

# BODIES

## IN

# PROTEST

Kyra Michel	Framework	5
Enoncé théorique, projet de master 2022	Tahrir - Tent City	11
EPFL ENAC SAR	Hong Kong - Be Water	27
Groupe de suivi:	Gilets Jaunes - Peri-urban Roundabouts	39
Dr. Luca Pattaroni, professeur énoncé	Agency in Context	53
Prof. Jeffrey Huang, directeur pédagogique	Conclusion	61
Gianna Ledermann, maître EPFL	Reading Guides	63
	Endnotes	67

## MAKING SPACE

As large scale protests have marked the last decade and flooded our screens and media, their use of public space has revealed how collective action can challenge and modify dominant spatial practices. In continuity with traditions of occupation and riot, some movements have brought their demands into the plaza, the parc or the square, setting up a protest camp to live in urban public space. Others took to the streets to march together, being visible and audible along their way through the network of streets and paths in cities designed increasingly for automobile mobility. And some went directly to the nodes of exchange of the global economy, using infrastructure as a place to express dissent. Those strategies are constituted progressively as movements emerge and evolve over time. This essay consid-

## FOR

## DISSENT

ers ways in which protests express demands and constitute group identities by shaping social space and disrupting hegemonic practices. The body is a medium of power in this process and acts in alliance with others to demand change. This collective action of appearing in public space is not only the expression, but also the place of experimentation with new forms of political subjectivity.

The cases of Tahrir Square's occupation in 2011, Hong Kong protests of 2019-2020 and the Gilets jaunes' movement initiated in 2018 offer different relations between protesters, bodily performance, and the use of spatial settings as supports for action.

BODIES

IN

PROTEST

Kyra Michel  
Enoncé théorique, projet de master 2021-2022  
EPFL ENAC SAR

MAKING SPACE

FOR

DISSENT

## FRAMEWORK

### Acknowledgments

Dr. Pattaroni for his precious inputs and trust in my capabilities.

Prof. Huang for his encouragements and timely reminder that we are architects.

Gianna for her great references, as well as her patience and flexibility with my unpredictable working rythm.

Iris, Jacob and Marion for reading my drafts and making sure the essay has some intellectual coherence.

Victor for being my pretend binôme in decisions too akward to be made alone, such as chapter orders and when to go home.

Collectif Bodybuilding for being a place of release, support and creativity during our last months as students.

My family and friends for making sure that the world outside of work is so rich and enjoyable.

A march cannot be organized and held in the same way in Minneapolis as in Lyon - this seems to be a rather intuitive truth, but how can it be explained? How can we conceive of social contestation movements as a political actor in shaping not only discourse, but also space?

During the last decade, the world witnessed a large number of protests on livestreams, TV, or through smartphones. We have seen large groups of people, wearing makeshift armours or color-coded costumes, chanting, marching, or running - « *bodies in alliance* » as Judith Butler describes them, moving into public space to express their demands. From Cairo's Tahrir square to Athen's Syntagma square, from Madrid's Puerta del Sol to Zuccotti Park in New York, and from Buenos Aires' street marches to Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement, cities seem to have become critical zones for social protests to unfold. The conditions of urban living and the extents of metropolitan areas, the gemstones of global capitalist networks, are embedded in their territories through extensive infrastructure. As cities and their role in the global economy have grown, the nature of collective actions of dissent necessarily takes on an evolving shape.

In this first chapter, I will outline the concepts that serve the subsequent study case. Mainly, I will gather theories of political philosophers and thinkers that allow me to frame protest actions as collective expressions of dissent through bodily performance, disrupting spatial practices of a given hegemonic social order, and creating new meaning within this complex space. Finally, I will present the perspective offered by the notion of prefigurative politics, which allows to consider social movements beyond the objective success or not of their protests and demands.

The event of protest is embedded in conceptions of democracy. Pluralism, dissent, freedom of expression and coexistence of multiple political parties are constitutive elements of democratic governance in its contemporary european conception, meaning that protest is accepted as a tool of expression. The extent to which its manifestations are in fact admitted by sovereign states and their elected officials or civil servants is however questionable. Conflict and dissent are a part of democratic struggle, but what limitations do they meet in practice? How is the place of antagonism circumscribed in the political? And how can we conceptualize dissenting social movements as political actors facing a situated governing structure? The fundamental role of confrontation and conflict within democratic processes is not universally agreed upon, as proponents of deliberative processes believe it can be resolved by discussion (deliberation) to reach a satisfying consensus. This supposes that the consensus expresses a valid and sovereign popular will. In this case, an ideological «center» is found to balance the opinions of different parties. No radical thought is possibly included in this balance, because antagonism is deemed counter-productive. To justify an outlook on collective actions of protest - a manifestation of antagonism - without necessarily engaging with the philosophical matter of political violence, I will frame them as the alliance of plural interests leading to physical acts of confrontation that reveal an ideological conflict with the social order they act upon.

Theories of radical democracy offer different perspectives on how to achieve the radical extension of equality and liberty. Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau developed a convincing critique of liberal and deliberative democratic processes' concern with consensus as a desirable outcome. They consider

Democratic pluralism and the essential role of conflict: dissent in the form of protest is inevitable in radical democracy.

that consensus without exclusion is impossible, and that only the acceptance of difference - or pluralism - can bring radical equality. In their view, consensus is necessarily exclusive because it erases dissenting and radical voices that do not make up a majority. A consensual society beyond antagonism and division is unimaginable, an idea one has to come to terms with to realise agonistic pluralism. In their oeuvre « Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics » (Laclau, Mouffe 1985) they recognize the obsolescence of Marxist conceptions of classes within a historic course of capitalism and the idea of communism as a transparent system that solves all forms of antagonism, and propose the concept of 'hegemony' as a useful tool for democratic struggle. Mouffe further develops their reflection around the centrality of the concepts of 'antagonism' and 'hegemony' to

Hegemony is expressed in practices that can become sedimented. No hegemonic order is natural, it can be rearticulated and is only one of many alternative orders.

define the political. Hegemony is the attribute that comes with any given social order; it is established through practices that articulate its forms of dominance (Mouffe 1999, 2016). Social institutions are fixed within this articulation and are an element of hegemonic practice. Importantly, since hegemony is expressed through practices, it is not permanent or innate. A hegemonic order is always replaceable by a counter-hegemony because it is not pre-existent or prior to its own manifestations, it is only one configuration of social order which could have been otherwise and can always be challenged and rearticulate. This means that the naturalisation of certain orders is a misconception, and only reveals that certain hegemonic practices have been repeated often enough to become 'sedimented'. Struggle represents the contest of hegemony in its current form, and should propose for a rearticulation of hegemonic practices to be successful in achieving change. Her agonistic approach relies on the relational nature of identities, constituted through a collective demarcation of 'us' versus 'them'.

« *What democratic politics requires is that the others are not seen as enemies to be destroyed, but as adversaries whose ideas would be fought, even fiercely, but whose right to defend those ideas will never be put into question. To put it in another way, what is important is that conflict does not take the form of an 'antagonism' (struggle between enemies), but the form of an 'agonism' (struggle between adversaries). We could say that the aim of democratic politics is to transform potential antagonism into an agonism.* » (Mouffe 2016, 3). This identities are constituted over time, through practice: as we protest, we necessarily relate to a group with shared aims. We chant, march, eat, and stand together. The event of protest

allows for collective re-imagining of who we are, what we can do and what we want. But in what spaces does the encounter materialize?

Social practices play an active role in defining meaning and space according to Lefebvre's theory. Ten years prior to Mouffe and Laclau's argument for conflict and agonism as essential components of plural radical democracy, Henri Lefebvre published his work on the production of space (Lefebvre 1974). His eminent contribution allows us to define constructed social space - as defined by Lefebvre - as a result of hegemonic

Lefebvre: practices shape complex space. Therefore, hegemonic practices construct a space that can be challenged by counter-hegemonic practices and struggle.

practices - as defined by Mouffe. In fact, both theories imply that practices define and maintain a given order or use. Lefebvre establishes the mutual reciprocal influence of physical spaces and social practices in shaping a society. Space is reproductive, and he argues that citizen have a right to participate in in shaping their society through its spaces. This 'Right to the City' is, in his thought, a fundamental right of citizen after the 1968 student upheavals. Given a 'natural' or 'absolute' geometry, space emerges as a complex social construction through the production of values and meanings. This shift in perspective means that when conducting a spatial analysis, the process of production of space and its political character become central: when analyzing a public protest, we will be looking simultaneously at its interrelation with messages and symbols embedded in their physical context, as both a support for their action and the object of social transformation through the disruption of conventional uses. The way that collective and plural dissent is expressed in protest influences the social space in which they inscribe their actions: through occupation, blockades or disruptions, a new meaning is given to the chosen place.

The mode of existence of social relations is what makes them, to Lefebvre, co-producers of space. « *The study of space offers an answer according to which the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into a space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing that space itself.* » (Lefebvre 1991, 138). We can observe that the projection can be of different nature: when a protest is organized in a public square, surrounded by architectural objects symbolizing a sovereign state, for example, the structures of political power are addressed directly. Actors chose physical proximity to conventional places of power, maybe in an attempt to reclaim some of it, or at least to question its legitimacy in

current forms. They modify the perception of the square by voicing dissent towards its symbolic content, perhaps using visual communication tools such as banners, costumes and placards. It is an overlay of meanings, the reclaiming of rights upon a part of hegemonic practices by voicing dissent. On the other hand, some spaces are less intentionally expressive of hegemony: the peripheral roundabouts emblematic of the Gilets Jaunes' protests do not contain a code of use before their occupations, and are not traditional a place of political parade. In fact, they are thought of as non-inhabitable, as non-welcoming to bodies outside the shell of a moving car. The transit network surrounding metropolitan areas serves the city's provisionment and connection to other nodes, ensuring that services and goods are accessible for urban users, fulfilling an essential reproductive function in the franchised or guaranteed city. These nondescript spaces irrupt in public discourse and substitute the historical role of public squares as places for civic political expression. Similarly, in Hong Kong, malls, metro stations and skybridges have become places of collective action and informal encounter. Some malls - the temples of consumption and capitalist reproduction - have been noticed as convenient spaces for assembly and are usually easily accessible by transport. Urban practices of space are disrupted and reinterpreted in all of these cases, and experimentation with different meanings is part of the hegemonic struggle.

Disrupting established social spaces creates a breach or « *brèche* » (Breviglieri 2013) in the flow of the attractive, superficially diverse and neutralized urban spaces clearly referenced to structure the city's use. The clear denomination and delimitation of uses render a legible, normalized, and referential space, where uses and functions are clearly defined.

The urban guarantees flows and experiences for users and avoids disturbances. Protests are a form of breach within this concept of cities.

Users are guided through visual landmarks and mobility plans that ensure that no perturbations, or trouble, are encountered. « *Jamais désorienté, rarement troublé, celui-ci progresse dans l'espace urbain, qui renforce chez lui son autonomie et sa pleine individualité.* » (Breviglieri 2013, 222). This feeling of agency enhances individual autonomy in navigating urban spaces. These planning principles contribute to our understanding of urban space as the crystallization of hegemony.

« *L'environnement urbain contemporain subit une normalisation fonctionnelle, il est désormais comme entièrement recouvert par un espace de références conventionnelles facilitant la prévisibilité de l'utilisation normale qu'on peut en faire.* »

(Breviglieri 2013, 218). This supposes that the spaces we navigate contain symbols and information we can read as references: we have gathered a normative understanding of use and property delineated by changes in temperature, materials, smells, sounds, signalisation... Sensitive variations guide us in recognizing where to do what. Protest requires the creation of a breach: people gathering with a demand need to establish that their purpose is contestation, they need to signify a difference towards other groups of urban users. This differentiation operates through different channels, and is not necessarily confrontational. Regular urban users, if they still can, will continue their practice and sometimes become spectators, a public watching and interacting with groups of protesters. Recordings from Hong Kong show fully geared up protesters returning to their home district after a day of battle: as they pass through a mall, shoppers stop and applaud them. This theatricalized interaction frames the protests as a performance, a theatrical act, and the regular citizen as their public, giving a positive feedback to the staged show they witnessed from afar.

Social struggle, strikes and occupations have longstanding great tradition in many places, developing a general understanding of collective actions of dissent in a

Public space and appearance: extension to media and audiovisual content. Collective action in Arendt's space of appearance can only take place with a material support and through bodily actions

chronology of events. But recent technological developments have changed the ways in which people organize and communicate: protest movements reflect this change. Digital tools have greatly influenced the organizational structures of social mobilization, with some movements relying completely on the features of smartphone apps for their decision-making. Simultaneously, the internet has enhanced the previously geographically located 'public space': exchanges and political discourse have moved to great extent to virtual spaces of encounter. The notion of liquid public space is advanced by Jeffrey Hou (Hou 2019) in reference to Hong Kong protests: without legal opportunities for manifestation and public demonstrations, the insurgents have found forms of resistance that challenge the absolute control of the sovereign state over urban space. These shape an extended understanding of what constitutes public space, when the public square is not available for protests. Being visible and audible is the aim of any protest action; and audiovisual media has taken importance in contributing to that end. The physical location is not the only medium of experience anymore, which is now transferrable to a wider audience and spark other initiatives:



after the Egyptian revolution in 2011, commentators asked if India or Palestine would have their Tahrir Square. The experience is transferred, and the iconic place is transposed: « *So it is located, and it is transposable; indeed, it seemed to be transposable from the start, though never completely. And, of course, we cannot think the transposability of those bodies in the square without the media.* » (Butler 2012, 8). Public opinions are shaped by the images and footage they are exposed to, and the publication of such content is an act of resistance in itself. Mediated voices and images perform a part of the historical function of public space in liberal democracies. Hannah Arendt's conception of the public sphere in relation to visibility and appearance are highly relevant to that day: what is public is increasingly defined by what is visible rather than ownership and location. Judith Butler recognizes that collective action in Arendt's space of appearance can only take place with a material support and through bodily actions - even if it is virtual (Butler 2012). One phrase resonates strongly in relation to occupations such as Tahrir, where claiming space and claiming social justice become inseparable: « *We cannot act without supports, and yet we must struggle for the supports that allow us to act.* » (Butler 2012, 2).

She operates the same reciprocal influence between practice and space as Lefebvre, but her conception of 'support' allows for the extension to infrastructure and objects. When bodies gather in the streets, they are exercising a right: « *Where the legitimacy of the state is brought into question precisely by that way of appearing in public, the body itself exercises a right that is no right; in other words, it exercises a right that is being actively contested and destroyed by military force, and which, in its resistance to force, articulates its persistence, and its right to persistence.* » (Butler 2012, 5) The bodies are a modality of power during collective action, as they incarnate a non-verbal message and a narrative. Environments, primary needs, socialisation, and modes of belonging are a precondition to their performative nature - which brings us to a biopolitical understanding of protests. The shift from governing territories to governing a population and its biological reproduction through dispositives and technologies of power has been theorized by Michel Foucault (Foucault 1976). If state power is extended to the administration of bodies, then the bodily performance of acts of protests is a biopolitical act. Strategies of counter-insurgency are evident manoeuvres of control over disruptive spatial practices that are innately physical. Through the use of force, non-lethal

Bodies are a modality of power and counter-insurgency establishes biopolitical sovereignty over those bodies

weapons, intimidation and dispositives of crowd control, the sovereign state establishes its authority on insurgent bodies. Their resistance engages physical safety because of asymmetric resort to physical violence and its many tools, and is a direct resistance to these modalities of control. People protest against, within, and despite state control of their movements. This can go as far as weaponizing human life in Hong Kong, where frontliners are fully aware and expressive of their possible death. Or it can translate in a challenge to hegemony through refusal of cooperation as the Gilets Jaunes systematically refuse to communicate the routes of marches to the authorities, disallowing their established habits of supervision. The bodily dimension of collective acts of protests places the struggle in a biopolitical conception of sovereign power: both the expression and control of dissent operate on the level of life as a subject of political administration.

The production of public spaces of appearance through bodily performance is a biopolitical act. If democracy itself is a process continually performed, the plural expression of dissent challenges hegemonic practices of space. Demonstrators introduce creative ways of disrupting these hegemonic practices through collective action and by doing so create new spaces for political discourse.

These new spaces are not pre-existing to their creation; they are instrumental in the creation of group identities and the politisation of individual claims. They challenge hegemonic conceptions of how cities and societies can function and are in that sense of prefigurative nature.

This outlook allows us to bridge the time and space gap separating us from movements we are not part of. « *Instead of speculating about actors' ends, and attempting to ascribe them such ends from our own, 'outside' perspective, one might rather focus on the means employed. Instead of asking whether a practice might be considered successful on the basis of our own, external, criteria, we might start with a radically different question: what is it that those involved in this practice actually do or did, and what does this tell us about this practice or movement?* » (Sande 2013, 230). This requires to consider the actions of protesters as the actualization of set ideals, meaning that the actions are the means to a goal. The achievement of certain demands is not the only relevant indicator to evaluate a movement's objective success. The momentary disruption of hegemonic practices and the creation of spaces of prefiguration, counter-narratives, socializa-

Protests contain prefigurative elements and allow political subjectivities to emerge

tion and experimentation is in itself an achievement. The focus of this essay therefore never lies in whether or not a movement managed to modify legal and institutional rules or not, but on the qualities and creativity of their strategies in making space for their demands. This space is important in reaching the affects: face-to-face encounters and the emotions felt during protests through physical environments and the sense of community with others allow for political identity, or subjectivity, to develop. Moments of protest are highly emotional, even visceral, as most people who have participated in a march or occupation would agree. The rhythm and movement of hundreds of people walking in the same direction of oneself, the power felt from this alliance in a struggle, the chants and slogans shouted simultaneously, and passersby or law enforcement watching the spectacle - all this and more triggers strong emotional responses and enhances the feeling of community, of being on the same side. Ching Kwan Lee, a sociology professor quoted by Hou, shares her thoughts on the importance of affects in Hong Kong protests: « *Through these actions and encounters, a community was reborn, reconstituted, and people relate to that community with a very deep reservoir of passion and commitment.* » (Hou 2021, 13). As she explains, the emotions are a fuel keeping commitment alive. They are also the binding element that allows dissenting individuals to come together as a self-identifying group, strengthening feelings of solidarity and empathy. The experimentation of new modes of socialisation is, in that sense, prefigurative: it lays out processes of decision-making and politisation that are counter-hegemonic and contain a proposal for change. They are not a perfect solution but merely a pedagogic occurrence that explores collective ways of being.

Precedence has been set in spatializing protests by different researchers. A choreographic approach developed in « *The Design of Protest* » (Hatuka 2018) attempts to define a typology of spatial manifestations of protest, arguing that similarities can be found amongst virtually all of them. Hatuka separates the formal attributes strictly from the political ideology and struggle and considers the « *spatial setting and the body to be mutually constitutive* » (Hatuka 2018, loc. 1655) - that is, that both the body and space are performative and

without fixed characteristics - which takes form during protest events as « *spatial choreographies* ». This concept supposedly reveals how people and spaces interact during these protests, constructing a new social meaning and negotiating everyday sociopolitical distance. The element of distance is an important one in this framework. Drawing from Canetti's axiom of the crowd as an overcoming of the individual's fear of proximity with the other, opening up different possibilities and logics for mass assembly, which she overlays with a socio-political notion of distance between citizen and their state theorized by Diane Davis, and a psychological exploration of cognitive distance from Nira Liberman and Yaacov Trope. By applying her notion of sociopolitical distance to events of dissent, she defines a clear role for architects and urban planners: they « *demarcate distance by defining the geometry of space* » (Hatuka 2018, loc. 242).

Sociopolitical distance in Hatuka's typologies of spatial choreographies of protest

If Hatuka's work contains interesting and relevant premises, the effort to over-formalize unique events strongly embedded in a specific context required to create this typology immediately seems unrealistic. The strategies often emerge as a continuity of previous demonstrations of dissent, but they tend to be adapted to the specific needs of the protestors facing state counter-insurgency. In this essay, the analysis of three events has no pretention of being an exhaustive overview of insurgent strategies, or of presenting a comparison. The selection of those events was based on their relative importance as regional influences for other social movements, on the availability of thorough testimonies and data (as personal attending was not an option), on their different geographic location and in their great diversity of strategies. Their analysis is not presented in a uniform way as each requires attention to different elements. However, the analysis generally follows a path from the narration of the event, the causes of the mobilization, the organizational structure of the movement, physical and geographical features, and finally concrete spatio-corporal strategies and their biopolitical implications.

## TAHRIR - TENT CITY

Cairo, Egypt - January 25th, 2011.

Starting from a number of neighbourhoods, groups of urban squatters start moving along the narrow streets of the city, growing along their way. Progressively, large masses of people emerge from those different parts, managing to confuse the state police and security forces. The protesters shout up to their neighbours and to people at their windows, encouraging them to join in. The paths of these growing masses converge after a few hours in the place called, since 1960, Tahrir Square - «freedom square» in arabic. Photocopied leaflets indicating crowd formation tactics are circulating from hand to hand, in order to avoid the monitored digital platforms: they describe what people should take with them, what buildings need to be circled, places to avoid because they allow kettling from the police, and what attitudes to adopt towards the police. Responding to a call issued on the Facebook page dedicated to Khaled Said, a young man assumingly beaten to death by the police in 2011, or joining after having heard of the protest through in-person or direct cell-phone communication, people have the images of tunisian protesters toppling a repressive and corrupt regime lead by President Ben Ali still fresh in their minds: some of their tactics are included in the leaflets, such as using Coca-Cola to wash teargas out of the face. Through their clear indications, they manage to occupy the country's largest square, a « public » place made for traffic and circulation rather than for communication and assembly, and stay there for 18 consecutive days - establishing a city within the city.

The conception of what is public space in Egypt has shifted significantly over the past centuries. Mosques represented the place of communication between the population and the ruler until their importance gradually declined in the 19th century, as

Mohamed Ali led the country towards Modernization and institutions such as newspapers, political parties and the parliament were created, inducing a new role for political discourse in the capital. Haussmanian planning models were gradually implemented throughout the city: the large boulevard and the square materialized this new, modern and European conception of public sphere. Nasser Rabbat (2013) argues that if it is evident that planners wanted to instill a new order in Cairo's urban and social structures through these interventions, « *it is less clear, however, whether they were also aware of the security features of the new planning apparatus, with its creation of wide, straight boulevards that enabled surveillance, military movement, and crowd control* »<sup>1</sup>: indeed, some of the plans have never been realised, which could also be explained by the bankruptcy of the state and the cost they would have entailed. Tahrir Square, then still named Isma'iliyya Square, results of such visions: it was meant to emulate Charles de Gaulle square in Paris, an iconic haussmanian triumphal roundabout. Its defining components were built progressively, as the institutions and high buildings around the vast square created a feeling of enclosedness, notably through the construction of the Egyptian museum in 1902. However, it became a place of political protest in 1919 as the scene of a revolution against British colonizers, without necessarily becoming an ongoing place of political discourse as much as other squares in Cairo. A significant shift appeared in public life during the 50s and 60s as the government took a socialist turn. Under a Nationalization Program, a large amount of previously privately operated parks and squares returned to the government's possession - the concept of « melk el homa », translated as property of the government, overrides previous conceptions of public space in Egypt. Under the ruling of

Evolution of the concept of public space in Cairo

President Nasser, who came to power in 1970, liberal policies sparked protests from the socialist groups, who took

to the squares and reinstated them as places of political discourse. Digital platforms became an important part of Egyptian public sphere in the 90s under the rule of Mubarak, who follows the economic policies of his assassinated predecessor while tightening the grip on political opposition and dissent<sup>2</sup>. And in 2011, the role of the square in Egyptian politics is up for a renewal.

The Egyptian revolution of 2011 is a rich study case for a number of reasons. First, the articulation between the digital and audiovisual spheres and the physical realm have been thoroughly explored, which allows me to understand the complexity of this relationship in later movements as well. Second, the occupation of the square is an example of how breaking down barriers between private and public spheres can create the « anarchist passage », or momentum, for the emergence of prefigurative politics (which also appear physically in the logistic and spatial organization of the square). These two aspects are not entirely distinct from each other, as digital tools can also be used to organize and influence the organizational structures of political movements as well.

The square is located at the west of the colonial district. It is considered part of a center of the city, and is generally easily accessible and well connected. It is in direct proximity of the Nile and is the confluent point of arguably 16 streets, with a large roundabout at its center. The urban form of these networks immediately reminds of haussmannian planification principles, as the intersection takes on a symbolic role. The flow of traffic is emphasized at the junction of the large number of streets, creating a busy sensation. The city seems to live fast, people have places to go to during the day as much as during the night. Contrary to haussmannian roundabouts however, Tahrir does not have in its center a national monument:

Physical features of Tahrir Square: A place de l'Etoile with no Arc de Triomphe, surrounded by symbolically relevant buildings of eclectic styles

if the Place de l'Etoile (or Square Charles de Gaulle) in Paris was the inspiration for the design, where is its unforgettable Arc de Triomphe? It seems as the repeated revolutions and regime changes in Egypt make it difficult to erect and keep such a symbolically charged object in this place. In 1952, after a revolt and successful coup led by Gamal Abdul Nasser, the statue of the fallen king's father was just finished, therefore its pedestal remained empty. It was left as a landmark of the

failed monarchy for the following decades. After the assassination of president Anwar el Sadat in 1981, the square was renamed in his honour and a statue of him was planned to be erected in the center of the roundabout, but never built: the renaming of 'Sadat Square' did not stick, and it was not strongly imposed by the young Mubarak regime. The roundabout remained without a statue for another four decades. In 2013, a memorial for those killed during the revolution in 2011 was built, sparking anger amidst protestors: they felt that the army and the government were responsible of the killings, and that the memorial was an act of hypocrisy. Finally, in 2020, an ancient obelisk peaking at 19 meters and weighing about 100 tons is erected, reminding the passersby of Egypt's pharaonic past. This decision has caused more controversy and resistance among archeologists and Historians than among activists: the granite obelisk should withstand urban conditions rather well, but the four sphinxes set at its foot consist of sandstone, which could be severely damaged by rainwater mixed with pollutants, as an Egyptologist told Reuters<sup>3</sup>.

No major landmark or object was present on the roundabout itself during the early months of 2011. However, the buildings surrounding the square are distinctly high, monumental and of symbolic importance. They are witnesses and expressions of the History of modern Egypt, and serve as a dramatic backdrop to the revolutionary happenings, scenes that become recognizable through their wide dissemination on the internet. The Egyptian Museum, opened in 1901 and designed by French Beaux-Arts architect Marcel Dourgnon<sup>4</sup>, is recognizable by its bright red stone and neo-classical symmetry. It hosts the world's oldest collection of pharaonic art and monuments. On land it previously owned, adjacent to the Nile, the National Democratic Party - founded by Sadat in 1978, and the facto single and ruling party until Mubarak's resignation - had its Headquarters, which were looted and torched by protestors and the building was finally torn down in 2015. On the South of these two objects, the Headquarters of the Arab League face Tahrir Palace along the main street, also named El Tahrir. The former is a voluntary intergovernmental organization that was founded in 1945, and presents as a single main building with a dozen of floors and a front plaza laterally enclosed by two lower wings. It was built simultaneously as the Nile Ritz-Carlton under Abdel Nasser's rule. The inspiration, clearly modernist in its regularity and defined geometry, could be Italian, as the composition strongly reminds the one of Palazzo dei Sindacati (1932) in Milano or Gio Ponti's famous Palazzo della Montecatini (1936). Facing it, the ministry of foreign affairs is housed inside a neo-Islamic palace built for Princess Nemtallah in the 1890s<sup>5</sup>. Following this counter-clo-

ckwise enumeration, the Mogamma Al Tahrir (literally translated as 'the collective') is an impressive structure with a wide open space. It houses most government agencies behind the soviet-style facade in a labyrinth of corridors and offices, which tie the building to dysfunctional bureaucracy in people's minds. Finally, the American University is described as having a neo-Mamluk style<sup>6</sup>: it was built for a minister of Isma'il Pasha, the ruler who planned the haussmannization of Cairo in the 1870s while impatiently enforcing reforms to modernize and Europeanize his country. The square is then closed off by neo-classical housing, which contain a few commerces on their ground level, as well as a number of hotels. The gathering of all these architectural remnants left behind by forces that claimed space and power in Egyptian national politics lays out an eclectic urban scenery and the roundabout in its center acts as a centripetal force (Weizman 2015) for protestors, while police and opposing groups attempt to generate movement away from it, dispersing and breaking the collective into controllable individuals.

Some of the buildings were confronted directly by protestors: the National Democratic Party's headquarters were looted and set on fire on the evening of January 28th<sup>7</sup>, making it unfit for use. It was a direct violent act against the main (but not only) target of the protests, Hosni Mubarak, as well as the political organization of the country itself, ruled by a single party. It is unclear who set the fire, but it did spark strong responses and discussions as it was feared at some point the fire could reach the nearby museum and destroy its invaluable collection. Like the fallen King's empty pedestal on the roundabout in 1952, the ruin has been considered as a symbol for the failure of Mubarak's autocratic regime by many<sup>8</sup>, and even part of Egypt's architectural legacy in its charred state. It was argued that the building holds collective memory from before, during and after the 2011 revolution, since it has been part of the Cairene skyline for so long and is located so majestically in front of the Nile. Therefore, the government's decision to withdraw the building from the list of nationally protected heritage and subsequently to demolish it in 2015 was received with a lot of criticism. It has been argued that the location makes the plot of land highly valuable, too much so to stand in ruins, it seems difficult to strip the ruin of its symbolic value when debating its fate. If profits and investment are the admitted driving forces behind this decision making process, erasing a mark left on the city by revolutionaries must have been considered a desirable side-effect. Between the demolition and the erected 100-ton obelisk in the center of the roundabout, one could sense that the government seems confident in putting the memory of the revolution behind. The Mogamma also

stands for bureaucracy and the uselessness of an utterly corrupt state, which was the trigger of Egyptian anger.

The camp we are describing now is the one that appeared during the early weeks of February, up until Mubarak's resignation on February 11th, 2011. Its area, materialized by a frontier of barricades and checkpoints both built by the army and protestors, has varied as Mubarak supporters were present in the area

Establishing the camp as a 'tent city' with services and infrastructure substituting the failed state

north from the Museum, resulting in clashes on Meret Basha street. From February 6th onwards, the tents and other structures in the grassy areas of the square seem to become more permanent. It is widely considered at this point that Egypt's political structure would not return to its previous state, as the international community issues statements in this regard<sup>9</sup>. On that day, prominent blogger @sandmonkey tweets: « I've been to Tahrir Square today. My prediction was correct. The March 8<sup>10</sup> model is taking over. It has become a tent city. #jan25 ». It is interesting to note that the term « tent city » is used over the longer standing « protest camp »: if it is more of a city than a camp, it means it is staying for longer. It means that it can substitute for the services and networks offered by the surrounding city. It means that it is a political item in itself: the city is not just a protest, it is a proposal and an experimentation on what urban life could be. A city has a municipality, a population, and exterior relations - but is also concerned with its own contradictions and conflicts. On Tahrir, different interest groups cohabit, as their presence is in itself due to a consensus on a need for change, or a rearticulation of hegemonic forms of power incarnated in Hosni Mubarak's rule. The distinction of « us » versus the ruler's supporters is clearly defined, through aforementioned barricades, military checkpoints, and control points organized by protestors themselves<sup>11</sup>. A process has been set up specifically to filter out these individuals: antigovernment protestors have set up men along the points of entry to the square to alert if Mubarak supporters try to attack, by using sound and banging metal as a way of communication. Once individuals within the square have been identified as opponents, as belonging not to « us » but to « them », they are detained in Tahrir's metro station. What used to be a hub of transport is reappropriated and used as a place of forced immobilization, benefiting from the enclosure that cannot be found elsewhere on the open square. Once they

Security and filtering out adversaries: antagonism on the outside, cohabitation and agonism on the inside



have been detained, the suspects are handed over to the army on Cairo Al Wosta street, diametrically opposed to the northern area where Mubarak supporters gather. These control and expulsion tactics have become necessary after the violent clashes of February 2nd, when Mubarak supporters entered the square on camels and horses, resulting in eleven deaths. The distinction of « us » and « them » is a constitutive element of group identities and hegemonic struggle, but according to Chantal Mouffe, the construction of an adversary as an enemy is detrimental to agonistic pluralism and a well-functioning democracy. She argues that « somebody with whose ideas we are going to struggle but whose right to defend those ideas we will not put into question ». She furthers that « *An adversary is a legitimate enemy, an enemy with whom we have in common a shared adhesion to the ethico-political principles of democracy* »<sup>12</sup>. « the prime task of democratic politics is not to eliminate passions nor to relegate them to the private sphere in order to render rational consensus possible, but to mobilize those passions towards the promotion of democratic designs. »<sup>13</sup>. In a revolutionary context, such legitimate oppositions lose their traditional framework of understanding: what is legitimate and what is not during a revolution? The use of force by different powers and groups during the protests make it clear that the Egyptian society, and Cairo as a city, qualify as an antagonistic space at that time. Within Tahrir square however, the common agreement on democratic claims and the dissent towards an anti-democratic government bind together groups with divergent or even contradictory political perspectives. Their point of convergence lies in the negative demand for the government to resign, without being able to clearly articulate a programme for positive rearticulation. If this lack of unity and intellectualization has been heavily criticized in the international press, it also allows the participants to enjoy a great freedom of experimentation.

Protestors in Tahrir square appear to agree on a central demand - the removal of the regime - but they differ on whether to negotiate or not,

and if so, how. « *This is one of the main drawbacks of the revolution. Usually people think about what they want and then they start a revolution, but now it is the other way around. We*

*have created the revolution first and then in the next transitional period, we will be allowed to see politics, and decide what to join and what to do* » says Mohammed Kalfat, a translator who participated in the sit in.<sup>14</sup> Different groups do emit lists of demands including proposals for amending the consti-

tution (see illustrations), there is no single leader or spokesperson for the movement.

Without a pre-existing organizational structure, the emergence of the square's services and sectors are a laboratory for social organization<sup>15</sup> where material and bodily needs become prominent. The groups are unable to form consensus on a list of demands for the form of powers they wish to see implemented, but the occupation of the square in itself becomes a performance of demands, which are that bodily needs are urgent and primary. The city within the city becomes a network of services and support that the people's discontent emerges from: a miniature of a desired society. The lack of access to food, health provision, proper housing, and job prospects resulted with the people's frustration towards Mubarak's dictatorial regime. The establishment of a 'liveable' city on Tahrir crystallizes a form that is desired by protestors, and the infrastructure they create reflects their basic needs. Protesting happens through the satisfaction of basic needs of the occupants, who demand from their state to meet those needs: from a biopolitical understanding, administered lives are contesting the sovereign power in its failure to provide for basic needs. As Butler puts it, the vulnerability of people is made visible, and it is this vulnerability that gives force to the protests. In the next pages, we will detail the elements of the city within the city, the different structures of bodily needs and how they materialize.

Carried by the emotions and affects reached through the powerful coming together, initiatives from groups and individuals are brought into reality. A prominent example is the repositioning of a fast food restaurant into a clinic, known as the « KFC clinic »: health security is more important than american fast food chains on Cairo's revolutionary grounds. First aid and a pharmacy are provided, trained nurses administer insulin shots<sup>16</sup>. The medicine is brought in by volunteers who give the medicine for free, the pharmacy does not take any money for it - it is said that the medication is of higher quality than what they would use normally. The feeling of altruism and generosity is strong, a sense of gratefulness and togetherness comes from the care received from others. For serious injuries, small field hospitals are set up: inside the small Rahman Abdul Mosque, up to 90 volunteers work in shifts to provide care to the wounded and the diminished of living on the square. The injuries can be severe, as a doctor recounts that a man was brought in with a bleeding head injury - followed by his friend who had carried

A network of identifiable services emerges from initiatives and altruism is as much a support for revolutionary action as a revolt against failing state services

Heterogenous political views, consensus on the demand to remove Mubarak and fight corruption but no unity in other demands. This allows flexibility and experimentation, bodily needs become a prominent vector of organization

along the brain that had fallen out of the wound. Others suffer from skin rashes from wearing the same clothes for so long, sunstrokes, or soreness due to sleeping on the ground. The presence of medical assistance on the square is a necessary condition for the protestors: they express a strong will to stay, but need stitches and medication to be able to do so. The makeshift healthcare system relies on altruism and urgency: it is as much a support of revolutionary action as an expression of the lack of a functioning state healthcare system.

The safest space in the occupied area is the one that is furthest away from its borders, where clashes with pro-Mubarak thugs and the army occur. This is mainly the roundabout itself, where the 'tent city' emerges at first, before extending to other grassy areas. People sleep in tents that they have either bought or pieced together from plastic sheets and fabric tented on poles. As they express, the tents are not just a place to sleep, but reinforce a feeling of belonging: « *This little tent here is the safest place in the world* » says young protester El Jaily. « *My parents are worried, but I tell them I am fine.* »<sup>17</sup>.

Sleeping places are in the safest area of the square, its center. Domestic borders are negotiated and plastic sheets, tents and carpets define personal boundaries.

Some even name their tents after their home governorate.

The materiality of this domesticity is distinctively textile: the lightweight structures allow for great creativity and flexibility in defining personal and shared space. Rugs put directly on the ground indicate places to sit, talk, write, drink tea or sleep. The distinctions between interior and exterior, private and public can be remodeled easily: no heavy tools or weightlifting is required, but agreement with the neighbours is necessary. This is pivotal in modelling these personal use areas. The lightweight fabrics and rugs are placed in space through negotiation, and the tent city is the temporary materialization of this process. The borders that result from it can shift easily, making the tent city a spatial drawing board for interpersonal space negotiations. An additional specificity of the tent city lies in the use of different surfaces to express demands and dissent. Tents are covered in posters and handwritten text, making them an interface between its inhabitants as political identities and the public sphere - in immediate physical proximity or through captured images. It is a creative way of ensuring that images of the square diffused through media everywhere in the world will contain written language. But global diffusion can not be the first aim, since they write in arabic, and not the more globally understood english: the statements concern merely their own government and concurring forces, or even each other.

What we can gather from these observations is that security is the priority in choosing a place for sleep and vulnerable privacy, which is preferred as a cluster rather than as disparate 'homes'. Secondly, we can see that domestic organization and privacy borders are the crystallization of a negotiation process that can be continuous if it is allowed so through mobile elements and an economy of means. Third, protestors show us that the facade of their home is a blank piece of surface for expression, and that it can contain powerful statements.

We have mentioned the organization of a security system above. The occupied area is never a given during the early months of 2011: it has to be constantly defended from thugs, pro-Mubarak groups, and the army. This is enabled through a variety of dispositives and actions. First, the makeshift barricades delineate the frontier and act as shields for the protestors, as stones and pavement are thrown from both sides. These barricades are the most violent sites of the occupation, and field hospitals are located close to them. Protestors act in defense, they rarely tried to gain more ground surface than they had occupied before, but act in order to lose as little as possible day by day. The army was supposed not to take part in the fights, meaning they intervened minimally, or not at all when Mubarak-supporters entered the camp on camels and horses<sup>18</sup>. They attempt to convince the anti-government protestors to draw back their lines in order to have more buffer space, which protestors refuse. During those attempts at moving the line, protestors would gather around the stationed military and peacefully resist their advancement through disobedience. Some protestors have been pictured sleeping in the tank's tracks, making a strong physical and visual statement. Finally, security is guaranteed through mutual observation and organized checkpoints by the main entry points: El Tahrir, where people arrive from the bridge, and Meret Basha, where the most confrontations happen. People entering the square are searched respectfully, and no firearms are permitted inside. This selective process was necessary since the occupation of Tahrir was founded and maintained through violent clashes<sup>19</sup>, by which the frontiers of the area play a crucial role. It has been noted by Zeineb Abdul-Magd that those on the front line were mostly working-class, underprivileged youth, people from the countryside or members of football supporting groups (« ultras ») - people who had some sort of experience with fighting and violence - while the middle class, educated and more privileged youth was tweeting and updating facebook statuses from the middle of the

The occupied zone has clearly defined borders that are a zone of conflict. Barricades need to be defended constantly. The periphery is therefore a violent zone.

square. Making the square a place for public discourse therefore came with virile demonstration of power through violence, in an act of defense against external and opposing forces.

For Butler, those tweeting and filming are performing bodily protest as well. Recording and photographing the scenes of dissent, archiving, and publishing are a revolutionary act in themselves: they infringe on hegemonic representations and narratives and represent a hegemonic struggle over the space of appearance. They constitute an act of « *active participation in the making of the space of appearance* »<sup>20</sup>. She argues that since those who are filming and tweeting face consequences

Recording, tweeting and posting are bodily acts that can threaten physical integrity directly

such as imprisonment or torture because of the exercise of a right, they do implicate the body. The tactics on Tahrir illustrate her arguments:

since bloggers and media activists on the square have limited access to internet, they designate « digital mules » - as Mia Janckowicz has been doing - to carry memory cards back to their apartments and broadcast the content they created. The diffusion and mediatisation of the revolution requires many bodily actions expose individuals to high risk. One tragic example are the sexual assaults enacted upon a number of female reporters (among a number of civilians). Hania Moheeb, Lara Logan, Natasha Smith, Mona Eltahawy and Sonia Dridi - among others - publicly shared horrifying accounts of group assaults while they were covering the protests on Tahrir. « *If you can find a single female journalist who hasn't been groped in a crowd, I will be stunned* » reporter Gretchen Peters told to the Committee to Protect Journalists<sup>21</sup>. It becomes clear that reporting and recording, although being performed 'in action', requires a physical space to fulfill certain needs. A tent is set up by bloggers, who have tapped electricity from neighbourhood lines to charge computers, smartphones, and recording devices. They sit on the ground to exchange and share stories they found, producing content that will be handed over to the digital mules. Having a place for encounter and maybe rest amidst the days of protest is a necessity to allow bodies to fulfill tasks and work such as reporting.

As the internet services were shut down on several days, people had no access to the videos and content from their square that were broadcasted in the world. This resulted in even more people coming out to the streets. Bloggers set up a screen close to Mogamma, and people come in numbers in the evenings to watch the show of themselves, the images and sounds of their day of struggle as it has been presented to the world. They spend some time being spectators, albeit still being in the moment of struggle. This allows them to see their

actions as a narrative, a story they are telling others but also each other, about everything they have already accomplished.

Documenting, publishing, and archiving are acts of resistance, and being a spectator to collective actions allows for narratives and group identities to unfold. Access to information and the corresponding spaces are an important element of Tahrir's prefigurative organization: the daily newspapers are displayed on a wall for people

to read. The wall is a convenient surface for this use; many people can stand alongside and crutch or bow to read

at different heights. And since walls are free, pages can be spread out over a large surface: no need to fold them into a small object. Another tent is called the library: texts about Democracy are available alongside the Egyptian Constitution. It is interesting to note that certain uses have led to specific places, contained in this case by a tent, to allow for a centralization of the activity. Places become specialized and are defined by a social purpose: at the scale of this subsidiary city, people don't need to know one another to access a certain service. Exchange and transactions are made possible by establishing functions.

Religious practice takes up a peculiar form in the functions of the space. No area is reserved solely for prayer. As different religious groups perform their rituals, the bodily presence on the square is temporarily modified. Muslim people praying, for example, gather in lines, respecting the orientation towards the qibla. They are in a position of vulnerability, kneeling on the ground, where pro-government protesters could easily attack. During these moments, non-practising protesters for a human security chord to protect people praying. This act of protection relies on the body as a modality of power: the number and position of them signify a common statement, the posing of a moral and physical 'limit' to transgression.

By embodying this limit, protesters emit a desire: freedom of religious practice should be protected throughout religions, and these do not conflict with one another. They recognize the right to a 'sacred', to something that should not be infringed upon.

Space of appearance: being visible and audible requires the physical acts of documentation and sharing.

Religious practices and protecting the right to a sacred

## Conclusion

The hegemonic struggle that led to Hosni Mubarak's resignation in February 2011 materialized on Tahrir square in a variety of forms. The material environment served as a support for action through creative rethinking from the anti-government protesters, converting a fast-food into a clinic or detaining adversaries in the metro station. It was redefined as a « safe » area through violent defensive actions, allowing for the expression and performance of bodily needs in the negotiation of domestic and private spaces within the « tent city », a temporary substitution to the failing state made possible by altruism and a sense of unity in urgency. The revolutionary bodies made a space for public discourse through all of these actions, which was transposed by documenting and archiving the events by digital means. The acts of documenting and archiving implicated the body as well and materialized in interfaces such as the media tent or the screens, where protesters came to watch scenes of their own actions in numbers. Some actions and functions were attributed specific spaces, such as the media and library tents, the kindergarten, domestic areas or the clinics. Other uses were mobile and space

for them was made temporarily, such as religious and cultural practices. Verbal and visual messages were used by protesters on various supports, such as walls, tent fabric, or even entire facades, inscribing their contestation onto the material environment.

The protests in Tahrir did not end with Hosni Mubarak's resignation. Without a solid democratic system ready to take over after the military junta's temporary governance, the Muslim Brotherhood saw an opportunity for gaining leadership and won the first elections in decades. New protests emerged in 2013 against Mohamed Morsi's religious rule, ended by a coup d'état led by General Abdel Fattah El-Sissi. Millions of Egyptians returned to the streets to demand elections, once again. However, the revolution of 2011 has shaped regional politics and contributed to the emergence of strategies of occupation, and to the development of social claims gurative actions and the experimentation with group identities.



Satellite view, Cairo, Egypt  
Google Earth, accessed 19.12.2021  
100m

map of occupied area p. 54-55

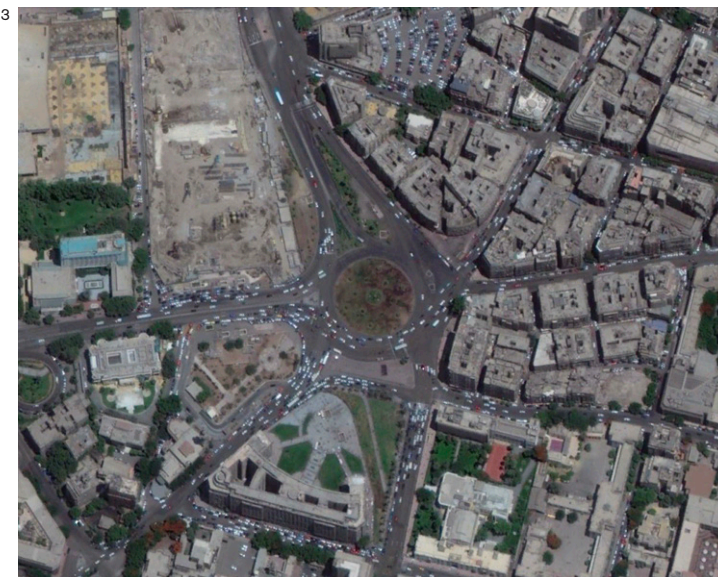


1. Satellite view of Tahrir Square in January 2011,  
Google Earth, accessed 07.01.2022

2. Satellite view of Tahrir Square in February 2011,  
Google Earth, accessed 07.01.2022

3. Satellite view of Tahrir Square in June 2011,  
Google Earth, accessed 07.01.2022

4. Satellite view of Tahrir Square in July 2011,  
Google Earth, accessed 07.01.2022



100m  
↑



5. This document of 26 pages is an Arabic manual for Egyptian protesters circulated via email and in hard copy prior to the protests on January 25, 2011, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://publicintelligence.net/egyptian-revolution-protest-manual-how-to-protest-intelligently/>>

6. Protesters arrive in Tahrir Square on January 25th, 2011, Mohammed Abed, Getty, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/01/25/swarm-tactics-befuddle-police-in-cairo/>>



### خطوات التنفيذ

- 1- التجمهر مع الأصدقاء والجيران في الشوارع السكنية البعيدة عن تواجد قوات الأمن.
- 2- الهتاف باسم مصر وحرية الشعب (هتافات إيجابية).
- 3- تشجيع سكان العمارات للانضمام (بشكل إيجابي).
- 4- الخروج في مجموعات ضخمة إلى الشوارع الرئيسية لجمع أكبر حشد ممكن.
- 5- السير نحو المباني الحكومية الهامة (مع الهتاف الإيجابي) للاستيلاء عليها.

### Steps for Carrying Out the Plan

1. Assemble with your friends and neighbors in residential streets far away from where the security forces are.
2. Shout slogans in the name of Egypt and the people's freedom (positive slogans).
3. Encourage other residents to join in (again with positive language)
4. Go out into the major streets in very large groups in order to form the biggest possible assembly
5. Head toward important government buildings - while shouting positive slogans- in order to take them over.



7 & 10. The tents are screens for the visual expression of demands, 2011, Youtube video screenshot 1min68sec and 2min17sec, uploaded by Ahram Online, accessed on 09.01.2022, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ANQ1QB11c>>

8. 2011, An anti-government protester defaces a picture of Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in Alexandria on January 25, Stringer, Reuters, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://egyptians-tweets.com/2016/01/24/25-photos-of-egypts-january-25-revolution/>>

9. 2011, Our demands: 1- Ousting the president , 2- Dismissal of both Shura Council and the People's Assembly, 3- Ending state of emergency laws, 4- Forming a transitional national salvation government, 5 - An elected People's Assembly to amending the constitution to be able to hold a free and fair presidential elections, 6 - Expeditious trials for those responsible for killing of the

martyrs of the revolution, 7- Expeditious trials to corrupts and thieves country wealth. Egypt's youth protestors.Mona (pseudonym), accessed on 23.12.2021, <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/89031137@N00/5421137632/>>





11. Bloggers working in their tent and recovering, one man's head is wounded, 2011, Patrick Baz, Getty, accessed on 01.01.2022, <<https://www.businessinsider.fr/us/diary-of-2011-egyptian-revolution-tahrir-square-2021-1>>

12. Tahrir Cinema is a space where filmmakers could show their films but also where everyone could exchange raw footage on the revolution at any point in time in the square, 2011, Sherief Gaber, Ibraaz.org, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://www.ibraaz.org/essays/163/>>

13. Every morning Egypt's main newspapers are pasted up on the shutters of this shop, allowing protesters who cannot afford to buy a paper can still follow the latest reports, 2011, Yolande Knell, BBC, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-12434787>>

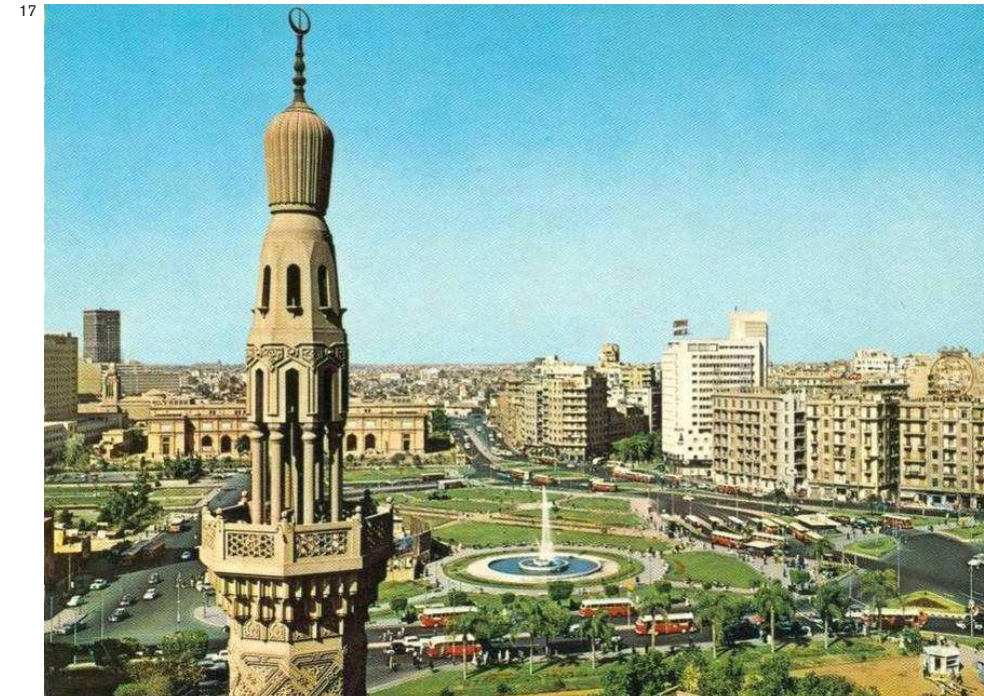
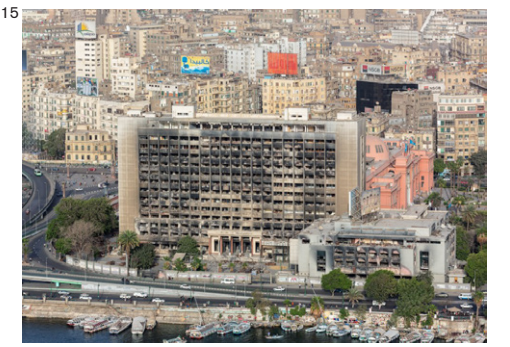


14. Riot police force anti-government protesters back across the Kasr Al Nile Bridge as they attempt to get into Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt on January 28, 2011, Peter Macdiarmid, Getty, accessed on 01.01.2022, <<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2021/1/24/from-egypt-to-the-us-taking-lessons-from-the-arab-spring>>

15. The NDP-building after the fire, with the Egyptian Museum in the back, 2011, Vadim Makhorov, Livejournal, accessed on 01.01.2022, <<https://failedarchitecture.com/erasing-the-remnants-of-a-revolution/>>

16. An Egyptian mother watched as thousands of Egyptian protesters gathered at Tahrir Square in Cairo in January 2011. The ruling National Democratic Party building can be seen burned at top right behind the Egypt museum, 2011, Amr Nabil, AP, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://egyptians-tweets.com/2016/01/24/25-photos-of-egypts-january-25-revolution/>>

17. Postcard showing Tahrir Square, 1960s, Art Forum, accessed on 19.11.2021, <<https://www.artforum.com/print/201104/circumventing-the-square-architecture-and-revolution-in-cairo-27827>>





18. Egyptian anti-government protesters perform the evening prayers as they gather at Cairo's Tahrir square on February 8, 2011, Patrick Baz, Getty, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2011/02/three-weeks-in-egypt/6/>>



19. Inside tent city, 2011, Sherif2982 (pseudonym), Wikimedia Commons, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/01/egyptian-activists-action-plan-translated/70388/>>



20. An anti-government protester has a haircut during demonstrations inside Tahrir Square in Cairo February 7, 2011, Dylan Martinez, Reuters, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/hopy2/6449829847/>>



21. Throughout the demonstration, protesters have sat and slept around tanks parked near the Egyptian Museum, to prevent the army from advancing into the square, 2011, Yolande Knell, BBC, accessed on 01.01.2022, <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-12434787>>



22. Barricades, 2011, Sean Smith, The Guardian, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2011/feb/04/egypt/?picture=371443521&index=0>>



23. An anti-government protester mans an elevated defense position alongside the Egyptian Museum near Tahrir Square in Cairo February 4, 2011, Yannis Behrakis, Reuters, accessed on 01.01.2022, <<https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2011/02/three-weeks-in-egypt/6/>>



24. Egyptian soldiers, tanks and armoured personnel carriers are positioned between pro-government demonstrators and anti-government protesters in Tahrir Square on February 5th, 2011, Leftis Pitarakis, AP, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2021/1/25/in-pictures-2011-egypt-revolution>>





## HONG KONG - BE WATER

Hong Kong, HKSAR - June 9th, 2019.

One million people march peacefully<sup>22</sup>, out of an estimated population of seven million. They flood the city in a slow flow of white teeshirts - the color chosen for the rally - and banners. It is the largest mass protest in since Hong Kong returned to China's sovereignty in 1997, and its political leaders state surprise by the mobilization. Young and old are standing and walking alongside, their faces uncovered, expressing their dissent towards a proposed extradition bill in a manner that is wished to be 'orderly' as organizer Jimmy Sham states<sup>23</sup>. During the day it is, indeed, orderly, yet the severeness of the political situation weighs heavy on the atmosphere. Led by organizers equipped with microphones, there are chants and shouts. Everyone seems to realize that lawful extraditions to mainland China can impact any of them, and infringe on the judiciary sovereignty of Hong Kong, posing a threat to their security.

The events take an abrupt turn in the evening. Around 10pm, the government issues a press statement announcing the pursuit of the readings of the bill. Anger grows among the protesters that have already been marching all day long. A feeling of voicelessness and powerlessness leads to a collective decision: they move to the Legislative Council's building complex at Tamar, by Admiralty metro station. 'Orderly' is no longer an accurate qualification; frustration and even fury are the words in people's mouths. They are met in front of the building by ordinary police staff, who seem overwhelmed and react frantically, pepper-spraying protesters with hand-held devices and hitting with batons. The scene is a violent one.

On June 12th, the day of the bill's second reading, protesters arrive early. Their faces are now covered with surgical masks,

protective glasses and most have brought a helmet and an umbrella. Stainless steel Mills barriers, common crowd control devices, are set up in a chevron formation to prevent pro-establishment lawmakers to enter the building: if the population is voiceless, so shall be the political leaders. Riot police in protective gear is present in numbers, mainly observing the protesters who refuse to leave unless the bill is withdrawn completely. On a nearby construction site, some are digging up bricks, and people start pushing against the police cordon from behind their umbrellas. As a few bricks are thrown, the police changes their strategy - the first tear gas since the 2014 umbrella protests is fired. It is now clear: the government, at its head Chief Executive Carrie Lam, will use their only weapon in this issue - police force - to silence Hongkongers. Only by blocking pro-Beijing lawmakers from physically entering their building, the protesters avoided the bill to be passed on that day.

If extraditions to China were allowed, thousands of criminal suspects could be sent to trial on the 'mainland'. As Hong Kong's Security Bureau proposed an extradition bill, the population fears that critics of the Chinese regime could face trials in Chinese Communist Party (CCP) controlled courts. The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) enjoys its own legal system and, according to the Sino-British agreement of 1984, gives its citizen right to freedom of expression and peaceful assembly<sup>24</sup>. After China recovered sovereignty on Hong Kong in 1997, the concept of 'one country, two systems' is applied and generally accepted, however since 2002 Beijing has taken steps infringing on Hong Kong's autonomy.

Governance of Hong Kong and 'one country, two systems' principle

Largely peaceful demonstrations in 2014 known as the 'Umbrella Movement' staged weeks of protest in commercial and governmental districts. In september of the same year, student unions called for the occupation of Civic Square at Tamar, demanding direct elections for the chief executive of Hong Kong SAR. Around two hundred students entered the square by forcing the gates, confronting the police who made heavy use of pepper spray. Images of the confrontation spread and the students gain large support, as citizens rallied in protection from the police<sup>25</sup>. This moment can be considered pivotal in mobilizing the general population for the movement, which eventually dissipated.

The umbrella movement's leaders were progressively arrested and sentenced to prison. This served as a significant lesson for future organizers. The protests sparked by the extradition bill in 2019 are marked by the absence of leading figures, and « *there is no recognized figurehead to issue instructions, and the people wouldn't follow those anyway* »<sup>26</sup>. The organizational structure has been described as leaderful - and not leaderless - by observers and activists themselves<sup>27</sup> such as Chin Ying Johnson Yeung, crediting students for being the first to ring the alarm and small community organizations for mobilizing their networks. The collective effort from different organizations, professional

Learning from previous mobilizations, this one has a rhizomatic structure without identifiable leading figures

groups and communities took shape without hierarchy, a flat network of logistics and support. The apparent merging

and 'flatness' of these identities visually translates in the face-blocking of protestors, who wear all-black gear, facemasks and hats: anonymity means security from identification and police targeting. The individual has to disappear for the movement to survive. Johnson Yeung mentions that coordination between neighbourhood communities revealed to be difficult, and that the small geographic size of Hong Kong was critical in allowing for activists to meet one another rapidly.

A decentralized structure comes with its own challenges. Without the need for permission from an authority, initiatives can build rapidly and organically, favoring the development of particular expertises and strengths found in multitudes. But the energy level of mobilization is crucial to its continuation; numbers are critical to keep the movement alive. The absence of a single organization allows for great flexibility both in decision-making and in ideology. Digital tools such as the messaging app Telegram or the forum LIHKG are used because they allow for anonymity and incorporate features that allow for rapid consensus building. The poll feature of Telegram is used to decide whether to stay or to disperse during an action,

for example. LIHKG's algorithm favors most liked posts, which leads to consensus<sup>28</sup>. When too many users make the cell services unreliable, peer-to-peer technologies such as apple's airdrop feature are used - telegram chats remind people to have the feature switched on before protests<sup>29</sup>. Those digital communication tools can therefore be understood as both a symptom and a cause for the horizontal, leader-full, anarchic structure of the movement. Its flexibility is expressed in the 'do not split' principle: people should not prevent others from taking actions they disagree with. This is mostly practiced in relation to offensive actions, as the use of force has usually been divisive in Hong Kong's emancipatory politics. Coming from a place of peaceful resistance and disobedience, disproportionate use of force by authorities has led to a broader acceptance of offensive actions among protesters<sup>30</sup>: « most of the participants agreed that 'the maximum impact could only be achieved when peaceful assembly and confrontational actions work together' », concludes a study undertaken by several universities. Violence is not used to create chaos, but for tactical purposes. The « do not split » strategy and use of consensus-building tools indicate a preference for deliberative democracy and the belief in consensus. But if opposing views are in fact recognized and accepted as such, the movement incorporates a form of pluralism - strengthened by the recognition that no single leader could accurately represent the individual beliefs and conceptions. Since the umbrella movement, localist discourses have split between left and right: they take on different stances regarding Chinese immigration, with right-wing groups expressing clearly sino-phobic views<sup>31</sup> whereas left-wing liberals consider Chinese immigrants to be a part of Hong Kong's society.

It becomes clear that the 2019-2020 protests distinguish themselves from other insurgent strategies. They are not about long term occupation and inhabitation, in fact, they leave only small traces: volunteers clean up after every action. A repetition of speed, stop and movement in coordination let thousands of appear in a place before the police even know where they are.

The protesters make use of the layers of pedestrian area typical of Hong Kong. Starting in the 1960s, the municipality launched the construction of a footbridge network, mainly in the districts of Central, Victoria Harbour and Admiralty. The bridges are accessed vertically through staircases and escalatory, some of them benefitting from air conditioning. The plan is named 'Central Elevated Walkways' and connects the bridges to streets, office buildings, and transport stations - with other services such as shops having blossomed at inter-

sections<sup>32</sup>. This layered topography has added new ecologies to the existing city, as the municipality realized it would be an efficient way to move pedestrians around without interfering with traffic. The network of footpaths is intricate and spans over different heights; it requires a certain expertise to be navigated reliably, having emerged as the result of incremental and case-by-case resolution of specific needs. A group of architects have undertaken the mapping of these urban conditions and state in their book that the network can be understood as « result of a combination of top-down planning and bottom-up solutions, a unique collaboration between pragmatic thinking and comprehensive masterplanning »<sup>33</sup>. For pedestrians, moving through the city involves a three-dimensional understanding of paths and tunnels that are also an

Pedestrian networks and topography: bridges, subways, and no common ground level. Interstitial public spaces and encounter

opportunity for encounter: the verticality of skyscrapers, huddled between shores and steep mountains, has no set level for a commonly agreed

upon « ground ». The urban spaces that emerge from an unwelcoming site create the conditions for a highly mobile user, unbothered by traffic lights or bad weather. The nature of these spaces fluctuates between public and commercial/private with many variations. The walkways and transit hubs do appertain to public space in the conception of people, and it is required by law that they do stay open around the clock. However, boundaries are expressed in the changing atmosphere of the infrastructure. The smell of a shopping mall or of a bus station, the noise of a ferry platform or of a corporate lobby, the levels of humidity, lighting and temperature are all indicators defining sensitive boundaries within public space. It is argued that the infrastructure has become a surrogate for public and social space in Hong Kong, defying European definitions of the square and the park. These unique conditions are indivisible of the protestors strategy: they act as a support for action and stipulate the basis of tactics as they move throughout the city. But they also provide for interstitial spaces, places of encounter and exchange, where different social groups cross paths. These have the potential of creating moments of agonism and of creative uses: workers gather in empty spaces on their day off, bringing blankets and food, chatting and snoozing<sup>34</sup>. One of the characteristics of Hong Kong protests is that they take place almost everywhere. In coordinating actions, mapping has become an essential tool. Crowdsourced maps such as HKmap.live<sup>35</sup> track the location of protestors and police throughout the city, but also where water cannons and teargas are deployed, or where armed thugs attack civilians. Another interactive map<sup>36</sup> extracts data from 84 telegram channels and media to indicate the use of

teargas over time and place. The act of mapping activity shows how the protests are relying on practice and use of spaces rather than solely their geographic location. The urban configuration of the city with its complex networks and infrastructure acting as public space receives this added layer, constantly updated by the protestors - users - of activity, use, practice and movement. The different actors are represented visually through icons: a dog denotes police, a helmet protesters, a camera the press, a house is a police station, and so on. The map, which was launched as a web version in august 2019<sup>37</sup>, has sparked controversy. While protesters use it to stay safe, Apple did not agree: the company rejected the app by stating it « *facilitates, enables, or encourages an activity that is not legal* » and it « *allowed users to evade law enforcement* »<sup>38</sup> before reversing its

Collaborative mapping tools

decision on October 4th. On October 8th, public statements of the CCP directly accused Apple to be an accomplice of criminal activities and called for the app's removal, which led to the app's removal on the next day, declaring that it « *has been used to target and ambush police* » and was used to « *threaten public safety* »<sup>39</sup>. A map, something commonly thought of as harmless, is a tool for survival in this context. The stakes were estimated so high that a country went after one of the world's biggest tech companies, showing how information is a key value in security strategies of a sovereign power. The disbalance of power over a matter of information is evident, and it has direct consequences on the protestors bodily safety. The HKmap.live is available on android as well as a web version, which is dormant since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, and as this essay is written.

When looking at the aggregated data (from June 12th, 2019 to March 21st, 2021) high activity and use of crowd control tools on the North shore of the island, as well as along Nathan Road, the main axis on Kowloon on the mainland. Two axis of activity can be identified: Nathan Road on the mainland and the subway line along the coast of Hong Kong island. They overlap with the Mass Transit Railway (MTR) subway lines, mainly the red line (Tsuen Wan line) and the blue line (Island line), which connect at both Central and Admiralty stations on the island.

Admiralty is the site where the Government Complex is located (Central Government Complex of HKSAR) and has played an important role in the umbrella movement: it is where the students first occupied Civic Square, informally renaming it 'Umbrella Square' - which has since been permanently closed to public access. The Government Complex, comple-

ted in 2008 as a postmodern design, has been designed by architect Rocco Yim under the concept of a « door always open », a symbol of transparent governance. Its fully glazed volumes defy gravity in a geometric composition that draws an arc de triomphe, and Tamar Parc passes through the complex with an aim of dynamic lines, extending all the way to the harbour's waterfront promenade.

The movement's rhizomatic and leaderfull organization is translated into a bodily strategy that addresses the individual as much as the collective: 'Be water' is a quote of Bruce Lee and has been adopted by protesters as a philosophy. Be formless, be shapeless - water can flow, water can crash; be adaptable. As mentioned before, gear and faceblocking aid this hydrological 'massification' of individuals. The body needs to be able to keep up with others as the protesters disperse and reconvene in a different place: often going into the late hours of the night, they walk and run an aggregate of several miles all while carrying their gear and in a context of high risk. Being shapeless and adaptable is, in this case, anything but effortless. Protesting in Hong Kong means occupy, disrupt, disperse, and repeat: it is a game of mouse and cat with the heavily armed riot police. Throughout the years, collective knowledge on how to perform the disruptions while avoiding arrest and physical harm or death has emerged. People have learnt how to use certain objects and technologies to better their chances of success: the metro stations, for example, have become

The protester's strategy is 'be water': be shapeless, adaptive, and formless to evade arrest. It requires great coordination and camouflage to make individuals undistinguishable

essential hubs. Not only is the transport system used to travel from one flashmob to another, they are also places where the contact between regular civilians and more hardcore protesters is direct. The solidarity and support of the population is widespread, although not absolute. A network of safehouses has emerged, where critical groups can gather out of sight from the police: a reporter follows medical aid in an anonymous hotelroom, for example. Inhabitants and shop owners open their doors to fleeing protesters, and car drivers take them in as they flee. In metro stations, one will find single-way tickets distributed by civilians: this way, individual payments for tickets cannot be used to track down insurgents. People also leave fresh clothing in the stations; both black and colored. The black clothes are taken by protesters who have been marked by state forces' blue paint, and the colored clothes by those who leave their role as protestors to resemble a 'normal' inhabitant again. The train platforms and the ride are moments of intense cohabitation. Some users might disagree

with the protesters' battle and fights can occur, while others will express support and encouragement.

Hong Kong's protests address issues tied to crowd movement directly. Prominently, hand signals are used to convey a message from one end of the march to the other in a matter of seconds. Using hand movements requires prior agreement and good information of all participants, which is fulfilled by digital communication tools. One will note that the hand signals focus on supply of objects. Some of them are related to physical health and security (asthma medication, helmets, umbrellas, salines, eye protection and wrap paper against tear gas) while others could be described as enabling certain actions (markers, pliers, allen key, scissors, and nylon cable). The sign expressing 'enough supply' is just as critical for the proper functioning of this non-verbal communication system. Overcoming distance rapidly thanks to imitation, it guarantees that the crowd can split if an ambulance needs to bring assistance to someone in the middle of it, in an astonishing display of care and coordination.

The vitality of sharing and passing on such objects can be understood as an informal economy of exchange; most of the gear is purchased abroad on the internet to avoid raising suspicion. A student leader has been arrested while he was purchasing laser pointers<sup>40</sup>, which protesters use to scramble facial recognition cameras and confuse police officers. The object has been deemed as an 'offensive weapon' by police. We will not note the irony of such a label posed by heavily armed officers having repeatedly made excessive use of force.

On the other hand, the formal economy has been entered by protesters as well. Restaurants called their food and beverages after rallying chants of protesters, creating an excuse for people to say and hear it multiple times a day. They are part of the Yellow Economy: a network of shops and businesses that openly support the democracy movement and believe that consumption is politicized. Supporting consumers and supporting businesses are linked up, and apps were created to facilitate online orders from Yellow restaurants. One app's founder, Matt Lau, states that the majority of his clients are surprisingly between forty and fifty years old: it is not the youngsters from the frontlines. This indicates that people who do not risk their lives on the streets are taking action to sup-

Certain objects have become crucial and an informal economy of those items has emerged in places of encounter such as MTR stations

port the movement in other ways. Yellow, the colour of the security helmets, has become the identifier for people and businesses that show support whereas blue signifies support for the police and a pro-Chinese stance. Hong Kong is highly vulnerable to food scarcity: almost all of its supply is imported from the mainland. Expressing the political nature of food supply and consumption comes with exposure and risk; businesses that take position will lose customers who do not align, but the strength of the network allows them to subsist anyways.

Staying alive for as long as possible while displaying unity in demands for democracy is the priority, however having grown accustomed to violent clashes the protesters have also grown accustomed to the everpresent possibility of losing their life in the battles. Resistance is achieved through the weaponization of life and death: frontliners show up every weekend knowing that they might not return. The weaponization is expressed by one observer as follows: « The protesters' most powerful weapon is the police's own violence. Or to put the point more bleakly: If the police hadn't been violent on June 12, would the bill have been suspended? »<sup>42</sup>. Some write 'last letters' (not suicide notes) of goodbye to their loved ones in case they get caught in a fatal confrontation. They physically and discursively face death to achieve resistance. Some of them have read their 'last letters' facing cameras<sup>43</sup>, most of them breaking into tears and entering an emotional narrative of their protests. It is difficult to listen to, and reveals a human contradiction that is hard to fathom: the pursuit of an act while knowing one can die from it. This only makes sense if consi-

dered within a context where the police exerts sovereign force on the protesters' bodies and lives. Through intimidation, censorship, excessive use of force or violence and arrest, they assert control over a governed population's life.

If the war-like scenes of protests are a literal example of biopolitical confrontation to death, it can be argued that the insurgents' efforts are met by affirmative and supporting actions to protect life by bystanders and background participants<sup>44</sup>. I argue that the supporting actions can not be entirely distinct from confrontational acts, as they can be performed by the same individuals. Frontliners themselves, although weaponizing their life by exposing themselves to police violence, do not desire death and take a large number of protective actions themselves. The changing nature of protesting groups do not create stagnant roles, but a flexible structure of cooperation. The act of joining a large crowd can in itself represent a physical risk, since stampedes can happen if sudden changes in group behaviour occur. But collective intelligence has already bridged that gap. As told by @antd on July 28th, 2019 2:07 PM « *Under fire from police tear gas, the crowd retreats down a narrow side street. To avoid a lethal stampede, they all chant in unison "1, 2, 1, 2...!" and march in time to the chant.* »<sup>45</sup>.

The battle for democracy in Hong Kong is highly biopolitical<sup>41</sup>: frontliners weaponize their life as a network of supporting actions allows them to do so

The rhythm is chanted and bodies move together, in an effort to avoid precipitation and chaotic movement that would cause panic

## Conclusion

In Hong Kong, insurgents perform their subjectivity through exerting repeated disruptions of urban space (roads, police stations, government buildings). They rely on Hong Kong's specific urban conditions and topography, and their expertise of it, to do so effectively. They make use of digital tools to perform a rhizomatic organizational structure, which is reflected in appearance and behaviour ('be water' philosophy). The material environment plays a role in protesters strategy as an extension of their bodily abilities, through protective or enabling objects circulating through an informal economy, or through the use of infrastructure such as the MTR to exert speed variations and movement: the places of protest are directly linked to accessibility by the subway lines. A collective intelligence has

developed over time on tactics and objects to use in defense: protesters share their techniques to extinguish taergas grenades on social networks, for example, and those tactics are then found in protests on the other side of the globe. The insurgency has become a biopolitical one through the weaponization of frontliners' death and life-protecting actions in face of sovereign assertion of power by police forces. Teenagers have referred to the protests as a real-life video game with high emotions and rushes of adrenaline mixed with the gratitude of being together, but they are also viscerally conscious of the dangers they face. It is a real-life video game with real-life consequences and only one life to lose.



Satellite view, Hong Kong, HKSAR  
Google Maps 2021, accessed 19.12.2021  
1km

map of Mong Kok station p. 56-57



32, 39, c

31, d

28

41

26, b

36, 44, 45

48

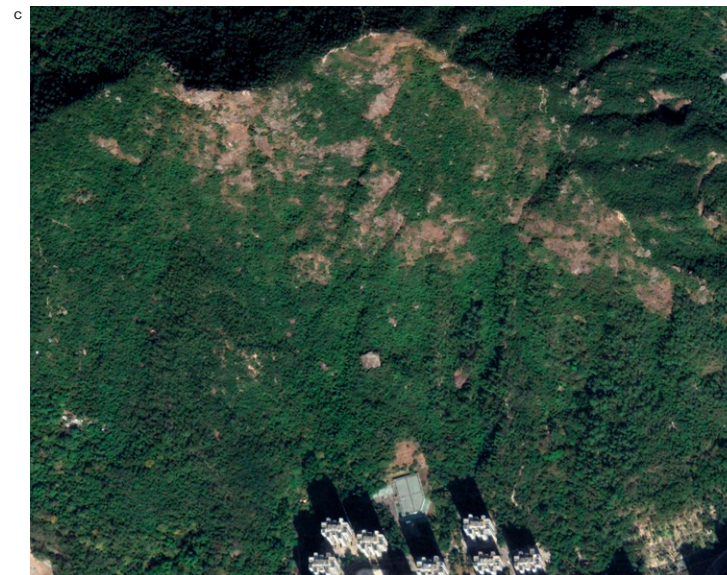
30, 33, 34, 40, a

a. Satellite view of Admiralty Station in October 2020, Google Earth, accessed 09.01.2022

b. Satellite view of Civic Square in October 2020, Google Earth, accessed 09.01.2022

c. Satellite view of Lion Rock in October 2020, Google Earth, accessed 09.01.2022

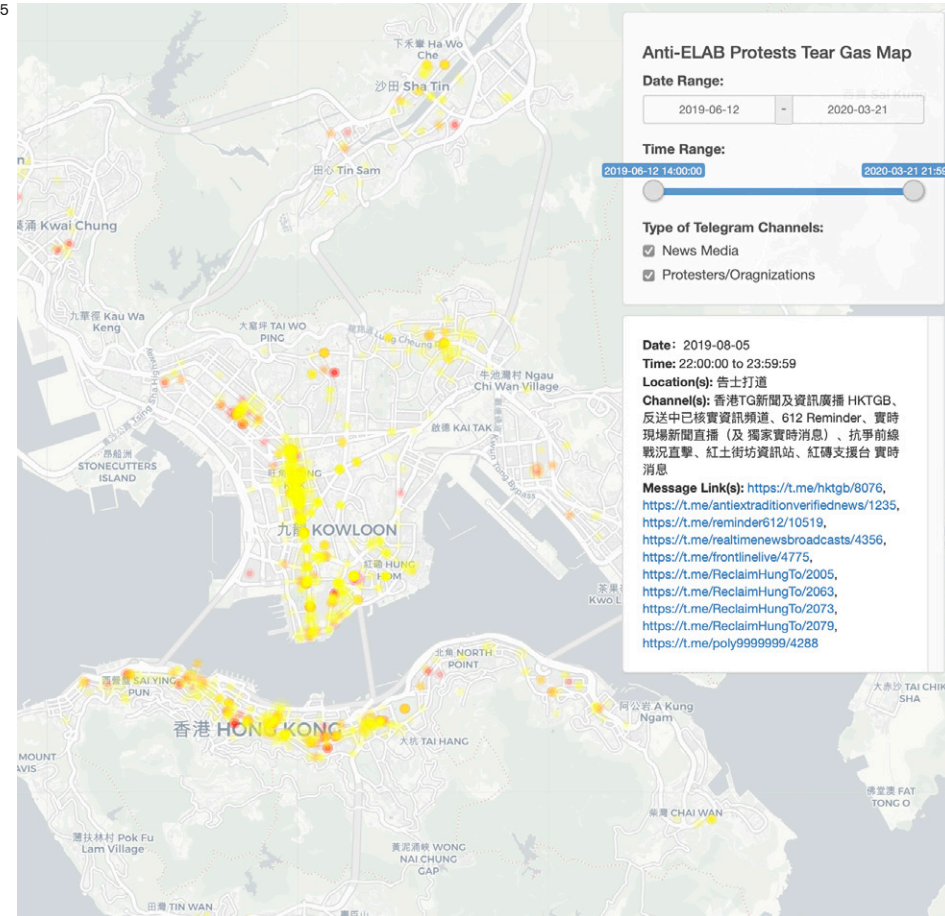
d. Satellite view of Mong Kok Station in October 2020, Google Earth, accessed 09.01.2022



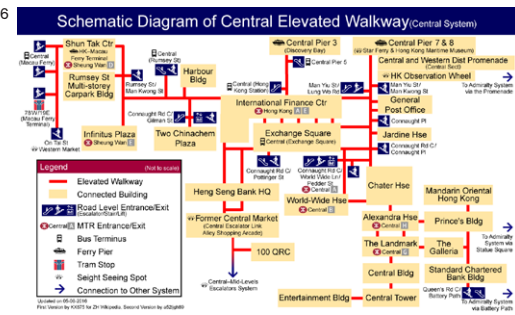
100m  
↑



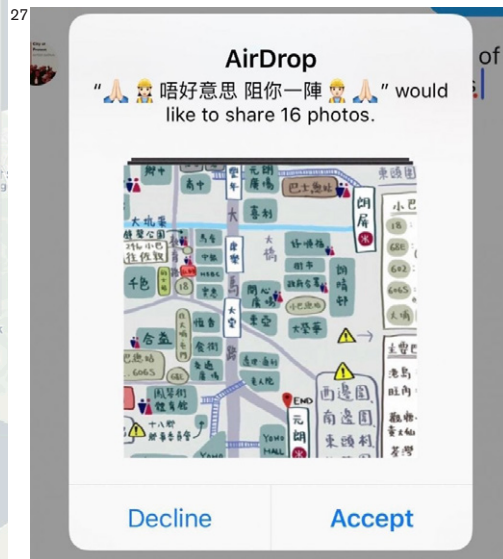
25. Anti-ELAB Protests Tear Gas Map shows data from 8 media outlets and 84 telegram channels, identifying 2523 instances of use between June 19th, 2019 and March 21, 2020, 2019, Creative Commons, accessed on 19.11.2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/hong-kong-protest-movement-data-archive-tear-gas-map/>



26. Schematic Diagram of Central Elevated Walkway (Central System), 2015, Schematic Diagram of Central Elevated Walkway (Central System), Creative Commons, accessed on 02.01.2022, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CentralElevatedWalkwaySystemDiagram\_en.png>



27. Protesters use airdrop to share plans when the cell and internet services are overloaded, 2019, accessed on 01.01.2022, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2019/08/be-water-seven-tactics-that-are-winning-hong-kongs-democracy-revolution-2>



28. Hkmap.live is a collaborative map for protesters to locate police forces, vehicles, and other protesters, 2019, OpenStreetMap, accessed on 01.01.2022, <https://www.igen.fr/app-store/2019/10/apple-reire-lapp-hkmaplive-surpression-chinoise-110509>



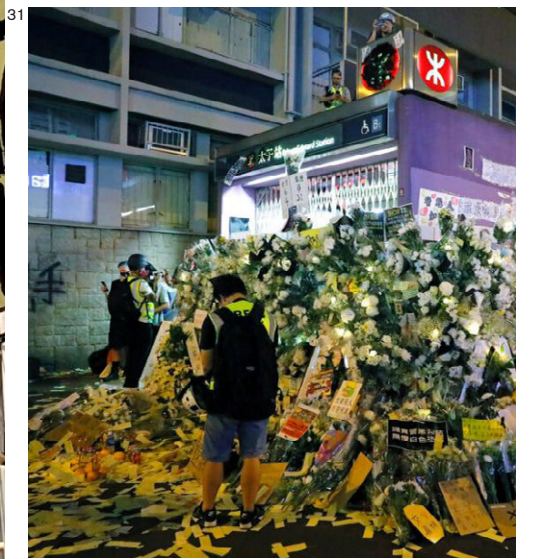
29. Urban infrastructure and handmade signs: public space transformed by guerilla signs, 2019, Medium, accessed on 31.12.2021, <https://houjeff.medium.com/be-water-as-in-liquid-public-space-8148a2c80026>



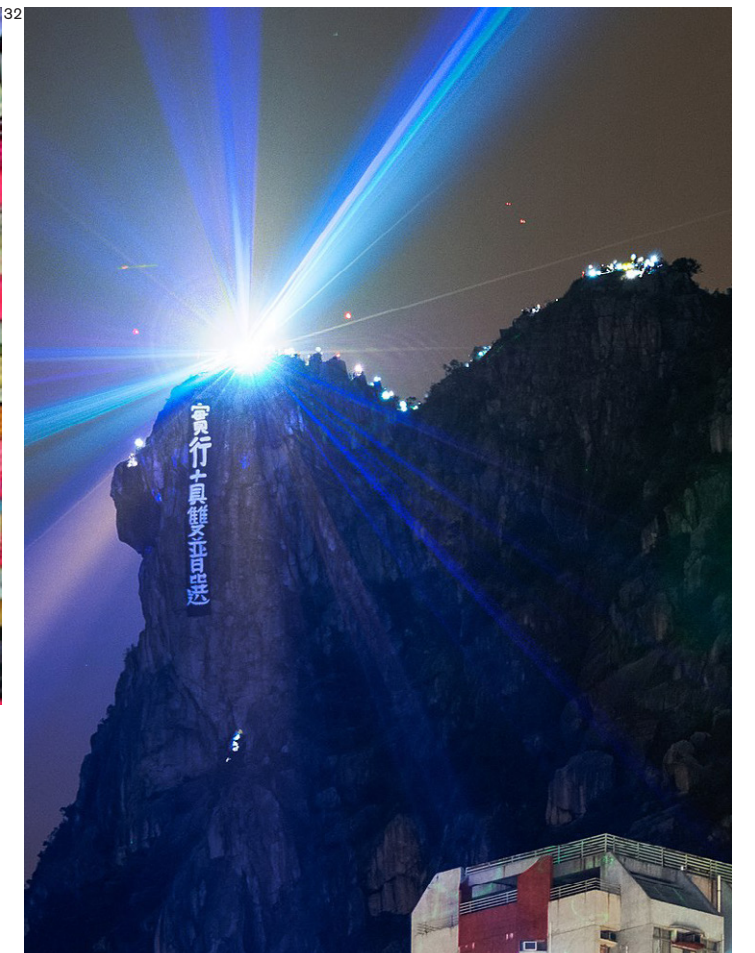
30. A worker walks past post-it notes scribbled with messages, left behind by protesters on the walls of the Legislative Council, a day after protesters broke into the building, in Hong Kong, 2019, Reuters, accessed on 01.01.2022, <https://bdnews24.com/world/2019/07/02/tense-calm-returns-to-hong-kong-after-protests-erupt-into-violence>



31. MTR Prince Edward station is covered in white flowers to commemorate protesters that have died. The flowers are regularly removed but immediately replaced, 2019, AP, accessed on 05.01.2022, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-12-15/hong-kongs-prince-edward-station-covered-in-white-flowers/11728214?nw=0>



32. Hundreds of citizen lit up the trail to Lion Rock with their cell phones chanting demands and "Glory to Hong Kong". The banner of black fabric with white font reads "Implement Genuine Dual Universal Suffrage", 2019, Wikimedia Commons, accessed on 01.01.2022, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2019-09-13\_Lion\_Rock\_Hong\_Kong\_06.jpg>





33. On 1 July, in one of the most dramatic moments of the protests, hundreds of people smashed their way into Hong Kong's government headquarters. They occupied the building overnight, defacing the city emblem and sprayed slogans on the wall, 2019, Getty, accessed on 10.01.2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/in-pictures-50671513>



34. Protesters holding umbrellas face off with police officers in anti-riot gear in Hong Kong on July 1, 2019, AP, accessed on 04.01.2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/07/01/why-hong-kong-has-become-city-protests/>



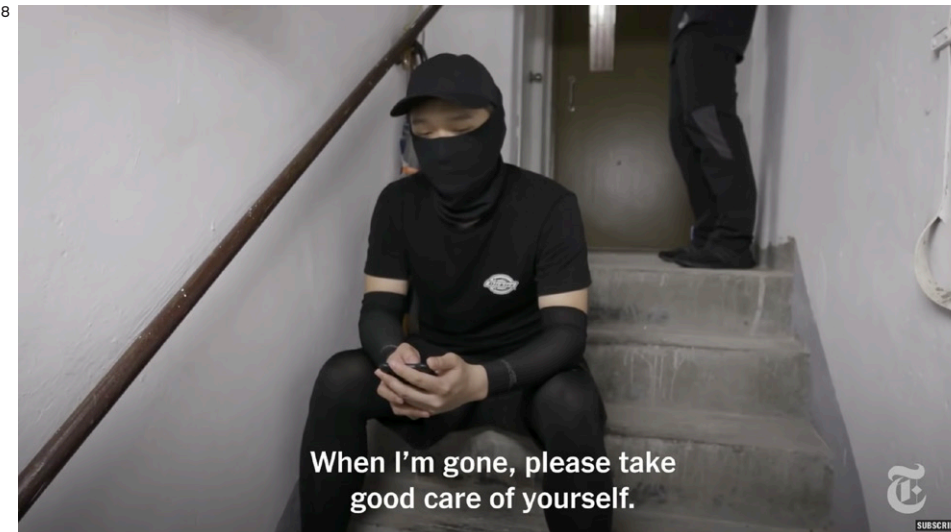
35. Hong Kong protesters' sign language, 2019, circulating online, accessed on 04.01.2022, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2019/08/be-water-seven-tactics-that-are-winning-hong-kongs-democracy-revolution-2>



37. Teenagers explain their relationship to the protests. Medical teams meet up in hotel rooms part of the network of safehouses before heading to the streets, 2019, Youtube video screenshot 3min12sec, uploaded by The New York Times, accessed 09.01.2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ikJmbuEzf\_c>



38. Another teenager is reading his 'final letter' to reporters, apologizing to his parents for failing his duty to take care of them as they grow old, 2019, Youtube video screenshot 2min25sec, uploaded by The New York Times, accessed 09.01.2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g9QIETD-4QV0&t=30s>



39. A peaceful protest in a shopping mall in Sha Tin, 2019, Getty, accessed on 09.01.2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/in-pictures-50671513>



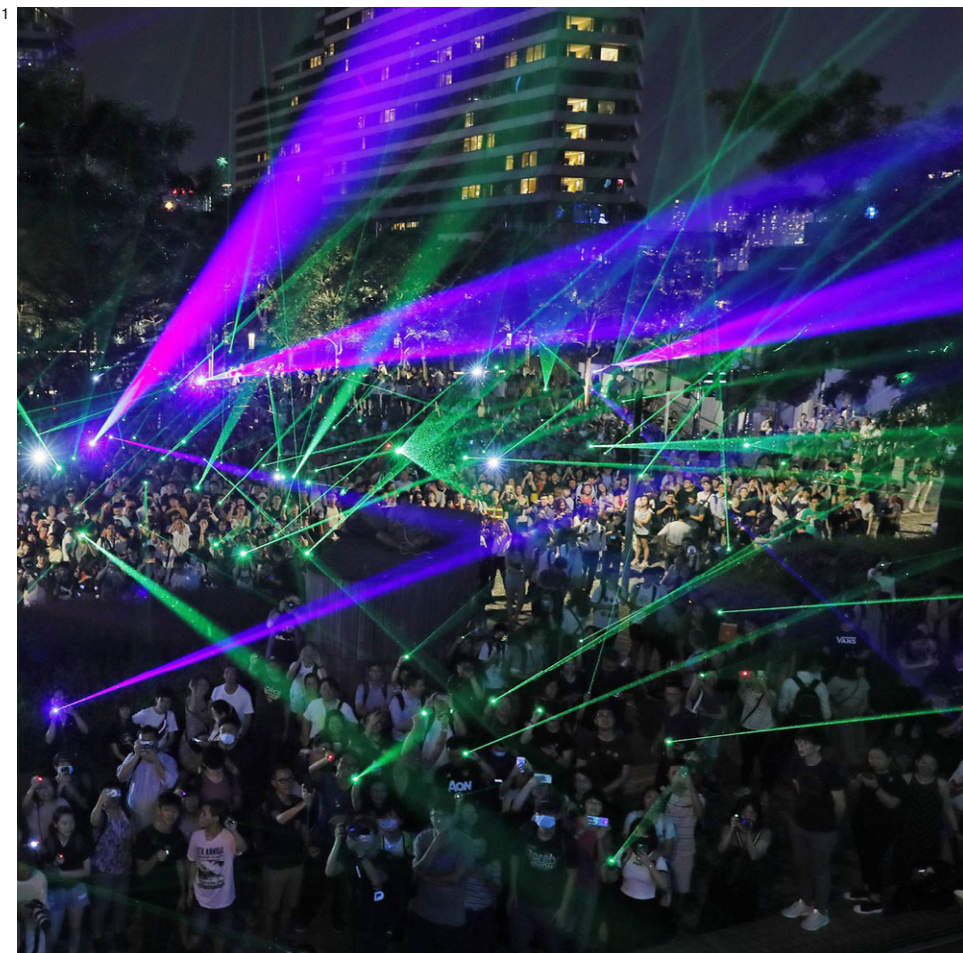


40. The police started using blue dye to identify protesters in september, allowing thousands of arrests, 2019, AFP, accessed on 09.01.2022, <<https://www.bbc.com/news/in-pictures-50671513>>

41. Protesters use laser pointers during a rally to demonstrate against the arrests of people caught in possession of laser pointers, which police classified as offensive weapons because of their ability to harm people's eyes on August 7, 2019, Kin Cheung, AP, accessed on 09.01.2022, <<https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2019/11/photos-lasers-discontent/602263/>>

42. China has banned bulk shipments of black clothing to Hong Kong in October 2019 as protesters have made it their uniform, 2019, Isaac Yeung, Shutterstock, accessed on 09.01.2022, <<https://sourcingjournal.com/topics/business-news/china-hong-kong-protest-black-clothing-ban-bulk-shipment-175505/>>

43. Tactics and tip are shared on platforms and can travel from Hong Kong to Black Lives Matter marches within a day, Twitter screenshot seen in Youtube video 0min37sec, uploaded by Vice News, accessed 09.01.2021, <[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DY6F\\_pLU5ng](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DY6F_pLU5ng)>



43. **Jeff chan** @jeffcha39302278 May 29, 2020 10:12PM 1379 706  
#Minneapolisprotests #StandwithHK #BlackLivesMatter  
I am a hong konger  
how deal with tear gas need  
1.Waterproof bag/SL  
2. Wonder Grip wg-318 /Welding gloves  
3.water  
method of operation pour water into the waterproof bagpick up tear gas shake bagbe water my friend



44. & 45. In subway stations, supporters leave fresh clothes for protesters to change when they have been marked by blue paint or need to change their appearance, Youtube video screenshot 2min57sec, 3min03sec, uploaded by Andy Lo, accessed on 10.01.2022<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=knvz0t5z1uU&t=626s>>

46. People are handing out snacks and water bottles during a protest, 2019, Youtube video screenshot 5min27sec, uploaded by The New York Times, accessed 09.01.2021, <[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ikJmbuErz\\_c](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ikJmbuErz_c)>

47. A restaurant showing its appearance to the Yellow Economy, 2019, John Leicester, The Canberra Times, accessed on 09.01.2022, <<https://www.canberratimes.com.au/story/6547994/hk-yellow-shops-support-democracy/>>

48. People leave single-way subway tickets for protesters to use: this way their credit cards aren't traced back to their protesting activities. Youtube video screenshot 10min26sec, uploaded by Andy Lo, accessed on 10.01.2022<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=knvz0t5z1uU&t=626s>>





## GILETS JAUNES - PERI-URBAN ROUNDABOUTS

Over 2000 locations, France - November 17th, 2018.

During the previous weeks, hundred events have been announced to take place on this day across the country. How many will show up is hard to estimate; up until now, discussions were taking place on facebook groups formed regionally over the discontent towards new speed limitations. Some of them were created specifically for this nation-wide protest, announcing a « blocage » and sharing interactive maps of the country, and calling for regional groups to relay the information. In fact, the maps do not show how the actions will take place or the routes that will be taken, but merely the meeting points - mainly parking lots in peripheral areas. The yellow vest has already been chosen as a symbol for the discontent of car users: an announced rise of fuel prices triggered the mobilization within groups already formed around an opposition to speed limitations on national roads. A lot of the actions have not been announced to authorities: the movement already shows its rejection of formal political structures and institutions. « *Ce qui est difficile, c'est qu'on n'a pas une organisation syndicale qui a l'habitude de faire une manifestation qui l'organise. Par exemple, une manifestation ça se déclare en préfecture. Là, très peu l'ont déclarée. J'appelle ceux qui nous écoutent à déclarer le lieu de la manifestation* » Interior Minister Christophe Castaner told reporters<sup>46</sup>

Some rally points form in urban centers, while others plan to perform blockades of peripheral transit axes or shopping malls. Mobilized individuals spent time in the previous days analyzing the places they will occupy and thinking of the most secure ways of achieving their aims: maybe it is better to fill the roundabout with cars, and to place people only in certain places. They want the events to develop safely, and to show a peaceful image of their movement: the blockades will by indi-

cated at least one kilometer before they occur, and police or ambulances will be able to circulate. Some large companies have even been included in discussions and their employees benefit from a give way to get to work<sup>47</sup>. However, the day unfolds unaccordingly to their expectations: a woman is killed by a panicked driver in Savoy, and several « débordements » lead to over two hundred hurt<sup>48</sup> and events of looting in the city protests. But people are decided to stay, some until the day after.

The key elements of a movement that is still ongoing today - albeit diminished by time and sanitary restrictions - are set on this day. The duality of actions (undeclared protest marches in city centers and traffic blockades of peripheral arteries), the heterogenous background of participants, the repressive attitude of the state, and the dispersion of actions all over the national territory are elements that are carried on throughout time. The movement also already chose its emblems. The yellow vest, found in every car's emergency pack since 2008, and the peripheral roundabout make them visible throughout the country.

Understanding who the Gilets Jaunes are has proven to be a difficult exercise for french analysts. The mobilization exceeds worker unions' or youth protests that France has known, and does not inscribe itself in a continuity of social claims, making direct historic references not applicable<sup>49</sup>. A majority of its constituents do not have an affiliation to political parties or typical frameworks, and have no previous experience in social contestation. This

Exceeding traditions with new strategies for protest and difficulty of established institutions to understand the movement

does not apply to all individuals, but the personalities that have emerged and been chosen as spokespeople reflect this majority: Priscilla Ludosky, Eric Drouet and Maxime Nicolle are some well-known figures that have started out as facebook group administrators. Their main mutual interest, drawing from the triggers of mobilization, lies in the reliance on the automobile as a means of travel and to carrying a financial burden tied to it<sup>50</sup>. Restrictive laws such as the speed limitation are perceived as a dimishment of their freedom, an idea the car is strongly identified with, although this myth is crumbling from ecologist discourse and traffic congestion<sup>51</sup>. The property over a car remains, however, a status symbol in certain groups.

A socio-geographic approach has been often referred to when trying to outline commonalities in protesters, notably Christophe Guilly's controversial essay « La France périphérique » (2014). He elaborates a dichotomy between progressive and economically productive metropolitan showplaces opposed to rural areas and small towns, « la France des oubliés ». According to his view, popular classes have been

sacrificed for the enrichment and well-being of model cities, creating a social and territorial « fracture » - of which the

Attempts of a socio-geographic definition of the protesters, a very heterogenous group

Gilets Jaunes' frustration is the incarnation. This spatial reading has been widely criticized, as poverty is very present in large cities, which have witnessed growing inequalities<sup>52</sup>, and that some smaller cities have dynamic economies. In fact, the Gilets Jaunes do not constitute France's poorest population: multiple sources note that they are not from precarious urban neighbourhoods, unemployed, or immigrants. They are mostly employees of small companies, or self-employed crafts(wo)men and merchants<sup>53</sup>. They usually live in suburban villas, however, the executive and public branches also living in those areas are notably absent from the movement. A purely spatial qualification of the mobilization therefore is not satisfying either. If they can be considered as appartaining to dominated social groups, they claim their position in a middle class and fight against decreases in their perceived standard of living, of which the 'freedoms' of car ownership are an element. They fear that less accessibility to car mobility would assign them at residence, a condition of captivity seen precisely in the mass housing estates and « cités » they fled from by acquiring housing in peri-urban areas. It does resonate as a movement of the working class, one of the irruption of usually « invisible » people in public spaces that have been progressively « pacified »<sup>54</sup> under state control to guarantee certain uses and functions.

After president Emmanuel Macron's announcement on

December 10th, 2018 of the suspension of the law on fuel prices, the mobilization does not diminish: their claims are varied yet strong. The main recurring discontent is oriented towards representative democracy and its institutions, among which the government. The demand for tools and legal means of participatory, or direct, democracy becomes central: banners and placards call for the création of a « référendum d'initiative citoyenne »<sup>55</sup>. The general dissent towards republican institutions and executive forces grows, emanating in regular physical altercations between small radical groups and repressive police forces making use of technologies such as flashballs, tear gas and sting-balls, but also small acts of « common » violence<sup>56</sup>. Without traditional mediating structures, such as unions or parties, the Gilets Jaunes are acting outside of the state's comfort zone. Traditional media easily jumps on the wagon of « massification » of the protests: they are described as uncivilized, irrational, infuriated, passionate, dangerous...<sup>57</sup> A direct transposition of Gustave LeBon's angry crowd theories, as le Monde Diplomatique recalls fearful and contemptuous exclamations coming from the bourgeoisie and its representatives throughout broadcasting platforms. quick researches on audiovisual sharing platforms also show-case the disproportionate mediatization of violent acts: YouTube videos for every Acte in the cities are available in dozens, showing people performing «cassages» - mainly crushing vitrines with stones and other objects - whereas recordings from single roundabouts over time are difficult to come around.

Refusing formal representation that could be integrated into institutions and processes of representative democracy, being audible and mostly visible has been, for the Gilets Jaunes, a constant objective that has translated in an original spatial practice. The rise in fuel prices was a first reason for the calls to demonstrate within already formed interest groups, and quickly moved to focus on broader questions of purchasing power and, in a second phase, social reconnection. Traditional frameworks of understanding and categorizing social movements are obsolete in this case<sup>58</sup> which caused defensive and fearful reactions from the press, unable to use their usual referential frame. The novelty of this social movement in different aspects also posed a challenge to national authorities, which acted in continuity with a criminalization of struggles and repressive efforts that is well documented<sup>59</sup>, but also through specific strategies of delegitimation and « effacement »<sup>60</sup> (erasure) of the many ways the Gilets Jaunes inscribe themselves in public space. This is felt directly in the actions

Erasure of traces left behind by protesters is a strategy of delegitimation and of de-politization of their claims

organized in city centers, on saturday afternoons: as the routes mostly remain undefined before the start of marches, they take shape as they go along. The leading banners are often confiscated, as if it would take away the protest's political attributes, leaving behind just a claimless group of people. Another physical aspect of erasure target the protesters inscriptions on buildings and facades. Graffiti has been a regular practice, mostly when gathering before the march: equipped with aerosol sprays, people leave behind messages and write their demands on the vitrines of commercial and financial companies, sitting comfortably in historic city centers, that progressively cover their devantures with wooden panels in anticipation. Cleaning up after the demonstrations has become a priority in certain cities, which deploy dozens of people on sunday mornings to cover the inscriptions with paint. In fact, it is not an act of « cleaning up », but of covering up, erasing, and censoring, once again attempting to depolitize the Gilets Jaunes' movement by invisibilizing their claims. The commercial streets shall remain untouched by the protests, their activity and lucrativeness shall be protected and the public space « pacified » in order to protect the status quo of hegemonic practices. There can be a crowd, but there cannot be demands or dissenting political discourse.

In this regard, the protests signify a temporal breach in social reproduction. First by exceeding the salaried hours in the week: protesters take on their personal, unpaid time, whereas strikes and protests have usually been organized during working hours. This free time is dedicated to fulfilling basic needs and chores, but also to social reproduction and specifically consumption: saturday afternoons are the busiest hours in any commercial district. The protesters, by gathering on those days regularly, create their own social rythm and refuse the hegemonic time division. They instaure a time for social encounter and exchange, during which the collective identity is construed and developed: « *Le côté positif, c'est l'espèce de masse que les gens font dans la rue et quand on est nombreux et qu'on est là pour une même idée... Je me dis : ah y'a pas que moi qui pense comme moi, on est nombreux à penser comme ça. Cette masse-là, elle te porte. Y a plein de gens autour de toi... y a des handicapés... ça, c'est vachement beau... ça me fait du bien... J'attends les samedis pour aller manifester. Je ne programme plus rien le week-end pour aller manifester* »<sup>61</sup>.

The repeated moments of togetherness, of bodies convening in a space to create new social configurations, are essential to the constitution of a group identity. The heterogenous backgrounds and social environments of participants find a sense

of community precisely during these gatherings, making them both the expression of social claims and of their very production. The Gilets Jaune do not preexist to this practice as a group, they are constituted through and by it<sup>62</sup>.

Along punctual actions of irruption in the commercial districts of urban center, permanent occupations in peripheral nodes of transit are operated. While appartaining to the same movement, these are not necessarily performed by the same people: some protesters have expressed their preference for the presence on roundabouts over the sometimes confrontational and less peaceful actions in cities. The choice of places of trafic, anthropological non-lieux as geographer Samuel Depraz

Urban sprawl and its spatial products: the Gilets Jaunes in their own territorial agency, the roundabouts as 'anthropological non-lieux'

calls them<sup>63</sup>, are an unusual choice of occupation. They are distant from places of political and financial power and evade the traditional conception of 'public space' as a conventional ground for meeting and expression. Encouraged by anti-urbanist policies and the ideal of suburban villa ownership during the 70s, urban sprawl has grown and raised new issues on the good governance of such territories. It creates living conditions that are distinct of those within direct proximity of urban centers but also more financially constraining because of the high costs of transport to conveniences and working places. Families often rely on two cars for daily activities and chores, which represents an important financial burden, and contributes to a sense of enclosure and restricted freedom. With great intuition, the Gilets Jaunes managed to take these marginal territories into public sight and this innately spatial strategy led to a new conception of places for protest.

The roundabout, but also the toll and the mall are essential part of the spatial ecosystem of urban sprawl. They are associated with fluidity of traffic and guarantee certain services and consumable experiences or goods. They regulate and filter circulation in otherwise « void » terrain, a territory marked entirely by its function within a network of destinations. Eyal Weizman, in « The Roundabout Revolutions » (2015), describes how they are « *not only the physical space of a circle, but also a set of rules for its use* »<sup>66</sup> which creates a foucauldian frame of interaction where the driver as a modern subject of government can self regulate. The policeman becomes merely an overseer for drivers managing their own movement, making a parallel with the liberal ideal of a self-regulating market. In choosing the usually non-inhabited roundabout, the blocage seems counterproductive at first: the Gilets Jaunes are limiting and slowing down their own mobility and access to conve-



niences, and they remain out of sight from political leaders in the city. In reality, the strategic positioning of blockades significantly impact economic flow since stuck delivery trucks impair exchange between metropolitan areas. The occupations and blockades are spread around the entry points of those areas, as shown on the example of action points from November 17th, 2018 around the city of Tours. The protesters deepen their lived relationship to this marginal areas, caught between the urban and the rural. The roads and traffic lights, the roundabouts they drive by on a daily basis are not anymore places they passively incur as a consequence of suburban living conditions, but places they claim as their own. They are areas and trajectories of lived memories that they have expertise in navigating, probably moreso than public authorities.

According to geographer Bernard Debarbieux, the occupied roundabouts act as social condensators: they allow for the self-identification of a social group that ignored its own power. However little importance is given to mediatic representation and communication with a public from the Gilets Jaunes, the roundabouts do constitute a geographic network of resistance nodes where new forms of co-existence are experienced and give visibility to ignored voices and spaces. An analogy is sometimes drawn between social networks and its materialization as occupied roundabouts spread out throughout the country, connecting individuals previously isolated. Individuals develop interpersonal connections and frequently refer to the value of solidarity within their group. Ahmed, a 50-year-old protester in Auxerre, declares that he stopped working four months previously and has since subsisted thanks to the solidarity of his companions from the roundabout. Interestingly, he doesn't use the word « manifest » or « protest » or « occupy », but he says that he is « representing ». This is an interesting semantic use of the word as representative democracy is criticized for being dysfunctional: if the political institutions cannot represent the people, they take it to the roundabouts to represent themselves. The occupied roundabout is the vitrine, the scene that the protesters present to others and the media. But it is also a place of exchange, debate, and socialisation.

As mentioned previously, most protestors state no previous experience in assembly or struggle. The organizational resources, usually considered a key component in social movements, are therefore missing. Spontaneity is a permanent marker of the Gilets Jaunes' events. Their experience in raising social claims, the politisation of individuals happens through collective action: within the newly created social space, sharing stories allows their collective reframing as political issues. The logistics themselves of organizing an event require to

take responsibility, privately and publicly, for the actions of the group one has associated oneself with. Learning how to negotiate with local authorities and civil servants, albeit minimal, is a learning experience for people who have usually not been exposed to those institutions and excluded from deliberative processes. Therefore, the shape and dynamics of each local group are highly diverse: some elements are recurring, but no two roundabout occupations are the same<sup>64</sup>. Protesters are free to negotiate the meaning and symbols they believe in this space formerly void of political discourse. As they exchange and constitute a new political subjectivity through collective action, so does the space they are in take on a new political value and appearance.

The type of actions found on roundabouts varies from inhabitation and the emerging of a protest camp to spectacles of Gilets Jaunes on loud motorbikes driving endless circles while hundreds of others are watching, the cars immobile. A certain unease is felt when watching footage of early blockades: waiting and being immobile for hours looks demanding. They seem hesitant to block cars as if doubting their own legitimacy. It is clear that charismatic authority has a lot of place to develop with no formal speaking order or hierarchy to structure interactions and decision-making. Some figures can be recognized as having more authority than others just from uncommented videos: people turn to one broad man speaking loudly for approval and await for his consent to block the cars. Sometimes, they hold hands to form a cordon: this seems to give them more confidence, holding each other gives a sense of closeness, even if the next person is a stranger. The absurdity of blocking their own community members, people who have cars, while themselves having a strongly heroic images of the automobile, requires a differentiation to be made: who is really the target, and if we are 'us', what distinguishes us from 'them', in their cars? My hypothesis is that the Gilet acts on the protesters as a uniform, and gives them a unity in action that doesn't align with their sociopolitical heterogeneity. The security vest is tied to traffic, but also to a sense of urgency that requires humans to be seen in darkness or bad weather. It highlights the presence of a human exposed to some form of immediate or indirect danger, therefore a human with a purpose that justifies the exposition to said danger. At the same time, the vest is politically void of signification. It is not attached to a party or a social group, which makes it a good everyday object to represent the movement also moving outside of traditional political

Multiplicity of forms of occupation and socialization, local agency of sub-groups

Universal, transposable uniforms and absurdity as a strategy

Festivity, joy and breaching the code of conduct of an established elite

affiliations. It is cheap and easy to come around, as everyone owning a car is required by law to carry a security vest for emergencies. It is highly efficient in achieving visibility, and can be personalized through inscriptions and slogans.

Among expressions of anger and frustration, many recordings show displays of collective joy and festive behaviour. Hundreds of videos are available on the internet showing the «bêtisier», the bloopers, of actual protests. These are published by people from the movement themselves, taking a certain pride in self-depreciating humour. A video that went viral was made by a woman, who went to buy fabric on a saturday in an industrial area, and whose husband decided to protest on the roundabout all by himself. Her voice is an important part of how the video is received; she is laughing to tears about

her husband who went on to repeatedly cross the street at a light because blockades are illegal. Other images show Gilets Jaunes setting up a chair in the middle of traffic and mindlessly drinking coffee, or performing line dances in front stopped cars. The absurd is openly admitted and celebrated by the Gilets Jaunes. It could be a way of handling the strange feeling of a standing body refraining heavy vehicle from moving, or it could also simply stem from the amount of time spent together in waiting and protesting. Such self-depreciating humour is difficult to imagine coming from institutionalized organizations and not usual in social actors who try to establish legitimacy. The absurd of the Gilets Jaunes is almost a mockery towards established actors: they do not even try to fit into their standards and value system, they have the freedom to create their own. Since the majority of protesters have no prior experience in contestation, they did not learn these codes of conduct, and do not try to fit into it.

## Conclusion

The Gilets Jaunes have surprised french authorities by exceeding traditional expressions of protests. Carrying the vest suffices as a transposable identifier and ties the action of blocking cars to social claims. It acts as a uniform giving legitimacy, unity and authority to those who carry it, and is transposable to the many different locations throughout the country. In fact, it has so much potential to be transposed that the egyptian government went as far as to prohibit yello vest sales in December 2018, fearing that similar protests could spark on the other side of the mediterranean<sup>65</sup>. At the same time, the protesters who wear it perform absurdity as a refusal to conform to institutional values that exceed their mastery.

The use of force by state executive branches and their documented abuse of non-lethal weapons and strategies of « effacement » have become ritual encounters the protesters face

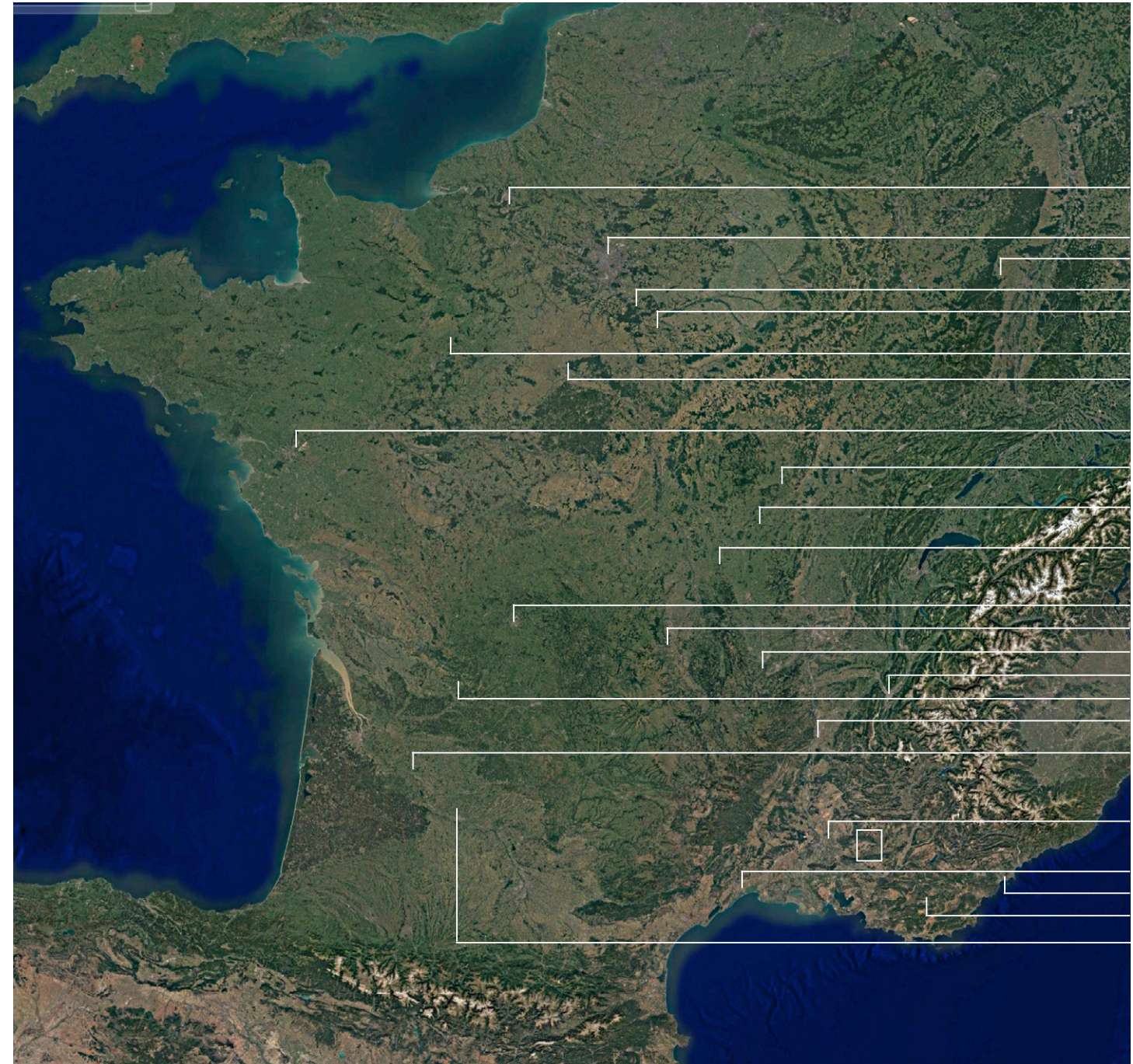
to establish presence, and have become vectors of the constitution of group identity that was not pre-existent.

Bodies distanced and separated through urban sprawl policies and social ideals of pavillionar suburbs make an irruption in public discourse by questioning hegemonic time division and representative democracy as a system by requalifying the distance to power. The roundabout creates a centrality in this indistinct texture of traffic and consumption, and protesters fight police attempts of breaking up the collective with the use of dispersion strategies. Taking up peripheral nodes to create a network of anti-public spaces creates a discussion on territorial relationships and their in-between. The security vest acts as a uniform that legitimizes and unifies the protestors movements and is easily transposable throughout the territory, signaling that the human wearing it is dissenting.



Satellite view, France  
Google Earth 12/2019, accessed 10.01.2021  
100km

map of occupation in Manosque  
p. 57-58



49, a  
52, 54  
c  
61  
67  
56, 59, g  
b  
57  
51  
50  
55  
d  
f  
66  
e  
k  
i  
h  
65  
63  
j, l  
53  
64

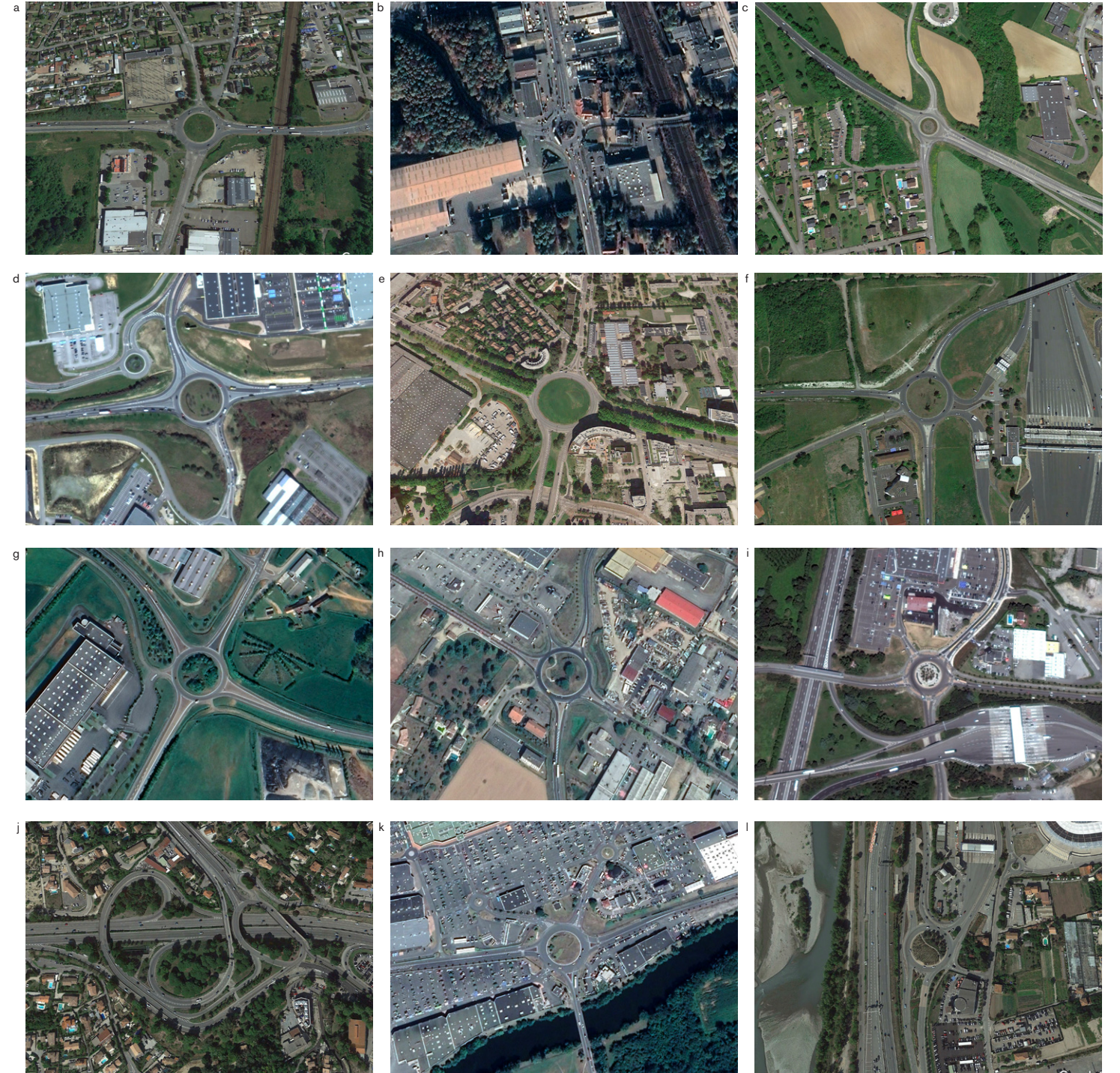
Satellite views (Google Earth, 10/2020) of roundabouts that still recorded some form of protest activity in 2021.

- a. Rond-point des Vaches, Rouens
- b. Rond-point Gerondeau, Saran
- c. Rond-point du Leclerc, Wasselonne

- d. Rond-point Grossereix, Limoges
- e. Rond-point Pierre et Marie Curie, Grenoble
- f. Rond-point du péage, Gerzat

- g. Rond-point Mr. Bricolage, Voivres-lès-le-Mans
- h. Rond-point du Leclerc, Marmandes
- i. Rond-point des Anglais, Valence

- j. Rond-point de la Libération, Mougins
- k. Rond-point de la Feuilleraie, Trélissac
- l. Rond-point de Saint-Isidore, Nice



100m  
North arrow icon



49. Gilets Jaunes at the roundabout "La Motte" in Rouen, November 2018, France 3 Normandie, accessed on 09.01.2022, <<https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/normandie/seine-maritime/rouen/gilets-jaunes-au-rond-point-motte-rouen-solidarite-s-organise-1580955.html>>

50. Reunion of Montceau-les-Mines to decide on the future of the movement, 2019, Jean-Philippe Ksiasek, L'Express, accessed on 09.01.2022, <[https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/societe/avant-les-vacances-les-gilets-jaunes-planchent-sur-la-suite-du-mouvement\\_2086981.html](https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/societe/avant-les-vacances-les-gilets-jaunes-planchent-sur-la-suite-du-mouvement_2086981.html)>

51. These protesters have forbidden alcohol because it wasn't helping their mobilization and have renamed their movement 'Citoyens en Colère', 2021, Patricia Louis, ER, accessed on 09.01.2022, <<https://www.estrepublicain.fr/societe/2021/05/08/les-citoyens-en-colere-resortent-le-gilet-jaune>>



52. Gilets Jaunes' Acte 2 on the Champs-Élysées in Paris on November 24th, 2018, Lucas Barioulet, AFP, accessed on 08.01.2022, <[https://www.francetvinfo.fr/economie/transports/prix-des-carburants/mouvement-des-gilets-jaunes-y-aura-t-il-un-acte-3-samedi-prochain\\_3051025.html](https://www.francetvinfo.fr/economie/transports/prix-des-carburants/mouvement-des-gilets-jaunes-y-aura-t-il-un-acte-3-samedi-prochain_3051025.html)>

53. The protesters of the Toll Cannes-des-Maures, Var, have built their own Eiffel Tower and Arc de Triomphe of wooden palettes, 2019, Christophe Simon, AFP, accessed on 08.01.2022, <[https://www.francetvinfo.fr/economie/transports/gilets-jaunes/c-est-devenu-un-symbole-apres-un-arc-de-triomphe-des-gilets-jaunes-du-var-construisent-une-tour-eiffel-en-palettes\\_3209873.html](https://www.francetvinfo.fr/economie/transports/gilets-jaunes/c-est-devenu-un-symbole-apres-un-arc-de-triomphe-des-gilets-jaunes-du-var-construisent-une-tour-eiffel-en-palettes_3209873.html)>

54. On December 1st the Arc de triomphe in Paris was covered in slogans by protesters. Lawsuits followed, here the cleaning operation is seen., 2018, Reuters, accessed on 09.01.2022, <[https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/justice/arc-de-triomphe-saccage-13-suspects-presentes-a-un-juge\\_2051879.html](https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/justice/arc-de-triomphe-saccage-13-suspects-presentes-a-un-juge_2051879.html)>





55. On the day after November 18th, protesters in Saint-Herblain by Nantes are still on the roundabout, 2019, Sebastien Salom Gomis, AFP, accessed on 09.01.2022. <<https://www.franceculture.fr/emissions/dimanche-et-apres-gilets-jaunes-cartographie-dune-mobilisation>>



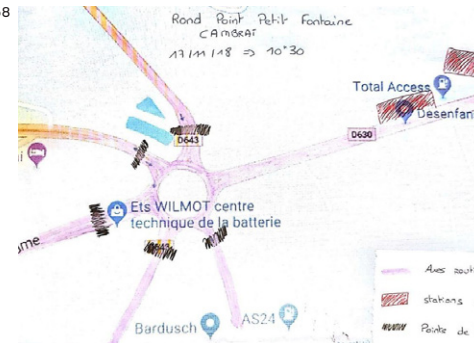
56. At night, the protesters are still standing in the evening of November 17th, 2018, Youtube video screenshot 3min21sec, posted by La Sarthe Insoumise, accessed on 10.01.2022. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZbHXGwPTAI>>



57. Blockade by human chain in Gannat on December 8th 2018, 2019, Sylvain Néron, LM, accessed on 07.01.2022. <[https://www.lamontagne.fr/vichy-03200/actualites/les-gilets-jaunes-de-l-arondissement-de-vichy-de-retour-sur-les-ronds-points-ce-samedi\\_13684853/](https://www.lamontagne.fr/vichy-03200/actualites/les-gilets-jaunes-de-l-arondissement-de-vichy-de-retour-sur-les-ronds-points-ce-samedi_13684853/)>

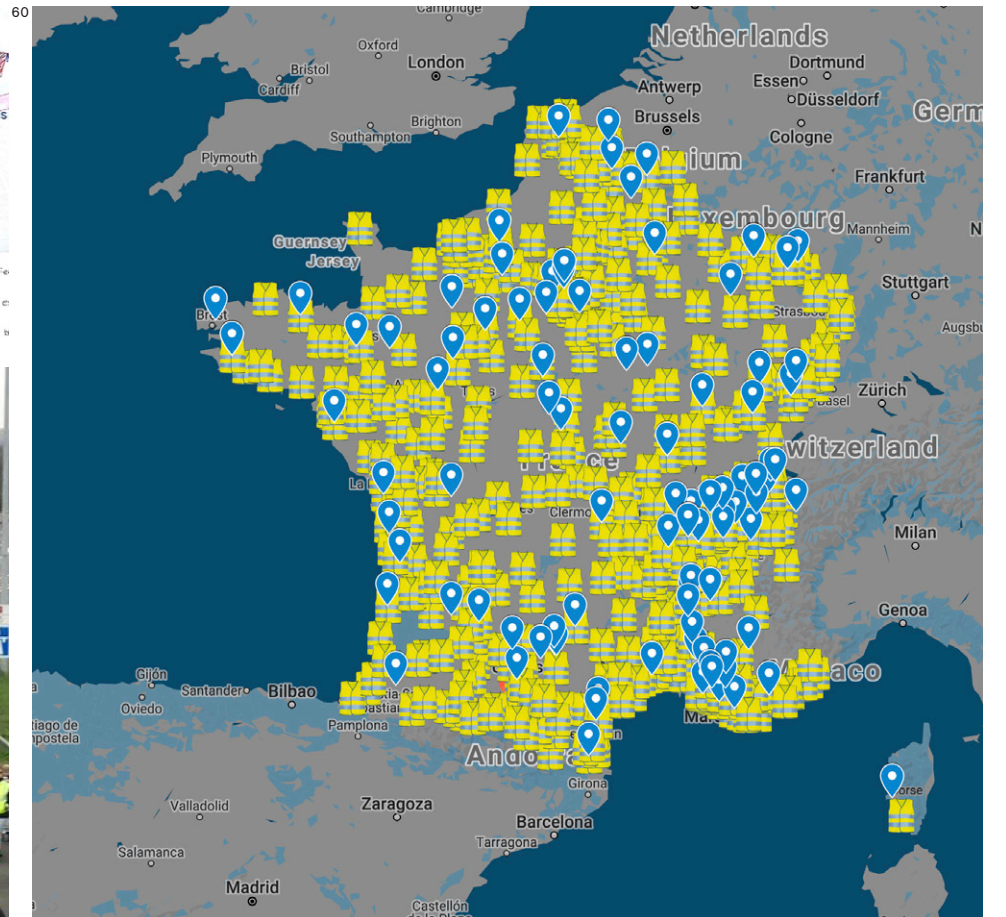


58. Handdrawn plan of a blocakde in Cambrai and relayed of Facebook, 2018, accessed on 12.12.2021, <<http://www.slate.fr/story/169626/blocage-17-novembre-gilets-jaunes-revolte-ronds-points-france-peripherie-diesel>>



59. The access to a highway is blocked in Mans, 2019, Morgane Heuclin-Refait, RF, accessed on 09.01.2022, <<https://www.francebleu.fr/infos/societe/gilets-jaunes-un-appel-a-reprendre-les-ronds-points-en-sarthe-les-16-et-17-novembre-1573736080>>

60. Collaborative map showing the actions on different dates and giving the impression that France is flooded by Gilets, 2019, Google Maps, accessed on 10.01.2022 <[https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?mid=12FIFmlz-to\\_bz\\_9rQM27PHs-R5gPKU-v7&ll=46.21904124849211%2C2.1959640580487427&z=13](https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?mid=12FIFmlz-to_bz_9rQM27PHs-R5gPKU-v7&ll=46.21904124849211%2C2.1959640580487427&z=13)>



61. Drone image of the roundabout de l'Obélisque, Fontainebleau, 2018, Pascal Crapet, LRSM, accessed on 09.01.2022. <[https://actu.fr/ile-de-france/fontainebleau\\_77186/de-fontainebleau-barbizon-operation-escar-got-gilets-jaunes\\_19636482.html](https://actu.fr/ile-de-france/fontainebleau_77186/de-fontainebleau-barbizon-operation-escar-got-gilets-jaunes_19636482.html)>



62. Personalized Gilet with demands for President Macron's destitution, 2018, Sylvie Monchatre, LNRT, accessed on 09.01.2022, <<https://journals.openedition.org/nrt/docannexe/image/7377/img-3.jpg>>



63. Teams of people in recognizable teeshirts and gear offer first aid, they are called 'street medics' and move in groups, holding one another by the shoulder, 2019, Frédéric Dugit, Le Parisien, accessed on 02.01.2022, <<https://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/gilets-jaunes-la-mort-du-street-medic-a-montpellier-etait-une-fausse-rumeur-08-06-2019-8089380.php>>



64. The 'maison citoyenne' of Gers which the municipality's employees refused to demolish, 2019, STR, accessed on 03.01.2022, <<https://lejournaldegers.fr/article/33755-la-maison-ci-toyenne-des-gilets-jaunes-gersois-mena-cee-de-demolition>>



65. The protesters of Pontet (Vaucluse) have received the order to evacuate their main shed within one week, the construction has grown to be a symbol of their whole struggle for them, 2019, France Bleu, accessed on 02.01.2022 <<https://www.francebleu.fr/infos/economie-social/photos-la-cabane-principale-du-realpanier-toujours-debout-1549554882>>



66. A cabane built by the Gilets Jaunes of Saint-Etienne, 2019, Wikimedia Commons, accessed on 07.01.2022, <[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La\\_cabane\\_des\\_Gilets\\_Jaunes\\_au\\_rond-point\\_Necker\\_à\\_Saint-Étienne.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La_cabane_des_Gilets_Jaunes_au_rond-point_Necker_à_Saint-Étienne.jpg)>



67. The cabane of Villeneuve-la-Guyarde has been demolished., 2019, LP, accessed on 09.01.2022, <<https://www.leparisien.fr/societe/gilets-jaunes-sur-les-rond-points-de-l-yonne-ils-sont-toujours-la-30-03-2019-8042862.php>>





## AGENCY IN CONTEXT

Mapping bodily performance has revealed to be a challenge. Movement and events are generally difficult to express within traditional modes of architectural representation, and the fixed nature of drawings make them a capture of actions inseparable from a longer process. Every drawing creates new meaning, and I did not feel legitimate in giving my meaning to events I was not part of.

I attempted to use mapping as a tool for research, visualisation and representation. On one hand, the direct translation from text to a written map helps me in situating the actions I write about, albeit in two dimensions, and gives the reader direct reference points to the actions mentioned in the text. On the other hand, the graphic maps act as diagrams: by defining areas rather than lines, I want to express the textures of strategic space and distances. The surfaces do have defined borders: a sidewalk, a patch of grass or a change in function do rely on physical occurrences that are conventionally represented with lines. But practising space in movement requires a different expression of those lines, as the situationists' theorized with the idea of « *dérive* ». The textures therefore reflect no precise moment in time, but merely the strategic areas of action: where do police forces usually position themselves, where do protesters arrive from, behind which blocks do they hide and what borders do they defend. These maps, as mentioned, do not have the pretention to represent positions of a given moment. They merely result from many observations - from photographs published in media and blogs - and from watching countless videos uploaded on platforms such as youtube.

The three events required a different scale: Tahrir's occupation took place over a relatively large area, defined by the surrounding buildings. Its borders were very clearly defined because of opposing forces such as the army and pro-government groups, whereas the *gilets jaunes*' presence on the roundabouts was less bounded by buildings and more by the spaces of traffic itself. The activity was concentric and police forces would position themselves on the sidelines of every access road, circling the circle without further hindering cars.

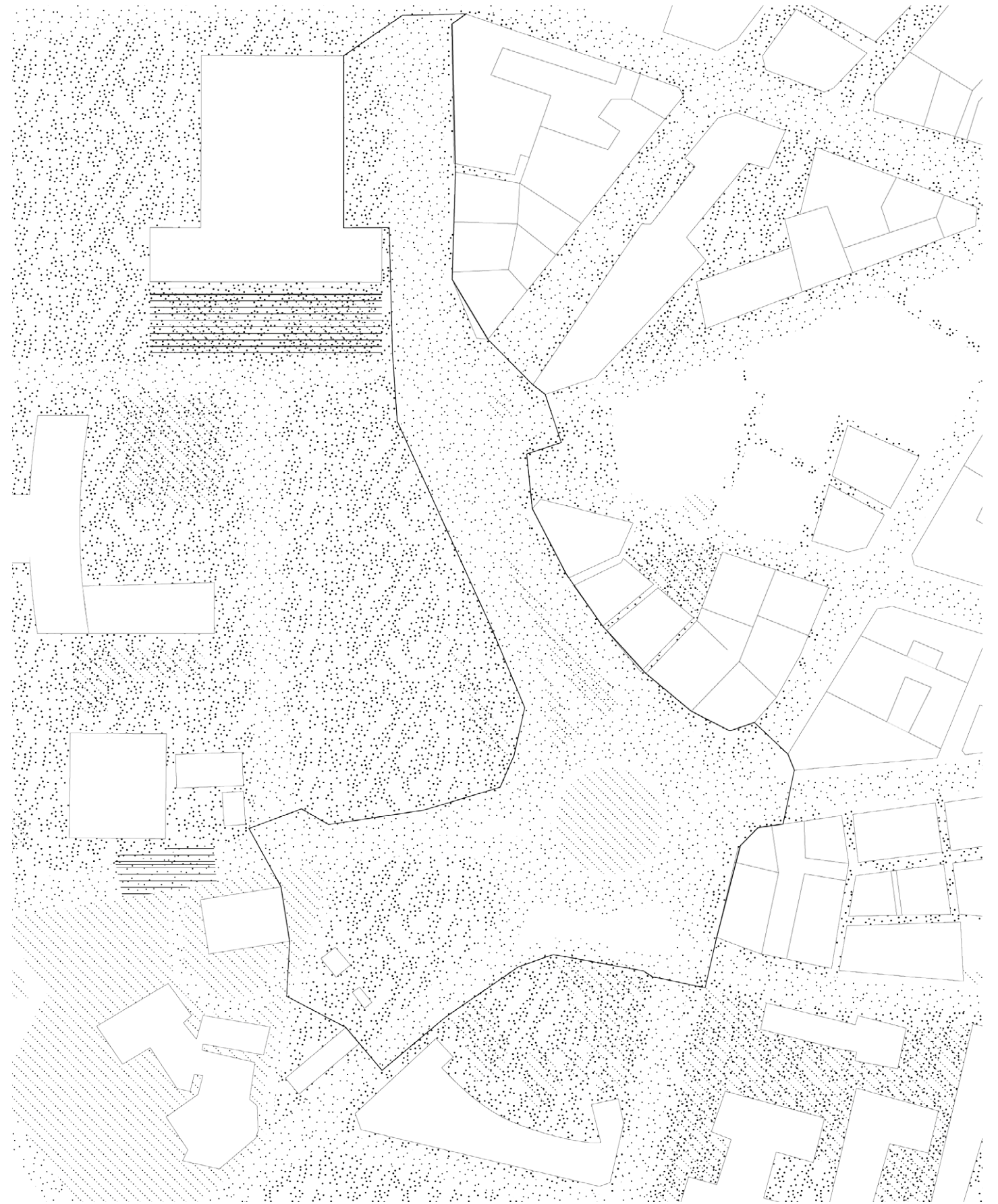
Mong Kok's plan shows the proactive and mobile nature of protests: the police forces systematically block the lateral crossroads while protesters arrive from many different sides. The proximity between MTR stations and the police stations makes this place suitable to the 'be water' strategy: people can arrive and disperse quickly. The fixed barriers drawn on the map have been built during the 2019 protests, further attempting to channel protester's movements. The street being relatively narrow, no blue dye cannons are used in this area. The built environments provides for hiding spots: protesters find shelter behind the bridge's wide bearing columns as they throw molotov cocktails towards the line of riot police standing in front of the station.



Tahrir Square, February 2011  
Cairo, Egypt  
50m

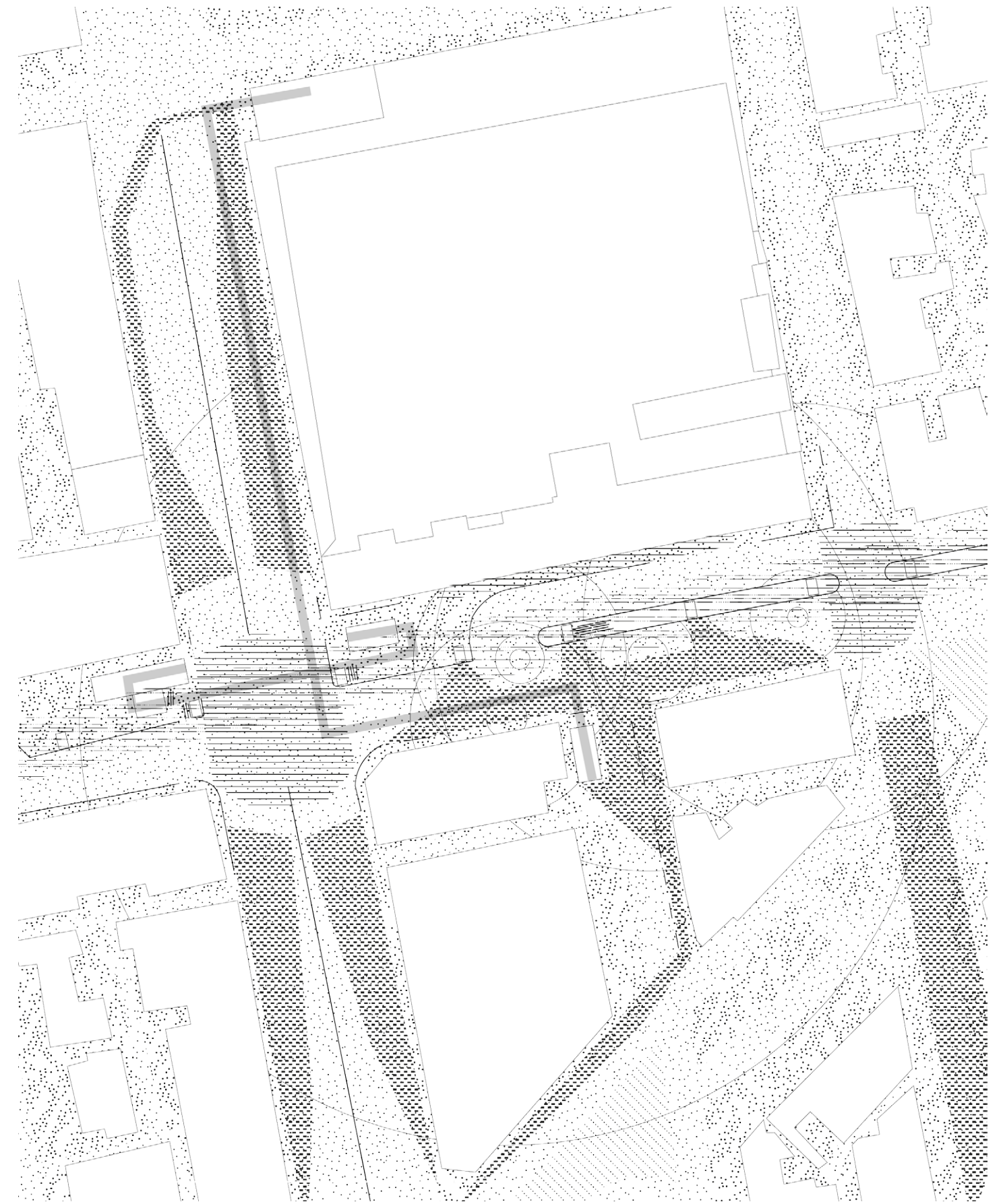
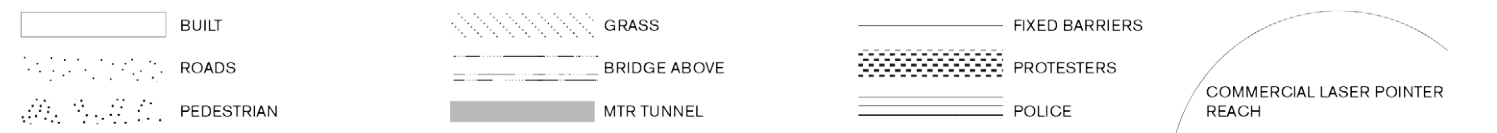
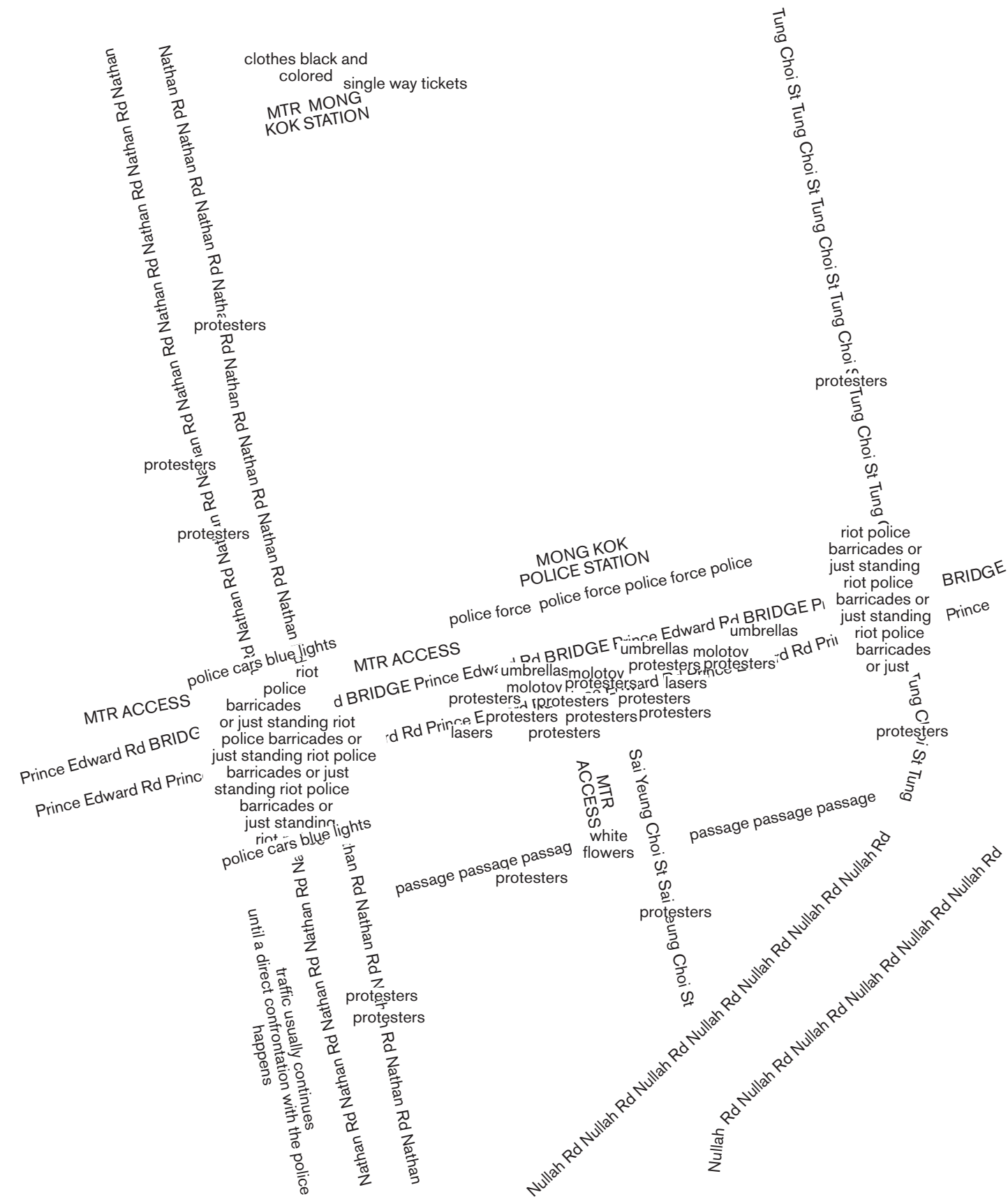
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC  
PARTY HEADQUARTERS

NILE RITZ-CARLTON



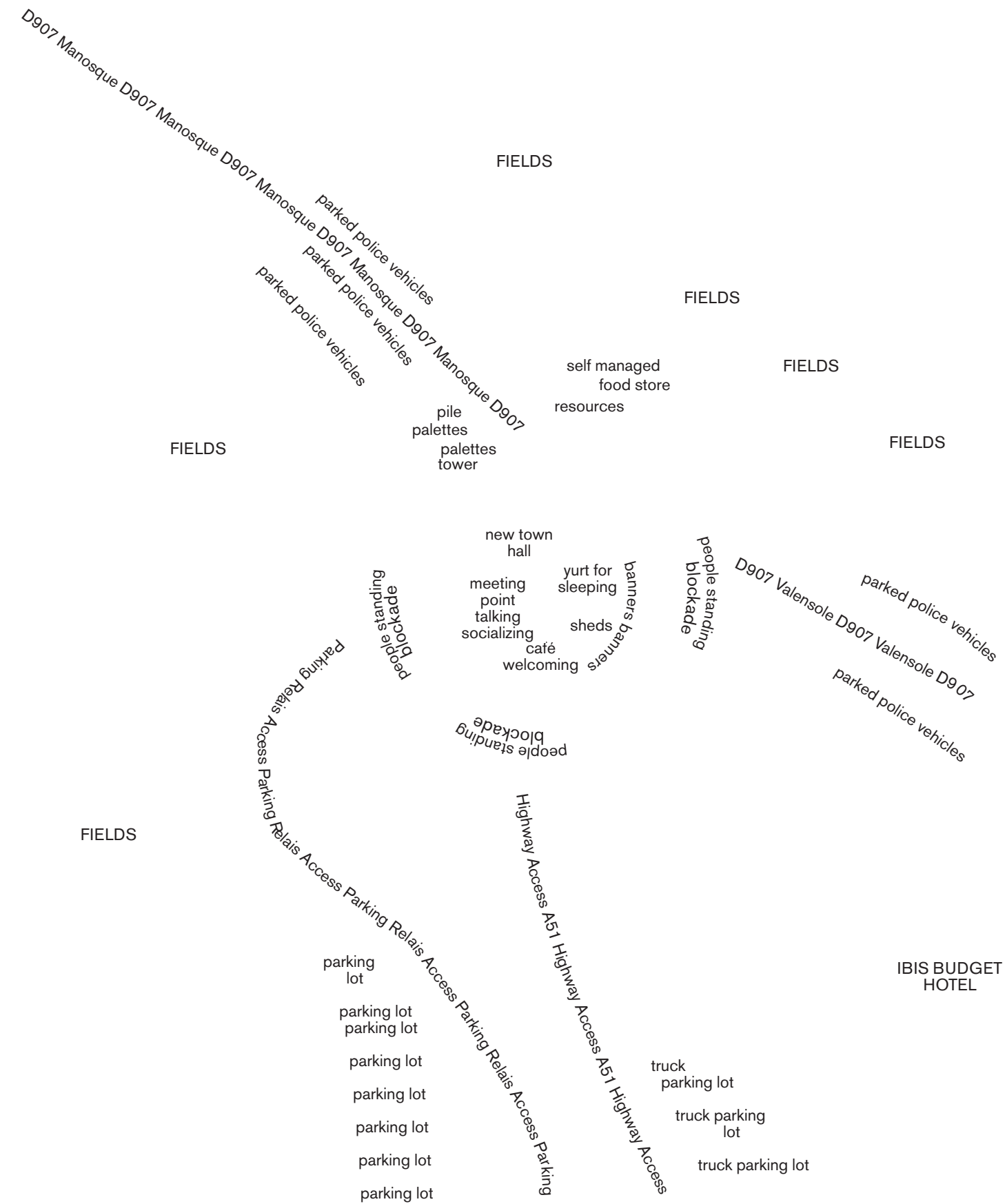


Mong Kok police station, 2019-2020  
Hong Kong, HKSAR  
50m

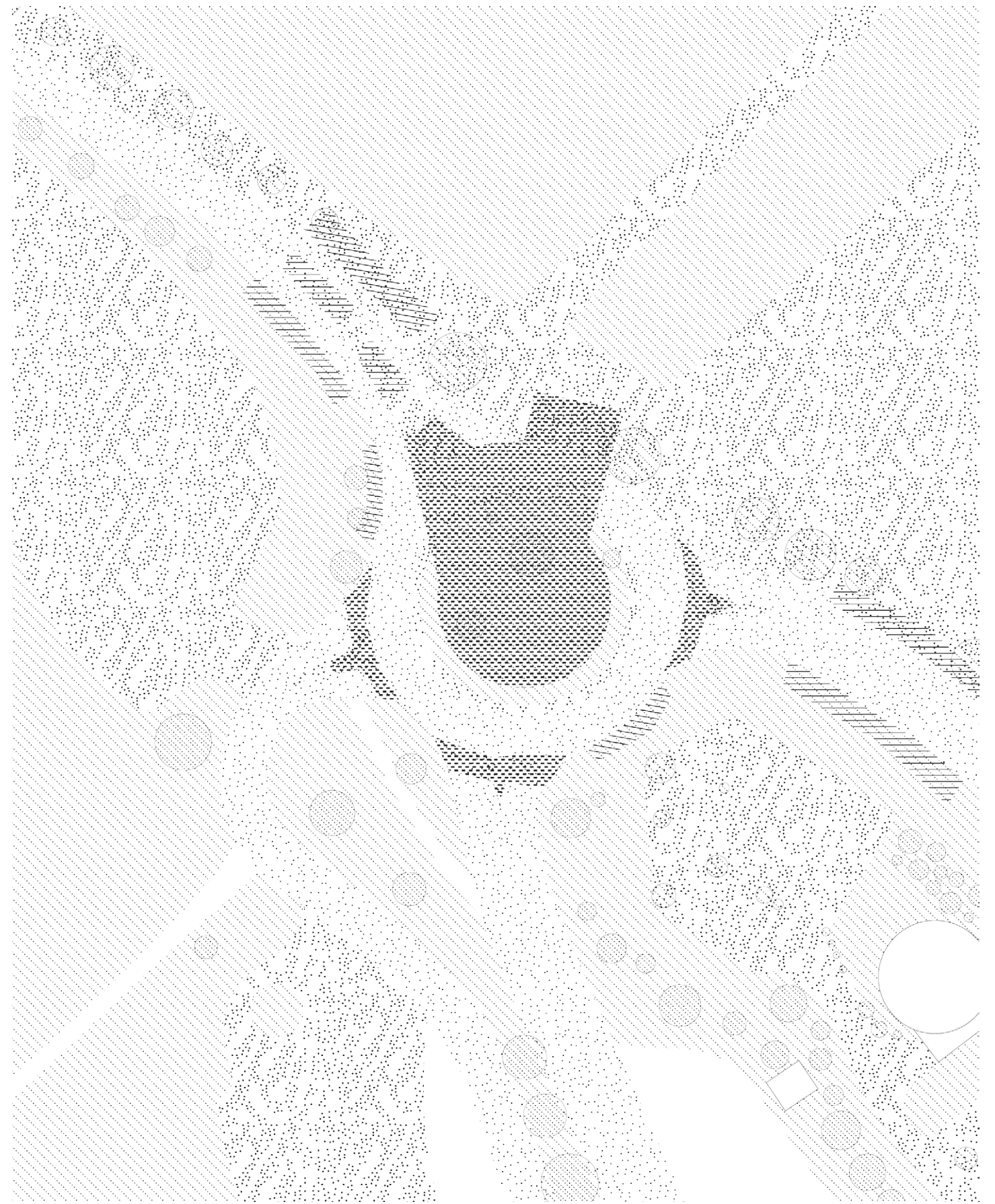




Gilets Jaunes  
"Village" de Manosque, France  
50m



	BUILT		GRASS		TREES
	ROADS		PROTESTERS		POLICE
	PEDESTRIAN				





The cases of Tahrir Square, Hong Kong and Gilets Jaunes presented different ways in which contest is inscribed in a spatio-political context. Dissenting movements participate in the production of social space when performing protests. They do so by disrupting hegemonic practices to signify that their presence has a claim: by using spaces differently than the function they are designed and labelled for, they express dissent. Occupation, essentially an appropriation of a place defined by certain borders, is a negation: it prohibits other uses while generating visibility. Long-term occupation can lead to forms of inhabitation and physical rearticulation of the occupied location, as Tahrir's 'city within the city' shows. Bodily needs are then a focus of logistics and organization, both a demand towards a hegemonic power that is challenged, and the ground for a prefigurative social organization. But occupation can also be temporary, geared towards a precise event: Hong Kong protesters physically blocked the passing of a law by restraining lawmakers from entering the Council. In this case, occupation is strategically as important as dispersion: it is a literal evasion from sovereign forms of intimidation and repression that requires the bodies to move out of sight and out of reach. Communication and rapid decision making, as well as evacuation strategies, are key: the crowd chants in rhythm, 1-2-1-2-1-2, avoiding stampedes to get home safe and come back tomorrow.

It is impossible to predict what will be the preferred place for a protest. They can materialize in proximity of an architectural incarnation of economic or institutional power, say Zuccotti Parc in Occupy Wall Street or the removal of monuments during the George Floyd protests. Yet hegemony is not only present and visible in the monuments it erects, but also in the networks it establishes, the geographies it generates and the resources it administers. When the Gilets Jaunes gathered in empty parking lots in the periphery of small towns, they poli-

## CONCLUSION

ticized circulation arteries that were (falsely, as they demonstrated) seen as apolitical, meaningless, or generic junkspace at best. The belief still exists, but those places change when the protesters enact absurd behaviours, breaching the naturalized conception of highways and peripheral roundabouts as necessary and purely functional infrastructure.

Material environments and social struggle have a reciprocal influence. Some configurations are a support for action; Hong Kong's Mass Transit Line is a direct example. Some configurations allow for the inscription of new narratives and demands by reappropriation, as cairene anti-government protesters converted a fast-food restaurant into a clinic, or as canvas for discursive applications such as theatrical banners on Hong Kong's iconic Lion Rock. Objects can also be repurposed to serve dissident purposes: umbrellas, signalization cones, yellow vests, plastic sheets, filter masks, black clothing... All of them have gained new meaning and importance in the context of struggle. Collective intelligence is developed through trial and error, and finally the most successful tactics are shared online.

Protests are bodily expressions of dissent, performed by a large number of individuals coming together in their claims. They interact with material and social spaces, which provide support for action and allow prefigurative practices stemming in disruption. Agonistic public space is the result of a process, of a collective action - it is not a given. The bodies protesting are the ones making space for dissent and expressing it. This space is not permanent and has to be defended against erasure and biopolitical containment. It is, in fact, both created and maintained by social practices. The space that is created has numerable alternative configurations and shifts constantly: people demonstrate great creativity and power in making the perfectly imperfect space for their claims in a given



context. Social movements find the areas and infrastructure that make their claims heard and shape a collective memory of these prefigurative experiments. They manage to modify perceived and lived space by disrupting hegemonic practices. This requires to make a connection between the social claims and the place of their expression: topographies, places of encounter, or symbols of power can generate practices favorable to mobilization. They can highlight contradictions or social injustice, or they can give interstitial spaces - outside of conventional categories of use - that allow confrontation

and exchange. As everyday objects are turned into emblems and tools of survival, everyday places are rearticulated in the context of struggle. This requires a deep knowledge of context and social norms. No protest is directly transposable and its expression is influenced by a number of factors, among which the organizational structure and leadership of a movement. Their commonality lies in the simultaneous disruption of accepted spatial practices as collective bodies to express dissent.

What if architecture offered the material support for disruptive spatial practices?

Overview: a comparative table of selected aspects from the three study cases

	TAHRIR	HONG KONG	GILETS JAUNES
Duration of physical demonstrations	25.01.2011 - 11.02.2011 followed by other protests	16.06.2019 - 2020 (ongoing)	17.11.2018 - 2020 (ongoing)
Repetition and rhythm	One occupation	On days of legislative decision making and weekly	Weekly actions on Saturdays in city centers and longer roundabout occupations
Epicenter and dispersion of places of protest	Public square in the capital's center that has played a role in previous revolutions. The occupation affects the city as a whole, smaller occupations take place in other cities.	Mainly in districts of political and commercial power along mass transport lines. Groups move along different places within a single day of protest.	Peripheral transit roads and roundabouts, punctual mass protests in metropolitan commercial city centers. The groups are anchored locally and take place over the territory. Actions in central locations such as Paris earn disproportionate attention.
Protest strategy	Occupation of a public square until Hosni Mubarak resigns.	Be water: occupy, disrupt, disperse, repeat.	Gather, be visible/heard and block traffic between urban agglomerations. Duality: occupied roundabouts (non-lieux) and more classical city protests.
Counter-insurgency strategies	Military deployment that was supposed to remain 'impartial'.	Intimidation, surveillance, securitization, force Marking and identifying protesters	Invisibilisation, delegitimation, force, extraordinary mobilization of police forces. Erasing slogans and demolishing cabanes.
Acts and form of direct defense	Defending a border from intruders, security checks upon entry of the square, detainment in metro station.	Umbrellas and devices/objects against teargas, dispersion as defense strategy, face blocking and lasers to avoid facial recognition.	Reconstruction of occupation devices after destruction by police.
Reason of objection	Dictatorial and corrupt regime led by Hosni Mubarak, police violence, poor living conditions, lack of political freedom.	Laws threatening Hong Kong SAR's autonomy from Beijing and therefore the citizen's rights and security, police violence, democratic claims.	Sparked by rise in fuel prices but moved on to representative democracy, demands for President Macron's destitution, centralisation, elites, gas prices, taxes, ecology.
Communication methods	Difficult due to restricted internet access. Radio remains available, people watch their own revolution at cinema Tahrir, bloggers create content published online by digital mules.	Consensus-oriented tools and apps like Telegram, forum LIHKG and airdrop for rapid decision-making. Hand signs to communicate needs during a mass protest.	Strong importance of regional Facebook groups, used as form of 'auto-media'.
Organizational structure	Mainly leaderless, with sub-leaders from pre-existing groups. Was politically recuperated by the Muslim Brotherhood.	Leaderfull, rhizomatic, consensus-oriented. Learnt from previous experiences where recognizable leader figures were arrested.	Leading figures from within the movement and its Facebook groups, strong autonomy of local groups of protesters, general rejection of political parties.
Media representation	Strong transposition to other countries as part of a series of upheavals during the Arab Spring.	Positive and dramatic, heroic representation mostly in western media.	Traditional media has difficulty categorizing the movement and expresses a bourgeois fear of the "angry mob", overrepresentation of violent city protests over roundabout occupations.
Emblems	The square itself.	The colour yellow, filter masks, umbrellas, face-blocking, laser pointers.	Yellow vests and roundabouts.
Biopolitical framing	Performing precarious life in organizing bodily needs and domesticity in a public, mediated space.	Weaponizing life and death and forming a network of life-protecting systems and places (safehouses, informal economy of objects, elderlies).	Addressing the dividing territorial organization of access to infrastructure and services, use of uniforms to enable collective identities, reclaiming space not made for humans (areas of traffic).



## DICTIONARY

Following definitions are extracted from the Merriam-Webster Dictionary and provided purely to clarify meanings between words and semantics frequently used throughout the essay. The definitions are not philosophical, situated or differentiated, but help to understand general conceptions.

### Activism

a doctrine or practice that emphasizes direct vigorous action especially in support of or opposition to one side of a controversial issue

### Belligerent

1: inclined to or exhibiting assertiveness, hostility, or combativeness  
2: waging war. specifically : belonging to or recognized as a state at war and protected by and subject to the laws of war.

### Contestation

Controversy; debate.

### Discourse

1: verbal interchange of ideas, especially : see 'conversation'  
2 a: formal and orderly and usually extended expression of thought on a subject  
b: connected speech or writing  
c: a linguistic unit (such as a conversation or a story) larger than a sentence  
3: a mode of organizing knowledge, ideas, or experience that is rooted in language and its concrete contexts (such as history or institutions)

### Dissent

1: to withhold assent or approval  
2: to differ in opinion

### Dissident

disagreeing especially with an established religious or political system, organization, or belief

### Disruption

the act or process of disrupting something : a break or interruption in the normal course or continuation of some activity, process, etc.

### Insurgent

1: a person who revolts against civil authority or an established government especially : a rebel not recognized as a belligerent  
2: one who acts contrary to the policies and decisions of one's own political party

### Rebel

1 a: opposing or taking arms against a government or ruler  
b: of or relating to rebels (the rebel camp)

### Resistance

1: a: an act or instance of resisting : see 'opposition'  
b: a means of resisting  
2: the power or capacity to resist: such as  
a: the inherent ability of an organism to resist harmful influences (such as disease, toxic agents, or infection)  
b: the capacity of a species or strain of microorganism to survive exposure to a toxic agent (such as a drug) formerly effective against it  
3: an opposing or retarding force  
4 a: the opposition offered by a body or substance to the passage through it of a steady electric current  
b: a source of resistance  
5: a psychological defense mechanism wherein a patient rejects, denies, or otherwise opposes the therapeutic efforts of a psychotherapist  
6: often capitalized : an underground organization of a conquered or nearly conquered country engaging in sabotage and secret operations against occupation forces and collaborators

### Revolution

1 a (1): the action by a celestial body of going round in an orbit or elliptical course  
also : apparent movement of such a body round the earth  
(2): the time taken by a celestial body to make a complete round in its orbit  
(3): the rotation of a celestial body on its axis  
b: completion of a course (as of years)  
also : the period made by the regular succession of a measure of time or by a succession of similar events  
c (1): a progressive motion of a body around an axis so that any line of the body parallel to the axis returns to its initial position while remaining parallel to the axis in transit and usually at a constant distance from it  
(2): motion of any figure about a center or axis  
revolution of a right triangle about one of its legs generates a cone  
(3): rotation sense 1b  
2 a: a sudden, radical, or complete change  
b: a fundamental change in political organization  
especially : the overthrow or renunciation of one government or ruler and the substitution of another by the governed  
c: activity or movement designed to effect fundamental changes in the socioeconomic situation  
d: a fundamental change in the way of thinking about or visualizing something : a change of paradigm. the Copernican revolution  
e: a changeover in use or preference especially in technology. the computer revolution, the foreign car revolution

### Strategy

1 a (1): the science and art of employing the political, economic, psychological, and military forces of a nation or group of nations to afford the maximum support to adopted policies in peace or war  
(2): the science and art of military command exercised to meet the enemy in combat under advantageous conditions  
b: a variety of or instance of the use of strategy  
2 a: a careful plan or method : a clever stratagem



b: the art of devising or employing plans or stratagems toward a goal

3: an adaptation or complex of adaptations (as of behavior, metabolism, or structure) that serves or appears to serve an important function in achieving evolutionary success

#### Tactics

1 a: the science and art of disposing and maneuvering forces in combat

b: the art or skill of employing available means to accomplish an end

2: a system or mode of procedure

3: the study of the grammatical relations within a language including morphology and syntax

#### Transgression

an act, process, or instance of transgressing: such as

a: infringement or violation of a law, command, or duty

b: the spread of the sea over land areas and the consequent unconformable deposit of sediments on older rocks

All definitions from Merriam-Webster online Dictionary, accessed 19.12.2021, <<https://www.merriam-webster.com>>

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Nasser Rabbat, « Circling the Square: Architecture and Revolution in Cairo », *Art Forum* 49, no 8 (2021), <https://www.artforum.com/print/201104/circling-the-square-architecture-and-revolution-in-cairo-27827>.
- 2 *ibid*
- 3 Aidan Lewis and Nadeem Ebrahim, "Cairo's Tahrir Square Gets a Contested Makeover," *Reuters*, August 10, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/egypt-tahrir-square-idINKC N2561OK>.
- 4 UNESCO, "Egyptian Museum in Cairo," accessed December 31, 2021, <https://whc.unesco.org/fr/listesindicatives/6511/>.
- 5 Yasmine El Dorghamy, "Tahrir Square - Evolution and Revolution," *RAWI Egypt's Heritage Review*, no. 2 (2011), <https://rawi-magazine.com/articles/tahrirhistory/>.
- 6 Rabbat, "Circling the Square: Architecture and Revolution in Cairo."
- 7 "NDP Headquarters on Fire, Mubarak to Address Nation," *Egypt Independant*, February 28, 2011, <http://en.people.cn/90001/90777/90855/7276223.html>.
- 8 Ahmed Ateyya, "Egypt Demolishes Mubarak's Party's Headquarters," *Al-Monitor*, June 11, 2015, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2015/06/egypt-cairo-building-mubarak-demolition-architecture.html>.
- 9 "Egypt Protests - Sundy 6 February," *The Guardian*, February 6, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/blog/2011/feb/06/egypt-hosni-mubarak>.
- 10 Reference to a Lebanese coalition movement, which formed in 2008
- 11 Stephen Farrell et al., "The Battle for Tahrir Square," *The New York Times (Archived)*, February 6, 2011, <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/02/03/world/middleeast/20110203-tahrir-square-protest-diagram.html#panel/4>.
- 12 Chantal Mouffe, "Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism?," *Social Research, Prospects for Democracy*, 66, no. 3 (n.d.): 745–58. p.755
- 13 *Ibid*, p.756
- 14 Lina El-Wardani, "Egypt 25 January Revolution: What's Next?," *Ahram Online*, February 7, 2011, <https://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/51112/Egypt/Politics-/Egypt-January-Revolution-Whats-next.aspx>.
- 15 Mathijs van de Sande, "The Prefigurative Politics of Tahrir Square—An Alternative Perspective on the 2011 Revolutions," *Res Publica* 19, no. 3 (August 2013): 223–39, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11158-013-9215-9>. p. 234
- 16 Yasmine Fathi, "In Egypt's Tahrir Square: Life Is a Battlefield," *Ahram Online*, February 8, 2011, <https://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/5187/Egypt/Politics-/In-Egypt-Tahrir-Square-Life-is-a-battlefield.aspx>.
- 17 *ibid*
- 18 Z. Abul-Magd, "Occupying Tahrir Square: The Myths and the Realities of the Egyptian Revolution," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 111, no. 3 (July 1, 2012): 565–72, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876596290>. p.566
- 19 *ibid*
- 20 Judith Butler, "Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street" (Lecture Transcript, *The State of Things*, Venice, USA, November 7, 2011). p. 6
- 21 Lauren Wolfe, "Another Journalist Reports Sexual Assault in Tahrir Square," *Committee to Pro-*



- tect Journalists (blog), June 26, 2012, <https://cpj.org/2012/06/another-journalist-reports-sexual-assault-in-tahri/>.
- 22 Estimate by organizers, reported in "Hong Kong: Timeline of Extradition Protests," September 4, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-49340717>.
- 23 China's Rebel City: The Hong Kong Protests, Documentaire (South China Morning Post, 2020), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YgYuRGre6AA>. minute 1:44
- 24 "Hong Kong's Protests," Strategic Comments 25, no. 6 (July 3, 2019): xi–xiii, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13567888.2019.1662983>. p.2
- 25 Jeffrey Hou and Sabine Knierbein, eds., *City Unsilenced: Urban Resistance and Public Space in the Age of Shrinking Democracy* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017). p. 94
- 26 Lewis Yiu-man Lau, "Hong Kong's Protesters Are Resisting China With Anarchy and Principle," New York Times, June 28, 2019, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/28/opinion/hong-kong-protests-extradition-china.html>.
- 27 Johnson Yeung, *How tactics and structure informed the struggle in Hong Kong*, interview by Akwe Amosu, Symposium on Strength and Solidarity for Human Rights, March 17, 2021, <https://strengthandsolidarity.org/paper/how-tactics-and-structure-informed-the-struggle-in-hong-kong/>.
- 28 Edward Hon-Sing Wong, "Insurgent Politics against the Backdrop of Hong Kong's Existential Crisis," Upping the Anti, no. 22 (August 30, 2019), <https://uppingtheanti.org/blog/entry/insurgent-politics-against-the-backdrop-of-hong-kongs-existential-crisis>.
- 29 Anthony Dapiran, "'Be Water!': Seven Tactics That Are Winning Hong Kong's Democracy Revolution," The New Statesman, August 1, 2019, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2019/08/be-water-seven-tactics-that-are-winning-hong-kongs-democracy-revolution-2>.
- 30 Quotes in Marius Zaharia, Felix Tam, and Clare Jim, "Frontline Protesters Make Case for Violence in Hong Kong Protests," Reuters, August 22, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hongkong-protests-violence-analysis/frontline-view-making-the-case-for-violence-in-hong-kong-protests-idUSKCN1VB2LV>.
- 31 Hou and Knierbein, *City Unsilenced*. p. 79
- 32 Oliver Wainwright, "Cities Without Ground: A Guidebook to Hong Kong's Elevated Walkways," The Guardian - Architecture and Design Blog (blog), February 22, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2013/feb/22/cities-without-ground-hong-kong-walkways>.
- 33 Adam Frampton, Clara Wong, and Jonathan Solomon, *Cities without Ground: A Hong Kong Guidebook* (Rafael, Calif.: Oro editions, 2012).
- 34 Wainwright, "Cities Without Ground: A Guidebook to Hong Kong's Elevated Walkways."
- 35 *HKmap*, Collaborative map, interactive, <https://hkmap.live>.
- 36 Anti-ELAB Protests Tear Gas Map, interactive, <https://antielabdata.jmhc.hku.hk/shiny/teargas-map/#amp=1>.
- 37 "Apple Bans Hong Kong Protest Location App," BBC News, October 3, 2019, <https://antielabdata.jmhc.hku.hk/shiny/teargasmap/#amp=1>.
- 38 Mark Gurman, "Apple Reviews Rejected Hong Kong App Again after Controversy," October 3, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-10-03/apple-reviews-rejected-hong-kong-app-again-after-controversy>.
- 39 AFP, "Apple Pulls Hong Kong App Used by Protesters for 'Endangering Police' after China Warning," Hong Kong Free Press, October 10, 2019, <https://hongkongfp.com/2019/10/10/apple-pulls-hong-kong-app-used-protesters-endangering-police-china-warning/>.
- 40 Candice Chau, "20 Police Officers Arrest Hong Kong Student Leader over Purchase of Laser Pointers during 2019 Demos," Hong Kong Free Press, December 2, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/12/02/20-police-officers-arrest-hong-kong-student-leader-over-purchase-of-laser-pointers-during-2019-demos/>.

- 41 Ngai-Ling Sum, "Hong Kong's Protest 2019-20: A Neo-Foucauldian View," *Global Dialogue* 10, no. 2 (2020): 9–11. p.10
- 42 Lau, "Hong Kong's Protesters Are Resisting China With Anarchy and Principle."
- 43 *Hear Hong Kong Protesters Read Their Final Goodbyes | The Dispatch*, Documentaire (The New York Times, 2019), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g9QIETD4QV0>.
- 44 Sum, "Hong Kong Protests 2019-2020."
- 45 Anthony Dapiran, Twitter post @antd, July 28, 2019, <https://twitter.com/antd/status/1155449766211280898?s=20>.
- 46 AFP, "17 Novembre : Castaner Met En Garde Les Manifestants," *Le Parisien*, November 13, 2018, <https://www.leparisien.fr/politique/manifestations-du-17-novembre-ou-il-y-aura-blo-cage-la-police-interviendra-previent-castaner-13-11-2018-7941441.php>.
- 47 "17 Novembre: Les Gilets Jaunes Face Au Défi de La Sécurité," BFM TV News, November 14, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vBQqh-xoJQk>.
- 48 Christophe Castaner and Laurent Nunez, "Communiqué de Presse de Christophe CASTANER, Ministre de l'Intérieur, et de Laurent NUNEZ, Secrétaire d'Etat Auprès Du Ministre de l'Intérieur," Press Release, November 17, 2018, <https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Archives/Archives-des-communiqués-de-presse/2018-Communiqués/Quatrieme-point-de-situation-pour-la-journee-du-17-novembre>.
- 49 Ludivine Bantigny, Samuel Hayat, and Jean-Paul Gaudillière, "Les Gilets jaunes une histoire de classe ?," *Mouvements* n°100, no. 4 (2019): 12, <https://doi.org/10.3917/mouv.100.0012>. p. 14
- 50 Jean-Marc Vernier, "Gilets Jaunes : La Carte (Les Réseaux Sociaux) Précède Le Territoire (Les Ronds-Points)," *Quaderni*, no. 99–100 (January 5, 2020): 151–58, <https://doi.org/10.4000/quaderni.1551>.
- 51 Jean-Marc Vernier, "Gilets Jaunes : La Carte (Les Réseaux Sociaux) Précède Le Territoire (Les Ronds-Points)," *Quaderni*, no. 99–100 (January 5, 2020): 151–58, <https://doi.org/10.4000/quaderni.1551>.
- 52 Marie Baléo, "Les Gilets Jaunes : Simple Révolte Anti-Métropolitaine Ou Symptôme d'une Crise plus Profonde ?," Think Tank, La Fabrique de La Cité (blog), March 10, 2020, <https://www.lafabriquedelacite.com/publications/les-gilets-jaunes-simple-revolte-anti-metropolitaine-ou-symptome-dune-crise-plus-profonde/>.
- 53 Philippe Genestier and Claudine Jacquenod-Desforges, "Resituer et Restituer La Colère Jaune: Le Mouvement Des Gilets Jaunes, Révélateur Du Rapport Populiste à l'espace," *Géographie et Cultures*, no. 114 (June 1, 2020): 113–34, <https://doi.org/10.4000/gc.15071>. p.3
- 54 Américo Mariani, "Inscription Conflictuelle Dans l'espace Public : Toulouse, Les Gilets Jaunes et La Bataille Du Centre," *Espaces et Sociétés* n° 183, no. 2 (November 23, 2021): 99–113, <https://doi.org/10.3917/esp.183.0099>. p.106
- 55 Zakaria Bendali et al., "Le mouvement des Gilets jaunes : un apprentissage en pratique(s) de la politique ?," *Politix* n° 128, no. 4 (2019): 143, <https://doi.org/10.3917/pox.128.0143>. p.146
- 56 Frédéric Lordon, "Police, Alerte à La Radicalisation," *Manière de Voir (Le Monde Diplomatique)*, no. 168 (December 2019): 56–59. p. 57
- 57 Serge Halimi and Pierre Rimbart, "Peur Sur Les Beaux Quartiers," *Manière de Voir (Le Monde Diplomatique)*, no. 168 (December 2019): 35–39. p.36
- 58 Laurent Jeanpierre, *In Girum: Les Leçons Politiques Des Ronds-Points*, La Découverte (Paris, 2019). p.18
- 59 Vanessa Codaccioni, *Répression: L'État Face Aux Contestations Politiques*, Petite Encyclopédie Critique (Paris: Textuel, 2019).
- 60 Mariani, "Inscription Conflictuelle Dans l'espace Public." p.3



- 61 Entretien réalisé avec S., 38 ans, aide à la vie scolaire, participant au mouvement des Gilets jaunes, juin 2019. in Mariani, "Inscription Conflictuelle Dans l'espace Public.", p.104
- 62 Mariani, "Inscription Conflictuelle Dans l'espace Public.", p. 110
- 63 Samuel Dépraz, "Les Gilets Jaunes Refont La Géographie de La France (Tribune)," Libération, January 16, 2019, [https://www.liberation.fr/debats/2019/01/16/les-gilets-jaunes-refont-la-geographie-de-la-france\\_1703399/](https://www.liberation.fr/debats/2019/01/16/les-gilets-jaunes-refont-la-geographie-de-la-france_1703399/).
- 64 Alexandre Gondreau and Sébastien Bridier, "Contribution à Une Géographie Des Gilets Jaunes: Des Centres Urbains de La Colère Aux Ronds-Points de La Contestation," Géographie et Cultures, no. 114 (June 1, 2020): 37–76, <https://doi.org/10.4000/gc.14866>. p.11
- 65 "Egypt Restricts Sale of Yellow Vests amid Fear of Protests," Al Jazeera, December 12, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/12/12/egypt-restricts-sale-of-yellow-vests-amid-fear-of-protests>.
- 66 Eyal Weizman, Blake Fisher, and Samaneh Moafi, *The roundabout revolutions*, Critical spatial practice 6 (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2015). p.29

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- « 17 novembre: les gilets jaunes face au défi de la sécurité ». BFM TV News, 14 novembre 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vBQqh-xoJQk>.
- Abul-Magd, Z. « Occupying Tahrir Square: The Myths and the Realities of the Egyptian Revolution ». South Atlantic Quarterly 111, no 3 (1 juillet 2012): 565-72. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-1596290>.
- AFP. « 17 novembre : Castaner met en garde les manifestants ». Le Parisien, 13 novembre 2018. <https://www.leparisien.fr/politique/manifestations-du-17-novembre-ou-il-y-aura-blo-cage-la-police-interviendra-previent-castaner-13-11-2018-7941441.php>.
- « Apple pulls Hong Kong app used by protesters for 'endangering police' after China warning ». Hong Kong Free Press, 10 octobre 2019. <https://hongkongfp.com/2019/10/10/apple-pulls-hong-kong-app-used-protesters-endangering-police-china-warning/>.
- « Anti-ELAB Protests Tear Gas Map ». s. d. interactive. <https://antielabdata.jmhc.hku.hk/shiny/tear-gasmap/#amp=1>.
- « Apple bans Hong Kong protest location app ». BBC News, 3 octobre 2019. Anti-ELAB Protests Tear Gas Map, n.d., interactive, n.d., <https://antielabdata.jmhc.hku.hk/shiny/teargasmap/#amp=1>.
- Ateyya, Ahmed. « Egypt demolishes Mubarak's party's headquarters ». Al-Monitor, 11 juin 2015. <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2015/06/egypt-cairo-building-mubarak-demolition-architecture.html>.
- Azlan, Nurul Azreen. « Protest Repellant Urbanism ». MONU, no 34 (2021): 78-81.
- Baléo, Marie. « Les gilets jaunes : simple révolte anti-métropolitaine ou symptôme d'une crise plus profonde ? » Think Tank. La Fabrique de la Cité (blog), 10 mars 2020. <https://www.lafabri-que-delacite.com/publications/les-gilets-jaunes-simple-revolte-anti-metropolitaine-ou-symp-tome-dune-crise-plus-profonde/>.
- Bantigny, Ludivine, Samuel Hayat, et Jean-Paul Gaudillière. « Les Gilets jaunes une histoire de classe ? » Mouvements n°100, no 4 (2019): 12. <https://doi.org/10.3917/mouv.100.0012>.
- Bendali, Zakaria, Raphaël Challier, Magali Della Sudda, Olivier Fillieule, Éric Agrikoliansky, et Philippe Aldrin. « Le mouvement des Gilets jaunes : un apprentissage en pratique(s) de la politique ? » Politix n° 128, no 4 (2019): 143. <https://doi.org/10.3917/pox.128.0143>.
- Butler, Judith. « Bodies in alliance and the politics of the street ». Lecture Transcript présenté à The State of Things, Venice, USA, 7 novembre 2011.
- Canetti, Elias. *Masse et puissance*. Collection tel 96. Paris: Gallimard, 1986.



- Castaner, Christophe, et Laurent Nunez. « Communiqué de presse de Christophe CASTANER, ministre de l'Intérieur, et de Laurent NUNEZ, secrétaire d'Etat auprès du ministre de l'Intérieur. » Press Release, 17 novembre 2018. <https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Archives/Archives-des-communiqués-de-presse/2018-Communiqués/Quatrieme-point-de-situation-pour-la-journee-du-17-novembre>.
- Chau, Candice. « 20 police officers arrest Hong Kong student leader over purchase of laser pointers during 2019 demos ». Hong Kong Free Press, 2 décembre 2020. <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/12/02/20-police-officers-arrest-hong-kong-student-leader-over-purchase-of-laser-pointers-during-2019-demos/>.
- Chen, Yun-Yung, et Mirana M. Szeto. « Reclaiming Public Space Movement in Hong Kong ». In *City Unsilenced*, édité par Jeffrey Hou et Sabine Knierbein, Routledge., 69-82, 2017.
- China's Rebel City: the Hong Kong Protests*. Documentaire. South China Morning Post, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YgYuRGre6AA>.
- Codaccioni, Vanessa. *Répression: l'État face aux contestations politiques*. Petite encyclopédie critique. Paris: Textuel, 2019.
- Cogato Lanza, Elena. *De la différence urbaine: le quartier des Grottes/Genève*. VuesDensemble. Genève: MétisPresses, 2013. collective.
- « HKmap ». s. d. Collaborative map, interactive. <https://hkmap.live>.
- Dapiran, Anthony. « "Be Water!": seven tactics that are winning Hong Kong's democracy revolution ». *The New Statesman*, 1 août 2019. <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2019/08/be-water-seven-tactics-that-are-winning-hong-kongs-democracy-revolution-2>.
- « Tweet @antd ». Twitter (blog), 28 juillet 2019. <https://twitter.com/antd/status/1155449766211280898?s=20>.
- Dépraz, Samuel. « Les gilets jaunes refont la géographie de la France (Tribune) ». *Libération*, 16 janvier 2019. [https://www.liberation.fr/debats/2019/01/16/les-gilets-jaunes-refont-la-geographie-de-la-france\\_1703399/](https://www.liberation.fr/debats/2019/01/16/les-gilets-jaunes-refont-la-geographie-de-la-france_1703399/).
- Domaradzka, Anna. « Urban Social Movements and the Right to the City: An Introduction to the Special Issue on Urban Mobilization ». *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 29, no 4 (août 2018): 607-20. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-018-0030-y>.
- « Egypt protests - Sundry 6 February ». *The Guardian*, 6 février 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/blog/2011/feb/06/egypt-hosni-mubarak>.
- « Egypt restricts sale of yellow vests amid fear of protests ». *Al Jazeera*, 12 décembre 2018. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/12/12/egypt-restricts-sale-of-yellow-vests-amid-fear-of-protests>.
- El Dorghamy, Yasmine. « Tahrir Square - Evolution and Revolution ». *RAWI Egypt's Heritage Review*, no 2 (2011). <https://rawi-magazine.com/articles/tahrirhistory/>.

- El-Wardani, Lina. « Egypt 25 January Revolution: What's next? » *Ahram Online*, 7 février 2011. <https://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/5112/Egypt/Politics-/Egypt--January-Revolution-Whats-next.aspx>.
- Farrell, Stephen, Scott Nelson, Sergio Peçanha, Graham Roberts, Alan McLean, Archie Tse, et Liam Stack. « The Battle for Tahrir Square ». *The New York Times (Archived)*, 6 février 2011. <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/02/03/world/middle-east/20110203-tahrir-square-protest-diagram.html#panel/4>.
- Fathi, Yasmine. « In Egypt's Tahrir Square: Life is a battlefield ». *Ahram Online*, 8 février 2011. <https://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/5187/Egypt/Politics-/In-Egypt's-Tahrir-Square-Life-is-a-battlefield.aspx>.
- Frampton, Adam, Clara Wong, et Jonathan Solomon. *Cities without ground: a Hong Kong guidebook*. Rafael, Calif.: Oro editions, 2012.
- Frenzel, Fabian. « Political intents: how protest camps are reviving social movements around the world ». *The Conversation*, 7 juin 2017. <https://theconversation.com/political-intents-how-protest-camps-are-reviving-social-movements-around-the-world-78789>.
- Genestier, Philippe, et Claudine Jacquenod-Desforges. « Resituer et restituer la colère jaune: Le mouvement des Gilets jaunes, révélateur du rapport populiste à l'espace ». *Géographie et cultures*, no 114 (1 juin 2020): 113-34. <https://doi.org/10.4000/gc.15071>.
- Gondreau, Alexandre, et Sébastien Bridier. « Contribution à une géographie des gilets jaunes: Des centres urbains de la colère aux ronds-points de la contestation ». *Géographie et cultures*, no 114 (1 juin 2020): 37-76. <https://doi.org/10.4000/gc.14866>.
- Gregory, Derek. « Tahrir: Politics, Publics and Performances of Space ». *Middle East Critique* 22, no 3 (2 septembre 2013): 235-46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2013.814944>.
- Gruber, David R. « The Theatricality of Lion Rock: A New Materialist Theory for Events of Dissent ». *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 106, no 4 (1 octobre 2020): 453-69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2020.1828607>.
- Guilluy, Christophe. *La France périphérique: comment on a sacrifié les classes populaires*. Paris: Flammarion, 2014.
- Gurman, Mark. « Apple reviews rejected Hong Kong app again after Controversy », 3 octobre 2019. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-10-03/apple-reviews-rejected-hong-kong-app-again-after-controversy>.
- Halimi, Serge, et Pierre Rimbart. « Peur sur les beaux quartiers ». *Manière de voir (Le Monde Diplomatique)*, no 168 (décembre 2019): 35-39.
- Hardt, Michael, et Antonio Negri. *Multitude: war and democracy in the age of Empire*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2004.



- Hatuka, Tali. *The design of protest: choreographing political demonstrations in public space*. First edition. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018.
- Hear Hong Kong Protesters Read Their Final Goodbyes | The Dispatch. Documentaire. The New York Times, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g9QIETD4QV0>.
- « Hong Kong: Timeline of extradition protests », 4 septembre 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-49340717>.
- « Hong Kong's Protests ». *Strategic Comments* 25, no 6 (3 juillet 2019): xi-xiii. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13567888.2019.1662983>.
- Hon-Sing Wong, Edward. « Insurgent Politics against the Backdrop of Hong Kong's Existential Crisis ». *Upping the Anti*, no 22 (30 août 2019). <https://uppingtheanti.org/blog/entry/insurgent-politics-against-the-backdrop-of-hong-kongs-existential-crisis>.
- Hou, Jeffrey. « Be Water: Protests in Liquid Public Space ». *MONU*, no 34 (2021): 12-17.
- Hou, Jeffrey, et Sabine Knierbein, éd. *City unsilenced: urban resistance and public space in the age of shrinking democracy*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.
- Hussam Hussein, Salama. « Tahrir Square: A Narrative of a Public Space ». *ArchNet-IJAR: International Journal of Architectural Research* 7, no 1 (2013): 128-38.
- Jankowicz, Mia. « I watched Egypt's bloody struggle for democracy that began in Tahrir Square 10 years ago today. Here's my diary of 18 days that shook the world. » *Business Insider*, 25 janvier 2021. <https://www.businessinsider.fr/us/diary-of-2011-egyptian-revolution-tahrir-square-2021-1>.
- Jeanpierre, Laurent. In *Girum: les leçons politiques des ronds-points*. La Découverte. Paris, 2019.
- Kaldor, Mary, et Sabine Selchow. « The 'Bubbling Up' of Subterranean Politics in Europe ». *Journal of Civil Society* 9, no 1 (avril 2013): 78-99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2013.784501>.
- Karakilic, Emrah. « Acting up with Hardt and Negri: Capitalism in the biopolitical Context ». *AIMS* 22, no 3 (2019): 496-506. <https://doi.org/10.3917/mana.223.0496>.
- Knell, Yolanda. « Egypt unrest: Tour of Camp ». *BBC News*, 11 février 2011, online édition. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-12434787#wall-of-martyrs>.
- Laclau, Ernesto, et Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemony and socialist strategy: towards a radical democratic politics*. 2nd ed. London ; New York: Verso, 2001.
- Lau, Lewis Yiu-man. « Hong Kong's Protesters Are Resisting China With Anarchy and Principle ». *New York Times*, 28 juin 2019, sect. Opinion. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/28/opinion/hong-kong-protests-extradition-china.html>.
- Lazzarato, Maurizio. « Du biopouvoir à la biopolitique ». *Multitudes* 1, no 1 (2000): 45. <https://doi.org/10.3917/mult.001.0045>.

- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991.
- Lewis, Aidan, et Nadeem Ebrahim. « Cairo's Tahrir Square gets a contested makeover ». *Reuters*, 10 août 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/egypt-tahrir-square-idINKCN2561OK>.
- Lordon, Frédéric. « Police, alerte à la radicalisation ». *Manière de voir (Le Monde Diplomatique)*, no 168 (décembre 2019): 56-59.
- Mariani, Américo. « Inscription conflictuelle dans l'espace public : Toulouse, les Gilets jaunes et la bataille du centre: » *Espaces et sociétés* n° 183, no 2 (23 novembre 2021): 99-113. <https://doi.org/10.3917/esp.183.0099>.
- Merrifield, Andy. *The Politics of the Encounter: Urban Theory and Protest under Planetary Urbanization*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013. <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10684514>.
- Mouffe, Chantal. « Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism? » *Social Research, Prospects for Democracy*, 66, no 3 (s. d.): 745-58.
- « NDP Headquarters on fire, Mubarak to address Nation ». *Egypt Independant*. 28 février 2011. <http://en.people.cn/90001/90777/90855/7276223.html>.
- Parkinson, John. *Democracy and public space: the physical sites of democratic performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Rabbat, Nasser. « Circling the Square: Architecture and Revolution in Cairo ». *Art Forum* 49, no 8 (2021). <https://www.artforum.com/print/201104/circling-the-square-architecture-and-revolution-in-cairo-27827>.
- Rouse, Carolyn M. « Necropolitics versus Biopolitics: Spatialization, White Privilege, and Visibility during a Pandemic ». *Cultural Anthropology* 36, no 3 (17 août 2021). <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca36.3.03>.
- Sande, Mathijs van de. « The Prefigurative Politics of Tahrir Square—An Alternative Perspective on the 2011 Revolutions ». *Res Publica* 19, no 3 (août 2013): 223-39. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11158-013-9215-9>.
- Sitze, Adam. « Biopolitics and Political Space ». *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 9, no 2 (juin 2012): 217-24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2012.659471>.
- Sum, Ngai-Ling. « Hong Kong's Protest 2019-20: A Neo-Foucauldian View ». *Global Dialogue* 10, no 2 (2020): 9-11.
- UNESCO. « Egyptian Museum in Cairo ». Consulté le 31 décembre 2021. <https://whc.unesco.org/fr/listesindicatives/6511/>.
- Vernier, Jean-Marc. « Gilets Jaunes : la carte (les réseaux sociaux) précède le territoire (les ronds-points) ». *Quaderni*, no 99-100 (5 janvier 2020): 151-58. <https://doi.org/10.4000/quaderni.1551>.



Wainwright, Oliver. « Cities Without Ground: a guidebook to Hong Kong's elevated walkways ». The Guardian - Architecture and Design blog (blog), 22 février 2013. <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2013/feb/22/cities-without-ground-hong-kong-walkways>.

Weizman, Eyal, Blake Fisher, and Samaneh Moafi. *The roundabout revolutions*. Critical spatial practice 6. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2015.

Wolfe, Lauren. « Another journalist reports sexual assault in Tahrir Square ». Committee to Protect Journalists (blog), 26 juin 2012. <https://cpj.org/2012/06/another-journalist-reports-sexual-assault-in-tahri/>.

Yeung, Johnson. *How tactics and structure informed the struggle in Hong Kong*. Entretien réalisé par Akwe Amosu. Symposium on Strength and Solidary for Human Rights, 17 mars 2021. <https://strengthandsolidarity.org/paper/how-tactics-and-structure-informed-the-struggle-in-hong-kong/>.

Zaharia, Marius, Felix Tam, et Clare Jim. « Frontline protesters make case for violence in Hong Kong protests ». Reuters, 22 août 2019. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hongkong-protests-violence-analysis/frontline-view-making-the-case-for-violence-in-hong-kong-protests-idUSKCN1VB2LV>.



Hong Kong, 24.08.2019, photograph by Tauno Tõhk - CC BY-SA 2.0, accessed on 10.01.2022, <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/toehk/50661155891/>>

