synergised by the active efforts of 'a group of humans', simply 'to realize mutual desires'.[36]

Fig. 1: Gezi Park under occupation at night; the banner reads: 'Enough is enough.' © Author

The Gezi Event started as a political protest against hegemonic and exploitative power structures. In a short span of time, the possibility of unearthing common spaces beneath grids of authority and actualising them by horizontally generating, operating, and sharing commons, became viral all around the country. Countless parks in every city were reclaimed and transformed into common spaces called 'park forums', where people participated in open assemblies and discussions in order to invent reciprocal political formations. Thus, from horizontally democratising a public park, the Gezi multitude attempted to proceed towards radically democratising society as a whole. These park forums were revolutionary, not because they had the capability to abolish every form of hegemonic structure in an instant, but because they have cumulatively laid the very foundations of future common meshworks with their constant experimentation in heterarchical and participatory forms of self-organisation. As a collective delirium, Gezi was unexpected, unpredictable at every turn, and had many shape-shifting faces. It was an assemblage in a continual state of becoming, a chimera in constant mutation. All social groups that had been considered hostile towards each other in Turkey because of their ethnic or sexual identity, class structure or ideological tendency, combined to constitute the multitude, retaining their differences while imagining and constructing new commonalities. Gezi was local: taking place in neighbourhood parks and assemblies, national: scattered all around the country, collecting all of its tensions and desires, and global: intermeshing similar emancipatory pursuits from Tahrir and Zucotti to Madrid and Athens. When I walked around Gezi Park on the morning of 15 June, the last day of its initial occupation, and sat down on its grass and drank the tea given to me by someone I did not know, I became part of a decentralised collective body, a symbiotic plurality, a self-presentative flesh. I was struck by the exuberance, potency and fullness floating in the air, which was nothing metaphysical; on the contrary, it was so radically immanent in the Event and in the relations among all the components of the emergent meshwork that it resists any form of description, it escapes representation. That same evening, the police made an assault and ejected the multitude from the Park. I was there, in Sıraselviler Street, all night till morning. After witnessing this indescribable affection on the faces of others at the park, and in the air during the day, I felt it in my gut during the night. I am indebted to law-enforcement officers, for although it was partly due to their use of tear gas canisters, I have not cried as beautifully as that for a long time. [fig. 2]

At the Gezi Event I witnessed and became a humble part of the constitution of the multitude; the de-appropriation and occupation of public and private spaces in the search for the common; the deconstructive resistance to uphold the right to the commonwealth against the brutal oppression of hegemonic apparatuses; the instant dissemination of common struggles all around the country through communal forums; and the constant imagination, exploration and actualisation of common spaces and open architectures to accommodate the very life we, the multitude, have been fighting for. Among many emerging experiments around the globe, Gezi demonstrated that we are not only able to imagine, but also to construct common spaces. Indeed, as one of its captivating chants proudly declared: 'This is just the beginning.'

Open-Architecture
Every multitude has its Anomalous. The multitude of common space has the *Anomalous Architect*.[37] The etymological root of anomalous (*anomalos*) is very different from abnormal (*anormalos*), which designates a deviation from the norm (*ab* + *norma*), whereas anomalous refers simply to the uneven, the unequal (*an* + *homalos*). In other words, the anomalous is not a heretic deviating from orthodoxy, but rather that which functions without an origin and perseveres without referencing an

Fig. 2:   A protestor throws back a gas canister in one of the back alleys of Taksim. © Author

essence. Similarly, the anomalous architect is not to be confused with a domestic expert, or with a flag-bearing avant-garde whose self-proclaimed prophecy is to know what needs to be done and leads the submissive masses towards their fate. As a transversal agent, the anomalous architect is situated neither at the front nor at the centre of architecture, but always at the border, at the interface, not as 'another thing with respect to the limit', but as 'the experience of the limit itself'.[38] The anomalous architect extends the interactive passage of mercurial transitions and symbioses; enhances spatial possibilities of collective and co-functioning agencies; accelerates the velocity of unpredictable and differential dimensions; and potentiates the multitude to realise their spatial desires themselves. There is, for this reason, no binary opposition between the multitude and anomalous individuals. Anomalous figures are not defined by a fixed identity or expertise, but rather by a set of performances and initiatives. Without any need for institutional requirements or certifications, anyone who helps render architecture horizontally collective, dynamically temporal and differentially performative can become an anomalous architect.

The performance of the anomalous architect can be best elaborated by drawing a parallel with the tale of Josephine, the songstress mouse in one of Franz Kafka's short stories.[39] In the story, Josephine is widely admired for her ability to express 'the power of song' by the mouse folk who gather every evening to watch her soothing performance after their exhausting daily work. After a short introduction, however, the narrator begins to assert that, as songs go, Josephine's songs aren't 'anything all that out of the ordinary', she is not even singing at all in the true sense of the word; rather, her performance is 'a sort of piping' without any artistic profoundness. Kafka's genius here is that Josephine is not depicted as the ruling master or the privileged artist whom the mouse folk put on a pedestal. On the contrary, Josephine is at exactly the same level as all the other mouse folk; her difference lies solely in her *collectivising performance*, for these gatherings are 'not so much a performance of songs as an assembly of the people'.[40] Just like Josephine, the anomalous architect is nothing but the *performative vehicle* with which *the multitude affirms its own collectivity*. This performance abolishes the exclusivist formation of the profession that 'blocks, prohibits, and invalidates' the speech and actions of users, and, instead, opens up the possibility for them to participate in decision-making processes and to speak and act for themselves.[41] Between the anomalous architect and the multitude a monstrous alliance is to be formed to produce a new type of architecture, namely *Open-Architecture*. But in order to be able to discuss this relationship I shall first have to make a long detour and critically analyse current deadlocks within the architectural profession.

The emergence of the architect is documented 'as far back as the third millennium before the Common Era'; relevant graphic conventions of architecture appear 'several millenniums earlier', and it can be fairly postulated that architects were 'abroad from the moment when there was the desire for a sophisticated built environment'.[42] Since Antiquity, a myriad of figures have been called architects, including, but not limited to: thaumaturgic high priests inspired by divine revelations (Imhotep, Ancient Egypt); legendary *arkitektons* flying above endless labyrinths (Daedalus, Ancient Greece); imperial polymaths heralding notions of usefulness, solidity and beauty (Vitruvian legacy, Ancient Rome); communal head-bricklayers serving under Christ as the architect of the Church (*architectus ecclesiae*, Middle Ages); administrative *ustads* functioning as civil officials (Ottoman legacy); gentlemen of genius claiming design expertise about everything from cities and palaces to humble farmhouses (Albertian legacy, Renaissance); rationalist legislators applying their purist vision to contingent built environments (modernist legacy); and global starchitects acting

as celebrity CEOs of multi-national architectural corporations (contemporary legacy). 'Architect' is therefore not an ahistorical term that defines the same actor across different spatiotemporal contexts, but rather a cumulative combination of imaginary, symbolic and actual constructions of a figure who, in addition to occupying a primary role in shaping the built environment, represents an adaptive struggle to guarantee the distinctness and persistence of the architectural profession in relation to fluctuating economic, political and cultural conditions. One side effect of this ontological campaign has been the slightly paranoid safeguarding of architectural knowledge and practice since the times of ancient cults and medieval lodges, up to the days of modern professional institutions and introverted academic siloes, all of which express the architect's desire to control and regulate the realm of architectural production and discourse, and to be guaranteed protection from the claims of other spatial actors. One of the primary reasons why architects have organised their profession into an exclusionary, self-contained discipline by denying the participation of other spatial actors can be explained in Lacanian terms as *the fear of castration*; that is, the symbolic fear of losing an imaginary power, given that the presence of users in architectural decision-making processes is symbolically perceived by architects as a direct threat to their self-imagined supreme authority.[43]

Since the nineteenth century, the authority of the architect has been based upon *modern expertise,* which basically consists of specialised education and institutional approval. Contrary to everyday users, the architect is a spatial actor whose work, including the production, interpretation and transformation of architecture, is sanctioned by affiliated institutions, which in turn secure the architect's exclusivity by promoting a set of theoretical modes, practical norms and regulatory codes in a ritualistic manner. Although it is a 'supreme illusion to defer to architects, urbanists or planners as being

experts or ultimate authorities in matters relating to space', this self-proclaimed myth is exactly why 'unofficial' builders of slum dwellings and vernacular architecture, or non-expert interpreters of any architectural formation, are not recognised as architects, and their works are consciously ignored by the mainstream profession.[44] Technically, the official distinction between architects and users is neither the knowledge of architecture nor the practice of building but a basic licence of expertise bestowed by relevant institutions of authority (AIA in the US, RIBA in the UK, Chamber of Architects in Turkey, etc.). This is how networks of authority attain the administration of an ambiguous field of knowledge, adjust the framework of architectural education, sustain their exclusive members' cult of expertise, and provide architects with a monopoly on architectural production and knowledge in exchange for their submissive internalisation of institutional norms. During this procedure, the architect is reduced to an operative expert whose primary task is limited, in a reactionary manner, to providing convenient solutions to predetermined problems, with substantially restricted options available to question these problems or redefine the questions.[45]

The problematic construction of the architect as an exclusionary expert is primarily linked to the inhibitory utilisation of *modern educational apparatuses*, *representational tools* and *professional discourses* that condition and shape the architect's conception of space and architecture from the very beginning by totally excluding notions of collective agency and temporal dynamics. In dominant forms of contemporary architectural education, three primary roles bestowed upon the architects-of-the-future stand out in terms of their impact on constructing an architect's identity. The role of *technical expert*, structured with a utilitarian repertoire of Euclidean spatial models, functionalist design codes, typological precedents, quantitative calculations and rationalist classifications, implicitly orients architects towards stable arrangements, rigid

separations and definitive forms, thus preparing them predominantly as potential functionaries. The role of *solitary creator*, constructed with recurrent narratives of thaumaturgic geniuses, heroic celebrities and their fetishistic monuments, encourages the architect to place 'the giant leverage of industrial machinery under the mastery of spirit' and transform 'the built landscape into a self-portrait'. This results in the subordination, if not total exclusion, of divergent actions and multiple voices of less mythical spatial actors.[46] The role of *cryptic rhetorician*, finally, constituted to include highly codified professional and academic jargon in order to safeguard architectural knowledge from 'outsiders', ends up alienating spatial actors by deriding their contributions as 'ignorant or mistaken, implying there is a truthful and correct interpretation of a fixed body of knowledge' to which architects alone have access within their esoteric circles.[47]

Representational and instrumental toolkits for architects witnessed significant developments from the invention of blueprint technology in the nineteenth century to the popularisation of digital tools at the turn of this century. However, this repository, which consists not only of plans and models, perspectival, orthographic and axonometric drawings, photography, xerography, photomontage, computer-aided design and parametric software, but also old-school pantograph-equipped drafting tables, T-squares, 45-degree triangles and rapidographs, has all been utilised for the most part to exclude temporality from the spatial equation. Rather than pursuing multimodal options that incorporate temporal dynamics in processes of analysis and design, architects have consistently used representational tools either as Cartesian calculators to analyse space, design architecture and transfer construction details in frozen stances and quantifiable measures, or as cosmetic marketing tools to present their end-products through fixed models and static visuals. This atemporalising approach indicates, however, a deeper historical problem that does not solely

originate from representational limitations. There is a strong vein in architectural discourse and practice that can be traced back to its very emergence, which has allied itself with a struggle against time if not a will to *pure atemporality*, a struggle against movement, if not a will to *pure inertia*, and a struggle against change, if not a will to *pure permanence*. During the pre-modern era, most 'highlighted' architectural works in many cultures were almost always deemed monuments, palaces or earthly sanctuaries for heavenly entities, often constructed to bestow a symbolic stability for their fragile socio-political systems. At that time, architects and their patrons believed that *defying* time would *deify* their work. With the arrival of the modern era, the atemporal conception of space was restructured, but sustained within emerging Cartesian frameworks. Although this paradigm has been challenged since late modernity by Riemannian and Lobachevskian geometry, quantum physics, evolutionary theory and continental philosophy, among other epistemological shifts, the architectural milieu has stood firm: from modernist 'forefathers' like Le Corbusier to your favourite contemporary Starchitect, architects have continued to demonstrate their ability to grasp and mould space through static models and quantifiable measures, sustaining the illusion that space is an atemporal, homogenous, and isotropic entity, giving way to fixed spatial conceptions and frozen architectures.

Against the atemporal conception of space, Michel Foucault rightly expresses that 'we do not live in a kind of void', but rather, 'we live inside a set of relations',[48] which Gilles Deleuze expands by pointing out that 'space itself' is not only 'based in things, in relations between things', but also 'between durations' themselves.[49] Architecture is not doomed to futilely pursue fixed spatiotemporal dynamics, but can become a catalyst to enrich them by renouncing frozen beginnings or ends, by consciously situating itself 'always in the middle, between things', simply as an 'interbeing, intermezzo'.[50] This amounts to a

radical shift in architecture's primary focus away from the mono-modality of producing end products and towards the multi-modality of generating interactivities. As any architectural construct is 'not a static object but a moving project, and that even once it has been built, it ages, it is transformed by its users, modified by all of what happens inside and outside', it is time to grasp and produce architecture 'as a navigation', as well as 'movement, as flight, as a series of transformations'; in other words, 'as a changing and criss-crossing trajectory' of new possibilities, 'of flip-flopping users' concerns and communities' appraisals'.[51] In fact, the radicalness of this shift is nothing but the simple inclusion of temporality into architecture, not as the stationary and eternal moment of *being*, but as the ever-changing and augmented present of *becoming*. Then, as Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar delicately puts it in his famous poem, architecture shall stand 'neither inside time / nor completely outside', yet shall reside 'in the indivisible flow / of an extensive, monolithic instant'.[52]

Open-Architecture is the embodiment of a monstrous alliance between the multitude and anomalous architects. Contrary to problematic traits of the conventional architectural profession, such as exclusionary authority, regulatory expertise and an atemporal conception of space, open-architecture features *horizontal collectivity* through participatory frameworks, *differential performativity* through modifiable spatial codes, and *dynamic temporality* through process-driven operational modes. *Horizontal collectivity* indicates the incorporation of a bottom-up cooperative model for decision-making and experimentation processes. In Spinozist ethics, the ability of a body to act (*potentia*) is not to be utilised as an egocentric power to coerce, dominate or subdue others, but rather to persevere, realise and empower oneself by constructing 'a world that not only reflects but furthers the value of others' lives'.[53] Accordingly, open-architecture weaves a reciprocal relationship among spatial actors and

capacitates the multitude to channel their spatial desires in a twofold way: first, for their individual bodies, and second, for the general conatus: the common. *Differential performativity* designates the opening of spatial compositions to a myriad of possibilities that are to be performed by the multitude through the constant modification and diversification of open-architectures themselves. While architectural constructs conventionally 'allow their designers to determine the meaning and expectations of others', and deny the same capability to those who use them, open-architecture overthrows this frigid confinement in order to 'give each person who uses them the greatest opportunity to enrich the environment with the fruits of his or her vision'.[54] Finally, *dynamic temporality* denotes the affirmation of process-oriented and kinetic experiences, amplified by the constant displacement of relationality and context. However, open-architecture is not limited to external displacements, it is rather 'always displaced in relation to itself'.[55] That is, it is not another Cartesian monument based on the twin fantasies of frozen spatiality and crystallised limits, but a mercurial construct that harbours spontaneous performances and aleatory situations.

Monstrous alliances between anomalous figures and the multitude have a history of expressing assemblages in constant revolt, creating generative ruptures and pursuing new openings in a number of different fields. During the 1980s, when 'free and open-source software' was established in the form of open computer programmes with shared, modifiable and re-distributable characteristics, the latter were at first presumed to be applications of self-inflicted piracy. Instead, they have since become an ever-expanding experimentation in *open-programme development*, and an invitation to computer users to fill in the coding gaps with their own contributions.[56] When Robert Rauschenberg's 'White Paintings' were exhibited as uninflected white canvases in Eleanor Ward's Stable Gallery in 1951, they were at first presumed to scandalously express

nothing but blank frames. Instead, they were a provocative experimentation in *open-painting*, and an invitation to viewers to fill in the visual gaps with their own shadows.[57] When John Cage's 4'33'' was first performed in 1952 by pianist David Tudor sitting silently and playing nothing for four minutes and thirty-three seconds at Woodstock, New York, it was presumed to express nothing but nihilistic silence. It was instead a down-to-earth experimentation in *open-music* and an invitation to the audience to fill in the audial gaps with their everyday noises.[58] When in 1938 Antonin Artaud's 'Theatre of Cruelty' first theorised the abolition of the stage and the auditorium, replacing them with 'a single site, without partition or barrier of any kind', it was presumed to express nothing but its theorist's delusional madness. Instead, it was a carnivalesque experimentation in *open-theatre* and an invitation to spectators to fill in the performative gaps with their own actions.[59] When Cedric Price and Joan Littlewood's 'Fun Palace' was first conceived in 1960 as a huge ephemeral structure without any predetermined programme or fixed spatial configuration, it was thought to express nothing but the fantasy of a technocratic hippie-town on crack. Instead, it was a playful experiment in *open-architecture* and an invitation to spatial actors to fill in the programmatic gaps with their spatial desires and collective activities.[60] Rather than elaborating and augmenting these examples, however, I prefer to conclude this essay by sketching out my own humble attempt at becoming an anomalous architect through a recent experiment in open-architecture, namely the *Open-Cube*.

Open-Cube

Open-Cube was an experiment in open-architecture that took place in Antalya, Turkey, during September 2013, under the ongoing impact of the Gezi Event.[61] The project was conducted to challenge the problematic tenets of contemporary architecture, such as exclusionary authority, regulatory expertise and the atemporal conception of space, despite

certain external limitations.[62] The Open-Cube experiment consisted of a group of mobile cubic structures that hijacked and occupied several spots of Antalya's urban fabric, including the urban square of Karaalioğlu Park and the historical entryway of Hadrian's Gate. Technically, the open-cubes were 2.5m x 2.5m x 2.5m constructions, made inhabitable by the removal of their front and rear faces, and rendered mobile by the addition of four little wheels under their base. On a warm September morning, they were released in Antalya's urban matrix without any prior explanation and without any specific function, as an invitation to everyday spatial actors to fill in the experiential gaps with their own performances, according to their varying needs and desires. [fig. 3] During the first week of the experiment, spatial actors sought out the potential uses of open-cubes. White-collar workers read their newspapers inside them; an old lady prayed in tranquillity after she oriented her cube towards the Mediterranean Sea; two students with their laptops spent a whole afternoon inside, sheltering from the sun, and a homeless man spent two nights sleeping under one of the roofs.

Rather than focusing on form making, structural engineering and material tailoring, open-cubes advocated *horizontal collectivity, differential performativity* and *dynamic temporality*. To begin from the perspective of horizontal collectivity, open-cubes were *agentive power-allocating* machines. Everyday, spatial actors became vectors of de-appropriation by getting rid of a set of previously imposed disciplinary measures that anaesthetised, if not blocked, their poietic capability of spatial interaction. Within an open-source architectural fabric, spatial actors were presented with catalysing ruptures in order to acquire a new role of continually unearthing mercurial spatial possibilities and ever-changing experiential trajectories, *for* and *by* themselves. They disregarded vertical organisational models and instead presented a horizontally rhizomatic system, which encouraged, if not empowered, subordinated

Fig. 3:   Open-cubes waiting to be activated in Karaalioğlu Park, Antalya. © Author

spatial actors to occupy, displace and programme these structures with their spontaneous performances. From a Spinozist perspective, open-cubes increased the degree of power of spatial actors to act and explore their potentials with and through these constructs. During the second week of the experiment, spatial actors got used to the cubes' mutability. A nervous couple, after moving their open-cube to a relatively less visible spot, kissed each other for a few seconds, probably for the first time, a brownish-coloured street dog sneaked in and lay down in one of the cubes before being thrown out by two kids, and a multitude of protestors converted open-cubes into micro-quarters of civil disobedience by painting them colourfully in support of the Gezi Event, until the municipal police arrived and repainted them white. Open-cubes, to sum up, potentiated everyday users to become creative co-developers of their own spatial experiences.

From the perspective of differential performativity, open-cubes were *open-source programme-distributing* machines. They provided everyday users with the possibility to alter their programmatic source codes through their collective impetus. Contrary to predetermined functions and fixed contents that consciously restrain user-defined spatial activities, the initial volumetric bodies of open-cubes were intentionally left blank to allow their users to inject their own ephemeral activities and decide on their own programmatic palette. Thus, the initial negation of fixed content in open-cubes was an affirmative negation, in that their active resistance to hegemonic constructs of inherent meanings exposed them to the possibility of infinite manipulations and interpretations. They became producers of events rather than functions, and generators of change rather than fixed circumstances. The combination of open-cubes and a multitude of vibrant spatial actors transformed Antalya's selected spatial niches into non-alienating playgrounds, and rendered them performative laboratories of the streets. During the third week of the experiment, spatial actors started

'utilising' open-cubes. One of them was appropriated by a hawker to sell flowers, another was dismantled, probably to be sold as second-hand construction materials, a third was transformed by street musicians into a mobile stage and, according to the direction of the urban flow, moved to different spots of the park until the performers had collected enough money for a few more bottles of wine. Open-cubes, in brief, supported everyday users in establishing their own programmatic needs and desires.

From the perspective of dynamic temporality, open-cubes were *process-based experience-crafting* machines. They challenged the prevalent belief that architecture is and needs to be atemporal and bound to a fixed location; instead they promoted mercurial experiences through mobile dislocation. Although spatial actors acquired the capability to move these structures wherever they deemed more suitable for their planned activities, this was not solely a process of trading one fixed location for another. That is, the displacement and mobility of open-cubes provided spatial actors with the possibility of experiencing space through temporal fluidity and perceptual interactivity. Accordingly, open-cubes reinvented their own context every time their spatiotemporal relation to their surrounding environmental dynamics was changed. They radiated different possibilities when utilised alone, when combined to form larger assemblages, when they were utilised at congested urban squares, when pushed into less crowded recreational landscapes, when operated as mobile containers, or when used as temporarily settled structures. During the final week of the experiment, open-cubes gained public acceptance and became accustomed components of Antalya's urban milieu. Neighbourhood kids had fun becoming pirates and smugglers while pushing and pulling open-cubes around, skate-rollers and skateboarders invented new tricks using open-cubes as their new, non-sentient companions, and an open-cube was even loaded on a van and carried

Fig. 4:   Open-cubes activated in a variety of different ways by their spatial actors. © Author

away, probably to be attached to another building at the periphery of the city as an eclectic expansion module. Open-cubes, in short, invited everyday users to experience architecture as events and situations. [fig. 4]

For a month in Antalya, open-cubes gave their users the possibility to choose, develop and alter their spatial environment on their own, and proved how differential combinations of spatial experiences can create ever-expanding potentials by discarding many preconceived limitations and exclusions. As a non-linear system, they introduced 'participatory open-ended situations' to attain the ability to 'change in indeterminate ways over time, continually manifesting new properties'.[63] In the end, the open-cube experiment intermeshed the combined activities and performances of all the participating spatial actors and environmental actants, the fluidity of time and durations, the multidimensionality of material and immaterial relations, the alterability of locations and contexts, the diversity of desires and affects, the unpredictability of spontaneous events and happenings, and the differentiality of ever-changing combinations, conflicts, and hybridisations.

At the end of his magnum opus *Towards a New Architecture*, one of the most influential books on modern architecture that, for many, still maintains its hypnotising power, Le Corbusier provided a choice: 'Architecture or Revolution'. Insofar as architecture is utilised, if networks of authority are employed as a regulatory apparatus to discipline and order the masses, 'Revolution can be avoided.'[64] However, I prefer to end this essay, not with a conservative rhetorical choice, but with the radical possibility of a monstrous alliance.

Architecture *and* Revolution.

Revolution can be incorporated.

Notes

1. For De Certeau, the historian similarly lacks power, but is always around it: Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 6-11.

2. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), p. 43.

3. Networks are spatiotemporal assemblages with no fixed boundaries or static memberships. Clients and architects may become parts of networks of performance when they experience architecture commissioned and designed by others. Privileged users may become simultaneously a part of networks of authority and performance if they commission themselves private residences, etc.

4. The argument about the hegemonic position of networks of authority within the contemporary built environment is an attempt to marry Marxist and Gramscian theories of power with those of Foucault and Deleuze by designating different degrees of power to allow hegemonic relations, while at the same time offering the possibility to relations and components of all networks to be hybrid (consisting of interpenetrating subjects, discourses and apparatuses), contingent (specific to spatiotemporal contexts), evolving (adapting and transforming), and fluctuant (overlapping and shifting in-between networks) under particular conditions.

5. Bataille suggests a path towards 'bestial monstrosity' as a 'way of escaping the architectural straitjacket': Georges Bataille, 'Critical Dictionary', *October,* 60 (Spring, 1992), p. 25.

6. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 26.

7. Badiou similarly defines the proletariat as 'inexistent': Alain Badiou, *The Rebirth of History: Times of Riots and Uprisings* (New York: Verso, 2012), p. 67.

8. See Marx's four types of alienation (*Entfremdung*) of workers under capitalism: Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 and the Communist Manifesto* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1988), pp. 69-85.

9. Attempts in community-based planning and design may be deemed as exceptions; however, they also

suffer from their internal bureaucratic shortcomings, such as the problem of 'pseudo-participation', which, for Pateman, 'covers techniques used to persuade employees to accept decisions that have already been made'. Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 68.

10. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 57.

11. Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004); *Commonwealth* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap of Harvard University Press, 2009); Paolo Virno, *A Grammar of the Multitude* (New York: Semiotext(e), 2004), and Etienne Balibar, *Spinoza and Politics* (London: Verso, 2008). For a wider philosophical perspective: Gilles Deleuze, *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1988), and Gilles Deleuze, *Expressionism in Philosophy: Spinoza* (New York: Zone Books, 1990).

12. See especially chapters 1-5 and 11: Baruch Spinoza, 'Political Treatise', in *Spinoza: Complete Works*, ed. by Michael Morgan (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2002), pp. 52-54, 680-700.

13. Deleuze indicates that we live in free-flowing orbital spaces but under ultra-rapid forms of control: Gilles Deleuze, 'Postscript on the Societies of Control', *L'Autre journal*, 1 (May 1990), pp. 3-7.

14. Rem Koolhaas, 'Junkspace', *October*, 100 (Spring 2002), p. 184.

15. Gentrification is directly linked to 'the economic polarization of the population', in which 'the poor are continuously under pressure of displacement' by the wealthy. Peter Marcuse, 'Gentrification, Abandonment, and Displacement: Connections, Causes, and Policy Responses in New York City', *Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law*, 28 (1985), p. 196.

16. 'Mass production of slums' is the flip side of unmitigated capitalist exploitation. Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 1-19.

17. I analysed the problematic relationship between architecture and ecology more comprehensively here: Gökhan Kodalak, 'Güncel Mimarlık Sorunsalları: Ekoloji', *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 249 (October 2011), pp. 87-97.

18. Sennett regards gated communities as the celebration of 'the middle-class ghetto'. Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), p. 295.

19. Sorkin notes that the aura of theme-parkification 'is all-pervasive', and asks today, 'who doesn't live in Disney World?' Michael Sorkin, 'See You in Disneyland', in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. by Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999), pp. 205-32.

20. Henri Lefebvre, 'The Right to the City', in *Writing on Cities*, ed. by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), pp. 147-60.

21. David Harvey, 'The Right to the City', *New Left Review*, 53 (2008), p. 23.

22. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. xi-xxiv.

23. Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in *Image Music Text* (London: Fontana Press, 1977), pp. 142-9.

24. Walter Benjamin, 'The Author as Producer', *New Left Review*, I (1970), p. 87.

25. De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, pp. 105-6.

26. The multitude's constructive process consists of 'an association of free men, working with the means of production held in common, and expending their many different forms of labour-power', transparent 'in production as well as in distribution'. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Volume One, (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), pp. 171-2.

27. For Boal, 'Theater is action […] a rehearsal of revolution!' Augusto Boal, 'Theatre of the Oppressed', in *The New Media Reader*, ed. by Noah Wardrip-Fruin and Nick Montfort (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003), pp. 339-53.

28. Negri and Hardt, *Multitude*, p. xiv.

29. I use the term 'Event' in a similar way to Alain Badiou's definition: a rupture from which something new, in the broadest sense, emerges. Alain Badiou, *Being and Event* (New York: Continuum, 2005), pp. xi-20.

30. More than three million people throughout Turkey actively participated in the Gezi Event. Over 5,000

were arrested, more than 8,000 were injured, and tragically, 8 lost their lives. Amnesty International, *Gezi Park Protests*, (London: Amnesty International, 2013).

31. I analysed the Gezi Event more comprehensively in: Gökhan Kodalak, 'Gezi Ve Yeni Çevre Tahayülleri', in *Direnişi Düşünmek: 2013 Taksim Gezi Olayları*, ed. by Volkan Çelebi and Ahmet Soysal (İstanbul: MonoKL, 2013), pp. 119-37.

32. Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (California: University of California Press, 1993).

33. *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henry Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951)* ed. by Cana Bilsel and Pierre Pinon (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010).

34. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (London: University of Washington Press, 2001).

35. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 59.

36. Hakim Bey, *T.A.Z.: The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (New York: Autonomedia, 1991), p. 41.

37. My theory of the anomalous architect is based on Deleuze and Guattari's anomalous figure. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), pp. 232-52.

38. Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), p. 67.

39. Deleuze and Guattari identify Josephine as an anomalous figure par excellence whereas Jameson and Žižek interpret her story from a communist perspective: Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 243; Fredric Jameson, *The Seeds of Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 125; Slavoj Žižek, *Living in the End Times* (London: Verso, 2010), pp. 366-71.

40. Franz Kafka, 'Josephine the Singer, or the Mouse Folk', in *Selected Short Stories of Franz Kafka* (New York: Random House, 1993), pp. 305-28.

41. Foucault critiques the elitist role of the intellectual and theorises a horizontal reformulation in a similar fashion. Michel Foucault, 'Truth and Power', in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), pp. 51-76.

42. Spiro Kostoff, ed., *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. v-viii.

43. Jacques Lacan, *Le Séminaire, Livre IV, La Relation D'objet, 1956-57* (Paris: Seuil, 1991), p. 219.

44. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 94.

45. Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2009), p. 167.

46. Jeffrey T. Schnapp, 'The Face of the Modern Architect', *Greyroom*, 33 (2008), p. 7.

47. *Occupying Architecture: Between the Architect and the User,* ed. by Jonathan Hill (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 5-7.

48. Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, 16 (1986), pp. 22-7.

49. Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonism* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), p. 49.

50. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 25, 51. Bruno Latour and Albena Yaneva, 'Give Me a Gun and I Will Make All Buildings Move: An ANT's View of Architecture', in *Explorations in Architecture: Teaching, Design, Research*, ed. by Reto Geiser (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2008), pp. 80-9.

52. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Bütün Şiirleri* (İstanbul: Dergah, 1976), p. 19.

53. Spinoza's propositions 18, 35, 36 and 37 in Part IV, and Butler's collectivist interpretation. Baruch Spinoza, *Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 330-9. Judith Butler, 'The Desire to Live: Spinoza's Ethics under Pressure', in *Politics and the Passions, 1500-1850*, ed. by Victoria Kahn, Neil Saccamano and Daniela Coli (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 111-30.

54. Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality* (Glasgow: Fontana Collins, 1975), pp. 23-59.

55. Gilles Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense* (London: The Athlone Press, 1990), p. 228.

56. Richard Stallman, 'Why Software Should Not Have Owners', in *Free Software, Free Society*, ed. by Joshua Gay (Boston: GNU Press, 2002), pp. 47-53.

57. John Cage, 'Robert Rauschenberg', in *John Cage*, ed. by Richard Kostelanetz (London: The Penguin Press, 1974), pp. 111-2.

58. Cage proclaimed that 4'33'' was not about silence but rather about 'accidental sounds'. John Cage, *Conversing with Cage* (New York: Limelight, 1988), pp. 69-70.

59. Antonin Artaud, *The Theater and Its Double* (New York: Grove Press, 1994), pp. 12-13.

60. The Fun Palace was developed not only to anticipate but also to harbour change itself. Cedric Price and Joan Littlewood, 'The Fun Palace', *The Drama Review: TDR*, 12 (1968), 130.

61. Open-Cube was designed by ABOUTBLANK, my inter-disciplinary architecture office in Istanbul, and sponsored by the 2nd Antalya Architecture Biennial.

62. Limitations included an extremely low budget and a short amount of time (only one month for the project's conception, design and construction), which meant we were unable to invite local spatial actors to participate in processes of production, or to problematise the inflexible roles of architectural 'form' and 'structure'.

63. For system-oriented architectures, see Sanford Kwinter, 'Soft Systems', in *Culture Lab*, ed. by Brian Boigon (New Jersey: Princeton Architecture Press, 1993), pp. 207-28; Reyner Banham, 'Softer Hardware', *Ark,* 44 (Summer 1969), pp. 2-11.

64. Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Dover, 1986), p. 289.

Biography

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Open-Source Urbanism:
Creating, Multiplying and Managing Urban Commons

Karin Bradley

Introduction

In the current era of corporate-led urban development and the commercialisation of public space, critical architects, urbanists and citizen groups are exploring resistance strategies and ways to democratise the city. Within these groups there is marked interest in creating and safeguarding *urban commons* – spaces not primarily defined by their formal ownership but by how citizens use them. This may be manifested in the customary use of open fields as commons, despite these being formally owned by private entities, royal families, the military, etc., or by appropriating privately owned or abandoned spaces as commons and using them as urban gardens, sites for play and experimentation, etc.[1] One can, moreover, note a resurgence of do-it-yourself (DIY) tactics, in which groups of citizens and architects/designers/activists appropriate and transform private or public space into temporary urban commons.[2] For example, the US pavilion at the 2012 Venice Architecture Biennale dealt with such DIY tactics and presented examples of more than a hundred 'self-initiated urban improvements', such as guerrilla bike lanes, DIY roundabouts, de-paving actions, weed bombing, and apps for crowd-sourced city planning.

These urban interventions have been initiated by, among others, citizen groups, activists, artists, architects, designers and planners. Within this 'DIY urbanism', the creation of open space is regarded as a task not only for educated architects or urban planners but also for citizens and larger collectives.

This development taps into Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till's argument that the potential of critical architects lies in their capacity to be 'agents of progressive politics' in collaboration with others, rather than in their status as individual authors of buildings.[3]

The spread of DIY urbanism is occurring in tandem with the contemporary economic crisis and the rolling-back of public responsibility for funding and managing infrastructure, parks and public spaces in the USA and Europe. Critics may argue that this low budget, do-it-yourself-urbanism unintentionally legitimises public withdrawal. Maroš Krivý and Tahl Kaminer argue that contemporary participatory architectural practices and platforms tend to have difficulties combating social inequality, sometimes even reinforcing it, and are part of a wider 'anti-statism'.[4] A similar criticism is that self-initiated temporary urban commons, despite being instigated with the intention of promoting social mixing, have often come to be used in city marketing strategies, contributing to rising property values.[5] This has been a heated debate, particularly in cities such as Berlin where strategies for self-initiated temporary urban use and participatory urbanism have a long tradition.[6]

These criticisms are indeed relevant since individual urban commons do have difficulties in challenging the wider dynamics of corporate-led urban development and capital accumulation. However, this paper argues for a more hopeful

perspective regarding the potential of urban commoning in contributing to a more equitable society. In this paper, I will argue that the production of urban commons can be understood as part of a larger movement of open-source 'commons-based peer production'; i.e., a form of production geared towards a more equitable distribution of power, knowledge and the means of production. Open-source modes of production are not only in use by hackers and civil society groups, but also by public authorities, as I will illustrate in this paper. Hence, urban commons, and, more precisely, groups that operate using open-source tactics, should not necessarily be interpreted as expressions of 'anti-statism' but rather as methods beneficial and useful to public authorities as well.

Two cases of spatial practice are examined here to illustrate the argument: the urban commons initiated by Atelier d'architecture autogérée (aaa) in Paris, and the Park(ing) Day movement initiated by the San Francisco-based group Rebar. In the analysis, I will outline a set of characteristics of open-source urban commons and argue that the abovementioned spatial practices can be seen to exemplify these characteristics in that their initiators use the same tactics as do open-source program-mers: constructing practice manuals to be freely copied, used, developed in peer-to-peer relation-ships and shared by everyone, the results of which are not private entities but self-managed commons.

Other groups, such as Collectif Exyzt, Raumlabor, StudioBasar, Pulska Grupa, Stalker, and Stealth.Unlimited, work in a similar vein, also producing forms of urban commons, but not neces-sarily using open-source tactics. Rebar and aaa have themselves written about and theorised their work, at times referring to open-source tactics. In this paper, however, their practices are placed in the context of a broader theoretical argument about the potential and limitations of open-source urban commons. The material used is drawn from

the manifestos, writings and lectures of Rebar and aaa.[7] The theoretical framework builds upon Elinor Ostrom's analysis of self-governing natural resource commons, Yochai Benkler's notion of 'commons-based peer production' in the digital sphere, and writings on open-source culture.[8]

The tradition of creating and struggling for commons is not new, though it is currently being reinvented and facilitated by the spread of digital technologies. Drawing on Benkler's assertion that open-source, commons-based production consti-tutes a 'third mode of production' beyond capitalism, socialism, and their blends, I will argue that open-source urbanism embodies a critique of both government and privately led urban development and is advancing a form of post-capitalist urban development that may, however, be supported by the public sector.[9] In the final sections of the paper, I will discuss critical questions arising from these urban commoning practices regarding who benefits from them, their endurance, institutionalisation, and potential reach in terms of structural change.

From natural resource commons to urban commons
The commons traditionally referred to are natural resource commons, such as pastures, fishing waters and forests, on which the local populace relies for their subsistence and therefore needs to manage wisely. Well known, however, is 'the tragedy of the commons'; i.e., seas overfished and lands overgrazed and deforested, as theorised by Hardin, who outlined two responses to the problem: privatisation or state control.[10] Ostrom turned the question around by asking what characteristics are found in societies that have managed to sustain their common resources.[11] It was revealed that neither private nor state-owned entities were the answer; rather, it was local, self-organised forms of governing, or small units nested in multiple layers. Drawing on her case studies worldwide, Ostrom outlined a set of institutional design principles for

securing a lasting governing of commons. These include: clearly defined resources and users; congruence between appropriation, provision rules, and local conditions; collective rules constructed by the constituent units regarding production, use, and control mechanisms, and simple systems for conflict resolution.[12] Such regimes of decentralised, self-governing units organised around common local resources have been and are prevalent world-wide in indigenous cultures, cooperatives, and eco-villages.

In the 1990s and 2000s, corporate-led globali-sation sparked heated debate over the enclosure of commons. The privatisation of land, water resources, urban public spaces, and the patenting of local knowledge by global corporations were often criticised.[13] Struggles over these globalisation-related enclosures are similar in many ways to those over the enclosures of commons in pre- and early capitalist societies.[14] Traditionally, the commons struggles, like Ostrom's analysis, focused on phys-ical resources, typically *rural* land and resources. In recent years, however, the commons discourse has expanded to include *urban* commons – public spaces, urban community gardens and commons-based housing.[15] Writers and activists Chris Carlsson and Jay Walljasper describe the contemporary commons movement as including the promotion of public space and resources; for example, through reclaim-the-city actions, 'critical mass' bicycle rides, community gardening, open-source programming, and subsistence systems outside the money-based economy.[16]

It is also in terms of the commons, including all that is necessary for social production, language, and knowledge, that Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri outline a new post-capitalist global world order.[17] They claim that in the current urban era, 'the city is to the multitude what the factory was to the industrial class'.[18] In a comparative reading of Hardt and Negri and Edward Soja's *Seeking Spatial*

Justice, Paul Chatterton argues that coupling the notion of urban commons with struggles for spatial justice is productive in the struggle for alternatives beyond capitalism:

> Bringing the idea of the common into play with a spatial justice perspective, then, allows us to sharpen our analysis of the task at hand – the decoupling of life in the contemporary city, the state and forms of governance from the reproduction of the logic of capital and capitalist work, and in its place a radical commonization of the production of urban space and everyday life in the city.[19]

Digital commons and the open-source movement

The contemporary commons movement, however, concerns not only rural and urban commons but also *digital commons*. In the struggles over digital commons, or the open-source movement, it is argued that information and non-rival goods should be available for anyone to use and redistribute.[20] This opens up the potential not only to copy and share, but also to collaborate and develop new common resources. In free open-source computer programmes, the code is transparent, enabling not only the programme's initiator to develop and use it but also others to use, modify and refine it, returning the derived work to the open common pool. Key proponents of the open-source movement, Eric Raymond and Richard Stallman, have outlined what is referred to as 'hacker ethics'; i.e., infor-mation sharing, tools for problem solving, and an overall philosophy of openness, distributed power and cooperation for the common good.[21] A central aim is to democratise access to information and the means of knowledge production, thereby critiquing proprietary capitalist production, corporate control of knowledge and tools for innovation.

Instead of copyrights and patents, people espousing the open-source philosophy use other forms of licences, such as the General Public

Licence or Creative Commons Licence, enabling creators to register work so that anyone can legally copy, develop and share it for non-commercial purposes.[22] Benkler has theorised these contemporary forms of open-source production and termed them 'commons-based peer production'.[23] According to Benkler, this form of production differs from property- and contract-based models, whether these are market-based, planned socialist production, or any of their blends.[24] Drawing on Benkler and peer production theorist Christian Siefkes, one can summarise commons-based peer production by the fact that it is: (a) based on contributions rather than the notion of equivalent exchange; (b) motivated by fulfilling needs, innovating, or a desire to work together rather than profit; (c) conducted by peers in non-hierarchical networks, sometimes requiring reciprocal contributions and sometimes not; and (d) based on an ethic of sharing and common ownership rather than competition and private property.[25] Furthermore, the intention of the peer economy is to work together to fulfil needs and desires *directly* rather than to earn money that is *then* used to fulfil needs. Siefkes argues:

> Peer production cuts out the middle layer – the need to sell so you can buy. This change goes very deep, since in capitalism the apparently harmless middle layer (the need to make money) takes over and becomes the primary goal of production, shifting the original goal (fulfilling people's needs and desires) into the background.[26]

To Benkler, this form of production emerging in the digital world enables a shift from a hierarchical mass-mediated public sphere – where central governments and/or large corporations are in control – to a participatory, networked information world.[27] He writes:

> Some of the time that used to be devoted to the passive reception of standardized finished goods through a television is now reoriented towards communicating

and *making* together with others, in both tightly and loosely knit social relations.[28]

This indeed applies to contemporary media content produced by the blogging, tweeting, and sharing of news, analysis and stories, and also potentially to the co-production of content in the physical realm.

Commons-based peer production in the physical realm

Benkler argues that commons-based peer production is the beginning of a larger societal transformation, shifting away from twentieth-century industrial and proprietary forms of production, capitalism, planned socialist economies and their hybrids. He furthermore argues that peer economies based on open access to information and tools for innovation, together with low-cost technology, can generate commons-based innovation, not only in the fields of social media and non-rival digital goods (endlessly reproducible) but also of rival goods such as food, clothes, equipment and other products.[29] Carlsson, Siefkes and Walljasper have described contemporary peer production in the provision of food, energy and transportation, thus forming embryos of commons-based economies.[30] As David Bollier has noted, natural resource commons and digital commons are often treated in different scientific fields and social fora and are seldom analysed together.[31] Their rationales and ethics are nonetheless similar, and the two fields are often linked in the everyday practice of producing commons and struggling against enclosure. The concept of commons-based peer production has hitherto rarely been applied to urban space, although Benkler's arguments could indeed be extended to urban space, which, as I will illustrate here, can be peer produced using open-source tactics. The outcome is spatial commons that are both collaboratively designed to fulfil needs and desires rather than to produce profits, and self-managed by their users rather than owned by private or public entities. A few writings do treat open-source architecture and

urbanism – Saskia Sassen, for example, has argued that open-source technology could be increasingly used in urban planning.[32] Philipp Misselwitz, Philipp Oswalt and Klaus Overmeyer have jointly argued that urban planners ought to learn from open-source programmers.[33] Mark Wigley has furthermore noted that open-source modes of working are influencing the role of the architect, and the architect Alastair Parvin has developed an open-source construction set called 'WikiHouse' with the aim 'to allow anyone to design, download, and "print" CNC-milled houses and components, which can be assembled with minimal formal skills or training'.[34]

One can note that the open-source movement's ethics and practices of sharing information and pooling resources to solve common problems are 'breaking out' of the digital realm and into the physical world, not only in urbanism but also in schemes for sharing goods and space.[35] A study of the sharing economy has demonstrated that online sharing facilitates offline sharing; furthermore, practices of co-producing and sharing physical resources may very well contribute to the ethics of digital sharing.[36] In this way, the digital commons movement and struggles over physical urban commons can strengthen each other. As has been suggested by Karin Bradley and Chris Carlsson, the open-source ethic, the critique of corporate domination, and the environmentalist ethic are coming together in what can be called a 'do-it-yourself' or 'maker culture', characterised by doing things oneself and/or collectively, such as growing food, building bikes, self-organising work, or creating urban commons in terms of open space or common pool resources. Today this ethic may be practised only by the few, but nevertheless it mirrors a desire to move away from mass-consumerist corporate society.[37]

Case 1: The parklet as a new form of urban commons

In 2005, the urban design-art-activist group Rebar decided to transform a parking lot in San Francisco into a small temporary park – this in a city and district where the vast majority of open space is dedicated to motorised vehicles. They paid the parking fee, put out green grass, a tree providing shade, a park bench, and a sign saying 'Park open'. They then observed from a distance how this space was used over the course of a few hours. People sat down on the bench, read a paper or rested, and then moved on. When the temporary lease of the space ended, they removed the park equipment. Rebar documented the experiment, which they called 'park(ing)', and posted a photo and some explanatory text on their website.[38] The story and image went viral on the Internet, spurring massive interest from others. Blaine Merker, landscape architect and co-founder of Rebar, describes the process:

> Without much explanation, other groups disposed to guerrilla intervention quickly grasped the basic tactic. Still, the amount of interest Rebar received warranted some codification of the idea, so we posted a short 'how-to' manual on our website to help others get started. The essence of the tactic was to legally claim a parking space using materials that were symbolically associated with parks: trees, lawn, and a bench. Rebar treated the idea itself as open source and applied a Creative Commons license: as long as it was not used for profit, we encouraged people to replicate and reinterpret it.[39]

The park(ing) practice spread, and people sent their stories and images back to Rebar. In 2006 Rebar initiated a coordinated Park(ing) Day, encouraging groups in various cities around the world to take part, which they did in forty-seven cities. Merker explains why Park(ing) Day became so widespread: 'The event effectively operated within an undervalued niche space and successfully exploited a legal loophole – a tactic at once radical but superficially unthreatening to the system of spatial commodification it critiqued.'[40]

Since 2006, a worldwide Park(ing) Day has

been organised on the third Friday of September every year. [fig. 1] In 2011, Park(ing) Day interventions were reported in 162 cities in thirty-five countries – from Taipei to Johannesburg and Tehran – and the temporary micro-parks were filled with varied content: dinner parties, dog parks, Ping-Pong matches, chess games, urban micro farms, free health clinics, political seminars, free bike repair workshops, etc..[41] [fig. 2] Rebar point out that they simply provided a framework that different communities can fill with varying content, depending on what local groups consider is needed: spaces in which to socialise, play, rest, organise, or to pose questions in order to draw attention to issues such as workers' rights, local elections, health care or equality in marriage.[42] Merker further explains the rapid spread of Park(ing) Day by noting that it utilises humour and guerrilla tactics, yet is at the same time generally legal: you simply lease the street space, but instead of parking a private car, some form of social commons is set up there.[43] In many cities this appears to be legal, whereas in others the only activity allowed in these spaces is parking vehicles. Irrespective of legality, Park(ing) Day illustrates what these vast, single-purpose open spaces *could be*. As the Rebar website explains:

> In addition to being a quite a bit of fun, Park(ing) Day has effectively re-valued the metered parking space as an important part of the commons – a site for generosity, cultural expression, socializing and play. And although the project is temporary, we hope Park(ing) Day inspires you to participate in the civic processes that permanently alter the urban landscape.[44]

Rebar have continued to coordinate and inform about Park(ing) Day, refining the manual and providing a website where users can share experiences, tips, and images, find locals with whom to collaborate, and place descriptions and pins on a Google map, forming a 'DIY planning network'.[45] Rebar have also formulated a Park(ing) Day Licence under the Creative Commons template,

allowing anyone to use the concept and call the event Park(ing) Day. The licence 'is designed to limit the commercial exploitation of the event, and keep participation focused on the principles of community service, creativity, experimentation, generosity and play'.[46] In their manifesto, Rebar describe their ethos: 'We "give away" our work (that is, set up situations for people to use and enjoy, or to fulfil an unmet need).'[47]

The many practical examples of how parking spaces can be transformed into small neighbourhood parks have come to influence institutionalised public planning in cities such as San Francisco, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Vancouver. The acting manager of the City Design Group in the San Francisco Planning Department has described how the city, in response to Rebar's initiative and the spread of Park(ing) Day, established planning procedures for creating so-called *parklets*; i.e., on-street parking converted into micro-parks that are open to anyone, permanent but at the same time removable.[48] Just as Rebar used an open-source logic to share knowledge with other citizens/activists/designers, the San Francisco Planning Department has compiled a *Parklet Manual* illustrating the goals, policies, procedures and guidelines for creating parklets, in this way sharing its parklet planning procedures with other cities and authorities.[49] [fig. 3]

By 2013, around forty parklets had been created in the city of San Francisco and forty new ones were underway.[50] [fig. 4] The parklet has become a new urban typology – a micro urban commons that can be initiated, constructed and managed by citizen groups or by private or public organisations, though on the condition that it is open to anyone and reserved for non-commercial activities.[51] The parklet should have a visible sign that says 'Public Parklet – all seating is open to the public.' Worth noting, however, is that it was socially well-organised urban areas that were the first to initiate parklets.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 1: Park(ing) Day poster. © Rebar
Fig. 2: Park(ing) Day in San José. Source: iomarch

Moreover, as the manager of the City Design Group at the San Francisco Planning Department self-critically noted, the parklet typology has become associated with latte-drinking white hipsters.[52] However the parklet has since been appropriated by less resource-rich communities, and loaded with other contents.[53]

Instead of opposing these guerrilla interventions, public officials at the San Francisco Planning Department regarded them as civic assets that could make the city more open and less car-oriented. The interventions also suited the city in the current situation of economic constraint in which public spending on parks and open space improvements was lacking.[54] In this way, Rebar's documentation and conscious use of open-source logic has not only generated a worldwide park(ing) movement but also influenced the institutionalised public planning practice.

In their manifesto, Rebar describe their work in terms of *tactical urbanism*, which they define as 'the use of modest or temporary revisions to urban space to seed structural environmental change'.[55] In this way, small and, at first glance, minor interventions are thought of as tactics, exploiting the gaps or cracks in the larger system in order to gradually change its deeper organising structures.

Case 2: The urban commons of aaa
Atelier d'architecture autogérée (aaa) is a collective platform working with spatial interventions. The founders, Doina Petrescu and Constantin Petcou, are both practising architects as well as researchers and educators.[56] Their work concerns how to activate underused spaces and encourage self-managed architecture, often in the form of mobile and reversible projects. They describe their work in terms of urban tactics and as micro-political actions to make the city more democratic and ecological.[57] Through working with self-managed architecture, they hope to promote 'new forms of association and

collaboration, based on exchange and reciprocity'.[58] In this way, their architecture is less concerned with products in terms of buildings or public spaces than with social and collaborative processes that shape common spaces.

In 2001, aaa initiated an urban garden on a large abandoned space in the area of La Chapelle in northern Paris, a culturally diverse, low-income neighbourhood in need of dedicated public spaces. The garden, known as ECObox, developed successfully, and a growing number of people joined in coproducing the space with activities such as gardening, cooking, playing, holding dance parties, fashion shows and cultural debates. [fig. 5] aaa constructed a simple module of wooden pallets providing a frame to delineate a gardening plot, while the wide frames of the pallets in aggregate constituted a communal surface. They also made drawings and prototypes of other 'micro-urban devices' – a mobile kitchen, media module, beehive, mobile library, bench, etc. – all made of recycled material and easy to construct, move, and dismantle.[59] [fig. 6] This gave local residents an idea of what could be done on the site and of how they could easily construct these devices themselves. The garden turned out to be widely used by local residents, functioning like an outdoor living room and of significant importance for people living in small apartments.[60] It has been argued that what made the ECObox garden successful in terms of benefits for its users was the long-term, everyday presence and mundane, collaborative, practical work of aaa.[61]

After some years, the urban gardeners were evicted; however, the garden and the mobile devices could be dismantled and moved to another site. Many of the users successfully learned how to build the devices and also how to negotiate with the local authorities, so the first ECObox garden multiplied into several similar gardens, self-managed by their users. After some years, aaa left the project;
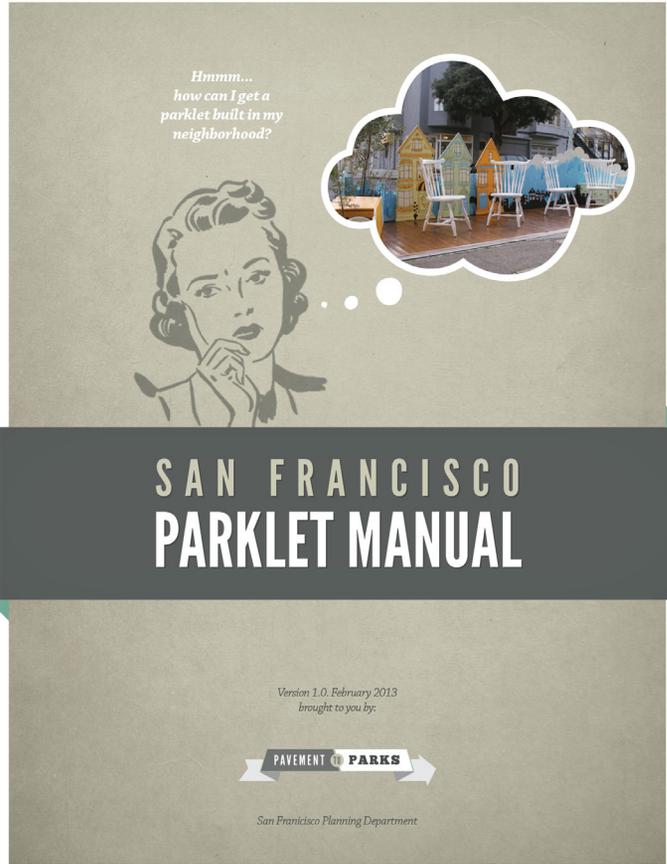
Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 3:   The cover of the San Francisco *Parklet Manual*. Source: San Francisco Planning Department
Fig. 4:   A more permanent parklet in San Francisco. Source: San Francisco Planning Department

however, the urban gardening and social organising skills had been passed on to many others who could continue to practise, spread, and develop these skills. aaa surveyed ECObox users regarding their motivation in participating, which ranged from cultivation, recreation and culture to political organising.[62] The surveys noted that some participants who had initially described their interests in terms of recreation or cultivation, after some years became more politically motivated, particularly when the garden faced eviction.[63]

Armed with experience from ECObox and other participatory projects, since 2011 aaa has been engaged in the long-term renewal of the suburban town of Colombes outside Paris. The project is called R-urban and is conducted in partnership with the city of Colombes and the art and architectural practice Public Works, in collaboration with local residents, students, researchers, and a cooperative and social bank. The project is constructing a set of resident-run facilities: an urban agriculture unit with community gardens, educational spaces, and devices for energy production, composting and rainwater recycling (AgroCité), [fig. 7] a recycling and construction unit for work on eco-construction and retrofitting (RecycLab), and EcoHab cooperative housing, partly self-built and incorporating experimental units and community spaces.[64] These facilities are described as examples of urban commons collectively managed and run by their users, encouraging more socially and ecologically resilient forms of production and consumption.[65] The facilities, processes and project as a whole are framed as a prototype that others can use, learn from, and develop.[66] The charter of the R-urban project, called 'R-Urban commons', states:

> Starting from our own experience, we propose a draft of possible principles, collective rules, frameworks and operational modes, which could, in a similar way to the Creative Commons rules, constitute an open source proposal for the planning and use of urban, suburban and rural space, according to the criteria of commons. This could evolve (through numerous exchanges) into a charter of commons for urban, suburban and rural areas.[67]

The intention is to collaboratively develop a charter and catalogue of urban commons with explanatory concepts as well as practical examples. For this purpose, a wiki has been set up with draft texts and instructions so that anyone can participate.[68] It is too early to assess and analyse the outcomes of the R-urban project, but its declared intention is to become a model and source of inspiration for the future retrofitting of post-war suburban areas in Europe and elsewhere.[69]

Characteristics of open-source urban commons

Based on the writings of Benkler, Siefkes and Stallman, I will outline below a set of characteristics of open-source or commons-based peer production and relate these to the practices of Rebar and aaa.

- *Based on contributions*. Commons-based peer production is based on contributions rather than the capitalist notion of equivalent exchange, usually in the form of payment. In the urban commons initiated by Rebar and aaa, people who can and want to, are able to contribute skills and time for building, developing prototypes, cultivating, communicating and documenting work on the wiki, etc. However, non-contributors can also use the urban commons, parklets or digital commons catalogues without a demand for a reciprocal contribution.

- *Transparent code*. The transparent code of open-source software is comparable to the spatial and procedural prototypes developed by Rebar and aaa – the parklet format, 'how-to' manuals or mobile devices – all of which can be accessed digitally, copied, used, and developed by others.

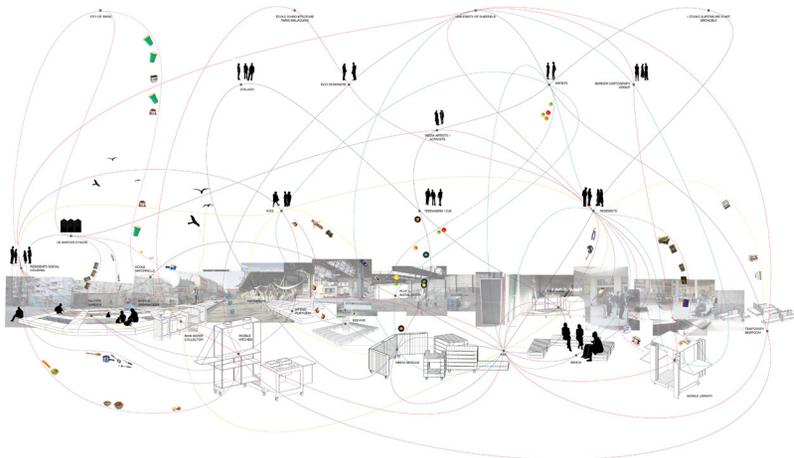- *Motivated by fulfilling needs or desires*. The work

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

AGROCITÉ

Fig. 7.

Fig. 5:   The ECObox garden in La Chapelle, Paris. © aaa
Fig. 6:   Actors, devices, and networks in the ECObox project. © aaa
Fig. 7:   AgroCité: the agro-cultural unit. © aaa

of Rebar and aaa, like that of many other critical practices, is not motivated by profit but by a desire to promote societal change and fulfil needs or desires. Rebar summarises their ethos in terms of 'inspir[ing] people to reimagine the environment and our place in it' and 'giving away' their work. In their writings, aaa explains that their aim is to promote social and ecological resilience, the self-management of urban spaces, and, by micro-political interventions, collaboratively transform larger societal structures.[70]

- *Conducted as peers*. Commons-based peer production is conducted by people working as peers rather than following commands in hierarchical structures. However, peer production also includes initiators and moderators who establish the rules of production, mediate innovation and feedback, and coordinate development and protocols. In the cited examples of urban commons, aaa and Rebar act as initiators and mediators, though they are not 'bosses' who demand and control the work of others; instead, they encourage others to collaborate and co-produce.

- *Based on an ethic of sharing*. Just as open-source computer code is transparent and treated as intellectual commons, the projects of aaa and Rebar are based on a desire to share and disseminate their practices. The outcomes are not artefacts of which the architects claim private ownership: yes, they are the official initiators, but the outcomes are treated as collective properties. In the case of Park(ing) Day, the concept is licensed under the Creative Commons to protect it from being commodified. In this way, the initiators can ensure that the use and development of the entity remains in the commons.

All of the above cases can be understood as examples of 'open-source production of urban commons'. Through using open-source tactics, critical spatial practices can go beyond being mere singular pieces of architecture situated in specific locales and become practices inspiring wider social movements

in which the spatial tactics and architectural prototypes can be copied, multiplied and developed by a multitude of users in different locales. This spatial tinkering and DIY culture may be perceived as threatening the authority and role of the architect or spatial professional.[71] However, this new ethos can also be regarded as encouraging spatial professionals to act in a wider sociopolitical space as 'agents of progressive politics' – as suggested by Schneider and Till.[72] In this role, the architectural knowledge of prototyping, using and coordinating multiple forms of knowledge comes into full use, though the process is increasingly collaborative and the outcome is democratised and 'owned' by many.

Concluding remarks on the societal impact of open-sourcing urban commons

Though the production of open-source urban commons may indeed have the potential to democratise urban development, critical questions need to be raised. How enduring are such urban commons? Who benefits from them? Who/what might be marginalised? And how far can these commoning practices reach in terms of transforming larger societal structures?

For commons to be enduring, Ostrom has pointed out that they need to be self-governed in the form of local entities or entities nested in layers, and that there need to be clear rules as to the resources included, who can use them and how. In the case of Rebar, the Creative Commons licence has been used to establish clear rules for Park(ing) Day. The San Francisco Planning Department's *Parklet Manual* functions in a similar way, defining what a parklet is, how it can be used and managed, and what happens if it is misused. aaa has perhaps not worked with such formal rules, but are suggesting that the R-urban approaches to creating urban commons should be set up as a Creative Commons. In line with Ostrom's principles of governing the commons, both Rebar and aaa actively work for the self-governing of the commons. An important factor

influencing the endurance of urban commons lies in how the various users appropriate these commons sites and skills, and hence develop a sense of collective ownership.

Krivý and Kaminer, however, critically note that contemporary participatory architectural practices and platforms tend to have difficulties combating social inequality.[73] They even argue that 'often, the creation of participatory platforms reproduces the inequalities against which they were tailored'.[74] It is, however, unclear what participatory platforms Krivý and Kaminer are referring to and how they have assessed their impact on social inequalities. Indeed, participatory architectural projects may have little effect on overall societal inequality, since inequality stems from the larger socioeconomic organisation of society. Though some participatory architectural projects might indeed reproduce inequalities, other projects in fact challenge them.[75] The parklets, which occupy space reserved for social and non-commercial activities, can be evaluated against the previous spatial use; i.e., reserves for car owners. The ECObox garden, which functioned as an urban living room and later multiplied and spread to other parts of Paris, can be evaluated against the former derelict site and lack of public space in the district of La Chapelle. In these cases, aaa and Rebar have consciously chosen to work in areas underserved by public or common space and have encouraged local users to appropriate and adjust the spaces to suit their needs. One could perhaps imagine even more egalitarian and democratically accountable processes and forms of urban space; nevertheless, the examples cited here have indeed helped people to reimagine open space and politicise how, by whom, and for whom space is produced, reserved, and managed.

As mentioned, the welcoming of tactical urbanism and DIY practices by public planning departments, for example in San Francisco, can be interpreted as a way to soothe citizens in situations characterised by lack of public capital and the absence of strong municipal urban planning. As pointed out by proponents of DIY tactical urbanism, these self-initiated temporal and low-budget spatial interventions cannot, however, replace long-term public (or common) investment and planning.[76] They should instead be seen as experimental approaches that can be taken up by longer-term formal planning. Through tactical urbanism and temporary urban commons one can test and illustrate how institutionalised and democratically accountable planning could be renewed and developed. The institutionalisation of the parklet is a good example of how a guerrilla action became a social movement, which in turn became incorporated into official public planning that then set rules to make parklets or other forms of urban commons enduring, transparent, democratically accountable and organised to serve a wider population in the city.

Open-source urban gardens and Park(ing) Day interventions are easy to like and, as Merker points out, are 'superficially unthreatening to the system of spatial commodification […] critique[d]'.[77] One can question whether commons-based open-source architecture and planning are desirable, or indeed possible in the case of more complex forms, such as metro lines, public buildings or energy infrastructures. Micro urban commons do not challenge the overall capitalist production of urban space, infrastructure, property values and speculation, but nevertheless they constitute small acts of generosity, encouraging social interaction beyond private consumption and competition, while having the potential to function as sites of wider social and political organisation. aaa noted that the ECObox project activated political engagement among its participants, some of whom became skilled in political and social organising when facing evictions. Rebar consciously encourages Park(ing) Day actions to be used to shed light on issues important to local communities, and although these may be political and structural issues that go far beyond the

specific use of urban space, the temporary micro urban commons can help make these concerns visible.

The tradition of creating and struggling for commons is not new; however, it is being reinvented in the era of global capitalism and, as illustrated above, potentially facilitated by the spread of digital technologies and open-source tools. Drawing on Benkler's assertion that open-source commons-based production constitutes a 'third mode of production' – beyond capitalism, socialism and their blends – one can regard open-source urban commons as embodying a critique of both current government and privately led urban development, advancing a form of post-capitalist urban develop-ment, though with the help of current as well as new institutional arrangements.

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Biography

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New Media in Old Cities: The Emergence of the New Collective

Cristina Ampatzidou and Ania Molenda

Introduction

New media proliferate more and more pervasively in urban contexts. However, the increasing availability of open source data, algorithms, coding and technology does not always translate to their manifestation in space. This paper comments on three types of practices that use new media in urban environments. It focuses on practices that have been defined by Crang and Graham as commercial, military and artivism, and explores distinctions between them by looking at the way in which they form relations between the users of new media and the eventual beneficiary of the general process of digitalisation of users' actions in space.[1] Each of the three practices explores a different political dimension of influence on social matters, and consequently on space, through a substantially different approach towards notions of democracy and the commons. This paper looks at both the relationship between informational space and the territory, and the different urban actors that build this relationship. It focuses on individual users and their behaviour in the new urban condition, suggesting that new media give rise to a new set of spatial strategies and tactics that can be employed either to increase a centralised technocratic view of the city, or may lead to the definition of a new type of public.

Because the level of analysis of the different roles new media can play in urban environments is quite extensive, it is not possible to consider the full scope of these problematics in this short essay. Therefore the focus centres on the role of practices that Graham refers to as artivism, which we use as a starting point to theorise upon the new type of citizenship and the contemporary understanding of socio-spatial practices that often reveal subversive uses of new media in urban and political contexts.[2]

Commercial, military and artivism practices

As a result of the proliferation of digital technologies, new data can be collected and projected in urban spaces. According to Kitchin more data is currently being produced every two days than in all history prior to 2003,[3] and it is expected that by 2020, these volumes will increase over a million-fold compared with the amount of data that was available at the beginning of this century.[4] This expansion is made possible in part due to the constantly growing number of mobile phone subscribers in the world today (currently 5.9 billion), and the continuing popularisation of smartphones.[5] It is highly probable that ubiquitous computing will be engendered through these handheld mobile devices so that it will no longer be necessary for us to sit in front of a computer to produce, register and make use of information.

The amount of information we are currently able to collect about the environment enables us to document all the physical aspects that can be accessed and measured using present-day knowledge and technology. The next stage now in focus, and most likely to prevail in the near future, concerns creating visual interpretations of otherwise invisible information. By making this data comprehensible, new

types of influences can be created, which in turn may lead to the further production of information, actual (behavioural) reactions and the eventual production of space. However, the way in which this data is used and analysed is crucial to the kind of influence it has on shaping social, and physical behaviour in the city.

Commerce is undoubtedly one of the strongest driving forces behind the recent explosion in the production, collection and analysis of crowdsourced data. Tailored advertising based on an individual's purchasing history and search results, as well as more advanced methods using face recognition and movement tracking, construct intelligent predictive environments that aim to influence our behaviour not only online but also in the physical space. The use of intelligent advertising, which suggests purchases before we have even thought of them, is now common practice among most of the online stores and continues to expand into new territories – both digital and analogue. The projection of interactive models of cyberspace back to the physical space is technically ready to enter the area of outdoor advertising and is being further developed for other commercial uses.[6] Not only online retailers but also physical stores have been collecting information on their clients' shopping patterns. Purchases with credit or loyalty cards and the use of help lines and e-mails are being recorded and analysed to predict and influence customer behaviour. Sometimes the results they deliver turn out to be uncomfortably accurate, as in the example of a large US retailer that knew of the pregnancy of a teenage girl before she did.[7] In the online world, where tracking is far easier and ubiquitous, the algorithms memorising and tracking our actions predict our preferences by employing proximity and the history of our previous choices, ranging from shopping (e.g., Amazon) to dating (e.g., Tinder). This provides users with a new layer of information that triggers them to interact and translate it to a recordable action, be it a purchase or a date. The more information we supply, the bigger

the probability that even some of our unconscious behavioural patterns will be translated into suggestions we will succumb to unawares. Yet as accurate and deliberate as they may seem, these predictions are often not as insightful as we may think. According to Brian Dalessandro, a data analyst from Distillery, it is enough to predict the behavioural patterns of potential buyers at a rate 10% better than random to make profits worth millions of dollars.[8] So even if it is nearly impossible to make perfect predictions, it is highly desirable for big corporations to invest in data mining because the degree of accuracy is not as important as the gains to be made.

Securitisation and surveillance imperatives are equally strong drivers in the digitalisation of urban space and data collection. The use of RFID (radio-frequency identification) tags, CCTV with algorithmic video cameras, data mining, and biometrics used for identity recognition: finger/palm prints, iris scans, DNA, face recognition, voice recognition, or even odour and gait recognition (already in use to control the flow of people through borders) are also becoming more extensively present locally. Military methods of using big data are similar to commercial ones since they also focus on identifying, tracking and targeting individuals. However, where commercial practices focus on profiling and predicting repetitive behavioural patterns, military data mining and predictive analytics are mostly targeted towards unusual or abnormal behaviour. The new surveillance systems, both local and global, will be able to track us round-the-clock, which will enable them, through evidence correlation and backtracking algorithms, to refer to database memories that record the history of movements, associations between things, and human activities. In this way, threatening or abnormal behaviour can be anticipated, detected and dealt with before the onset of terrorist or insurgent attack.[9] Not surprisingly, the biggest test beds for surveillance technologies of this kind are in warzones. One example among many is Fallujah in Iraq, where all the remaining residents

were issued with ID cards containing fingerprints and retina scans, essential for passing checkpoints encircling the town.[10] Meanwhile as Crang notes, technologies such as 'Transparent Urban Structures'[11] and the 'Visibuilding'[12] programme are also being developed to deploy sensors built into the city fabric that automatically track and record the inhabitants' behaviour.[13]

Artivism is a combination of artistic activities and social and/or political activism. The practices in question focus on a different use of data from those described above, which are often considered to be the dominant ones. Artivism is connected to subversive actions directed against the commercialisation and militarisation of space, and it foregrounds the social needs connected to democracy and commonality. Such practices are exemplified, for instance, by Maurice Benayoun's *Occupy Wall Screens* a project presented in New York in 2011.[14] *Occupy Wall Screens* displayed real-time stock valuation readouts from major financial institutions, which were placed right next to emotional currents emanating from Occupy sites around the world. It created and made visible a correlation between the virtual presence of collective emotions and financial profits. 'Artivism is using shared inscription of memory, multi-authored overcodings, pluralisation of authorship, fostering new engagements with the environment, creating new associations, networking and collaboration to take the virtual community out of the wires and onto the streets.'[15] Whereas commercial and military practices focus on singling out particular individuals to track and predict their behaviour, artivist practices, which often take place in real time, focus on the multiplication of individual resources, collective intelligence and the power of the crowd.

Smart cities

Many scientists and urban designers hope that the combination of advanced information and communication technology with spatial design will help us create smart and interactive environments that directly respond to the needs of their users and will allow them to adjust the environment to what is happening around them. Today, 'smart cities' tend to be considered the most modern approach to immediate urban futures, but their origins can be traced back to the last century.

Examples of such environments gained great popularity in the 1960s when the start of the computer era sparked architects' imaginations regarding the interactivity of spaces. Already in 1966, Brian Richards proposed that technology would solve all urban problems.[16] Following similar beliefs, many architects rushed to develop technology-enabled utopias. Take, for example, New Babylon by Constant Nieuwenhuys (1959-74), the Superstructures of Archizoom, or the Plug-In City of Archigram (1964) – all were visions of urban environments that would generously accommodate all the functions of everyday life through the use of automation, encouraging their inhabitants to freely explore, play and learn. They dreamed of and conceptualised structures of machine-like cities – spaces that would significantly differ from the urban environments they were designed to replace. The telling difference between those dreams and the information technology of today is that the latter lacks a distinct architectural expression, and that the most prominent attempts to achieve this seem to engage less with the idea of spatial interactivity than they do with control. The idea of the city as a fully controlled automaton finds its roots in the technological utopias developed during the Cold War. Archigram's Plug-in City with its generic, automated capsules, and the 'Infogonks' that accompanied the inflatable Suitaloon, allowing access to a virtual reality, are only a few examples of the trust in technology that architects demonstrated in the 1960s and 1970s. But critical voices were already heard at that time. Both Tafuri[17] and Frampton[18] noticed that this unlimited trust in technological possibilities came hand in hand with architects resigning social

and political agency.

It could be argued that the architectural inter-pretation of the ICT development from the 1960s was more of an advanced reinterpretation of the construction and infrastructure of the post-war boom, and that once installed, it would efficiently satisfy all human needs. It is striking that the inability to imagine the socio-cultural shifts which accompa-nied the evolution and adoption of technology at the time seem to relate to an underestimation of tech-nology's power to act as a soft infrastructure that creates new cultural paradigms. Perhaps these utopias failed to distinguish themselves from the massive infrastructure-driven development that was shaping urban environments in that period. Today's technology, precisely because of its lack of tangible expression, cannot be considered as an infrastruc-tural layer of hardware that is physically added to objects or spaces. It comes in the form of informa-tion, not machines, allowing us to concentrate our focus on the behavioural and cultural shifts that occur as a result of its widespread adoption.

Despite this, still today a notable discrepancy can be observed between the ephemerality of artivist social movements and the megalomania of corporate and military uses of new media. The contrast with the built manifestations of smart cities becomes an especially interesting field to investi-gate more closely, not only in order to explore the character of artivism, but also its visibility in an architectural and urban sense. The development of smart cities around the world shows a tendency to deploy new technologies in ways that seem to use strategies much more related to those represented by commercial and military uses of new media than to those related to artivism.

Masdar and Songdo are only two examples of many new cities that aspire to construct a smart and sustainable urban future by using technology. The Abu Dhabi government announced the construction

of Masdar City in 2005. The city held the promise of becoming the 'world's first-ever zero carbon, zero waste city'.[19] Foster & Partners, who developed the urban plan, aimed to use no fossil fuels in its construction or subsequent use. The city's energy needs would be covered exclusively by renewable sources, including solar, wind, geothermal and hydrogen energy. All water used would be recycled, and a system of underground driverless electric cars would ensure that no private fossil-fuelled cars would find their way into the city.[20]

Songdo International Business District is an equally ambitious undertaking. Developed 65 km outside Seoul, it has the more integrated vision of becoming 'a brand new global business hub', a smart and sustainable 'Aerotropolis' with access to one-third of the world's cities within 3.5 hours.[21] It is meant to provide Wi-Fi access in most public areas, while an extensive network of RFID tech-nology will make most home devices, electric cars and the recycling of home waste operable via users' phones. Because of its heavy reliance on tech-nology, Songdo has perhaps rightfully been called a 'city-in-a-box', turning it into a capsule that is detached from the areas outside its radio-frequency range.[22]

While the grand architectural and urban mani-festations of combined corporate and governmental powers find expression in projects like Masdar, Songdo and the like, spatial expressions of artivist phenomena, such as social-media driven demonstrations, remains at the fringe of tolerable practices.[23] The fact that the city has become a full-fledged productive element in its own right makes it the most important location from which we will be able to observe, on the one hand, the evolving relationship between new media and the city, and, on the other, the place where attempts at both the commercialisation and control of these emerging practices will remain the strongest.[24] This obser-vation seems to be confirmed even in the case of

grand scale projects, which also face difficulties relating to the further maximisation of their commercial success at the cost of social and environmental concerns.

Masdar has already admitted to compromising its goal of being totally environmentally sustainable, causing a rage of criticism in which it was described as 'merely another Middle Eastern enclave for the wealthy',[25] and questions have arisen about 'how it can be replicated in other countries, given its multibillion pound price-tag'.[26]

As it approaches its official completion date of 2015, Songdo, the $35bn project often referred to as 'the poster boy of the smart city', is also widely denounced as a commercial showcase for technology.[27] Despite these comments, it is managing to attract a considerable number of new residents, mostly because of its walkability and green spaces.[28] Nevertheless, it has not managed to attract the desired number of businesses that are supposed to become its main 'fuelling power'. This giant test bed for RFID technologies delivered by CISCO systems is meant to automatically control all building systems within its limits. RFID tags will not only open doors, control safety, interior climate and lighting, pay for public transportation, follow the city's cars and collect traffic information, but also control presences at offices and schools.[29] With respect to this controlled scrutiny of its inhabitants, Korea's megaproject is very far from fulfilling the promise of a new, more democratic urbanity. Moreover, similarly to the automated city imagined in the 1960s, Songdo aims to provide infrastructure on an urban scale by focusing on hardware rather than software. Following Richard Sennett's thoughts on cities like Masdar and Songdo, cities should not be considered solely as machines of economic growth while ignoring their role as social and cultural milieus, '[T]he city is not a machine and this version of the city can deaden and stupefy the people who live in its all-efficient embrace. We want cities that work

well enough, but are open to the shifts, uncertainties, and mess which are real life.'[30]

In fact, smart urban environments of the future might be realised much more discreetly, and in a way far less impressive and far more difficult to visualise; one where computers will 'vanish into the background, weaving themselves into the fabric of everyday life until they are indistinguishable from it'.[31] What are considered the a-territorial properties of new information technologies are often falsely thought to diminish the role of physical urban space. They may not be distinguishable as separate entities able to manifest themselves in space, but they will blend so deeply with the physical space of the city that it will not be possible to tell the two apart.

The discussion about new media tends to be divided between a techno-pessimistic point of view related to commercial and military practices, and a techno-enthusiastic view associated with artivism, which focuses on the potential benefits of user empowerment. Whereas the techno-pessimists concentrate on highlighting the dangers of new media, which they fear will soon occupy all aspects of everyday life and become a tool for imposing total corporate control over consumers and citizens by turning ubiquitous computing into ubiquitous surveillance, the techno-enthusiasts focus on new media as tools for providing immersive experiences capable of enriching our perception of urban spaces and our interaction with them. In addition, they predict that new media will allow more efficient time management by delivering real-time information to help make better decisions.

Keeping in mind concurrently relevant, but more sceptical arguments, whereby new media can also be said to increase the number of communications required to reach a decision,[32] and to provide us only with a pre-programmed matrix of choices in which nothing unexpected can actually be produced, it is worth considering user-oriented practices that

have neither a techno-optimist nor pessimist bias.[33] Three types of practices identified by Graham have a different scope of influence. They develop, and probably will continue to do so, in simultaneity and full dependency, hinging on the tension between the emergence of new relationships that link the city and new media, and attempts to commercialise them, as was mentioned above with reference to Sennet.

Further on in this paper, the authors will examine artivism's capacity to create an impact on urban environments that, beyond control, also grants freedom and the potential to counterbalance the commercial and military uses of technology.

Space as information
Space has never been void of meaning. Information and space have been bound together since the beginning of the conscious formation of space and our first attempts to understand the world around us. Space understood as a social construct is collectively formed by simultaneous individual creations. The act of place-making is active: we construct space, not merely passively respond to it. Nowadays, this relation between information, space and place-making is becoming not only tighter but also more complex as the use of information technologies add to this already intricate interdependence.

This modern relationship between information technology and the production of space also has an influence on our understanding of space in theoretical terms, and consequently on the way we act in it. Initially, space was shaped by the evolution of transportation and the emergent communication possibilities, but current advancements provide us with opportunities that go beyond the level of infrastructure. The role of the Roman road network, followed by the railways in the nineteenth century and airplanes and telecommunications in the twentieth century, have led to the technology-enabled

convergence of space and time. Whereas these inventions all relate to the urban infrastructure, the Internet is the first soft infrastructure that allows us to reorganise our activities around more complex relations. In the past decade, this evolution has sustained progress in the developing relation between networked infrastructures, cities, and processes of economic and cultural globalisation.[34] As wireless connectivity blankets our cities, providing constant access to an unlimited amount of information, it permits us to rethink space in terms that are more and more a-territorial and dynamic. It is based on ever-changing relations actively produced in the form of 'things as gatherings'[35] without resorting to the Euclidean concept of space as a pre-existing container for social relations.[36] Even though, to a certain extent, this new situation does result in the diminishing relevance of territories, it does not change the fact that the relation between the representation of space and its production remains closely related to forms of influence and control that still have a strong territorial affinity.

Representation and interaction
Space has always had an imagined dimension.[37] Inevitably, the changing understanding of space and the changing role of territory find expression in new forms of representation that move away from forms of geographical documentation that are tied to the physical and extensive aspects of territories. These new forms move towards visualising sets of otherwise invisible interrelations that constitute a paradigm of informational space, which is neither an addition to the physical space, nor an independent world of its own that exists beyond the physical dimension, commonly described as 'virtual space'. Informational space should not be considered as a new phenomenon and product of the Internet era, but as a new way of activating and processing pre-existent information into accessible and usable content, enabled by the speed of transmission and processing that was impossible before the popularisation of personal computers and the

Internet. In order to create a meaningful reciprocity between this unveiled information and its source (space), the former has to be registered and represented by means of visual language. This language has to be not only commonly understood but also relatively simple. Any particular piece of information has to be communicated in a way that is so clear and immediate it will be able to trigger direct physical reactions to the perceived image.

Even though the relation between the representation of space and its production is nothing new, both the space-time conversion and the expansion of information technologies into everyday life have had a transformative influence on the role it now plays, even though it is still based on similar principles and mechanisms. Prior to the development of advanced documentation technologies, spatial representations were mainly used to delimit territories. Now, naturally, practices related to territorialisation represent only a fraction of the many uses. Locative media allow for an unprecedented spatialisation of information, revealing new patterns of both automated and volunteered data.[38] This leads to spatial representations that no longer focus solely on distance measurement but on information that was previously impossible to visualise or territorialise. In such contexts, proximity is no longer understood only in relation to place but also in relation to matters-of-concern. The context of locative media, which is typically related to the geographic location, therefore needs to be extended to include 'what actors constantly do'.[39] The further expansion of locative media and other similar technologies makes new levels of interaction with our surroundings possible, leading to what is often referred to as 'pervasive informatics'.

Information should not be understood as something separate from physical space, or something of a strictly different nature, as is often suggested by the binary opposition of 'real and virtual', or 'material and immaterial'. The relation between space and information should instead be treated as a prolongation of one into the other.[40] Information is embedded in the materiality of the city, where new media serve as tools of prolongation between its material and immaterial aspects. The relation between informational space and new media escapes simplifying dualisms. New media are the tools that enable the interaction and mixing of information with the physical space by means of visual representation (the interface). They are able to stir and change the relationship between the material and immaterial layers of space, but they are never fully able to merge them into one entity. And this is why we talk about 'hybrid' or 'augmented' reality.

Urban agencies become hybrid, allowing actors to freely switch between their spatial interactions, in a similar way that 3D software allows designers to switch from a top-down view to a perspective view. They give us access to the overview of information and the ability to experience it at the same time. In the project 'Amsterdam RealTime', Esther Polak and Jeroen Key of the Waag Society have equipped a voluntary group of Amsterdam's citizens with GPS tracking devices and mapped their movements throughout the city.[41] Each person produced a subjective map of the city informed by the location of his or her frequent destinations, the means of transport they used and their daily routines. There are two layers of information represented in this map. The first layer is the registration of the actual routes that people use; the second layer, however, is not immediately clear. It reveals the map's ability to present information about the behaviour of the people who participated in the project by the mere accumulation of data about their routes. So, while the final product of this experiment is a map, the registration and accumulation of data (about their behaviour), and the information that it eventually provides (about the actual routes that people use), are as abstract as they are real, in the sense that they record both material and immaterial actions in real time. They simultaneously provide a potential

material and an immaterial spatial impact.

Results of such studies are a good example of the confusion there is in the role data representation plays in the physical space, which arises precisely when we try to build clear distinctions between the two. Looking at the world through media does not replace a place, nor does it add a new layer to it. It creates hybrid environments by revealing otherwise invisible flows and boundaries that result in redefining distances and points of attraction as they happen. They interlace with the existing continuities and discontinuities in the city.[42] The representation of informational space illustrates how these worlds 'prolong' into each other and therefore become inseparable, allowing a continuous flow of reciprocal influences.[43] As a logical consequence, the hybridisation of urban environments does not remain without influence on the idea of citizenship, since the way we act and influence our immediate surroundings becomes much more direct as well as much more blurred if we try to define its social role.

A new citizen
Coming back again to the utopias of the 1960s, it is interesting to look at another aspect that many of them touched upon, namely the liberation of societies through the increase of free time. They foresaw that in this time of freedom and creativity *Homo ludens* would turn to the need to play and seek adventure, and the need for mobility. Nothing would remain static in the environment of *Homo ludens*. There would be no empty spaces; all surfaces and features would be tools for creativity and play. The city would be an outcome of thousands of individual 'personalisations'. When considered from a certain angle, these predictions remain true for the contemporary situation. But whereas in the utopias of the 1960s this line of thought referred mostly to the physical customisation of an individual's living space, in the era of new media it refers to personal behaviour. Nowadays, it is behaviour that dilates or contracts the territory around each person,

according to his or her level of immersion.

This change may lead to the creation of a new type of citizen. The progressive advances of industrialisation led Hannah Arendt to articulate the concept of *Homo faber*, whereas the self-centred indulgence of new media gives rise to a new type of intelligence and behaviour based on a spontaneity that is no longer restricted by strictly utilitarian purposes.[44] For the 'Situationists', play existed outside capital; in the current mutated form of ludocapitalism it becomes ingrained in the capitalist value of leisure, which continues to pervade all spheres of life, especially those related to new media.[45] Hence our new citizen acts in a hybrid environment where, on the one hand, the differences between materiality and immateriality become inseparably bonded, and, on the other, the division between work and leisure becomes blurred. As a consequence, this '*Homo-faber-ludens*' creates value unwittingly. It is not clear whether he is working or playing, and it might not matter as long as information is being produced.

Another related aspect concerns a new form of collectivity, which is similarly unintended and seemingly unconscious. The new citizen often thinks that his actions take place in isolation, whereas he is actually being continuously registered and contextualised to reveal bigger patterns that can be used by literally anyone. In this way, the tendency toward hyper-egocentric personal use of new media, triggered by the claim of providing openness and constant connectivity, eventually results in the opposite: the formation of unconscious, disconnected collectivities. This inconsistency calls us to redirect our attention from the individually oriented singularity of people's actions towards the new media's patterns of usage. Each singular use of media entails more than simply providing information. It signifies a certain understanding and reaction to local conditions. It assigns them meaning and instigates a set of possible actions.

Every decision is literally determined by the capacity to absorb a mass of decisions, a mass of impressions and reactions. It's a response to the great contradiction with which we are always faced, the question of how we can make the multitude into singularity.[46]

As Richard Sennett has rightly noticed, even though a hand-held GPS device won't provide a sense of community, it does allow stimulating social behaviour that can have a collective or common effect on space.[47]

The GPS example leads us to imagine what might happen if everyone decided to avoid a traffic jam by choosing an alternative route proposed by a given computer programme. Most probably, the result would be a new traffic jam. This shows that new media do not necessarily create smarter environments; instead, the small adaptations in our behaviour triggered by the information the new technologies provide actually make us act collectively. They turn us into a swarm. Our interaction with the environment is therefore not solitary, as we tend to think, but collective and social.

This is highlighted by a decade-old example from the Netherlands concerning the inhabitants of the area around Schiphol Airport who were frequently bothered by aircraft noise pollution. According to official measurements, however, there should have been no reason for complaint. This prompted the inhabitants to use their own noise sensors in order to prove their case. The data was recorded on Geluidsnet, a crowdsourced online database.[48] Though independent from each other, these individual actions were able to produce a result that was significant for the whole community. The effect is analogous to the difference between individual computer games and pervasive games. Whereas single players play individual games in isolation, pervasive games multiply the players' engagement by adding layers of interaction with other players

and with the limitations of physical urban spaces. Pervasive games blend with our real lives. The result is a public, open and spontaneous set of reactions that have a possible spatial outcome.

It is possible that this new citizen's need to control and influence his surroundings will extend to the transformation of these surroundings to respond to his new and ever evolving needs. In the 1960s, the idea of a creative society that could shape its own environment was still in the sphere of wishful thinking; now, however, we are experiencing a paradigm shift from a service-based economy to a knowledge-based society that is information rich and technology enabled.[49] In this context, we can assume that a new form of urbanisation can be created if only new media is able to find the necessary density and pluralism to develop it.

Strategies and tactics

This new, media-based urbanisation – for the first time enabling a real-time access to dynamically changing information – connects every interaction in the informational space with the physical space, and vice versa. Every digital interpretation of the physical space helps us to alter our surroundings by giving us the choice to adjust our behaviour in reaction to real-time information. From a highly individualised perspective, this adjustment might seem so minor that it remains almost invisible; however, its collective accumulation may lead to unforeseen and surprising effects that are stirred by highly unpredictable behavioural patterns, similar to those operating in the stock market. In the field of commercial and military practices, it is neither possible to predict nor identify individual actions, nor it is possible to accurately predict the likelihood of certain occurrences.[50] These two aspects therefore remain separate from the domain of user-based interactions. Each continues to have its own vulnerabilities and advantages. What is crucial in all these situations, however, is the access and visibility of information.

From a technocratic point of view, urban managements are attempting to embrace the big data. Many city governments are lured into systems that integrate big data under one platform to 'smartly' develop cities. These tools, often imposed from the top and highly centralising, concentrate data from various sources.[51] They process and visualise it to provide a deeper understanding of the city's workings in order to respond to emergent situations, simulate probable outcomes, and develop more efficient, sustainable, liveable and competitive cities with better services. The London Dashboard is one such platform; it collects and presents data ranging from weather information, public transport usage and air pollution to the general feeling of happiness in the city.[52] The media through which this information is gathered and processed remain concealed. The effortless collation and processing of all this information creates a technocratic illusion that cities can be fully represented and understood, and that all their problems can be reduced to measurable technical issues that proper monitoring can utterly control. In fact, they only focus on the manifestation of problems and not on their roots, eventually providing an alibi for city managers to deny accountability by blaming the data.[53] Similarly, police departments using big data to identify high-risk crime areas in urban agglomerations are actually only creating an illusion of control and an impression of targeting that do not result in any clear crime prevention patterns, but do serve as a great PR tool.[54]

Technocratic examples of this kind with a commercial or military focus often inspire subversive uses of new media which may lead to innovative acts that contribute to actual physical and/or perceptual reconfigurations of urban environments in the domain of artivism. Needless to say, the role of new media as a tool for self-organisation has become indispensable for organising public demonstrations. The use of social media has also contributed extensively to the rise of pop-up urbanism and unsanctioned activities in public space. Such uses illustrate the importance of the collective imagination in taking full advantage of high connectivity in order to extend the possibilities of technical apparatuses and create new meanings.[55] The collective intelligence that emerges from these spontaneous collaborations is horizontal and diffused, and as such remains unprotected from constant commercialisation attempts, but at the same time always inherently resists them.[56]

According to Negri '[t]he common signifies that which costs nothing, that which is necessary, that which is participatory, that which is productive, and that which is free.'[57] The contemporary legal attitude to data management has so far condemned this intelligence remaining a free resource, open to exploitation as a consequence of the innocent acceptance of an invitation to participate. People become consumers of apps and other IT products that produce free data and crowdsource intelligence while hiding their real commercial goals under social connectivity aspects. On the other hand, this commercial interest drives the constantly growing availability of technology, thus producing a self-referential and self-perpetuating cycle that becomes a never-ending game between territorialising and deterritorialising practices.[58]

Two other notions that frame the interaction with informational space will help us understand the attitudes of control and subversion that are important when theorising the new socio-spatial practices. They can be drawn from De Certeau's definition of strategies and tactics.[59] Strategies are impersonal and planned at a distance, whereas tactics are personal and situational. Both are intentional efforts to delimit a territory, but whereas strategies operate from above, tactics are practised by people who have no marked territory to act upon, so they are forced to act on territories belonging to others. As a result, tactics are comprised of temporary spatial appropriations. They are 'practical ways of operating

based on identification, not of territorial outsiders, but of temporal allies'.[60] According to the logic of strategy, which dominates as a model related to global economic or political realms, outsiders are often seen as competitors. This approach promotes a technocratic view of the city and urban development and is reductionist because it is based on data unable to encompass wider socio-cultural factors. It inevitably leads to the corporatisation of civic governance and the long-term dependencies of municipalities on the proprietary software, systems and services of ICT providers.[61] Even though strategies and tactics are both intentional, they produce associations and appropriations that remain unplanned. Appropriations emerge from active, informal uses of space, whereas associations are imposed upon territories by third parties. According to Kärrholm, these four elements: strategies, tactics, associations and appropriations, together compose 'territorial production'.[62]

Subversive uses of new media are a tactical attitude to defining space outside the strategically established set of options provided by the programmers. Contrary to the centripetal, spatially restricted nature of strategies, tactics are informal, incidental practices operating on the fringe of given social norms. Additionally, they are highly ephemeral, and determined by using time and site-specific conditions to their advantage. Here, the idea of individuality and user empowerment may be the least visible features in urban and architectural representation. The idea of architecture and urban planning in the traditional sense is one of a total vision with a clearly determined goal and belongs to the domain of strategy. Tactical, chaotic appropriations may not be as visible in the total picture but they allow for a stratification of territories because users are often engaged in multiple, simultaneous interactions.[63] They will always be in flux, adapting and evolving, not seen as artefacts but as movements, or, in other words, as swarms of changes. The strategic approach may be too slow to react to the tactical

character of city use. As long as the current way of bureaucratised city-making prevails, we won't really see many architectural and urban manifestations of informational space apart from ones like Masdar and Songdo. Ironically, what seems most analogue and regressive in terms of advanced architecture might be the most advanced in terms of an analogy to the way new media are changing our society. Spontaneous construction, immediate adaptation and the unsanctioned use of spaces might thus far provide nthe most relevant examples of architectural interpretations of informational space and the new urbanity that it may offer.

Notes

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50. 'Human beings are very random, your purchase decisions are very random, your browsing decisions are very random, so the more randomness or noise that's engrained in this process the more difficult it is to be accurate, so there're always going to be limitations on how accurate these predictive models can be. Wall Street for example it's very difficult to predict perfectly if a stock is going up or down, but the way advertising works and the way Wall Street works the transactions are happening at such a scale that I only have to be 10% better than random to make millions of dollars for my firm. So if we have only small gains in efficiency you can actually create a lot of value and that's what it comes down to. It's not about being right all the time, it's about being better than average, or being better than random and even being better than your competitors. As long as I know unless we have every piece of information about you and your state of mind at every given moment we won't to be able to predict you perfectly. Even you knowing everything about yourself your thoughts and your interests probably can't even make perfect predictions.' From an interview with Brian Dalessandro, in the TV documentary series: *Tegenlicht*, 'Uw persoonlijke data zijn goud waard', 28 October 2013, 21:00, <http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1375980> [accessed 06 May 2014].

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Biographies

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Footprint is a peer-reviewed journal presenting academic research in the field of architecture theory. The journal addresses questions regarding architecture and the urban. Architecture is the point of departure and the core interest of the journal. From this perspective, the journal encourages the study of architecture and the urban environment as a means of comprehending culture and society, and as a tool for relating them to shifting ideological doctrines and philosophical ideas. The journal promotes the creation and development – or revision - of conceptual frameworks and methods of inquiry. The journal is engaged in creating a body of critical and reflexive texts with a breadth and depth of thought which would enrich the architecture discipline and produce new knowledge, conceptual methodologies and original understandings.

In this issue, the following papers were peer-reviewed: Common Space as Threshold Space: Urban Commoning in Struggles to Re-Appropriate Public Space, Instituting Commoning, New Rights and the Space of Practices: Italian Contributions to a Theory of the Urban Commons, Common Spatialities: The Production of the Multitude, A Monstruous Alliance: Open Architecture and Common Space, Open Source Urbanism: Creating, Multiplying and Managing Urban Commons, New Media in Old Cities: The Emergence of the New Collective.