proposing an alternative berspective on the value of dissent and **antagonism** in socially driven design practices





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introduction

In this essay, the matter of antagonism will be investigated in relation to agonistic pluralism and Participatory Design, in an endeavour to propose an alternative perspective (and perhaps prospective) of conflict within democratic spaces. The question on what constitutes a democratic practice, and Democracy itself, is one that has long been debated and extensively investigated in great depth before; for this reason this essay will focus solely on examining antagonism within Chantal Mousse's theory of agonistic pluralism. Democratic practices have focused mainly on building consensus through methods that would regulate conflictual views as an obstacle to reach unanimity (i.e., democracy). In contrast, the idea of agonistic pluralism defines as inevitable the presence of conflict and division in the political realm and consequentially, accepts it as inclusive and necessary to democratic expression (Mousse, 2000). In these agonistic spaces, open ended or at times unresolved results should at times be expected and recognized, as these are 'spaces where reconciliation could not be definitively achieved [..]' (Mousse 2000: 15). Additionally, this essay will investigate the creation of agonistic infrastructures within Participatory Design practices (PD), specifically within the framework suggested by Bjögvinsson et al. (2012). In their view, the participatory element of the practice should be 'infrastructured' to enable conflict to unfold, not to be solved but to be constructively dealt with through dialogue, embracing and valuing the

diverse visions at times contrasting and competing (Bjögvinsson et al., 2012). The presence of agonistic spaces will generate networks for inclusive collaboration and meaningful agonistic engagement creating 'common social spaces' that are lacking in the antagonistic manifestation of conflict, which instead aims to the 'destruction' of the other (Mousse, 2000). Although the shift from consensus-building to building spaces where opposing views can unfold could be considered as a more inclusive democratic approach, this essay will question the assumption that antagonism is characterised by an innate suppressive attitude towards the 'other' and its lack of 'common social space'. Additionally, it will claim that PD practices shifted their focus from managing conflict to reach consensus, to managing participants' manifestation of conflict. 'Managing' and 'enabling' with an allegedly impartial approach implies a hierarchical position of power that PD has long tried to move away from. Moreover, the emphasis is predominantly on supervised conflict within the practice. But how does antagonistic conflict evolve outside of it, when the unresolvedness and on-going outcomes are not defining what are to be considered successful results? Could it be that its value and impact have been only partially explored?

To investigate that, first the concept antagonism in relation to Mousse's agonistic pluralism and to the infrastructure of agonistic spaces in Bjögvinsson et al. (2012) PD work will be analysed. Secondly, a brief consideration on the effects of protest and social mobilisation will be explored to understand what drives people to engage in antagonistic action. Furthermore, actions of dissent in response to planning proposals will be investigated through case studies, the case of Stuggart 21 and Park Friction project, to assess if antagonistic situations shifted to agonistic discourses without the practitioner's enabling presence, focusing on the evolution rather than successful negotiations results. Finally, following the resulting research insights, a distinct purpose and role of socially driven design practices will be advocated, possibly applying it to the Central Retail Park Community Masterplan proposal, an alternative born out of objection to proposed urban planning in Ancoats, Manchester.

It is necessary stating that this essay will not enter into the merits of moral values, beliefs and ethical 'righteousness' of conflict and events of protest, as the main goal is to argue if antagonism at its contested state could be a procreative force of social communities, networks and alliances between heterogenous at times contrasting groups.



Fig.1 Allan Sekula Waiting for Tear Gas 1999–2000 Tate © Estate of Allan Sekula

why unsupervised antagonism

Several concepts and terminology will be defined within the scope of this essay to allow an established investigation and avoid oversimplifications, and an analysis of agonistic pluralism and agonistic spaces within PD practices will be conducted.

AGONISTIC PLURALISM AND AGONISTIC SPACES

The key word 'antagonism' in this text will be applied as the manifestation of conflict, dissent, objection, and rejection expressed in protest form, specifically to proposed urban plans and agendas. Forms of protest can be distinguished in two categories: (1) normative action of conflict which observes accepted social norms (e.g., petitions and demonstrations) and (2) non-normative action (e.g., looting and squatting) which defies social norms in its illegality (Stekelenburg et al, 2015). Whilst the form of action expressed depends greatly on context and circumstances of conflict (ibid.) (Gualini, 2015), conflict itself, albeit in various forms, is an inevitable and necessary state of democracy, as it is its manifestation that fends off the exclusion and suppression of differences from the political and social domain, allowing for a pluralistic democracy (Mousse, 2000). In other words, conflictual and contrasting views are not to be considered an obstacle to the practice of democracy but a representation of subjectivities against hegemony of power and homogeneity of the people, present in the predominant consensus - seeking

practices (Mousse, 2000). This constant presence (and occurrence) of radical differences is a necessity that should be embraced and pursued, however due to its very nature, can never be fully achieved (ibid.) as dissent prevents unity. This is in fact a paradox, and as Governa states, 'democracy cannot be defined in itself, but in becoming: it is a continuous process to become democratic' (Governa 2015: 126). What Mousse suggests in addition to this acceptance, is that a move from antagonistic conflict to an agonistic one is necessary. In her work, antagonism is symbolized by the 'friend-enemy' position, in which 'friend' is 'us', and the 'enemy' is 'them' to be attacked, silenced, suppressed. Agonism in contrast, is not described as a different kind of conflict, but rather it is a space of consideration, a moral shift of perspective embedded with respect and recognition of 'them' in relation to 'us' when the inevitable struggle of competing views will take place. And in doing so, it is in these spaces of agonistic pluralism that power structures can be questioned and challenged (Eschbacher, 2012). In other words, this shift from antagonism to agonism is characterised by what she considers a moral choice which does not results in two different types of conflict, but rather a distinct manifestation of antagonism through consideration of the other in a 'common symbolic space', which she argues it is lacking in antagonistic conflict (Mousse, 2000). Most democratic and Participatory Design practices have focused mainly on building consensus within the group of participants through

methods that would manage conflictual views to reach unanimity and compromise (Eschbacher, 2012). In contrast, the creation, or unlocking, of these agonistic spaces have recently been explored within Participatory Design precisely for the democratic nature of this kind of design practices. The ideas of agonistic pluralism and agonistic spaces reprised by Bjögvinsson and Ehl among others, described the creation of agonistic infrastructures that would allow conflict to unfold not to be solved to reach consensus, but to constructively be dealt with through dialogue, embracing and valuing the diverse visions at times contrasting and competing (Bjögvinsson et al., 2012). In their view, these infrastructures are crucial but extremely challenging to establish in places where heterogenous groups have no shared object of design and no social community seems to be present. They suggest the design of Things (socio-material spaces of assemblies) as opposed to things (objects), where possible conflicts can unfold during and beyond the outcomes of a finished project. To achieve that, is required a shift from 'projecting' to 'infrastructuring', or 'design after design', as further participation will occur outside the set limits of the project, potentially by different stakeholders who will eventually make use of the designed Thing. And it is this type of engagement too that the practitioners must consider and 'infrastructure' for (ibid.). In conclusion, these agonistic spaces are to be scaffolded to allow diverse, perhaps contrasting views to unfold and align beyond the individual project or agenda, so that heterogeneous at times competing parties can create new partnerships (i.e., networks) and be receptive to new, unexpected possibilities. To do so, it is implied that open-ended goals should be established, and the likelihood of unresolved, on-going outcomes might be expected.

A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON ANTAGONISM

If one were to investigate the validity of these arguments, it could be said that there is a predominant perspective on conflict that emerges from the analysis in this section. It is accepted (1) a clear distinction between antagonism and agonism as the result of a moral choice, or shift, into the consideration of the 'them' as an alternative to suppression; (2) antagonism lacks the 'common social space' of deliberation that is present in agonistic pluralism; finally, (3) it is the 'infrastructuring' and managing of conflict within agonistic spaces that enables contrasting views to align with acceptance of open-ended, on-going outcomes and possibly form unexpected new partnerships (i.e., social communities, networks). From this, however, a different perspective could be reasoned. Firstly, it will be argued that the manifestation of conflict as antagonism also presumes the consideration of 'them' and a 'common social space' of deliberation. Eva Erman suggests that '[...] conflicts do not only occur between persons (or groups) but also within them, and neither can emerge before or without deliberation' (Erman, 2009: 1050) and that 'antagonism on Mouffe's account is not about a specific form of action at all, but about a way of seeing the other. But on the pragmatic account defended here this would not make sense, since there could be no such 'seeing' without linguistic mediation of some sort between the parties

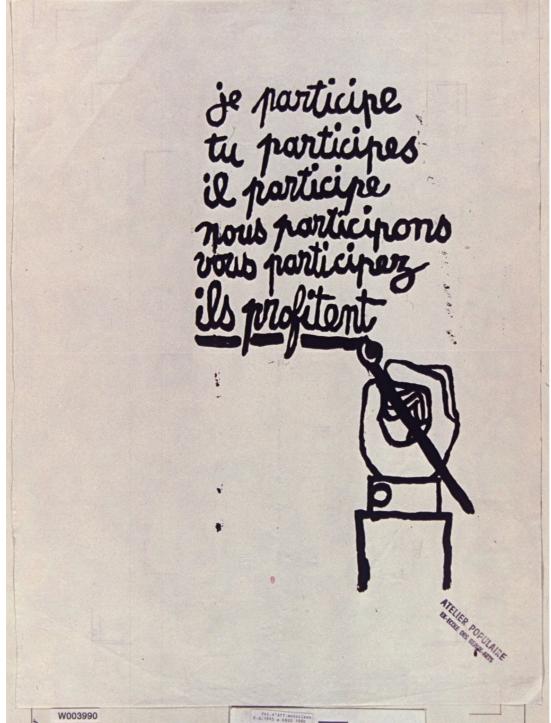


Fig.2 Atelier Populaire *je participe* 1968 Bibliotheque Nationale de France © Atelier Populaire

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

involved.' (ibid.:1053). In other words, antagonism must be generated by confrontation through conscious or unconscious consideration of the 'other', thus it has to manifest within a 'common social space'. Moreover, the suppression of the 'other' as enemy appears more as a possible reaction rather than an inevitable, embedded characteristic of antagonism, as Mousse presents no evidence to support this claim (ibid.), making the distinction between antagonism and agonism perhaps more a matter of response to conflict. Therefore, antagonism could be considered the only 'original' manifestation of conflict, whereas agonism is the conscious reaction and view of the 'other' that avoids the 'friend-enemy' stance. From this, it could be stated that antagonism is the inevitable, and crucial aspect of a pluralistic democracy, regardless of the presence of an agonistic attitude. In regards to conflict within PD practices, even though it has been established previously that considerations about conflict shifted from it being an obstacle to democratic goals to essentially embodying diverse views and challenging hegemonic power structures, the point of view expressed by Bjögvinsson et al. (2012) is that to be so, it needs to be allowed and supervised within designed agonistic spaces to enable meaningful at times contrasting networks establishment, especially in those places where no social community is in place, to align for shared object of desire. They suggest that empowerment and alignment can be unlocked through agonistic engagement. However, it could be argued that this intent to manage conflict, emphasising the link between empowerment through agonistic spaces as meaningful engagement, is in truth ignoring that antagonistic conflict is a form of engagement and its

manifestation translates into empowerment within a pluralistic democratic space. The focus on agonistic practice as 'enabler' could also be interpreted as a return to the power dynamics of designer-expert PD attempted to move away from (Eschbacher 2012), as the term 'enabler' still assumes a hierarchical position as well as an allegedly objective, impartial stance by the practitioners. Furthermore, conflict is analysed solely within the practice methodologies, goals, and spaces. This makes democratic practices persistently ignore unsupervised antagonism (external to practice and projects) as initiator of both engagement and empowerment, as it is its unrestrained strife nature that allows heterogenous and authentic views to manifest in existing 'common social spaces', creating new 'common social spaces' and networks. Finally, if one were to apply Bjögvinsson et al. (2012) acceptance to open-ended, on-going outcomes to antagonism, as opposed to defining it a flaw in its unresolvedness, perhaps a new perspective of antagonistic spaces can be unveiled, one that is not evaluated by the success of the desired outcomes, but by the creation and evolution of these 'common social spaces'.

To support to these claims, the effects of antagonisms on those who engage with it will be analysed, and a retrospective into two cases of antagonistic conflict and social mobilisation against urban proposals, Stuggart 21 and Park Fiction Project, will be investigated.

antagonistic engagement

After investigating antagonistic conflict within *agonistic pluralism* in relation to democracy and within agonistic spaces in relation to PD practices, in this section it will be analysed in relation to the people who engage in it outside agonistic practices. Moreover, it is necessary to emphasize that the following investigation and subsequent arguments are not an attempt to romanticize notions such as conflict, dissent, and protest, but an endeavour to identify the impact that these create outside the practice.

ANTAGONISM AS PRECURSOR AND CONSE-QUENCE OF ENGAGEMENT

If we accept the idea that antagonism in inevitable and crucial to the pluralistic value of Democracy, the ensuing action would be to investigate unsupervised circumstances of conflict, and why people engage in protest action. More specifically, why some do, and others do not was investigated by Van Stekelenburg et al. (2015) to unveil motives and effects in the individual choice of antagonistic engagement. They attempted to understand 'not so much whether people who engage in protest are aggrieved, but whether aggrieved people engage in protest' (Van Stekelenburg et al., 2015). In other words, if we accept that conflict and opposition generate from grievances, which effects occur that pushes some and not others to engage? Firstly, they draw a distinction between conflict about ideologies and conflict about material interests,

claiming that the former has more possibility to result in moral indignation, whilst the latter might translate in social action towards change. Building from previous theories, they identify that grievances from perceived injustice as depravation are not enough to drive someone to mobilisation, instead identity, emotions, social embeddedness and efficacy represent a more dynamic framework of triggers that set off social mobilisation and that they should be considered 'as consequence and antecedent of collective action' (ibid.: 897-898). On this point, it is arguable that (1) in the circumstances of opposition against urban planning is mainly a matter of material interest being threatened rather than principles, thus inspiring action towards change rather than mere indignation, and (2) this in fact generates the unique situation where existing social networks are aligned with the creation of new collective identities, embedded with the locality, context and opposed agendas. In other words, opposition to urban proposal allows for new specialized networks to emerge separately and confront relationally with the existing ones, generating engagement, confrontation, and negotiation between the two, thus creating 'social communities' outside supervised agonistic spaces. Consequentially, these networks make more collectives more efficacious hence, more people are likely to engage.

Fig.3 Stuggart 21 protests Stuttgarter Nachrichten © Beytekin



STUGGART 21

Stuggart 21 is an example of contestation and social mobilisation to an urban proposal committed for nearly two decades, and the networks and initiatives founded are still active today, although the number of participants has decreased (Doderer, 2017).

The proposal, now called 'Stuggart - Ulm Rail Project', is a highly complex, local, interregional concept which consists in the construction of a high-speed railway line replacing the existing terminal, the development of a new underground station leading to the creation of 55km of tunnels and consequentially, an opportunity to redevelop the dismissed, available overground space (Dodered, 2017; Gualini, 2015). The complexity of the project raised various contrasting views and contestations. At first, it was a matter of lack of transparency and public consultations, followed by questioning of costs and benefits. A group formed by various organisations contested the project, arguing for a trimmed alternative, which would balance the contested cost-benefits relation. The objections raised by local communities and organisations were dismissed as not significant as the frameworks in which they were considered was based on assumption of legislative legitimacy and did not allow for meaningful deliberation and negotiations (Gualini, 2015). This dismissal in turn, generated an increase in social mobilisation (fig.3, fig.4) focused on the alternative proposal rather than the rejection or destruction of the 'enemy'. The increased number of protestors inevitably created new social interactions, and new networks emerged. On this point, it could be suggested that perhaps is not a 'common social space' which needs to be created, as it already exists within the antagonistic nature of conflict, rather it is the 'shared object of desire' (Bjögvinsson et al., 2012) born from a shared object of rejection that sparks the utilisation of this existing space. Due to increasing objections and action, planners and officials decided to create a framework of consultations which would allow the deliberation of dissent. As Gualini (2015) suggests, these agonistic attempts were confined and limited within the project aims, ignoring the proposed alternative, and this caused the actors of protest to be disjointed, displaced, and controlled, which in fact was 'disciplining' the protests that until that moment self-organised successfully in a decentralised manner. From this it could be argued that, although Stuggart 21 supporters' motives were clearly of self-preservation and biased, there is a risk in managing and supervising networks' antagonistic spaces as an external, allegedly impartial figure, as this could create artificial contestation spaces which ignore the already present ones. Gualini (2015) concludes arguing that social mobilisation has the potential of creating forms Stuggart 21 protests ©picture-alliance/dpa

of *agonistic pluralism* but is the governance and planning failure to take it seriously when reacting to it that blocks these attempts. But how do these unsupervised networks manage to achieve *agonistic pluralism*? I argue that social mobilisation does not evolve within agonistic spaces, but it is an actual representation and manifestation of it, due to their nature of unsupervised, aligned, contrasting and competing views in which additional opportunities of deliberation and confrontation take place in a evolutive manner, as introduced participatory practices (Dodered, 2017) facilitated the ongoing discussion within the different actors in an attempt support, not manage, the diverse views to unfold and reveal.

Fig.4 betests e/dpa

PARK FICTION PROJECT

The Park Fiction project is a case where both normative and non-normative actions of antagonism took place and succeeded in their desired (although evolving and open) outcomes.

Contestation to proposed plans that involved what some residents considered a valuable community asset, the threat to material interests sparked debates about values and possible futures. In this circumstance, artists, practitioners, and professional figures inserted themselves as facilitators of these conversations instead of managing and supervising the 'common social space' where all these contrasting views were unfolding, and this is an important Fig.5 Park Fiction project mapping © Park Fiction Project.net



distinction to make. Contrary to Bjögvinsson et al. (2012) focus on the 'infrastructuring' and enabling of agonistic spaces, the collective inserted themselves in what was already a 'common social space' of contrasting views, inherent in antagonistic manifestation of conflict, and focused their efforts into the assistance and display of possible objects of desires that shifted the focus from the conflict to the actualisation. In other words, they took a stance regarding the objectives of their involvement, that being the design of desires, not the impartial managing of conflictual views. The shift from 'enabler' to 'facilitator' required the practitioners to change their position from one that hold power (enabler that allows) to one that is equal (participate and facilitate with the tools available to participatory methodologies)(fig. 5, fig.6). In doing so, their success was a result of squatting and the material manifestation of their opposition, which they called 'production of desires' as 'instead of just protesting the government's plans, this network organised a Parallel Planning Process in the community, creating Platforms of Exchange between people from different cultural fields: musicians, priests, a headmistress, a cook, café owners, barmen, a psychologist, children, squatters, artists – Interventionist Residents' (Park Fiction Project, 2013). In conclusion, the PD practices inserted themselves into the existing antagonistic conflict and 'common social space' as an additional, equal group of participants, with a focus on discursive and participatory methodologies linked to the shared object(s) of desires, letting contrasting views to unfold focusing on open-ended desired outcomes rather than assuming a position of unbiased, impartial, supervising entity.



Fig.6 Park Fiction project participatory activity © Park Fiction Project.net

issues with unsupervised antagonism

There are of course issues and weaknesses that can unveil within action of antagonism and protest. The previous examples may prove that antagonism may in fact naturally include agonistic approaches, and that unsupervised, decentralised networks may align and generate new alliances without the presence of an impartial enabler. But as previously stated, conflicts are localised, contextualised, with an enormous number of variables and thus impossible to replicate or considered as blueprints for future actions in different settings. Moreover, the previous example generated in circumstances where social media and technological accessibility was not as present as it is today. Tufekci (2018) draws an example of possible issues from the controversial case study of the Gezi Park proposals in Istanbul. What was at first a considerably small group of local different actors who were opposing to the plans, failing to attract media attention, an episode of brutality against the protestors transformed the conflict into a viral event. The instant and far-reaching effects of social media transmission attracted an increased amount of attention and action. It created a virtual network that one could argue increased collective identity, emotions, efficacy and engagement. But that would prove to be incorrect. Protesters could organise quickly and in large scale, as 'modern networks movements can scale up quickly and take care of all sorts of logistical tasks without building any substantial organisational capacity' (Tufekci, 2018:214) as as 'the minor organising tasks that necessitated months of

tedious work for earlier generations of protesters also helped them learn to resolve the thorny issues of decision making, tactical shifts, and delegation' (Tufekci, 2018:219). Hence, as mobilisation evolved, the lack of logistic and infrastructure organisation was clear, as pre-digital protests required great amounts of efforts to organise. Although decentralised self-organised networks work horizontally, this shallow and delegationless logistic approach caused failures in negotiations, as discursive approaches were aimless, confused and disjointed. Attempts to formalise and organise forums resulted in long, unsuccessful debates. This could be linked to the fact that it was an 'adhocracy' (Tufekci, 2018:213) and transient (Shönberger, 2018) collaboration, a momentum brought by the digital accessibility. This caused tactical freezing, negligence in addressing conflictual positions within the different networks and groups and no clear negotiation inputs. Furthermore, the mobilisation was solely aligning around the conflict as a centralised (i.e., homogeneous) group, lacking organisation, coordination and 'object of desires', instead of connecting in a network structure that retained their subjectivity and independence (Shönberger, 2018). In conclusion, the risk of unsupervised antagonism with the available technology of our times, could be the creation of ephemeral 'common social spaces' where networks align but lack the logistic infrastructure where deliberation on common 'object of desires' can unfold.

designer participation

In the essay it has been claimed that practices should have a role of equal participant/facilitator towards the deliberation on shared objects of desire, rather than impartially supervising conflict, but it has also been observed that the lack of both 'infrastructuring' and 'projecting' is a risk of unsupervised antagonism, especially due to the currently available technological accessibility.

So, what can socially driven practices do? Perhaps the most important observation unveiled throughout this essay is that people, protesters, participants are already engaging outside the practice and this brings the question to why PD is still only emphasising stakeholders' participation within it? Perhaps the engagement PD aspires to achieve does not have to be so literal, and instead should consider the already existing, external engagement as valid (and crucial) as the one that commence since the practice involvement.

Another point that could be made, is that there is a significant distinction between 'infrastructuring' an agonistic space and facilitating the existing antagonistic common social space with logistic infrastructure. The latter could allow the efforts of the practitioner to shift from managing/ enabling conflict manifestation, to facilitating the material representation of the objects of desires, that inevitably will recreate necessary tension and contention that will not generate 'common social spaces' of contention, but its actual utilisation (Andrematt Conley, 2013). This continuous trigger for contestation can allow anti-social realities to reveal, consciously or unconsciously, which could be linked to Ritcher et al. (2017) claim that the objective of Social and Participatory Design should not be in discovering new and proper ways to 'do' social, but rather revolve their practices into addressing anti-social issues, thus practicing *anti anti-social design*.

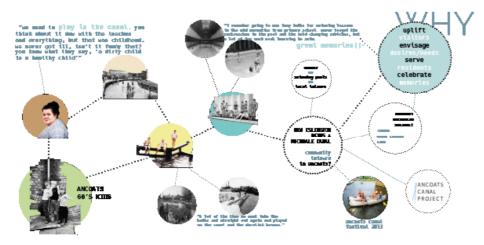
Thus, I propose Designer Participation Design, where the practitioners are participants to the creation of 'objects of desire' and will contribute with their PD tools, as opposed to a forced participation of protesters within the practice objectives. An opportunity to experiment this has been my personal practice proposal triggered by an existing antagonistic manifestation in Ancoats.

CENTRAL RETAIL PARK COMMUNITY MASTER-PLAN

The LIDO Project located in Ancoats (more specifically St. Peter's Churc) is the result of research into the location possible anti-social realities due to its gentrification. I discovered that the pre-gentrification residents felt a disconnect to the 'new community'. In researching a possible common objective that could bring the 'original' and 'new' communities together (towards homogeneity), I learned that the latter was opposing to urban plans revolving the



Fig.7 Central Retail Park proposal rejection © TreesNotCars Fig.8 research for FMP © own image



now disused Central Retail Park (fig. 7). The rejection to the proposal brough together existing local networks and formed new ones linked to the objection. Due to the council dismissal of opposition, the mobilisation decided to move forward and create their own alternative proposal in collaboration with the students at Manchester School of Architecture, the Central Retail Park Community Masterplan. From the various option brough forward, there was a Lido and Marina.



Fig.9 visual for proposal of the FMP © own image

I then decided to connect the memories of bathing in the canal and of the former public baths of the 'old' community with the desires of the 'new' community (fig.8, fig.9), but the site for the project was not suitable for such concept. Additionally, it was the contested space that sparked conflict, not the lack of a water leisure space. I then decided that my proposal should support (not enable) the existing confrontation and views to unfold and create a logistical space where the protestors could continue their antagonistic engagement and the 'old' community could have a chance to confront the 'new' one in a shared physical space, whilst maintaining their heterogeneous identities.

This is in no way the presumption of a correct, replicable, or even successful attempt to Social Design, but it could be considered an instance where participants engagement occurred before the involvement of my professional practice and, if the concept were to exist as it is proposed now, it will possibly facilitate more engagement after my contribution. It could be argued that my contribution is purely a logistical one, but it was inspired by existing anti-social and conflicting realities that I did not attempt to manage. Rather, I participated in what was already happening, at different levels and in different circumstances, focusing on an object of desire that could bring distinct groups simultaneously not to join, but to confront.

conclusion

The objective of this essay was to question the value of antagonism within agonistic pluralism and the need for agonistic spaces within PD practices. Firstly, antagonism has been analysed in relation to Mousse's theories and the role of PD practices in 'infrastructuring' agonistic spaces has been questioned. From that, it resulted that there is no proof that antagonism is inherently aiming for the destruction of the enemy and that it is not lacking the 'common social spaces' allegedly only present in agonistic spaces. Moreover, PD practices risk assuming a hierarchical power role when considering themselves impartial enablers. Instead, the effects of unsupervised antagonism in the protesters and the use of these confrontational spaces has been evidenced through a brief sociological analysis of protest and a retrospective into two cases of urban conflict and networks alignments. Possible issues of unsupervised antagonism have been listed and from it, it has been concluded that the role of social and democratic PD practices should be one of equal participant, logistical facilitator, and contributor, a Designer Participation Design practice, were confrontations and unfolding anti-social realities can continue to reveal.

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IMAGES

- FIG.1 Photograph by Allan Sekula 'Waiting for Tear Gas' series. 1999-2000. Tate. http://83.231.173.75/research/publications/in-focus/ waiting-for-tear-gas-allan-sekula/this-is-what-democracy-looks-like
- FIG.2 Atelier Populaire *je participe*. 1968. Bibliotheque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9018449p/f1.vertical. r=affiche%20mai%201968
- FIG.3 Photograph by Beytekin Stuggart 21 protests . 2011. Stuttgarter Nachrichten. https://www.stuttgarter-nachrichten.de/gallery.montagsdemo-stuttgart-21-protest-ungebrochen.f1cb5301-1722-4a4d-b56d-3a8f1badadbe.html/id/6ff87357-5c28-415c-8707-7b377bf9c42e
- FIG.4 Photograph by picture-alliance/dpa Stuggart 21 protests. 2010. DW. https://www.dw.com/en/stuttgart-21-railway-protests-to-con-tinue/a-6071692
- FIG.5 Park Fiction Project mapping . Park Fiction. https://park-fiction.net/park-fiction-introduction-in-english/
- FIG.6 Park Fiction Project participatory activities. Park Fiction. https://park-fiction.net/park-fiction-introduction-in-english/
- FIG.7 TreesNotCars Central Retail Park proposal objections. 2019-2020. TreesNotCars https://www.treesnotcars.com/
- FIG.8 Research mindmap own image
- FIG.9 Concept visual own image