

DO U HEAR THE PEOPLE SING?





Introduction

Do You Hear the People Sing?

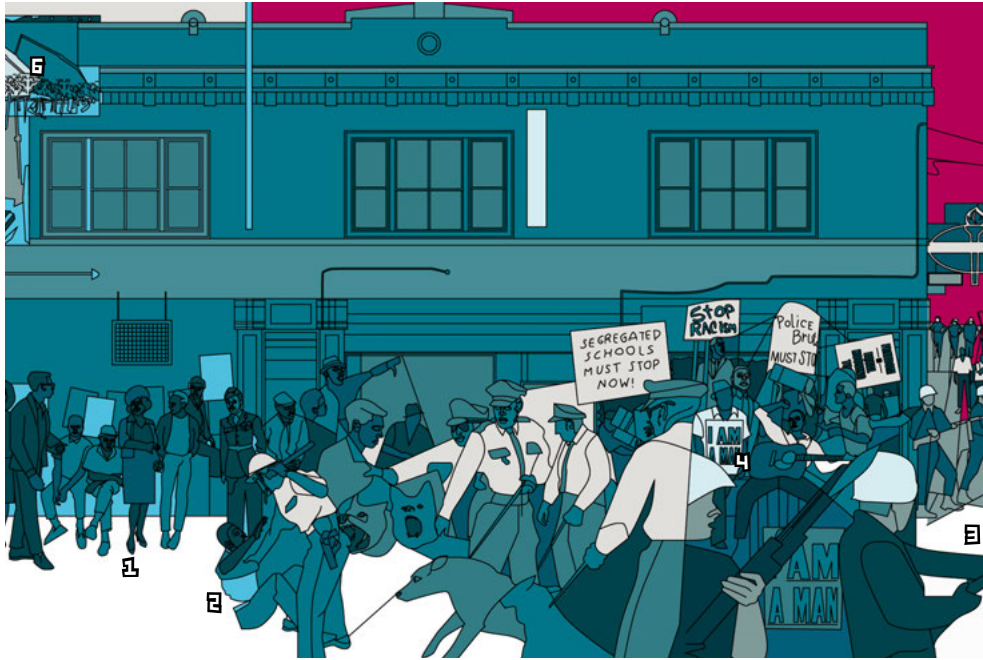
In the last decade we have witnessed how the street has ever more frequently been the location and at the same time the topic of riots and sometimes violently suppressed protests. From the anti-globalist manifestations in Seattle and the anti austerity protests in Athens, via the Arabic Spring in Tunis, Cairo and Tripoli, and the Gezi Park protests in Istanbul, the anti FIFA and Olympic Games protests in Rio to the 'Umbrella Revolution' in Hong Kong.

These protests had one thing in common: they symbolically but also physically politicized public space. Public space is the arena where a struggle for the way the country or city is governed unfolds. At the same time public space itself has to be conquered from the police and the order troops for it to function as a place of democracy and freedom of speech.

Sometimes public space is not only the backdrop but has the leading role in this struggle for the emancipation of the people. For example: what gave rise to the immense anti Erdogan protests were his building plans for the combination of a giant mosque and shopping mall, in a reconstruction of a long demolished Ottoman Barracks building in one of the largest secular public spaces in the city, Gezi Park. Another example is how in Hong Kong the protesters of the Umbrella Revolution used the plaza underneath a democratic government building. Despite the plaza's original function as a civic space, they were then summoned to leave by the owners of the building. These protests for more democracy in Hong Kong were named the 'Umbrella Revolution' because of the umbrellas, painted with slogans, which were turned in the direction of the order troops by the protesters. This the protesters accompanied with the anti oppression song 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' from the musical 'Les Miserables'. The Umbrellas, the level of organization and discipline of the protest, the smart use of symbolic spaces in the city, combined of course with their ability to burst into song, offered a powerful image of what real democracy in Hong Kong might look like. In that sense the protests were themselves a radical form of urbanism, holding great promise for this city.

This 'Urbanism of Protest' is what the extremely diverse protests all over the world have in common. Everywhere the status of the street and the issue of 'ownership' (Who owns the street? The police or the protesters, the shop owners or the mourning parents of youngsters shot by the police?) lies at the center of the debate. The form of the protests, the ways they are organized, the symbols they deploy to bring their message across, the public spaces they occupy, carry meaning. The protests and also the riots offer temporary images of another story about the city than the official one, and show us alternative ways to organize, govern or even plan the city.

For *Who Owns The Street?* Crimson Architectural Historians evokes this worldwide history of decennia in a panoramic drawing 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' that is composed of scenes of riots and protests, fused with their spatial environments. It presents an allegorical street scene in which architecture, protesters, instruments of authority, slogans and other paraphernalia tell a story of the street as the place where democracy is viscerally shaped and represented.



Inner cities, USA, 1964 – 1968

In the mid- to late sixties American cities were wracked by violent protests and riots by the poor black communities in the inner city against white police forces, resulting in fighting, often with guns, looting and burning and the National Guard being called in to quell the uprisings. The largest and most mythical riot was that of Detroit in the summer of 1967. Triggered by events of police brutality, the pandemic of riots was in fact caused by the institutional racism of the police force, the segregated housing market and the destructive effects of urban renewal on the black communities.

#1 During the season of unrest in black inner city neighborhoods, the song 'Dancing in The Streets' by the Motown group Martha and the Vandella's became the unofficial – and accidental – anthem for the street protests and riots.

#2 The biggest riot was the one in Detroit in the summer of 1967, triggered by the police violently trying to arrest clients in an illegal bar on 12th street that was filled with people celebrating the homecoming of a local Vietnam veteran.

#3 The violent reaction of the police to the protesters resulted in a riot that then exploded all over the city, necessitating the National Guard to step in and 'occupy' the city.

#4 The riots happened at a time when the United States still had a virtual Apartheid system, with segregated schools and housing projects. The black community however demanded to be treated as equals, not as Negroes but as Men.

#5 The black author and civil rights activist James Baldwin had described the massive urban renewal projects to demolish the slum areas, as 'Nigger Removal' and as proof that the black community was wanted nor respected by the white establishment.

#6 Urban renewal projects were one of the main reasons for the black communities of the inner cities of the United States to feel so oppressed, beleaguered and hunted down, that they would massively rise up in anger, sometimes destroying their own communities.

#7 White middle-class families had been fleeing the inner cities for decades at the time of the riots. This had contributed greatly to their segregation. The riots only exacerbated this 'white flight', turning American inner cities and Detroit in particular into ghettos, rife with poverty, crime and oppression.



Nieuwmarkt, Amsterdam, 1975

The city of Amsterdam, and more specifically the 16th century Nieuwmarkt area, was once the stage of violent riots between the inhabitants and local authorities. The radical plan by the city government for the development of a modern business center in the inner city area, as well as the demolition of 11 heavily dilapidated and mostly deserted 16th century houses for the construction of a subway tunnel sparked the uprising, that took place during Spring 1975.

#8 To prevent the police forces from entering the buildings that needed to be demolished, the inhabitants squatted the houses and heavily barricaded them. The activists were ensconced on the rooftops of the connecting buildings, looking down on the police force and bombarding them with rocks and smoke bombs.

#9 A temporary air bridge was constructed to connect the houses over the canal, making it easier for the activists to communicate with each other and stay one step ahead of the authorities. Remarkably, the construction of this air bridge had to be approved by the municipal construction department first. They decided that if the bridge was strong enough to carry people, it could stay.

#10 With a wrecking ball crashing into the first house at the Dijkstraat, the protests erupted and spread out to the surrounding streets, all the way up to Dam square. To control the crowd at least 800 policemen were present, aiming tear gas and water cannons at the people.

#11 In 1972 a local activist group and monument organization joined forces and acquired the monumental building 'House de Pinto' that was strategically located on the projected route of the subway tunnel. The building was carefully restored by its new owner, thus making it a 'fact on the ground' that no longer could be ignored by the city. It was this action that additionally helped to derail

the original plan for the development of a modernist business center. But the 11 houses still had to give way.

#12 Fortunately, the riots successfully led to the preservation of the whole area. Instead of using the construction of the subway tunnel as a cover to clear up a complete neighborhood and create a tabula rasa for new developments, it was decided to rebuild the individual houses. These new houses followed the historic street pattern and were designed by famous Dutch architects Aldo van Eyck and Theo Bosch, who had also actively participated in the conflict against the city. The Nieuwmarkt riots have become exemplary for all city renewal projects in The Netherlands and even resulted in a mandatory national procedure for the active participation of inhabitants in changes to their living environment.

#13 Nowadays, the Nieuwmarkt neighborhood has become a national conservation area and it consists of numerous nationally listed monuments. Sadly, it has also become one of the most expensive neighborhoods in Amsterdam, solely inhabited by the well-to-do. It no longer offers affordable housing for the original inhabitants that had so desperately fought for its preservation.



Brixton, London, 1981

The South London borough of Brixton exploded in riots on April 10 and 11, 1981. A young boy who was stabbed in a bar brawl was thought to have been the victim of police brutality. This incident sparked a violent uprising of the mostly black and poor inhabitants of Brixton, who had suffered from police harassment, unemployment, poverty and discrimination for decades.

#14 Many of the rioters came from huge social housing projects scattered throughout Brixton. The most famous is the 'Barrier Block', a brutalist mega-building, built like a wall to protect the neighborhood from a motorway that was never built.

#15 During the riots Brixton's Railton Road was unofficially renamed "The Frontline", because it marked off the area behind which the police didn't dare to come.

#16 One of the events leading up to the riots was a fire during a houseparty in January of 1981 that killed a number of black youths, and that was believed to have been the result of a racist arson attack.

#17 The violence in Brixton was predicted by Paul Simonon, a member of the London Punk band The Clash and a native of Brixton. In 1979 he wrote the reggae-punk song 'Guns of Brixton' for the LP 'London Calling'.

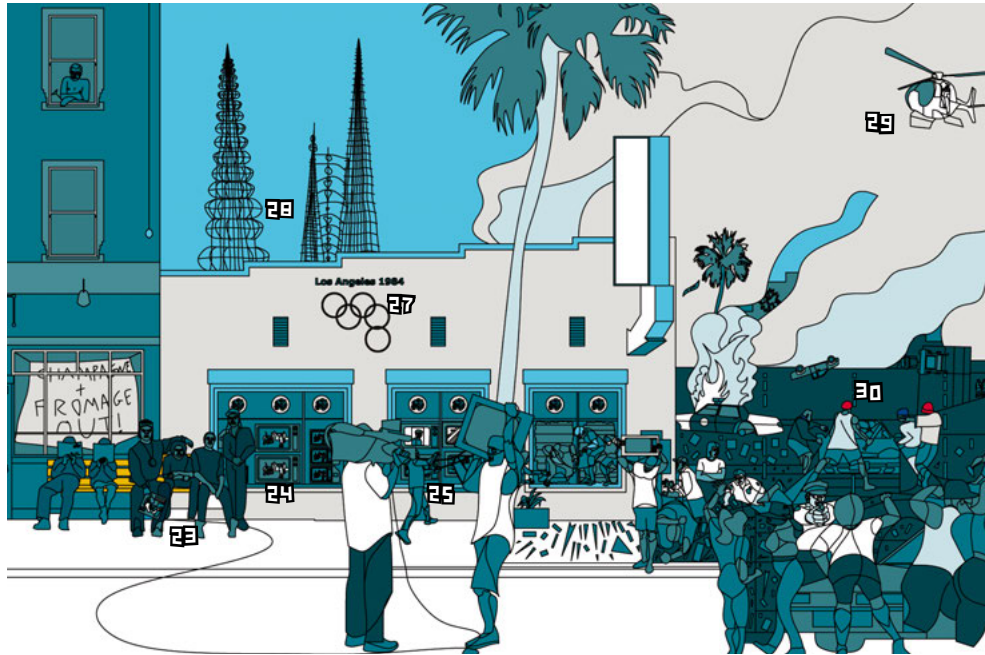
#18 The great chronicler of the oppression of the Black Community in Thatchers Britain, was the Reggae singer and poet Linton Kwesi Johnson, who immortalized the Brixton riot in his poem "Di Great Insoreckshan".

#19 Less seriously and more cheaply, the punkband 'The Violators' celebrated the riots in Brixton and those in Liverpool, Bristol and Manchester of the same year, with their anthem to street fighting 'Summer of 81'.

#20 'Ten Pound Radio's', or portable short wave transmitters were the rioters tools of communication.

#21 The Brixton Riot was the subject of a public inquiry into the causes of the violence. In the 'Scarman Report', huge parts of the blame were laid at the feet of poverty, unemployment and racist police actions. Not addressing these issues would result in new riots, the commission argued. They were not addressed and they happened indeed; in 1985 and 1995.

#22 More than thirty years later Brixton is becoming a hip and affluent borough, attracting well-to-do urban creatives. This is causing rents to rise and shops to be replaced by 'hipster' boutiques and delis: a new cause for frustration and protest in the poor black community of Brixton.



Los Angeles, USA, 1992

The riots that spread from South Central Los Angeles in the spring of 1992 were the largest and most violent the US had seen since the Detroit riot of 1967. The beating of an innocent motorist named Rodney King triggered the uprising, but only a year after the fact, when the policemen were acquitted in a trial in a dominantly white county. The riots left 53 dead, and confronted the city and the world with the sharp racial and economic divisions running through the flatlands of the Californian City of Dreams.

#23 The tension, the gangs and the culture of violence that characterized the Los Angeles area called 'South Central' was captured by the gangster rap group N.W.A. in their album *Straight outta Compton* in 1988. It launched the musical style G-Funk, mostly associated with the riots of 1992.

#24 The riots were triggered by the live broadcasting of the acquittal of the policemen who had beaten up Rodney King a year before, with the video of the beating being endlessly repeated in the weeks leading up to the violence.

#25 King's beating was not the only incident. Two weeks later a female Korean shopkeeper had shot Latasha Harlins in the back, after a struggle with the young black girl whom she accused of shoplifting. The incident was the subject of the former N.W.A. rapper Ice Cube's song 'Death Certificate' on his inflammatory album 'Black Korea' in 1991.

#26 The riots however were caused by an increasing sense that the neighborhood was being marginalized and destroyed by the white establishment and the violent and racist police.

#27 The Olympic Games of 1984, that should have lifted up Los Angeles and its poor neighborhoods, had done nothing for South Central.

#28 Two decades before South Central was the scene of one of the biggest riots of the sixties, the Watts riots, in the South Central area symbolized by the Watts Towers artwork. Since then however, the area had only sunk further into poverty and segregation.

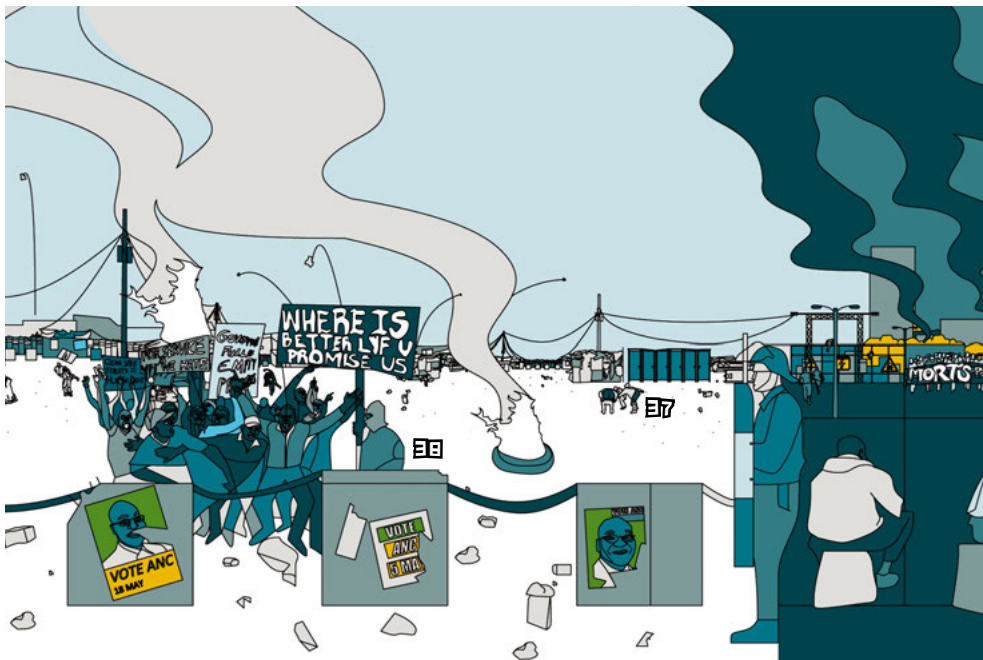
#29 The riots involved cars being burnt, mass arrests and the looting of often Korean owned shops. Everything was filmed 24/7 by cable TV stations, often sensationalizing the violence, and fanning the flames.

#30 For the riots the warring drug gangs, the Bloods and the Crips, temporarily came together in fighting the police and their common ethnic enemy: the Korean shopkeepers.

#31 The Korean community was forced by the racist violence of some of the rioters to defend their shops and homes with guns, because the police stood down.

#32 The police however were forced to drastically step up their efforts to quell the violence, when it spilled over into the rich areas of Beverly Hills and Hollywood, with wealthy celebrities being forced to run to the hills.

#33 At the time of the riots, the American-English architecture critic and champion of postmodernism Charles Jencks had finished a book on the fantastic success of Los Angeles as a multi-ethnic utopia with a wondrous architecture of diversity. Jencks saw his optimistic reading of Los Angeles go up in flames and rewrote the book.



Service Delivery Protests, South Africa, 2000s

South Africa knows a long history of protests and riots, it has one of the highest rates of public protests in the world. It is said that per day five riots take place in townships all over the country, but especially around Johannesburg, Cape Town and Pretoria. The protests are dubbed Service Delivery Protests, referring to the lack of public services in the townships such as clean water taps, electricity, sanitary facilities and good roads. But most of the protests also deal with other serious topics such as low wages, social injustice and the lack of affordable housing.

#34 The riots can often be directly connected to national government elections. In 2009 shortly after Jacob Zuma was sworn in as leader of the African National Congress party, all throughout South Africa protests occurred out of dissatisfaction with the party's achievements. On the eve of the national elections in 2014 there also was a noteworthy rise of violent protests with angry people reminding the politicians of their failure to live up to their promises.

#35 In July 2014 a massive protest exploded in the township of Langa near Cape Town. The initial reason for the violent uprising was the poor state of housing in the township, but the protesters eventually addressed larger topics such as the general lack of housing and the failing public services regarding sanitation.

#36 The few entrance roads to Langa were completely shut off by barricades formed by the police, while inside an angry mob turned the area into a dangerous no-go zone. Shops were looted, trains passing by were stoned and numerous houses were set on fire.

#37 In 2013 and 2014 many protests took place all over the country, named 'toilet wars' or 'poo wars' because they demonstrated against the lack of sanitation facilities in the townships. People squatted in the road pretending to relieve themselves. Others were showing their bums or emptied buckets of excrement on the road to show their anger. It is estimated that close to 300,000 homes around the country still use the bucket system instead of flush toilets and are dependent on the failing public service to empty the buckets.

#38 Most protests were not as violent as for instance in Langa, but were small scale events with people dancing and marching in the streets demanding better amenities and claiming their rights for better opportunities.



French Banlieues Riots, 2005

The riots that spread from the eastern suburbs of Paris to the 'banlieues' of dozens of French cities were unique because they all happened in exactly the same urban environment: that of the modernist high rises built in the post war decades after a model developed by Le Corbusier and his generation of modernist architects. The riots in the autumn of 2005 lasted for three weeks and seemed to engulf an entire nation, again triggered by a single event of police brutality but unleashing anger that had been simmering for decades.

#39 The triggering event for the largest riots seen on the European continent was the death of Zyed Benna (17yrs) and Bouna Traore (15yrs) by electrocution, after they had hidden in a power station, running from the police. The incident happened October 27th 2005, in the Parisian suburb of Clichy-sous-Bois.

#40 Initially the death of Bouna and Zyed sparked protest marches against the systemic police brutality, the racist stop-and-searches that North African and black boys were routinely subjected to and against the unemployment, poverty and isolation of the housing estates they lived in.

#41 Ten years before, the plight of four young boys living in a banlieue of Paris had been portrayed truthfully and successfully in the world famous film 'La Haine'; a portrait marred by isolation, racism, crime and the sense of being second-class citizens. The opening scene of the film is the slow motion shot of a burning Molotov cocktail falling from a concrete high rise.

#42 The death of Zyed and Bouna triggered riots that first spread from Clichy-sous-Bois to the other estates around Paris, then to the estates in the Parisian region, then to housing estates with similar social conditions throughout entire France.

#43 Since the riots always happened in modernist designed social housing projects, the godfather of this typology, Le Corbusier, was soon blamed for the

social conditions in his once utopian urban model. The Modulor Man was Le Corbusier's symbol of the new man. Here it is metaphorically toppled by the rioters.

#44 The riots were also used by right wing French politicians like Nicolas Sarkozy, who called the rioters 'Scum' that needed to be hosed away from the streets, dismissing out of hand any of the social issues that might cause such a massive outbreak of violence.

#45 The extreme right wing and racist politician Jean-Marie Le Pen, called the riots a confirmation of everything he had always said about the immigrants in France.

#46 After the riots, the conditions of the French banlieues did not improve. The isolation, hopelessness and segregation is even worse, as is witnessed by the book 'Burn Out' by the young French authors Mehdi Meklat and Badrouine Saïd Abdallah. The authors are roughly of the age that Zyed and Bouna would have had now, had they lived and they may be prophets of a new round of violence in the chronically marginalized housing estates of France.



Tahrir square, Cairo, 2011

In 2011 Tahrir square in Cairo was the center point of the Egyptian Revolution. The uprising coincided with other large scale protests all across the Middle East, called the Arab Spring. The protesters' primary demands were the end of the Hosni Mubarak's regime, freedom of speech, justice and a voice in managing Egypt's resources. The uprising indeed led to the resignation of Hosni Mubarak but to this day sadly, turned out to be a Pyrrhic victory with the installment of the former Egyptian armed forces as leaders of the country.

#47 In 2011 Mohamed Bouazizi desperately set himself on fire in the streets of Tunis out of frustration over unemployment and an overall feeling of injustice in his country. This act by the Tunisian street vendor sparked the violent Tunisian Revolution that followed directly after his death and led to the wider wave of protests during the Arab Spring.

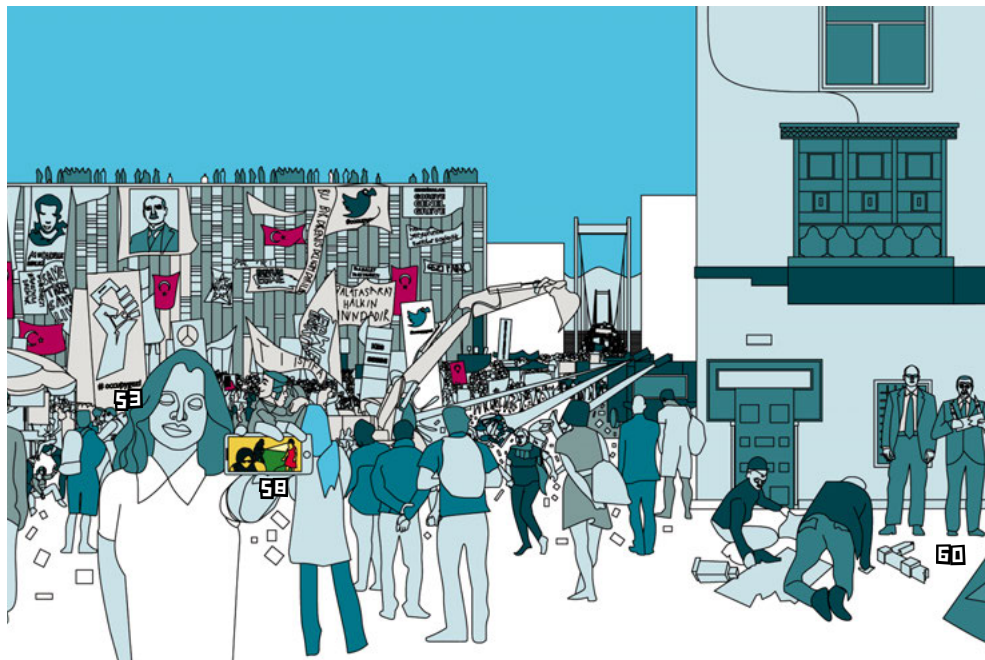
#48 The protests in Cairo lasted for 18 days and within that time Tahrir square was occupied by approximately 300.000 demonstrators waving the Egyptian flag and anti-Mubarak posters and shouting slogans such as "the people demand the fall of the regime!" and "bread, freedom, social justice!".

#49 Communication between the protesters took place through a Facebook page "Tahrir Square" that served as an alternative newsfeed to the state-run media channels. In an attempt to control this form of communication the government would shut off wifi services. The riots were also closely covered by Al Jazeera and catapulted the position of the Qatari news channel as most trustworthy in the region.

#50 Tahrir square has a long history of being the center stage for protests in Egypt. In 1919 the uprising against the British occupation took place there, as well as the 1952 revolution that led to the country's independency, the bread riots in 1997 and the mass protest against the Iraq war in 2003.

#51 Gamal Abdel Nasser, who became the first leader of the newly independent republic of Egypt in 1953, was responsible for the construction of the eye-catching modern landmarks around Tahrir square, such as the Arab League Building (1956) and the Nile Hilton Hotel (1960).

#52 It was rumored that the headquarters of former president Hosni Mubarak's leading National Democratic Party (NDP), located between the Nile and Tahrir square, was set on fire during the protest by the NDP to get rid of incriminating classified information.



Gezi Park, Istanbul, 2013

On 28 May 2013 a wave of demonstrations and civil unrest began in Turkey, initially to contest the urban development plan for Istanbul's Taksim Gezi Park. Nation-wide protests followed after the violent eviction of a sit-in at the park. People not only protested the plan, but also demanded freedom of speech and assembly and aired serious concern about the government's encroachment on Turkey's secularism. After the police withdrew from Taksim square, the sit-in developed into a well-organized Occupy-like camp with its own library, medical center, food distribution and media. It is estimated that 3.5 million have taken part in ca. 5,000 demonstrations all over Turkey in the three-month period the unrest lasted. 11 people were killed and more than 8,000 were injured.

#53 Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who dismissed the protesters as "a few looters", was criticized by de protesters and also international public opinion for his authoritarian rule and the role his government played in the war in Syria, but also for the government's influence on the media, curbs on alcohol, plans to ban kissing in public and the introduction of other general conservative religious principles.

#57 Because, particularly in the early stages, the mainstream Turkish media downplayed what was happening (following Erdogan's cue), social media played a key part in the protests.

#58 An iconic image for the protests was "The Woman In Red", a photo of a woman in a red dress being pepper-sprayed by a police officer.

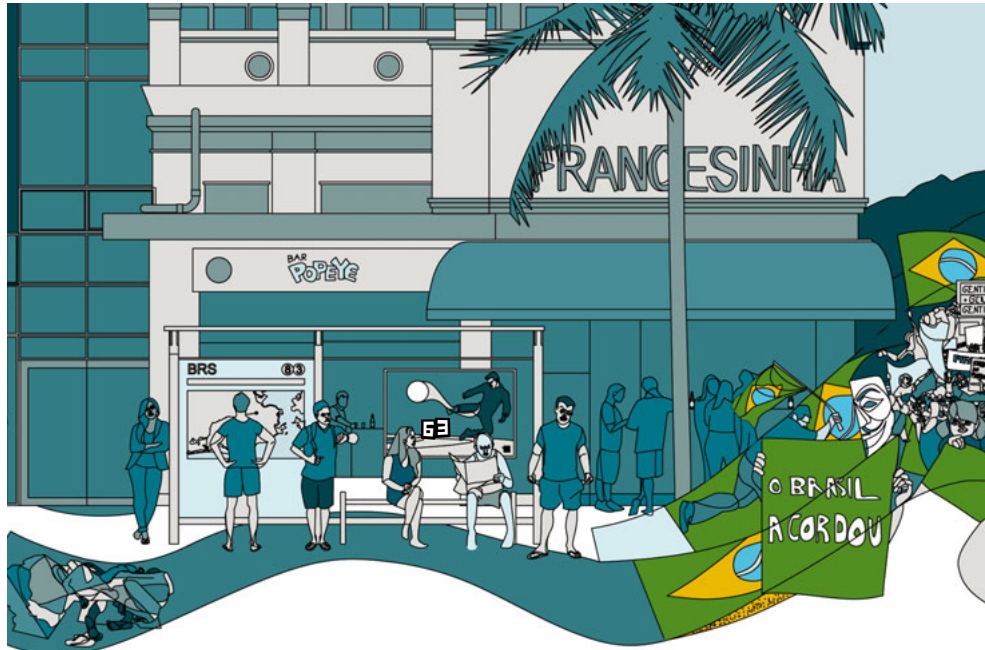
#59 Two days after the police had swept Taksim Square clean with water cannons and tear gas, Erdem Gündüz walked to the center of the empty square and commenced to just stand there in quiet protest, facing the Atatürk Cultural Center which was covered in Turkish flags and a large portrait of Atatürk. People soon began to notice and his protest went viral on Twitter. The Standing Man was joined by hundreds of protesters who copied his stance and The Standing Man concept spread to other places in Turkey and even abroad. Eventually the police intervened and Gündüz ended his campaign to prevent violence from happening.

#54 The protesters called themselves *çapulcu* (looters), reappropriating Erdogan's insult and also coined "chapulling" to signify "fighting for your rights".

#55 Gezi Park is an area inside Taksim square filled with sycamores and is one of the few green spaces left in central Istanbul. The redevelopment plan for Taksim Gezi Park pedestrianizes most of the area which means the park would effectively be replaced by concrete.

#56 The new plan also includes the rebuilding of the Taksim Military Barracks to house a shopping mall, an opera house and a mosque. The original Barracks from the Ottoman era were demolished in 1939 to be replaced by Gezi Park, part of the urban plan of Henri Prost who was invited by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to rebuild Istanbul in 1936. For many Turks the reconstruction of the Barracks symbolizes the struggle between secular and islamist forces, as according to some accounts it was the location of a failed mutiny in 1909 by islamist soldiers to bring about Sharia law.

#60 In the end the government relinquished the plans for Taksim Gezi Park but in return it passed several bills increasing the government's control over the Internet and legally expanding the police's ability to act against protesters. Now that Erdogan has won the elections again in October 2015, the same redevelopment plan may become the subject of a referendum and could yet be realized. Protesters are planning a new round of resistance if this happens.



Bus fare protests, Brazil, 2013

From April 2013 demonstrations in many big cities in Brazil started with the protest against a rise in the public transport fares. With these protests millions of people throughout Brazil expressed their outrage not only over the increasing bus fares but also over rising inflation, poor public services, vast inequality, police brutality and a government that was more interested in spending billions of tax dollars on very expensive World Cup Stadiums and Olympic games than in meeting the needs of their people. By mid-June the movement dubbed “V for Vinegar” or “Salad Revolution” had grown into Brazil’s largest popular protest since 1992 when citizens took to the streets to demand the impeachment of their president on corruption charges.

#61 Although the protests were generally peaceful, incidents of police brutality in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro resulted in many injured and acted as an incentive. Rubber bullets were used indiscriminately, blinding one journalist in one eye, water cannons, pepper spray and tear gas was used. People were arrested for carrying vinegar, a household remedy protesters used against tear gas.

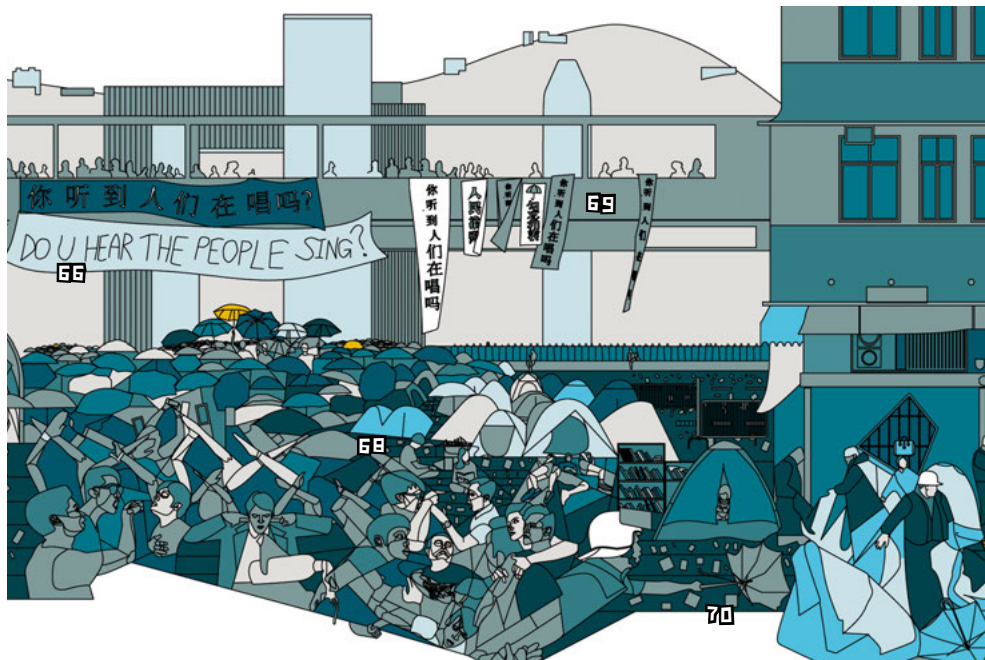
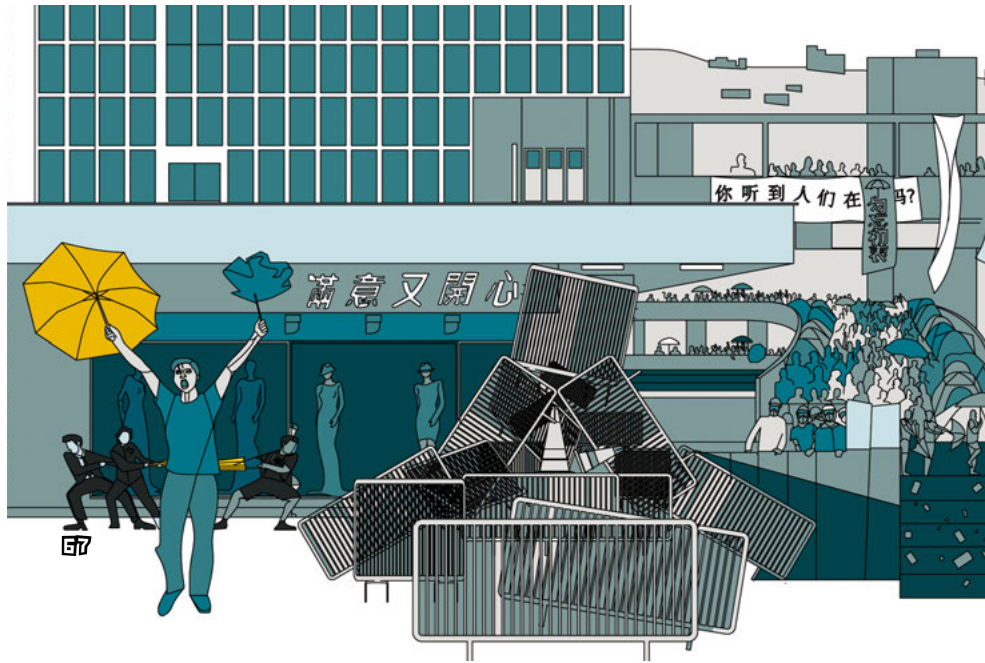
While shiny new stadiums were being built, favelas and their poor inhabitants were being “sanitized”. In the mean time the 2014 World Cup and its Brazilian officials are under investigation by the FBI in the big FIFA corruption case that has recently cost its president Sepp Blatter his position.



#62 As in all protests of the last decades social media played an important role in organizing the demonstrations and as a medium to express discontent, frustration and demands. In Brazil a special role on the social media was played by Mídia Ninja (Ninja Media), a network of independent journalists which was formed in 2011 to tell stories that traditional media were not covering. Using their smartphones the group came to prominence when they did on site reporting of the mass demonstrations in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Their Facebook page Mídia Ninja broadcasted some of the most graphic videos of the clashes between protesters and the police. They claim to have ca. 2,000 collaborators in 100 cities and to date their Facebook page has drawn more than 350,000 likes.

#64 What makes the protests in Brazil different from for example the ones in Turkey, France and Britain is that the underlying issues weren't government repression, racial conflicts, falling living standards or immigration problems. In fact Brazil's democracy is stable, most of the marchers were white and living standards had been rising in a spectacular way pulling a large percentage into the middle class. What Brazilians do have to contend with are the highest taxes of any country outside the developed world and in return getting appalling public services. At the same time inflation was sky-high and the very middle class that had just come into existence was still struggling not to fall back into poverty.

#63 The 2014 football World Cup was just one of the major sports events organized in Brazil in a couple of year's time. In 2013 the country hosted the Confederations Cup and in 2016 the Olympics will take place. Just the work done on stadiums for the World Cup alone cost Brazil 3,6 billion dollars.



Admiralty, Hong Kong, 2014

In September 2014 a mass student led protest erupted after the Hong Kong government made changes to the election system that were seen, especially by the younger generation of Hong Kong citizens, as a breach of democracy. At the high point of the protest over 100.000 people were blocking the intersections of the Central Business District and several other high-end shopping areas in Hong Kong. The protests ended 79 days later, without having any immediate tangible results.

#65 These protests for more democracy in Hong Kong were named the 'Umbrella Revolution' because of the umbrellas, painted with slogans, which were turned in the direction of the order troops by the protesters.

#66 During their many sit-ins the students chanted a Cantonese adaptation of the song 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' from the musical 'Les Misérables'. In its original version the song is a revolutionary call by a group of Parisian rebel students for the overturning of the French government during the early 19th century.

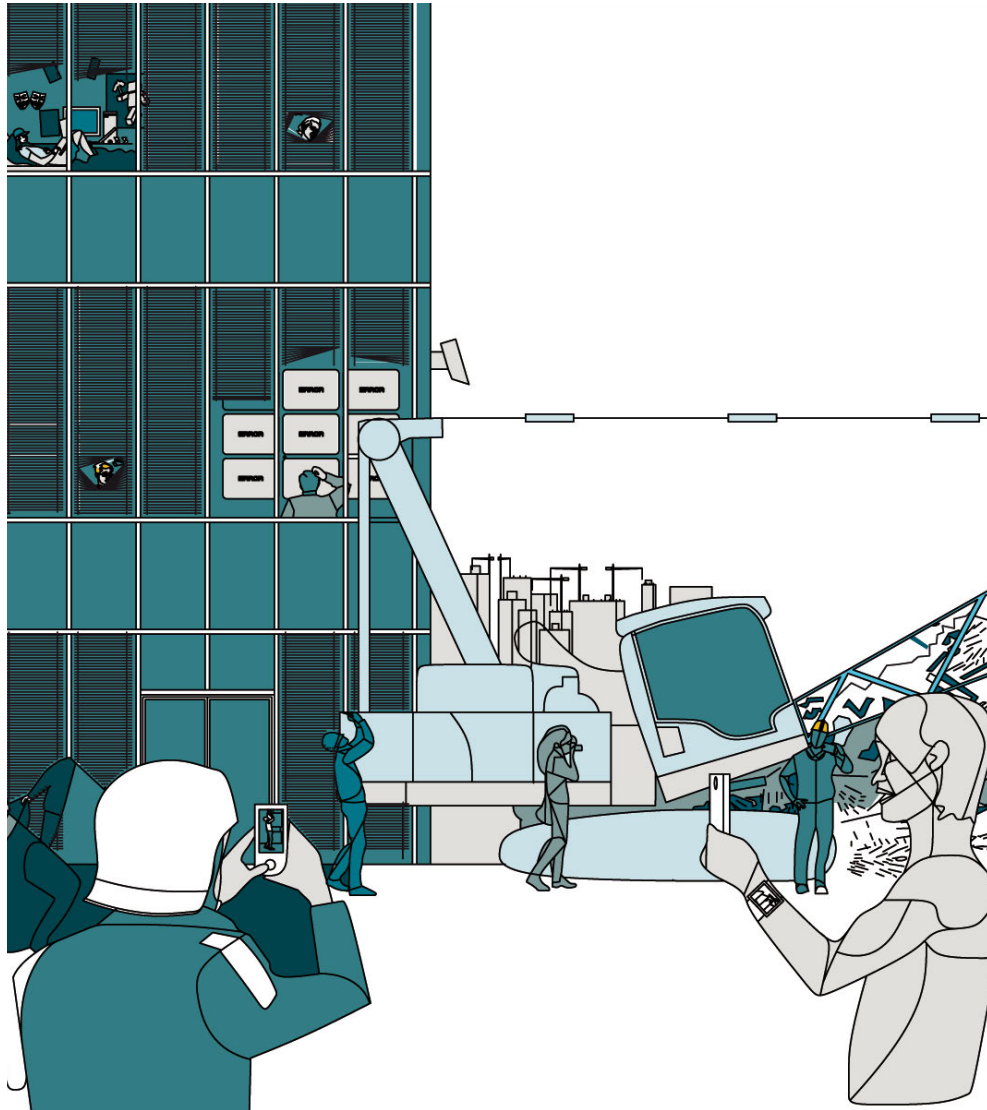
#67 The Umbrella Revolution caused a serious face off between the older and younger generations in Hong Kong. The older generation accused the younger generation of provoking confrontation and unnecessarily destabilizing the country's economy and society.

#68 The protesters used the plaza in front of the Central Government Complex as their HQ, which was renamed 'Umbrella Square'. With this newly opened building complex the designers had aimed

to bring the Hong Kong citizens right to the heart of the government. But at the peak of the uprising they were ordered to vacate this 'public space' by the owners of the building.

#69 All over Hong Kong hundreds of building blocks and footbridges were covered with large colorful banners and posters, comprising of poetic and symbolic slogans such as 'Keep your head up high', 'Don't forget your original intentions', 'Don't be timid' and 'Contented but worried'.

#70 The Umbrella Revolution was probably the most efficiently organized mass protest the world has witnessed so far. The numerous tent camps were extended with temporary libraries, sanitary facilities and smartphone charging stations. Students were even seen doing their homework in the middle of the streets and cleaning the place up after them.



The Near Future?

Is the function of the street as a public space being replaced by the virtual space of social media and the Internet of things?

Algorithms are replacing face to face contact not just for private purchases and relationships, but also centralized security cameras and street policing. We are constantly following and watching each other's movements through cyberspace, just as we used to follow each other's movements across the pavements and squares. While we are staring at our smartphones, will we still witness and criticize the ongoing physical transformation of our cities? Will the corporate and state surveillance anticipate and quieten the explosions of anger and frustration that we have seen over the past century? Or is the constant control another trigger for urban discontent and violent uprisings?

Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven

Who Owns The Street?
(February 20 - April 30 2017)

Credits:

Do You Hear the People Sing?

Concept, research and design:

Crimson Architectural Historians (Ewout Dorman,
Annuska Pronkhorst, Michelle Provoost, Simone
Rots, Wouter Vanstiphout and Cassandra Wilkins)
with Hugo Corbett.

Financial support:

Stimuleringsfonds voor Creatieve Industrie

2016 – www.crimsonweb.org

creative industries fund NL

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