



An inquiry on rebel cities: How spatial morphology sets the stage for urban movements

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Abstract

The common thread to urban movements happening worldwide in recent years is the fact that urban public space is used as a significant setting by city dwellers for expressing their “objections”. What has been experienced throughout urban movements when public spaces have been occupied enables us to grasp the meaning of occupied spaces in the city thus allowing us to get to know societies and cities. Therefore, this research has investigated the impact of urban public space on the consciousness, interaction and gathering of city dwellers as well as urban movements. Within the scope of the research, eight “rebel cities” have been analyzed, and have interviews with participants of urban movements from these cities. These are Tunis, Cairo, Barcelona, London, New York, Dublin, Paris, and Hamburg, respectively. The places where urban movements were visible in urban space and their surroundings have been analyzed using the Space Syntax method, and the gathering/unification/integration potential of public space has been spatially investigated by determining the characteristics of urban patterns. Accordingly, the city affects the formation of urban movements with its spatial pattern. In the case of Merida city, which constitutes the control sample and which was not affected by the urban movements that spread to the whole world, this finding is also supported. With the results obtained in the research, the significance of public space, as an essential element contributing to the formation of urban movements, has been proven. This study further reveals the possibility of urban spaces allowing social encounters and its importance in terms of democracy.

Keywords: urban movements, public space, rebel cities, space syntax, spatial morphology

1. Introduction

Cities are spaces that serve a variety of purposes. In our age, due to the impact of globalization, cities are regarded as a commodity, and a rapid transformation process is taking place as cities are reproduced without allowing city dwellers the right to speak.

The common thread to all urban movements is that they are visible in public spaces. The reasons lying behind the city movements happening in recent years include not only economic crises but also the failure to involve city dwellers in the rapid transformation of city spaces and ignoring the “right to the city”. This study seeks an answer to the question of why public spaces are chosen. Therefore, the places where urban movements occurred worldwide were determined as a first step. Samples from “Rebel Cities”, in Harvey’s (2012) terms, were taken and these have been analyzed in terms of spatial morphology focusing on occupied spaces.

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Urban spaces are those that enable city dwellers to come together. According to Harvey (2012), the city is the site where people of all sorts and classes mingle, however reluctantly and agonistically, to produce a common if perpetually changing and transitory life. Coming together in urban space also sets the ground for those who can act together. It is the architecture of the street network that creates the fundamental condition of the civilised city; the natural co-presence in space of many different kinds of people doing many different kinds of thing, who, without knowing each other, create for each other the sense of being part of a civil society” (Hillier, 2013). They have also adopted urban spaces to defend their rights in threatening cases. Open urban spaces are where city dwellers come together in the presence of controlling restrictions and display their defiance in necessary cases. Coming together for action also takes place in public spaces. This makes sense for city dwellers; thus, from time to time, there has been an attempt, throughout history, to control them. The aim of this paper is to reveal the connection of the spaces chosen for urban movements witnessed recently by the entire city and its city dwellers.

Hillier (2012) argues that urban pattern develops a sense of social belonging even though individuals that act differently are unaware of each other. Sense of belonging supports the will to claim the right to the city. In this context, (Nejad, 2013) contends that the location of a public space in a city is more important than its symbolic connotations, and the impact of crowds depends on the spatial characteristics of the place of the protest. In another study related with this topic, Ciravoğlu (2014) argued that places, with their spatial pattern, carry the potential of generating urban movements. The studies previously conducted reveal that the squares of some cities are more effective in bringing together city dwellers and that it is easier for urban movements to emerge in these cities. In this way, it was intended to reveal the possible relations between urban movements and spatial morphology.

In the initiation, for growth and continuity of urban movements, today’s communication tools such as the internet and social media play a role. However, although urban movements start in the internet environment, it has been observed that they inhabited urban public space with which city dwellers had one-to-one contact and mostly grew with the occupation of these spaces in which city dwellers from all walks of life participated. The occupation of city spaces that have a place in the memory of city dwellers indicates that “space” has an impact on the consciousness, interaction and gathering of city dwellers and urban movements. With the morphological analyses of the selected spaces and interviews with the participants within the scope of the research, the impact of urban pattern on urban movements is detected. Accordingly, the city affects the formation of urban movements with its public spaces and urban pattern.

1.1. Selection of Case Studies

Within the scope of the research, eight “rebel cities” have been analyzed. The places where urban movements were visible in urban space and their surroundings have been analyzed using the Space Syntax method, and the gathering/unification/integration potential of public space has been spatially investigated by determining the characteristics of urban space pattern. As for the city that has not yet been affected by urban movements included in the control sample, the square which supposedly brings together city dwellers has been taken as the center and analyzed with the Space Syntax method.

There are three important criteria about the selection of the cases study areas. First, cases from the geographies where urban movements were intensified were selected including the USA, Europe and the Arab peninsula¹ (Figure 1). The second criteria can be stated as trying to be as inclusive as possible to cover cases from different cultures and different urban morphologies. Lastly as the year 2011 was an important date for the uprising of events, the cases were limited to the urban protests that took place within the mentioned year.

¹ Even though there are not many protests on the Arab peninsula, as the Tunis case is the starting point of the protests and plays a great role in its spreading all around the world, this geography is thought to be of great importance, therefore is included in the study.

The cities which have been analyzed within the scope of this study include Tunis from Tunisia, which experienced a revolution and inspired the Arab world in 2011; Cairo from Egypt, which was inspired by the previous example and realized a revolution in its own country; London, with its urban movement that started in the ghetto district and spread to the whole country; New York, with its “Occupy” movement that spread to the whole world; Dublin, which was inspired by the USA; Paris, with its “Occupy” movement that started after the process of displacement following urban transformation; Barcelona, which came to the agenda with the Indignados movement inspired by Tunisia and Egypt; and Merida, which was not involved in urban movements, and Hamburg, with its efforts to protect public space.

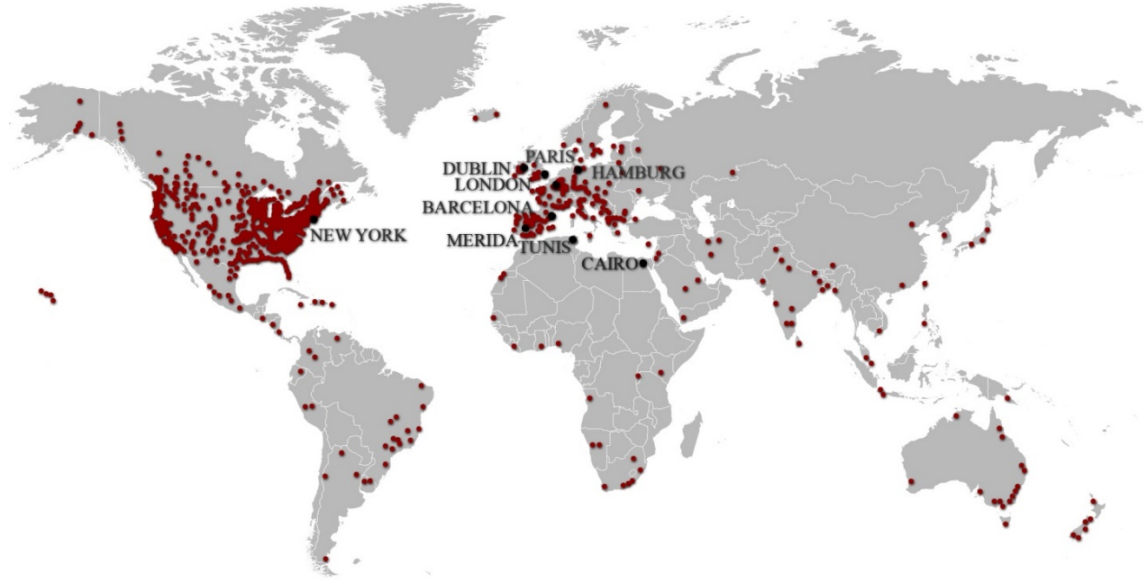


Figure 1 Urban movements and case study areas in the world (Red marks indicate the worldwide urban movements and black marks indicate the selected cities. The illustration is made by authors based on information taken from the following reference: Anon, 2020)

1.2. The Method of the Study: Space Syntax and Interviews with Participants

In order to explain the relation between sociology and spatial configurations scientifically, the Space Syntax model was produced by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson at the Space Syntax Laboratory, at the Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning in University College London. Explanation of the philosophy and methodology can be found in Hillier’s book ‘Space is the Machine’ (1996).

In this study the Space Syntax methodology was used to predict pedestrian movement. Therefore, axial maps of pedestrian access were drawn by hand on maps obtained from satellite images of Google Earth (Google, 2020a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h & i). Axial maps are formed by drawing the fewest and longest straight lines of sight and access passing from streets and open areas that would predict pedestrian movement on existing maps of the city. As instructed by the software manual, the size of the examined area should be defined by drawing a circle around the area of interest. This area is called the buffer zone. Therefore axial map is drawn within a 2 km radius which would be a comfortable walking distance of at least 30 minutes around the area of interest. Axes have to intersect on the map (Hillier & Hanson, 1984; Campos & Karimi, 2004; Chen, 2017).

Axial maps were analyzed with the Depthmap software program (Varoudis, 2012) and their integration values were calculated. The Space Syntax methodology determines the relations of the axes with each other as well as their relations to the whole. The integration value shows how many steps should be taken to reach an axis from all the other axes. In this system, the accessibility of an axis is not calculated according to the geometric distance, but the number of axes connected to that axis or the number of “steps” and how many steps it takes to access that axis. In this case, the axis that is connected to its surrounding with the highest number of axes will be the most accessible

and the most frequently used one (Hillier & Hanson, 1984; Hillier, 1996; Jiang & Claramunt, 2002). The integration values of the districts easily accessed are higher. In integrated spaces, one is more likely to encounter people (Hillier et al., 1983; Hillier et al., 1987; Hillier, 1993; Read, 1999). While the whole of the system is considered to be a “global” network, smaller sets of units are regarded as “local” networks. Integration Rn values refer to global integration, Integration R3 values refer to local integration. R3 analysis was carried out as it gives the local integration of the system which predicts pedestrian movement within the system (Jones & Fanek, 1997; Jiang et al., 2000; Dhimn, 2006; Erinsel Önder & Gigi, 2010). While the encounter of every city dweller is possible in the global system, the life patterns of city dwellers and their encounters are analyzed through movement networks in the local system. Therefore, in this study, Integration Rn and R3 values are analyzed and compared. The Space Syntax program colors the axial map to enable the readability of analysis findings. The transition from cool colors (blue, green) to warm colors (yellow, orange, red) indicates an increase in integration values. The Integration Rn and R3 values and colors of urban space axes where urban movements are visible have been taken into consideration.

After the analysis of rebel cities with Space Syntax Methodology, in addition, interviews were conducted with the participants of the urban movements in order to understand the impact of open public places on bringing citizens together and creating urban movements. Thus, the potential of urban dwellers to come together in two dimensions measured by the space syntax method has been confirmed by the citizens of the city.

2. Spatial Morphology Analysis of Rebel Cities

2.1. Spatial Analysis of Case Studies

Results of the analysis in terms of urban morphology of nine urban public spaces as the focus of the study, are presented in this section. In the analyses, the Integration Rn and R3 values have been taken into account. These values indicate the central points of the analyzed region in a global and local scale. The analysis conducted has been based on the gradation of numerical values which indicate the integration potential of the settlement instead of their comparison. Therefore, evaluations were made not based on the integration values of the axes (streets, squares, parks) presented by the spatial syntax analysis of the spaces visible in urban movements but the colors that grade these values and present them in a hierarchical order. Table 1 and Table 3 presents findings of the study. In the following sections, results of each case are discussed.

2.1.1 Spatial Analysis of Bardo Square

When the spatial syntax analysis of Tunis is made, taking Bardo Square as the center, it is seen that the square plays a role in the encounters of people. On the Integration Rn axial map, it is found that the square is the center of the area and that the streets connecting to the square are the most integrated ones among all. As for the Integration R3 axial map, it is determined that there are local centers, one of which is Bardo Square. The highest axis value on the Integration Rn and R3 maps is one of the axes of the square with a Rn value of 1.97308 and a R3 value of 4.25273 and colored red. The five axes of the square on Rn map colored with red and orange. As for the R3 map, the values colored red and orange. These results show that Bardo Square is a frequently used space easily accessed by city dwellers enabling them to encounter each other. Accordingly, this finding explains why it was selected as the occupation space.

2.1.2 Space Syntax Analysis of Tahrir Square

When the spatial syntax analysis of Cairo is made, taking Tahrir Square as the center, it is seen that the regions which are central on local and global scales intersect on Integration Rn and R3 maps. The axes of Tahrir Square are colored red and orange on Integration Rn and R3 axial maps. The axis with the highest value on the Integration Rn map is that of the square with a value of 1.90344 and colored red, while the value is 4.19313 on the R3 map and again colored red. The values of the five axes of the square on the Rn map are colored red and orange. On the R3 map, the

colors ranged from red to light orange. From these results, it could be seen that the axes of the square are used and integrated on global and local scales, and that within the analyzed region, the square is the center that offers city dwellers a chance to encounter each other.

2.1.3 Space Syntax Analysis of Catalunya Square

When Catalunya Square, the occupied space of Barcelona, is analyzed, it is seen that the centers intersect on a global and local scale, which shows that the city space is integrated. These results present a space which provides city dwellers a high possibility of encounter; thus, the space acts as an element that triggers the will in city dwellers to come and act together in an incident. The highest value of the historical square's axes is 2.66552 and colored orange on the Integration Rn map. The same axis has the value of 3.90263 and again colored orange on the Integration R3 map. The five axes of the square on Rn map colored in orange and red. On the R3 map, the values colored in red and yellow. With their high values in the district, the axes of the square provide city dwellers with the opportunity to cross paths. Not only the fact that the analyzed district of the city is integrated but also the axial values of the square justify why urban movements take place there.

2.1.4 Space Syntax Analysis of Paternoster Square

When Paternoster Square and its surrounding area in London is analyzed, it is seen that the Integration Rn and R3 values of the axes reaching the square are high on the axial maps. The highest Integration Rn value of the axis of the square is 1.55967 and colored red. As for the Integration R3 value of the same axis, it is 3.20287 and colored orange. The five axes of the square on Rn map colored from red to yellow. On the R3 map, the values colored of the five axes from orange to light green. The values and colors of the square indicate that the axes of the square are used more frequently than the other axes; thus, offering city dwellers the possibility of encounters which could also be interpreted as the reason for its use as a center during a social event.

2.1.5 Space Syntax Analysis of Zuccotti Park

When Zuccotti Park and its surrounding area in New York is taken as the center and analyzed as the protesting space of the Occupy Wall Street urban movement, it is seen that the centers intersect on a global and local scale. These findings show that the analyzed space of the city is integrated within itself, making the possibility of encounters high, with the added advantage of a low crime rate in the district. The longest axis on the Integration Rn and R3 maps with the highest value is colored red and signifies the axis reaching the square. While the Integration Rn value of this axis is 3.49922, it has a value of 4.57813 on the R3 map. The five axes of the park on the Rn map colored from red to yellow. On the R3 map, the colors range from red to yellow. These results suggest that the park is a densely used space and explain why it was selected for urban movements.

2.1.6 Space Syntax Analysis of Dame Street

Dublin has been analyzed by taking Dame Street as the focus, which is one of the busiest streets and served as the center of urban movements. It has been determined that the axes forming Dame Street have high values on Integration Rn and R3 maps and are colored red and orange. Furthermore, the axes reaching the street have the highest values on local and global scales and are colored red and orange. The street is frequently used by city dwellers; thus, it is an urban space which, in time, has become functional with its shops. On the Integration Rn map, its highest axis value is 1.40844 and colored red while the value is 2.94707 on the Integration R3 map and colored light orange. The values of the five axes of the street on the Rn map colored red and orange. As for the R3 map, the colors range from light orange to green. Although the analyzed district of the city is not integrated, the axial values of the street indicate that it is a used and accessible street on local and global scales where city dwellers can come together.

2.1.7 Space Syntax Analysis of La Défense

The district of La Défense has been constructed as the new center of Paris. When the district is analyzed, it is seen that it is located in the center. The Integration Rn analysis shows that the streets

that form a triangle in the center have the highest values, and that these results do not change in the Integration R3 analysis as well. On global and local scales, the district of La Défense is the only center. According to the Integration Rn analysis, the square has the highest axial value of 2.64722 and colored red. The same axis has an Integration R3 value of 4.37692 and colored red. This axis is the street with the highest value among the analyzed area and indicates a district that is frequently used by city dwellers and where many encounters occur. On the Rn map, the values of the five axes connecting to the square are represented with colors ranging from red to light orange. As for the R3 map, the colors range from red to orange. These results reveal that the analyzed area of the city is integrated and that the square is a significant, frequently-used center and an outstanding space for city dwellers on a local and global scale.

2.1.8 Space Syntax Analysis of Park Fiction

Park Fiction in Hamburg is located next to a church and in a district that city dwellers use. The fact that it is located at a port also increases its use. When an analysis is conducted with the Space Syntax method, it is seen that the Integration Rn and R3 values of the axes connecting to the park are high and that their colors are warm. Of these axes, the highest value on the Integration Rn map is determined to be 1.65091 and colored orange. As for the Integration R3 value, it is found to be 2.85453 and colored yellow. On the Rn map, the values of the five axes of the park colored from orange to yellow. On the R3 map, the values colored yellow and green. These results show that city dwellers frequently come together in Park Fiction, use this space and that it is a center where encounters take place in the district. These findings explain why the center attracts a movement of defense when its presence is endangered.

2.1.9 Space Syntax Analysis of Plaza Espana Square

The only city which did not participate in the “Indignados” movement in Spain is Merida. When this settlement is analyzed with the Space Syntax method, taking Plaza Espana Square² as the center, it is seen that the axes of the square in Merida are in cold colors unlike the other cities evaluated, and that the values are low within the settlement although they seem to be high when compared to other settlements. On the Integration Rn map, the axis of the square with the highest value is 1.206170 and colored light orange while the same axis has the value of 2.147590 on the Integration R3 map and colored light green. On the Rn map, the values of the five axes of the square colored from light orange to green. On the R3 map the colors range between light green and light blue. Resulting from the values and colors of the axes of the square within the analyzed region of the city, it could be concluded that the square is not located in a space of the city where people have the possibility to frequently pass by. This condition decreases city dwellers’ possibility of encountering, socializing and gathering. These results explain in terms of spatial morphology why Merida did not participate in the process of urban movements while the other cities confronted with the same problems were involved.

As a result of the analyses conducted and drawing on the Integration Rn and R3 values and colors, it is seen that the occupied spaces of rebel cities are frequently used spaces that attract city dwellers and offer them the possibility of encountering and that the historical square of Merida city, which has not participated in the urban movements, is not used by city dwellers. These findings show that public spaces may ensure democracy as they function as spaces that enable the use by city dwellers.

² As there were no urban movements in this case, the most important public space of the city is taken as the center of analysis.

Table 1 Results of the space syntax analyses of rebel cities

Tunis Bardo Square	Cairo Tahrir Square	Barcelona Catalunya Square
 <p data-bbox="199 667 574 696"><i>Integration Rn analysis; Max=1.97308</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="582 667 989 696"><i>Integration Rn analysis; Max=1.90344</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="997 667 1428 696"><i>Integration Rn analysis; Max=3.24998</i></p>
 <p data-bbox="199 1048 574 1077"><i>Integration R3 analysis; Max=4.36839</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="582 1048 989 1077"><i>Integration R3 analysis; Max=4.49621</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="997 1048 1428 1077"><i>Integration R3 analysis; Max=4.44704</i></p>
London Paternoster Square	New York Zuccotti Park	Dublin Dame Street
 <p data-bbox="199 1451 574 1480"><i>Integration Rn analysis; Max=1.70889</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="582 1451 989 1480"><i>Integration Rn analysis; Max=3.49922</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="997 1451 1428 1480"><i>Integration Rn analysis; Max=1.45122</i></p>
 <p data-bbox="199 1832 574 1861"><i>Integration R3 analysis; Max=3.77497</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="582 1832 989 1861"><i>Integration R3 analysis; Max=4.57813</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="997 1832 1428 1861"><i>Integration R3 analysis; Max=3.92026</i></p>

Table 1 Results of the space syntax analyses of rebel cities (continued)

Paris La Defence District	Hamburg Park Fiction	Merida Plaza Espana Square
		
<i>Integration Rn analysis; Max=2.64722</i>	<i>Integration Rn analysis; Max=1.87217</i>	<i>Integration Rn analysis; Max=1.58499</i>
		
<i>Integration R3 analysis; Max=4.37692</i>	<i>Integration R3 analysis; Max=3.60563</i>	<i>Integration R3 analysis; Max=4.16313</i>

2.2. Evaluation of the Research Findings

In this study, public spaces in cities where urban movements were visible have been evaluated in terms of urban morphology. Thanks to the Space Syntax analysis, interpretations were made using the values and colors of the axes reaching the squares. The findings obtained in the study have been graded and listed according to Space Syntax analysis, as seen in Table 3. In this chart, of the axes of the spaces where urban movements occurred, those with the highest value and their colors as well as the highest axial values and colors of the historical square of Merida are given. On the chart, it is seen that the spaces where urban movements occurred received higher values among the spaces of the whole city, and that they are colored red and orange while the axial values are low, and the colors are cold such as green and blue regarding Merida where urban movements were not observed. According to the listing, the cities with the highest values regarding their public spaces and the values of their axes reaching these spaces have been determined to be Cairo, Paris and Tunis, while the lowest values belong to the city of Merida. The axial values of public spaces in the cities where urban movements were visible thanks to the possibility of city dwellers' encountering have been graded and colored. In the cities where urban movements occur, the integration values and colors of the axes of the areas which are the center of movements indicate that these spaces are used spaces that function as gathering spaces where city dwellers come together. The axial values and colors of the square in Merida city, where urban movements did not take place, show that it does not allow city dwellers to come together or encounter each other in this particular space. These results reveal among many other factors the impact of urban morphology, which determined urban space, on the initiation and continuity of urban movements.

Table 2 Values assigned to color rankings of Integration in Depthmap

RED	ORANGE	L.ORANGE	YELLOW	GREEN	L. GREEN	L. BLUE	BLUE	mean total depth low high
8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	

Table 3 Rankings and values of five major axes that pass through the squares

Cities	Integration	Integration Rn/R3 and Rankings Values*	Total Values
Tunis Bardo Square	Rn	1.97308 (8), 1.90011 (8), 1.86598 (8), 1.81168 (7), 1.79534 (7)	38
	R3	4.25273 (8), 4.09364 (8), 3.67348 (7), 3.57924 (7), 3.79428 (7)	37
Cairo Tahrir Square	Rn	1.90344 (8), 1.84841 (8), 1.76663 (8), 1.73668 (8), 1.73036 (7)	39
	R3	4.19313 (8), 4.00462 (7), 3.88178 (7), 3.55993 (6), 3.52440 (6)	34
Barcelona Catalunya Square	Rn	2.91660 (7), 2.66552 (6), 2.60111 (6), 2.39954 (5), 2.36069 (5)	29
	R3	3.90263 (7), 4.07421 (8), 3.45493 (6), 3.59845 (6), 3.22581 (5)	32
London Paternoster Square	Rn	1.55967 (8), 1.55285 (7), 1.45849 (7), 1.35938 (6), 1.24391 (5)	33
	R3	3.20287 (7), 3.02686 (6), 2.86072 (6), 2.12546 (4), 1.94509 (3)	26
New York Zuccotti Park	Rn	3.49922 (8), 2.55429 (5), 2.42253 (5), 2.33995 (5), 2.28600 (5)	28
	R3	4.57813 (8), 3.46837 (6), 3.37376 (6), 3.10332 (5), 3.04213 (5)	30
Dublin Dame Street	Rn	1.40844 (8), 1.34945 (8), 1.31630 (5), 1.25989 (5), 1.23997 (5)	28
	R3	2.94707 (6), 2.65963 (5), 2.45816 (5), 2.00481 (3), 2.20820 (4)	23
Paris La Defence District	Rn	2.64722 (8), 2.61260 (8), 2.45712 (8), 2.44838 (8), 2.15640 (6)	38
	R3	4.37692 (8), 4.27743 (8), 3.91054 (5), 4.08934 (8), 3.62994 (5)	38
Hamburg Park Fiction	Rn	1.65091 (7), 1.47852 (6), 1.37758 (6), 1.26379 (5), 1.25543 (5)	29
	R3	2.85453 (5), 2.65303 (5), 2.23929 (4), 2.14242(4), 1.95335 (4)	22
Merida Plaza Espana Square	Rn	1.20617 (6), 1.14284 (5), 1.13158 (5), 1.01305 (4), 0.99830 (4)	24
	R3	2.14736 (3), 1.85728 (3), 2.14759 (3), 1.73254 (2), 1.78416 (2)	13

*Colors are retrieved from the Space Syntax software. They represent the ranking of the integration values within the whole system.

2.3 The Contribution of Interviews to Research Findings

In order to ensure the reliability of the spatial findings, interviews have been conducted with the people who participated urban movements in the cities in question. Of the urban movements analyzed, participants from Tunis, Cairo, Barcelona, London, New York, Dublin and Paris have been contacted and the few responses received has led to the conclusion that urban movements have been forgotten and that interest in them has been lost. The distribution of participants who have responded to the questionnaire are as follows: Tunis (2), Cairo (1), New York (1) and Dublin (4). Those who agreed to participate in the interviews were asked questions to clarify how they perceived the public spaces analyzed within the scope of this research before and after the protests, and they were asked to evaluate how they related to these spaces.

According to the interviews held with two participants from Tunis, it was stated that prior to the urban movements, Bardo Square brought together people from common and different cultures, that they sometimes visited this place to come together with different people. For various activities, the square could address the city and serve as a gathering place for social events as it was easily accessible; however, the access of city dwellers to the square was kept under control. This square, which hosted an urban movement, was a space that could inform people of the city's history and identity, and that different people visited before and after the urban movements and had an opportunity to interact. Furthermore, they stated that the square was a space that had witnessed the history of the city and occupied a space in the memories of city dwellers. Finally, the respondents expressed that, prior to the urban movements, the square had cultural, economic and political functions. It acquired an additional quality of a symbolic space where the public could make itself heard after the movements.

A participant of the interview from Cairo stated that the square where urban movements occurred demonstrated the characteristics of a center; however, it could not be used except for compulsory passage before the urban movements and that there were administrative buildings such as the municipality and the governor's. The square could be easily accessed. The participant also noted that the square where the urban movement took place was a space where different

people came and interacted and that it hosted the history of the city occupying a space in the memory of city dwellers. Finally, the participant expressed that, prior to the urban movements, the space had acquired a symbolic meaning throughout history; however, the space also had an administrative and political function due to restrictions whereas it acquired an additional quality of a symbolic space where the public could make itself heard after the movements.

Another participant of the interview from New York stated that, prior to the urban movements, Zuccotti Park did not have any other significance than being surrounded by many private companies and did not host any activities. The participant stressed that Wall Street was the symbol of economy and capitalism for the USA. Therefore, the park was occupied, adding that it continued to bear the same meaning after the urban movements.

It was possible to receive responses from four participants from Dublin. They stated that Dame Street served as a center addressing the whole city, and they used it for communication with city dwellers and as a passage, adding that the street had a commercial function and was used for shopping, spending time at cafes as well as protests and public demonstrations. They also stated that the space was easily accessible, open to public use and used by different people, adding that it offered freedom for protesting and fulfilled a variety of functions. Furthermore, the activists declared that a diversity of people came together during protests and that the processes continued without conflict or segregation. Finally, the activists noted that although the street functioned as a center before the protests, it had mainly served as a meeting place for young people in their leisure time rather than hosting social activities. It acquired a political significance after the movements and became the first place to come to mind in case of a similar movement.

From the results of the interviews conducted, it is seen that the spaces that were the center of urban movements carried a meaning for city dwellers prior to the movements; however, their meaning expanded after the movements and their use increased. The common characteristic of these spaces is that they are already being used by city dwellers and that the urban pattern provides access for them. When the cities were analyzed with the Space Syntax method by taking the spaces where urban movements were visible, it was concluded that these spaces were accessible and brought together city dwellers. The interviews conducted with the activists who participated in the urban movements support these results.

3. Conclusion

In this study, the morphological characteristics of urban spaces where urban “objections” have become visible were evaluated at a time when urban movements have accelerated. Urban movements selected public spaces where city dwellers could make themselves heard. The research conducted focuses on the characteristics of the connection of these urban public spaces to the urban system. According to the results of the research, public spaces which integrate into the urban system at a high-level exhibit appropriate spatial characteristics for the formation of urban movements. In other words, urban spaces, with their urban pattern, pave the way for urban movements. With the results obtained in the research, the significance of public space, as an essential element contributing to the formation of urban movements, has been proven. This study reveals the possibility of urban spaces allowing social encounters and its importance in terms of democracy.

As a result of the research and analyses conducted, urban spaces where city dwellers may come together have been proven to be significant for urban movements. For the presence of social movements, it is essential that city dwellers have the potential to come together, and those urban spaces provide this possibility. Without the presence of spaces where a society may gather, it would not be possible to expect the development of an identity, history, culture of that society as well as its unity. It has been seen that, with their morphology, urban spaces where urban movements take place allow these encounters. The Space Syntax analyses of the spaces that were central to the movements reveal the priorities of city dwellers’ use regarding these spaces. As a result of the spatial analyses, along with the interviews conducted with participants of the urban movements, it

has been seen that, in terms of morphology, the spaces demonstrate spatial characteristics such as being open to public use, accessibility, allowing the encounters of the public and strengthening their feelings of togetherness. In the cities where urban movements have been observed, the axes of the spaces that are the center of the movements have high integration values. They have the quality of attracting and bringing together city dwellers. These characteristics enable the formation of not only urban movements but also of places that leave a mark in the memories of the city dwellers. As for the case in which urban movements have not been observed, it has been found that the historical square of the city is not of a spatial quality that would allow such encounters.

The presence and accessibility of public spaces as well as unrestricted access to these spaces are vital for the construction of a city where city dwellers dream of seeking their right to it. It is essential for the future of a city that decision makers keep public spaces public instead of allocating urban spaces to a certain urban class and increasing class distinctions. Throughout the design process of these spaces, the aim should be to ensure every intervention to possess the quality of accessibility and inclusiveness and to allow the interaction of city dwellers, inviting them to activities and to strengthen the connection among people, enabling them to act in unity.

This study provides both urban authorities and the public with clues about the spatial morphology of rebel cities. Given that democracy passes through the construction of democratic spaces, the findings revealed by this study are of significance not only to city administrators but also to planners, architects and decision makers. In this process, the fact that the spatial syntax method could be used as a tool to evaluate the potential of urban space regarding urban movements is a finding that sheds light on future research.

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Resume

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