

Acrobats in the rooftops of Tehran

*'...A book that functions as an experience,
much more than as the demonstration of a historical truth.'*

Michel Foucault



A series of photographs are lost in the media noise covering the 2009 Iran revolts following the country's general election. One year later young freelance photographer Pietro Masturzo wins the World Press Photo. The picture becomes breaking news one year afterwards, a displacement in time, past and forward. The scene depicted is still happening and had happened exactly 30 years before.

In *Search for Lost Time*, Marcel Proust had written about the possibility of thinking of '*optical errors in time as there are in space*' so sometimes one could '*see (...) double in time as one sometimes sees double in space*' - an **optical illusion of memory**¹. This kind of stereoscopic vision allows for a perception of depth, a **relief in time**: an spatialization of time.

*'The silhouettes of the four girls on the roof seem taken from a Chinese shadow theater. They are very young. But any hint of frailty disappears when at night, at about half past nine, they sing in chorus the Allah-u akbar and the Morg dar diktator (God is the greatest and Death to the dictator), just as their parents had done 30 years ago to escape the tyranny of the Shah.'*²

*'WHOLE city is shaking with very loud screams from rooftops. Their loud voices calling only for God is filled with fear, hatred, and hope.'*³ [

Considering **recent history as space** brings forward a series of considerations, among them, the flattening of scales, the dismissal of chronological time or the blurring of epistemological frontiers. All of them contribute to the consideration not of scenes, places or moments in time, but situations understood as spatio-temporal meshes that we need to build and cross through words, reflection and action, all coming together in an entanglement of experience.

An immediate reconsideration of architectural practice when relating to writing comes forward. Architecture has fallen hostage to theoretical abstractions many times before, not casually at times of economic crisis

when *lego bricks* are not found easily at hand. Thus, by keeping the world outside at bay, not finding it fun enough to become his playground, the architect has turned instead to the building of phantasmagorical scenes. But architecture, understood and practiced as spatial strategy, is formed and born out of experience and in consequence cannot be done without facing the world around.

Bracketed between a past buried by the weight of officially manufactured discourses and a future blocked out by our own rising post-democratic ways, **recent history** becomes an ambiguous zone, not too different from the '*state of exception*' notion described by Italian political philosopher Giorgio Agamben. Over the 20th century this has turned from being a '*spatio-temporal suspension*' of the order of things, where the question was that of distinguishing what is inside or outside, to become an extended '*complex topological figure*', an '*area of indistinction*' that struggles to remain invisible. It is there that attention must be focused: there the acrobat is moving.

Nonetheless the objective won't be to give an accurate legal description of the exception but to use this concept as a tool of knowledge. The minute description of these ambiguous situations will allow us to fix our stare at the cracks in which action becomes possible. It is in these sites or spatio-temporal meshes where **the limits closer to the political reconfigure themselves**⁴, revealing, however fleetingly, **the body's potential for action**.

] We turn our stereoscopic gaze on these two moments, 1979 and 2009. We find first the two years of exception that followed the 1979 revolution, the disappearance of the previous order turned into opportunity. Thirty years later, from June the 15th to August the 16th, the city is forced to a state of exception in which the Revolutionary Guard controlled every single space and behavior within the city, however they could not prevent the continued rooftop chanting that every night contributed to create a *commonscape* in which the possibility of the political remained alive and out of reach.

The fact that exception might come to the fore in such diverse forms, in 2009 it is an exception that can be 'legally' understood as such⁵ while in the post-revolutionary phase of 1979 the exception unfolds as contrast, forces us to reconsider the simultaneous in a new stereoscopic view in which understanding the presence of the past in the shaping of the present becomes essential. **A form of spatial simultaneity for the times past and present.**

The assertion of the right to **a voice of one's own** had been brewing progressively in the years before the Shah's overthrow. From that moment on, streets, parks, shops, changed and harbored an open and relentless debate on the possibilities of the new era, '*everyone, including the marginal poor, wished to claim the city through their physical, vocal and symbolic presence*'⁶. The absence of any form of order after the old regime structures had vanished (police, secret service, even many Western businessmen were leaving the city) brought up the possibility of the city's reinvention from new forms of use and a shared constitutive action.

Around old Shareza Street and the universities's area the number of street vendors grew while books, newspapers and cassettes stalls sprouted everywhere. It was around them that citizens gathered together every afternoon multiplying the political debate and exchange of ideas while music and a festive atmosphere surrounded them. But only two years later, two years in which the city had doubled in size with those coming from all over the country following the promises offered by the revolution, a new order was drawn, one that took advantage of the (apparent) post-revolutionary power vacuum. '*The sar-e kouche, or street-corner sub-culture, in which young men would gather to socialize or pass time, was lost to the regimentation of city spaces by pasdaran and Khomeinist hizbullahi vigilantes*'⁷, a number of organized grassroots groups of the revolution were instituted as the new order. The hardest years of the Cultural Revolution and the moral police in which Tehran would be once again key scenario precisely because of the impossibility of its control lied ahead. [

This spatio-temporal mesh is present space in which past and future combine in **formless time**. Key to understand this is the idea of '*task*' or '*use*'. As Georges Bataille explained in his definition of the formless, the task of a dictionary should not be to give meanings, that is, to create a form in which to enclose a reality, but **to give tasks**⁸. Thus, the experience of the acrobat, a body moving and acting on that formless plane, becomes tool of knowledge.

Before we focus in the reconfiguration of those boundaries which are closer to the political a differentiation must be made between *politics*⁹, that strange mixture of management and control organizing our lives and making subjects out of it; and *the political* understood as the potential for action (or inaction, remember Bartleby) underlying the individual body¹⁰.

There is no doubt that space seen from politics/policy assumes a characteristic shape with perfectly defined and referenced coordinates that make possible the illusion of an outside view, the eye, beyond the body, of discipline and order. On the other hand, **the political as potential arises from the body**, it is the body's action that configures **a spatiality of one's own**, it is its gestures that knits it together, it is its words and emotions that enrich its depths and it is its memory that emerges present.

The landscape resulting from the body's doing is a multiple corporeality¹¹; Merleau-Ponty's *flesh of the world*, a field of relations in which we discover ourselves enmeshed, not just placed; a field in which the limit is not frontier but bond, a common dimension¹². A disquieting ambiguous zone appears there where the **individual spatiality** is born out of the body through the actualization of its political potential and entangles with others to constitute a **common spatiality**, political action of the multitude.

] *'It is said that De Gaulle was able to resist the Algiers putsch, thanks to the transistor. If the shah is about to fall, it will be due largely to the cassette tape. It is the tool par excellence of counterinformation', Michel Foucault¹³.*

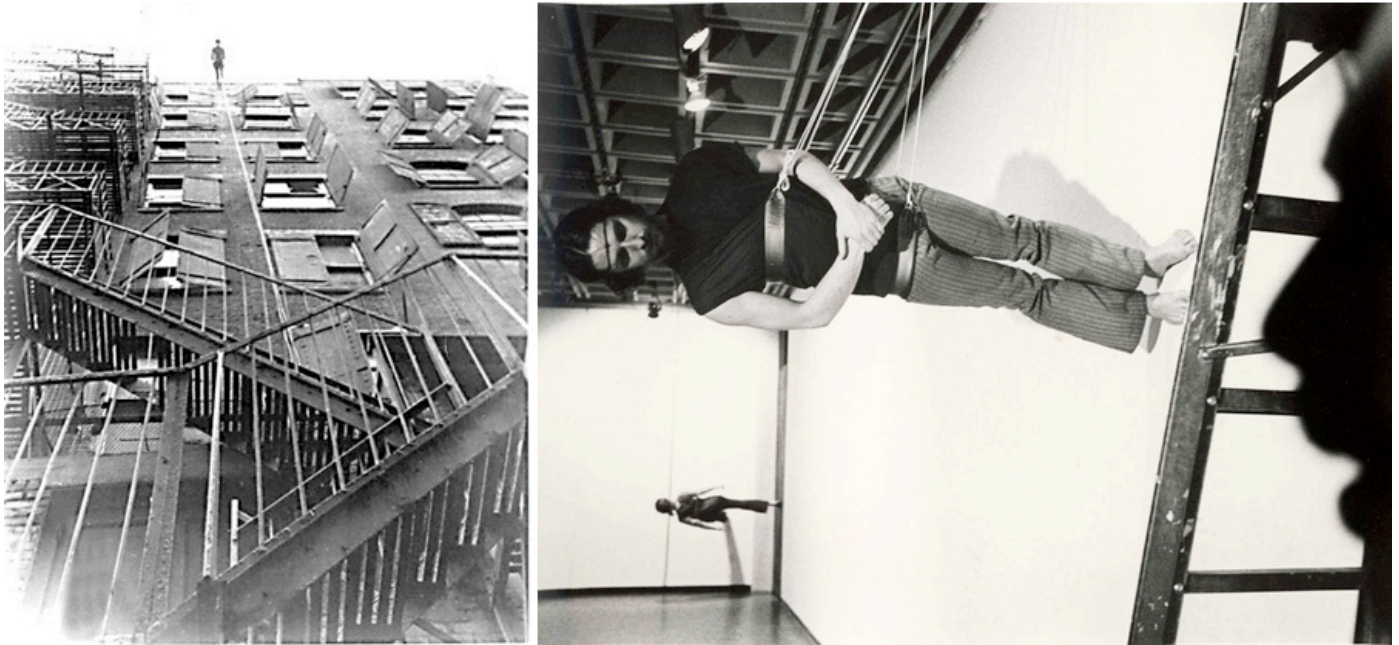
In the early twentieth century Tehran's life revolved around three key institutions for the production of its social life: the bazaar, the mosque and the royal palace. The bazaar, which acted as the social heart of the community, was a '*socially coherent and independent*'¹⁴ universe of its own in which everyday thousands came together seeking for the most current and accurate information about the city. The bazaar and the mosque were also closely related, every bazaar having a mosque associated to it, through a close alliance of mutual support in their social, political and economic affairs. In 1977 when the resistance movement against the Shah begins to gather around the exiled Khomeini's figure and message, the organizational and economic network the Shi'a religious establishment counted on is going to become its main means of dissemination and implementation not only through mosques but also relying on the close rapports between these and the bazaars that were going to function as message's multipliers.

The organizational possibilities offered by this network of spaces where close and personal encounter took place was combined with the use of new technologies such as cassettes or Xerox machines, thus rapidly multiplying the movement's recruiting and coordination potential. Since 1976 cassettes carrying Khomeini's voice began to circulate through Iraq's borders where he was exiled. Then, in 1978, already from Paris, the system was perfected and two recorders were always running by his side. The messages were then sent to Iran via telephone lines or tape-to-tape recording¹⁵. Once these arrived to Iran its multiplication and dissemination was immediate. It was the simplest way of production with the greatest potential of copy which became a rapidly expanding trend in a country in which cassette players were commonly found:

*'one can find, outside the doors of most provincial mosques, tapes of the most renowned orators at a very low price. One encounters children walking down the most crowded streets with tape recorders in their hands. They play these recorded voices from Qom, Mashhad, and Isfahan so loudly that they drown out the sound of cars; passersby do not need to stop to be able to hear them'*¹⁶

The role of sound, the recorded voice and its surroundings, linked to the Shi'a tradition, helped relate these tapes to **a common memory and a shared experience** instantly increasing the reach of the messages, spreading them to much of a population which was still unable to read the pamphlets and open letters that appeared through the use of the new Xerox machines. Thus, the intensive use of these new technologies helped to strengthen and amplify a message already prevailing in everyday relationships in mosques and bazaars, facilitating organizational tasks and coordination of many of the protests which were to continue until the overthrow of the Shah: strikes, bazaar's closings, demonstrations, etc.

Thirty years later, the Green Movement that emerged throughout the 2009 presidential elections was to be named by the Western media as the Twitter Revolution¹⁷. If in 1979 the role of Khomeini's tapes was to make audible and present inside the country a message from the outside with the intention of organizing and coordinating a political movement, in 2009 Twitter was to become the tool that symbolized and recognized the importance of keeping **alive and heard in the outside the voice of the many inside**. The need for witnessing and for the other's listening in order to build a common voice. If



thirty years before collective action coalesced around a shared world created by an external and single voice, in 2009 no such singular voice arises but a multiplicity of singularities generating a white noise in which the acrobat must try to navigate¹⁸.

In his book *The practice of everyday life* Michel de Certeau makes a distinction between the idea of strategy and that of tactics^{Mark}. The first one, he explains, 'claims a place subject to enclosure that can be considered of one's own, a base from which relations with an exteriority can be managed'. On the other hand, tactics are defined as the action that 'cannot have a place of its own, nor therefore with a border that allows to distinguish the other as a visible entity. Tactics have no place but that of the other'. Tactics thus become the acrobat's and the multitude's rightful instrument, there where there is no other place to base its action but the body in its relation to the rest. In this situation the strategist's objectives disappear in favor of the immediacy of doing. The notion of failure or success for collective action changes accordingly. [

In the early '70s, a strange group of acrobats is taking advantage of a New York's Soho the rest of the city has turned its back to. In this strange backside of the city full of seams, cracks, gaps and opportunities, Gordon Matta-Clark is running *Food* on the corner of Prince St with Wooster. In 1970 in the same Wooster Street Trisha Brown transforms space with *Man Walking Down the Side of a Building*. One of his acrobats walks forming a perfect perpendicular to the street and facade of a building as the forces and stresses upon his body and world are reconfigured. Gravity becomes a different force, no longer pulling the body down but helping its movement forward. It is the acrobat's body and its means of mediation with the surroundings that generate a new field of relations, **a new spatiality that reconfigures all coordinates set**.

Shortly after the experience goes on through the walls, this time, of an interior space in the Whitney Museum. The number of dancers increases with harnesses and ropes tying them to the perimeter of the room: the possibility of **shared movement** appears.

Harnesses, ropes, hooks are all part of the acrobat tools, capable of transmitting forces, creating strains, reversing planes and perverting gravity, but so are the surfaces, the facade walked down by the *Man Walking Down the Side of a Building*, so are gaps and obstacles (fire escapes, windows, cornices)... But all these

conditions and tools should not be thought as external to the acrobat's body, something that is used while remaining external, but like other bodies part of this *flesh of the world* in which his body is enmeshed. We want to focus at the these bodies **disposition**, because they are listening, prompting, opened to possibilities, generating tensions and responding to the relationship with others. So, as Keller Easterling describes, *'disposition locates activity, not in movement, but in relationship or relative position.'*¹⁹

The value of the outwardly obvious comes to the fore, dimension and presence, the appearance of the outside in relation to the body, and this same outside, defined by the presence of other bodies. In 1962 Tony Smith presents *Die*, a 72-inches steel cube, the size of the human figure. The external geometric shape is becoming body. A year earlier, Robert Morris had acknowledged the dimension of memory inherent to every single body with his work *Box with the Sound of Its Own Making*, a wooden box containing and repeating the sounds of its own construction. These simple forms convey **'the idea of simple exteriority'**²⁰ through their presence, their weight, their erosion..., the idea of meaning or reality as something to be discovered through a process of psychological introspection gives way to the weight of the bodies, to the world of what's outside. Quoting Wittgenstein these artists start to claim that **the meaning relies in action, in use**²¹.

'A simple but effective spot', that is how Raphaël Zarka describes *Free Ride*, another of Tony Smith's sculptures of the 60s. It does so as he analyzes the geometry of simple forms in relation to the action of the acrobat-skater²². The use of the word 'spot' is of big interest here, this is not a place, a built form, neither an abstract point, is a singularity in space that could be defined as something of a **spatial moment**.

In ancient Greek there were two words to define time, *chronos* and *kairos*. The first referred to the linear chronological time and it is this idea that survives most strongly in our present quantitative conceptions. The second imprints a qualitative component into an idea of an intermediate time, **the right moment** in which something takes place. We can think then not only about the possibility of the right time but also of its implication with a **right space**. This **spot** the acrobat's body is going to put into use brings forward the political as potential for action opening up the possibility of its actualization: *'The kairos –the opportune moment that ruptures the monotony and repetitiveness of chronological time- has to be grasped by a political subject'*²³

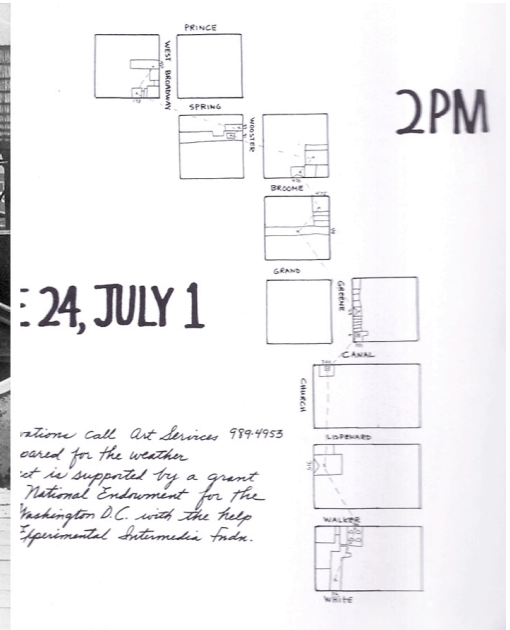
] The occupation of the public and the enclosure in the clandestine body brings forward the apparition of the acrobat. Given its peculiar non-class but religious condition the revolution was present *'in all social classes, and in all places and all urban spaces'*. Gradually the open public spaces of the city are transformed into controlled interiors while the imprisonment of sociability and communication into the built interior turns the house into neighborhood²⁴. The private world is going to become refuge for a common voice that keeps talking.

A new form of segregation unfolds producing a reversal of the traditional uses and limits associated with the concepts of public/private. If the interior space (*andaruni*) was traditionally the space of women's seclusion while the public (*biruni*) was the field of men's action, segregated life fully occupies now the outside while the possibility to cross and mix takes place inside. Thus, the interior is going to take on many of the features that until now had defined the relation between the public and the political (communication, information, celebration, ...). If the new urban interior configured by the strict moral laws and codes of behavior becomes the scene for the official regime politics/police demonstrations, the private world becomes a field for the common, house of the political and communicative and affective space for social reproduction²⁵.

This interior space that had been the world of women for centuries was also going to suffer a serious transformation. The traditional architecture built around courtyards, rooftops and other common spaces within the urban fabric offered her diverse possibilities of sociability, while in the new westernized neighborhoods of apartment blocks there was a single line frontier, the doorway beyond which the territory of the *basij* begins.

From that border line outwards veiling becomes again mandatory only two years after the revolution, and nearly fifty years after the law forbidding it was first adopted. But with the gradual incorporation of women into the outside world during the 80s and 90s, the disciplinary boundary of the interior must become mobile. Thus the veil becomes a form of *'transportable andaruni'*²⁶, the enclosure merges its destination with that of the body, and it is precisely in this limit where the paradox arises, **closure becomes opportunity with the birth of the clandestine body**. *'The hijab is immunity, not a limitation'* was one of

the slogans used to show the benefits of its wearing, and the tool for the acrobat appears through the perversion of the hijab's task, obtaining invisibility while escaping control and observation made the body political again, master once more of a space for action.



No claim is intended to defend the hijab's mandatory use, but a call is made to analyze how the transition from a disciplinary form that requires physical restraint to control the bodies towards a control society that approaches them up to the point of infiltration, opens up a new possibility for the relocation of forms of power. It is worth recalling the explanation offered by Michel Foucault in 1977, that

'resistance must offer the same characteristics as power: 'being as inventive, as mobile, as productive as it (...) Like power it organizes, coagulates and consolidates. (...) Like it, it comes from below and is strategically distributed.' Resistance does not come from outside of power.', and he goes on, 'resistance is not 'prior to the power it opposes. It is coextensive and absolutely contemporary to it'²⁷.

In this way, the fact that this tensional field is not produced outside of the body, but in direct proximity to it prevents the neutralization of its political potential due to the distance to the object of its action. By closing in up to the extremes, to the depth of the skin, the relationship becomes more subtle and complex dismantling the traditional forms of resistance and political response, but **enables the acrobat for a renewed action and with that, the rising of the multitude.** [

The acrobat recognizes the importance of the exteriority he's playing with but is not looking for a hidden meaning or interpretation. In his doing he is actualizing the potential of the political by producing a constantly renewed shared reality, **a common**, in which his knowledge becomes a **repertoire of tactics** that activate and enrich his relationship with the world. **Repertoire understood as body memory.** The practice of the acrobat cannot be resumed in a manual because his know-how is not of discursive nature, and precisely because of that it is too often ignored for not being worthy of interest²⁸. His **gestures**, skills, tools and knowledge must be experienced from a body whose moving center of gravity recomposes its own spatiality with each step. The only way to approach this through writing comes from its minute description, paying close attention and recognizing its importance to the smallest of details: **writing becomes experience.** Gesture is sign turned into flesh. Sign that is capable of communicating and summoning²⁹, of opening a crack and thus a possibility for disorder. Improvised, though recognized by a common body memory, gestures are used to communicate by the twelve dancers of Trisha Brown's **Roof Piece** which took place in the Soho in 1971. Distributed throughout the rooftops of eight blocks going from White to Prince Street the weaving of a common spatiality is performed through the acrobat body's own doing. In their movement the dancer entangles with the bodies around (water tanks, floor and wall surfaces, cornices, chimneys,...) in a singular

spatial construction that resonates and multiplies in the recognition of the distant acrobats. A new landscape is produced, a new and common spatiality.

This leap from the individual body to the creation of a shared spatiality helps us understand the condition of the multitude as multiple body, thus allowing us to move away from concepts of collective action based on the doings of a single body like the mass or the party³⁰. The multitude is not characterized by its pertaining to a rigid identitarian definition (nation, ethnicity, religion,...) but by its own constituent activity, its **production of a common**. This idea extends the traditional notion of the commons in favor of one more *'dynamic, involving both the product of labor and the means of future production. This common is not only the earth we share but also the languages we create, the social practices we establish, the modes of sociality that define our relationships, and so forth.'*³¹

From the recognition of the new dimensions of the common (everyday practices, language, emotions, memory,...) we can understand why we have called this common as the actualization of the political. It is the undergoing and shared production of the bodies in which the potential for action is actualized that allows us to understand the spatial role of the body, and by extension, of all those **dimensions** that define it.

Once described the acrobat in Trisha Brown's *Roof Piece*, we will now, thanks to the wonderful photography by Mangolte Babette, pay attention to the rest of the 'bodies' that are part of that **common roofscape**. First some questions arise, before our stare gets lost in the immensity of possibilities and conditions of the newly discovered landscape. Recognizing the figures of four of the acrobats, from the foreground to a mere silhouette blurred by distance, we ask for their arrival.

How is **access** to the rooftops gained. We can see a set of fire escape stairs in the block's facade on the foreground. Going up by the surface of the facade. We can see too several constructions covering the end of inside staircases. A connection crossing the block from the inside. Any method will have to pass through this intermediate strip inhabited by the enclosed, the private and hidden. The first path runs through its periphery, the second closest to its core. Step by step, floor by floor, the spaces turn away progressively from the street noise. In the fire escape staircase the relationship with the ground plane is not lost, the body knows it is going up and vertigo becomes a risk. Through the indoor path it is not hard to lose track of the height, how far one is going up so that once at the top there is the possibility of surprise and disorientation.

Once access to the territory is gained, we can try to understand **how movement occurs** through the obstacles and the voids. No two identical planes or homogeneous heights exist. There are inclined planes and curved surfaces, built bodies of different sizes and heights, walls between adjacent planes, and all kinds of divisions, some surmountable some insurmountable. Among the latter, the void of the streets below. This roofscape obviates any difference between what is public and what is private (mere legal constructs imposed on a reality that escapes through its seams), nonetheless a landscape of accessibilities understood as possibilities of use lies before the acrobat.

Visibility too plays an important role in the weaving of this landscape that is born. This is well evidenced by the four acrobats present in the photograph, but also there suddenly arises in the heart of the city, where it was no longer expected, the possibility of an horizon with the dimensional effect on experience it produces. Planes occur, from foreground to background, conditions are defined through proximity and remoteness. Realities hidden behind an obstacle are discovered through the simple movement and relocation of the body. And there is a use factor always present, one that makes us remember the street down there: the rooftops can be too the site of the sniper³², the place to observe and control hidden in the invisibility of heights.

] 'stevlabate RT @BreakingNews Iran has restricted all journalists working for foreign media from reporting on the streets, says AP. #iranelection' / 'Iran_Updates 9:42 in tehran everyone yelling allaho akbar on roof tops. #iranElection'³³

Pietro Masturzo, a freelance italian photographer, went to Tehran shortly before the 2009 election with no more protection than his camera. During his first days there he covered the events and movements that took place in the streets, but he was detained and all his photographs confiscated. Under these circumstances he had no choice but to take refuge in the homes of students and members of the opposition that took him in³⁴. It was not a rare practice during those days when the interiors that had

become during the previous two decades the true centers for social reproduction of Tehran became a clandestine city of intense activity and solidarity:

'5:19 update: *From an Iranian American and NIAC member in California:*
*I just talked to my relatives in Tehran. The atmosphere is just like in 1978-79. Sporadic demonstrations continue throughout the city with tires and other objects burning in the streets to dissipate the tear gas. **People have left their houses' doors unlocked for demonstrators to have a safe haven to escape when the riot police attacks them. The solidarity and unity of the people is amazing.***³⁵

Thus, by chance or necessity, he discovered that along him the voices of citizenry had taken refuge there too, in that hidden but vibrating reverse of the city, because in the streets of the city they were silenced through the violence of their state. That is how a strange new perception of Tehran unfolded in front of his eyes every night, at ten, at eleven, at midnight..., with the potential to harbor and awaken the voice of a multitude drawing a unique soundscape every single night:

*'The silhouettes of the four girls on the roof seem taken from a Chinese shadow theater. They are very young. But any hint of frailty disappears when at night, at about half past nine, they sing in chorus the Allah-u akbar and the Morg dar diktator (God is the greatest and Death to the dictator), just as their parents had done 30 years ago to escape the tyranny of the Shah. Suddenly, from a nearby building, a powerful male voice is seconded by two or three more fluted, childlike ones, maybe a father and his children. They respond by repeating the motto. As if they had agreed on the script, other neighbours come together. Through the windows of the staircases their figures can be seen, lit up, rushing to the rooftops. At ten, it never fails, someone joins with a trombone to the protest.*³⁶

It is through the capture of this image that Masturzo will win the World Press Photo one year afterward. And even if it is women again who star this picture, the traditional inhabitants of the rooftops, it is not only them climbing up there every night to find the horizon for political action and invention they cannot find elsewhere. There are young people, elders, children, men and women coming together every night up to these roofs to call out and feel the answers. It is society as a whole who has lost its frame of action having been dispossessed of their *lieu par excellence*: the public space of the streets is no longer theirs, it has become the property of a state that silences their voices through direct and indirect forms violence. [

For a long time the possibility of collective political action has been tied to the existence of a public space that harbored it, so in front of the proclaimed crisis of public space we have tended to consider the epistemological category rather than reality. And in the end, public or private are both two forms of property, the first owned by the state, the second by an individual or organization. Both based on the **enclosing** of reality and therefore in a delimitation of the reach of the common which is, at the same time, result and feeding of the political.

Thus the possibility of the clandestine action in situations where the production of the common is blocked is once again located in the body. We should not fall in the temptation of inventing a new category with which to order the chaos outside, stop talking about the public space as the place for political activity to substitute it with a hypothetical new space under the new and promising term of the common. What needs to be done is to understand what happens in that leap from an individual spatiality to the constitution of a common one, help out the acrobats in their search and practice of new singularities, skills, movements and knowledge to bring into their repertoire. **Simply to remember the importance of what a body can do.**

] *'Iranian youths arrested for public water pistol fight in Tehran'*³⁷. On July the 29th, 2011, over 800 people took part in the Water Guns Festival in Ab-o Atash Park in Tehran, an event organized through Facebook that ended up with the arrest of several of its participants by the police. They were accused of displaying an *'abnormal'* behavior and un-Islamic principles.

In his text *Tehran Paradox City* Asef Bayat closes the description of the city by summarizing the most recent urban policy applied to the capital of Iran, and he does so with a significant conclusion, **'to govern, they need to undo the city'**. Undo like someone who takes down piece by piece the stage where a play has just taken place, taking away all those instruments that might be of use to the body of the acrobat in his quest to keep alive his ability to find *simple but effective 'spots'*.

- ¹ Shattuck, Roger. *Proust's binoculars; a study of memory, time, and recognition in A la recherche du temps perdu*. New York: Random House, 1963.
- ² Espinosa, Ángeles. "La fractura de Irán." *El País Domingo*, June 21, 2010.
- ³ Twest recovered by Andrew Sullivan in "Live-blogging Day 8", *The Dish* in The Atlantic network, June 20, 2009, <<http://andrewsullivan.thedailybeast.com/2009/06/liveblogging-day-8.html>>
- ⁴ The state of exception or state of emergency affects, with some variables depending on national laws, the regulation of mobility, speech, right to information and privacy.
- ⁵ "In an extraordinary security measure, the Revolutionary Guards took full control of the city for two months, from 15 June to 16 August, while tens of thousands of security and paramilitary agents were stationed in strategic streets and squares. Within a few weeks, 4,000 protestors had been arrested, at least 70 killed, the reformist media shut down, and free communication in the city virtually suspended; by the end of the year, the total number of detainees reached 10,000." In Bayat, Asaf. "Tehran: Paradox city". *New Left Review* 66 (2010): 99-122.
- ⁶ Bayat, Asaf. "Tehran: Paradox city". *New Left Review* 66 (2010): 99-122.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ Bois, Yve-Alain, and Rosalind E. Krauss. *Formless: a user's guide*. New York: Zone Books, 1997
- ⁹ Rancière, Jacques. *Disagreement: politics and philosophy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- ¹⁰ Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo sacer: sovereign power and bare life*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- ¹¹ Gazapo, Darío and Concha Lapayese. *La construcción del paisaje...: entre la interioridad y la exterioridad*. Pamplona: DAPP Publicaciones Jurídicas, 2009.
- ¹² Garcés, Marina. Introduction to *Escritos políticos: Guerra de Argelia, mayo del 68, etc. : 1958-1993* by Maurice Blanchot. Madrid: Antonio Machado Libros, 2010.
- ¹³ Afary, Janet, Kevin Anderson, and Michel Foucault. *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: gender and the seductions of Islamism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- ¹⁴ Rahaghi, John. "New Tools, Old Goals: Comparing the Role of Technology in the 1979 Iranian Revolution and the 2009 Green Movement". September 25, 2011. *TPRC* 2011.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ "Several key events during the Iran protests (...) exemplify the importance of Twitter as a dissemination tool, such as the US department request to delay routine maintenance of the Twitter servers", quote from "@Twitter from StateDept: delay upgrade to aid Iran protests", *Law and Disorder*, June 17, 2009, <<http://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2009/06/twitter-from-statedept-delay-upgrade-to-aid-iran-protests/>>
- ¹⁸ On the failure of traditional media to cover the events see Twitter 1, CNN 0", *The Economist*, June 18, 2009, <http://www.economist.com/node/13856224?story_id=13856224>
- ¹⁹ Easterling, Keller, "Disposition", in Hauptmann, Deborah, Warren Neidich, and Andreas Angelidakis. *Cognitive architecture: from bio-politics to noo-politics ; architecture & mind in the age of communication and information*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2010.
- ²⁰ Krauss, Rosalind. *Passages in modern sculpture*. New York: Viking Press, 1977.
- ²¹ Krauss, Rosalind, "La problématique corps / esprit: Robert Morris en series", in *Robert Morris*. Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1995, quoted in Zarka, Raphaël: *Free Ride. Skateboard, mécanique galiléenne et formes simples*. Paris: B42 Editions, 2011.
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- ³² Neda Agha-Soltan became a symbol of the protests when a video of her death uploaded to YouTube circulated in just a few hours all over the world. "They stepped out of the car. "We heard one gunshot, and the bullet came and hit Neda right in the chest," he said. The shot was fired from the rooftop of a private house across the street, perhaps by a sniper, he said.", quote from "In a Death Seen Around the World, a Symbol of Iranian Protests", *The New York Times*, June 22, 2009, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/23/world/middleeast/23neda.html>>
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