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XXV WORLD CONGRESS OF ARCHITECTURE
International Convention Centre Durban South Africa
3 -7 August 2014

CONGRESS

UIA2014 DURBAN
ARCHITECTURE OTHERWHERE
RESILIENCE - ECOLOGY - VALUES

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The UIA 2014 Durban General Reporter has appointed three people to the UIA 2014 Scientific Committee, two of whom are the editors of the Scientific Committee publications:

Gerhard Bruyns is Assistant Professor of Environment and Interior Design, School of Design, Hong Kong Polytechnic University and Executive Team member of the International Forum on Urbanism (IFOU), Scientific Board Member of the African Studies Centre, Leiden and collaborator with CP, Arquitectura, Urbanismo, Investigacion. He was previously at the Faculty of Architecture, Delft University of Technology's [TU Delft].

Clinton Aigbavboa, Department of Construction Management and Quantity Surveying, University of Johannesburg, holds a masters' degree in Construction Management and a PhD degree in Engineering Management. He is a well published researcher. He is currently the editor of the Journal of Construction Project Management and Innovation.

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(OTHER)CHITECTURE; BODY AS NEW SPATIAL SCALE FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF RESILIENT-URBAN-SPACE AGAINST NEOLIBERAL URBAN POLICIES

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Abstract

The paper addresses the question of resilience through an 'other' type of architecture (of 'others'). Here, the notion of resilience is defined as life strategies developed by communities as well as critical interventions that oppose government investments towards a re-configuring of the spatial economy to the benefit of a specific section of society instead of all urban actors. In a political context of socio-economic segregation and polarization rather than poverty alleviation, attempts of suppressed urban actors to address highly specific developmental problems, to establish new relationships with a living planet, humility and, most importantly, to establish a sense of respect through diversity is analysed from a spatial perspective.

The study attempts to show that architecture and urbanism can be considered as spatial dimensions of an ideological war of different interest groups in cities. This struggle manifests itself as the polarisation between corporate sector and public. Specific governments that use planning as a means of capitalist control over urban (public) space contribute to such polarisation.

Having discussed the major protests (*in world history*) and their body-spatial dimensions from the perspective of strategic game theories, the paper will address the issue of the "resilience of cities" in the framework of public reaction to neo-liberal urban policies of government through manipulation of public space via various guerrilla war tactics of (other) architecture; micro-urbanism in urban-leftovers, third spaces, queer-spaces, reclamation of landfills, and ephemeral architecture particularly at body scale. This study is an endeavour to reveal the underlying nature of "others' architecture" with specific reference to public protests for resistance against the 'Taksim Pedestrianization Project 2013' which includes conversion of a public green park into a private shopping mall by demolishing Gezi Park next to Taksim Square in Istanbul. The paper attempts to re-assess professional values, develop methods and techniques for professional engagement and interrogates the ethics associated with architectural and design practice.

Keywords: urban policy, spatial strategy, architecture, micro-urbanism, public realm.

INTRODUCTION

The paper intends to show that architecture and urbanism can be considered as spatial dimensions of an ideological war of different interest groups in cities. This battle manifests itself as the polarisation either between rich and poor, or between powerful and weak, or between corporate sector and public whereby government planning acts as a means of capitalist control over urban (public) space. This study intends to unveil the underlying nature of "others' architecture" with specific reference to public protests for resistance against the conversion of a public green park into a private shopping mall by demolishing Gezi Park next to Taksim Square in Istanbul.

The study will briefly discuss the major protests in world history in regard to their body-spatial dimensions from the perspective of strategic game theories. In this context, the paper will address the issue of the "resilience of cities" in the framework of public reaction to neo-liberal urban policies of government through manipulation of public space via various guerrilla war tactics of (other)architecture; micro-urbanism in urban-leftovers, third spaces, queer-spaces, reclamation of landfills, and ephemeral architecture particularly at body scale.

SPACE AS A STRATEGY FOR RESILIENCE

Game theory is a study of strategic decision making. It is "the study of mathematical models of conflict and cooperation between intelligent rational decision-makers"(Myerson 1992, p. 69). Modern game theory began with the idea regarding the existence of mixed-strategy equilibria in two-person zero-sum games and its proof by John von Neumann (1928, 1959, p. 42). Today, however, game theory applies to a wide range of behavioural relations, and has turned into a generic term for the logical side of all decision making related activities including social issues as well as science. It was originally developed in the field of economics to analyze a large collection of economic behaviours, including behaviours of firms, markets, and consumers. The use of game theory in the social sciences has widened, being applied to political, sociological, and psychological behaviours where there are various actors. Therefore, city and its transformation can be considered within the game theory. Here, game theory and game-ends will constitute key components in the emergence of resistance at different scales of urban space that is essential for the argument of this paper, since it builds the foundations for the tactics of public resistance against those in power and unethical professionals.

The use of game theory started with analysing and formulating how human populations behave. The rationale behind these studies appears to be the scholars' belief that by finding the equilibria of games, how actual human populations behave when confronted with situations analogous to the game being studied, could easily be predicted. However, this particular comprehension of game theory has been criticized because the assumptions made by game theorists that players always act in a specific way to directly maximize their wins (the Homo economicus model), is easily refuted mainly because, in practice, human behaviour often deviates from this assumption due to various explanations such as; irrationality, new models of deliberation, or sometimes different motives (like that of altruism). Although the assumptions of some game theorists help to conceive their own theory as a reasonable scientific ideal akin to the models used by physicists, it is observed that people regularly do not play equilibrium strategies (Colin 2003, p. 21). Moreover, some scholars claim that Nash equilibria could not provide predictions for human populations. Therefore, in order to resolve these issues, some game theorists have focused on evolutionary game theory models of which it is presumed either no rationality or bounded rationality on the part of players. Contrary to its name, evolutionary game theory includes both biological as well as cultural evolution and also models of individual learning instead of presuming natural selection in the biological sense.

Evolutionary game theory studies games with an arbitrary number of players (Luce & Raiffa 1957, p. 12), that is to say, involving a certain number of decision makers, where the frequency with which a particular decision is made can change over time in relation to the decisions made by all individuals in the population. For instance, in biology, this is intended to postulate (biological) evolution, where genetically programmed organisms pass some of their strategy programming to their offspring. In economics, the same theory is intended to formulate population changes because people play the game many times within their lifetime, and deliberately keep changing their strategies (Webb 2007, p. 46). In urban studies too, urban models are so complicated that all decisions are somehow influenced by the decisions of the others. Therefore, modernist and orthodox planning have significantly failed to understand (let alone control and manage) cities. Eventually, neo-liberal policies discovered the methods of exerting control over the organism of the city by enlarging the proportions of selected (but limited) actors in the city. Thus, people who had the power and sources to determine the decision making mechanisms of the city found the chance to control the city. However, as an organism, the city seems to have immediately developed its counter strategies. The city and its other (not-selected-but-large-in-number) actors have developed ways to respond to this manipulation.

It is then important to ask the question of how space becomes a means for a strategy of urban resilience. The space is a major asset in all games regarding the city. This is valid not only in terms of real-estate value but also in terms of symbolic representation. In this context, while the powerful actors concentrate on accumulating the largest amount of urban space possible, the public as the main but less powerful actors reclaims their city-rights by infiltrating into undefined spaces in-between, by altering (and somehow deconstructing) the coherence of the spatial configuration devised by the powerful and its operation within the unity of the city.

While neo-liberal policies have chosen 'bigness' as a strategy to direct the growth of the urban realm, counter-strategies have devised a 'micro-spatial scale' as the medium of resilience and struggle within neo-liberal instruments of urban domination.

Figure 1: *Strategy, space and resilience (Source: http://31.media.tumblr.com/517619ccfffebd3a44dc195a3509f1b2/tumblr_mqpp7nk9on1sv2nido1_500.jpg - L.A.: 02.03.2014)*

At this point, the question is whether it is possible to resist against sophisticated and pre-calculated game strategies and tactics of powerful and organized actors at an urban scale by micro-spatial manoeuvres, particularly at body scale. Here, the ultimate question and dilemma of pawn fighting against the king in a

chess game comes into mind. As we all know, chess is a game based not only on space, geometry and strategy, but also skill in probability calculations (Figure 1). There are many actors in this game; queen, knight, bishop, rook and pawn with different movement types and rules, thus different strengths and impacts. It is a game that whoever is able, not only to control the area of 64 squares from various directions and different angles, but also to concentrate his/her own strategic actors in the centre of this area will eventually win (Hooper and Whyld 1992, p. 32). Rules, gentlemanship, time, patience, wisdom, flexibility, consistency and resistance can be named among the virtues in a game set on the foundations of space and strategy.

Doubtlessly, the possibility of a pawn which has limited movement and manoeuvrable capacity to check the King who has the ultimate power and to beat it is not among the wildest options, yet it is not totally impossible (Nunn 1995, p. 13) and this is what makes this probability valuable and meaningful; its emergence in the last minute where all hopes had almost ended.

This small possibility relies, to a large extent, on the end-of-game strategies (Müller & Lamprecht 2001, 12-16). One (or sometimes two) pawn(s) can push the check-mate in various positions, the majority of which have been defined by A. A. Troitzky (1937). When the examples in literature are examined, it is observed that the pawns of the defending side, in the case where they are either along or behind what is called the "Troitzky line", can push the check-mate (even winning could take up to 115 movements) (Wikipedia, two knights endgame).

According to chess theorists, the main reason for the fact that the check-mate can be pushed is that the defending side has to move its pawn at least once in every move (Dvoretsky 2006, p. 23). It is stated that first, preventing the movement of pawn or the king by knight may shorten the path leading to check-mate and then checking via the night that stops the pawn would complete the mate (Seirawan 2003, p. 36). In other words, the positions of the weak pieces in reference both to the strong pieces and to the crucial point in the spatial field of the chess game would bring victory at the end of the game.

Urban space, too, is a space over which complex games (at least as complex as the chess game) are played by various actors in the city. What is important here is who plays the game on behalf of the public, who plays the pieces, how and why, as much as who sets the rules.

Despite the fact that the (political and material) powers (in influencing or manipulating the distribution of urban space) of these various actors as well as their legislative framework which defines their ability for movement are the determining factors in this complex and difficult game performed in (public) space, it has been recurrently seen that the spatio-politic strategies that are to be deployed are of vital significance in resisting the enemy, and thus, winning the game. Neo-liberal urbanization policies, macro-plan decisions (both as their means and products), choices of locations for infrastructural and social paraphernalia, economic incentives, zoning and density decisions, and other similar technocratic and bureaucratic instruments, have long spread from global to regional scales, from urban to architectural scales, and thus, have not only started to oppress eventually at body scale but also to change the distribution of public space in benefit of the powerful. Hence, the scale of resistance to the (local as well as global) power and to its spatial policies, seems to have dropped down to body scale in order to be able to reclaim the natural rights from the public space particularly in an era (as well as social and cultural geography) in which conventional forms of opposition have already become ineffective.

Therefore, the only way to win this game for the urban actors (whose powerful chess pieces are taken away and forced to play only with their pawns), which are put in the position of a constantly defeated chess player against a super computer with extraordinary computing capacity for endless strategic probabilities, appear to be a resistance at the scale of body (i.e., of a pawn).

SPATIAL FORMS OF RESILIENCE AND BODY SPATIAL SCALE

Foucault's notion of *spatiality* (Tally 2011) and spatial analysis of power and knowledge in modern social formations, which Tally refers as his *cartographics* (Tally 2013), plays an important role in understanding the ways in which spatiality not only emerges but also continues to exert its subtle, yet pervasive, force in social dynamics (Tally 2011a). Foucault defines Bentham's *panopticon* prison model as a device of spatial control that was set over the convicts by the authority (Foucault 1975). Koskela's (2003, p. 292) term '*urban panopticon*' draws our attention to how urban planning helps the purposes of surveillance (thus control) particularly with the assistance of technology. From a historical perspective, Napoleon III's comprehensive urban-spatial transformation realized via Hausmann's intervention against strong public resistance at the end of the 19th century with his political-military intentions epitomizes the spatial dimension (Dovey 2010) of the resistance of the public against power within the relation between government and opposition. Today, one of the best examples of architecture and urbanism clearly being used as a weapon against ethnic minorities is Israel's policy on public-works, housing and urbanization in Palestine. The incomprehensible

dimensions and techniques of these strategies have been unveiled by Graham (2011) and Weizman (2007), showing all its ugliness. Thus, it is clear that *space* holds a very essential position between the individual and authority. Therefore, within this game, architecture can assume various roles ranging from advocate of public to dirty roles extending from gentrification to ethnic cleansing. As mentioned above, the scale of resistance to neo-liberal urban policies (Yirtici 2009) to which the disciplines of architecture and urban planning have almost yielded has shifted from architectural and urban space to body-space.

These pressures and reactions (as can be seen in occupy movements all over the world) have been recurring in many locations for a very long time within the last century. Concepts like queer spaces (Betsky 1997), third space (Bhabha 1990), and phenomena such as micro-urbanism (Madanipour 1996) have already emerged as counter-spatial tactics against such orthodox macro-planning approaches in the last few decades. The ephemeral, light, sustainable, public character is not a coincidence; neither their spatial scale which is the scale of body-space. Having considered the fact what is societal has been constructed and fictionalized over the notion of 'body' especially along with Modernity (Judovitz 2001, p. 9), it should not be a surprise that its criticism and rebellion is being performed over 'body'.

We can see this shift of scale in the bodies of; the protester resisting to tanks in Tiananmen Square, the protesters in Tahrir Square (particularly in sub-spaces formed by their bodies in tents or in front of military vehicles), people resisting water cannons in Gezi Park protests in May and June 2013, as well as in the body of the 'standing man' whose protest performance emerged as a new, silent, peaceful and a very scary form of resistance against government forces after they violently pushed the protestors out of the Gezi Park (Figure 2). On the first day of Gezi protests against 'Taksim Pedestrianization Project 2013', the use of their legal 'parliamentary immunity' by a few members via physically putting their 'bodies' in front of government forces, construction vehicles and police vehicles to stop the attacks, epitomizes the public reaction given at a body scale to the authoritarian imposition through architecture at urban scale.

Figure 2: Urban-spatial macro strategies and body-spatial micro resistance
(Source: http://cdn.theatlantic.com/static/infocus/china060412/t01_90605094.jpg -
http://900poundgorilla.files.wordpress.com/2013/01/egypt-protests-tahrir-square.jpg -
http://rt.com/files/news/1f/47/20/00/03.jpg -
http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/images/news/201306/n_48999_4.jpg - L.A.: *02.03.2014*)

THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC REALM AGAINST NEO-LIBERAL URBANIZATION POLICIES

Today, urban planning and architecture could and should be perceived as a medium of struggle to be given in the physical space and at the body-scale. Architecture can evolve from a macro-scale, practical, professional field which serves a city that can be planned by a single hand at a single time into a micro-scale epistemological field which presents the spatial tools of an organic city that grows in a piecemeal manner. In Turkey, the recent law regulating 'urban transformation' authorizes the Central Administration of Mass Housing (TOKI), which is directly related to the office of Prime Minister, thus putting the government as the only actor in the transformation of city by fully uniting the processes of land allocation, planning, financing, and contracting in one hand. No matter how much the public have been inactivated by these central mechanisms in determining its own position in urban space, the public's request to reclaim their urban rights starts to occur over space yet at a totally different scale, that is to say; *body*.

Thoreau (1849, 2013) asserts that the strategies of political regimes to create a military workforce and citizens that can be controlled starts in the monasteries and schools and extends to boy scouts, sports teams, factory, prison, military and eventually to public daily life (Bröckling 1997). Discipline as a practice of establishing authority exerts constant and systematic pressure on 'body'. Today, this pressure seems to have reached to the level of controlling individuals (in addition to masses) in public urban spaces. The discrepancy between powerful and weak causes an increase in disobedience, particularly in a field where the powerful cannot infiltrate (Thoreau 1849, 2013, p. 22). The tactical dimension connects the strategic games and the disobedience.

Like Foucault, De Certeau (1984, p. 31) calls the operation of the sovereignty ground backed up by the notions of *property ownership* and *space*, as *strategy*, while calling the totality of all the counter manoeuvres within 'authority's field of vision', as *tactics*. Therefore, he defends that the *spacelessness* embodied in the disobedience may provide mobility. Considering that there is also an area outside the 'authority's field of vision', the virtual ramifications of Gezi Park, common consciousness of the public reminds us of the mind (as an external medium outside the spatial field of the game) which moves the chess pieces along and beyond the Troitzky line. De Certeau says that 'tactics is the art of poor and the weak'. Gezi Park protests show that spacelessness and tacticality were the essential weapons of the urban actors whose power and mechanisms of participation in urban decisions had been removed against the architecture and planning which unfortunately became the technical weapons for neo-liberal policies. It would not be wrong to suggest that while the proposed renovation of barracks is a spatial manifestation of discipline and strategy, the dynamism, fluidity and lightness in the ephemeral formations of Gezi Park resistance appears as a representation of the spacelessness of civil disobedience and its tactical nature.

THE EMERGENT PHENOMENON OF RESIST SPACE IN GEZI PARK

Gezi Park protests against 'Taksim Pedestrianization Project 2013' can be considered as a *'social resistance struggle that is conducted over public space'*. This process has proved that space is an instrument of resilience through accommodating multiple identities in a single space on the one hand, and spreading the identity of 'disobedience' in multiple spaces on the other. During this process, how the complex rhizomatic structure of the public space (particularly with the contribution of technology) was transformed onto a strategic dimension from the simple scale of 'body' itself is clearly observed. It is understood, at the end of these protests against the idea of building a mall instead of an urban park, that society which was formerly assumed to have been wrapped up with virtual spaces, or with closed spaces (such as artificial-sterile environments of shopping malls) has been saturated enough; and consequently, they decided to reclaim the 'urban rights' not only for themselves but for all segments of the society by going back to the urban space, to the urban park which is probably more needed by those who were previously marginalized. It can easily be inferred that the relationship of the citizens who first, organized cultural events to keep their urban spaces, and later, under pressure and police violence, managed to establish an alternative ideal of micro-living and social order reminiscent of the Paris Commune, is very threatening for the existing corrupt system in the form of the authoritarian government. Therefore, these citizens were violently attacked. This was probably the first riot which started over a specific public space and architecture. Thus, the reaction to the anomalous appropriation of a public space by private entities as a result of neo-liberal urban policies has expressed its resilience again via spatial instruments. This phenomena can be called 'resist-space'.

In this context, Gezi Park resistance has followed a path that can be described as 'spatial' at every stage along the way. Reclamation and physical invasion of the park space as well as its physical transformation (through tents and other lightweight structures) have later ended up with the invasion of police forces and the re-transformation of the park with the gardening efforts of the municipality. Besides, the organization of an alternative grand political meeting by the government in an alternative urban space during the time of protests shows the degrre of spatiality of this resistance. The rhizomatic nature of the Gezi Park, due to the movements of human body dynamics in this new and self-organizing space with ever-increasing tents on a daily basis, has been the messenger of a new flexible and ephemeral urban-spatial phenomenon.

When considered from the perspective of power-space relationships, it can be projected that the dominance of the authority over the park space via conventional means and methods cannot be permanent; and urban space will be transformed into public realm again by means of contemporary devices and networks. All of these are indicators of the fact that resist-space is an essential aspect of a strategy game (like the chess game) and can be organized over 'body' without the need (like the pawns over the line of Troitzky) for conventional aspects of architecture. When the relationships of bodies not only to the urban networks (i.e. physical spatial configuration of the city and transportation networks) in which they take place, but also to virtual networks (i.e. specifically social media networks such as Facebook and Twitter that played a major role and caused government recently to introduce internet censorship) as well as to technologies (i.e. smartphones that interact with the virtual networks), the urban public space reminds us of the *chess board* while the urban actors (whose powers are taken away by force) reminds us of the *pawns* playing against the *King*.

CONCLUSION: OTHER-CHITECTURE AT BODY SCALE

Within the framework of the notion of spatiality and urban ethics in relation to power relationships within urban space, resistance at different scales and the leaps among these scales play crucial roles in negotiating city rights among different parties in the public realm. Games and spatial tactics deployed towards such negotiations are a significant means to understand the processes of resistance in urban spaces.

As mentioned at the very beginning, a force that consists of one (or sometimes two) pawn(s) can push the check-mate in various positions, and it depends on whether the pawns of the defending side are either along or behind what is called "Troitzky line"; and the reason that the check-mate can be pushed is that the defending side has to move its pawn at least once in every move. Moreover, preventing the movement of pawn or the king by knight may shorten the path leading to check-mate and then checking via the knight that stops the pawn would complete the mate. Consequently, the positions of the weak pieces in reference both to the strong pieces and to the crucial point in the spatial field of the chess game would bring victory at the end of the game. The sources on 'end of chess games' show that the success in these exceptional cases largely depends not only on consistency and persistence, but also on the relationship of the pawn with other pieces as well as the strategic (such as Troitzky line), geo-metric, and spatial constructs within the 64 square space.

Like the Gezi Protests in Istanbul against 'Taksim Pedestrianization Project 2013', in many examples of resistance from history, as given above, it is observed that individuals (like pawns in chess) whose movements are restricted usually locate themselves strategically, can threaten the government (the King in chess) through a spatial resistance, by establishing relations with other individuals outside (like pawns along Troitzky line), through technological means in a virtual environment (e.g. Twitter, Facebook etc.). These games still continue all over the world; Turkey, Venezuela, Ukraine etc. This game was cleverly played by the pawns in Gezi Park against fully armed and equipped police forces and secret intelligence networks. When one of the last pawns was taken, another pawn, 'standing man', made another move, with his own body in the middle of Taksim Square. His effort spreads all over the city and the country with protests in different forms such as people playing their pots and pans from their windows. It seems that spatial resistance at body scale continues with the pieces along the Troitzky line (Figure 3).
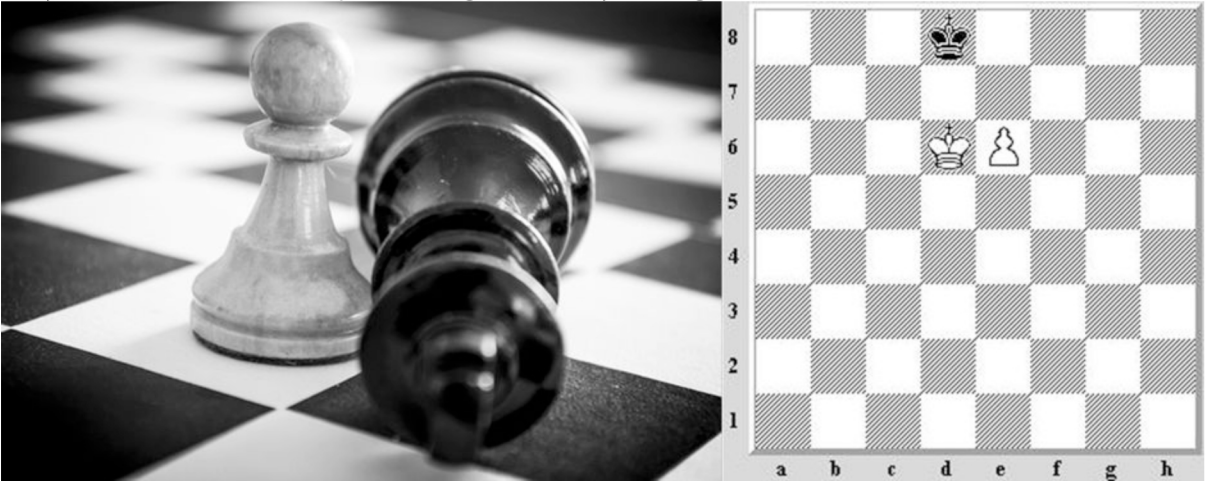

Figure 3: *End games with weak pieces in chess and surprizing results*
(http://stevejohnson.zenfolio.com/img/s4/v63/p1389369934-3.jpg -
http://www.frankswebspace.org.uk/chess/kingAndPawnvPawnMate_files/image001.jpg)

One can think of many strategic games based on space. When looking at neo-liberal urban policies and their relevant spatial strategies, monopoly stands out as the most commonly played strategic game of an era. It is a game based on monetary equivalent of spaces and purchase of more space to dominate the game. The governors of our time seem to have been influenced by Monopoly. However, one should remember the fact that the youth called 'Y generation' have mastered electronic strategy games much more than the generation confident about their chess skills.

What is important here, as argued above, is who plays the spatial game on behalf of the public, how and why pieces are moved on the game board. The Gezi Park protests, like many others simultaneously occurring around the globe, shows that when public authorities make a mistake and exert their forces on the public, they take over the game even if their valuable and influential pieces are taken away and continue playing with their pawns against the king; and as a matter of fact, they play very well using contemporary tools and networks.

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