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"SENTIENT" CITY. AN ATONAL LANDSCAPE
CIDADE "SENTIENTE". UMA PAISAGEM ATONAL

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Introductory Note: "Sentient" City — An Atonal Landscape
Nota Introdutória: Cidade "Sentiente" — Uma Paisagem Atonal

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The body is part of our ontology. We are not partly body, but all body (Ihde, 2002) In feeling, in thinking, in acting. Maybe this condition sets us apart from other forms of being that, as the organic (the animal being, the vegetable), they are endowed with a body, but not with such a pressing need to inhabit, to relate to a place. We are being-there (*Dasein*; Heidegger, 1986/2004, 1986/2005) and our ontology is relational. The body protects itself, the body (un)settles permanently, the body moves, ploughing the territory it crosses, while drawing an inner geography. E-motion (Bruno, 2007) — emotion and movement — sets the doubly dynamic tone of our historiography. One might say that the genesis of the city (Mumford, 1961/2004) goes back to the imperative of protection and survival of the body, a function to which the calling of myth and *décor* (myth-function-*décor*) (Pimenta, 1989) is added. The shelter-city, the temple-city, the garden-city. Many feelings can be accommodated (or disturbed) in a single place. Fear (Bauman, 1999/2001, 2001/2003; Kovadloff, 1998), the beautiful (Han, 2015/2016a; Kant, 2020), the nature-landscape (Cauquelin, 1989; Simmel, 1913/2011), the principle of happiness or *inter-est* (Arendt, 1958/2001). And so many others. Yet also multiple (*already*) felt (Perniola, 1991/1993). The body becomes a *sentient* (non)place. Unstable in its (un)limits, mixed with all kinds of technological devices, the post-body interacts (we wonder, still or more than ever?) with the material-virtual architecture, with the mediascapes (McQuire, 2008) planted in the space it travels through, it immerses itself in the humidity, in the promiscuity of smells, in the chaotic orchestration of tones and acoustic landscapes, it lets itself be led by the haptic and cinematic experience (Friedberg, 2002, 2006) and also by the "scent of time" (Han, 2014/2016b).

Is the city today a signifier with no signification or a pure imaginary production (Domingues, 2009)? Its "possible side" is still, perhaps, an excess. The perennial luminosity makes the objects and details invisible and threatens the vision of celestial landscapes. The polyphony of tones and the variability of frequencies inspire artistic and acoustic creations (see the case of concrete music), and colonise inner time. More recently, the body has contracted radically, and in a particular way in the urban spaces,

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closing itself within walls and restraining itself from touching, smelling, breathing, and from dialogic interaction. Meta-landscapes and technological extensions of feeling have become inter-trans-places less risky and more inviting as communicative forms of inhabiting. We are witnessing the beginning of the end of the urban experience (Felice, 2009/2012)? How do organicity and post-urban landscapes still resist? Is there a deaf chant mourning the death of the sentient body-city awaiting us? Although the "escape" from nature originally motivated the construction of the city, as well as its rescue, in the form of a hybrid idea that holds both harmony in its utopian form and the terrifying vision of an untamed, pre-human universe, today we are troubled by the (im)possibility of the body-place and its "fulfilment in becoming" (Henry, 2001).

Taking the risk of tempering this paper by appealing to an organicist vision of the (post)city, the challenge was set to write about the urgency of (re)feeling the (post)body–(post)place, without disregarding the scent of temporalities and routes, the kinaesthetic landscapes, the (in)visible disruptions in the territory over which the "body–without–organs" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/2001) stretches, the being itself blended with that of the inhabited place.

Taking dodecaphonism as a reference which inspires a certain boldness that we seek to impress here, we would like to flatten out the dominance of sight in our culture, by placing it on an equal scale (though rich in infinite diversity) of senses, claiming for each sensory record — which we artificially confuse (excessively concerned about discerning) with smell, hearing, touch — the same requirement and tonic gradation, inextricable as a whole. The debate on the significance of the senses in the urban experience calls for contributions from cultural studies, from communication at large, intersecting disciplinary boundaries, methodological approaches and geographies, so as to (re) constitute the concreteness of this experience and the conditions that both foster it and make it possible.

From an etymological point of view, the term "sentient", which in this issue leads the underlying problematic adopted, somehow underpinning the different articles/contents, derives from Latin *sentiens*, the present participle of *sentire*, to perceive by the senses (definition retrieved from a Portuguese dictionary; Porto Editora, n.d.). The word is used in its connection to the city (sentient city), thus imposing a perspective on the "sensible forms of the social life" (Sansot, 1986) that emerge in the urban space-body, giving rise to feelings and sentiments (*Stimmung*) that catapult a certain (kinaesthetic) vision, preferably phenomenological in nature, on the contemporary world, as experienced in everyday life. This experience compromises subjectivities, the material instances of the relational exercise that defines (and *stresses*) social and cultural identities, but also the expansion of the being about its composite, hybrid, post-human character (Hayles, 1999). The city of flesh that is to be explained unfolds, therefore, in multiple gradations of feeling, going beyond the common sense that the word "sensitive", also in this context, emanates. *Sentient*—city is an expression, in short, "trajective", in the words of Berque (2000), in its moving sense between the subjectivity of the *flanêur* and the object that, within the urban drift, co-forms and challenges it.

Through a diverse set of texts, which we briefly introduce below, we wander through the territorial–imaginary, geographical–virtual, real–surreal, body–performance, space–movement city, the listened-to city, the city–light, among others. This issue explores various departure stations towards the production of sensitive knowledge: the ontology of being and space in their correlation, the urban atmospheres, ambiances and tonalities, the sensations and emotions; the music, the sound walks and the poetics connected to the place, the urban echo-acoustic experience; the festivities and the street performances; the skin and the transitive (sub)liminal; the (dis)occupations, the proximity-distancing; the light made flesh of control, surveillance and resistance; the dissonant body, the cyborg body; the reinvention of mobilities and the counter-movement of the non-place...

In "Biopolitics of Light in the Modern and Contemporary Cities: From a Disciplinary Light's Eye to the Operational Lights of Control", Antoine Nicolas Gonod d'Artemare explores how the implementation of public lighting has been part of the quest for greater efficiency in surveillance and control of the population in urban space, on the example of modern Paris. He argues that Parisian street lighting was part and parcel of the dark art of light and the visible, triggered by disciplinary power. And as there is no power without resistance, the author, in his attempt to denaturalise the relationship that Western cultures have with light, shows possible opposition paths of counter-light to the total and pan-optic visibility provided by contemporary lights, drawing from the video-installation *Gegen-Musik* (Counter-Music), by Harun Farocki.

In a reflection on the current situation of the Rio city-brand, Ana Teresa Gotardo and Ricardo Ferreira Freitas in "Dissonant Bodies and the Struggles Over Urban Space: Narratives About Rio de Janeiro in International Documentaries" set out to break the imaginary of the perfect body ascribed to the brand Rio in the construction of the "Olympic city". Based on elements of film and narrative analysis, they highlight in the documentaries under review the movements in search of representation of both trans and transvestite women, black and poor people and people with disabilities, which, in their view, interfere in the struggle for the right to the city and the right to narrate oneself, by showing other possibilities of existence. Ligia Dias and Julieta Leite, still on the reflection about the politics of bodies in urban space, in the paper "City and Performativity: Normative Ruptures in the Informal Public Space — A Case Study in the City of Recife", introduce the concept of disruptive performative space. The research includes historical contextualisation and field observation of the surroundings of the São José Market in the city of Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil and approaches to the appropriation of this public space by informal trade workers. The authors characterise the relations of spatial appropriation by performative bodies and highlight how bodies and their performativities, through their everyday experiences, are intrinsically linked to multiple space-usages, which, in their view, should be part of the reflections that underpin urban practices.

The fallowing article derives from a broader research conducted in the Lavapiés neighbourhood in central Madrid, Spain, by Regiane Miranda de Oliveira Nakagawa. In "Nelson Mandela Square: Spatialities in a Frontier", the author chooses Nelson Mandela Square, a meeting point for Senegalese and other ethnic groups, to explore how, in this

square, distinct spatialities are formed through the diversity of interactions and connections between the different groups that frequent the space. The idea of the semiotic frontier in Lotman underpins the fieldwork undertaken, which was inspired by the situationist drift and conducted under the principles of participant observation. The result of an ethnographic work, Lucas Durr Missau's article, "Communication and Mobility: Mobile-Mediated Displacement Experiences in Buenos Aires", describes how narratives about the experiences of migration and the daily flows of displacement are articulated with the mediation of transportation applications. The focus is on the specificities of the urban mobility experience of inhabitants who use transportation apps to move around the city, to understand how the use of these apps is part of people's daily lives and to explore the role they play in social inclusion.

In "Inventory Space, Invented Space", Frederico Augusto Vianna de Assis Pessoa privileges listening or the opening of the ears in an approach to the city that aims at understanding social relations and the urban structure that reveals them. The Brazilian city of Belomonte, in the south of Bahia, provides his listening territory, from which he maps out a territory of sensations and thoughts that run through the listener, adding to what the listener captures, what is experienced, perceived and understood. This territory is presented to the reader in an essay that combines literary aesthetics with rational reflection on what the experience of the world, mediated by listening, reveals about a city.

The two articles that follow have as a common backdrop the covid-19 pandemic experienced around the world since 2020. In "Sonorous Windows in Times of Pandemic", Micael Herschmann and Felipe Trotta analyse the way in which windows were temporarily used by actors in cities as a means of intermediation between private and public spaces, with the purpose of establishing, through the emission of sounds, relevant social-communicational links. The authors used audiovisual material and narratives collected during an exploratory research carried out in the media and social networks on the behaviour and reactions of actors during the covid-19 quarantines that occurred in 2020 and 2021 in several locations around the globe (with emphasis not only on the contexts of Brazil and the United States of America, but also on the countries of the European continent). They highlight, in this movement of turning to the windows and balconies, a double flow of approximations, through sound experiences of solidarity; and of distancing, via sound experiences of protest and social disruption. The confined cities have awakened other needs and desires in those who inhabit them, namely the desire to walk. "On Walking While Confined", an article by Rui Filipe Antunes and Sílvia Pinto Coelho, explores, building on the experience of walking during the confinements decreed in Portugal, the relationship between walking and confinement. To this end, they draw on the experience of walking in artistic performance, examples of enclosure as opposed to the civic duty of confinement, to reflect on the relationships of movement in confined cities, by suggesting relationships of body–space–movement.

The urban surfaces of Athens during the years of economic crisis are the source of Panagiotis Ferentinos' article "The Derma of Crisis Imagining Athens in Crisis as an Urban Collage", in which he sets out to read the crisis and to understand how the public

sphere responded and reacted to this period of decline and recession. Understanding these surfaces as being the skin of Athens, with which citizens interact, the author focuses on the study of various dimensions of this skin and how they contribute to the formulation of an urban collage and an assemblage of coexisting visual elements, making Athens a unique case of an *over-marked* city.

The article "The Carnivalized Metropolis: The Street Carnival Groups as Surrealists and Situacionists Performances in Rio de Janeiro" by André Videira de Figueiredo addresses the unofficial *blocos de rua* (street carnival groups) of Rio de Janeiro, represented by the *Cordão do Boi Tolo*. Combining literary analysis, sociological reflection and "ethnographic *flânerie*", the paper explores this street carnival as an update of the surrealist and situationist proposals. It sees it, from the aesthetic and cultural point of view, as a creative experience of *performatization* of bodies and, from the political perspective, as a form of political and cultural resistance that embodies new ambiances and experiences that lend new meanings to urban space.

To complete the issue, still on Carnival in Brazil, but in Maceió-Al, we propose the article by Ernani Viana da Silva Neto and Susana A. Gastal, "Tourism and Culture: Carnival in the City of Maceió-Al (Brazil)". The aim is to understand how Carnival in Maceió has been historically organised and to highlight its relations with the cultural and tourism sectors in urban areas, using data provided by interviews with local actors in these areas, which reveal the intentions associated with the festivities. The authors point out the contradictions between the promotion of a popular and inclusive local Carnival and the discomfort caused by the carnival momentum, reinforcing social and cultural stereotypes and the exclusion of the lower classes from the festivities due to their ethnic origin.

In the next two sections, the issue features an interview with Hildegard Westerkamp, "Interview With Hildegard Westerkamp: 'Once you Start Listening to the World You Are Dealing With All of Life'" by Madalena Oliveira and Cláudia Martinho, and one book review by Tathiana Veronez, on Fabio La Roca's book, *A Cidade em Todas as Suas Formas* (The City in All Its Forms), published in Portuguese in 2018 by Editora Sulina.

Translation: Anabela Delgado

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Thematic articles | *Artigos temáticos*

Biopolitics of Light in Modern and Contemporary Cities: From a Disciplinary Light's Eye to the Operational Lights of Control

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Abstract

In this article, we seek to explain some of the relationships between light and biopolitics in modern and contemporary cities. We consider light as an external stimulation capable of not only impacting and sensitizing bodies, but also influencing them in different ways and to different degrees. Based on this premise, we ask ourselves how, in modernity and in contemporary times, the luminous materialities and practices of urban space have the capacity to influence, determine, capture, monitor, discipline and control the opinions, discourses and practices of individuals. In order to outline some partial elements of response to this wide-ranging problem, we first try to demonstrate how public lighting in modern Paris can be considered a disciplinary technology. Then, we ask how light can, even today, participate in different power strategies. Starting with Paul Virilio (2002), we argue that there has been a shift in control strategies through light in relation to previous times. Subsequently, a distinction is proposed by the author, outlining two regimes: the first, coming from modernity, is characterized by the use of "direct light"; to this, we can now add a second regime of "indirect light", characteristic of societies of control. Thereby, we attempt to denaturalize our relationship with light, in the context of western culture, and recognize its role in the service of photo-politics, a term that we propose to designate some of the (bio)political instrumentalizations of light. Finally, analyzing contemporary insurgent luminous artworks and practices, we reflect on the possible strategies through which insurgent lights could be raised.

Keywords

biopolitics, genealogy, light, media, politics

Biopolíticas da Luz nas Cidades Modernas e Contemporâneas: Do Olhar–Luz Disciplinar às Luzes Operacionais de Controle

Resumo

Neste artigo, buscaremos explicitar algumas das relações entre luz e biopolítica na cidade moderna e na contemporânea. Consideramos a luz como uma estimulação externa capaz não apenas de atingir e sensibilizar os corpos como também de agir, de diversas formas e em diferentes graus, sobre eles. A partir dessa premissa, nos perguntaremos de que maneira, na modernidade e na contemporaneidade, as materialidades e práticas luminosas do espaço urbano teriam a capacidade de influenciar, determinar, capturar, vigiar, disciplinar e controlar as opiniões, discursos e práticas dos indivíduos. Com o intuito de esboçar alguns elementos parciais de resposta a essa abrangente problemática, buscaremos demonstrar, em um primeiro momento, de que maneira a iluminação pública da Paris moderna poderia ser encarada como

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uma tecnologia disciplinar. Em seguida, nos perguntaremos de que modo a luz poderia, ainda na contemporaneidade, participar de diversas estratégias de poder. A partir de Paul Virilio (2002), argumentaremos que houve um deslocamento nas estratégias de controle por meio da luz em relação a épocas anteriores. Retomando uma distinção proposta pelo autor, queremos delinear dois regimes: o primeiro, oriundo da modernidade, que se caracterizaria pelo emprego de "luz direta"; ao qual se acrescentaria hoje um segundo regime de "luz indireta", próprio às sociedades de controle. Desse modo, procuraremos desnaturalizar nossa relação com a luz, no contexto da cultura ocidental, e reconhecer seu protagonismo ao serviço de foto-políticas, termo que propomos para designar algumas das instrumentalizações (bio)políticas da luz. Por fim, analisando obras e práticas luminosas insurgentes da contemporaneidade, buscaremos refletir sobre possíveis estratégias através das quais poderiam ser erguidas contraluzes.

Palavras-chave

biopolítica, genealogia, luz, mídia, política

Modern Lights: Paris, City of the Disciplinary Light's Eye

In a satire entitled "Les Embarras de Paris" (The Embarrassments of Paris), the French writer Nicolas Boileau (1872) describes the chaotic atmosphere that once reigned the streets of Paris at night in the second half of the 17th century. The dangers described by the author cause him such fear and apprehension that he does not risk leaving his home after sunset. In a poem, he sketches nocturnal Paris with some irony:

> the deadest and least populated forest / Is also, compared to Paris, a place of guard. / Unlucky is the one that, for an unforeseen matter / Ventures himself in the street, a little too late, and takes a risk? / Soon, four approaching bandits will ambush him, / Your money!... It is necessary to surrender; or not: to fight, / So that your death, of tragic memory, / Of the famous martyrs fill the history. (...) / I hear screams, everywhere: Help! I'm being murdered! (Boileau, 1872)

Facing the "no man's land" described by Boileau, it is no wonder that the authorities sought to domesticate this "night jungle", as they did in 1667 with the introduction of street lighting in Paris by royal decree (Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, p. 75).

Yet, the search for greater security through street lighting in the French capital began before the 17th century. In his book *La Nuit Désenchantée* (Disenchanted Night) , the German cultural historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch (1983/1993) states that, even in its more archaic form, by the end of the middle ages, public lighting was employed to introduce order into what amounted to dangerous nighttime rampages. The fear of the medieval night disrupted daytime activities and led to a withdrawal into the house:

> each evening, the medieval community prepared itself like a ship's crew preparing to face a gathering storm. At sunset, people began to retreat indoors,

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> locking everything behind them. First the city gates, which had been opened
> at sunrise, were closed. (...) The same thing happened in individual houses.
> They were locked and often the city authorities took the keys for safekeep-
> ing. (Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, p. 71)[1]

In Paris, a decree of 1380 proclaimed such population confinement mandatory: "at night, all houses ... are to be locked and the keys deposited with the magistrate. Nobody may then enter or leave a house unless he can give the magistrate a good reason for doing so" (Trébuchet, 1843, as cited in Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, p. 72). Therefore, one can verify how the fear of the nightly dangers justified the authorities' application of restrictive measures to control the movement and activities of the population. To enforce this curfew, night watchmen patrolled the area with weapons and torches. Schivelbusch (1983/1993) describes this movement:

> while the inhabitants of a medieval town locked themselves into their hous-
> es like sailors battening down below decks, the night watch patrolled out-
> side, keeping a check on the nocturnal no man's land. Every night, a curfew
> (*Ausgangssperre, couvrefeu*) barred the people from the streets, something
> that nowadays only happens during times of civil unrest. (p. 72)

According to Schivelbusch (1983/1993), night watchmen brought lanterns not only to illuminate their night patrols, but also as a statement of authority – their lights as a highly visible symbol of power. To us, the wandering of the night watchmen also seems to aspire a sensory occupation of space through light.

While lantern carriers are, in a sense, a primitive form of street lighting, the author reports that new techniques soon arrived. In the second half of the 16th century, the first street lighting prototypes materialized in Paris. In 1551, parliament issued an order that the city's residents,

> every night before six o'clock, during the months of November, December
> and January, should hang a lantern with a candle under the level of the first-
> floor window sills, in such a prominent position that the street received
> sufficient light. (Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, p. 73)

More than simply illuminating the street, this practice, as Schivelbusch (1983/1993) argues, was intended to show the authorities the position of each dwelling so that structure and order could be introduced into the city at night.

Toward the end of the 17th century, these first achievements gained a more centralized organization when, in 1667, the French monarch enacted mandatory public lighting. This transformation was part of a series of measures launched during the period of the French absolutist monarchy that aimed to modernize the streets. Such renewal also

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[1] The translators mentioned below are responsible for the translation of part of the excerpts quoted in this version A. Davies, H. Eiland and K. McLaughlin, A. Sheridan, H. Eiland, E. Jephcott, R. Livingston and H. Zohn, M. Stevens.

involved housing alignment and pavement management by the authorities. Henceforth, the installation of lanterns on the street was no longer the responsibility of the inhabitants, but of the public authorities through the police, who were in charge of this thorough, judicious and drastic regulation (Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, pp. 74–75).

It is significant that, as Schivelbsuch (1983/1993) reports, the *reverbère* — a model of a street lighting lamp (Figure 1) — emerged in the context of a competition organized by the Parisian police in 1763. The innovation of this device was the ability to attach a metallic reflector to the lantern, considerably increasing its luminosity. We can, therefore, ask whether the search for a luminosity enhancement of lanterns is not inseparable from the desire to establish greater efficiency in surveilling and controlling the population. This interrelationship between light and the security apparatus becomes even clearer if we consider, as the author reports, that public lighting in the 18th century was the greatest expense in the budget of the Parisian police (Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, p. 85).
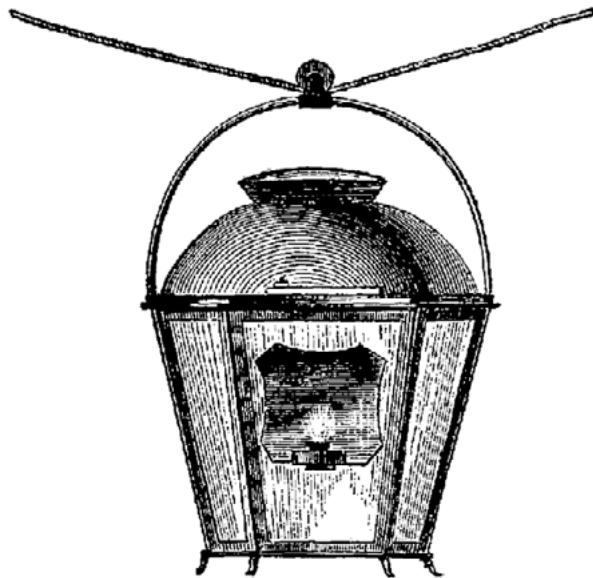
Figure 1 *Street Lighting Setback Design*

Source. From *Les Merveilles de la Science*, por L. Figuier, 1867 (https://fr.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=Fichier:Figuier_-_Les_Merveilles_de_la_science,_1867_-_1891,_Tome_4.djvu&page=3). In the public domain.

At the end of the 18th century, Paris had 3,500 streetlights that guarded the city at night (Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, p. 84). During the 19th century, this luminous presence saw significant growth, reaching 5,000 lamps in 1814, 9,000 in 1826 — when gas lighting was introduced — and finally, 10,000 in 1828 (Benjamin, 1982/2009, p. 608). As a result, street lighting brightened the urban fabric and the bodies that circulated within it while decreasing the possibility of remaining unnoticed in the night city. "Not a single corner or crossroad / That the street light does not reach", say the verses of the French poet Jacques Fournier about the Parisian streets at the end of the 18th century, as transcribed

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by Walter Benjamin in his book project *Passagens* (Passages; Fournier, 1854, as cited in Benjamin, 1982/2009, p. 612). This *overexposure* of the capital's residents also emerges in the reports of lantern carriers, still present at the end of the 18th century as a mobile lighting service (Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, p. 78). In his *Tableau de Paris* (Scenes from Paris), published in 1781, the scholar Louis-Sébastien Mercier (as cited in Schivelbusch, 1983/1993) describes these as lights that swirled around the city:

> the nocturnal wanderers with their torches are in the service of the police and see everything that happens; thieves who want to force open locks in the back streets can never be sure that their unexpected lights will not turn up. (...) The torch-bearer goes to bed very late and next day reports everything he noticed to the police. Nothing is more effective in maintaining order and preventing various mishaps than these torches, which are carried around here and there; their sudden appearance forestalls many a nocturnal crime. (p. 78)

The way these sudden lights participated in both the security and night surveillance of the capital is also highlighted by Maxime Du Camp in a book published in the second half of the 19th century. In this book, the author reports rumors that the Parisian lantern carriers, after following the population's nocturnal movements, "voluntarily gave accounts every morning to the lieutenant-general of police on what they had noticed during the night" (Du Camp, 1875, as cited in Benjamin, 1982/2009, p. 606). Hence, the light, through the lantern carrier, not only becomes an element aiming to preserve order but also participates as a control technology in the surveillance of the population at night by the authorities. Incidentally, the following maxim is from the same period: "after midnight, every street light is worth a host of watchmen", transcribed by Schivelbsuch from a book about the French capital (Kolloff, 1849, as cited in Schivelbsuch, 1983/1993, p. 85).

Through these different reports, it becomes noticeable that the history of public lighting has witnesses the search for *complete visibility* — a visibility that is necessary for the proper functioning of disciplinary power, as Foucault (1975/1999) describes in *Vigiar e Punir: Nascimento da Prisão* (Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison):

> the exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible. Slowly, in the course of the classical age, we see the construction of those "observatories" of human multiplicity for which the history of the sciences has so little good to say. Side by side with the major technology of the telescope, the lens and the light beam, which were an integral part of the new physics and cosmology, there were the minor techniques of multiple and intersecting observations, of eyes that must see without being seen; using techniques of

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> subjection and methods of exploitation, an *obscure art of light and the visible*
> [emphasis added] was secretly preparing a new knowledge of man. (p. 143)

For this reason, disciplinary power supposes an omnipresent, expositive, total light — in other words, a *shadowless light*. Its ideal form, as in the image of Bentham's panopticon[2], is that of an apparatus that enables an omniscient and unceasing gaze: a

> central point [that] would be both the source of light illuminating every-
> thing, and a locus of convergence for everything that must be known: a
> perfect eye that nothing would escape and a centre towards which all gazes
> would be turned. (Foucault, 1975/1999, p. 146)

It is a *light's eye* that allows vigilance and thus ensures the functioning of that power. Through the way it expresses the search for complete visibility, we consider Parisian street lighting to be an integral part of this obscure art of light and the visible, mobilized by a disciplinary power.

The implementation of public lighting and its participation in biopolitical strategies is precisely one of the elements highlighted by Paula Sibilia (2002) in her book *O Homem Pós-Orgânico* (The Post-Organic Man). In it, the author points out how public lighting is part of a series of measures that, in modernity, structure the urban space in a progressive and lasting way. Based on Walter Benjamin's account in "The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire", Sibilia (2002) highlights how the text recalls the government's attempts to put a straitjacket on the confusing urban organization of the time, thereby facilitating its plan to subject and normalize the inhabitants (p. 160).

The "extensive network of controls" that, since the French revolution, had been bringing bourgeois life ever more tightly into its meshes have not always been positively welcomed by the population (Benjamin, 1982/2009, p. 49). For example, the census of real estate — assigning an identification number to each building — aroused reluctance among the population: "if one asks an inhabitant of this suburb what his address is, he will always give the name of his house and not its cold, official number" (Benjamin, 1982/2009, p. 49). Although in a different context, a similar resistance occurred with the establishment of street lighting, as we read in Edgar Allan Poe and Robert Louis Stevenson, Sibilia (2002) explains. Poe (1887, as cited in Sibilia, 2002) complains of the stubborn "fight against nightfall" that street lighting represents, while Stevenson (1924, as cited in Sibilia, 2002) expresses his indignation in bold and forceful terms, criticizing that this light should only fall on murderers or street criminals or, moreover, light the way into madhouses as it is made to increase terror (p. 160).

To Schivelbusch (1983/1993), a symbolic struggle for power also materializes itself through public lighting. Just as the lantern carriers of the middle ages sought to make

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[2] The panopticon is an architectural model proposed by Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th century that allows a guard to observe, from a central tower, each cell exposed by light. Through this apparatus, the movements of each individual are, therefore, constantly exposed (Foucault, 1975/1999).

evident the luminous representation of power in the streets, the lanterns placed in the second half of the 17th century by order of the Sun King symbolized the luminous domination of the monarch over his subjects. The author comments:

> nothing shows the break with the older style of house lighting more clearly than the placement of the new lanterns. They were attached to cables strung across the street so that they hung exactly over the middle of the street, like small suns, representing the Sun King, on whose orders they had been put up (...). [The] lanterns showed who lit the streets and who ruled them. (Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, p. 76)

Displaced to the center of the street, the lanterns radiated the power of the Sun King and ensured the visibility of their/his subjects. The Schivelbusch (1983/1993) estimates that it is precisely because they were symbols of power that the lights became — at certain historical moments — targets. The author describes how, during the July 1830 uprising in Paris, the lanterns were attacked by the insurgents: "the populace, furious, runs through the streets, smashing lanterns, challenging the bourgeoisie to fight, and swearing that it will have vengeance", reports an eyewitness (*Briefe aus Paris*, 1831, as cited in Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, p. 88). Among the street fighting, another observer describes that as soon as "the night came to cover up the capital with its black cloak, (...) people started to break all lanterns" (Cuisin, 1830, as cited in Schivelbusch, 1983/1993, p. 88). In addition to the symbolic aspect of these destructions — if a police light imposed order, its annihilation sought to recreate some of the freedom of the lost disorder — Schivelbusch points out the concrete strategic dimension of these acts: with pitch-black streets, the royal army retreated to its bases. The darkness into which vandal could plunge the area made them uncontrollable by the authorities, the author concludes.

Contemporary Operational Lights: From Panopticon to Paroptic

As we have observed, the various materialities and practices of light in modern Paris, in addition to making the capital safe at night, played a key role both in the maintenance of order through population surveillance and the application of disciplinary measures[3]. The individuals, hereinafter exposed, visible and supervised, were submitted to a *disciplinary light's eye*. We now ask ourselves how light can, in contemporary times, participate in such power strategies. Would this control still function via visibility through lighting, as we have demonstrated, or would there be a shift to more effective surveillance

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[3] To understand the participation of public lighting in power strategies, we must not lose sight of its importance for urban night security. The consequent decrease in crime has been frequently proven by studies, such as that cited by Jean Delumeau (1978/2009) in his *História do Medo no Ocidente 1300-1800* (History of Fear in Western Culture 1300-1800). In this book, the author gives the example of St. Louis, Missouri, which experienced a 41% decrease in auto theft and a 13% reduction in burglaries a year after it installed a major lighting program (Delumeau, 1978/2009, p. 149). We may wonder, however, whether street lighting might not displace (and/or perhaps transform) acts of crime without necessarily addressing their underlying causes.

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techniques? And, considering these eventual historical transformations, how could the reappropriation of light mean a confrontation with power?

The film installation *Gegen-Musik* (Counter Music) by director Harun Farocki (2004) allows us to reflect on these issues. The work is an audiovisual diptych through which Farocki aims to produce an updated remake of the film *Man With a Movie Camera* by Dziga Vertov (1929). Farocki (2004) similarly narrates the day of a city; however, unlike Vertov (1929)[4], he narrates using images of various apparatuses that occupy, control, regulate and monitor urban space in the 21st century. Thus, the film portrays the city through visualities, that acting as gears, allow its movement: images of surveillance cameras in the streets (Figures 2 and 3), public squares, subways (Figure 4) and shopping centers as well as infrared camera recordings of sewer pipe networks (Figure 5), to which are added graphics portraying water circulation, cars and trains (Figure 6) or even images of patients under hospital observation (Figure 7).

Figure 2 *Operational Images of Road Circulation*

Source. From *Gegen-Musik* (23 minutes) by H. Farocki, 2004, Harun Farocki Filmproduktion. Copyright 2004 by Harun Farocki/Le Fresnoy. Courtesy of Harun Farocki GbR.

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[4] *Gegen-Musik* does not seem to be concerned with specifying an accurate and unique spatial location. The film, by employing images of different cities in the northern region of France, thus becomes representative of a more general portrait of today's western metropolis.

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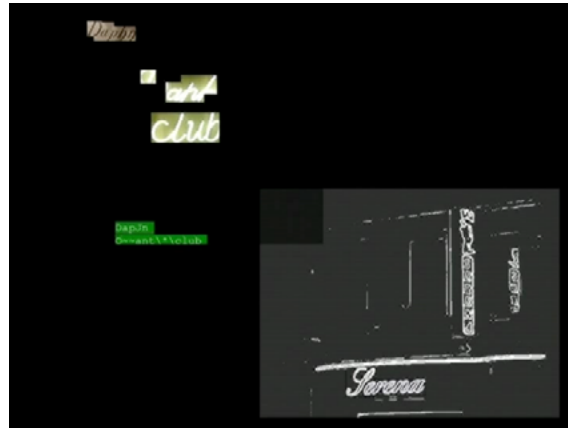
Figure 3 *Operational Images — Surveillance Camera Images in a Public Space (Shopping Window Signs)*

Source. From *Gegen-Musik* (23 minutes) by H. Farocki, 2004, Harun Farocki Filmproduktion. Copyright 2004 by Harun Farocki/Le Fresnoy. Courtesy of Harun Farocki GbR.

Figure 4 *Operational Images — Surveillance Camera Images on the Subway*

Source. From *Gegen-Musik* (23 minutes) by H. Farocki, 2004, Harun Farocki Filmproduktion. Copyright 2004 by Harun Farocki/Le Fresnoy. Courtesy of Harun Farocki GbR.
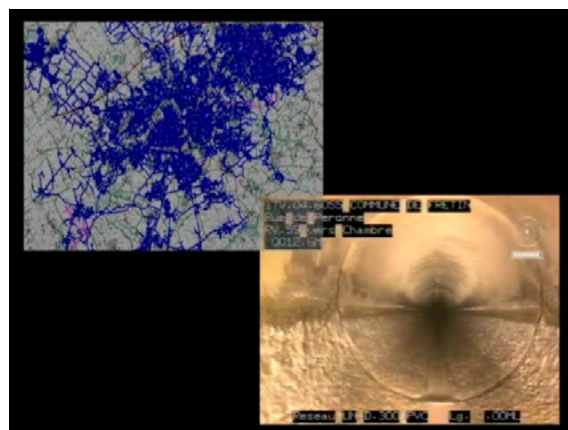
Figure 5 *Operational Images of Sewer Pipes*

Source. From *Gegen-Musik* (23 minutes) by H. Farocki, 2004, Harun Farocki Filmproduktion. Copyright 2004 by Harun Farocki/Le Fresnoy. Courtesy of Harun Farocki GbR.

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Figure 6 *Operational Images — Geolocation of Trains on Control Center Panel*

Source. From *Gegen-Musik* (23 minutes) by H. Farocki, 2004, Harun Farocki Filmproduktion.
Copyright 2004 by Harun Farocki/Le Fresnoy. Courtesy of Harun Farocki GbR.
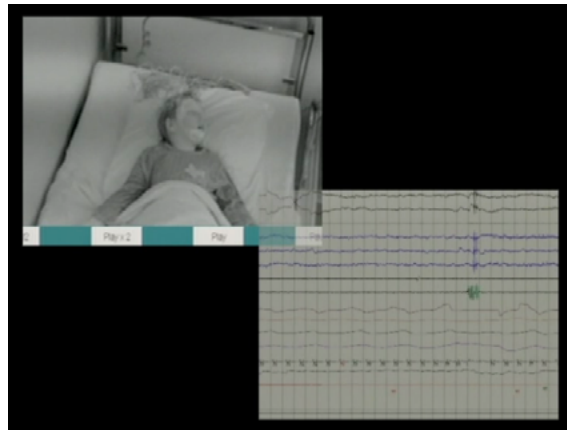
Figure 7 *Operational Images — Respiratory and Cardiac Graphs Produced in a Sleep Laboratory*

Source. From *Gegen-Musik* (23 minutes) by H. Farocki, 2004, Harun Farocki Filmproduktion.
Copyright 2004 by Harun Farocki/Le Fresnoy. Courtesy of Harun Farocki GbR.

All these images form a visual set that corresponds to what the director conceptualizes as *operational images*. These are, according to the director, objective images that are not made to be watched, but rather have a specific function within the apparatuses of which they are part (e.g., images produced on an industrial assembly line, whose only function is to carry out quality control, or, in the context of interest here, images of surveillance devices, facial recognition, presence detection, etc.). In short, Farocki highlights these images as having a functional and disposable character: "only in exceptional cases are the tapes not erased and reused", explains the director (Ehmann et al., 2019). The images speak: what is to be seen does not matter (Ehmann et al., 2019). What matters is the way they allow numerous apparatuses to function in the contemporary city.

This work also allows us to perceive how the importance of light is reiterated, albeit also altered or complexified for the contemporary city's functioning. "We directed the surveillance cameras toward street light — to catch the moment when they light up", say

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a few cards in the film (Farocki, 2004, 00:08:08). After a long wait, the lighting of different street lights is captured by the various surveillance cameras (Figure 8). Even before the day's blue light has fully disappeared, the reddish street lighting ensures luminosity and visibility in the darkened streets. It is important to emphasize that street lighting makes it possible to produce surveillance images at night, and without it, these images would be pitch-black. From the film, we perceive how light participates today — consistent with its use in modernity — in various control apparatuses in urban spaces. Despite this apparent continuity, however, it is worth questioning what qualitative and quantitative differences we can see in contemporary lights.

Figure 8 *Operational Lights Enabling Surveillance*

Source. From *Gegen-Musik* (23 minutes) by H. Farocki, 2004, Harun Farocki Filmproduktion.
Copyright 2004 by Harun Farocki / Le Fresnoy. Courtesy of Harun Farocki GbR.

In his book *La Nuit: Vivre Sans Témoin* (Night: Living Without a Witness), Michael Fœssel (2017) elaborates possible elements of response. Fœssel perceives the emergence, in contemporaneity, of a new quality of light — *white light* — that is appropriate for both the uninterrupted rhythms of neoliberal capitalism and for the functioning of various apparatuses mobilized by security strategies. This new quality of light, indifferent to hours, now floods spaces such as shopping centers and open areas with a glow that is a pure artifact whose purpose is not to illuminate, but to create a space in which the bodies' movements and the disposition of things become identified at a single glance (Fœssel, 2017, p. 85). White light, therefore, produces a space without shadows, one in which visibility can no longer be escaped. A light that, as Fœssel (2017) notes, presents qualities convenient to surveillance devices, since video security cameras are perfectly adapted to this shadowless whiteness (p. 86).

However, considering this white light the central element of the displacement of power relations through light today seems to us to be an incomplete response to the problem. In addition to this white light, Farocki's (2004) work marks the emergence of

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other visualities that, in the contemporary city, are part of several control mechanisms. These are more abstract, algorithmic images, less representative and more informative, such as the respiratory and cardiac graphs produced in a sleep laboratory (Figure 7), which represent a set of operational images. Similarly, it is worth mentioning that images of trains' geolocation being tracked on a control center panel, of automatic devices detecting the presence of or counting people, and even of colored spectra from high-speed trains filmed by a control camera (would this be a thermal image?) are all examples of how Farocki's film presents the expansion of surveillance towards frequencies and broader regimes of visibility and luminosity. This system is intended to account for individuals passing in crowds (Figure 9), thereby producing an individualizing operation that is crucial to mechanisms of control, with Farocki probably alluding to Deleuze's text. For, as Deleuze (2013) explains, in the societies of control, individuals "have become 'dividuals', and masses, samples, data, markets, or 'banks'" (p. 226).

Figure 9 *Automatic People-Counting Device*

Source. From *Gegen-Musik* (23 minutes) by H. Farocki, 2004, Harun Farocki Filmproduktion.
Copyright 2004 by Harun Farocki / Le Fresnoy. Courtesy of Harun Farocki GbR.

The film also features the backstage of a high-speed control center located in the French city of Lille, where a significant number of monitors aligned in series allow to the observation — thanks to the electronic transmission of images — of the various spaces of the railway network. In this control center, more than 1,200 cameras, their images produced without human operators, simultaneously and automatically record the various spaces to be monitored. Computer-controlled camera devices produce a ubiquitous and machinic vision that strongly resembles the "vision machines" described by Paul Virilio (1988/1994). Devices that, as the author explains, are able to not only monitor but also analyze and automatically interpret what they see, giving birth to an "automation of perception" (Virilio, 1988/1994, p. 87) — a "sightless vision" (Virilio, 1988/1994, p. 86). It is through machines, therefore, that the city becomes "sensitive" and begins to observe and watch over its inhabitants.

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Indirect Light: The Emergence of a New Visibility Regime

Thus, we may ask whether such visualities do not also reveal the emergence of a new quality of light that can illuminate and expose bodies and objects in an indirect way and that would therefore allow the addition of new control mechanisms. Such is the argument of Virilio (2002) in the chapter "La Lumière Indirecte" (Indirect Light) of his book *L´Inertie Polaire* (Polar Intertia). In this text, the author is first surprised by the widespread emergence, in the late 1970s, of video screens and surveillance cameras that spread through the urban space of Paris. Not by chance, the author recalls, this proliferation occurred shortly after 1968, a year marked by intense student and working-class revolts throughout France. Since then, these cameras have gone on to watch not only the streets and crossroads of the capital, but also the entrances to large schools and universities.

With the dissemination of these videoscopic[5] apparatuses, a new quality of light emerged: *indirect light,* as described by Virilio (2002):

> to the daylight of astronomical time should logically be added the daylight of technological speed: from the chemical daylight of candles through the electrical daylight of the Edison lamp (the same Edison who invented the kinetoscope) to the electronic daylight of computer terminals, *that deceptive indirect light propagated at the speed of light waves, those transmitter-receivers and other visual generators of duration* [emphasis added]. (p. 119)

Thus, to the chemical and electrical light regimes, a new quality of indirect light of an electronic nature is added. This implies a shift in the modes of visibility production: although light remains responsible for the revelation of sensitive appearances, "it is [now] its speed which discloses or makes things visible, to the detriment of sunlight or the artificial light of electricity" (Virilio, 2002, p. 108). It is, therefore, less of a light in the traditional sense — i.e. electromagnetic irradiation in the visible range — than a light without light, an electro-optical light, a paroptic light[6], a digital light (algorithmic?). This light, Virilio (2002) adds, is based not on the laws of modern optics (i.e., that lenses passively transmit light) but on electronics and computing (i.e., that devices produce or amplify a signal). In a way, it is a more abstract light, close to the idea of *visibility that comes from connection.*

This displacement also has important repercussions for surveillance technologies, as the author (Virilio, 2002) argues, since *indirect light,* of an electro-optical nature, allows the presentation and control of objects or subjects at a distance and in real-time. Thus, the act of seeing, in contemporary times, is not limited to the "direct illumination"

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[5] We can understand videoscopic equipment as a set of "electro-optical" devices capable of producing some form of potentially transmissible real-time visibility, such as live transmitted videos and geolocation systems, but also military night vision binoculars, and so forth.

[6] "Paroptique", in the original text, refers to an extra-retinal vision as is found, for example, in frogs, which possess the ability to "see" with their skin to some extent.

of the thing in its presence. Now, the apparatuses also operate remotely, overcoming the need for a physical presence to perform surveillance — they are ubiquitous and therefore omniscient. Hence, unlike the "direct lightning" of electric light, which conducts surveillance on a local scale, "indirect lightning", found in the new videoscopic media, has transformed local surveillance mechanisms into global reach mechanisms. This new quality of light therefore has, adds Virilio (2002), an analogous function to the *warning lamp*[7], whose main objective is to illuminate the surroundings in which it was diffused, making them visible, watchable and controllable. By overcoming spatial limitations, indirect light ignores the separation between the public and private spheres and starts to expose bodies in these different spaces.

By the fact that these new surveillance mechanisms enable it, indirect light is inseparable from the emergence and consolidation of control technologies, as described by Deleuze (2013) in his text "Post-Scriptum Sobre as Sociedades de Controle" (Postscript on the Societies of Control). In the brief essay, dating from the early 1990s, the philosopher proposes an update to the disciplinary power mechanisms formulated by Foucault. According to Deleuze, by the end of the 20th century there will have been an intensification of the temporal space range of power mechanisms, such that there are no more gaps in space or time in which one could escape their effects. Tighter than the disciplinary scheme, the new agency of control would become "short-term and of rapid rates of turnover, but also continuous and without limit, while discipline was of long duration, infinite and discontinuous" (Deleuze, 2013, p. 228). Submitted to constant tracking devices and continuously monitored by computers, the individuals of controlled societies would, according to Deleuze, be permanently and everywhere subject to a power capable of exercising this type of control. The author himself highlights the importance of Virilio's work in understanding these new ultra-fast power mechanisms, which would operate outdoors and continuously.

Overexposure to Operating Lights at the Time

The way in which contemporary technologies mobilize visibility beyond the capacity of human vision was also pointed out by Jonathan Crary (2013/2016) in his book *24/7 Capitalismo Tardio e os Fins do Sono* (*24/7 Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*). Converging with the arguments of Virilio (2002) and Deleuze (2013), Crary (2013/2016) underscores the existence of a "modernized panopticism" that expands "well beyond visible wavelengths of light to other parts of the spectrum" (p. 25). By mobilizing "many kinds of non-optical scanners and thermal and bio-sensors", surveillance mechanisms are no

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[7] Virilio (2002) argues that the miniaturization of video equipment makes it increasingly like the "warning lamp" (*lampe-témoin* in the original, meaning also witness lamp), whose primary function is to illuminate what is in front of the viewer. *Lampe-témoin* is a word that must be understood here in its semantic polysemy in that it allows not only to illuminate, but also to observe: a confusion between the gaze and the source of light that Foucault (1975/1999) already described as an ideal representation of the disciplinary apparatus in *Vigiar e Punir: Nascimento da Prisão*.

longer restricted to the logic of the visible (Crary, 2013/2016, p. 25). Surveillance cameras (Figure 10), facial recognition and tracking devices (mobile phones, apps, etc.) are some examples of the new ways in which surveillance that crosses the boundaries between public and private spaces can be achieved today, supported by more abstract visibility.

Figure 10 *Operational Images of a Presence Recognition Device*
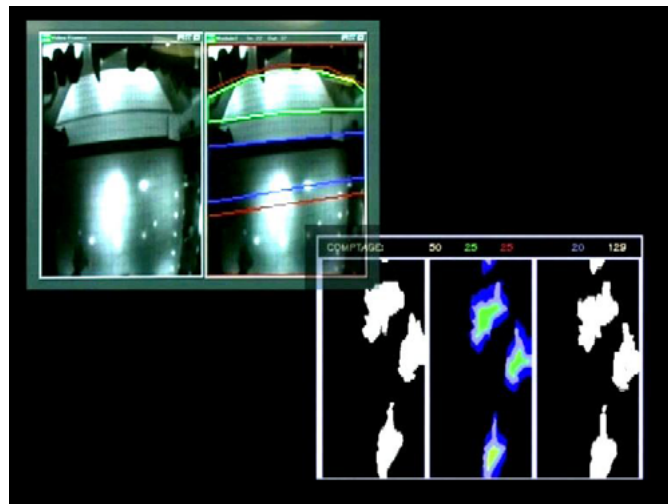
Source. From *Gegen-Musik* (23 minutes) by H. Farocki, 2004, Harun Farocki Filmproduktion.
Copyright 2004 by Harun Farocki/Le Fresnoy. Courtesy of Harun Farocki GbR.

Moreover, for Crary (2013/2016), these various luminous strategies of power encompass a larger scheme in that he proposes a 24/7 luminosity regime. The author departure from his analysis of a series of studies, events, and undertakings reveals a search, in contemporaneity, for the overtaking of the discrepancy between human rhythmic tissue (cyclical and inherently limited by the physiological conditions of living beings, which need rest and sleep) and the uninterrupted rhythms of the markets (automatic, based on a technical and inorganic rhythm). Based on this finding, Crary (2013/2016) points out that today's consolidation of a 24/7 temporality of continuous production, activity and consumption triggers a perpetual illumination and by it is catalyzed (pp. 11–38).

Faced with this new uninterrupted rhythm, Crary (2013/2016) realizes that the "night" — understood as a symbol of the need for rest, reflection and reverie — no longer has a space. Consequently, both subjectivities and social relations are affected by this new pulse. On the one hand, individuals now find themselves in a regime of permanent connection in front of various devices and social networks. The author understands that, stimulated, magnetized and sometimes neutralized by the uninterrupted brightness of the 24/7 world, they tend to a state of diffuse attention and semiautomatic conduct. The stimulation would be such that, at the limit, the subjects would even relinquish their own sleep to align themselves with these new rhythmic fabrics. On the other hand, and although we do not intend to dwell on this aspect, it is worth noting this regime of light's

various effects on the social fabric: The atrophy of shared experience and encounters, or even the decline of patience and waiting, are some of the findings made by the author in his book[8].

Therefore, the 24/7 light regime outlined by Crary (2013/2016) not only signifies the ambition for *full observability* that would enable the *control of the population* (p. 25), but it also impacts, more broadly, the rhythmic fabrics of contemporary ways of living. After characterizing this new regime through images linked to continuous lighting, the author is aware of the fact that we should not consider them literally, at the risk of limiting the understanding of the concept. He suggests, therefore, understanding these images as being symbolic of this new temporality. From this perspective, the author argues that by monopolizing the attention of individuals, the flashes of this light regime would also result in the "incapacitation of daydream or of any mode of absent-minded introspection that would otherwise occur in intervals of slow or vacant time" (2013/2016, p. 97). Everything is illuminated. There is no shadow that enables thought or permits escape from reality or allows the experience of other possible worlds.

The images and operational lights exposed by Farocki (2004) in *Gegen-Musik* (Counter Music) reveal how they are an integral part of these new power mechanisms, as described by Virilio (2002), Deleuze (2013) and Crary (2013/2016). When watching Farocki's film, it becomes evident that we are constantly exposed, in contemporary times, to various lights (direct and indirect) that operate various controls on us. We produce, under the artificial and continuous luminosity of these *lampes témoin* (witnesses' lamp), traces and reflections (data) of all kinds, and this in a more or less unconscious, involuntary and illegal way. It could even be argued that it has become impossible to live, in contemporary cities, in the (non-existent) shadow of these powerful light fixtures.

Since Virilio (1988/1994, 2002) and Deleuze (2013) wrote their respective texts in the 1990s, major changes to indirect light technologies have occurred, accompanied by an intensification of control technologies. Among these transformations, the exponential growth of mobile phone usage stands out, their screens projecting a continuous indirect light onto their users. In 2017, there were about 5,000,000,000 such devices in the world, and that number is projected to reach 5,900,000,000 by 2025 — 71% of the global population ("Número de Usuários Únicos de Celular Chega a Cinco Bilhões no Mundo", 2018).

Around the world, street lighting used in modern times is also experiencing an important upgrade. Generally speaking, in addition to replacing the older bulbs with newer and more economical forms (LED technology), public and private initiatives also propose transforming it into intelligent street lighting. This notion essentially proposes converting old lamp posts into connected light poles that would include, beyond light fixtures, several monitoring sensors whose data could serve the city management, as

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[8] The diversity of Crary's (2013/2016) proposed notion is also what could, in our view, constitute one of his fragilities. When mingling various effects into a single concept, we wonder if the author does not move away, somehow, from the greater conceptual precision proposed by Virilio (2002).

well as become potentially monetizable. Not only video monitoring cameras, but also water level, garbage, parking and people movement sensors are some of the endless possibilities that these new light poles could incorporate. In addition to traditional direct light, poles could (and already do, in certain spaces[9]) also emit an indirect light onto the bodies transiting public space.

Even if these advances open the door to numerous benefits in terms of urban management, we are concerned about how they could spread and "normalize" the use of control technologies through indirect light. With these changes, the lamp post — an element so widespread in urban territory — could start hosting, for example, camera and surveillance sensors or facial recognition devices. Hereby, the lamp post would become a new type of panopticon without walls — in which *illuminating* and *seeing* merge into the same gesture of control — thus concretizing an updated version of the *lampe témoin* (witness lamp*)* foreshadowed by Foucault (1975/1999) and Virilio (2002).

Recent debates in France about the controversial "global security law" are equally significant regarding the key role that indirect light plays in today's mechanisms of population control. Presented at the end of 2020, the bill proposes a series of changes and implementations aimed at strengthening the security apparatus of the French police. The text proposes not only authorizing the transmission in real-time images filmed by body cameras attached to police officers' bodies, but also facilitating police access to security videos and images. Furthermore, the proposal aims to legalize the use of police drones which, equipped with surveillance devices, could be deployed in many situations, such as the monitoring of popular demonstrations — and all this without the police having to warn the public about the collection of these images (Hourdeaux, 2020). Commenting on the need to pass this bill, congressman Jean-Michel Fauvergue expressed the following regret: "we are losing the *war of images* [emphasis added] in social networks" (Hourdeaux, 2020, p. 2). The *war of images*, we would say, is first of all a *war of light*: the search for total visibility is today dependent on a certain regime of light: *indirect*.

Raising Insurgent Lights: From Blackout to Disconnection?

We may ask ourselves how, in the face of the intensification of the indirect light regime — given our daily *overexposure* to various *control lights* — should we not fear or wait but rather, as Deleuze (2013, p. 224) suggests, seek new weapons? How can we invent new spaces of darkness, of reverie, of waiting, of sleep, of privacy? Perhaps the act of the Parisian insurgents who, in July 1830, destroyed the city's lanterns would today be as inefficient as it is quixotic. If there is to be any efficiency to a blackout strategy today, it must confront not only the direct lights but also the indirect ones.

This strategy converges on the one Paul Preciado (2020) outlines in the face of the legalization and expansion of a set of "biomolecular technologies that enter into the

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[9] As is currently the case, for example, in Juazeiro do Norte, Brazil (Juazeiro do Norte, 2018).

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body by way of microprostheses and technologies of digital surveillance" mobilized in the fight against the covid-19 pandemic (para. 14). Against limiting life through a regime of cybernetic biosurveillance, the philosopher summons us thus: "let us turn off our cell phones, let us disconnect from the internet. Let us stage a big blackout against the satellites observing us, and let us consider the coming revolution together" (Preciado, 2020, para. 32). This argument concurs with Crary's (2013/2016) proposal to, vying with the flashes of 24/7 luminosity, reassign a space and time to night and sleep. This is because, for this author, there lies in sleep not only a physical but also a symbolic reserve — understood as the need for rest, reflection or oneiric reverie — through which one might build protection against 24/7 "order-words" for society as a whole in order to guarantee the durability of social care.

It is also worth mentioning the work of Heather Dewey-Hagborg, artist, researcher, and biohacker, through which she presents possible ways of opposing the complete visibility provided by the various contemporary control technologies. In *Stanger Visions* (2012-2013), the artist initially draws attention to those mechanisms that threaten any possibility of "darkness". After proceeding to analyze the deoxyribonucleic acid of strangers from traces collected on the street — such as hair, cigarette or chewing-gum remains (Figure 11) — , the artist simulates a 3D model of the person's face using a program that operates a complex transposition of genetic data into phenotypic criteria.

Figure 11 *Picture of Stanger Visions (2012-2013) Artwork — Vestige of an Unknown Person Collected on the Street*

Source. "Stranger Visions" project page, [website] of the artist Heather Dewey-Hagborg (Dewey-Hagborg, n.d.-a). Copyright 2009-2021 Heather Dewey-Hagborg. Courtesy of Heather Dewey-Hagborg and Fridman Gallery (New York).

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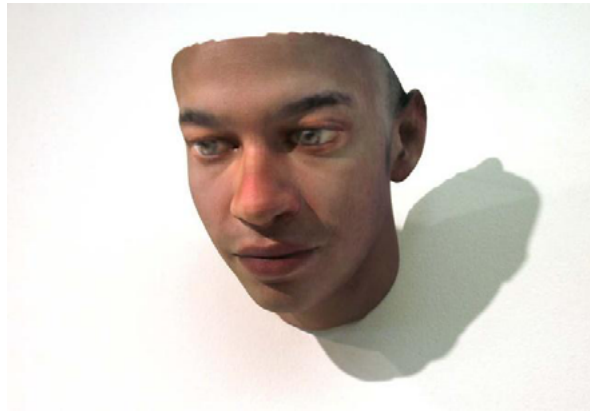
Figure 12 *Picture of Stanger Visions (2012-2013) Artwork — 3D Modeling of the Face of a Stranger, From His Vestige Collected on the Street*

Source. "Stranger Visions" project page, [website] of the artist Heather Dewey-Hagborg (Dewey-Hagborg, n.d.-a). Copyright 2009-2021 Heather Dewey-Hagborg. Courtesy of Heather Dewey-Hagborg and Fridman Gallery (New York).

This is a way for the artist to signal the already present future under consideration of today's importance of genetic databases for the apprehension of criminals, that is, of genetic surveillance technologies that could include tracking and recognition systems from mere traces collected on the street, thereby producing an even more inescapable visibility.

In order to rise up against these controls, Dewey-Hagborg (n. d.-b) proposes strategies of biopolitical subversion in another of her works, *The Official Biononymous Guidebooks*. In it, the artist produces an explanatory booklet, given to exhibition visitors, within which she lists the steps to follow to remove all traces of deoxyribonucleic acid from an object (Figures 13 and 14). Thus, she contributes to the reflection on what we could call an aesthetic of opacity, or even an aesthetic of the protection of privacy.
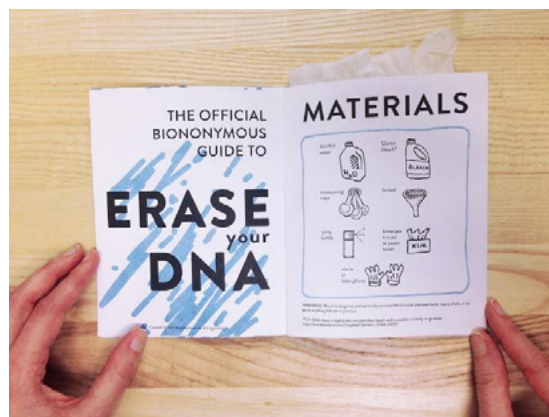
Figure 13 *Photograph of The Official Biononymous Guidebooks (2015) — Booklet's Outside*

Source. "The Official Biononymous Guidebooks" project page, [website] by the artist Heather Dewey-Hagborg (Dewey-Hagborg, n.d-b). Copyright 2009-2021 Heather Dewey-Hagborg. Courtesy of Heather Dewey-Hagborg and Fridman Gallery (New York).

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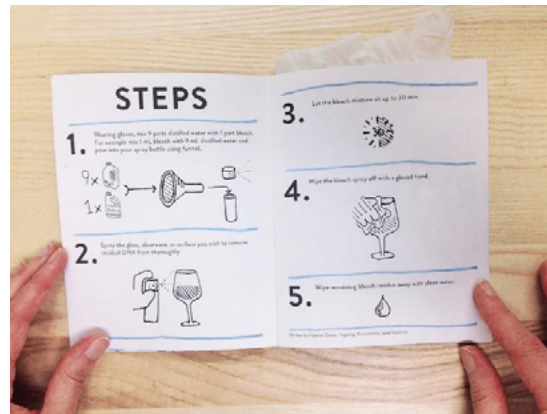
Figure 14 *Photograph of The Official Biononymous Guidebooks (2015) — Booklet's Inside*

Source. "The Official Biononymous Guidebooks" project page, [website] by the artist Heather Dewey-Hagborg (Dewey-Hagborg, n.d-b). Copyright 2009-2021 Heather Dewey-Hagborg. Courtesy of Heather Dewey-Hagborg and Fridman Gallery (New York).

The biopolitical instrumentalizations of light, however, are multiple and present abundant operative modes. The variety and complexity of these technologies of power could therefore demand multiple responses and protection strategies that are equally diverse. In this sense, we believe that the attempt to neutralize light (direct or non-direct) and the resulting dive into a "protective darkness", as suggested in Dewey-Hagborg's (n.d.-b) work, is only one of several ways in which we might elicit the stored opposition in the face of this new regime of luminosity.

Taking a different tack from these *subtractive strategies*, there are the *additive practices of light* that could, in our view, present a prolific inspiration for the construction of *counterlights*. If, on the one hand, the use of mobile phones has allowed the development of new technologies to control the population, on the other hand, it has also significantly spread the possibility to not only record events in various formats (photography, videography, sound), but also share or transmit them instantaneously. These devices thus open up the possibility for the individual to project and transmit their own indirect light across the world.

This particular use of mobile digital devices has long been fruitful, and allows, for example, capturing and publishing — in some cases even inhibiting — police violence. Regarding this issue, it is symptomatic that the aforementioned "global security law" in France precisely envisages, in addition to the expansion of police digital surveillance resources, the concomitant reduction of the possibility for the population to similarly employ such resources. Indeed, the bill proposes criminalizing the disclosure of images that identify police officers — when filmed in the course of their duties and with the intent to harm their "physical or psychological integrity" — which opponents of the law consider to be characterized by a high degree of subjectivity (Hourdeaux, 2020). Therefore, in this bill, the enormous relevance of indirect light in contemporary power networks crystallizes, as does, more broadly, the importance of visibility in current relations between authorities and the population.

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We should also look away from the European context to better explore possible inspiring strategies. In Chile, for example, the popular demonstrations against social inequality that took place between October 2019 and April 2020 also instigate reflection on this problem. Sparked by student protests against the increase in the subway fare in Santiago, the episode, initially localized, quickly spread throughout the country, sparking a wave of massive, cross-generational and cross-cutting actions, marches and protests as well as clashes with the national authorities. In response to the protests, the federal government, led by right-wing businessman Sebastián Piñera, declared a state of emergency and sent military forces to the streets to restore public order (Abufom Silva, 2020).

The escalation of tension in the management of the conflict led to violent street clashes between protesters and the forces of order, which brought to light, through professional and amateur media, spectacular images of a new *light war*. When confronting the police, the Chilean insurgents armed with handheld lasers, massively confronted the police with these lights that were intended, if not to blind the authorities and the means of surveillance of the protests, at least hinder them. Videos posted on social media by protesters testify how these rays (Figure 15) — whose individual brightness is relatively weak, but which constitute an intense flash when added together — managed to not only dazzle a police vehicle and a helicopter pilot but also attack a drone which, dulled by the powerful light, was deflected before falling to the ground.

Figure 15 *Photograph of protests in Santiago, December 2019*

Source. By T. Canelo [@tribitrip], 2019, Instagram. Copyright 2019 by Tribi Canelo. Courtesy of Tribi Canelo.

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This *additive strategy of lights* is also that used by some military planes, which flash intense lights from all sides to confuse and escape a missile's automatic targeting system (Figure 16), as Farocki (2003) points out in his film *Erkennen und Verfolgen (*War at a Distance). As paradoxical as it may seem, throwing light can, therefore, also allow us to dazzle, to blind — *to make night*. As the Chilean insurgents already demonstrated: with their united lasers, they were able to evade the control of the authorities in the Chilean streets, thereby inaugurating the possibility of collective strategies capable of fighting the individualizing mechanisms of societies of control.

Figure 16 *Military Aircraft Using a Light-Based Stealth System*

Source. From *Erkennen und Verfolgen* (58 minutes) by H. Farocki, 2003, Harun Farocki Filmproduktion.
Copyright 2003 by ZDF / Harun Farocki Filmproduktion. Courtesy of Harun Farocki GbR.

Conclusion

In order to illuminate the power relations established through light — what we understand as *photo–politics* —, we first show how modern Paris was the scene of several strategies that relied on the visibility produced through public lighting.These direct lights made the population visible and supervisable by the authorities, a necessary condition for the application of disciplinary power. Today, the power strategies that cross the urban fabric of large Western cities are configured differently, as we perceive through the work of Farocki (2004) work. In these environments, we see that the emergence of new indirect light has allowed the space-time intensification of control, causing relations of forces to exceed the limits of physical space, thus moving away from the mechanism present in disciplinary institutions. Moreover, the nature of the vigilant eye shifts: if in the modern city, control still assumes a human gaze, this is increasingly expendable as various devices turn to the machinic eye. We also ask ourselves whether overexposure to indirect light, which permits the incessant production of marketable data on the population,

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does not signify, in so-called intelligent cities, a greater inflection in the convergence of surveillance mechanisms with economic strategies. Finally, we analyze artistic, theoretical and social propositions that formulate inspiring strategies in order to rise up against these control apparatuses.

Through this brief genealogy, we evidence how the modern and contemporary materialities of light — understood as media — enable, catalyze and reflect certain mediations of power in the analyzed urban fabrics. Furthermore, if, according to the Foucaultian perspective, power materially intervenes, reaching the most concrete reality of individuals — the body — and is situated at the level of the social body itself, rather than above it, penetrating into everyday life (Machado, 2019, p. 14), we hope to have stressed the importance of considering light's protagonism not only in the establishment of such power relations, but also in the imagination and eruption of insurgent lights.

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Dissonant Bodies and the Struggles Over Urban Space: Narratives About Rio de Janeiro in International Documentaries

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Abstract

Physical perfection is one of the most solid imaginary of Brazil and it is currently represented in the form of cisgender white, thin, female bodies that occupy the beaches of the south zone of Rio de Janeiro. It was also an attribute of the brand Rio during the construction of "Olympic city". This article aims to understand, through a critical analysis of four international television documentaries produced and exhibited by foreign televisions during the so-called "Olympic period", how the bodies that are dissonant in relation to these imaginaries struggle over urban spaces, the right to the city and to narrate themselves, breaking with the official brand. Despite the diversity of dissonant bodies, three of them gain space in the international media: trans and transvestite women, analyzed in *Gaycation: Brazil* by Page and Daniel (2016) and *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca* by Temple (2014); black and poor bodies made invisible in urban daily life at *Copacabana Palace* by Waldron (2014) and people with disabilities who fight for the right to inclusion and mobility in *A Bumpy Road to Rio* by Fox (2015). Although the representations of these bodies are still small in relation to the solid imaginary of the perfect bodies, their approach contributes to give visibility to subjects made invisible by the city branding process. They also promote an important question in relation to the flattening of subjects and subjectivities that the megaevent strategy ends up imposing, in addition to showing other possibilities of existence, conflicts and disputes over urban space.

Keywords

brand Rio, city, dissonant bodies, megaevents, television documentaries

Corpos Dissonantes e as Lutas Pelo Espaço Urbano: Narrativas em Documentários Internacionais Sobre o Rio de Janeiro

Resumo

Um dos imaginários mais sólidos do Brasil diz respeito à perfeição física, representada atualmente na forma dos corpos femininos cisgênero, brancos, magros, que ocupam as praias da zona sul do Rio de Janeiro e assumida como atributo da marca Rio na construção da "cidade olímpica". Este artigo busca compreender, por meio de uma análise crítica de quatro documentários internacionais de televisão produzidos e exibidos por televisões estrangeiras durante o chamado "período Olímpico", como os corpos dissonantes a esses imaginários disputam espaços,

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o direito à cidade e a narrar-se por meio de rompimentos com a marca oficial. Apesar da diversidade cotidiana dos corpos dissonantes, três ganham espaço na mídia internacional: mulheres trans e travestis, analisadas em *Gaycation: Brazil* de Page e Daniel (2016) e *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca* de Temple (2014); corpos negros e pobres invisibilizados no cotidiano urbano, em *Copacabana Palace* de Waldron (2014) e pessoas com deficiência que lutam pelo direito à inclusão e à mobilidade em *A Bumpy Road to Rio* de Fox (2015). Ainda que as representações desses corpos sejam pequenas em relação à ratificação dos imaginários já sólidos dos corpos perfeitos, sua abordagem contribui para dar visibilidade a sujeitos invisibilizados pelo processo de *city branding*, promovendo um importante questionamento em relação ao achatamento de sujeitos e subjetividades que a estratégia de construção da marca acaba por impor, além de mostrar outras possibilidades de existência, pontos de conflito diversos e de disputas pelo espaço urbano.

Palavras-chave

cidade, corpos dissonantes, documentários de televisão, marca Rio, megaeventos

Introduction

> Our bodies are the reference that ultimately anchors identity. Moreover, the body is unmistakable, self-evident; thus, we expect the body to dictate identity without ambiguity or inconstancy. A gender, sexual or ethnic identity is deduced from biological "marks"; the process is, however, much more complex, and this deduction can be (and often is) mistaken. Bodies are signified by culture and are continually altered by it. Perhaps we should first ask ourselves how a particular characteristic was recognized and signified as an identity-defining hallmark; also ask what meanings, at this moment and culture, are being attributed to a given label or such an appearance. (Louro, 2019, p. 16)

Physical perfection makes up the range of the most solid and ancient clichés in Brazil, which is recurrent in international television documentaries about Rio de Janeiro. The body that makes up the attribute of the city brand has established characteristics: thin, white, female, and cisgender. Black cisgender women are also often portrayed as having an available body that is an object of desire and sexualization. White cisgender men are also displayed on bodies with sculpted muscles but less frequently.

Thus, the question arises: where within urban branding is the place of bodies that do not fit the characteristics attributed to perfection or are dissonant in relation to these narratives? Although the list of bodies at odds with this official narrative is broad and unrestricted, the documentaries under analysis in this article highlight the struggle of trans women, black bodies from favelas, and people with disabilities for their right to the city.

We are interested in understanding how included and excluded bodies establish narratives within the Rio brand and how they are represented in the audio-visual productions: *Gaycation: Brazil* by Page and Daniel (2016), an American production broadcasted by the Vice channel; *Rio 50 Ddegrees —— Carry on Carioca* by Temple (2014), *Copacabana*

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Palace by Waldron (2014) and e *Bumpy Road to Rio* by Fox (2015), British productions broadcasted on BBC channels and for which the research for this article originates. These productions, with no connection to one another, produced and broadcasted by international networks at the time of the two mega sporting events based in Brazil (2014 world cup and the 2016 Olympics and Paralympics), make up the corpus of a broader study on the city–brand (Gotardo, 2020). When it concerns the public authorities and the city's marketing strategies, we observed that people who are not usually included in public policies appear in political advertisements or tourist promotions, portraying Brazil as a diverse and inclusive country. However, the daily lives shown in the selected documentaries present narratives that sometimes break from official speeches, and at other times reiterate them.

We sought a methodological construction through multipurpose readings of the programs' sounds, as well as its visual and narrative aspects to undertake these analyses. As it is necessary to safeguard differences in the means concerning the stages of production, circulation, distribution/consumption, reproduction the methodological proposal flows between the classic propositions of cinematographic analysis and the language proper to television. Although our focus is on the product, we considered the entire context in which it was produced and consumed, as well as the contexts that guide its reading. We also consider it necessary to articulate various strategies for constructing meaning, enunciation, and communicational circularity to precisely know the phenomenon.

Therefore, we sought to analyse elements from film, television, and narratives to build a methodology that allows a critical reading on the production of meanings and imagery in audio-visual products. Bearing these issues in mind, we endeavoured to reach a broad and critical understanding of the relationships between two of the leading agents involved in the reformulation of the city's image, the media and urban strategies, as well as the production of meanings conveyed from these relationships, in order to reflect the current situation of this brand-city, its impacts and results.

Cities are faced with negotiations between bodies and spaces, establishing disputes that permeate daily life and the media. Bodies make a mark on each city, constituting themselves as one of the main urban branding attributes. However, Brazilian cities' social inclusion strategies do not always consider everyday bodies, their life marks, and their tactics for disputing the right to the city.

Trans Women and Queer

Trans women find a voice in the documentaries *Gaycation: Brazil* and *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca*, especially represented in the body of Luana Muniz, a symbol of the Lapa neighbourhood in Rio de Janeiro. Known as "A Rainha da Lapa" (The Queen of Lapa), Luana, a leader among trans prostitutes who work in the region and who died on May 6, 2017, used to perform and have relevant social work in the neighbourhood, welcoming and helping people in a situation of great vulnerability.

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Understanding that a discursive dispute is also a power struggle, and self-representation is essential in this process, it is vital to highlight the reason for using the term "transvestite". It is a word that carries a significant stigma because historically, it has been used pejoratively, "for referring mainly to people who have low financial conditions and are often associated with prostitutes and people who do not have cisgender passing privilege[1]" (Coletivo Ametista UERJ LGBT +, 2019, pp. 12–13). Luana referred to herself using the term transvestite, as well as addressing other women in this way. In this case, the term is reframed for its political dimension, given Luana's struggle to have trans prostitutes in Lapa recognized.

We highlight three striking characteristics: the first concerns Luana Muniz as a spokesperson for trans prostitutes — which can be understood as a recognition of the essential political and social work that she developed in the neighborhood; the second deals with the re-signification of the meanings of physical perfection from Luana's body, which is projected in a multitude of ways as a body-resistance; and the third is the representation of Lapa and Carnival as spaces for trans people in Rio de Janeiro.

First of all, Luana is shown in two different moments and approaches but which are connected both by the presentation she makes of her social work and the criticisms made. In interview with actress Carol Marra, *Gaycation: Brazil* has a frame exclusively for trans women, which starts in Lapa, Rio de Janeiro, and then moves to São Paulo. It begins with Elliot Page's[2] narration about the high rate of murders among trans people and their marginalization in Brazilian society. While walking to meet Luana, Ian Daniel points out that she protects the neighbourhood's trans prostitutes.

The program seeks another perspective on transsexuality by interviewing Carol Marra, an actress and model of national projection who staged the first trans kiss on Brazilian television. The way Carol describes her experience and views of trans women is quite different from that of Luana Muniz. While Luana says she "likes to be a whore", Carol aligns herself with the more traditional academic and activist discourse (for example, she says trans women are "cowardly pushed into prostitution"). The actress also ponders other issues such as the fact that gender is not linked to the genitalia, or transposing the concept of genitalia and the discrimination that they suffer from being women with penises.

Recognizing gender despite genitals is about breaking away from certain gender restrictions that insist on male/female, or "totally masculine" and "totally feminine" binarism:

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[1] "Passing privilege" is an LGBT+ term which is used to refer to trans people who do not have visible or striking characteristics typically and commonly associated with the gender designated at birth, that is, people "closer to stereotypes and aspects of cisheteronormativity" (Coletivo Ametista UERJ LGBT+, 2019, p. 8).

[2] Elliot Page recently publicized his gender identity as a trans man. At the time of recording the episode, he was still identified by the gender designated at birth. Although in the episode he is identified by the birth registration name, we understand that it must be used from the moment there is a new gender identification.

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> gender is not precisely what someone "is" nor is it precisely what someone "has". *Gender* is the apparatus by which male and female production and normalization are manifested together with the interstitial, hormonal, chromosomal, physical, and performative forms that gender takes on. To suppose that gender always and exclusively means the matrices "male" and "female" is to lose sight of the critical point that this coherent and binary production is contingent, that it had a cost, and that the gender permutations that do not fit this binarism are both part of the genre and its most normative example. (Butler, 2014, p. 253)

In this regard, Butler (2014) understands that gender can be used to deconstruct the conformed notions of male and female, moving it beyond binarism. Breaking away from binarism, also means a break from "a power-regulating operation that naturalizes the hegemonic instance and excludes the possibility of thinking about its disruption" (Butler, 2014, p. 254). Using accessible language, Carol proposes a break away from the idea of binarism which uses the support of physical/chromosomal concepts as regulation and normalization and suggests a transgression of the normative views on femininity and masculinity.

The break from gender normalization is much further explored in *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca*. Luana is the only trans character in the film, endorsing the idea that she is a "spokesperson" for transvestites in Lapa (perhaps from Rio de Janeiro, considering that, in the films, transsexuality is territorialized). She is sometimes accompanied by Lorna Washington, one of the main transformists in the city. The programme does not air a specific block for transgender people, even though they are associated with carnival, Lapa, and questioning concerning violence against LGBTQi + people. Followed by an image of Christ the Redeemer who seems to cry, Lorna rebukes regarding violence: "is Rio gay-friendly? It is not. Who cares about transvestites? Nobody, in the same way nobody wants to know about the blacks or the poor ... several gays, transvestites, are killed ..." (00:44:44). Unlike the institutional productions of Rio's city hall and the ministries of tourism to promote 2014 world cup's host country and the host city of the Olympic games, which portrays Rio de Janeiro as gay friendly, Lorna and Luana clearly state that this image is not the reality. Brazil still has a high rate of homophobia and transphobia.

In Temple's film, *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca*, and the second striking feature evident in the film is Luana's relationship with her body as a symbol of resistance. In *Gaycation: Brazil*, Luana is dressed in a long, less revealing dress and is apparently not comfortable with the TV crew's presence in her home. In *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca*, she opens up her house and her dressing room and is followed by the TV crew for longer. In an interview for the newspaper *O Globo*, Temple says he met Luana when he recorded the movie *Running out of Luck* (1987) in Rio (Fonseca, 2012). According to the director, from a recording that was supposed to have been done in secret, Luana

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ended up creating space in the film to question certain naturalizations about the city's imaginaries.

Back at *Gaycation: Brazil*, Luana teases Ian when, while receiving instructions for the shooting, Luana, who is much taller, stands in front of him, and her posture makes her look from top to bottom, demarcating power. In *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca*, on the other hand, she appears "parading" for the camera in a short, low-cut dress, glued to her body, In the next scene, she appears getting dressed in her dressing room, half-naked with her tattoos on display; she stands up in front of the camera, which frames her buttocks. Already in the first scenes, the images displace various normalizations through her body and sexuality. The imaginary of physical perfection attributed to the cisgender female body gains new meanings from Luana's body. Although she also has a thin white body, this body is fluid; it is tattooed and it is no longer considered a young body by aesthetic standards (she is about 51 at the time of recording).

Luana, with her fluid body, establishes not only an alterity in relation to the bodies attributed to the city–brand but also her biopower. According to Pelbart (2007), biopower and multitude biopotency or power over one's life and the powers of life, "are like the opposite of each other. (…) Both biopower and multitude biopotency necessarily pass through the body" (p. 58). The way Luana narrates her body is very different from Carol's. Luana feels good about having a penis; it makes her sexual fluidity possible, breaking both cis and heteronormativity. It can be understood that Carol is more subject to gender norms than Luana. According to Butler (2014), this standardization comes from a specific and gender-specific regulatory and disciplinary regime. Luana uses her desire as a power in expropriating it from submission and control of this modality of contemporary biopower that acts "at the heart of subjectivities and of life itself" (Pelbart, 2007, p. 58).

Oswin (2008) understands that it is the task of queer theorists "to embrace the critique of identity to its fullest extent by abandoning the search for an inherently radical queer subject and turning attention to the advancement of a critical approach to the workings of sexual normativities and non-normativities" (p. 96). Furthermore, it is interesting to observe how two trans women narrate their lives from very different perspectives. There is no invalidation of one or the other; instead, there is a need to understand them and how they operate within their specific contexts.

From Oswin's perspective (2008) on the need for criticism of binarism and norms, although Luana's discourse often comes into conflict with activist and academic discourses, it still offers a significant contribution. It is crucial to understand and recognize that Luana's life story, which is not known through documentaries, is permeated by daily struggles to survive. Luana appropriates and exposes her fluidity naturally and, although her speeches are often contextualized by binarism, she circulates in the "in-between". She also treats sexuality and sexualization naturally as resistance to heteronormativity. Luana's body acts in the displacement of the imaginary and in the exert of or desire for power (or even in resistance to the violence imposed by cis-heteronormativity).

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The Queen of Lapa is also recognized for how she conducts a transformation, which concerns the third highlight of the narratives. In *Gaycation: Brazil*, she points out that the queer world is seen as an "underworld" and thus very cliquey, but that in centre of Rio this is not due to her. However, contrary to the documentary portray of Lapa as a neighbourhood famous for prostitution, framing it as a place of transvestites, in *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca,* Luana says that "Lapa has everything: it has whores, faggots, crazy people, beggars and rich and poor people" (00:43:16). Images confirm Luana's statement. There is, at this point in the film, a break with the idea that Lapa is a queer space, that it is not homogeneous, and like Luana and her body, it is fluid — Lapa and Luana's body blurring and merging as one.

In queer geography, there is the idea that the deterritorialization of the heterosexual space would enable "the visibility of sexual subcultures that resist and break the hegemonic heterosexuality that is the source of their marginality and exclusion" (Oswin, 2008, p. 90), deterritorialization as resistance and transgression to heteronormativity as an exercise of power. Oswin (2008) points out that this line of studies is based on the idea that spaces, as much as people, do not have a pre-existing sexual identity; thus, there is no "straight space", but instead, a heterosexualized space, actively produced in this sense, in which the dissonant bodies produce a difference that further emphasizes their normalizing condition. Thus, the idea of their occupation denotes resistance through visibility.

However, this point of view is questioned by Oswin (2008) in the sense that classification even within sexual subcultures is also a standardization of spaces. According to the author, "recent work challenges conceptualizations of queer space as dissident space, resistant space, progressive space, colonized space or claimed space" (Oswin, 2008, p. 91). It is a challenge which acts in maintaining a heterosexual/homosexual binary on which these notions are based (queer space issues). In the author's view, studies on the territorialization of queer space privilege sexuality to the detriment of other identity processes, and instead "considering queer subjects as simultaneously raced, classed and gendered bodies" (Oswin, 2008, p. 91).

Oswin's (2008) criticism is in the sense that understanding spaces such as gay, lesbian and, trans also ends up being a normative and excluding practice. The author believes that spaces should be fluid and shared, regardless of sexual orientations or gender identities, even as a way of criticizing binarism and norms.

Although the authors contradict themselves in how the right to the city must be fought for, it is emphasized that the different points of view concern the right to an inclusive daily urban life, to celebrations such as Carnival, and of spaces, such as Lapa, in order to legitimize the bodies and break heterosexist norms. Expecting consensus in an area so permeated by several indentations is also standardizing a theory that proposes to break with norms.

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In addition to territorializing Lapa as a trans space, these documentaries also associate Carnival as a trans party. In *Gaycation: Brazil*, for example, Page mentions the "safe atmosphere" of the party, which is primarily influenced by the LGBTQi + culture. Several images of trans women are displayed, and one is interviewed: "I come every year because it is a place like this that was made for us, you know, transsexuals, you know. We are welcomed here, understand?" (00:03:26). Page, however, reports the murder of the *passista*, a female carnival dancer, Piu da Silva to counter the idea of "acceptance". They also cite the practice of crossdressing[3], done especially among men, as a tradition that is a form of gender oppression.

The deconstruction of the idea of Carnival as a trans space is also seen in *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca*. The Carnival shown expresses several points of view — the transformation into a consumer party, the sexualization of the female body, and the association with the idea of trans space. In images where she appears naked, her breasts on display, Luana says that this allure "is just folkloric, carnival was once a party that was synonymous with transvestites, but not anymore because nowadays Carnival has become for you, tourists" (00:42:13). Luana's criticism also includes a deterritorialization (through cisnormatization) that generates even more exclusion for trans people. As Puar (2002, as cited in Oswin, 2008) points out, "the claiming of space — any space, even the claiming of queer space — [is] a process informed by histories of colonization, these histories operating in tandem with the disruptive and potentially transgressive specifics at hand" (p. 95).

At another point in the episode, images of Luana and Lorna Washington lip syncing the song *La Vie en Rose* are shown while new images of sexual content are displayed, all involving the sexualization and the consumption of the bodies of trans people at the Carnival by tourists, apparently foreigners — hypersexualization also cited by Page in *Gaycation: Brazil*. These images are alternated with Lorna's speeches on violence against LGBTQi + people, with Dalida's song as a musical background, in an ironic construction of the party.

In the documentaries analysed, it was interesting to observe some significant displacements concerning the official Rio de Janeiro city brand: first, highlighting the violence to which LGBTQi + people are subjected to, especially trans people. This narrative is a relevant change to the official narratives, which consider developing the "gay-friendly" attribute for the city brand as a tourist destination. Both in *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca* and *Gaycation: Brazil*, this imaginary is quite demystified.

Taking into consideration the possible representation that an audio-visual product of this type allows, the fact that trans people gain space for self-representation is, in itself, a critical displacement as there was no silencing of the existence of these people, nor did they need to worry about reproducing the official narratives and the solid city imaginary.

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[3] Crossdressing is a term that refers to the practice of people who wear clothes and/or use objects commonly associated with the opposite gender, considering the understanding of a gender binarism corresponding to "male" and "female".

In building perfect bodies for consumption, there is no room for these dissonant bodies; when breaking with official narratives, these bodies emerge and gain visibility, gain presence in the hegemonic media, marking their existence. Moreover, with their demands and struggles, they show that they constitute the city and have the right to it.

Poor Black Bodies

> Being unprepared for an oppressive image of the media which can lead us not to paralysis, but to a situation of (a) commotion, in which we act because we are affected, and (b) of being at the same time there and here and, in different ways, accepting and negotiating the multi-locality and the cross-temporality of the ethical connections that we can correctly call global. (Butler, 2015/2019, p. 117)

Black bodies are often part of Brazilian tourism communication strategies. This representation was also recurrent in all advertising material aimed at the 2014 world cup and the 2016 Olympic games. In general, black people appear smiling with minimal true expression of their daily reality. In the British documentary *Copacabana Palace*, however, black bodies break the imaginary of the "mulatta", its double oppression of gender and race, and the sexualisation in its dispute for urban space. Set at the Copacabana Palace Hotel, one of the icons for the brand Rio and of international allure, the documentary narrates the story of these bodies which are subjected to the capitalist logic of luxury consumption, with particular emphasis on people who work in the lowest hierarchical positions, such as chambermaids and janitors. It was produced in 2013, it is 59 minutes long, and the BBC broadcasted it for the first time on May 12, 2014, and for the last time on November 7, 2017. The synopsis highlights that

> luxury doesn't come cheap; the starting price for a night at the Copacabana Palace is £400 and the price for their VIP suites isn't even made public. But in a country where one in five people still live below the poverty line, the reality for many of the hotel's staff is very different. This documentary for *This World* reveals how the hotel's story reflects the fortunes of the entire nation and how Brazil is increasingly a country of extraordinary extremes. (BBC, n.d.)

Neil Midgley, a columnist for *The Telegraph*, gave the documentary four stars in his assessment, saying it deserved to be done serially for the excellence of its characters (Midgley, 2014). In his analysis, he says that the Olympics should be organized by hotel managers, considering that

> Rio de Janeiro's preparations for the 2016 Olympics are, according to the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the "worst" ever. (...) Inside the

beautiful Palace, it was easy to understand Rio's Olympic aspirations. But back in the favelas, it was even easier to understand the IOC's misgivings. (Midgley, 2014, para. 1–5)

After introducing some wealthy and eccentric guests, the documentary begins to interview hotel workers. Accompanied by a colleague, one of them says that he "can live a good life" (00:26:34), with salary he earns while. Both are crestfallen in front of the camera, as they cannot, in that context, criticize their employer. In another scene, a maid named Jéssica is accompanied by Anne Philips, an English hotel employee who is specialized in hospitality, and at this point in the documentary, teaches English to the maid. Anne says that employees would never be able to pay for English classes; given that they live far away, and during the shift she cannot accompany them for long hours, she records the classes allowing them to study on their commute, which can take up to three hours by bus. Although classes may benefit workers in other jobs, it is a way of extending the employee's subordinate relationship with the employer as well as being of immediate interest for their work at the Copacabana Palace. Anne also mentions that poor people cannot afford housing in prime areas close to work, noting that the people who live in the favelas are "fabulous", and about "2% are drug dealers" (00:30:00). According to Anne, favelas are being revitalized, "they have television, electricity, water, sanitation" (00:30:30). Jessica, who does not speak English, cannot participate in the conversation but maintains an upright posture and a smile on her face as if she agrees with what is being said.

A normalization of the social chasm between guests and staff can be perceived when, for example, the chambermaid says it is difficult for workers, who are generally destitute, to deal with very wealthy people. She stresses that the issue is constantly reinforced so that the maids understand that this difference "is part of life". Louro (2019) points out that every society establishes labels that intend to consolidate identities:

> different and divergent representations can, therefore, circulate and produce social effects. However, some of them gain such visibility and strength that they are no longer perceived as representations and are taken as reality. The social groups that occupy the central, "normal" positions (...) have the possibility not only to represent themselves but also to represent others. They speak for themselves, for "others", and about others; they present their own aesthetics, ethics, or science as a standard. They claim the right to represent, by denial or subordination, the manifestations of the other groups. (pp. 18–19)

In the documentary, the bodies of poor women, mostly black, are placed in this position of serving and subservience as part of life; they should also, within this logic, be thankful since they work in a hotel like the Copacabana Palace. Viviane says she likes

to be a maid, that many people want to work in a hotel known worldwide. She has three children and said that, at first, it was difficult to adjust caring for her three children with her hotel work, but that it worked out. A person asks if she lives close to work, she says yes, she lives in Rocinha ("I don't know if you've heard about it on television" [00:39:17]). While she is being interviewed at work, she shows and narrates her activities to the camera — white sheets perfectly stretched over a large bed, products sprayed over the duvet so that it makes it even smoother as well as leaving a special fragrance. She points out that

> even though we are busy, full of things to do, when we enter the guest's apartment, we [should] focus on the guest, forget what is left behind. Because this is what is most important here, we work like this, always focusing on the guest, giving them the best so that they feel pleased to return. (00:39:39)

This body must give up its subjectivity to occupy this space in the city, even though urban logic submits it to unfavourable conditions. For example, the chambermaid reports that it is common for employees to call informing there are shootings where they live and that they will be late for work. She adds: "I understand I have guests to clean up after, but I will not be able to 'sir, sorry, you won't have housekeeping today because our maid cannot arrive'" (00:40:13).

The recording follows Viviane to her home in Rocinha, making evident the clash between the luxury of the hotel, its white sheets perfectly stretched, and the sewers and alleys of the favela. Viviane lives in a tiny simple house. She and her three children have only two single mattresses to sleep on. Viviane transforms when she is at home: from the hotel's docile chambermaid, she becomes a critical woman, showing dissatisfaction for having to leave home to work during shootings and leaving her children in danger. She relates she will work 12 days in a row, with no time off, during Carnival. She also says that people think she makes a good living from working at the Copacabana Palace, but she tells to the recording crew: "you see that it is not like that in reality" (00:44:22). She also highlights that there are "two sides to Brazil", one rich and one poor, with "workers being on the poverty side" (00:44:34), emphasizing that, while colleagues live in even worse communities, hotel guests live in luxury.

> My life is practically lived inside the hotel. There, we are practically on a stage, in a theatre, because when we enter the scene, we have to forget all the problems, always smiling (...) no matter how tired you are from so much work ... it is to play a character there that in reality doesn't exist. (00:44:48)

Viviane continues her criticism by saying that the government does not give the poor opportunities; she also says that she did not finish her studies and regrets it a lot but insists that her children attend school.

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Back at the hotel, the narrative highlights Brazilian inequality as one of the largest in the world, while images of a luxury party are displayed. It also presents another face of the dissociation between the rich and Brazilian reality: Felipe, manager of the Asian restaurant being built at the hotel, also lives in the favela. For him, however, this is an option, a "lifestyle". He says that he would not live there if he did not feel safe. People in favelas are no longer poor as they have good jobs, thus highlighting a gentrification aspect promoted by the pacification policy of the state government. The same idea of economic growth and the rise of consumption by poor people is ratified by the hotel manager, Andrea.

The documentary itself acts almost like an advertising piece for the hotel, showing its history and reinforcing solid imaginary of it as a luxury consumption space in the city, including through the use of archival images, such as the movie *Flying Down to Rio*, with Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers (a film that is also used in the editing of *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca* in a totally different context, showing the power of archival images in the reconfiguration of the imaginary), among others, Rio's landscapes, aerial views, constant use of the song *Mas que Nada*, by Sérgio Mendes (also used in another context by *Rio 50 Degrees — Carry on Carioca*, a documentary that also addresses the Copacabana Palace as a representative of the upper class in Rio), and historic artifacts that mark the hotel as one of the best known in Latin America.

In this context, it is interesting that through the voice of Viviane, the film opens space for people who are invisible and silenced in the process of consuming the city. Moreover, the discourse of privileged people concerning these bodies, which in their view must be kept docile and occupy an invisible space of subservience, is not problematized. The contrast of the images also produces meanings for potential criticism. Furthermore, above all, Viviane can, in her home, leave the character she builds for herself at work, denouncing the invisibility of her body and the subjection of her daily life by the logic of consumption. If the right to difference is, as Harvey (2013) points out, "one of the most precious rights of city dwellers" (p. 38), then the logic of luxury consumption is a way of removing the rights of those citizens who work there.

People With Disabilities

> Sometimes people, or some people, are confined or absent or out of reach of the street and the camera – they are unapproachable, although they may well be captured in another sense. It never really happens that all possible people represented by the notion of "people" appear in the same space and at the same time to assert themselves as a people! As if everyone were free to move, as if everyone, of their own free will, came together to a space and time that can be described or photographed in a way that includes everyone! (Butler, 2015/2019, p. 183)

As Butler (2015/2019) points out when addressing visual representations of people, not all bodies are available or have access to all spaces in cities. In the documentaries studied in this research another manifestation that presents itself as dissonant and in search for the right to the city concerns the bodies of people with disabilities, represented in *A Bumpy Road to Rio*. The 23-minute documentary was shown by the program *Our World*, on BBC World News and BBC World News North America, between 9 and 30 October 2015. The program stars Nikki Fox, a wheelchair user who seeks to understand what life in Rio is like for people with disabilities and shows the city's preparations for the Paralympics. A legacy, which was necessary to receive athletes from all over the world, was promised, especially concerning mobility and accessibility for people with disabilities. However, the Rio 2016 committee's financial crisis and the low interest of the population in purchasing tickets significantly impacted the games, compromising their performance. When guaranteeing the financial support for the event, the then-mayor Eduardo Paes declared that "the Paralympics is an incredible event, but, as a business, it is not exactly attractive to sponsors or for ticket sales. It is a business model that does not pay for itself" (Betim, 2016, para. 4). Although support from the media has helped to boost ticket sales, as well as the increase of television audience compared to the London games ("Com 4,1 bilhões de telespectadores, Paralimpíada do Rio bate recorde", 2017), the occupation of hotels, for example, has not been so promising (Martín, 2016).

Regarding the documentaries analysed for this article, there is practically no reference to the Paralympic games and their impact in terms of mobility, accessibility, public policies, and the inclusion of people with disabilities in urban life. *Bumpy Road to Rio* is, therefore, an important voice in this regard. For example, in the first scene of the film, it is interesting to observe how one of the most classic clichés in the city is displaced. It´s a samba school where one of the *passistas* is a person with dwarfism, and both the other passista and the flag bearer are people with Down syndrome. Bodies that are not part of the Carnival allure are part of the program's opening, as well as its development. Paul Davies is an English national living in Brazil and the founder of the Embaixadores da Alegria (Ambassadors of Joy), a samba school for people with disabilities. Viviane, the *passista* with dwarfism, is called a "superstar" by Nikki. Viviane is vain, shows familiarity with the camera, and says she was born to dance. She says she always wanted to be the Carnival queen, but the minimum height of 1.60m prevented her.

Some people accompany Nikki during her stay in the city. The first, Elizabeth, also a wheelchair user, reports her difficulty walking on the streets, the fear of falling, of breaking her chair, in addition to the shame of not being recognized as a person by the government, highlighting the invisibility of people with disabilities in relation to public policies. The images show the holes in the sidewalks and the mobility difficulties they both face, but Nikki points out that "what is lacking in the city in terms of accessibility, people make up for it with their help" (00:07:00). Another companion is Carlos, a tour guide, wheelchair user and the taxi driver of a car adapted for transporting people with disabilities. He also highlights the difficulties of locomotion in the city, highlighting that, although they

seem terrible for foreigners, people in Brazil have already become accustomed to it. Nikki tries to get around the city and bumps into holes, steps, and traffic (drivers who do not stop at the traffic light or stop over the crosswalk or close intersections). Carlos invites her to take public transport. They stop at a bus stop on a street in the south zone (apparently Visconde de Pirajá street, in Ipanema): many buses that drive past do not have a motorized wheelchair lift or are full. They eventually manage to board an empty bus.

The presenter also visits the site at the Olympic Park. She highlights its cost, questioning whether this money will also be used to improve the city's accessibility for disabled people. Eduardo Paes welcomes her to the park, and although he recognizes that there is still a long way to go he emphasizes that Rio will be a much better city after the Olympics. Nikki also highlights the Paralympics as a way to initiate changes and push them forward (in a representation of the official discourse of mega-events as catalysts for the desired changes).

The difficulty of being a disabled person who lives in a slum is also addressed. Nikki accompanies Washington Assis do Nascimento Junior, a Paralympic athlete living in Cidade de Deus, and the challenges he faces in training, including the delays in financing. Andrew Parsons, president of the Brazilian Paralympic Committee, says that there is no efficient system for investing in training athletes and hopes that the Paralympics will contribute in changing it. The final part of the documentary shows athlete Wilians Araújo, who lived in Complexo do Alemão but managed to buy a house outside the favela. Permeated by positive messages of overcoming, despite the difficulties faced by the disabled living in the city, Araújo says that sport has changed his life and that of his family and that the Paralympics is a catalyst for the necessary changes in the city, reinforcing the official discourse.

Considering mobility as a fundamental right that guarantees access to other rights, such as education, health and leisure, the exclusion of people with disabilities from the urban space is a restriction of their right to the city. It is not just the prejudice of family members who "hide" people with disabilities, a thesis brought up by Paul Davies in a conversation with Nikki. Apart from the daily difficulties that these people suffer, not only concerning mobility but also in the absence of accessible spaces, study and work opportunities, difficulties in accessing culture (for example, theatre plays in sign-language or audio description, public libraries with Braille books, among countless other actions that could be taken in favour of people with disabilities), in addition to so many others. These dissonant bodies, very invisible and excluded from the urban space, saw in the Paralympics a potential to occupy the city and guarantee its visibility in the urban space because

> if the body in the sphere of politics were active by definition – always self-constituting, never constituted – then we would not have to fight for the conditions that allow the body its free activity in the name of economic and social justice. This struggle assumes that the bodies are constrained and embarrassing. (Butler, 2015/2019, p. 201)

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The Aliança Global (Global Alliance)'s press guide for inclusion of people with disabilities in the media and entertainment (Almeida, n.d.) highlights the vital role the media plays in including people with disabilities and their productions. According to the guide, the story focuses on questions about people's quality of life. However, certain speeches often flirt with meritocracy, such as when the narrator says that people do not complain about having to work much harder to improve their lives, or like when Carlos says that it is possible to do everything, it is necessary to try in order to win. The guide points out that "even though the public may find these portraits inspiring, these stereotypes raise false expectations for other people with disabilities" (Almeida, n.d., p. 6). Even so, *A Bumpy Road to Rio* is an important production in the inclusion of guidelines for people with disabilities in the hegemonic media and in the dispute for the meanings of the Rio brand, as it is a product produced by a person with disabilities that shows both the difficulties imposed by the social and urban fabric of cities as the need to create a city, through public policies, so that these bodies can be effectively part of the daily urban life. The audio-visual voices self-representation, criticizes ableism, and shows the plurality of bodies that make up the city and their claim for the right to live in it fully.

Final Considerations

> We are, as bodies, vulnerable to others and to institutions, and this vulnerability is an aspect of the social modality through which bodies persist. The question of mine or its vulnerability implies a broader political question about equality and inequality, since vulnerability can be projected and denied (psychological categories) and exploited and manipulated (social and economic categories) in the course of production. and the naturalization of forms of social inequality. (Butler, 2015/2019, p. 231)

Although the plurality of dissonant bodies compared to the imaginary of the perfect body attributed to the brand Rio is still much more significant than that portrayed in the documentaries studied in this research, giving visibility to subjects that were previously invisible in the city branding process is a way of breaking away from the bias imposed by the brand-building strategy. This process implies the emergence of a whole range of possibilities for existence, conflicts, and disputes for urban space that are much more consistent with the daily life of the city than the consensus preached by urban strategic planning, in which megaevents are one of its most relevant points. In the latter, the focus of image reconstruction is central.

In the documentaries analysed, we note that bodies dissonant of the hegemonic aesthetics of consumption break with official discourses by including diversity in their narratives, always clarifying that this diversity is adjunct or alternative. Dissonant bodies are not protagonists within public policies, although there is a tendency to include

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non-hegemonic bodies in periods of political elections or major events. In these situations, people excluded from a large part of the public education, health, transport, and housing processes are remembered because they represent votes or portray an image of an inclusive city to the world. This is the case of the categories of bodies approached in this article: trans and queer, black and poor people, and people with disabilities.

Dissonant bodies compared to the allure of physical perfection attributed to the Edenic Brazilian paradise since its founding narratives, reappropriated as an attribute of the city brand, also act as tension in the discursive dispute over the power to represent itself, of narrating and fighting for the right to exist, for the right to life and the city. If these bodies, understood as minorities, were previously silenced or kept docile, actions searching for representation contribute to the dispute for some space and some self-representation in the hegemonic media even though these are still under the scrutiny of a foreign eye.

Translation: Alessandra Gotardo

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City and Performativity: Normative Ruptures in the Informal Public Space — A Case Study in the City of Recife, Brazil

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Abstract

By questioning the idea of a hegemonic city and with totalizing structures, this article takes the bodies in the urban space as a way to argue the normative structures and, therefore, seeks to investigate the thinking of the city for various performativities, by taking into account bodies beyond certain normatives. To this end, the concepts of performativity of the philosopher Judith Butler (1990/2020) and the concepts of micropolitics and macropolitics of the philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1980/1996) are used for the interpretation and construction of the research, through which it was possible to understand the segmentation of the everyday doing. Those segments can be characterized as linear (the historical processes), circular (the territory occupations) and binary (the social dualities). The application process in the field of the concepts studied was carried out in Brazil, in the city of Recife, and the area chosen was the surroundings of the São José market, located in the historical center, where existed an intense informal trade activity until 2019. The investigation was structured in interpreting how some of the social segmentarities of this space conform, with the objective of characterising the relations of spatial appropriation by the performative bodies. Consequently, the enunciation of a concept was reached as a result to characterize the relationship between the bodies and the observed area: the disruptive performative spaces. Therefore, this work seeks to contribute to the practice of urbanism, by proposing a more inclusive look at the city.

Keywords

bodies, city, performativity, Recife, segmentarities

Cidade e Performatividade: Rupturas Normativas no Espaço Público Informal — Um Estudo de Caso na Cidade do Recife, Brasil

Resumo

A partir do questionamento da ideia de uma cidade hegemônica e com estruturas totalizantes, este artigo toma os corpos no espaço urbano como um modo de discutir essas estruturas normativas e, por isso, procura investigar como pensar a cidade para as diversas performatividades, ao levar em consideração os corpos além dos determinados normativos. Para tanto, são utilizados como fios condutores de interpretação e construção da investigação os conceitos de performatividade da filósofa Judith Butler (1990/2020) e os de micropolítica e macropolítica dos filósofos Gilles Deleuze e Félix Guattari (1980/1996), através dos quais se chegou ao

entendimento da segmentação do fazer cotidiano. Esses segmentos podem ser caracterizados como linear (os processos históricos), circular (as ocupações do território) e binário (as dualidades sociais). O processo de aplicação em campo dos conceitos estudados foi realizado no Brasil, na cidade do Recife, e a área escolhida foi o entorno do Mercado de São José, localizado no centro histórico, onde existiu, até ao ano de 2019, uma intensa atividade de comércio informal. A investigação estruturou-se em interpretar como se conformam algumas das segmentaridades sociais desse espaço, com o objetivo de caracterizar as relações de apropriação espacial pelos corpos performativos. Diante disso, chegou-se como resultado à enunciação de um conceito para caracterizar a relação entre os corpos e a área observada: os espaços performativos disruptivos. Dessa maneira, este trabalho busca contribuir para a prática do urbanismo, ao propor um olhar mais inclusivo sobre a cidade.

Palavras-chave

cidade, corpos, performatividade, Recife, segmentaridades

Introduction

> A convenient way to get to know a city is to try to find out how you work in it, how you love it and how you die in it. In our small town, is it the effect of the climate, all of this is done together, with the same frantic and absent air.
> (Camus, 1947/2017, p. 7)

From this excerpt from Albert Camus (1947/2017), *A Peste* (*The Plague*), several possibilities can emerge about how to think of ways to get to know a city. However, one thing common to the moments of life brought by the writer — work, death, and love — is the corporeality as an indispensable category for the existence of urban subjects. The body, through its materiality and perception, is the means by which the subject is able to absorb his experience in the city and perform it in his daily life. The relationship between the body and the city is indispensable in the constitution of the urban subject, and this relationship works in a reciprocal way, because at the same time that the city is experienced through the body, the body is responsible for making the city.

To think the city on this bias, we took the concept of performativity developed by the American philosopher Judith Butler (1947/2017), through which approaches the body with a political look, by taking into consideration these marks left by social and cultural structures, and allows us to think the city through the body. Butler (2015/2019) defines the concept of performativity as an ontological representation performed by the body and characterizes it as a way of acting in society: "it is a matter of acting, and in acting, claiming the power one needs. That is performativity as I understand it, and it is also a way of acting out of and against precariousness" (p. 65). Therefore, the author questions through performativity the bodily standards determined by a society ruled by a central power, which seeks to control any kind of diversity, be it racial, gender, or class. Here, the standards are understood as a normativity determined by the powers existing in society, which end up discriminating or excluding some bodies from the "legitimate" structures

of social organizations. The "powers" can be both administrative structures and body representations determined by traditions, imaginaries and consumption.

These standards, acting on both the body and the production of the city, can be approached from the understanding of the micropolitics and macropolitics presented by philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1980/1996). For the authors, "everything is political, but all politics are at the same time macropolitics and micropolitics" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1996, p. 90). Therefore, micropolitics corresponds to the portion of politics related to the desires that move a society individually and collectively. It is flux and intensity. Macropolitics, on the other hand, is related to the totalizing and visible structures of politics. It is the flow of micropolitics channeled and sedimented as a large social structure. According to the philosophers, micropolitics and macropolitics coexist in society and together make up the various existing social and political structures.

Through micropolitics and macropolitics it is possible to measure an interpretation of the relationship between the performative body and the city, considering a look towards imposed normativities. Through their bodies, social groups question a production of city that starts from a totalizing perspective, of an ideal man; this ideal city "has a single gender, race and sexuality that regulate everything, including our imaginary" (Moreira & Nisida, 2019). In this way, crossed by these questionings and context, we sought to investigate new possibilities of approaching the city, to reflect on how to think the city for the diverse performativities, by taking into account the bodies beyond the determined normatives.

In a context of reformulation of strategies to think the city, whether these strategies are more reactive or propositional, this text stands as a reflective process to think the city, from the bodies that occupy it and the normative political forces that cross it. A way to look at urban spaces through new lenses and help build a more welcoming city. In this sense, first, a theoretical construction and a crossing of the key concepts for the construction of the research are made: the performative body, macropolitics, and micropolitics. Then, the research carried out in a Brazilian context, the surroundings of São José market, is exposed. Finally, the results achieved and the reflections resulting from our discussion and observation in the production of urban space are discussed.

To this end, the study was applied in the Brazilian context, more precisely in the São José market block, in the city of Recife, Pernambuco. The block is cut across two neighborhoods, Santo Antônio and São José, and is located in a historic area of the city. Until 2019, it had a large circulation of people daily, mainly due to its strong popular and informal commerce. But in 2020, the city government removed informal trade workers from the area, which decharacterized the space for the purpose of "zoning" and for the creation of parking spaces. It is also worth highlighting our decision not to have investigated the internal space of the market, preferring to observe the bodies without the imposition of an architectural program of uses, since the research[1] turned to the relations

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[1] This research was developed as part of the master's degree in the Urban Development Program, at the Federal University of Pernambuco, as partial requirement for obtaining the master's degree and was entitled *Performatividade e Cidade: Rupturas Normativas nos Espaços Limiares ao Mercado de São José* (Dias, 2020).

between performativity and the city, especially those related to the appropriation of public space by informal commerce workers.

City, Body and Politics: The Structures Embedded in the Constitution of the Subject

As pointed out by philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945/2006), the body is the means through which the subject relates, processes and inhabits the world. Therefore, a perspective to look at the relationship between the body and the city is the reading made by sociologist Richard Sennett (1994/2008), who presents the construction and the organization of cities based on the body. The author points out how the several social, historical and political issues that permeate the body reflect in the arrangement of urban space throughout Western history. In fact, Sennett (1994/2008) points out how the dissolution of a dominant image of body in urban space is responsible for enabling multiple existences — racial, social and gender — to live together in the same place and thus provoke "changes that have tarnished and subverted the urban form and space" (p. 23).

In the Brazilian context, through the discussion brought by Sennett (1994/2008), it is possible to understand the aversion to the streets of the wealthier social classes, especially in cities with colonial origins, and why the logic of production of Brazilian cities still promotes a city focused on private space. The architect and urbanist Lúcia Leitão (2014) shows the origins of this problem. According to Leitão, the beginning of the development of Brazilian cities with colonial origins represented a loss of power and control of the plantation owners, an oligarchic elite that came from sugarcane agriculture. This loss occurred due to the characteristics of urban life, such as anonymity and collectivity, "in many ways incompatible with the interests of the patriarchal lords of colonial Brazil" (Leitão, 2014, p. 78). In other words, being in the city would mean, in a way, a greater freedom to the bodies, especially to women, free workers, and former slaves, after all, they would be outside the visual control of the plantation owner. However, the customs and the power still concentrated in the hands of the plantation owners were enough to build an idea of the street as something depreciated and frightening for women and children, being this space destined only for men. Today, some aspects of these ideas still inhabit the imaginary of many residents of Brazilian cities.

A key concept to look at corporeality as something contextual — in relation to society and urban space — is that of performativity. The performativity, as treated by philosopher Judith Butler (1990/2020), addresses precisely this understanding of the process of construction of a body crossed by historical, cultural and social issues and was chosen as a guiding concept in the research process of this work. As a way to understand the process of affectation of the body by the city, and the city by the body, the concepts of micropolitics and macropolitics were taken. Therefore, we now proceed to the understanding of what performativity is in Butler and the concepts of macropolitics and micropolitics brought by Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1996).

Performativity and Its Political Condition

The word "performativity" was first used by the philosopher of language J. L. Austin in 1955 to denote verbs that express actions through acts (Butler, 2015/ 2019). The verb swear, for example, a speaker when he says it in the first person, he is also performing the act. Judith Butler (2015/2019) establishes a relationship between Austin's performativity and the process of constructing corporeality. For the philosopher, the action of naming something transfers to the "thing" various meanings and characteristics. For example, when a baby is born, and the doctor — or someone — declares that it is a girl or a boy, automatically several aspects of our imaginary are transposed to that human being. Among these aspects is how the body represents the female or male gender through its gesticulation. Thus, the categorization of something through naming is responsible for imprinting performative marks on its corporeality. Butler (1990/2020) builds her definition of the concept of performativity on this connection between language and the body, but is equally influenced by Simone de Beauvoir's feminist and existentialist theory and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology.

Simone de Beauvoir (1949) contributes to the concept of performativity, mainly through her ideas discussed in the book *Le Deuxième Sexe: Les Faits et les Mythes* , work in which her famous phrase was published: "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman". From the distinction between sex and gender, Beauvoir sees gender as something socially constructed. However, Beauvoir (as cited in Butler 1990/ 2020) understands its construction as a "cultural compulsion to do so" (Butler, 1990/2020, p. 29). Therefore, Butler (1990/2020) points out some caveats, such as the need to conceive of a body no longer as a medium or passive. It is important to remember the existence of the possibilities of performative ruptures, in the question of gender and in other dimensions. According to Butler (2015/2019), these ruptures are mainly present in groups gathered with lives marked "by induced forms of precarious condition" (p. 17), that is, any body not legitimized by the acting power structures.

The aspects of body movement in the concept of performativity come, in large part, from the philosophy of perception developed by Merleau-Ponty (1945/2006). The philosopher is responsible for introducing the corporeal dimension into phenomenology, from a search for the essence of perception, in which he argues that the body is a unity and, as such, processes the world in a total way, through the whole being. Thus, the body is the instrument through which the being inhabits the world and constructs its point of view about it. In inhabiting the world, the body relates to the objects existing in it and is responsible for producing points of view about these objects according to their contexts.

From these theoretical-conceptual constructions, one can objectively arrive at a definition of the performative body as a stylized repetition of gesture (of action), and this repetition is what guarantees people a certain corporeal individuality, which can be actualized. Moreover, it is important to add the conception of the performative body as the expression of the embodied external, since even though the person has his or her own particularities, there is an embodied political structure that is transformed into a social symbol through performativity. It is in this trajectory of thought that we identify a

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conception of performativity, elaborated from the counterpoint between the notions of agency and reproduction. While the idea of agency refers to the possibility of awareness, of capacity for action, of moral and political autonomy of the subject, the idea of reproduction brings with it the paradox of the subordination of this same subject to power relations, considering the influence of external political forces in performativity. And one of the main aspects of performativity is its political character, because the external embodied structures are loaded with censures, prejudices, and norms. Therefore, the performative can have a transformative and questioning stance on reality.

Although this study takes a concept of the performative from gender studies, it is intended to promote the possibility of its expansion to several fields of social life. After all, "while gender cannot function as a paradigm for all forms of existence that struggle against the normative construction of the human, it can offer us a starting point for thinking about power, performance, and resistance" (Butler, 2015/2019, p. 45). We now move on to a possibility for interpreting the political structures that run through the body and how these structures can conform a pattern for interpreting the city, from a gaze that welcomes performativities.

Micropolitics and Macropolitics: A Reading for the Compositions of Performativity

There are several ways to understand how lifestyles are shaped in societies, among them is the look brought by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1980/1996) through micropolitics and macropolitics. In a post-structuralist context, focusing on an interpretation of ways of life, these authors sought to question the standardization and exalt the multiplicity of social practices. For this, the philosophers begin with a fragmented view of social conformation: life composed of various segments and this segmentarity as a characteristic present in all types of society, from the so-called primitive ones — without the presence of a state — to the contemporary ones. Segmentarities are understood as the "doing segments" of everyday life. For example, "how you work in it, how you love it and how you die in it" (Camus, 1947/2017, p. 7).

In the regency of the configurations of ways of life, the authors identify three types of segmentarity: binary, circular, and linear. Binary segmentarity refers to the great social dualisms, such as man and woman, old and young, white and black, bourgeois and proletarian, and so forth. Circular segmentarity functions as zones that can be associated with both space, as in "my occupations, the occupations of my neighborhood, my city, my country, the world..." (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1996, p. 77), as well as the action zones of everyday life, for example a person circulates between family, professional, social, educational zones. Finally, linear segmentarity works as line segments representing an episode or a process, which can be historical, political, and social and represent relevant facts for a country or in a personal trajectory. It is important to note that these forms of segmentarity do not exclude or compete with each other; on the contrary, they coexist.

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Thus, it is worth highlighting how segmentarities are different in distinct societies. Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1996) discuss these different manifestations of segmentarity by contrasting primitive societies with those with a state (Figure 1). In primitive societies, for example, segmentarity can be characterized, in general, as supple, because, despite presenting binary compositions, it comes from multiplicity; its circles are not concentric and its lines are an expression of freedom. As for modern societies — which have the presence of a state — segmentarity is interpreted as rigid, because its binary compositions originate from a machine of binarization, its circles have a center of power, and its lines are overcoded. The government functions as a resonance machine of lifestyles. Thus, the authors state that primitive societies are in constant transformation, while modern societies have less malleable and more consolidated structures.
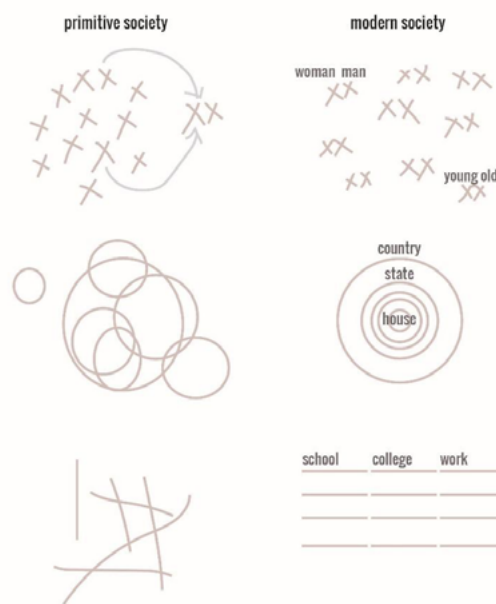
Figure 1 *Schematic to Represent Segmentarities in Primitive and Modern Societies*

Credits. Lígia Dias

The segmentarities with rigid characteristics result in macropolitical processes, because their political structures are more consolidated, legitimized, and visible in the social environment. Macropolitics is responsible for constituting the individual through units, such as in the case of binary oppositions, and for reducing multiplicity into totalizations. In contrast, micropolitics is the invisible part of politics, because it is the desires and wills that move the subjects in society. It is intensity, rather than unity. Hence, micropolitics is related to segmentarities with supple characteristics. It is important to emphasize the need to not make value judgments between micropolitics and macropolitics, because both are essential parts for the consolidation of any process of desire and transformation.

The city project and the performativities that occupy it are not disassociated from macropolitics and micropolitics. The architect and urban planner Igor Guatelli (2012)

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comments on how the rigid structures of ordering of a place are used to control the social performance, because, normally, the design conception proposes a correct space "governed by conventional programmatic prescriptions and pre-determinations of uses" (p. 16). According to Guatelli (2012), this is the product of a functionalist discourse program, "an ideology was created and, with it, the formulation of a new prescription of social behavior" (p. 30). Nevertheless, there are the possible gaps in this rigid system, which the author calls the *in-between*. It is possible to associate the in-between with micropolitical aspects, with what escapes the control of totalizations, because the in-between would be the indeterminate space, open to new meanings and interventions, "it is about considering the project not as an end, but as a means" (Guatelli, 2012, p. 41).

The *in-betweens* that are found in the city survive through the bodily presence affected by that space. Occupying a space affects and is part of the performative construction of the subject, since urban spaces are full of historical and social meanings and are reflections of the current system. Moreover, the performative body is political and, consequently, can be understood through segmentarities, which can coexist between the body and the city. The normative ruptures of performativity are micropolitical expressions that escape totalizations and often clash with the social structures responsible for producing homogenizations.

Thus, to investigate the relations of appropriation of public space by the various performativities, this article is based on the characterization of some of the segmentarities that existed in the surroundings of the São José market, in the historic center of the city of Recife, before the removal of the informal commerce workers by the city hall. For this, through the linear segmentarity, a historical characterization of the users and legislation of the area was made. In relation to circular segmentarity, the forms of occupation of the public space by the bodies were observed. And finally, through the binary segmentarity, the dualities that tangent the body, the public space, and the legislation were identified.

Field Assignment: The Informal Occupations Around the São José Market in Recife

The neighborhood of São José is one of the initial settlements of the city of Recife, with historical characteristics and a commercial and popular area. Therefore, investigating the performativities of this public space was mainly to look at the informal commerce workers and their clients, who were the main occupiers of the area. Thus, we proceed to an observation based on the segmentarities of the space and the performativities that occupy it. For this, in addition to the concepts and authors already brought in the text, the view of the sociologist Pierre Sansot (1971/2004) was important for the observation of the relationship of the bodies with the space, mainly because it deals with the influence of intimacy in spatial appropriation.

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Linear Segmentality

From some processes that compose the linear segmentary of the São José market surroundings, in Recife (Figure 2), we tried to contextualize the history of the formation of the place; to characterize some user groups of the area; and to bring some active legislations. With this information, we began to understand how the informal commerce occupation structures that existed in the space were constituted and the performativities that conformed and were conformed by them.

Figure 2 *Application Area of the Research*

Credits. Edited by Dias and Leite

The São José neighborhood is one of the first occupied areas of the city of Recife. Its occupation process began in the first half of the 17th century with the Dutch invasion. The former Antônio Vaz island, where the neighborhoods of São José and Santo Antônio are located today, was chosen to be the place where the center of the Dutch occupation would be built (Figure 3). This choice was made due to the existence of a housing deficit for the less wealthy population, especially the employees of the West Indies Company, a Dutch trading company, and to facilitate "communication with the rest of the continent" (Menezes, 2015, p. 81).

Figure 3 *Map of the Former Antônio de Vaz Island, Now Santo Antônio and São José Neighborhoods*

Credits. Edited by Dias and Leite

The occupation of the island was planned by Dutch architect Pieter Post with an urban plan, in 1639. The plan included the construction of two bridges, connecting the island of Antônio de Vaz and Recife — port nucleus and initial occupation — and the residential, commercial and institutional uses. In the northern portion of the island — present-day Santo Antônio neighborhood — institutional and commercial uses were implemented, while in the southern part — present-day São José neighborhood — residential use prevailed, which was intended for a poorer population (Menezes, 2015).

In the 19th century, the neighborhoods of Recife, Santo Antônio and São José were already densely populated. A process of expansion and modernization of the colonial neighborhoods began. To this end, the urbanistic actions sought the installation of a set of equipment in Recife, Santo Antonio and São José neighborhoods in order to consolidate the image of the city center. Among these equipment was the São José market (1875), which was installed where there was already a street market, and was made in iron architecture. From the 20th century on, the wealthier layers of the population started shopping in the new supermarkets in the suburbs, and the São José market continued to be used by a less affluent population.

Currently, the area remains extremely commercial and, until 2019, the streets between the market block were occupied predominantly by customers and workers from the informal commerce, which still added to the local atmosphere the coexistence between the formal and the informal (Figures 4 and 5). These bodies built a language of the street, expressed throughout history, and the configurations of political flows that operated there — governed both by municipal and federal laws, and by the logics of informal occupations. In this way, merchants and workers, mixed with users attracted by the merchandise, participated in the construction of a cultural-historical narrative of the neighborhood, determined by collective practices, experiences, and memories of the place.

Figure 4 *Fair in the Surroundings of the São José Market*
Credits. Lígia Dias

Figure 5 *Fair in the Surroundings of the São José Market*
Credits. Lígia Dias

As discussed by Merleau-Ponty (1945/2006), language can be gestural, and so is the configuration of the language of the street discussed in this research. Users perform their role according to the place they are in, in this case, the São José market block. After all, outside the home, "we are no longer husbands, wives, or children, but men and women who speak strongly, as they breathe, walk, and digest" (Sansot, 1971/2004, p. 266). In the street, the bodies are not submitted to a family structure and can free themselves from some of these bonds. This understanding converges with the discussion brought by Butler (2015/2019) about the body in public and private spaces. For the author, the body in private space is passive, while in public space it has the capacity for action and political transformation through performativity.

From the historical contextualization of the area and the observation carried out in the field, some predominant groups of users were identified. They are: informal commerce workers, customers and passersby in the area. The informal commerce workers — daily occupants — had a greater intimacy with the space, which ended up producing more relaxed and agile performativities. The informal commerce workers dictated the

rhythm of the area and the times of greater intensity of space use. According to Sansot (1971/2004), the intimate knowledge of the street provokes a sense of ownership of the space, because the subject starts to have a more authoritative attitude in relation to the events of the space.

The customers needed to follow the rhythm and adapt to the manner of the informal commerce workers. The customers who were more familiar with the place could interact in a more harmonious way, even incorporating in their performativities the rhythm of the informal commerce workers in their walk and gesture. In contrast, sporadic visitors to the area moved more calmly, especially tourists who, according to Sansot (1971/2004), have "an air of being dominated" (p. 265) by the space; they lack the familiarity to feel comfortable. The passers-by were the people who circulated without interacting with the commerce around them. They used the area as a passage for their personal journeys and, therefore, usually did not carry bags or have an attentive posture or look at the merchandise around them.

Another important aspect, according to a perspective of linear segmentarities, are some laws established by the state at the municipal and federal level and active in the area, because these legislations also unfold as a way to control aspects of the body's performance. One of the most comprehensive impositions in terms of space for the Santo Antônio and São José neighborhoods is the division of the city into political administrative regions (RPA). The Santo Antônio and São José neighborhoods belong to RPA 1, which takes in the entire nucleus of the city's initial formation. In addition, these neighborhoods are a special zone for preservation of historical and cultural heritage, with the objective of preserving both some representative buildings from the 18th to 20th centuries, and the "primitive layout of the urban design in certain stretches" (Law No. 16.176/96, 1996). It is important to point out that the building of the São José market is federally protected, since its centennial, in 1973, for preserving its iron structure and for being the oldest prefabricated building in Brazil (Figure 6).

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Figure 6 *São José Market*

Credits. Lígia Dias

Other important laws[2] are also worth mentioning here, as they add issues to the discussion about the normative layers. Among these laws, the municipal ones deal mainly with issues related to the limits between the sidewalk and the buildings and the obligations of the property owner with the maintenance of the sidewalk. The federal regulation, on the other hand, recommended by the municipal law as a model for the project, addresses and details more the aspects related to the sidewalk design, by guiding for the universal design[3] (ABNT, 2015).

Circular Segmentarity

From an interpretation of the area according to some circular segmentarities, we could understand some logical patterns of space occupation by its users. As seen, one of the predominant user groups was the informal commerce workers, responsible for occupying the space in a more fluid and less regulated way. Therefore, understanding the logics of occupation around the São José market was for us to understand the clash and coexistence between formal and informal interventions built through the performative body.

The historical location of the street market in the neighborhood drove the creation of the São José market, still in the 19th century. Consequently, nowadays, the market functions as a centrality of popular commerce in the center of Recife and marked the installations of the informal commerce workers' stalls, which occupied mainly the limits

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[2] The laws used at the municipal level are Law No. 16.292/97 (1997) and its updates: Law No. 16.890/03 (2003) and Decree No. 20.604/04 (2004) and, at the federal level, the Associação Brasileira de Norma Técnica (ABNT; Brazilian Association of Technical Standard) establishes Technical Estandard (NBR) 9050 (ABNT, 2015).

[3] The universal design was developed so that product designs and environments can be used by everyone, by considering a body with standard measurements.

of the market building, but also the limits of the Dom Vital square, the streets that sur-round the block and the streets that lead to the market block. Thus, although the infor-mal commerce stalls were not legalized, they were installed from a center of attraction of the formal city structure, the São José market, in other words, according to a concentric logic of occupation, relating to a macropolitical structure (Figure 7).

Figure 7 *Occupation Spots of Informal Trade Until 2019 According to Their Density*

Credits. Edited by Dias and Leite (2021)

Even with a conformation of circular segmentarity in a rigid way in relation to a macro view of the area, it is worth remembering how the various segmentarities always coexist, and this is no different in the area studied. By directing our gaze to a smaller scale — the actual clipping of our observation in the city —, it was possible to perceive several circles of higher density with distinct centralities, coming closer to an organization with a micropolitical logic. The informal commerce workers occupied the existing in-between in the formal space: areas open to new possibilities according to the appropriation made by the population. These areas are regulated by the state power, but the occupation of the stalls overcame the normative forces, until the moment of their complete removal.

One way to look at the occupation of the in-betweens around the market by infor-mal commerce workers is from the constitution of their performativities. The spatial occupation of the *in-betweens* by informal commerce workers is possible thanks to a collective performativity. From Hannah Arendt, Butler (2015/2019) talks about the power of collectivity to create in public space a location. For Butler (2015/2019), this location is realized by a performativity that claims its rights: "the claims of bodily action, ges-ture, movement, congregation, persistence, and exposure to possible violence" (p. 84). Moreover, performativity as a collectivity happens in-between bodies, "a space that con-stitutes the gap *between* my own body and that of the other. In fact, action emerges from the in-between, a spatial figure for an action that both binds and differentiates" (Butler, 2015/2019, p. 86). In this way, the occupation of the in-between places in the studied area

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also reflects a relationship of the performative constitution of the group of informal trade workers.

For the most part, the occupation of the informal trade stalls in the in-betweens of the studied area was established on spatial boundaries and thus the area's public and private buildings — most of which are shops — and Dom Vital square were tangential. Although the occupation behaved in a rhizomatic way in relation to spatiality, because they were located in the in-between places, the stalls had a relatively rigid organization in relation to the distribution of the commercialized items, because it was possible to fragment the area according to the types of goods sold in the densest concentrations of stalls. They are diverse products; cookware, leather products and clothing; vegetables, legumes and fruit; and flowers and herbs (Figure 8).

Figure 8 *The Various Circles of Occupation in the Area*

Credits. Edited by Dias and Leite

The circular type segmentarities that existed in the area studied show how the various ways of conforming a segmentarity coexist. They always arrange themselves and compose the peculiarities of each social organization. In the case analyzed here, initially there is a concentric organization, the São José market is taken as the center of occupation and attraction by workers and users of the area. Then, the informal commerce workers, from a decentralized logic and originating from their performative constitutions, occupy the free spaces bordering the public equipment and stores, the in-between. However, the way these workers structure and locate their stalls is guided by the type of merchandise commercialized and each type of merchandise works as a center of attraction for occupation. In this way, Figure 9 tries to synthesize, through a graphic scheme, the coexistences between micropolitical (decentralized) and macropolitical (one center) structures in the spatial occupation of the area. It is worth reinforcing how the various conformations of segmentarities work together and permeate the various aspects of society, including the structures of the city and their influence on the performativities of its users.

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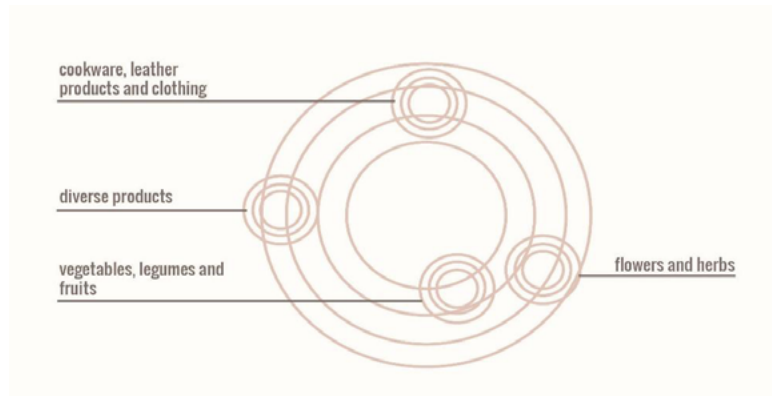
Figure 9 *Scheme to Represent the Conformation of Circular Segmentarity in the Study Area*

Credits. Lígia Dias

Binary Segmentarity

From the understanding of the dualities existing in binary segmentarities, we seek to characterize aspects of the relationship between the body and the study area, to interpret the relations of appropriation of urban space by performative bodies. For this, performativity, spatial structures and legislation will be related, such as planning and control of urban space. The main instrument for the characterization of this segmentarity was the photographic survey of the space and the creation of graphic schemes, exemplified in Figure 10. Thus, the process of characterization of binary segmentarity happens, initially, from the spatial fragments identified in the area through circular segmentarity (Figure 8). Then, the users of the area are identified as informal commerce workers, customers, and passers-by. The objective is to evidence the relation of the bodies with the existing spatial structures and observe them through the acting norms.

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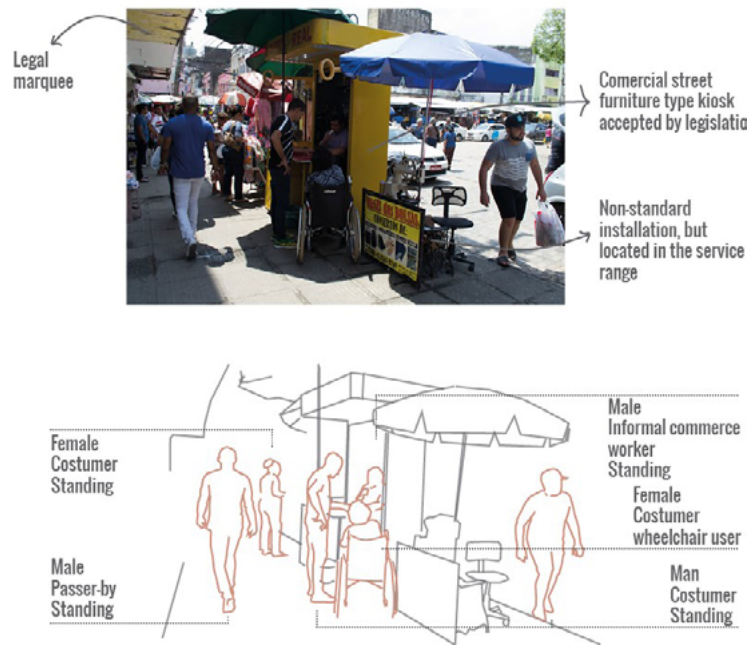
Figure 10 *Reading Model Used in the Photos During the Research*

Credits. Lígia Dias

Calçadas street, located to the west of São José market, is mainly occupied by stores and is very frequented by users of the region, because, besides the supply of products, it is one of the main streets connecting São José market to the bus stops and nearby parking lots. In almost all its length, Calçadas street was occupied by informal commerce stalls. Reading the photos, one could see how the stalls were mobile and composed of improvised materials such as canvas, boards, parasols and wheelbarrows, occupying the space between the sidewalk and the street. In addition, they shared the space with some kiosks installed by the city, in which the merchants made extensions that penetrated the sidewalk. This occupation of the stalls thickened around the market and brought the bodies closer together. The informal commerce workers remained leaning on their stalls, handling products and interacting with customers who passed by paying attention to the goods on display. Passersby, on the other hand, were more inattentive to the environment, as mentioned above.

Unlike Calçadas street, the informal occupations for selling cookware, clothing, and leather goods had a larger structure and a semi-formality, due to the existence of a permanent roof in metal structure that was installed by the municipality. This roof was on a wider sidewalk, which was occupied by the informal commerce workers. However, the materials used by them to structure the internal space were the same materials used to build the stalls: canvases, parasols, wooden boards, and so forth. Because of the larger space and the fixed structure of the deck, the informal traders had a less guarded performativity in this area and spent most of their time seated, except when interacting with customers. Customers were able to enter the space and handle the products, as well as try them out.

The area for vegetables, herbs and fruit had the highest density of stalls and was located around the building of the São José market and at the limits of the Dom Vital square. It was open from Monday to Saturday and greatly influenced the rhythm and intensity of use of the area by passersby. The stalls had rudimentary characteristics, as they were made of improvised materials, as was also seen in the other areas, and also varied considerably in size from one to another. Because of the high density of stalls, the route through the area worked like a labyrinth, in which the customers got lost among the merchandise. The informal commerce workers and customers interacted with the products and with each other. In addition, Dom Vital square was widely used in the late afternoon by male workers as a moment of rest and interaction before returning home.

Finally, there was the area for selling flowers and herbs, which was a sequence of fixed kiosks installed by the municipality. The facades of the kiosks facing the market worked as a continuity of the stalls with vegetables and fruits, even complementing the products sold. The opposite façades are little used and facing buildings with stores on the first floor. In this way, the bodies of this space end up being the same ones that used to use the area for vegetables and greens. Even the customers reach the kiosks through the maze created by these stalls.

Results and Conclusions

From the field application, it was possible to verify some aspects discussed in the beginning of this article regarding the reading of the city and the performative bodies that occupy it as political practices. Initially, it is worth pointing out how the relationship between the city and the performativities thresholds to a normativity is not peaceful and ends up building structural traces in the performative bodies that reflect in the appropriation of the space. For example, according to the Brazilian politico-legal structure, what does not conform to legislation can be considered illegal. But the political-legal structure reflects and legitimizes an unequal social structure, because illegality is a way to invisibilize a section of the population, by blocking access to basic rights. In the cut studied, invisibilization happened mainly to informal workers, because they ran the risk of removal and seizure of their goods at any time.

Therefore, even practicing a non-legalized activity, the informal worker seeks an adequacy of his interventions in the space to a normative organization structure (alignment with streets, sidewalks and stores, respecting the circulation of pedestrians and cars). However, there is a great difficulty of assimilation of the informal commerce workers by the normative structures of urban space management, which ends up causing clashes with the police. One way of looking at these conflicts is from Hannah Arendt's understanding of spaces of appearance, the spaces "where man exists not only like other living or inanimate things, but takes on an explicit appearance" (Arendt, 1958, as cited in Butler, 2015/2019, p. 82). In these spaces, public power feels entitled to invade them, both their spatial structure and the bodies present, with the aim of standardizing and sanitizing them. For example, in the area studied, the confrontation of informal commerce workers

with the city hall is recurrent, through the use of police force. We can see the action of the public power as a way to neutralize the force of the action of the performative body. Moreover, it is possible to observe this situation beyond the informal interventions in the São José market block, the practice of homogenization of city spaces departs from a logic of removal and demolition of everything that is not considered standardized — or regulated —, and this, once again, concerns not only spatial structures, but also bodies.

Another perceived point is how the performative body creates from what it experiences. The spatial interventions made by the informal commerce workers are made of adapted elements, such as boards, tarps, crates, and so forth, and most of them have a removable structure. These characteristics are similar to other informal structures that run through the lives of the poorest layers of Brazilian society. For example, the poorest houses are also made using improvised materials and illegally occupied sites. In this way, appropriating an area of the city and, through an informal spatial intervention, enabling their being in the city is something frequent in several performative dimensions of these people. It is important to comment on the different appropriations of space perceived among men and women, especially in the Dom Vital square, a place where being is recreational. At the end of the day, the square accommodates a large amount of users. However, the discrepancy between the amount of men and women is quite evident. The performativity historically and socially constructed in women in the city of Recife is permeated by domesticity, as initially exposed through the ideas of Leitão (2014). Thus, to corporally occupy public spaces dominated by men is still a great performative challenge.

From this experimentation of empirical analysis of the surroundings of São José market, we came to a "synthesis concept" about how bodies and space are conformed: the *disruptive performative spaces*. Such concept proposes a way of being of the space — a spatial possibility — and takes as indispensable the presence of the performative body as producer of that space. The term disruptive corresponds to an adjective derived from the verb rupture, which can mean to interrupt the regular course, to disturb, to cross, but also to initiate, to penetrate, to sprout. Thus, to characterize the space around the São José market and the performativities that make it disruptive means to recognize a rupture with the formal structure of the city, such as the origin of something indispensable to formal space. Therefore, the concept of disruptive performative spaces is something inseparable also from bodies and their performativities, since they are the ones who make the space and signify it through their daily experiences.

It is concluded that the look taken to the study area, through segmentarities, enables an interpretation of the space in several dimensions and highlights how the city can and should be thought for multiple performativities, when taking into account the spatial structure and the bodies considered beyond their measures and proportions; performative bodies loaded with social, cultural and historical structures. For, as seen, performative bodies are an indispensable category in the formation of urban spaces.

However, the state still has a great difficulty in thinking the city for the users that inhabit it, investing and planning for the micropolitics of the streets, as it was registered with the removal by the Recife city hall of the informal commerce workers around the São

José market. The city put them in a warehouse three blocks away from their former location. Besides the fact that the warehouse was not sufficient for all the removed workers, the market that preceded the installation of the market, was completely mischaracterized and transformed into a "disorderly" parking lot. Therefore, a path is suggested here to produce a reflection on the construction of more welcoming cities. Despite sketching paths on how to think the city for all normativities, future researches could contribute on how to instrumentalize this approach so that situations like the removal of informal commerce workers around the São José market, which hurts the image of Recife's downtown, do not happen again.

Translation: Thulio Américo Silvestre dos Santos

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Nelson Mandela Square: Spatialities in a Frontier

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Abstract

This article presents the partial result of a broader research, carried out in the Lavapiés neighborhood, central Madrid, aimed at apprehending the constitution of its distinct spatialities and the meanings they generate in culture. The object of discussion hereby proposed is Nelson Mandela square, one of the main meeting points of immigrants in the region, in order to verify how the emergence of spatialities based on exchanges and tensions among the different groups spending time at the venue occurs. To this end, the analysis will be based on the ambivalence that characterizes the functioning of the semiotic frontier, as defined by the culture cultural semiotician Iuri Lotman (1996). The research method includes situationist drift and the participant observation. In the square, the presence of two distinct spatialities is noticed: one marked by a distancing resulting in relationships guided by what Richard Sennett (2018/2019) indicates as the "close-stranger" and another one characterized by translational exchanges by which a city is built differently from the one planned by urbanism. Through the discussion, it is also aimed to point out how, through the frontier, it becomes possible to apprehend forms of constitution of the pidgin city (Careri, 2016/2017), which emerges in the midst of relationships marked by unpredictability and error, resulting from the interactions established between different alterities.

Keywords

city, frontier, spatialities, translation

A Praça Nelson Mandela: Espacialidades em Fronteira

Resumo

Este artigo apresenta o resultado parcial de uma pesquisa mais ampla, realizada no bairro Lavapiés, região central de Madrid, voltada a apreender a constituição de suas distintas espacialidades e os sentidos que elas geram na cultura. A discussão aqui proposta terá como objeto a praça Nelson Mandela, um dos principais pontos de encontro de imigrantes na região, com o intuito de verificar de que maneira ocorre a emersão de espacialidades pautadas pelos intercâmbios e tensionamentos entre os diferentes grupos que frequentam o espaço. Para tanto, a análise terá por base a ambivalência que caracteriza o funcionamento da fronteira semiótica, tal como ela foi definida pelo semioticista da cultura Iuri Lotman (1996). A deriva situacionista e a observação participante foram utilizadas como método de pesquisa. Na praça, nota-se a presença de duas espacialidades distintas: uma marcada por um distanciamento que resulta em relações pautadas por aquilo que Richard Sennett (2018/2019) indica ser o "próximo-estranho" e outra caracterizada por intercâmbios tradutórios pelos quais se constrói uma cidade diferente daquela planejada pelo urbanismo. Por meio da discussão, objetiva-se ainda pontuar de que maneira, por meio da fronteira, se torna possível apreender formas de constituição da cidade *pidgin* (Careri, 2016/2017), que emergem em meio a relações marcadas pela imprevisibilidade e pelo erro, decorrentes das interações estabelecidas entre distintas alteridades.

Introduction

Lavapiés, along with El Rastro, is known as one of the "low districts" in the city of Madrid, so defined due to their geographical position, located on a slope that flows into the river Manzanares. According to Osorio (2017), these neighborhoods are so referred due to the low purchasing power of the vast majority of those who once lived there. From the 15th century onwards, Lavapiés became an industrial area and later concentrated the main slaughterhouses of the city, attracting a large contingent of migrants from agrarian regions of Spain. Nowadays, the neighborhood has a very peculiar occupation. According to Osorio (2017), about 32% of its residents are immigrants, while in other neighborhoods in the Spanish capital, this percentage reaches 16%. As for the others, 1/3 of them is composed of long-term residents and the rest by the so-called "temporary" residents, formed basically by students and tourists who live in medium and short-term rental apartments.

One cannot let unnoticed the way in which this diversity ends up producing very peculiar spatialities (Ferrara, 2002, 2008) which, in turn, are the result of conflicts, exchanges and tensions that subsist synchronously in the region. In an attempt to discriminate how each of these three groups of residents constitutes as a dominant or a vector related to the formation manner of very unique spatialities, we present in this work the result of an analysis experiment related to an emerging configuration, primarily, by the presence of immigrants: Nelson Mandela square, an important meeting point of the Senegalese and other migrant groups in Lavapiés.

It is noteworthy that the choice of this object was not random, but, rather, a result of the presently adopted methodological strategy. During 10 months, from October 2018 to August 2019, we made numerous wanderings (Debord, 2003) in the neighborhood, on different days and at times of the week. As Careri (2016/2017) points out, the walk that characterizes situational wandering also implies "knowing where to stop" (p. 33), given the recognition of information that stands out among others present in the city.

Thus, we were drawn to the fact that Nelson Mandela seemed to present a synthesis of the relationships articulated in other squares in the neighborhood, also used as a meeting point for immigrants, not only the Senegalese, but also from other African countries. The reason is that in this particular place you can observe different uses, in addition to an ostentatious occupation every day of the week and at different times where a singular visuality is buitlt and there, conflicts and exchanges, resulting from the presence of the other and otherness, are more compeling. Thus, we are interested in exploring how, in this public space, there is a constitution of singular spatialities, often ambivalent, stemming from the diversity of interactions and bonds articulated there.

According to Careri (2016/2017), as "much of it [the walk] takes place where we do not have the right to go" (p. 105), therefore, creating strategies that allow us to build

forms of "relationship with the studied territory" (p. 33) becomes part of the research itself, since they are not given a priori, but are articulated according to the peculiarities of the space intended to be known.

In the study of Nelson Mandela square, this task was characterized by errors, hits and revisions of the route that took place in the course of time. Each of the strategies used in order to establish a bond with the local regulars allowed us to know the actual investigated space better. In other words: the process that led to the delimitation of different forms of interaction with different groups was, in itself, a means of getting to know them, as we seek to explain in the course of this analysis.

The fieldwork was then carried out in line with the precepts of participant observation, as defined by Ingold (2016, 2017). One of the central features of this procedure concerns the "way of *corresponding* with people" (Ingold, 2017, p. 225), which implies coming in line with the other's temporality and presupposes an eminently dialogical relationship in which the researcher himself or herself undergoes a transformation throughout the interaction process. Also according to Ingold (2016, 2017), there is no way to work according to this perspective without considering the "wait" to the movement of the one you try to interact with. This, therefore, requires time to be spent in the investigative process, whose results are not immediately shown, neither can be measured quantitatively, since, according to Careri (2016/2017): "exploration does not need goals, but time to be spent" (p. 107).

Thus, over the course of seven months, from January to July 2019, we were almost daily present in Nelson Mandela square at different times of the day, a fundamental factor for us to get an idea of the diversity of relationships articulated there, as well as "testing" different forms of interaction with their regulars and, at the same time, learning from them. Another aspect that should not go unnoticed in this process concerns our own condition as female, cisgender, white and foreign researcher — coming from Brazil — once this condition directly interfered with the type of interaction we developed with some of the square goers and with the "correspondence" we established with them, as we discuss below.

In turn, the analysis of the relationships articulated in Nelson Mandela square was carried out based on the epistemological perspective of study of culture proposed by the semioticist Iuri Lotman (1996), from the School of Tatar-Moscow. According to this approach, no cultural phenomenon can be studied in isolation, without considering the frontiers (Lotman, 1996) it establishes with others, which, according to the semiotic point of view, implies considering relations of delimitation, tension, resistance, translation and intranslatability among different singularities.

The study was also based on the different visualities constructed by tensioning between the physical-built space and the unforeseeable uses made of it. Although they use different terminologies, such as urban and city (Ferrara, 2000; Santos, 1994) or *ville* and *cité* (Sennett, 2018/2019), the authors denote the existence of two distinct phenomena: the space designed by urban planning and the city that is built based on the various bonds established among its inhabitants resulting in the redefinition of areas built by

urbanism, attributing new meanings to them. It is precisely the way in which this city is built in Nelson Mandela square that we try to discuss in this article.

The Frontier, the "I" and the "Other's" and the Non-Hereditary Memory

Before exploring in details the characterization of a spatiality built essentially by the relationship between the I and the other's, as occurring in Nelson Mandela square, it is worth explaining how this bond is articulated through the semiotic frontier.

According to Lotman (1996), while constituting different forms of culture, one of the central activities developed by individuals involves creating "classification models of space", elaborated based on the delimitation between what a collectivity defines as its own and other's. Such models are accompanied by the translation of the most varied types of linkage — being social, political, family, religious, among others — to the "language of spatial relations" (p. 83), as the occurred to the sacred space, which would correspond to the world of the gods. It is a founding mechanism of the semiotic individuation process, since, through that, a given culture outlines its distinctive features providing a singular identity.

This definition, in turn, is an indispensable condition for the functioning of the semiotic frontier. Only through recognizing the singularity of a certain form of ordering the translation exchange it establishes with others can be apprehended, so semiotic individuality is essential for the occurrence of exchanges and tensions. This is why the frontier presupposes a two-way movement: it both separates, once it allows us to perceive the specificity of what has been placed in dialogue and its redefinition through exchanges with the surroundings, as it unites, by enabling dialogue between different individualities.

For Lotman (1996), no culture is self-sufficient. Underpinning their functioning there is an intelligent device characterized essentially by the capacity of its various constitutive systems to establish translational exchanges with one another and, at the same time, to carry out its internal self-organization, an absolutely necessary process after exchanges with the environment, ensuring the continuity of a particular semiotic individuality.

Hence, it is noted that the frontier should be understood as an important "functional position" (Lotman, 1996, p. 26) which is not constituted a priori, since it is continuously redefined as the relationships of a system are established with the surroundings and the consequent internal rearrangement that arises as a result of such exchanges. Consequently, what a culture considers to being of its own and what is extraneous can vary significantly: through the frontier, any form of cultural organization subsists in a continuous process of individuation built in the relationship of alterity with the different one.

Through this line of thought, it is noticed that the frontier is an important analysis instrument to apprehend the geopolitical relationships that increasingly, continuously redefine the city spaces. That is true especially in megalopoles, intensified by migratory processes, as observed in the Lavapiés neighborhood, once it is based on, as a priority,

the informational dimension of sociocultural exchanges, from which different spatialities are built, which, in turn, are also in a continuous becoming.

As Mezzadra and Neilson (2013/2017) claim, it is no longer possible to think of immigrants as "marginal subjects" who subsist at the mercy of the society or who must adapt to the new a place of living, given that they act as "central protagonists in the drama of the 'fabrication' of space, time and materiality of the same social" (p. 188), as it occurs in Nelson Mandela square.

Even not mentioning Lotman, these authors also present an important discussion to think about migratory processes through the frontier — understood not in their geographical aspect, but rather by the labor relations it articulates — allied to the informational, political, economic and temporal aspects.

For Mezzadra and Neilson (2013/2017), the translation taking place at the frontier should be understood as a "social practice" (p. 309) that is not limited to merely linguistic issues, since any kind of social interaction happens in the midst of a multitude of cultural codes. As such, the frontier that enables the translation process is characterized "as both a device of union and separation between languages, cultures and, certainly, subjectivities" (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013/2017, p. 309). Such processes would elucidate the constitution of subjectivation forms built by translational relationships with the different part, in a way that each sphere placed in dialogue maintains a singular yet moving individuality.

It is worth noting that the becomings that characterize the movement of different spheres still involve the non-hereditary cultural memory. For Lotman (1996), the constitutive diversity of culture requires, primarily, the configuration of different memories, which also remain in constant conflict and tension. And, just as the action exerted by the intelligent device of culture, memory presupposes a double functioning divided into informative and creative. The first one is responsible for the "conservation of texts" (Lotman, 1996, p. 158) and is directly related to the mechanisms of self-regulation of a given cultural sphere, ensuring its continuity. On the other hand, the creative one relates to the ability to generate new texts through memory when in contact with other spheres.

Thus, in the becoming of systems, it is perceptible the movement of both trends, by which one can apprehend what remains and what changes in the context of a certain semiotic individuality. It is by the correlation of all these mechanisms that two very unique spatialities are formed in Nelson Mandela square, as we discuss below.

Nelson Mandela Square: Two Sides, Different Logics of Use

Known as an important meeting point for immigrants, especially the Senegalese, Nelson Mandela square presents itself as a very exemplary case of spatialities emerged in the neighborhood, mainly from the late 1990s onwards, due to more recent migratory flows[1]. Because it has configured itself as an industrial region, with small and cheap

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[1] According to Osorio (2017), currently, the most representative groups are, respectively, from Bangladesh (20.56%), Morocco (6.97%), Ecuador (6.22%) and Senegal (4.06%).

housing, Lavapiés has become an attractive neighborhood for those arriving in the Spanish capital city[2].

Nelson Mandela square is not the only spot that concentrates much of the marks referring to the Senegalese presence in the neighborhood. It is manifest in all its surroundings, given the presence of restaurants, hairdressing salons and small African clothing stores, many of which make clothes in the shop itself.

As soon as we started to go to the square regularly, we noticed the almost daily presence of a police car parked there, especially in the late afternoon, when the police, inside or outside the vehicle, spent a few hours watching the place. Another aspect that also caught our attention concerns the resistance of its regulars to any form of visual recording. Every time we tried to make images with our camera, there was the dispersion of the regulars or some of them inquired us about the reason for the recording. This led us to believe that most of the users of that space were undocumented immigrants[3].

Subsequently, this mistrust was confirmed throughout the bibliography consulted about the neighborhood (Fernández, 2013; Osorio, 2017; Rodríguez, 2015; Sanz, 2010), as well as Norma, representative of the collective La quimera de Lavapiés, whose head office is located at Nelson Mandela square. She also warned us about drug trafficking in the region. Our first contact with the collective was through the social network Facebook, through which Norma invited us to attend the weekly hearings, when, along with other members of the collective and whoever was present, we could talk about the square[4]. We also started to attend other activities of the collective, especially some anti-racist workshops, in which the situation of immigrants, mainly coming from the African continent, was constantly discussed.

Alongside the intensification of the immigrants' presence in the region, Lavapiés has undergone significant interventions by the government aiming to requalifying the region, which, among other actions, encompassed the subsidy for housing renovation, the incentive to create cultural equipment, the installation of 48 security cameras and the renovation of public areas (Fernández, 2013; Rodríguez, 2015). These last two aspects are directly related because, as in other squares in the neighborhood — Tirso de Molina, Lavapiés, Arturo Barea and La Corrala —, in Nelson Mandela a constant in its designs configuration is noticed: open cemented areas with many voids, few trees and hardly any garden areas, despite the recurrence of children's equipment.

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[2] As Sanz (2010) points out, it is noticed that the increase in immigration in Lavapiés was accompanied by the real state prices raise, so that, nowadays, the cost of housing in the neighborhood does not differ significantly from that of other regions of the Spanish capital. Although this is not the theme of the present study, we believe it is necessary to emphasize it, since this brings about the hypothesis that the arrival of new immigrants in the region is mainly due to the networks formed among them, so that those who have lived longer receive the newcomers. This could also be observed in certain conversations we had with Nelson Mandela square goers who had recently arrived in the Spanish capital.

[3] This is the reason for the low quality of some of the images illustrating this study, since they were performed in disguise.

[4] It should be noted that, since our first contact, the representative of the collective La quimera de Lavapiés said that she would only talk to us in the hearings, and not in isolation. Such behavior says a lot about the neighborhood that, in the Spanish capital, is also known for the presence of numerous occupations and collectives. According to Fernández (2013), such is the neighborhood's tendency towards activism that there is a term to designate it: *el rollito*.

For being diaphanous areas, they become easily controllable, whose visuality is directly linked to biopower strategies used by urban planning that, as Sennett (2018/2019) points out, aim to "simplify" the physical-constructed space so that only one type of person can use it, in a single way, thus any use that does not fit its pre-established form is easily detected, which, in this case, it appears to be primarily targeting undocumented immigrants.

Although it is not the object of the present study, one cannot let unnoticed that such actions are in line with the process of gentrification that the region has been going through since the late 1990s (Fernández, 2013). After all, it is a central neighborhood, marked by the working-class activity, whose houses have been revitalized and which brings together the largest number of public and private cultural institutions from all over Spain. These are precisely the central features, according to Smith (1996/2012), synthesize the profile of spatialities that historically, constituted the focus of gentrification occurring in large urban centers, so that: "the poor and proletarian neighborhoods, located at the city center are renovated based on private capital, housing purchasers and middle-class tenants – neighborhoods that had previously undergone a lack of investment and the exodus of the middle class itself" (p. 74).

Resuming Nelson Mandela square, with regard to its design and visuality, one particular aspect draws our attention: its vast number of benches, allotted especially at its ends, which does not occur in any other area of the neighborhood. Thus, on one of its ends, next to Mesón de Paredes street, there is a row of 12 benches (Figure 1), while at the other end, near Amparo street, there are two other rows, composed of 10 benches (Figure 2). Such seats most resemble bins, devoid of backrest, uncomfortable and only part of them, the ones next to Amparo street, has shade.

Figure 1 *Nelson Mandela Square Next to Mesón de Paredes Street*

Credits. Regiane Miranda de Oliveira Nakagawa

Figure 3 *Nelson Mandela Square Next to Amparo Street*
Credits. Regiane Miranda de Oliveira Nakagawa

It is impossible to ignore that the allotment of this equipment at the square ends, next to the streets, also makes control by the police force easier. Despite that, such benches are not only widely used but also build a very unique dynamic for the square.

Sennett (2018/2019) establishes an important analogy between different types of urban equipment and the punctuation used in the language, as provided for in normative grammar, so that certain interventions would perform, in the urban space, the same function as graphic signs perform in the verbal text, often resulting in meanings that are not limited to language. As indicated by the author, these are forms of "spatial punctuation" (Sennett, 2018/2019, p. 276) that intervene in the construction of the physical-constructed space, but whose meanings can go beyond it. More specifically, in the context of this work, we will report to one of them: the quotation marks[5].

In the same way the quotation marks highlight a word or fragment present in a text, the "urban quotation marks" (Sennett, 2018/2019, p. 276), materialized by certain equipment, such as benches and drinking fountains, draw attention to the space where they are located. Allied to this initial function, another one overlaps, once, just as the quotation marks also highlight the use of a word outside its usual context or meaning by which, often, an irony is constructed, the urban quotation marks are also not limited to merely highlighting the presence of a certain space, but rather entail its resignification, giving rise to a new spatiality and the generation of meanings, often not predictable and contradictory ones. Therefore,

> the grammarians would say that the quotation marks put into question the value of the word or the phrase they indicate, meaning, they do not consider them correct. But quotation marks also value the word within it; as Leon Festinger would say; the quotation marks stimulate focal attention to the arbitrary, the problematic, but also the importante element. The same occurs in the constructed medium. (Sennett, 2018/2019, p. 277)

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[5] The other two refer to the exclamation mark and the semicolon.

Sennett (2018/2019) also indicates that many of these markers can be arbitrarily allocated, but this is not what seems to happen to the benches in Nelson Mandela square, given the proximity to the street and the rowed position that, as we highlight, tends to facilitate control.

However, at the same time, this provision also favors face-to-face meetings, an interaction that is intrinsically related to the idea of community characterizing a public square. In our view, this form of encounters, which has distinct logics at the two ends of Nelson Mandela, also intensifies and elucidates conflicts, frontiers, the delimitations between the I and the other's, and the memory of different groups that coexist there. These are urban quotation marks that not only draw attention to the paradoxes that persist there, but also enhance the emertion of different interaction and subjectivation modalities, from which the formation of two spatialities in the same physical-constructed space occurs.

A central feature in the uses of the benches located next to Mesón de Paredes street is that they are occupied, essentially, throughout the day and a predominantly male presence can be observed[6]. Not infrequently, we also observe the presence of men dressed in Islamic tunics and, through the contact we had with many of them, part of the regulars of this part of the square are, in fact, Muslims. Over time, we discovered that there is a mosque on Cabestreros Street, whose corner with Mesón de Paredes street is precisely across from the aforementioned row of benches. The door to the building remains closed most of the time and only by watching the movement in a few days and times it is possible to realize it is a mosque.

In this extension of the square, there is the delimitation of a meeting spatiality and coexistence that circumscribes a very specific "I", based essentially on the correlation of religious, ethnic-racial and gender aspects. The status of a white, solo and foreign woman, such place could hardly feel comfortable, once the slightest closeness was seen with suspicion. However, occasionally, there is the presence of small groups of young Spanish citizens who, at sparse times, sit there to talk to each other and seldom interact with other regulars.

Over the months we daily went to the square, the users of this stretch were undoubtedly the most resistant to our presence. Over time, we realized that the best way to interact with them was to respond assertively to the "flirtation" they addressed to us, especially the younger ones. From then on, long conversations were established and often culminated in an invitation to a party or a private meeting, especially when we reported to be Brazilians. It was through these dialogues, restricted to the space of the square, that we effectively confirmed our hypothesis that the Muslim religion was a factor of agglutination of users of that space, allied to the ethnic issue.

In particular, a dialogue with a young man from Guinea-Bissau caught our attention. Not long ago he was in Madrid and struggled with the Spanish language. In a certain excerpt of the conversation, when we reported the importance of African religions in Brazil, the young man showed total ignorance about the subject. More specifically, when

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[6] During the fieldwork, in addition to the presence of Senegalese, a predominant group in the square, we also had contact with men from Guinea Bissau and Congo.

we talked about the orixás and alluded to "Oxalá", he immediately interrupted us and said "Ah, yes, Allah", and began to talk excitedly about the Muslim religion, of which he was a follower. Far from being a rustle, his mistaken translation from "Oxalá" to "Allah" has placed itself as an important source of information for our investigation.

More specifically, the question concerning the I–other relationship seems to be intensified in this spot by the type of bond established among its regulars and the attendants/owners of the three grocery stores located on Mesón de Paredes street, across from the square (Figure 3). Users of that space regularly enter these shops to buy products of immediate consumption, such as water and soda. They are small trades that have a common trait: all of them are owned by people from Bangladesh. During the day, the wives are in charge of serving the customers once such shops do not have hired employees. Another common trait is that they all wear the hijab, clothing used by women followers of the Muslim religion.

Figure 3 *Grocery Stores on Mesón de Paredes Street, From Left to Right: Auto Servicio Frutas y Verduras, Mashallah and Shamima*

Credits. Regiane Miranda de Oliveira Nakagawa

These are family businesses, as we were told by one of these women, stating rather proudly that her husband had been the first shopkeeper on that stretch of the street a few years ago. As we found out by attending these minimarkets weekly as any ordinary customer, these women establish merely "commercial" contact with the regulars of that stretch of the square. In this case, a particular situation caught our attention. In another conversation with the same lady, we asked if she liked to live in Madrid and what the relationship with the people around her was like. As she responded that "life was difficult there", a square goer came in to buy a product, and when he approached the cashier to pay for it, she immediately stopped talking and lowered her head, as if she couldn't look at him directly or as if he should not hear what we were talking about. More subtly, in other circumstances, such discomfort was also observed in the other grocery stores.

At the same time, we realized that, as we attended these places, a relationship of a certain complicity was established between us and these women, since we shared, in

addition to being female, the situation as a foreigner coming from a peripheral country. One of the ways to get closer to them was through trivial comments on some product found there —such as coconut water — by which Brazil and the longing for the country was mentioned, which resulted as a pretext for shopkeepers to also talk about their stories and how they missed their countries of origin, a recurring topic for the women to whom we talked.

It is noticeable that the I–other relationship is articulated not only between the regulars of that end of the square, but also among those shopkeepers, who also mark a space of their own. It can be said that the interaction between one group and another also intervenes in the delimitation that each one establishes for themselves.

This semiotic mechanism, which, as Lotman (1996) indicates, implies building one's own individuality in the relationship with the other can, in our view, also lead to the emergence of another sociocultural phenomenon in the sphere of the city. This is what Sennett (2018/2019), in allusion to Emmanuel Levinas, defines as "the other as a stranger" (p. 164). As the author points out, this relationship is woven in the daily life of cities and presupposes the recognition of the other, a stranger, often impossible to be understood, with whom a minimal relationship of coexistence is established, even as a guarantee of survival of both groups, as it happens, for example, in the most varied commercial exchanges. Thereby, it would be possible to apprehend a "civilizing ethics" (Sennett, 2018/2019, p. 164) that guides most of the bonds that build the city.

In our view, this is a remarkable aspect of the connections established between the regulars of the benches located next to Mesón de Paredes street and the shopkeepers in its surroundings. Each group builds its own spatiality, with its cultural and conduct codes that, somehow, take back particular traits of each one's homeland; at the same time, the recognition of such diversity is accompanied by the need to establish relationships of coexistence, since somehow, they need one another. No manifest tension among these groups can be noticed, though neither do they show interest in strengthening bonds nor performing any exchange with each other.

If we consider that, according to the semiotic perspective of culture study proposed by Lotman (1996), the delimitation of the pertaining space of a culture is a founding element of its own. It can soon be assumed that this mechanism, as observed in the reported excerpt, constitutes an inherent process to every collectivity faced with the challenge of building its own a spatiality in a new living place in which the action of informational memory intervenes irreparably.

As Makarychev and Yatsyk (2017) state, according to the Lotmanian perspective, any closing is momentary, as it is configured as a mere stage of self-awareness and internal reorganization of a given cultural sphere. In this respect, the authors even indicate an appropriate distinction between distancing and isolation, since, in the first case, there is no denial of the other's existence, except for their temporary distance. Seen through a semiotic bias, this is, in our view, one of the necessary conditions for the creation of the close–stranger bond.

The informational memory intervenes in the configuration of an "own space" resulting from the interaction with the other. It also causes a given social organization to acquire unique characteristics and its own codes, in view of the specificity of the I–other relationships that occurs in a certain location. According to Makarychev and Yatsyk (2017), the one that temporarily excludes remains somehow linked to the one that was excluded. This is always a contextual situation that does not make it impossible for other relationships to arise at the border. From this perspective, in that context, one cannot ignore that the distance between Senegalese and Bangladeshis also results in defining them in their semiotic individuality.

Moreover, the frontiers a particular semiotic individuality builds with different spheres are never the same, which equally interferes with their uniqueness. Depending on the context, what is own can change its position, as well as the other's, therefore it is the culture resulting by building that, in certain circumstances, is the foreigner (Lotman, 2013), which can acquire different gradations and levels.

This discussion seems to be central to us in order to situate the relationships articulated in the referred part of the square, since, for the shopkeepers located on Mesón de Paredes street, people who attend Nelson Mandela would be a specific type of foreigner, meaning, the close–stranger, different from what occurs with Latin Americans and Spanish, with whom there seems to be another type of relationship and exchange. The same is true for those who are daily in the square, who also maintain a certain distance from the shopkeepers, but not from other groups, also composed of Spanish and Latin Americans. As Sennett (2018/2019) also points out, "the differences are not all the same. Social class differences are not experienced today in the same way as cultural differences in race, religion or ethnicity" (p. 176).

In the presente context, due to the conviviality we had with the two groups, along with the field observation, aspects concerning race and ethnicity seem, in fact, to acquire a greater relevance in the tessitura of the idea of the close–stranger, which does not mean that both circumscribe the same delimitation in relation to other groupings. Another aspect that should also be taken into account, in view of our status as researchers, is the relationship of proximity and complicity built among foreign women from peripheral regions. Gender seems to be an indispensable factor in the degree their closeness.

This perception is reinforced when we make a counterpoint with the uses of the benches located at the other end of the square, near Amparo street, which are practically unoccupied throughout the day, except for Sundays, when the neighborhood acquires its very own dynamic due to the great influx of people attending the Rastro[7] market. On the other days of the week, the occupation of this space begins in the afternoon, being intensified at the end of the day.

As on the other end of the square, the presence of Senegalese immigrants is also dominant, but its regulars are younger. There are also women of different age groups,

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[7] The Rastro market has been going on since the 16th century in the region, where you can find clothes, antiques, jewelry, leather products and decoration (Trapiello, 2018). Currently, it takes palce on Sundays and public holidays.

including older women and interracial couples with young children. In other words, when compared to the type of attenders on the opposite side of the square, the heterogeneity of the group is noticeable and the people who stop there daily are almost always the same.

The presence of Spanish people in the end near Amparo street is significantly higher than on the other side, since it is common for young people and adolescents to gather in small groups and spend hours there, chatting and sharing small snacks, especially on weekends (Figure 4).

Figure 4 *Nelson Mandela Square — Overview of the Half Near Amparo Street*
Credits. Regiane Miranda de Oliveira Nakagawa

Probably, due to the diversity of groups that attend this part of the square, and where, in fact, we spent most of the time, we realized that our presence was barely noticed. Moreover, at no time were there flirtatious approaches. In this area, we always used some subterfuge that appeared to establish some form of interaction at the time, such as the day we saw a youngster wearing a tshirt of the Bahian group Olodum. This was a pretext to "bring up the subject" and the young man responded by saying that he had been given it by a Brazilian friend and that he really liked Brazilian music.

There is still another grouping that occupies those benches every day: six to seven women, also from Bangladesh and dressed in hijab, who, always in the late afternoon, gather around the last bench in front of the small playground located at the end of the square. All have small children and take them to the park to play, after school. It is also a form of meeting and socializing for whom daily spend hours there (Figure 5).

Figure 5 *Women Gathered in Front of the Playground in Nelson Mandela Square*

Credits. Regiane Miranda de Oliveira Nakagawa

It is noticed that this gathering constitutes a completely apart configuration in that part of the square, since the women who meet there do not establish any form of interaction with the other regulars of the place. This behavior is similar to the close–stranger relationship that, as we pointed out, seems to be dominant in the stretch next to Mesón de Paredes street.

However, with regard to the spot in this study, there are some indications of relationships no longer guided by I–other distancing or close–distant, but rather by situations that emerge through translation exchanges that mean bonds, however sparse.

One case in particular caught our attention. Often, on Sundays, Spanish residents sit on the benches located in this stretch to play the guitar and sing. On one of these occasions, one of the Senegalese young men who attends that spot of the square almost daily arrived from Amparo street and approached two other Spanish youngsters who, on the guitar, played and humming a Spanish pop song. By joining the group almost immediately, he began to sing a kind of hip hop in a completely unknown language to us, in addition to which, for much of his intervention, there was only the percussion produced by his own voice.

In the correlation between pop and hip hop, a very unique sound was produced that is not limited to a simple overlaping. The modal character of the sound emitted by the young man — which, as Wisnik (1989) points out, aims to convert the noise of the world into orderly sound forms, and "it is also the world of timbres: instruments that are voices and voices that are instruments" (p. 40) — it is configured as a rhythmic structure that, even correlated with the syntagma of the song, does not have a specific or manifest semantic meaning, thus generating the emertion of an unusual textual configuration, "resulting from the deformation of the usual text according to the influence of the laws of this communication" (Lotman, 1998, p. 51) which, in this case, emerged from the gathering of these young men.

Such extremely prosaic interaction only likely to be perceived when attending that area on a daily basis, offers the indication of an autopoietic, often individual and localized movement, which, as Ferrara (2018) indicates, builds the daily life of the city.

Morever, it unveils the possibility of configuring a process of intranslatability between different cultural spheres.

Lotman (1996) defines it by the correlation established between absolutely differing languages, in which there is no previous algorithm that determines a parameter for translation. Thereby, casual and uncertain translational equivalences are established, resulting in the arising of expressive forms and cultural texts characterized by a very specific synthesis, capable of generating the eruption of unpredictable meanings or the very indefinition of a text, as occurred in this case, resulting in a sound that was no longer pop or hip hop.

It could be said that this situation elucidates how the processes operationalized by the frontier can be configured as social practices bearing a much broader sociocultural function. Together with translation, Mezzadra and Neilson (2013/2017) also report to intranslatability to explain the specificity of certain processes of subjectivation that occur at the frontier, by which it would be possible to build the "common". More particularly, in the context of intranslatability, this implies the eruption of a certain configuration that does not belong to any of the spheres placed in dialogue, but which, without them, would not exist either. In this sense, the "common" does not exist as an a priori, but it is the result of exchanges, at first unthinkable and unpredictable, that continually take place at the frontier. Therefore:

> the translation relationship that we consider crucial for the composition of the common involves a constant feedback of the energies of the struggles involved in th construction of *commons*. The material constitution of the common cannot be assimilated under the logic of the universal and the private [aspects]. This is the reason why we can talk about translating the common, which is not only pointing out how *commons* are produced, but also marking how they connect and divide their constituting singularities simultaneously. (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013/2017, p. 330)

The construction of the "common" by intranslatability is also a condition for the possibility of buiding unique spatialities in the city, however ephemeral they may be, as reported above. They result from absolutely banal social practices, which are fundamental preconditions for emerging a city built together with an idea of the "common" that takes place in the midst of encounters, resistances and exchanges. This generates the very indefinition of the city, as well as the individualities placed in relationships, redefined due to the translation exchanges, since "every new step of cultural development increases, and does not exhaust the informational value of culture, thus increasing and not diminishing its internal indefinition" (Lotman, 1996, p. 75).

In this regard, Careri (2016/2017) establishes an important correlation between pidgin, a contact or common language that arises from the encounter between cultures that have completely different languages, and the pidgin spaces that come to light in the city. Pidgin tends to be created spontaneously and as na emergency in order to enable communication between different collectivities and arises, above all, from error and lack

of understanding of what is said, characterized by an extremely simplified and rudimentary grammatical and normative structure.

Similarly, the pidgin spaces of the city, also called by the author "intercultural public spaces" (Careri, 2016/2017, p. 59), erupt amid relationships of intranslatability built between absolutely differing codes and directly linked to an "unpredictable dimension of reality" (Careri, 2016/2017, p. 57), whose result, as it erupts, proves uncertain. It is a movement of the city endowed with a logic that is completely averse to the normative codes characterizing urban planning and that it often seeks to control.

Also in this regard, it should be emphasized that, in the fieldwork period, more specifically, in March 2019, the renovation project of the square began[8]. Such renewal began in the area near Mesón de Paredes street and, during the works carried out there, there was no interdiction of the space where the benches are placed, but, rather, the large open area located between them and the grid that demarcated the half of the square. This stage of the renovation has already been completed and focused on the requalification of part of the floor, which did not generate significant changes in the design and visuality in that part.

Very different is the renovation initiated in May 2019 in the area near Amparo street and that, while writing this article, had not been completed yet. The renovation began with the removal of children's equipment from the end of the square, followed by interventions on the floor, which first interdicted fractions of the square and, later, its complete closing by fences placed in the access to this part.

As Norma from the collective La quimera de Lavapiés told us, there was no previous contact from public authorities with the users of the square to discuss, collectively, the interventions undertaken there, so the only data she obtained was reached through informal conversations with the builders, who informed her of the expansion of the leisure area intended for children. In parallel, the only information we obtained about the project was available on the website linked to the city hall, curiously entitled Decide Madrid (Madrid decides), as follows:

> project of reactivation of the square, with placement of vegetable gardens and recreational activities, eliminating points of conflict to attract a sector of the population such as families and elderly people, allowing them to enjoy without fear of this venue that also belongs to them. (Alemrac, 2012)

It is hard not to be surprised about a project that foresees a requalification aiming to eliminate "conflict spots" and is targeted at families and old people who can enjoy it without fear. As we report, the square regulars are families and older people, as well as young people. However, it seems that these are not the groups the government believes should or could occupy that area, which, in our view, contributes to ratify the process of gentrification that has guided the urban planning in the region. In a way, this discourse also seems to indicate the recognition of a possibile irruption in that locality of

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[8] It is noteworthy that other squares in the neighborhood have also undergone urban interventions.

an increasingly difficult to be controlled and/or managed city, requiring the continuous redefinition of its physical space as an attempt to "erase" the uses and memories that qualify it and build it as such.

On the other hand, as we monitored, even in the midst of works, the usual regulars did not stop using this part of Nelson Mandela square. As soon as the children's equipment was removed, numerous graffiti appeared on the wall next to them (Figure 6). The contrast generated by the color of that intervention reinforced the austere character and the grayish color that distinguishes the design of the square.

Figure 6 *Graffiti at Nelson Mandela Square After the Playground Removal*

Credits. Regiane Miranda de Oliveira Nakagawa

As Sennett (2018/2019) points out, "color is destined to challenge the different footprints that time usually leaves in physical materials" (p. 99), an aspect that is especially salient in the benches located in this part of the square, since many were painted in different colors by their own users (Figure 7). The worn, dirty or graffited shades build a visuality demonstrating that "the physical medium was used; life marks the shape" (Sennett, 2018/2019, p. 99). Although, as the author points out, color is indicative of the course of time and the graffiti performed there is a trait of the present, the as it precisely seems to dialogue with the marks built with time and that signal different forms of use of the square, constituting, in our view, the action of the city's creative memory that erupts when in tension with urban planning.

Figure 7 *Benches in Nelson Mandela Square, Next to Amparo Street*

Credits. Regiane Miranda de Oliveira Nakagawa

Moreover, as the works tend to occur mainly in the morning, bringing down the protective fence is recurrent in the late afternoon by those who already attended the square and continue to do so (Figure 8).

Figure 8 *Opening of Protective Fence — Nelson Mandela Square*

Credits. Regiane Miranda de Oliveira Nakagawa

However, this did not happen with the women whose children used the playground there: as soon as it was removed, they began to meet in Tirso de Molina square, located a few blocks away, which also has children's playground. We also observed the fences being broght down on Sundays by key members of the collective La quimera de Lavapiés, who, on that day, sell meals made in a "collaborative" way, when each one pays as much as they want or can afford (Figure 9).

Figure 9 *Nelson Mandela Square Bringing Down of Protective Fence by Members of Collective La Quimera de Lavapiés*

Credits. Regiane Miranda de Oliveira Nakagawa

In our view, such practices — aroused by an authoritarian intervention placed on the venue, disregarding the memory of the uses built there — offer an indication of the potential for the eruption of a "common" and a pidgin city (Careri, 2016/ 2017) that, according to the logic of city planning, should be avoided. In addition, it is still symptomatic that the ongoing renovation made in the part near Amparo street is much more extreme than the one carried out in the other half. Thus, the uses that will be enhanced in Nelson Mandela square are doubtful once its requalification is completed, as well as how the memory inscribed there will be resignified.

Final Considerations

The recognition of two distinct modalities in the use of Nelson Mandela square makes clear the ambivalence that characterizes the processes operationalized at the frontier, encompassing both semiotic individualization, as well as translation and intranslatability relationships. Consequently, different spatialities are built that, first of all, elucidate the formal transformations that every immigration process generates in the city pointing to different becomings, which include the resignification of what was already there. As Careri (2016/2017) points out, "those who arrive change us" (p. 58), so that there is no disregard for the way in which such constitutive spatialities of the Lavapiés neighborhood redefine it in its most banal daily life.

Thereby, there are forms of occupation in which, however much it is expected to predict or direct them, there is always a datum of unpredictability. The foreigner does not report to an established and predefined situation, since it involves a specific context whose positions are continuously redefined by different encounters and tensions. Taking this aspect into account implies considering how the processes of subjectivation, by which the subjects continually redefine themselves, also generate constructions and reconstructions of spatialities by the delimitation of the I with regard to others, so that,

as Sennett (2018/2019) points out, "the knowledge of migrants is the knowledge that all city planners need, since they have abandoned the safety of what is homelike and local" perceptions (p. 262).

Due to the subjectivation that happens at the frontier, considering the specificity of a subject in continuous transit, a nomadic city is built that, absent from "stable reference points" (Careri, 2002/2013, p. 46), is also in motion. It is not only the physical displacement in space, but the displacement of space itself that operates by redefining spatialities, a fact that inevitably poses a huge challenge to think about the big cities today. In this perspective, the analysis presented here can be seen as an important metatext that, in turn, allows us to bring out the condition of countless other megalopolises, where new "common" erupt daily due to migratory processes.

Translation: Ana Trivellato

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Communication and Mobility: Mobile-Mediated Displacement Experiences in Buenos Aires

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Abstract

This article aims to identify and describe the specificities of the urban mobility experience of inhabitants who use transportation apps to move around the city of Buenos Aires taking into account social, economic and cultural aspects of their experiences. We seek elements to understand how the use of these apps is part of people's daily lives and, ultimately, to what extent it contributes to social inclusion, revealing the social aspects that are at stake. Intending to mobilize communication studies, theoretically, this paper articulates the new paradigm of mobilities in the social sciences with cultural studies. We accompanied nine participants of the study, from the first event of their days to the last, during a daily journey. When accompanying them around the city, the collection instruments included interviews and video recording of travel moments from the perspective of the participants themselves, who wore glasses with a hidden video camera. Based on the narratives of participants' life stories during commuting, we describe how imagining, adapting and belonging to a strange and at times hostile environment relates to mobile-mediated travel experiences. Therefore, we describe processes in which the narratives about the experiences of migration and the daily flows of displacement are articulated with the mediation of transportation applications.

Keywords

applications, Buenos Aires, experience, mobile communication, urban mobility

Comunicação e Mobilidade: Experiências de Deslocamento Mediado em Buenos Aires

Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo identificar e descrever as especificidades da experiência de mobilidade urbana dos habitantes que utilizam aplicações de transporte para se deslocarem pela cidade de Buenos Aires, levando em conta os aspectos sociais, econômicos e culturais de suas experiências. Buscamos elementos para entender como o uso dessas apps faz parte da vida cotidiana das pessoas e, em última instância, até que ponto contribui para a inclusão social, revelando os aspectos sociais que estão em jogo. Com a intenção de mobilizar os estudos de comunicação, teoricamente, este trabalho articula o novo paradigma da mobilidade nas ciências sociais com os estudos culturais. Acompanhamos nove participantes do estudo, desde o primeiro evento de seus dias até o último, durante uma jornada diária. Ao acompanhá-los pela cidade, os instrumentos de coleta incluíram entrevistas e gravações em vídeo de momentos da viagem a partir da perspectiva dos próprios participantes, que usaram óculos com uma câmera de vídeo oculta. Com base nas narrativas sobre as histórias de vida dos participantes durante a viagem, descrevemos como imaginar, adaptar e pertencer a um ambiente estranho e às vezes hostil se

relacionam com experiências de viagem mediadas por dispositivos móveis. Portanto, descrevemos processos nos quais as narrativas sobre as experiências de migração e os fluxos diários de deslocamento são articulados com a mediação de aplicações de transporte.

Palavras-chave

aplicações, experiência, Buenos Aires, comunicação, mobilidade

Introduction

Our focus in this article is to describe the experience of travel mediated by mobile devices in the autonomous district of Buenos Aires, Argentina, and to identify the particularities of the usage of mobile devices[1] by inhabitants. We argue for the multidimensional aspect that characterizes the use of mobile device applications to aid inhabitants' commuting in the city of Buenos Aires. In this sense, we describe moments in which the specificities and daily needs of inhabitants' journey mediated by mobile transportation device applications are intertwined with their life stories.

Theoretically, our work is inspired by investigations that articulate the new mobilities paradigm in social sciences (Hannam et al., 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry et al., 2006) and in cultural studies (Goggin, 2012; Morley, 2017; Ozkul, 2015; Ozkul & Gauntlett, 2014; Wiley & Packer, 2010; Wilken & Goggin, 2012). From this perspective, communication takes place on the move and in relation to other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, geography, and others, addressing issues related to communication, mobility, transportation, and technologies.

In this work, we do not intend to describe the potential for developing urban mobility through the use of apps. We seek elements to understand how this process is part of people's daily lives and, ultimately, to what extent it contributes to social inclusion, revealing the social aspects that are at stake. Our hypothesis suggests that a closer look at selected parts of the inhabitants' routines would provide qualitative data that would reveal and characterize the points of connection and disconnection between the mobility and communication structures put in place in the city and the needs and desires experienced by the inhabitants.

Therefore, from this broader problematic we focused on two primary questions for this work:

1. How are these applications used by public transport users in Buenos Aires?

2. How does the use of the applications by the inhabitants relate to their life experiences?

From these questions, we proposed the two objectives below:

1. Identify the specificities of the urban mobility experience of inhabitants who use transportation apps to move around the city of Buenos Aires.

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[1] This article discusses part of the results of a doctoral thesis carried out between 2014 and 2019 in the Postgraduate Program of Communication at the National University of La Plata, Argentina (Durr Missau, 2019).

2. Describe the specificities of daily urban mobility in Buenos Aires taking into account the social, economic and cultural aspects of the inhabitants' experience.

The theoretical proposal to address communication on the move had its methodological implications. In this sense, the interviews with the participants took place while they were moving from one place to another in the city. In this research we followed nine inhabitants who used transport applications to assist their displacements around the city, from the first event of their days, to the last one. As we accompanied them through the city, we conducted interviews and recorded videos from their perspective through glasses with a hidden video camera.

Communication and Mobility: A Theoretical Diagram to Understand Mobile-Guided Travel Experiences

As the research developed, some notions emerged as key to understanding the relationship between communication and mobility through the experience of the participants. Questions about migration, flows, networks, places, subjects, and objects emerged from participants' stories about their mobility experiences. Thus, the connection we established between these concepts was made through elements we found in the fieldwork. In the same way that the theoretical research provided us an understanding of the historical meaning of these terms, the field research showed us aspects of social context and practices.

Figure 1 illustrates the correlation we have established among these concepts. It shows how we viewed the phenomenon and helped us to systematize the analysis and describe the processes under study. The diagram we drew is placed on two axes: a horizontal one representing time compression and a vertical one representing space. The time compression axis associates migrations with flows, while the space axis simultaneously connects networks and places with subjects and objects. The space axis works like a frame that moves along the axis of time compression, connecting the past with the present and the slowness of migration with the high speed of contemporary flows.
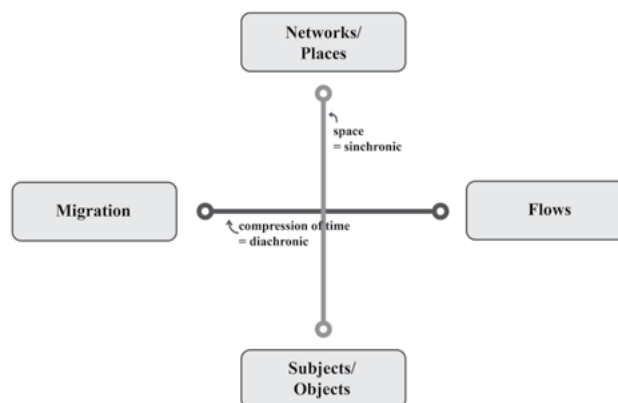

Figure 1 *Diagram of Concepts for Interpreting Movement Mediated by Mobile Devices*

Credits. Lucas Durr Missau

With this in mind, we are thinking about mobility and communication beyond our everyday life, beyond the concrete aspects of the routine of leaving and arriving at a place. We seek to describe how these moments of daily displacement also connect with the past stories of the inhabitants of Buenos Aires. Means of transport and, in our study, mobile devices, are technical objects in relation to which "subjects construct meanings and imaginaries and through which they reproduce *habitus* and ways of life" (Martins & Araujo, 2017, p. 109).

As Martins and Araujo (2017) indicate, this "not only crosses objective dimensions in the use of transport or means of displacement, but also combines memories and stories of places, relationships and life situations of the authors of the narrative, as well as people and other characters" (p. 110). Thus, we describe and reflect on subjects' experiences that intersect with mobility, such as ethnicity, identity, gender, class, politics, work, leisure, and others.

Migration studies is an interdisciplinary field, constituted by scholars from anthropology, sociology, politics, international relations, communication, geography, history, law, psychology and languages, among many others. It is also a diverse field because, in this landscape, migration studies not only focuses on the movement of people from one country to another, but also on immobility and the processes of fixation, adaptation and integration of migrants in a foreign country.

Fortier (2014, pp. 64–65) points out that scientific research that has migration as an object of study is divided into three levels. The first level — the macro level — focuses its approach on the structures or infrastructures of migration, such as institutional practices, policies and laws that regulate the movement of migrants; their fixation and integration; and transnational movements or organizations. The second level — the meso level — is concerned with travel and communication technologies; migration and settlement strategies and conditions; political and grassroots movements; and various local, national, transnational or diaspora networks. The third — the micro level — focuses on individual and collective experiences, strategies, aspirations and family decisions regarding migration and mobility, but also deals with cultural productions and representations of migrants' lives.

Our research focuses on the social practices of displacement mediated by mobile devices. We focus the analysis and fieldwork on the micro level, since we address everyday urban mobility — micro level — interrelated with communication and technology — meso level.

Under this approach, migration connects daily mobility with the participants' biography. Beyond revealing the country of origin of each of the inhabitants, our approach presents the movement in a historical way, complementing the notion of flows. An important node connecting the notions of migration and flows is the social imaginary as defined by Fortier (2014): "'imaginaries', which shape and are shaped by regimes of practices, are deeply integrated in our everyday lives and inform our ways of seeing and understanding the world" (p. 69). Migration studies with a focus on the social imaginary

address how the phenomenon develops and how it unfolds among people and its interests and desires in the mobility panorama. Among the works with this scope, Fortier (2014) identifies studies of representational character of films, books, photographs, public speeches among others; and also works that try to understand how the imaginary shapes the perception of identities and differences, of borders and limitations, of the relationship with others near or far away:

> what I suggest is that adding imaginaries and affect to the conceptual toolkit of migration research within mobility studies allows us to probe into the ways in which marginal and dominant, and mobile and sedentary subjects are embroiled in the inextricability of desire and politics through complex processes of internalization, incorporation and (dis)identification. (p. 70)

Migration is also addressed from the production and reproduction of differences in the urban space. In a critical dialogue with the notion of ghetto to understand the reproduction of changes in urban space, represented by authors like Wirth (1928) and Sennett (1994/1997); and another model that studied the configuration and use of urban space, emphasizing the racial and cultural heterogeneity of segregated spaces, represented by Rodríguez and Arriagada (2004) and Portes et al. (2005), Caggiano and Segura (2014) conclude, based on an investigation of the experience of Bolivian immigrants in the Metropolitan Region of Buenos Aires, that the configuration of city spaces cannot be understood only by the logic of the studies mentioned above. In other words, "they cannot be fully understood with a simple application of the logic of the rich city center/poor periphery, nor according to the typical scheme of the racial ghetto" (Caggiano & Segura, 2014, p. 39). According to them, the distinction in the forms of appropriating urban spaces is made by articulating between the unequal logics of the real estate market and the social stigmatization of migrants.

If, in our approach, migration is more focused on life stories, flows are concentrated on daily commuting. Both are determined by social practice. In Martín-Barbero's theoretical elaboration, the idea of flow is related to virtual flows of images and data, where a time and space compression occurs (Moura, 2009). In our work, we extend this notion to include the social practices of mobility. Thus, the term also addresses the sense of quality of displacement and movement, relating subjects and objects with places and networks, which seek to maximize the compression of space and time.

Other well-known social sciences theorists such as Anthony Giddens, Arjun Appadurai, Manuel Castells, Bruno Latour and Zygmunt Bauman reflect on the particularities of contemporary globalization and capitalism based on the concept of fluidity, relating it to the growth of numbers and varieties of mobility (Salazar & Jayaram, 2016, p. 3). However, flows are not only characterized by their fluidity.

One of the findings in our field research was that mobility was not fluid; the fluidity among subjects, objects and ideas do face resistance. This empirical finding is also present in the theoretical work of scholars in the fields of anthropology, geography and

sociology (Cresswell, 2014a; Edensor, 2011; Marston et al., 2005; Smith, 1996; Tsing, 2005) which problematize the notion of fluidity.

We refer to this resistance as friction (Cresswell, 2014a; Tsing, 2005), which in this context takes on a social and cultural sense. "Friction, here, is a social and cultural phenomenon that is experienced and felt when you stop driving through a city or get stopped for questioning at an international airport" (Cresswell, 2014a, p. 108) In this sense, we point out the friction among subjects, objects and ideas in the daily performance of moving around the city of Buenos Aires, evidencing the differentiated aspect of mobility.

The notions of subjects and objects indicate the experiences of people from a relational perspective with spaces, places and objects. These categories show the interrelationship between participants and mobile devices, and expose the singularities and generalities that make up these relationships.

In turn, while moving, people establish concrete and symbolic relationships with the environment. So, places and networks are created as the routes are performed; places are the anchoring points and networks are the frames that connect these points. On the other hand, on the move, subjects and objects break from established connections with certain places and create new connections with other places.

Although we approach them together, networks and places are different concepts. Places have long been studied in sociology and geography (Cresswell, 2004, 2006, 2014b; Easthope, 2004; Gieryn, 2000; Malpas, 1999; Soja, 1989). Doreen Massey (1995) proposes a definition of place that helps us dialogue with the concept of network. She defines a place as "the location of particular sets of intersecting social relations [and] intersecting activity spaces" (Massey, 1995, p. 61). As Easthope (2004) summed up, through Massey, places can be understood as "nodal points in networks of social relations" (p. 129).

In short, places are "spaces which people have made meaningful. They are spaces to which people are connected in one way or another. This is the most straightforward and common definition of a place — a location full of meaning" (Cresswell, 2004, p. 7).

Full of meaning, places are built within diversity and acquire the status of places of history and identity in the city (Cresswell, 2004, p. 5). Thus, we can use some guidelines to define them. Cresswell (2004, pp. 7–9) highlights three fundamental elements indicated by geographer John Agnew (2002, p. 16) for defining a meaningful place: (a) a location in which daily life is concentrated for a certain group of people; (b) a *locale*, which connects the location to broader networks and the expanse of land to which it belongs; and (c) a sense of place or symbolic identification of a place as constitutive and distinctive of personal identities and interests.

From sociology, Gieryn (2000) contributes three other elements for defining a place: (a) geographical location; (b) material form; and (c) investment with meaning and value. Conceptually speaking, they resemble Agnew's (2002) concepts. Both authors agree on the relevance of meaning in the constitution of a place. "A spot in the universe, with a gathering of physical stuff there, becomes a place only when it ensconces history or utopia, danger or security, identity or memory" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 465).

Inspired by the studies of Massey (1994, 1995, 2005, 2007 as cited in Jirón, 2009, p. 176) and rethinking the concept of place applied to the logic of contemporary urban mobility, Paola Jirón (2009) defines a place as an event, one which is never complete, finalized or limited. Similar to Cresswell (2001), she understands that places are in the process of being (trans)formed. Jirón (2009) chooses the expression "mobile place making" (p. 176) to characterize the daily practices of urban mobility.

Although this notion of place is linked to the constitutive elements exposed by John Agnew (2002), Jirón's (2009) definition places it in the context of the practices of daily mobility. For her, place is the appropriation and transformation of space, a phenomenon related to the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space. The notion of place acquires a sense of openness, one that is in constant construction and made up of repeated daily social practices. "Place is the context of the practice and the product of the practice; therefore, the relationship between places and practices, particularly those that occur daily, is extremely relevant in contemporary urban life" (Jirón, 2009, p. 177).

We think of networks as the existing virtual frames through which the connection between places and the constructed senses is possible. The physical structure of the networks is place but its essence is the meaning between one place and another. Networks are the pre-locations responsible for connections that go beyond the space-time limitations of physical mobility. Networks are the abstract structure of mobility. Sometimes they can be mental and virtual maps, social networks, instant communication through messages, videos, images, informational content, and more. Therefore, when looking at communication and mobility in the context of information and communication technologies, places and networks are analyzed together with a focus on social practices.

In a broad approach, our theoretical hypothesis suggests that communication and mobility structures shape daily travel experiences and condition lifestyles. Communication technologies, which act as mediators in this process, improve the parameters that operate in these molds. However, while the applications are designed to improve the inhabitants' integration with transportation structures, the inhabitants' mobility experiences are challenged by social factors that go beyond the competencies planned and implemented. Therefore, our hypothesis indicates the need for public policies that aim at inclusion based on social parameters that go beyond the competencies of the technologies in use.

In this paper, we do not intend to exhaust the concepts illustrated on Figure 1, we describe how they were perceived in the context of our research. Due to the objectives of this text, our aim is to describe experiences related to migration and flows. From the narratives of inhabitants' experiences, we describe social processes and practices that are at stake in contexts of mediated commuting. In this context, migration and flows are articulated in the daily performance of citizenship in a foreign country and in the aspirations and desires of life that are constituents of the social imaginary.

A Methodological Approach to Mobile Communication on the Move

Approaching mobility through mobile communication studies requires methods capable of following it. Thus, we needed mobile methods to monitor the displacements and creativity to find tools capable of revealing the particularities of the object of investigation.

In order to identify the particularities of the urban mobility experience of citizens who use apps to get around the city, we performed a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995, 2011) using the shadow technique (Jirón, 2011, 2012); a method of collecting video recordings which the citizens themselves recorded by wearing eyeglasses with cameras built into them.

The participants were selected by the snowball method. Participants of an initial sample done to test the methodology (participants' adaptation to wearing the glasses and the recording of the interviews on the move) recommended other participants. The composition of the final study group prioritized users of public transportation and who use different means of transport.

We conducted interviews on the move, as the inhabitants moved around the city, with participants who were between the ages of 22 and 34. They were native to the following Latin American countries: Argentina (five), Paraguay (two), Colombia (one) and Venezuela (one). Eight of these participants were employed and had a fixed monthly income. Only one of these participants, a musician and street artist, did not have a formal job. Their income varied between one and seven minimum wages (Table 1).

Participant's pseudonym	Country of birth	Formal work	Age	Income (minimum wage)
Agustina	Argentina	Yes	29	Up to three
Pancho	Argentina	Yes	33	Up to five
Ceci	Argentina	Yes	32	Up to seven
Vivi	Argentina	Yes	32	Up to three
Iván	Argentina	No	25	Unspecified
Didi	Colombia	Yes	23	Up to three
Karen	Paraguay	Yes	27	Up to five
Thomas	Paraguay	Yes	24	Up to three
Marce	Venezuela	Yes	34	Up to three

Table 1 *Socio-Economic Data of the Participants*

Note. Argentina's minimum wage in July 2018 was USD 602.40

The data collection instruments we used for our follow-up included interviews, mapping the citizens' travel routes, and the videos recorded by the citizens. The interviews were based on a set of questions which citizens answered while commuting and moving around the city.

The travel routes were mapped using an application[2] installed on the researcher's phone. This application allowed for tracking locations, times and modes of travel. The videos were recorded using eyeglasses with built-in cameras which users wore during their daily trips. The inhabitants were informed about the camera and agreed to participate in the study.

We used a simple eyeglasses model for recording the videos. It is a model known on the market as "spy glasses". We chose this model for its discretion, practicality and cost. This model of eyeglasses records videos in high resolution (HD in 1280x720p format, with a minimum illumination of 1 lux) for a duration between 50 and 70 minutes, having a total of 16 gigabytes of memory. It takes an hour to recharge the battery once it runs out.

For this research of follow-ups, we walked along nine participants for a single day. They went from their homes to their offices at work, to a bar, to a leisure activity. These movements were recorded from their own points of view. Follow-ups took place in May and June 2016 and November and December 2017.

For the purpose of this study, the participants' routes were limited to the autonomous district of Buenos Aires. All participants lived in the federal capital, except for Thomas, who was living temporarily with his sister in the city of Berazategui, in the province of Buenos Aires. He did, however, sleep in a cultural space located close to his job a few days a week, where he got to know the owners. The most distant neighborhoods we went to were Mataderos (with Agustina), and Villa Pueyrredón and Saavedra (with Marce). We also followed research participants in the neighborhoods[3] of Almagro, Barrio Chino, Bairro Norte, Belgrano, Boedo, Caballito, Centro, Colegiales, Congreso, Once, Palermo, Parque Patricios, Puerto Madero, Recoleta, Retiro, San Nicolás, San Telmo and Villa Crespo.

The participants moved around the city by bicycle, foot, bus, train and subway. They used the Cómo Llego, Ecobici, Moovit and Google Maps mobile phone apps[4] to help them move around the city, additionally, they used social media (Facebook and Twitter),

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[2] The Moves application was available for download in the AppStore at the following link https://itunes.apple.com/br/app/moves/id509204969?mt=8, and at Google Play https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.protogeo.moves&hl=pt_BR.

[3] A map of the participants' routes for the follow-ups carried out in the Autonomous District of Buenos Aires was prepared by the author using Google Maps and the data collected during the follow-ups. Available at https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=1eohxzukgkHinkkekRcSQm6fQc_JNCVVG&usp=sharing.

[4] During fieldwork, we also accompanied people who used cars as their primary means of transportation and, as such, used the Waze app to guide themselves around the city. However, for this article, we prioritized those who use public and combined transport because, based on our perception and the research experiences we conducted, the journeys of those participants who used different and alternate means of transport provided a much richer analysis material than those who owned a car and used it as their primary means of travel.

interpersonal relationship platforms (WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger) and media (we were unable to identify which) during their travels.

Therefore, the participants primarily used mobile transport applications and mobility devices in the autonomous district of Buenos Aires in the period before they travelled. During their travel period, they used email, instant messaging and social media applications, as well as relational activities.

Cómo Llego and Google Maps were the most used transport applications for the group of participants in the period before they travelled. Cómo Llego, Trem BA, Ecobici, Moovit and Google Maps were the apps reported or used during the participants' travel period. Other applications which participants used were WhatsApp, Facebook, Facebook Messenger, Gmail, Twitter, Telegram and Instagram (Table 2).

PARTICIPANT'S PSEUDONYM	TRAVEL DISTANCE (KM)	APPLICATION	
		Before travel	During travel
Agustina	26	Cómo Llego	Facebook Messenger, Gmail, Whatsapp
Karen	16.5	Cómo Llego, Google Maps	Cómo Llego (eventually), Facebook, Gmail, Twitter, Whatsapp
Marce	40.1	Cómo Llego, Google Maps	BA Tren, Cómo Llego, Ecobici, Facebook, Facebook Messenger, Gmail, Google Maps, Moovit, Telegram, Whatsapp
Ceci	13.6	Cómo Llego	Facebook Messenger, Whatsapp
Pancho	12.3	Cómo Llego, Moovit	Facebook Messenger, Gmail, Instagram, Whatsapp.
Iván	10.2	Cómo Llego	Facebook Messenger, Whatsapp
Vivi	12	Cómo Llego	Whatsapp
Didi	9.3	Cómo Llego, Google Maps	Cómo Llego, Facebook Messenger, Google Maps, Whatsapp
Thomas	20.4	Cómo Llego	Facebook Messenger, Whatsapp

Table 2 *Comparison of Application Use Among Study Participants and Distances Travelled*

Imagining, Adapting and Belonging: Three Processes That Articulate Migration and Flows

Here we describe how the use of transportation apps articulates the notions of migration and flows based on the narratives of participants' life experience within the scope of this research. The specificities of the experiences that we report here are related to social, cultural, and economic aspects that we encountered while doing the interviews with

the participants and accompanying them in their movements around the city. Therefore, we describe the processes in which the narratives about the experiences of migration and the daily flows of displacement are articulated with the mediation of transportation applications. However, migration experiences, daily flows and mobile-mediated travels are complex and go beyond the competencies of this work. We shall address advances of the same research in other publications.

Through the conversations with the inhabitants who participated in the research, we identified that three processes are part of their lives in the new country. Imagining a different life according to rationalized parameters, adapting to a new context of experiences and belonging to a strange and at times hostile social environment.

Four of the people who participated in the study were migrants. The predominant reason Didi, Marce and Thomas migrated to Buenos Aires were economic. In contrast, Karen had a comfortable life in her country of origin and left it to live experiences in the social, cultural and political spheres that, for her, were limited in her country of origin. According to herself, the word that best defined why she moved to Buenos Aires were diversity, which refers to social relations and artistic and political expressions.

If we identify, among the participants, that the economic aspect is the main reason for the decision to migrate, we also note that aspects related to the social imaginary are at work in the decision to move. Beyond the daily routine aspects of migration, we noted that the decision to migrate is reinforced by attempts to rationalize a social imaginary. The participants justify their decisions to leave their country of origin according to very clear parameters of comparison with the place of destination, be they regarding social, economic, cultural, and political conditions. These parameters are composed of imagined idealizations and representations of life in the new country. One of the participants, Marce, for example, used three basic criteria for choosing which country to move to:

> well, one of the reasons I chose Argentina as a destination was because of its annual homicide rate. What I was looking for in a place to live was: public mobility 24 hours a day, I wanted a place with a single-digit annual homicide rate, and I wanted lower inflation [which Argentina does not have]. Inflation is high in Argentina, but it is not as high as in Venezuela, which has the highest rate in the world today. The second highest is Argentina, at 27% a year. (Marce, /2017, November 29)

Another participant, Didi, was living in Bogotá, Colombia when she decided to move to Buenos Aires in search of cheaper and better education. She also questioned the average life model in her country of origin:

> it is all too common in Colombia. Segregation of social classes is very bad. In Colombia, class segregation is very ugly. Here, everyone is more relaxed... They lead a different lifestyle. I met many guys in Córdoba who said "no, I came from Buenos Aires to Córdoba because Buenos Aires is a very

fast city". For me, Buenos Aires is three times slower than Bogota. There are also not as many cultural spaces [in Bogota]. In other words, people just go to work, they get home, eat, sleep and... And you see your family at the weekend. And for me, it is essential now to have a space for myself, and to go out at 11 at night and everything is still open. Buenos Aires is great. This city is great, which is why I will spend more time here. (Didi, 2017, December 13)

Imaginaries are also related to a desire for different life experiences. For Didi, accessing cultural spaces and places of entertainment, leisure and culture were not the only reasons that made her move to another country. There is also the perception of migration as a lifestyle marked by the possibility of knowing other places and their particularities, which includes accepting uncertainties about the future and the possibility of a more diverse life, which refers to aspects of her life related to new configurations of relationships (friends and lovers), the exposure to artistic manifestations of different modes of expression and the approximation with political issues overlooked in her country of origin.

Another process we identified is the adaptation to the new country of residence, which relates to mobility experiences. Marce who traveled to more places and covered greater distances (Table 2) among those places during a day had migrated to Buenos Aires five months before our interview. The modes of transport he reported using regularly were bicycle, bus, subway and train, all public transport. During the journey in which we accompanied him, Marce consulted the Moovit, Cómo Llego, Ecobici and Google Maps apps. Since arriving in Buenos Aires, he has been using those apps to facilitate his mobility. According to him, these apps have helped him adapt to the city. Marce argued that the process of adaptation to the new residential situation is related to knowing the new city, its streets, and its means of transportation. In this sense, to be spatially well located in the new city is one of the requirements of his feeling of belonging to it:

the applications helped me a lot. I have been living here for five months. And I still use them all the time. I mean, there are parts of my journey that I am already familiar with because they make up part of my routine. But, for example, when I go by bus, I use Moovit to know when to get off. In other words, I don't stare out the window and I always know where I am, almost always! I am very happy to be able to adapt to such a big city so fast. Being very urban, I like mobility a lot, I like the street in general. This city is huge. I look out and see a street name that I don't know and, without the app, I would be really lost. So, having used the apps to visualize, I now know more or less where I am, and if I see a particular [street] name, I know where I am. (Marce, 2017, November 29)

Moovit was his preferred app to choose routes from due to its multimodal feature and its notification system that alerts you when you are close to the stop you have to get off. Ecobici was useful for checking the availability of bicycles (his preferred means of transport) at the stations.

The experience of driving around the city on bicycles is an example of the arguments presented in the study by Caggiano and Segura (2014) that the mobility of migrants in the city is a matter of provisioning and definition of memberships: being able to access and being part of, "both phenomena are dealt with jointly" (p. 40).

In order to pick up a bicycle from any of the stations distributed in the city, the government requires a previous registration made online or in person at some of the citizen service stations. The registration requires an identification document and a certificate of residence. Only after sending these documents does the system allow access through the Ecobici app.

According to Didi's statement, her confirmation of access and permission to use the bikes never happened:

> Researcher: Have you already used the city bikes?
>
> Didi: No, I never got it. That is, my papers, if they send you a card or a receipt that you have signed, and it never came. For me it's very limiting that they let you use it [the bikes] only for an hour. Why is it an hour, right? And when it expires, they don't let you take it out anymore. So if it's more than an hour drive you get a ticket, I guess. What if you get hit or something and the hour goes by? It's very limited. (Didi, 2017, December 13)

In contrast, Marce had access to the app through two accounts: one of his own, made from his own documents, and another that he had borrowed from his ex-boyfriend. When we accompanied him, one of the tours we took was on bicycles. With his account, he picked up a bike for himself; with the other, he picked up a bike for the researcher. As we headed to a station to pick up the bikes, Marce excitedly commented on his preference for bikes. In his reasoning, he referred to the sensations of autonomy, freedom and belonging that riding a bike in Buenos Aires generated in him. He emphasized his arguments with an effusive "I feel that the city is mine", while closing one of his hands in fist.

Belonging is also related to the residency fixing conditions. In this regard, one of the peculiarities we found refers to the difficulties of establishing residence due to the demands required by the real estate market to rent properties. Didi talked about the number of times she moved from one place to another in Buenos Aires:

> no, when I got here I lived in a hostel in Colegiales... Then I lived with Pueyrredón and Marcelo T. [de Alvear]. So I lived in Arcos, the district of Arcos, you know? Juan B. Justo and Santa Fe. And now I am here. I have moved a

lot. Yes, because it is very difficult to get an apartment here, too. (Didi, 2017, December 13)

Marce's testimony reinforced this argument. He lived in Buenos Aires for six months and said that he had lived for a few months with a friend in an apartment. He then rented a room in a residential house in the neighborhood of San Telmo and, at the time we interviewed him, he was moving in with his boyfriend into a friends' apartment in the Flores neighbourhood while they were living in a city in the interior of the country.

Thomas's experience was similar. He was 24 years old when we conducted the interview with him and was living with his older sister in the town of Berazategui, Buenos Aires state[5]. He and his parents are paraguayans who migrated to Buenos Aires a long time ago, when he was five years old. Then they returned to Paraguay, lived there for a while and years later settled again in Buenos Aires. His parents lived in Florencio Varela, another town in the state of Buenos Aires, with his younger siblings. At the age of 19, Thomas decided to leave his parents' home and move alone to the city of Buenos Aires. He had relationship problems with them because they were very religious and did not accept his sexuality. They argued a lot about his way of dressing, talking, walking, and so forth. Thomas liked to wear heels and tighter clothes, which his parents did not consider appropriate for a man.

When he first arrived in the city, he lived in a hostel in the Colegiales neighborhood. He could not say for how long he stayed there, but later decided to live with his sister in Berazategui to save some money. He worked in a store of a worldwide known coffee franchise in the Colegiales neighborhood. To avoid the daily commute from his sister's house to his job, Thomas slept at friends' houses for a few days a week. Among the reasons that prevented him from establishing residence alone in the city of Buenos Aires were his financial situation and his difficulty in dealing with the guarantees required by real estate agencies.

Conclusion

These data illustrate the connection between communication and mobility from a social practices perspective. We describe mobile-mediated travel experiences in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, Argentina, identifying specificities of inhabitants' use of mobile devices. In this context, we focus on moments in which the specificities and daily commuting needs of the inhabitants, mediated by mobile transportation device applications, are intertwined with their life stories. The notions of migrations, flows, networks, places, subjects and objects in our diagram were important factors towards understanding the impact these specific devices have on the lives of the participants.

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[5] The argentine capital Buenos Aires is an autonomous city. The state of Buenos Aires, which is located just outside the autonomous city of Buenos Aires, is one of the most populous states and has its own capital called La Plata.

Four of the inhabitants we monitored were immigrants from Colombia, Paraguay and Venezuela. Considering the particularities reported by each of these four participants, we noted that imagine a life, adapt to a new set of local demands and create and establish belonging strategies are relevant processes experienced by them.

If migration is more focused on life stories, flows are concentrated on daily commuting. Both are determined by social practice. In the analysis we conducted on flows, we include the resistance to movement that the participants experience on a daily basis. Then, flows also refers to the effects of the instituted logic of time compression on the subjects who experience them in positive and negative ways with their bodies, objects and ideas. Only then we were able to realize social aspects of mobility mediated by mobile technologies.

Although partial, the results of this research indicated some specificities that showed continuity and revealed disruptions in people's movement throughout the city. Communication and mobility structures shape daily travel experiences and condition lifestyles. Communication technologies, which act as mediators in this process, improve the parameters that operate in these molds. In this context, mobile devices are designed to contribute to the performance of subjects, objects and ideas, but they do not transform this logic. The mediated displacement experience does not always occur within these parameters.

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Inventory Space, Invented Space

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Abstract

This article addresses the engendering of listening territories in the town of Belmonte (Brazil) and discusses how listening can be about a way of knowing the world which starts in the senses and dives into it deeply and intensely to bring to light insights that can guide our perceptions of an object in various aspects. Regarding a city, those aspects can go from its urban structure to the relationships between people who inhabit it. The text proposes an essay in which travelogues engage in dialogue with the openness to the sensations caused by the soundscapes and their reticular characteristics where affection, coexistence, differences, the relations between human and non-human beings, the geographies of economic power, different subjectivities and the multiplicity that characterises a city are manifested. It presupposes that to listen is to be attentive to the dynamic movement of the world and the ephemerality of the events and interweavings that occur in it to translate what affects us into words. Although the essay focuses on an approach to listening, it acknowledges the impossibility of separating the five senses in perception and their continuous action in the relations between human beings and the world, thus forming not only individual subjectivities and idiosyncrasies, but also shareable perspectives on being and acting in the shared space.

Keywords

city, listening, sound cartography, sound ethnography, sensory

Espaço Inventário, Espaço Inventado

Resumo

Este artigo aborda a experiência de construção de territórios de escuta na cidade de Belmonte (Brasil), e discute como a escuta pode ser uma forma de conhecimento do mundo que parte do sensorial e nele mergulha intensamente, para trazer à tona *insights* que podem nortear compreensões sobre um objeto em diversos aspectos, no caso da cidade, desde sua estrutura urbana até as relações entre pessoas que a habitam. O texto propõe um ensaio em que os diários de viagem dialogam com a abertura para as sensações provocadas pelas paisagens sonoras e suas características reticulares onde o afeto, a convivência, as diferenças, as relações entre seres humanos e não-humanos, as geografias do poder econômico, as diferentes subjetividades, e a multiplicidade que caracteriza uma cidade se manifestam. O texto parte do princípio de que escutar é estar atento ao movimento dinâmico do mundo e à efemeridade dos acontecimentos e entrelaçamentos que nele ocorrem para traduzir o que nos afeta em palavras. Embora se centre em uma abordagem pela escuta, o ensaio reflete sobre a impossibilidade de separação entre os sentidos na percepção e sua atuação contínua nas relações seres humanos–mundo, constituindo não só subjetividades e idiossincrasias individuais, mas também perspectivas compartilháveis sobre o ser e estar no espaço comum.

Palavras-chave

cartografia sonora, cidade, escuta, etnografia sonora, sensório

> This is how space begins, with words only, signs traced on the blank page.
> To describe space: to name it, to trace it, like those portolano-makers who
> saturated the coastlines with the names of harbours, the names of capes,
> the names of inlets, until in the end the land was only separated from the
> sea by a continuous ribbon of text. (Perec, 1974/2001, p. 33)

We could start this way: as we walk through the streets of Belmonte, we cannot fail to observe the houses that colour Dom Pedro II avenue from end to end with their wonderful architecture from the early 20th century. Standing at their doorsteps, people watch time flowing slowly while children play on the pavements and bicycles ride in the wind. The town had its golden age at the end of the 19th century, due to the large production of cocoa, its main commodity and the livelihood of its inhabitants at that time. One of its main avenues, the Rio Mar, crosses the town, bringing together the two sources of water that define the ways of life of those who inhabit Belmonte — the Jequitinhonha river and the Atlantic ocean.

We could start our journey about Belmonte with this diary, recollecting the travel memoirs of earlier centuries. Belmonte is a town located in the south of Bahia where I spent 20 days with my family, leaving a metropolis and taking refuge from the covid-19 in a place where nature is present in a closer and more intense way. I live in Belo Horizonte, a city of 2,500,000 people far from the sea, where nature is restricted to the parks delimited within the urban space and to a few trees that still survive the destructive eagerness of "progress" that has marked the path of the city since its foundation, about 120 years ago. Every city has a multiple and diverse soundscape[1] (Schafer, 1977/2001), but there are aspects that become almost ubiquitous, such as the traffic noise in Belo Horizonte.

Belmonte has about 25,000 inhabitants and has no buildings, except for the Forum, which stands out from the old houses that surround it, with its disruptive architecture. Belmonte is a coastal town, close to Santa Cruz de Cabrália, founded as a municipality in 1764, although it had its golden era thanks to the cocoa production, as we said, it has kept the dimensions and rhythms of a village. Or maybe it has resumed them at some point in its history and got used to it. From a distance, the sounds of the sea would be, for an unsuspecting foreigner like me, the essential sounds of Belmonte.

Large cities have long shown us the negative facets of the ways of life we have built in them, whether by individual choices or choices of public authorities to reconfigure

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[1] The concept of soundscape was established by the Canadian composer and educator Raymond Murray Schafer on his book *Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*, first published in 1977 (Schafer, 1977/2001). The soundscape is a set of sounds that happen in a certain place and, we could say, at a certain listening moment.

or maintain the public space, which fail to meet the basic demands of coexistence and communality that a city should meet[2]. With the advent of the covid-19 pandemic and the imperative to remain in isolation, cities have become even more inhospitable. The need to leave metropolises in search of smaller cities or areas closer to nature has become urgent for many. I am among those who were unable to remain in another location during the pandemic, but who sought, by all means, a temporary way out that would allow them to live other ways of life, even for a short time.

Leaving behind the intense sounds of Vale's locomotives that travel day and night under my windows, as well as the continuous traffic noise that grows exponentially in the city, I left, with my family, for Belmonte, a town we did not know and that we would meet with fresh and open ears. Thus, as a researcher and a sound artist, I would like to discuss our trip to Belmonte and the drawing of a sound map of this town that I could lay out through my foreign listening, a listening territory[3] that I gradually inhabited during my stay.

For a writing that has listening as a "method"

How to translate listening into words? How to transform the unrepeatable, multifaceted and subjective experience from a time and a space into a text? Aware that the written form can not capture the ephemeral, elusive and fluid phenomenon of sounds, the following essay seeks, *brush our ears* and make them vibrate through the weaving of words and phrases with their rhythms, cadences, tones and articulations — after all, words are sounds too. To be listening is to be immersed in the world as a sentient being, and there is no way to talk about listening without trying to retrieve this immersion (Feld, 2017; Schulze, 2018; Voegelin, 2010). Therefore, with listening being our guiding thread, we seek to present the intricate multiplicity of the world with its colours, shapes, smells, movements, flavours and its irreducible sensory diversity.

A move towards literature is part of the essay's methodology, bringing a way of encompassing life and our being in the world, a way that is above all aesthetic, since literature is a different way of choosing and weaving words together. We seek a dialogue between literary and sensory construction and rational reflection on what the experience of the world, mediated by listening, could bring us about a town.

This text is structured so as to seek to reflect the itinerary of sensations and thoughts that make up a listening territory and to unravel the threads and wefts involving its construction. A listening territory is the articulation of a myriad of sensations, experiences, memories, knowledge and meanings that affect the listener — an epistemological place which we inhabit with our ears, but that goes beyond them. This place, which we create based on our perceptions, our reflection, our previous histories and experiences, as well as

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[2] Issues such as income distribution, public transport, maintenance of green areas, conservation of rivers (clean-up and access), returning the streets to pedestrians, among many others should also be considered, but will not be addressed here.

[3] This concept was developed during my research on sound (Pessoa, 2017) and will be discussed later.

the different processes that capture us as we open our ears to the world, reflects a whole personal journey and is in constant transformation under the action of those same forces.

Each section of this essay addresses aspects of how Belmonte affected us during our journey: nature/human activity; the common/the private; politics/subjectivity; distancing/immersion; the movement/static. Although we list those pairs to illustrate the path we take in writing, we do not think of them as dichotomies, but as a mixture, in which those elements — and many others related to them — are diluted and intertwined into a fabric where micro-readings of aspects of the ordinary life in a town reveals its complexities through sound.

Natura *Naturans* Natura *Naturata*

> Sometimes, on a summer morning, after the usual bath, I would sit on my sunny doorway from dawn to dusk, rapt in a reverie, amidst the pines and hickories and sumac trees, in undisturbed solitude and stillness, while the birds around sang or fluttered noiselessly through the house. (Thoreau, 1854/2007, p. 47)

The trip to Belmonte began as a quest for proximity to nature and the abandonment of a life confined in a downtown apartment, even if only temporarily. Although we were foreigners and, in a way, tourists, we would stay in a borrowed house with a large garden and many plants: pink mango, ubá mango, sword mango, *pitanga*, *biri biri*, coconut, *mangab*a, bromeliads, hibiscus, and various ornamental plants. Thus, we would not be tied to the tourist circuit and we could build a closer relationship, at least we hoped, with the place we were visiting.

Very early on the first morning, we could hear the singing of a multitude of songbirds that established their dialogues in the garden trees and came to eat the fruit they could find there. Its wings, with different shapes, sizes and colours, produced sounds that blended with their singing and their departures and landings in the trees. Great kiskadees, southern lapwings, cardinals, doves, hummingbirds, smooth-billed ani and so many other species were frequent in that space. There was a complex interaction between the sounds of each lineage that seemed to complete each other, building a contrapuntal composition with multiple melodic lines, different rhythms and timbres. Throughout the day I could hear their sparse presence by the songs they emitted here and there in the garden. In addition to the birds, other sounds gradually meddled in this soundscape, expanding the sonic complexity that vibrated in that space. Flies, mosquitoes, fruit flies, different types of bees, wasps, beetles, crickets and cicadas. Cats — silent most of the time — and bats at night.

Sounds surround us, touch us, make us vibrate with them, affect us, provoke sensations and feelings and make us think. As we listen to the sounds of the world, we weave

webs of meaning that encompass us. This experience includes sensations, emotions, memory, imagination, reason, aesthetic perception, space, collectivity and language:

> we hear through our muscles, nerves and tendons. Our body-box, strung tight, is covered head to toe with a tympanum. (...) Plunged, drowned, submerged, tossed about, lost in infinite repercussions and reverberations and making sense of them through the body. (Serres, 2008, p. 141)

But animals were not the only ones emitting sounds in the garden. There was the constant sound of the wind blowing in the various leaves of trees and shrubs. Its greatest intensity was perceived after sunset. It started as a breeze that subtly shook the leaves and grew stronger and louder until it reached, on some days, a gust that expanded the diversity of sounds caused by its friction against the plants. The wind provoked the fall of ripe fruits, mainly mangoes and *mangabas*. The fall of each mango was preceded by the breaking of its branch with a sharp crack, and soon afterwards, its thump on the ground was heard. Each thump seemed unique, sonically distinct: there was the material on which they fell — sand, grass, cement, wood, roots of other trees, dry leaves —; their weight, and whether they were whole or partially eaten by birds. The rustling, the crackling, the trilling, the chirruping, the cracking, the cooing, the chirping, the tweeting, the hissing, the humming, the peeping, the snap, the thud, the buzz, the rumour, the murmur. This sublime polyphony resonated in our bodies and made us feel we were cohabiting with non-human beings in a way that our city, Belo Horizonte, did not allow.

We used to spend hours in the garden eating our meals on a makeshift wooden table, under a mango tree, talking, swinging in the hammock that hung between two trees, playing with our 6-year-old son who explored every corner and discovered tiny events and their micro-sounds: the fruit flies, ants, beetles and other insects that consumed the fallen fruits in frenzy, the "giant" snails that came out at dusk and spread out in the yard in slow movements, the bats that sometimes flew close to ours heads and sometimes disappeared into the night beyond the walls, with their subtle and short locating noises, the green caterpillars that moved quickly and camouflaged themselves within the *biri biris*. There was life, there were sounds and there was silence[4].

The sounds in that space materialized an anticipated experience of immersion and contact with other beings, an experience of openness and spaciousness in which countless forms of existence fit together, and pointed to an urban way of life in which we did not feel so distant from other ecosystems. Those sounds disclosed the need to transform our original urban environment — the metropolis — in order to make our bodies to feel in tune with what surrounds us, reducing distance and mediation. As Ailton Krenak (2019) says: "we have become alienated from this organism of which we are a part, the Earth" (p. 14).

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[4] Silence is always a contingent experience, where the interruption of sound emissions in a context or the reduction of sudden sounds, throw us momentarily into a hiatus where other sounds appear, subtle or intense, more or less perceptible — there is no silence without sounds, as Cage (1973) used to say: "there is always something to see, something to hear. In fact, try as we may to make a silence, we cannot" (p. 8).

At the same time, the awareness of being in a garden questioned the idea of nature that vibrated in our tympanic bodies. The garden is the quintessential figure of a nature built by human technique and technology, part of the conception of the landscape idea (Cauquelin, 2000/2007). It is the frame that surrounds and defines the space to be perceived where one can cultivate and manage, govern nature — and thus, part of its sounds. The garden is an *invented nature* (von Hardenberg, 2013), which allows immersion and coexistence with beings of other species and phyla, with the tranquillity of being doubly at home. *City sounds*, although mostly of low intensity and partially blocked by trees and other plants in the garden, came to us sporadically and territorialized us in Belmonte: motorcycles on the surrounding streets, sounds of footsteps in the alley, voices walking nearby, among other noises that removed us from the idyllic experience and *grounded* us.

In my foreign view, there were two main avenues in Belmonte that were connected to the geography found by those who settled there more than 300 years ago: Beira Rio avenue and Rio Mar avenue. The first ran along the Jequitinhonha river and the second connected the first to the beach. The town, with its houses, shops, people, bicycles and squares, is clustered close to the Jequitinhonha — a river access that probably facilitated the initial movement of people and materials to and from the village. We soon realised that the sunset was taking place on the edge of the Jequitinhonha, and we spent several late afternoons listening to the boats travelling along the river and the birds populating the nearby trees with their melodies, as the sky turned red and the night came.

The engines propelled small boats carrying tourists who wanted to navigate the river and the mangroves and make the crossing to the neighbouring town, Canavieiras. The avenue had a central flower bed, with trees, benches and tables, where people could stay while watching the slow downward movement of the sun and the transversal movement of the boats. There were cars driving lazily along, with couples or families following nature through the window frame, in motion: "one effect of mobile technologies is to change the nature of vision (creating a) swiftly passing panorama, a sense of multi-dimensional rush and the fluid interconnections of places, peoples and possibilities" (Urry, 2001, p. 4). Those technologies are also forms of sound insulation (Labelle, 2010), since they are composed of acoustic materials and added benefits that allow the exclusion of sounds from the outside world, creating an acoustic *capsule* that crosses the space as if it were not in it. The tourists in Belmonte seemed to always find the moment for a short stop and a quick *flash*, but probably no pause for listening...

The dominant interaction between man and nature could be noticed again on Beira Rio avenue, where we could see the search for domestication and reconstruction of the space to make it *human* and provide delight to the passer-by, local or foreign. But we could also notice the unintentional mixing of the sounds of contemporary urban world, on a small scale in relation to a metropolis, to the sounds of non-human beings that already inhabited the place before man's arrival as well as the sounds of non-human beings who started to inhabit it after human intervention.

As we follow Rio Mar avenue we reach Mar Moreno's beach. There are no beach shacks in Belmonte, just a pub at the end of the avenue. On the sand, there are ruins of houses that have been partially washed away by the sea, as well as houses that are likely to have the same fate in a decade. From the pub, at the end of the day and on weekends, comes a constant and intense soundtrack — otherwise there is no music. As we walk 50 meters to the right or to the left, the sounds of the pub fade away and those of the sea grow and dominate the soundscape. The waves break hard in the afternoon, with repeated, cyclical crashes. The foam fizzes, stretching over the sand which is gradually soaked, until almost the entire strip is covered by water at the sunset. As we see the ghost crabs, we can almost hear the sounds of their fast feet fleeing across the sand, as well as that of the mole crabs disappearing into their holes to the rhythm of the wave cycles. Our feet sink in the soft dry sand as well as in the wet sand by the sea, sounding our steps as they rub against the hard grains. We step on shells scattered on the edges of the wet sand and some break under our feet, with a characteristic snap. The wind shakes coconut tree leaves and their sharp vibrations take part in the composition of the beach soundscape we hear. To enter the sea is to dive into variations of tones that differentiate this environment from the mainland. The unique grunt of the forming waves, the foam of the surf breaking with its increasing hiss which becomes more and more acute until it disappears, in a temporal and natural filter of frequencies. Diving isolates the external sounds and surrounds us in vibrating waters, where the sounds of our bodies stand out and awaken us to their continuous clamour. A sort of momentary return to the origin when we floated encapsulated in the womb and the different tones that reached us were filtered and the sounds of our bodies were merged with those of other beings in a world still without differentiation between the interior and the exterior in a fluid rhythm without pauses.

Listening is a way of getting closer to the world, a search for understanding based on what happens and a quest to establish a relationship with the perceived that emphasizes the awareness of our being *in* the world, co-existing with the phenomena. It is not just a mode of reception, but a method of exploration in which what we hear is discovered, not just received (Voegelin, 2010). In our culture, the visual aspect of the experience has been emphasized for many centuries and it is reinforced in language, with visual metaphors that penetrate different fields of knowledge, or in the conceptual thought itself and in the valorisation of the gaze at the expense of other forms of perception, cultivating a certain *visualism* (Ihde, 2007) that has dominated the way we are affected by things and the meanings we build from those impressions.

Shifting our perception towards listening is a manner of expanding our way of receiving the things of the world and thinking about them (listening does not exclude visuality, nor any other senses, since it is part of the whole that is our perception, even if we are not aware of it). Feld (2017) proposes an epistemological shift through the concept of *acoustemology*:

> acoustemology (...) asks how the physicality of sound is so instantly and
> forcefully present to experience and experiencers, to interpreters and

> interpretations. (...) Engages acoustics at the plane of the audible — *ak-*
> *oustos* — to inquire into sounding as simultaneously social and material, an
> experiential nexus of sonic sensation. (p. 84)

The flow of listening, in its continuous unfolding and its rhythmic and temporal characteristics, calls for another writing, also open and fluid, that accounts for the movement of sensations, in addition to the movement of thought — and makes room for the personal character of perceptions. In this particular case, it takes the form of an *acoustemological travelogue*: "the core of any writing, researching and theorizing around sound [is] to unravel the sensory and imaginary impact of a specific *specimen* of organized sounds — in a characteristic and culturally as well as historically contextualized situation" (Schulze, 2019, p. 12).

The garden, the river and the beach are three forms of encounter between nature and the urban in Belmonte that are notably revealed in the sounds of those spaces. Those encounters and their sonorities stood out to my foreign perception and experience and they remind me the gardens, rivers and parks in my hometown but without the sea and the beaches, since it is not a coastal city. Each of these three places reveals a mode of articulation between the human and the natural as well as ways of occupying and distributing urban space.

The gardens are not only built spaces where *invented nature* lives, they denote specific social strata as well. Gardens belong to old properties extending for half a block or more, probably covering about 1,000 m². Several similar houses punctuated the old avenues of Belmonte historic centre: renovated and private, identified with historic preservation plates, whose gardens are protected by high walls. Those houses and their wide areas, built at the dawn of the 20th century, are directly linked to the cocoa cycle of the 19th century, when the town flourished, but always update their place in the structure of social inequalities through the financial and housing market cycles. Coexisting with those spacious properties, there are numerous small constructions, crammed both on the edges of the historic centre and in the more distant areas of the town, where a good part of the population resides without access to the private nature and the soundscape that the gardens provide:

> capitalism simultaneously differentiates (...) converting the principle of
> market choice into a mechanism for group differentiation. (...) Divisions
> such as those between cities and suburbs, between regions (...) are actively
> produced through the differentiating powers of capital accumulation and
> market structures. (Harvey, 2001/2005, p. 208)

For me, the Beira Rio avenue, on the banks of the Jequitinhonha river, was a space for tourists, coming from nearby or distant cities. The space was designed as a *panorama*, with a parapet along the entire bank of the river as well as a flower bed with wooden benches and tables at the centre of the avenue for the appreciation of the view and, in our case, for listening to the multitude of sounds present there. The avenue was invariably

empty with just a few cars passing along its length and capturing the view in photographs: the tourist "consumes the exoticism, the sand, the sea, and the landscapes (...) but he feels at home even when he is elsewhere (...) and organizes himself to reduce others to an image (Augé, 2007/2010, pp. 74–75).

The beach seemed to be a place where nature was democratically accessed, open to the local population, to potential tourists, to upper or lower class families. The beaches where empty most of the time, except for weekends and holidays, when families, young people, children, couples of all ages, occupied the beach equitably, bringing their games, toys, their food, their chairs, small devices of sound diffusion (mobile phones, speakers) and the sounds of their bodies and their voices. The absence of beach shacks expanded the mixture and strengthened an egalitarian occupation of space.

Thus, we can notice that sound spaces are constituted through the interaction between disparate elements and when we listen to them with responsive ears they can help us understand the actions and relationships established between humans and non-human beings, forms of social organization, wealth distribution and urban structure, as well as the pace and spatial disposition of those relations. Our perception, if really open to what comes to us, is inundated by the different sonorities that make up the spaces through which we circulate and from these sensations we constitute meanings that link the perceived to the individual, historical, social and cultural moment we are experiencing — we delineate a listening territory. A listening territory is the name I give to the sound dimension of the world, as well as the way it affects us and what we produce from that affection. It implies the subject conduct, his or her body and his or her thinking and how these three elements are involved in his or her listening to the world and in his or her understanding of what surrounds him or her — it is based on what comes from the senses and what crosses and forms his or her own subjectivity: the conceptual, historical, political and affective aspects of his or her existence.

Acoustic Community

Every day, between 7 and 8 o'clock in the morning, we could hear the fishmonger circling the town, in the distance, taking turns, first to the right and then to the left of the house, until he would get closer and we listen to and watch him going through the alley, beside the stretch of the garden that we inhabited most of the day. His *song* was always "olha o peixe" (here comes the fish), with an emphatic extension of the "ei" (*ay*) sound, sometimes with the indication of the species he offered and with significant intensity, so that the sound would arrive before he reached those who listened. As he moved on a bicycle, his sound displacement was particularly interesting: we heard him draw the space of our surroundings, marking points of his path with his singing, in rapid movements that seemed erratic, labyrinthine, but perhaps they served some logic that we were unaware of.

An acoustic community (Truax, 1984) is defined by the sounds that spread through its geographical location and are shared by the ears of its inhabitants, a soundscape that characterizes communal aspects of life for that specific group, even partially. We could say that they are formed from shared listening territories, adding the subjective aspect of the sound perception and the meaning that comes from the exchange of experiences in the community. The concept is elastic, since it does not limit the dimensions of an acoustic community, which can go from a small space, like a house, to an entire community based on electroacoustic forms of communication, such as the radio: "our definition of the acoustic community means that acoustic cues and signals constantly keep the community in touch with what is going on from day to day within it" (Truax, 1984, p. 58).

At certain times and days, we could listen to the music that came from neighbouring areas and, as we walked through the streets, we came across shared forms of music listening that we realized to be a constant in the town. People sat in chairs comfortably placed in the sun, at the entrance to their houses, next to amplified speakers whose electric extension stretched through the front door, and listened to music at high volume sharing this particular listening situation while sipping their drinks. The conversation was limited by the intensity of the music, which not only cheered those who were sitting side by side but invaded the houses of an entire block around them. *Arrocha* was the preeminent style coming from those speakers which mostly favoured composers and songwriters from Bahia. When walking along some routes, our ears were often induced to make curious *mash-ups* of the songs emanating from the surroundings which momentarily overlapped in their dispute over the acoustic space.

The choices we make to sonically manifest ourselves demarcate ways of expressing ourselves and of claiming the common space. The sounds we make expand our territory, expand the limits of our bodies and place us in dialogue and/or dispute with other bodies, revealing the diffusion through sound waves of the political aspect of our existence. The power of sound is often associated with the power and dominance of a territory, since "the loudest sounds have always been associated with the most powerful forces in the world, whether they represented physical or political power" (Truax, 1984, p. 113). On the other hand, our sounds are also traces that we leave in the shared space of the acoustic community, an imprint that affirms us as individuals within the group.

The municipal market was located at the end of D. Pedro II avenue, on the banks of the Jequitinhonha river. I suppose it was a busy place sometime ago, with its stalls filled and occupied. However, currently, the market is closed and several of its internal stalls are empty and abandoned, as could be seen through its gates. Outside, facing a small grassy square, there was a bar. Every day the tables on the pavement were taken up by men drinking and listening to the music coming from the speakers of the bar and filling the square in front of it. The songs constantly scrutinized the beloved woman and disclosed the suffering, the betrayal, the lost love, curiously bringing the feminine presence to that male environment, although a feminine circumscribed by the masculine affection... Next to the market there is a small wharf officially built for the fishermen, as

signalled on the plate in front of it, where boats which make the crossing to Canavieiras and trips on the river are docked. I presume that the men who spent their days at the bar were waiting for visitors to sail their boats and in the meantime spent their unoccupied afternoons undulating to the sound of the loud music coming from the bar and the affections it evoked.

The town is divided in two by 23 de Maio avenue, the extension of BA 001 road and the entrance to Belmonte. To the north-west, the historic part of the town, to the southeast, the modern one. Almost all the commerce is on in this avenue: supermarkets, butchers, bakeries, clothing shops, bicycle shops, beverage distributors, greengrocer's, and many other suppliers of goods. Walking along this avenue is delving into the daily flow of the town's movement: countless bicycles parked along the pavements, people circulating and inside the shops, cars, delivery trucks and tricycles vie for available space. Here, on a small scale, the multi-sensory hubbub of the metropolises is mirrored with its easily exportable characteristics: the excess of placards, advertisements, banners and visual signs, the snores, crackles, squeals and rumours of the engines, the characteristic odour of gases from oil, the texture, the impermeability and the heat of the asphalt underfoot — this is the only paved road in the town — characteristics of the urban structure that dissolve in the global network, where spaces become more and more homogeneous (Harvey, 2001/2005).

Listening to aspects of the community — which include sharing, expression of subjectivity in the common space, exchanges, affective connections and ruptures — allows us to reach an understanding of the ways of living and sharing of the city space. Among them we find those that are part of the constitution of the peculiarities that differentiate one city from another and, at the same time, aspects that bring them together. Life in common is not only made by conducts that imply an effective action on the shared space, but also by the sound choices we make when inhabiting it.

The *Agora*

Bars fill the Rio Mar avenue, an average of one per block, varying the offer: snacks, lunch, or just drinks. Every day, people met for ordinary conversations on their pavements, in pairs, trios or circles that gradually get excited and thereby intensify the sonic power of the "crowding". The bars have become the space for the town's daily meetings — at least to my foreign perception — where the voices overlap, oppose, articulate themselves rhythmically, dance spatially and compose harmonies and dissonances. In many of them there was no music, especially during the day. Some, like the one at the end of the avenue, on the sea front, provided soundtracks for the meetings only at dusk.

The sounds of the voices reverberate on the walls of the built areas, amplify their volume and reflect in all directions, engulfing the surroundings with their vibrations responding to that *aural architecture* (Blesser & Salter, 2007). Beyond language and the significance constructed (in part) logically, argument and persuasion, information and

solicitation, slogan, jargon, slang, regionalisms, grammar, colloquial expressions, resides laugh, laughter, whispering, stammering, cries of pain, anger, pleasure, relief, interjections, crying, whistling, teeth grinding, tongue clicking: "before making sense, language makes noise. (...) Whoever speaks is also singing beneath the words spoken, is beating out rhythm beneath the song, is diving into the background noise underneath the rhythm" (Serres, 2008, p. 120). Inside the bars, the ties are unfastened and the rationality of the speech is dismantled, allowing the most disparate sounds, "adequate" or not, to be emitted without blockage, either by male or female mouths...

We spotted at least four squares in the region of the historic centre, where we stayed, all of them had gazebos, benches, lighting and signs of careful maintenance. Curiously, they were always empty. There were no people talking in the squares, nobody watching passers-by or enjoying the weather. Not even children appropriated these spaces, leaving them continuously lifeless, architectural conformations without the human presence that completes them and gives them meaning. Silence concealed itself in those places, waiting for the unsuspecting visitor, about to envelop him or her and request his or her stillness to listen to the wind and the sounds of the past that could be awakened by memory and imagination.

At the same time, a few blocks from the historic centre, on the riverside, young people playing football occupied the Matriz Church plaza; we could see one or another amateur athlete jogging, circling bicycles and gatherings in the bar in the centre of the square. The profusion of sounds in the plaza materialized the possibility of multiple occupations of the public space. There was no interaction between the groups, nor was there a subject to be discussed and decided at an assembly, but all those events registered a tacit claim for the right to the city through leisure and through the diversity of sound emissions.

As we learned from Lefebvre (2000), the design of the urban structure can favour modes of occupying space and these modes will be revealed through the disparate sounds that mingle in a harmony of differences (or dissonances) characteristic of the realization of sociality: "urban form – Mentally: simultaneity (of events, perceptions, and elements of a whole in the 'real'). Socially: the encounter and the concentration of what exists around, in the environment (...) and consequently, urban society as privileged social site" (pp. 137–138).

On the central curb strip of Rio Mar avenue, in front of a gas station with the same name, there were two benches — one made of concrete and one made of wood. They were face to face, but about 5 to 6 meters apart. People were always around those benches talking to each other, especially in the mornings. The discussions covered numerous topics: the latest news, football, work, the weather, the government, and so forth. Although it was not an official circle of discussion and decision about collective life, but a space for exchanges that represent urban sociability and the maintenance of bonds in the midst of normally rigid work flows, there was room for advice and exhortations. They were masculine voices, with variations in timbre and intonation, rhythm, amplitude and

cadence, some with ageing signs, others with biological flaws, but all with a similar accent and reinforcing, even if unconsciously, the maintenance of authorized speech and friendship between men that cement the construction of gender in the public space.

Anne Carson (1995), in her text "The Genre of Sound", addresses historical-cultural issues about the male perspectives of ancient (and current) cultures that gradually built the silencing of the sound of female voices as well as the use of their voice in public spaces. Women, in addition to having high-pitched voices (irritating, in the analysed perspective), were not able to exercise rational control of speech through *sophrosyne*, speaking more than they should and saying what they should not. Therefore, they would not be capable to engage in rational discussions in the eminently male political and decision-making spaces — male deep voices and their controlled and balanced discourse would be the hallmarks of the correct attitude in public life. Carson addresses other issues that are part of the construction of the silencing and patriarchal disqualification of the female voice and speech and its connection with sexuality, which reinforce their withdrawal from the public space. Listening to the male voices arguing in common spaces of Belmonte and not listening to the female voices in this micro-universe resonated Carson's thinking in my ears.

The sounds can be considered violent, invasive, exclusive, disruptive and, at the same time, affective, welcoming, conciliatory. The dispute for the city also takes place through the sound occupation of spaces — sounds can be political in themselves. Listening allows us to discern the power of sounds in constructing alliances, delimiting territories, creating and maintaining hegemony, dominance and affirmation. Thus, the gradual weaving of a listening territory, in addition to being a process, is a procedure of unveiling aspects of the world that are expressed through sounds and that provoke thought by making the ears vibrate.

On the Road

Belmonte is a small town, flat, with not many cars and a simple and geometric road system — few avenues, moderately wide streets, and narrow, perpendicular lanes. The town's main means of transport is the bicycle — the dream of big cities and ecological transport solutions. Numerous bicycles circulate through the streets, in a myriad of colours, albeit with similar styles — there is no need for mountain, folding or retro bikes nor gears. A simple bicycle with a pillion and sometimes a basket on the front is enough. We soon found two bicycles in our house and started to take daily rides. Belmonte shows us that "people's lives are not that compartmentalized — generally, the place where they live, work and have fun is just a short distance away" (Byrne, 2009/2011, p. 8).

Bicycles not only eased our ways through the streets but opened new doors for us to perceive, feel and think about the town we were in. Cycling through the roadways brought the noises of the bicycles, the conversations and the voices interrupted by the erratic movements of each cyclist, the sounds of the streets in spatial movements: approaching,

in *crescendos*, distancing, in *diminuendos*, the expansion of our listening territory and the discovery of new sounds and new forms of dynamic appreciation of these sounds. The bicycle does not isolate us from the encircling space, as cars and their sound insulation do. It allows us to be still immersed in the world while in motion — the tactile textures, colours, shapes, smells and sounds reach us and involve us throughout the journey: "on a bicycle, there are more exchanges and more correspondence. We surreptitiously slip through another geography, eminent and literally poetic" (Augé, 2008/2009, p. 66).

Gradually we were drawing new paths on our bicycles, discovering routes, lanes, alleys and streets, of stone or earth, designing Belmonte's space in new shapes that brought fresh perceptions about the town. We discovered, on one of the tours, the Belmonte Roberto Cunha municipal airport. There was none of the sounds we would expect to hear near an airport. The track, at the bottom and to the left, was being slowly taken up by vegetation. The insects and birds that populated bushes and surrounding trees, together with the wind that swayed the leaves and one or another passer-by on the street made up the soundscape of that *non-place* (Augé, 1997).

There was a bog close by on the same avenue, towards the centre. As we approached it we could hear an infinity of frogs croaking in high-pitch. The croaking and its particular characteristics composed an open-air concert with an incredible spatialization of the frogs' voices hidden under the tall grass and it was sonically opposed to the idea of urbanization that its neighbour, the airport, brought to the site.

Thanks to the mobility we gained with our bicycles, we could drift around most of the town, experiencing different spaces and the sounds of the ways of life that unfolded in it. The municipal market, the riverside, the squares, the church, the avenues and lanes, the abundant silences and sounds, the voices and the songs, the noises and the dialogues, the music in the air and in the body, a diversity of spaces that were gradually transformed into our territory — and into our listening territory.

The ways we move through cities define the way we listen to them and, at least partially, the ways in which we participate in the common life and how we understand it. If we had chosen the car as our means of transport and had decided to go only to beaches and restaurants, like the traditional tourist, we would have isolated ourselves from the rhythms and flows that make up the town and our understanding of it could turn out to be extremely superficial and limited. Walking and cycling allowed us to listen to Belmonte and let ourselves be overwhelmed by the multiplicity of aspects that were manifested through sound. Thus, we have built a perspective on the town from the sewing together of the sound fragments we heard throughout our stay and of the different meanings that are expressed in the everyday sounds of a town — slowly, articulating sensations and thinking, and allowing those sounds to be the starting point for our understanding of Belmonte.

Slow Homecoming

"As from when does somewhere become truly yours?", asks Perec (1974/2001, p. 24). My 6-year-old son tells me that he lived in every place he visited: "when we lived" in Serra do Cipó, in Cumuruxatiba, in São Paulo, in Rio de Janeiro, in Tiradentes, in Ouro Preto, in Itatiaia, in Rio Piracicaba, in Catas Altas, in Cocais, in Belmonte, in Mariana...

When do the foreign eyes, ears, nose, mouth and body cease to be foreign? Does dwelling connect and submit only to time? Or does it concern the way we are, live, are affected and affect a place? Perhaps we have inhabited Belmonte and made it our territory, and not only visited the town, or perhaps this is just our wish... "Cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules are absurd, their perspectives deceitful, and everything conceals something else" (Calvino, 1972/1990, p. 25).

A listening territory is also a sound map which is, at least in part, poetic. Therefore, it is always provisional, ephemeral, personal. We have tried to describe in words this provisional map, fleeting in sensations and memories, which points to the connections and flows involved in the listening territories we articulated during our stay in Belmonte and reflects the construction of this personal and idiosyncratic listening. As Schulze (2018) tells us:

> in respect to (...) personal, biographical, cultural, as well as historical specificities in inclinations, preferences, and tastes, a certain alien might evolve an idiosyncrasy over time. Idiosyncrasies are symptoms of existence: they are signatures of life. (...) The sonic traces of such sensory idiosyncrasies are always specific in their endless variations, their almost unforeseeable turns, detours, and erratic pirouettes. (pp. 116–117)

Maps and cartographies are a set of marks and references that open the possibility of drawing new paths through lines of flight that can design new maps (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/2000). Listening is a multifaceted experience and, although we can categorize it to try to understand it, its simultaneous constitutive layers are always multiple. Listening to Belmonte resonated in us with several aspects of the ways of living that take place there: nature, urbanism, history, politics, leisure, social structure, among other themes and relationships. But it was *our* listening, one of so many possible others.

This listening territory reveals the importance of opening our ears as a form of research, entry and understanding of social relations and the urban structure that manifests them. It is not just a matter of letting yourself be carried away by the sounds, although this is necessary in this procedure. It is about opening ourselves to the sensory and letting the sensations guide our thought so it can articulate what we live to our reflection and to our understanding. It is not a matter of putting the ears in the place of the eyes — a listening instead of an observation, instead of a gaze —, but, as we try to indicate in this essay, to open our ears to the stimulus that comes from the world while we are immersed in it and to add what our listening captures to what the body, as a whole, perceives and thinks.

To return "slowly" from Belmonte to Belo Horizonte, in a journey divided into 2 days of travel, with about 8 hours each, in a *non-place* where we can only hear the roar of engines and the wind through the narrow openings of the car windows, with short pauses in diners where meals are practical and quick, accommodation in *non-places* which resemble countless others with their isolation from external sounds, air-conditioning noise, informative and friendly speeches within the necessary politeness to the consumer relationship, is a slow return to other aspects of the world and other ways of listening and its articulations. It is a return to the sensory dullness that the tourist structure, if we can call it that, guarantees to the traveller — the homogeneity and the reduction of difference and, with that, the weakening of the stimulus that comes from the experience.

At the same time, the composition of our listening territories in Belmonte directly impacts our perception of Belo Horizonte and its sounds. We always return with other ears and with another listening: "the continuously shifting sound dynamics [is a] characteristic of most soundscapes. (...) that fact alone demands continuous openness and flexibility in aural perception from us (...). What is stable and not shifting is the commitment to listening" (Westerkamp, 2019, p. 46).

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Biographical Note

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Sonorous Windows in Times of Pandemic

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Abstract

The ideas developed in this article take as reference not only part of the literature that analyzed the trajectory of some societies in times of pandemic and was produced within the framework of sound studies, but also the audiovisual material and narratives collected during an exploratory research. This research was carried out in the traditional media and on the social networks of the internet and focused on the behavior and reactions of the actors during the quarters of the covid-19 that occurred in 2020 and 2021 in several locations around the globe (with emphasis not only on the context of Brazil and the United States of America, but also on the countries of the European continent). It should be noted that we tried to analyze here the double flow of approximations and distances between the actors that — largely deprived of their dynamics of collective and daily interactions in the cities (due to the sanitary measures of social distance recommended by the authorities during the pandemic) — found, in some sound experiences of solidarity and protest (which echoed in the territories), alternatives for the realization of relevant socio-cultural exchanges. Thus, those actors produced peculiar and relevant alliances and tensions in this context, which make it possible to rethink — especially from the perspective of sound and music studies — not only the socio-political dynamics of the acoustic experiences that were generated in various locations, but also the limits and the porosity of traditional borders between the public and private spheres.

Keywords

city, communication, culture, pandemic, sonorities

Janelas Sonoras em Tempos de Pandemia

Resumo

As reflexões desenvolvidas neste artigo tomam como referência não só parte da literatura especializada que analisou a trajetória de algumas sociedades em tempos de pandemia e foi produzida no quadro dos estudos de som, como também o material audiovisual e narrativas levantadas durante uma pesquisa exploratória realizada na mídia tradicional e nas redes sociais da internet sobre o comportamento e reações dos atores durante as quarentenas da covid-19 que ocorreram em 2020 e 2021 em diversas localidades do globo (com destaque não só para o contexto do Brasil e dos Estudos Unidos da América, como também dos países do continente europeu). Salienta-se que se procurou analisar aqui o duplo fluxo de aproximações e afastamentos entre os atores que — privados em grande medida de sua dinâmica de interações coletivas e cotidianas nas cidades (por conta das medidas sanitárias de distanciamento social

recomendadas pelas autoridades durante a pandemia) — encontraram em algumas experiências sonoras de solidariedade e de protesto (que ecoaram nos territórios) alternativas para a concretização de intercâmbios socioculturais relevantes. Assim, os atores produziram alianças e tensões peculiares e relevantes nesse contexto, as quais possibilitam que se repense — especialmente da perspectiva dos estudos de som e música — não só as dinâmicas sociopolíticas das experiências acústicas que foram geradas em várias localidades, como também os limites e a porosidade das fronteiras tradicionais entre as esferas do público e do privado.

Palavras-chave

cidade, comunicação, cultura, pandemia, sonoridades

Introduction

The covid-19 pandemic caused severe changes in everyday life in cities. In view of the long duration of quarantines and the social distancing measures adopted by different social segments, as it has happened throughout history in similar exceptional situations, the social fabric was shattered with the loss of daily references (Barbosa, 2020). Soundly speaking, it was possible to observe that the emptying of city streets reduced the amount of sound in the environment. In this less intense sound environment, diffuse sonic waves sprang up, which echoed not only calling our attention, but which also mobilized the players cathartically in the territories.

On the one hand, it was possible to observe, for example, several occurrences involving the initiative of players singing, playing, dancing and playing music on the balconies and windows in different cities around the world, which invited local players to participate in sound interactions. On the other hand, windows and balconies have become platforms from which disputes, disagreements and various dissatisfactions have become sonorously voiced, activating even violent behaviors of confined residents[1].

In fact, it can be said that in this context a set of sound events partially blurred the traditional borders between the public and private spheres, but also temporarily changed the point of access to the private world of the players. In this sense, Rivera (2020) suggests that during the pandemic, especially when the "doors were closed" — interrupting their continuous flows —, windows occupied a bigger role in the live of citizens, inaugurating in a certain way a peculiar architecture and social dynamics that started to gravitate around them.

In this context, windows are (re)configured, therefore, as an element of communication between public and private spaces, processing an intermediate movement between them. The mandatory confinement implied a kind of subversion of the historical overvaluation of individuals (Sennett, 1974/1988), recovering part of the sense of

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[1] Due to an unprecedented political, economic and institutional crisis in Brazil, it was possible to identify, in the research carried out, the recurrent presence of several political manifestations, which gained expression in the form of "pot-banging protests", in which intense demonstrations emerged against the current management of the federal government. This particular issue will be discussed in detail later in this article.

deprivation that the notion of private imprinted in the philosophy of Ancient Greece (Arendt, 1958/2007). Deprived of their public and political existence in traditional arenas, players found in the windows ways to temporarily externalize their citizenship with collective manifestations, particularly through sound.

During the pandemic, there has been an opportunity to note that processes of sensitization and the construction of relevant socio-cultural connections and temporary policies have been taking place through "more distant face-to-face sound demonstrations", which build processes of "urban reterritorialization" with some power (Herschmann & Fernandes, 2014, p. 73). In this article, we analyze two trends that, although apparently opposed, indicate a continuity of acoustic expressions of public sound spaces not only as a way to negotiate tensions, expose divergences and practice aesthetic-political actions, but also as a way of *being-with*, even if in a precarious way (even if the players are obliged to keep a certain distance). They constitute interventions that invade spaces far beyond domestic environments. It is important to highlight that these two trends are being understood as integrated to a wide and complex urban sound phenomenon, which generates multiple social interactions and has a great capacity for social mobilization, especially with the management of sound reproduction and production technologies available today.

Thus, the reflections developed in this article take as reference not only part of the specialized literature that analyzed the trajectory of some societies in times of pandemic and the one produced within the scope of sound studies, but also the audiovisual material and narratives raised during an exploratory research carried out in the traditional media and on social media on the internet about the behavior and reactions of players during the covid-19 quarantines that occurred in 2020 and 2021 in several locations around the globe (with emphasis not only on the context of Brazil and the United States, but also of the countries of the European continent). It should be noted that we sought to analyze here the double flow of moving closer and distancing between the players who — largely deprived of their dynamics of collective and daily interactions in the cities (due to the sanitary measures of social distance recommended by the authorities during the pandemic) — found, in some sound experiences of solidarity and protest, that echoed in the territories, alternatives for the realization of relevant socio-cultural exchanges. Thus, the players produced peculiar and relevant alliances and tensions, which allows us to rethink — especially from the perspective of sound and music studies — the limits and porosity of the boundaries between the public and private spheres, particularly in contexts marked by a certain discontinuity of everyday life (which was characterized by more face-to-face dynamics).

Windows in Consonance

Social isolation as the main strategy for coping with the long coronavirus pandemic is known to have continuous psychic effects on much of the planet's population.

Instigated reactions of all kinds, some of them creative and sonorous, mobilizing players to act coordinately in different locations of the globe. They organized collective presentations — held on windows and balconies — that loudly invaded the ambience of the public space. It can be said that these sound manifestations were an attempt to change the mood of players in the places where they occurred[2]. Thus, in addition to the millions of people that were infected, hospitalized or killed, one of the difficult aspects to manage in the quarantines was precisely the need to face social distancing, in a painful and restricted routine. Several ongoing studies have indicated an exponential growth in cases of depression and anxiety crisis in different regions of the planet: in this sense, some experts highlight that the covid-19 pandemic is curiously generating as a side effect several other pandemics, which are affecting humanity today (Lima, 2020). In this first part of the article, we would like to point out that the "solidarity pandemic" was one of the rare positive externalities of the coronavirus epidemic[3].

The fact is that, if the *noises* characterize the social activity of different times (Attali, 1977/1995), the context of this pandemic has more clearly demonstrated that the modern and especially the contemporary individual built and sedimented a very noisy culture, on which they are deeply dependent (although they sometimes manifest their discomfort and discontent with this acoustic ambience). In other words, it is worth emphasizing that in the context of this pandemic, the players are discovering that they also have difficulty in dealing with less noise in their daily lives. If, on the one hand, they started to live in a much more silent "soundscape" (Schafer, 1969) that produced ecological effects on the planet (there are several reports about the increased ability to listen to the sounds of animals and nature, even in cities); on the other hand, it must also be recognized that this apparent "peace" has not always produced necessarily positive impacts on the individuals' psyche, especially when there was a virus of high lethality lurking around the players[4].

In fact, what is noticeable is that the sound experience in cities is lived ambiguously. In many of the speeches collected during the pandemic, it was found that the players claimed to miss the sounds that regularly leaked — in a "schizophonic" way[5] — around the city. As a matter of fact, they even stressed that they resented the missing "muzak"[6]

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[2] Some of these initiatives are brought together in the following video that was compiled throughout this exploratory research, done also on the web https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J7eEzepTRvY.

[3] Of course, the temporary denaturalization of some neoliberal postulates could also be mentioned (Piketty, 2013/2014).

[4] Evidently, Schafer's (1969) arguments about the relevance of "sound ecology" and the harmful effects of its imbalance on populations could be reconsidered. Although we agree with this author on some of his more general assumptions, it is also necessary to recognize that a "more muted environment" can sadden and even make sick expressive social segments, especially in territories in which players are accustomed to inhabiting noisy environments, marked by intense sound palimpsests.

[5] Urban daily life in general is characterized by sound palimpsests: there is often an inability of the players to identify the sources that promote a given plural and fragmentary sound experience that leaks through a given location (Obici, 2008).

[6] The notion of "muzak" is treated here in the sense attributed by Schafer (1969), that is, as a synonym for sounds and songs that integrate an ambience: as a result of everyday acoustic experiences, which generally make up the soundscape of cities.

in their daily lives, about which they used to complain so much before, but to which they were completely accustomed. In several statements published on social networks, the players that took part in the study highlighted that, if on the one hand such sounds harassed them, on the other hand they made it possible for them to feel as part of a pulsating collectivity[7].

Another aspect that stood out during the research carried out was the fact that music, more than ever, was regularly triggered by the players as a powerful "technology of the self" (DeNora, 2000, pp. 12–13), as a strategy for managing moods in times of pandemic. In other words, music was touted not only as a form of self-care, but also as a way to change — even if only temporarily — the state of consternation and sadness. Therefore, it was used "astutely and tactically" (Certeau, 1980/1994, p. 77–78), as a way to reconnect precariously with some people, seeking to reintegrate the "social fabric" to some extent, which in a way was collapsed by long periods of quarantine[8].

For many players, the experience of distancing or social isolation at that time was referred to as fear and loss. Just to have a notion: throughout our research it was possible to verify that in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Germany, in "times of lockdown", the watchword was "resist", trying to maintain in some way, even if in a tenuous way, the ties with the surroundings. It is not by chance that a composition which was frequently reproduced in these "manifestations of the balconies" was the 19th-century working class song entitled *Bella Ciao,* which for obvious reasons became a sort of hymn of this "re-existence" of individuals in isolation. This occurred not only because of what this song evoked in the collective memory (Halbwachs, 1950/2013) of several European societies, but also because of the recent success of the series *Money Heist* (which was aired on the Netflix platform). In Brazil, these concerts did not occur as often as in Europe, but one can mention as an example the "balcony shows" — from their buildings in the south zone of Rio de Janeiro — by very popular singers nationwide, such as Mumuzinho, Alok and Lulu Santos. These singers mobilized their respective neighborhoods and were filmed their performances broadcasted with great repercussion on social networks (Família Martinez; 2020, Stories do samba, 2020) and even on open television channels.

Indeed, it was clear that the songs that echoed in these sound manifestations are in general those that are well known by the local population — a kind of basic mnemonic repertoire of the community is triggered —, because in general the effect that is sought to produce in the neighborhood is a dynamic as participatory as possible: be it playing an instrument, singing along or even dancing with the musicians in the sonorous windows.

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[7] On the urban noise that bothers urban dwellers and their "compensation" strategies, Sterne (2012) makes some considerations in his book on the use of MP3 technology: in it the author points out that we live in noisy environments and that sound technologies, especially those associated with file compression processes (associated with headphones) were important tools, which have been providing better conditions and comfort for a satisfactory enjoyment of the sound consumption experience in cities.

[8] Among historians, Delumeau (1978/2009), in his well-known book on the *História do Medo no Ocidente* (*History of Fear in the West*), stresses that this often occurs in long epidemics, such as: the black death in Europe during the middle ages, the Spanish flu in Latin America, in the early 20th century; and even during the ebola virus cycle in Africa, which began in the 1990s.

Thus, the tactic of producing a condition of "musical asylum" against stress or "bubble" — as DeNora (2016) and Bull (2015) respectively point out — can constitute an interesting survival strategy, which would allow players to distance themselves a little, for example, from the avalanche of tragic or dystopian news that emerges on social networks and the media in general. However, the proposal in these collective and cathartic musical initiatives goes in another direction: through them, we seek to promote reconnection with the other and surroundings, seeking to change the psyche and the state of mind not only of those directly involved in the initiative, but also of those from the neighborhood that will consume these musical performances[9] and sonorities.

Therefore, we highlight here not only the pleasure of social reconnection in this very peculiar and very delicate context, but also the political dimension of these mobilizing initiatives. In this sense, Obici (2008) argues in a well-founded way that the music that echoes in urban spaces — voluntarily or involuntarily — ends up also promoting "sound policies", as they generate powerful collective experiences that can gain multiple senses and meanings, some even with contradictory signs.

Another aspect of these collective sound manifestations in times of pandemic could be highlighted: the capacity of these sounds and music to resignify urban spaces and imaginary[10]. Therefore, still taking as reference these more or less organized collective sound interventions, we can say the following: on the one hand, some of these musical experiences are received as desirable and capable of producing in the players a momentary state of mind, a collective spirit and even excitement; on the other hand, contradictorily (and often at the same time), they generated nostalgia and a certain anguish in those involved (because it made them remember what their daily lives were like before the pandemic). It is also worth remembering that fear was amplified by the media in this context of isolation. Thus, during this global health crisis, the feeling that the players had was that, more than ever, the narratives and sounds broadcast in the mainstream media and social networks in general have daily updated an imaginary of uncertainty and insecurity, reiterating the feeling of living in the "city of fear", in which the other represents an enormous risk in everyday life. At the same time, albeit in a punctual manner, the organization of these sound initiatives with the neighbors also sensitized and mobilized the players, giving new meaning to the spaces, generating playful collective experiences that built "sonic-musical territorialities" (Herschmann & Fernandes, 2014, p. 13), which promoted, albeit precariously, the reintegration of fragments of the social fabric that was weakened by the experiences of consecutive quarantines.

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[9] Evidently, the players' performance at the windows (which got bigger in the pandemic) was significant and relevant, as many of these mobilized the neighborhood. The performances were not analyzed in depth, but the "performative theatricality" (Zumthor, 2007) was taken into account to understand the consonances and dissonances that took place in this context.

[10] In this sense, Labelle (2010) and numerous authors of sound studies have sought in their studies to highlight the potential of acoustic experiences, their ability to shape "territories", the senses, perceptions and rhythms of urban daily life.

Windows in Dissonance

If, on the one hand, the sound leak from windows and balconies has an enormous potential to produce adhesions among individuals distanced by the pandemic, on the other hand some of these leaks ended up increasing tensions and social conflicts. Several publications have pointed to the long journey of disagreements around the sounds of cities, since at least the 19th century (Attali, 1977/1995). The sounds of the neighbourhood or even the noise of the streets, traffic and the constant movement of crowded people often interpreted as elements of disturbance in the cities, producing dissatisfactions, confrontations and mobilizations of the state are minimizing the leak of sounds *across* and *to* residences.

In an interesting study on the sound conflicts in the middle of the 19th century, Picker (2003) notes that the increase in the sound of cities produced strong reactions from intellectuals and artists whose intellectual work was tainted by the invasive sounds of the streets. In fact, in 1864, British MP Michael T. Bass was one of the first politicians who proposed an urban law with the aim of preserving the peace and tranquility of London's middle-class homes from the noisy activities of preachers, wagons, barrel organs and street musicians (Bass, 1864). On that occasion, this MP received several letters of support, published in the same year in the book *Street Music in the Metropolis*, with testimonies from residents of regions with medium purchasing power, intellectuals and the sick who say they were victims of the "torture" of the unbearable sounds of streets (Bass, 1864, p. 13). The debate involving this MP and some citizens makes it very evident that the sound annoyances that crossed the speeches of the 19th century are frequently related to social asymmetries. The letters addressed to Bass often mentioned immigrants and unemployed people who freely move around the city, harassing other people's peace. The bill and the clamor of such citizens is for the application of regulations that would allow a vigorous action by the police apparatus in the city. However, this asymmetry does not always seem so absolute as in a case reported in this book, in which it is mentioned that a German band was removed from the street by police officers after the complaint of a resident. Interestingly, in another moment, this same resident received these artists on the balcony of his house where they played "for two more hours" (Bass, 1864, p. 17). This maneuver operated by a member of the neighbor demonstrates that the application of interdictions and sanctions has social limits related to power relations (Trotta, 2020). The discussion is not restricted to the universe of European countries, a similar movement takes shape on the other side of the Atlantic. Bieletto (2018) points out a series of regulations at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century that aimed to discipline the urban acoustic space in Mexico City, criminalizing certain musical repertoires and sound practices not consistent with certain civilizing ideals. So, fines and arrests were carried out by urban inspectors to curb noise and behavior deemed inappropriate. In this sense, Bieletto (2018) makes the following comment:

> as the records illustrate, it was the subjective appreciation of the inspectors
> that served to determine when people's manifestations had exceeded the

> limits of the sonorously acceptable, although this often also implied considering what they considered inadmissible in aesthetic, bodily and moral terms. (p. 164)

What we seek to show through these examples is that such sound disagreements are crossed by the players' interests and social positions: it is from these perspectives that sound leaks are generally evaluated and sentenced. From the early 20th century, the problem of leaks has been amplified with the increasing popularization of sound reproduction devices, which have gradually become part of the sound of homes. Bijstervelt (2008) points out that, at that moment, the governments of several cities in Europe have mobilized to seek legislation capable of reducing the "problem of neighbors". Problems that, according to this author, come up against the unstable ethical limit that advocated to individuals their right to peacefulness in privacy, in an articulation that combines intimacy and property guaranteed by the legal code that generally governs liberal states. Again, in these conflicts the issue of privacy versus publicity operates as an important element of sound negotiations, being a vector for questions and, often, tensions.

When reflecting on sound intrusions in homes, Dominguez Ruiz (2015) develops the notion of "acoustic intimacy", defined as "a sense of security experienced in a space free from sound intrusions" (p. 119). This sensation is capable of producing a kind of connection with the intimate, conquered by the control of the acoustic conditions of the environment, especially in the domestic sphere. It is worth emphasizing at this point that listening to forced invasive sounds, conversely, produces direct contact with the other. It is understood here as a manifestation of power and, therefore, as a violent act, "which forces us to listen to what we do not want, and whose disturbing capacity brings serious costs to the public health of cities" (Dominguez Ruiz, 2015, p. 129).

In fact, this intrusive and violent aspect appears clearly in the sound conflicts processed during social confinement in Brazil. In a context of intense political polarization, permeated by the belligerent and denialist attitude of the Bolsonaro government, the covid-19 pandemic has been experienced as an event characterized by political tensions and divergences. Impacted by contradictory statements and positions from different spheres of power (municipal, state and federal), players from different locations have converted their confinement spaces into fields of political and ideological struggle. To the sensations of impossibility and restriction typical of the moment, there is a feeling of revolt at the ethically aggressive attitudes and declarations pronounced by the top of that government. As a result, sound protests started to be (re)produced on windows and balconies, especially through shouting and pot-banging, which have been constituting a way for the population to externalize their disapproval of the policies that have been adopted in the country.

Especially the sound of the pans — due to their projection capacity, degree of stridency and frequency — became, in the first weeks of the pandemic, a daily sound accompaniment of large Brazilian cities. Amplified by news coverage in a national chain (which

dedicated long minutes to display records of pot-banging protests in various cities made from windows with cell phones), such sonorities produced by expressive segments of Brazilian society showed enormous dissatisfaction and dismay at the "intense crises" — in the political, economic, social, ecological and institutional spheres — that the Bolsonaro government had been making a significant contribution to "routinize" throughout his mandate. In the impossibility of carrying out some kind of political manifestation from the occupations of urban territories, portions of the population of cities produced the sounds in the windows, seeking to announce dissensions and tensions in this precarious public arena. It is worth mentioning that such astute tactics of expression had already been used in the recent history of the country, with intense protests against the corruption and public policies implemented by President Roussef during 2015 and 2016.

At both times, pot-banging protests also faced the responses of admirers of these respective politicians (and their governments), who intended, through slogans and shouts (and, eventually, even through the agency of music), to express a favorable position to the instituted powers. Both in 2015 and in 2020 — in a kind of sound continuum — the windows constituted a loci for externalization of support and dissatisfaction, as relatively safe and private spaces for the expression of opinions and public confrontations, publicized and supported by the strident sound of percussion of aluminum and stainless steel.

It is evident that sound is inherent to practically all political protests: accompanied by slogans, choruses and varied sounds, traditional urban manifestations are almost always also sound occupations, as can be easily seen. Recently, with the wave of political polarizations in different parts of the planet, sound and music have been (re)managed by the players as active elements in street protests. Mention could be made of the anti-racist mobilization triggered by the brutal assassination of George Floyd in the United States (Scott, 2020) or the repeated mobilizations against the continuation of political repression and the neoliberal and dictatorial profile in contemporary Chile (Spencer Espinosa, 2020). There are countless cases and it is not difficult to locate a robust literature that correlates sound and music with political demonstrations and protests, in different latitudes and in different historical periods.

However, what we seek to highlight here is that the vibrational body of such protests of 2020 — carried out with some distance —, are complemented and interact with the online occupation (in various web networks and platform) and the physics of bodies, posters, sound cars, and, in general, with a set of resources used in protest marches and political demonstrations. We emphasize here the physical materiality of human groupings engaged around an idea that is added, reprocessed and intensified by the acoustic strength of the sound produced by this agglomerated mass. No wonder. The greater the number of people, the greater the symbolic relevance and political effectiveness of the protests, which go hand in hand with the increase in the vibratory energy and the sound volume of such events. In the set of sound events that are being discussed in this article,

physical materiality dissipates, making it impossible to appear as a political presence. In this sense, the sonic and vibrational materiality of the clash between neighbors confined in their residences in Brazil acquires relevance and enables the construction of a specific "ambience" (Thibaud, 2015), characterized by an intense drama. Unlike the other cases of occupation and sound and political confrontations, the protests from the windows in times of pandemic are fundamentally acoustic occurrences, which highlight the socio-political power of sounds and music as elements that significantly underpin various human interactions.

Sonorities in Times of Pandemic

As it was possible to attest here, the metaphors of "consonance" and "dissonance" can be useful to underline that the movements of sound approaches and departures are not exclusive, often occurring concurrently in a locality. In this sense, the technical meaning of such terms in the musical vocabulary points to a continuous play of coincident and divergent vibrations that characterize what is understood to be a musical language.

It is worth noting that the superposition of sound waves peaks reinforcing certain harmonics (consonance) and the beats of nearby peaks that cancel each other out and enter into dispute (dissonance) are movements that regularly cross the varied musical practices across the globe. The dimensions of the noises (sounds of undetermined height or distorted by their volume) and amplitude of the waves (volume) — as aspects of sound reverberation in physical spaces and their tone, rhythmic and harmonic characteristics — provide a complexity that makes it difficult or simplistic to classify any sonic experience as "consonant" or "dissonant". Therefore, seeking to advance beyond this metaphor, the following idea is proposed: the subjective triggers of interpretations on the pertinence and even the ideological meanings and modulations of sound and music form a tangle of flows, which populate the private sensory experience lived by players in cities, especially in times of pandemic.

These reflections are concluded by recognizing that an exhaustive assessment of the acoustic and social phenomenon of the experience of sounded during the covid-19 pandemic was not carried out here. As previously mentioned, what we sought to analyze in this article was the double flow of coming closer and distancing that took place between the players (who were temporarily deprived of their collective existence in the cities) and which was mediated in a certain way by the sound experience. In this context of a less noisy crisis, sounds and music acquire more weight and presence, affecting the players ways of being and living collectively more intensely. In view of the impossibility of building a public sound space in a more conventional way, the city dwellers were forced to establish socio-communicative links with their surroundings through sounds emitted especially from their respective homes.

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On Walking While Confined

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Abstract

In the apparent paradox that the idea of "walking in confinement" contains — also in its relationship with the city — we have found, in the confinement experience, some possibilities of operating in this paradoxical tension. These will be hypotheses of choreopolitical potency, if put in opposition to the sensation of self-chorepolicing (the self-monitoring of one's own movement) — and to the extreme attention given to the movement of the "other" as a danger - which can be transformed into propositions for social play.

Keywords

choreopolice, choreopolitics, confinement, walking

Sobre Caminhar em Confinamento

Resumo

No aparente paradoxo que a ideia de "caminhar em confinamento" encerra — também na sua relação com a cidade — encontrámos, na experiência de *confinamento,* algumas possibilidades de operar nessa tensão paradoxal. Serão hipóteses de potência *coreopolítica*, se postas em oposição à sensação de *auto-corepoliciamento* (a autovigilância do próprio movimento) e à extrema atenção dada ao movimento do "outro" como ameaça, que pode ser transformado numa proposta de jogo social.

Palavras-chave

caminhar, confinamento, coreopolítica, coreopolícia

Introduction

It is commonly said that the worn shape of the floor in King Afonso VI's bedroom, in the Palácio da Vila, in Sintra, results from the insane way the deposed king walked in captivity. The floor would have retained, thus, the mark of his walking in confinement[1].

Despite the story and the verifiable facts, we will never know what happened in that room during the nine years of captivity of the king, but we can use it to illustrate a starting point, and from here move on to the idea of "walking in confinement". The story of King Afonso VI of Portugal reminds us of Xavier de Maistre, who, in his 42 day house arrest after fighting a duel, advocated the creative potential of confinement (Maistre, 1794/2015):

> this is how the flâneur strolls in his room: "When Johannes sometimes asked permission to go out, he was generally refused; on the other hand, his father would occasionally propose a stroll by his hand on the bedroom floor. At first sight, it was a weak substitute, and yet... something very different lurked in that gesture. The suggestion was accepted, and Johannes could decide at will what course the walk should take. Then they would leave through the entrance and go to a nearby palace, or further away, to the beach, or stroll through the streets, exactly as Johannes wanted - because for his father there were no limits. As they walked back and forth across the floorboards, his father would narrate everything they saw: they greeted passers-by, cars passed them with a clatter, overlapping his father's voice; the caramelised fruit in the confectioner's shop was more inviting than ever..." A text by the young Kierkegaard (...). This is the key to the scheme of *Voyage autour de ma chamber* [*A Journey Around My Room* by Xavier de Maistre]. (Benjamin, 1999/2019, p. 549)

We started writing this article like someone drifting with no direction. It is an exploratory article in which we raised questions that we wanted to share, departing from a somatic and empirical experience of walking in the city during the two decreed confinements. This drifting moved in the interval between being able to choose or not being able to choose to leave a space and walk. Experience leads us to write, and writing leads us to reflection. What are we talking about when we talk about the relationship between walking and confinement?

Sharing this reflection seems to impose itself as an urgency before the experience becomes dated. However, the experience we are talking about is, from the start, dated. The experience of the confinement made in the city of Lisbon, at the beginning of the "we still do not know anything about the new coronavirus" has, in itself, the mark of a

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[1] In 1667, following a palace coup, King Afonso VI was forced to abdicate the throne in favor of his brother, the future King Pedro II, and was initially banished to Terceira Island for six years. But the permanent fear of his release caused him to be enclosed in the Palácio da Vila, in Sintra, where he was confined to a room for nine years, inaccessible and guarded by soldiers (Rau, 1970, p. 169).

collective accident[2], the confinement decreed nationally by a government. What is particular for this decree is that it follows global behavioral lines. The recommendation of the World Health Organization is identical for the whole globe given the global phenomenon status of the pandemic. The global–local scale forces us to think:

> the leap from I to we, and from a local or national I and we to a global I and we, will not come about through conviction alone, but through experiences: of study, art, travel, love, and community. (...) In our current times, this global awareness and sensibility *also* depend on technology. (Cachopo, 2020, p. 109)

We did not expect it. No one expects to be "detained" — we also think of the detainees, the prisoners. No one expects to walk indefinitely forever — we also think of refugees, of displaced people. What influences us, what do we learn, what is relevant to register from this experience? Returning to the city we are focusing on, homeless people come to mind repeatedly — the newly houseless people produced by confinement, and the way they walk, aimlessly, to eat, to warm themselves, to see someone, a cigarette, some change, a place to sleep. All-day, every day, and every night. That was the most distressing side of confinement. Of course, you only confine yourself if you can. Those who cannot confine, find themselves in a "tune in" situation, get afflicted, attend the scale of the city that corresponds to the affordance[3] of human bodies that produce architectural micro-spaces daily. The choice is scarce, among the cardboard "nests", the tents, the support points, the free canteens that had to be activated[4] to fill gaps in the "common care", and some places where you could still see people walking in the street. You could feel the loneliness in the empty street. An uncanny feeling. The city was calm but in a *strangely unsettling way*.

The confined city of Lisbon in March, April, May 2020. The hustle and bustle of the machine, of the economic activity, of anonymous and extemporaneous encounters, and the rhythm of moving bodies, all slowed down radically after March 2020. To study the city, this period of pandemic context offered us a rare moment, an opportunity that allowed a privileged look at the human geography of the city. The confinement in the city awoke in us, the confined, an enormous desire to walk. The restrictions to movement imposed by consensus and fear, by the state and by the *choreopolice*[5] — there, circulating

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[2] João Pedro Cachopo (2020) in *A Torção dos Sentidos, Pandemia e Remediação Digital* (The Twist of Senses, Pandemic and Digital Remediation), suggests that "the pandemic is not in itself the event. The event, precipitated by the conjunction of preventive isolation and exacerbated use of remediation technologies, is the twisting of the senses through which we recognize ourselves as near and far from everything that surrounds us" (p. 10).

[3] Gibson's notion of *affordance* has been employed profusely in the cognitive sciences to characterize the interdependence between actions involving the hands, the peri-personal space, and the manipulable objects in that space. (...) Gibson proposes that this is an intrinsic property of real-time interactions between animals and the environment. Representations of objects and space are intrinsically linked to representations of actions (Di Marco et al., 2019, pp. 1–2).

[4] For a development of the description and thinking about providing basic services to homeless, workers, and students rendered helpless by the closure of all business establishments and basic support institutions, see Carvalho (2020).

[5] *Choreopolice* is a concept defined by André Lepecki (2013) in "Choreopolice and Choreopolitics: Or, the Task of the

in town — created a tension that also revealed itself as a potential for action: an almost impulse to go out into the street because "it cannot be" and because "it has to be". A street with no tourists in a joyful bustle and with a few people looking puzzled. It was spring. Will it be different in winter? Maybe so, the second confinement arrived in January 2021, and the chaotic situation no longer seemed to mirror the initial fear. People were still living and dying (in great numbers!), the sound of ambulances had a much greater presence. It got worse, but the initial fear seems to have subsided, this second time around. Some experts invited to speak in the media mentioned "pandemic exhaustion" a subject we will not elaborate on.

How to talk about the experience of the city in 2020/2021 without talking about the "imprisonment" of bodies? In some cases, an impulse of opposite directions was created: if, on the one hand, the fear of walking in the street, of going out, of sharing a space with others, has perhaps accentuated the fear of the other — of the one who is unknown to us —, on the other hand, in meetings with family and close friends, we found ourselves thinking that the danger was not present, or that it was less dangerous because we knew those in presence.

Finally, the suspension of work — of the routine of regular jobs and the usual classes —, has shown us a raw city pacified from the lack of tourists, with less information, reduced anthropophony, and much subtler rhythms. The pandemic has offered us an environment that contrasts with that city we knew from everyday life before confinement, accentuating and enhancing some of the features obviated by human presence. And, for example, going to the supermarket has gained an unexpected relevance.

As we reflect on walking and confinement, we also observe the *self-choreopolicement*[6] that this extraordinary moment and the drastic measures of containment and social distancing have brought about. If before the confinement we left home to go somewhere, do something, or see someone without much thought; during confinement, we leave home to leave the house, to walk, with a pretext designed in our self-surveillance, with a shopping bag, with the dog, for example. Leaving home has come to be called "hygienic walking". Wearing the mask on the face as real protection of the airways — controlling the passages in/out —, the mask also functions, symbolically and sensorially, as a perpetuation of the confinement outside the house. Confining the face, drastically alters expressive identity. It takes away some visibility, inhibits some ability to sense movement, and slows the head down. One can play with the inhibition of the mask by singing underneath it. Whistling does not work so well in cloth masks, because the air stops millimeters away from the lips, blurring the sound.

Dancer", it was formulated concerning the social movements triggered by several demonstrations that occupied public squares (Cairo, Lisbon, Athens, New York, Algiers, London, Madrid, Barcelona, etc., 2011-2012), in the period following the Arab Spring, the Acampada in Spain, and Occupy Wall Street. Lepecki proposes the use of the concepts *"choreopolice"* and *"choreopolitics"* to give prominence to instruments of power that more, or less, subliminally shape the behavior of people in motion and/or in position. In this text, Lepecki proposes to enact choreopolitics as a way to combat choreopolice, and to rehearse ways of learning how to move politically.

[6] Here we adapt Lepecki's (2013) "choreopolice" by saying "self-choreopolicement", in a relation to the integration of ideas of self-surveillance and choreographic discipline of bodies problematized, for example, by Foucault or Agamben.

In the first part of the article, "Walking", we report on the experience of walking in artistic practice. Namely, with the use of paradigmatic examples simultaneously envisioned as choreographic thinking, in the case of Steve Paxton (2018), and as visual objects/sculpture, in the case of Bruce Nauman. In "Confinement" we return to examples of enclosure by contrasting them with the civic duty of confinement. Finally, "Walking in Confinement" will allow us to reflect on the relations of movement in the city, confined, *choreopoliced*, somewhat fearful, but eventually willing to dance — to propose body–space–movement relations.

Walking

> Walking springs to mind. In human walking, each move begins with a touch down upon the surface of the earth. The surface is an accumulation of all the inert bits huddling down toward the core. On this surface we stride. We also meander, stumble, hobble. On earth, floor, path, slope, marsh, negotiating the next move. (...) I was spending many hours a day in dance classes, trying to understand my body's movements. But when I walked out of the studio, I forgot to be conscious of it. (...) I tried to catch myself behaving unconsciously, but again, the perception was ruined by turning my consciousness to it. Occasionally, I would remember walking, while walking, and try to continue just as I was before I remembered to watch. I was spying on myself. Self-hacking. (Paxton, 2018, pp. 15–19)

Starting with the question "what is my body doing when I am not conscious of it?", choreographer and dancer Steve Paxton (2018) introduces, in *Gravity*, a reflection regarding movement, in and out of studios, that helps us talk about the tension between walking and confinement. "Dancers must hack their basic movement programs in order to adapt to new movements" (Paxton, 2018, p. 21). If what Paxton is telling us is to be believed — and there is a matter for it based on our personal and professional perceptions of dance practices — dancers tend to be experts at *self-choreopolicing* to be able to reinvent movement. That is, dancers are skilled, by training of perception, at paying attention to movement and gesture in relation, at sensing others and surroundings, at accounting for a multitude of sensitive events in the myriad of relationships that run through life, and at self-sabotaging themselves so that they can break out of recognizable patterns of movement and perception. In other words, they may be able to make *choreopolitical* proposals that do not take for granted, or given, the already known and recognizable behaviors, and also be agents of *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization* (Coelho, 2018).

How to adapt the specialization of attentive perception to movement to a political potency by thinking *choreopolitically* instead of attending to a place that very easily can become an obsession for *self-choreopolicing*? If we are specialized in other occupations, maybe we can sometimes just stop for a while to allow ourselves another kind of attention. Maybe to recognize the agency of what "touches" us.

In "Choreopolice and Choreopolitics: Or, the Task of the Dancer", Lepecki (2013) invites readers to look each day for ways to move politically (or in freedom). He begins his article by introducing us to a quote by Hannah Arendt (1993, as cited in Lepecki 2013): "we have arrived in a situation where we do not know — at least not yet — how to move politically" (p. 13). Given that Arendt associates the idea of true politics to the notion of freedom, Lepecki (2013) suggests that this phrase could be re-written as "we have arrived at a situation where we do not know — at least not *yet* — how to move freely" (p. 14). It is with this initial formulation that the author develops, with examples, the possibility of countering the attempts of policing — the *choreopolicing*, or surveillance and control of human movements —, with the power of *choreopolitical* proposals. In the end, the article suggests that this can be a dancer's task: to create ways to move politically, that is, freely.

Choreopoliced movement is related to blind, or distracted, obedience to systems of behavior that aim to homogenize a norm easier to deal with. The task of *choreopolitics* may be finding the pockets of freedom in behaviors, ranging from movements in cities to the way we use videoconference screens. To observe our own movement is already to realize a potency. In each step taken, a possibility for a re-actualization of the modus operandi, considering the singular situation, in place and in a concrete moment. Other hypotheses of relation with the slope of the terrain appear as possibilities of re-proposing postures and movements. Within a certain freedom of choice we can glimpse the dances produced to fulfil, for example, a safety distance. The rule, the distance of about 2 meters, being clear to everyone, we can play with it, without imposing an image of avoidance on our behavior and that of others. Lisa Nelson, in 2012, taught us this game in the studio. If we stick to just one rule — for example, keep two meters away from a person walking in the studio — and if we add others — for example, keep two meters away from two people walking simultaneously in the studio — instead of triggering avoidance, instead of fulfilling a *choreopolicing,* we can bring out the dance of our attention, the dance of choice. An attention that is simultaneous to us and others, in movement. An attention that takes care of what is at stake, can be an "attentive attention". How to produce freedom instead of surveillance and control? By not trying to watch or control. That is, no judging, just playing. Just observing, caring, and re-proposing according to the relationships already in play. Making it explicit that one is playing so that someone else can enter the game.

Walking practices influence perception patterns and the relationship we have with the city. We can think of the act of walking as being propositional (the everyday walk, with an origin, a destination, and an optimized duration of the route), discursive (in the sense of the flâneur — walking with no direction), or even conceptual (psychogeographic drift, performative walking actions; Wunderlich, 2008). However, these categories do not capture the spectrum or timbre of the act since we see walking as an integral part of distinct pretexts and purposes (with more or less performativity): such as protests, processions, parades, strolling, stalking, or even hookups. In his analysis of the unconscious symbolism of walking, Michel de Certeau (1990/2000) argues that "to walk is to be placeless, to be absent and in search of one's own" (p. 183). It will certainly be so in

the cases of the pilgrim seeking transcendence, which is distinct from the survival walk of refugees who cross borders and countries to escape political situations. It will also be so in the walk to recover the intimacy of immigrants who live in overcrowded rooms, and it is in the street that they will find their personal space. The walk can be transgressive, crossing borders to access private forbidden territories. It can also be a very useful tool to fight boredom. But what about the differences in *qualia* that exist in the act, the mode of attention involved, the coincidence between us and the city? Whether we walk thoughtfully and engrossed, whether we go attentive to our surroundings, whether we devote attention to the body. A 2019 study suggests that the walker can move in the city without paying conscious attention to urban signs, although he integrates these signs into his locomotion (Harms et al., 2019). However, despite being able to move around, the spatial perception of the distracted walker changes. On his cell phone, he zigzags. He produces an individual virtual space. Knowledge of the walking speed and the number of steps taken, the appearance of the environment and details, the effort and emotional states involved contribute to the production of the sense of distance (Popp et al., 2004). The studies of Bhalla and Proffit (1999) indicate that the sensation of the slope of the terrain may also be subjective, varying according to the load and clothing carried by the hiker, and that the perception of distance is greater on hills than on flat terrain.

Walking is also communicating with people, moving bodies, animals, cars, relating with others in the middle of a "becoming city". Beyond trajectories, the way of walking transmits a style. Brandon La Belle showed us that it was enough to see John Travolta walking to the sound of Bee Gees in the movie *Saturday Night Fever* to realize the redundancy of the development of the character in the rest of the movie. We all have a distinct way of walking (La Belle, 2010). Werner Wolff (1943) argued that most of us make an unconscious assessment of another's personality based on the way they walk. An understanding long understood by cartoon animators from Walt Disney to Hayao Miyazaki. Also, the simulation of humans in virtual reality tries to incorporate emotion and personality into the way characters walk (Antunes et al., 2017). The communication of our condition seems to happen still in other degrees. When we walk, we share and can identify signs of illness in others, as Sundelin et al. (2015) suggest. If walking is also communicating, what else are we activating while moving, during confinement, at home, in the bedroom, or going out into the street, in the supermarket, or even walking outside the city?

Background of Performative Walking

If the disciples of Aristotle were known as the strollers, the peripatetic, it was especially in the 19th and 20th centuries that the act of walking in the city began to be considered a cultural act per se. The figure of the flanêur is associated with the observation and understanding of urban modernity. In *O Pintor da Vida Moderna* (*The Painter of Modern Life*), Baudelaire (1863/2006) describes the flanêur artist as a passionate spectator, a

lover of the crowd and urban transformations. The city and the urban spectacle are a text that the flanêur reads from an absorbing and itinerant perspective. He inhabits a space that is at once familiar and phantasmagoric and moves around observing, with a distant and aesthetic eye, the details of city life and the spectacles provided by the incitement to consumption. Simultaneously inside and outside the crowd, as Benjamin (1999/2019) tells us, "on the one hand, the man who feels watched by everyone and everything and by all, the authentic suspect; on the other, the one whom nobody can find, the hidden man" (p. 548).

In the 1920s, walking was integrated as an aesthetic process by the Dadaist and surrealist schools (Careri 2002/2013, pp. 71–80). In Dadaism, it appears as a practice of an avant-garde anti-art aesthetic. Surrealist *wandering* seeks to move away from the representation of urban experience, introducing elements of psychology into the experience of *flanerie* in mundane and banal places. Surrealists were interested in chance and the unconscious (Breton, 1924). André Breton and Louis Aragon actively sought the experience of the unexpected and the uncharted. In *Nadja,* a novel from 1928, Breton (1928/1972) tells us of wandering through Paris in search of himself, through the eyes of a mysterious woman. Brassaï, in turn, photographed Paris at night as a strategy to reach a state of disorienting loss of control to "get in touch with the unconscious part of the territory" (Careri, 2002/2013, p. 80).

The passivity and voyeurism of the flanêur and the dreamlike character of surrealist wanderings were openly criticized by the situationists. They pointed to the way geography and the urban environment affect us. The city conditions the experience of the walker through "psychogeographic contours with constant currents, fixed points and vortices that strongly discourage entering or leaving certain zones" (Debord, 1958, p. 19). The personal experience of the urban creates living zones that are distinct from the administrative ones. The situationists proposed an attention to the emotional aspects of the city, through the radical act of *Drifting* (Dérive), suggesting that the walk should be implied in a political intention through choice and not only sustained by arbitrariness (Debord, 1958).

With more performative, sensorial and poetic approaches, the art of walking became more experimental in the 1960s and 1970s. From land art to the "Fluxus" movement, artists like Dennis Oppenheim, Vito Acconci, Richard Long, and Hamish Fulton, extracted new dimensions from their performative walks, questioning the body, space, territory and the formal boundaries of the artwork. In these decades, there has been a shift in the focus on walking that started with a look at the city, went through a reading of the rhythms and emotions caused by the encounter with the city, and ended up by focusing on the body of the walker and on the act of walking itself. For example, in *A Line Made by Walking* (1967), Richard Long walked back and forth repeatedly in a field covered with marigolds, inscribing a straight, ephemeral line created by crushing vegetation, a photographically recorded spatio-temporal intervention (Tate, n.d.). In *Walking in an Exaggerated Manner Around the Perimeter of a Square* (1967-1968) — a 16 mm

film — Bruce Nauman (1967-68) walks obstinately on a square made with crepe tape on the floor of his studio. This lends itself here to be an almost literal example of what walking in confinement can be like. Bruce Nauman's contemporaries in this period of experimental film-choreography are the protagonists of the "Judson Dance Theatre" movement and, later, of the experimental Grand Union Group, among the many artists and groups that emerged in this decade. We quoted Steve Paxton above, a choreographer mainly known, for the "invention" of contact improvisation. But many choreographers dedicated themselves to thinking about everyday movements — like walking — as a matter of choreographic thought, aesthetics and performance. Besides Paxton and a series of other elements of the Grand Union Group, the choreographic proposals of Yvonne Rainer, Simone Forti, or Trisha Brown bring to the universe of the artistic scene an integrated thought of human movement, in the most varied situations. For example, Trisha Brown's *Walking on the Wall Performance* (1971) — where performers question gravity and verticality by walking on the facades of a New York building and on the walls of an art gallery — is a demonstration of this investigative ethico-aesthetic quality that has gained more visibility in the art world. Not coincidentally, the pedestrian quality was one of the defining characteristics of these protagonists' dances.

We bring *Walking in an Exaggerated Manner Around the Perimeter of a Square* (Nauman, 1967-68), to suggest that this almost caricatural image of walking while in confinement can be considered an accumulator of potency. What if the accumulated potency of thinking while walking, even if with not much displacement, would expand into the space of the city? Nauman measures, shims, and exhausts the act of walking, using an exaggerated manner — which counterposes a lateral edge of the pelvic girdle to the knee of the opposite leg, that is forced to bend to progress and place one foot exactly in front of the other foot — walking, step upon step, on top of the square he has marked with paper tape in the centre of his studio. "Nauman's choreographic experiments disclose language acting on and through the body; they display how language mobilizes" (Lepecki, 2006, p. 24), as they strictly fulfil what they enunciate in his titles. This title gains an "authorship authority" that is evidenced as choreographic performative:

> A friend who was a philosopher that he imagined him [the friend] spending most of his time at a desk, writing. But in fact his friend did his thinking while taking long walks during the day. This made Nauman conscious of the fact that he spent most of his time pacing around the studio drinking coffee. And so he decided to film that – just the pacing. (Bruggen, 2002, como citado em Lepecki, 2006, p. 29)

> In choosing for his experiments a confined space for choreography, which he thought equivalent to the space of philosophizing, Nauman recasts his studio as cranial space. (...)

So, for Nauman the mind is the room, just as the room is the mind: both intimately bound to language by the means of a commanding, mobilizing speech act. This is the solipsist thought-space Nauman builds when he starts not only to 'pace in his studio' but to carefully execute extremely precise walks. (...) The choreographic happens in a space explicitly defined as solipsistic, choreographic, and philosophical: the space of thought moving. (...)

If the chamber is an accumulator of subjectivity, what kind of subjectivity does it accumulate? (Lepecki, 2006, p. 30)

A step forward to return to the same place. A repetition that inevitably leads to difference through fatigue, human error, or exhaustion. The ideas of "thought in motion" and "accumulator of subjectivity" are also contained in this loop. Is the movement score chosen by Nauman (1967-68) also an accumulator of choreographic potency — or movement of thought — prone to be subsequently expanded "freely" in the city?

Confinement

A child in the dark, overcome with fear, comforts himself by singing. He walks and stops to the rhythm of the song. Lost, he takes shelter or orients himself the best as he can with his little song. This is the outline of a stable and calm center, stabilizing and calming, at the heart of the chaos. The child is likely to jump while singing, speed up, or slow down the tempo, but it is already the song that is itself a jump: it jumps from chaos to the beginnings of order in chaos, it also risks breaking apart at any moment. (...) Now we are, on the contrary, at home. But our home does not preexist: it was necessary to draw a circle around a fragile and uncertain center, to organize a limited space. (...) A child hums to gather within himself the forces to tackle the schoolwork. A housewife hums or turns on the radio while taking care of the antichaos forces of her task. Radio or television sets are like a sound wall for every household and mark territories (...). For sublime deeds like the foundation of a city (...), one draws a circle, still, above all, one marches around the circle as in a child's wheel and combines the consonants and rhythmic vowels that correspond to the inner forces of creation as to the differentiated parts of an organism. (...) Finally, now the circle is opened (...). We jump; we risk improvisation. But to improvise is to reach the World or meld with it. One leaves home along with a little song. Along sonorous, gestural, motor lines that mark the usual path of a child, "lines of wandering" and graft themselves onto or begin to bud "lines", with different curves,

knots, speeds, movements, gestures, and sounds. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1972/2004, pp. 395–396)[7]

In confinement, the physical spaces of copresence, empathy and seduction, are suppressed. We can seduce only with sound and image, but aesthetics begins perhaps in the sense of smell-tact. Just observe how a new-born baby "chooses" to live: he seeks the *techno-aesthetic* connection of his mouth to his mother´s breast. Gibson (1979/1986) might say that there is an *affordance* before there is a choice. Even before any ability of judgment, the preference for the milk-smell-taste of that breast appears. It is not a reflected choice. The taste chooses us. This kind of "seductive" *affordance* is hardly produced online. It can catch us in the adolescence of a disco dance, in an arcade, in a drunken kiss between a game of pinball for two, and a pool table, in dance classes, or overcrowded concerts of bands in ecstasy. Online, something else gets produced, perhaps more related to *voyeurism*. Vision dominates the present.

The pandemic was prodigal in the adaptation of body techniques that we called, for fun, "dome techniques". Those that work the body without leaving the place, without leaving the "dome". These are most of the meditation techniques, the various versions of pilates and yoga, and even all the adaptations of online classes of the most diverse body and dance techniques. We can talk about the Klein technique, that although being designed for the body in movement — for example, while walking —, its precision is so admirable that the class can perfectly run for 2 hours without us leaving the same place, and just shifting the weight from one foot to the other or focusing the attention and the breathing on a part of our body. Susan Klein, an expert on the human body's way of walking and proponent of this technique that bears her name, was one of our companions during confinement, directly from her home—studio in New York to our adapted marquee in Lisbon. The "dome techniques" were better suited for somatic practices in confinement, in solitude and facing a screen.

According to Franco Berardi (2020), in his *Crónicas da Psicodeflacção* (*Chronicles of Psycho-Deflation*),

> in the last thirty years, human activity has profoundly changed its relational, proxemic, cognitive nature: an increasing number of interactions have moved from the physical, conjunctive dimension — where linguistic exchanges are imprecise and ambiguous (...), and any productive action consumes physical energies, as bodies get in touch in a flow of conjunctions — to the connective dimension, in which linguistic operations are mediated by computer machines and therefore respond to digital formats. Any productive activity is partially mediated by automatisms, and people interact more and more densely although their bodies never meet. The daily existence of entire populations has been increasingly chained to electronic devices

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[7] Texto dos autores apoiado na tradução Brian Massumi.

related to huge loads of data. Persuasion has been replaced by pervasion, as the psycho-sphere got innervated by the flows of the Info-sphere. The connection presupposes a hairless and dust-free accuracy. Computer viruses might interrupt or divert this accuracy, which does not know the ambiguity of physical bodies nor does it contemplate inaccuracy as a possibility.

Now, here it comes, a biological agent introduces itself into the social continuum, makes it implode, and forces it into inactivity. (...) don't leave your house, don't visit friends, keep a distance of two meters, don't touch anyone on the street... (pp. 38–39)

This is how we identify in Berardi's (2020) daily notebooks a series of recognizable experiences common to our own such as witnessing an enormous expansion of time we spend online. A doubling of the tasks of adapting work and socializing online. "And then? What happens next? What if this connection overload ends up breaking the spell?" — we continue with Berardi (2020), and like him, we can imagine or wish for an "explosion of a spontaneous caressing movement, inducing a substantial part of the younger population to shut down their connective screens, as reminiscent of this unfortunate lonely period" (p. 39).

Deleuze and Guattari (1972/2004) begin a chapter of *Mil Planaltos, Capitalismo e Esquizofrenia 2* (*A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*) with the *ritornello* of a child. They show us a path for the construction of our city, of "our house". Not just any city, but the one we recognize and to which we give meaning. By confining ourselves, or by reducing our space of territorialization, we can imagine that in the confined space of recognition, our territory unfolds in senses inside the house. As some children do, recognizing and producing more spaces, corners, and avenues from the bedroom to the bath, from the living room to the kitchen. It is a practice of this kind that seems indicative of the tour of *Viagem à Volta do Meu Quarto* (*A Journey Around My Room*) by de Maistre, already mentioned (Benjamin, 1999/2019, p. 549). Maistre proposes a journey in the form of a mental exercise, he seems to suggest that an exploration of a room, or an expedition to a distant continent, involve similar levels of adventure. The young Kierkgaard appeals to the power of the imagination by suggesting a "virtual walk". We started this article with the cloistering of King Afonso VI, and we thought a little about him getting mad. However, the voluntary or involuntary characteristics of confinement make all the difference in issues such as the condition of freedom or the way we can move "freely", that is, politically, as Lepecki (2013, p. 14) suggests quoting Arendt.

Meanwhile, although in trips confined to the bedroom, the universe of ambient stimuli may be smaller, nowadays' "trips" can be done online; for example, in virtual visits to closed museums. Perhaps the stimuli are minimized by a familiarity with the home environment, or maybe we can stimulate the senses with exercises linked to a variety of mindfulness practices. But with digital remediation, a "twist of the senses"

became evident (Cachopo, 2020). Indoors, we confined the potential for a full-body walk outdoors in the city. Eventually, we may have voluntarily approached Bruce Nauman's potency for subjectivity production by wandering in the studio. But we did so by sitting in front of a screen to travel virtually maybe around the world.

Of course, one thing does not replace the other, nor is it a priority or a better one. It is just another thing in the collection, the repertoire, and the toolbox of relationships. Considering the act of walking inside a dance studio a simulacrum of a stroll with no sense of a "route" — since it sticks to the studio, and it goes not from one place to another, but from one point to another in a short space —, what if by walking in the studio, as a regular practice, we also tune the perceptual power for when the wander leaves the studio? Does the rehearsal of the poetics of movement open space for the realization of new ways of relating to the city?

The hypothesis we put forward is that some sensory walking exercises prepare us for the permanent territorialization that we naturally produce as children to learn how to walk. But that somehow gets clouded by the excess of information, expectations, and various projections when we take on a "professionalization" of life's tasks. How can we renew the sensitive repertoire in the city when the confinement is over? "The imaginary is the fossil energy of the collective mind, the images sedimented by experience and that delimit and circumscribe the imaginable. Imagination is the renewable energy of the psycho-sphere: not utopia, but recombination of the possible" (Berardi, 2020, p. 33).

Images of various kinds are a common way to activate synesthetic experiences in dance classes and somatic practices. Walking requires the active use of perception in mobilization, as the ground constructs bodies and people. "Landscapes regulate our palate", palpable fissures open up, deviations in the sidewalk, the cold reduces the space in the shoulder girdle, heat dilates the cells and expands the body. The horizon line seen in the distance will be like projecting, imagining.

Walking While Confined

> I have thought of consciousness as fluid - able to fill whatever shape it encounters, given patience. The more we find out about it, the more completely we might fill that shape. (...) Learning or creating actions to be slower than our normal thought/action relationship gives a mind time to step out of its habitual and practical relations to events, and experience what were, before, transitional instants. (Paxton, 2018, p. 28)

Square, sidewalk, alley, backyard, promenade, stairway, street, avenue, pavement, boulevard. In a space marked by urbanism and architecture, we think of ways to create places through walking. Can we self-choreograph ourselves with the city? The walkers go through meanders, drifting streets, following pulses and tuning their place. The street is

occupied by urban furniture, inert bodies, and other living ones — in movement, trajectories, flows, detours, speeds, circulation. The space of the city does not come with an instruction book. It is the automated and naturalized *self-policing* that induces, in each one of us, which rules we will integrate to pass unnoticed in the daily life of a certain normality. These rules are subjective. They vary with cultures of all kinds — for example, with familiar or individual cultures and even body training cultures. They also diverge with the physiognomy, the physical condition, the psychology, the state of attention of each individual. An intention, a step, an imbalance, another step, automatisms allow us to relax our awareness, but the vigilance returns when there is an abrupt change, like, for example, limping with crutches. We look at the act of walking as an open-meaning gesture. We consider it as a process of relationship between oneself and the world in a succession of situations, rhythmic experiences modulated and tuned with varying intensities, rhythms, and pauses.

Walking implies dialogue relationships with politics and community. The city is made up of structures that condition the agency of those who live in it: preponderant architectural landmarks, imposed orders of forms and of models idealized by politicians, architects, urban planners, engineers, designers, or simply by "skilled" people, which are then accepted, or subverted by the uses that people and institutions give to them. Is a city without human movement still a city? Michel de Certeau (1990/2000) tells us about the confrontation between space and place. The distinction between space and place helps us to understand: the space as a constructed structure; and the place as a space that is inhabited and reconfigured by its uses. Walking is the to produce city, encounters, relations according to Sofia Neuparth. "Walking is always 'to walk with', 'in-between bodies'", she argues (Jara et al. 2020, 00:02:43). Walking in the city constitutes an enunciation of space, a negotiation of presence in a place of experiences (Certeau, 1990/2000).

The city also builds us up. The hardness of the pavement shapes our bodies in a constant feedback game. In each step, an inclination. A route is made of thousands of calculated trajectories, avoided shocks by a silent communication of intentions, a choreography formulated in real-time, a dance of communicating and improvising bodies in the street. Quick, almost instantaneous decisions, to run in relation to the traffic, in a myriad of movement feedback. Detours scraping obstacles — I avoid, hesitate, approach, greet, speak, position myself. The embryonic matrix already holds all this modulating potency of reciprocal, affective, and affectable bodies. Stopping can be deadly, as we can witness by the degradation of health generated by some longer involuntary confinements, such as Julian Assange's.

When we finally allowed ourselves to (re)find the street, we changed trajectories — the lines connecting two points became parabolic curves to distance ourselves from others in transit. We moved away from the crowds of people. We looked for side streets. The body whispered suspicion, walked sideways; the gaze echoed fear at the lack of mask on

the other. Even holding our breath, we saw an interaction mirrored in someone in front of us. We are also a threat, another possible contagious agent. The sidewalk — a place where we would compete for shadows in summer and sunshine in winter — demands much more space for distance. By repelling each other, we are like equally polarized magnets.

Our walking in Lisbon during confinement allowed us to imagine the urban rhythms as they were before the tourist boom of the cosmopolitan city of the 21st century. It reminded us how quiet it was to walk in specific areas on Sundays. The same areas that in recent years have become synonymous with bustle, movement, and noise. Walking through almost ghost-like neighbourhoods, stripped of both tourists and their former inhabitants — due to gentrification — we could hear with our whole bodies how the city changes without the excess of sound, and how this transforms the aesthetical experience of everyday life. It was possible to think in movement, the corporeal and ambulatory sensibility of the *"sentient",* but confined city.

One of the relevant characteristics of thinking will be to walk — for example, during the "confinement" we impose ourselves when writing a PhD . To walk to reactivate the sensory circuits that allow us to be in relation, finding the relevant connections to be able to share a thought "oxygenated" by wandering, and reinventing a language that makes sense to "more than one". The pandemic experience invites us to rethink the importance of critical thinking "in movement" as a complement to the critical thinking about "stopping" done, for example, by Lepecki (2006) in *Exaurir a Dança, Performance e a Política do Movimento* (*Exhausting Dance: Performance and the Politics of Movement*).

The pandemic has stopped us only apparently, for we are online, and the essential workers continue to circulate. How to produce new discourse? How can we produce freedom by creating new spaces with and beyond confinement? How to be a citizen in and out of the city? And online? How to make the city act now? Or, on the other hand, how to occupy the virtual space, for example? Berardi (2020) maintains that "the ongoing crisis is not a real crisis",

> it is a RESET. It is a matter of turning off the machine and turning it on again, after a while. Yet, when we turn it back on, we can decide to make it work as before, running the risk of finding ourselves living the same nightmare all over again—or we can decide to reprogram it, according to science, consciously and sensitively. (p. 58)

In confinement, we propose to slow down our haste, to slow down the physiological speed that presses us, because almost all the places we go are online, with no need to leave the same space. To be able to say that you *run* from one meeting to another is to imagine that in a few clicks, changing only the faces on the screen, you actually went from a round table in Coimbra to a conference in Faro. The body, which we also are, may

have shot up that running speed, but it could not experience the journey between spaces. Thinking with the path can pass through walking, concretely, by incorporating a movement of thought displacing itself, taking spaces, and constituting places. But we can also move on to produce alternatives to this. For example, we can finally procrastinate as a prevention of exhaustion or as a form of resistance to prevailing modes of production, and we can eventually relax the "guilt" inculcated by constant lateness or by loosening the obligation of overdue work. Perhaps, by decelerating, we can slowly recover synesthetic modes that are simultaneously contemplative and critical. Opening, finally, space to formulate new choreopolitical proposals, ways of seeing, thinking, and walking side by side with the city, or even with citizenship.

The water that weighs us down — "we're 70 percent water" (Paxton, 2018, p. 65) — guides our body to the ground in a way that is always experimental. Even if we accomplished the main learning in early childhood, we can always try to feel the weight that guides us. The weight of physical concreteness — which we also are — may help us to root and radicalize (in the sense of finding the root of issues) our *choreopolitics* — a singular score prepared to change according to everyday freedom. Is this a dancer's task as Lepecki (2013) suggests? Could this be one of the ways to move politically (Arendt, 1993, as cited in Lepecki, 2013, p. 13)?

Translation: Rui Filipe Antunes and Sílvia Pinto Coelho

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The *Derma* of Crisis: Imagining Athens in Crisis as an Urban Collage

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Abstract

A close look at the urban surfaces of Athens during the years of the economic crisis reveals the extensive phenomenon of the people's interaction with the surface of the cityscape, the *skin of Athens*. A *derma* of crises that reflects Greece's socio-political conditions over this period, and the austerity measures enforced by the official state. This rapidly transformed and ever-changing surface imagery can be recorded and used for reading and further understanding of how the public sphere responds to this period of decline, and reacts to the recession's strategies of sovereignty. The urgency to document, give prominence to this urban field and examine it as a whole is of pivotal importance, considering the fact that the official authorities (such as the mayor of Athens) have recently taken action to eliminate the urban traces. However, these inscriptions bear witness to the continuous crisis mirrored on the Athenian walls and architectural volumes. Over the last years, there have been numerous scholars and researchers that have engaged with the study of the Athenian cityscape. Nonetheless, they particularly focus on graffiti, street art and slogans, and this engagement sometimes facilitates the emerging artistry or the discussion of socio-political connotations. In contrast to this, this article moves towards the identification of the phenomenon as a dynamic potential of a derma—city skin and does not specifically focus on them as mere details (often intentionally made, e.g. a graffiti). It examines the wholeness, the anonymity, the unintentional activity; how they contribute to the formulation of an urban collage, an assemblage of visual elements that co-exist making Athens a unique case of an over-marked city. The study of various dimensions of this skin and of the virtual preservation means aims to add a further layer of understanding to the urban space as a main field of socio-political connotations during the crisis.

Keywords

Athens, collage, crisis, skin, urban space

A *Derme* da Crise: Imaginando Atenas em Crise Como uma Colagem Urbana

Resumo

Um olhar atento para as superfícies urbanas de Atenas durante os anos da crise económica revela o fenómeno extensivo da interação das pessoas com a superfície da paisagem urbana, a *pele de Atenas*. Esta *derme* da crise reflecte as condições sociopolíticas da Grécia durante este período, e as medidas de austeridade impostas pelo estado oficial. A rápida transformação e as imagens de superfície em constante mudança podem ser gravadas e usadas para ler e compreender de que modo a esfera pública responde a este período de declínio, e reage às estratégias de soberania da recessão. A urgência de documentar, dar destaque a este campo urbano e examiná-lo como um todo é de importância fundamental, tendo em conta que as autoridades oficiais (como

o presidente da câmara de Atenas) tomaram recentemente medidas para eliminar os vestígios urbanos. No entanto, estas inscrições testemunham a crise contínua espelhada nas paredes atenienses e nos volumes arquitetónicos. Ao longo dos últimos anos, inúmeros estudiosos e investigadores envolveram-se no estudo da paisagem urbana ateniense. No entanto, concentram-se particularmente no graffiti, na arte de rua e nos slogans, e este compromisso facilita, por vezes, a arte emergente ou a discussão de conotações sociopolíticas. Em contraste, este artigo dirige-se para a identificação do fenómeno como um potencial dinâmico de uma pele cidade–derme, não se focando especificamente neles como meros detalhes (muitas vezes intencionalmente feitos; por exemplo, um graffiti). Examina a integralidade, o anonimato, a atividade não intencional; como contribuem para a formulação de uma colagem urbana, uma montagem de elementos visuais que coexistem fazendo de Atenas um caso único de cidade sobremarcada. O estudo de várias dimensões desta pele e dos meios de preservação virtual visa aumentar a compreensão do espaço urbano como campo principal de conotações sociopolíticas durante a crise.

Palavras-chave

Atenas, colagem, crise, pele, espaço urbano

Attempting to Approach the Idea of the Derma and Its Features

Athens in crisis has provided a unique case of the public's engagement with the urban surfaces to the extent that one could discuss the existence of a distinctive city skin, a *derma*. This article discusses the extension of this phenomenon in time and space, namely throughout all the recent years of the crisis (2008-present), and its deployment as a "contagious" dominant form.

This skin has been covering the architectural volumes with always updated political information, colour, texture and various matters. Public writing and graffiti have politicized the city's cultural palimpsest, codified forms of protest against dominant political narratives, and also turned the traumatic experience of the crisis into a source of inspiration and cultural creation (Zaimakis, 2015, p. 119).

Thus, we can review the case of Athens in crisis as an urban collage, where public echoes, the "voices of protest" (Zaimakis, 2015, p. 119) endeavour to find their place and inscribe collective memory and the history of the crisis in a visualised way on the surfaces of the cityscape.

Public writing and painting activity in Athens could always be discerned to a certain degree. In *The Walls Belong to the Crowd* (Peponis, 2008), published in pre-crisis period (July 2008), the author provides a panorama of visuals, mostly displaying slogans and a few graffiti, since 1977, a few in 80's, 90's, and 2000's. The preponderance of them charts the socio-political developments from 2000 on, with a great deal of focus on 2007 where resided the most subversive ones. They comprise a potential historical documentation of political narratives on the Athenian surfaces for three and a half decades. However, since 2008 and while Greece was leading to an increasingly deeper recession, the *derma* proliferated and rapidly covered the city.

The financial domino of the economic crisis caused a number of chain reactions due to the linkage between economy, market and society. For example, the average

annual income in 2008 — at the beginning of the crisis — was 28,418€, before salaries started to drop as a consequence of the crisis. In the year 2017 the lowest average annual income could be observed, that was 7,956€. Considering the above, one can speak of "impoverishment" of the population of the country (Sakellari, 2019, para. 10). This impoverishment that affected the consumerism ability led to the economic domino finally impacting on the whole Greek society. The crisis has had significant costs in terms of product, income and wealth. From 2008 to 2016, Greece lost more than 1/4 of its gross domestic product at constant prices, while the unemployment rate increased by about 16 percentage points (Stournaras, 2020, para. 8).

During the years of Greece's economic crisis, the practice of public painting and writing acquired unprecedented dimensions (Karathanasis, 2014, p. 178). Pangalos (2014) states that there is "an unforeseen concentration of writings (the whole spectrum of graffiti practices and versions) on the city's vertical surfaces, rendering it one of the most *stained* and *saturated* cities in the world" (p. 154). The public's conscious or unconscious tendency to be more engaged with the urban sphere testifies how a mere wall writing starts becoming a phenomenon of tailoring a "skin of crisis" since the very beginning of it. Kalofolias (2013) observes that

> after December 2008, graffiti multiplied. Their tone of voice changed, humour and irony receded, and more agony and anger emerged. It was only natural. The cry of the youth was spurned with rage by dominant speech and was left suspended in the air while destruction came, the city sunk in the vortex of social nightmare... (p. 5)

In fact, in December 2008 there was a number of riots and protests attended by Greek teenagers and young adults, and they were stimulated by the murder of a 15-year-old student, Alexandros Grigoropoulos, by a member the police. Nonetheless, they were not the marginalised; as young members of the middle class they demonstrated against the government's impotence and corruption. They were outraged by fake political pledges of an education system that could only promise them that they would work harder than their drained parents. Their options were either to become the so called "700€ generation" or leave abroad as many other skilled young Greeks were forced to do, instead of enduring a bureaucratic and disorganised state (Margaronis, 2008, para. 3–4). However, how the act of marking the walls with visuals, for example, graffiti, in places where the youth gathers (such as the universities) can function as a route towards emancipation and a definition of a new identity of the "young generation of crisis"?

Within the framework of the long-established crisis the expansion of the protest graffiti as a "striking feature" became the anti-austerity response of young writers as they attempted visualise their own readings of the crisis (Zaimakis, 2016, p. 67). The shaping of a political identity reflects how the youth responds to the political reality and issues of politics, education and social reality that surrounds them; their markings are "an expressive, unconventional, intrusive, motivating, improving and mainly a subversive means of expressing their ideas and opinions" (Kalogiannaki & arras, 2013, p. 12). Looking at

similar statements, one may chart the qualities of these urban political forms, and hence understand the nature of the wholeness, namely the skin. Kalofolias (2013) notices that

> these forms are intruders on your visual field without being invited, demanding part of your attention or beseeching it; thoughts pleading for a place to be communicated in tandem with the action that witnesses emergency. Omens of the city, present in any turbulent historic period, conveying a message of an event to be read just before or after it occurs. (p. 5)

In fact, the walls assert a language on their own, a language that is "unique, dynamic, charged, subversive, often harsh and ironic, provocative and cynical, authentic, often politicized, but also a colourful, a multifaceted and artistic language" (Kalogiannaki & karras, 2013, p. 12).

Although these statements do not refer to an idea of a skin or the immensity of the phenomenon, they identify aliquot ingredients that finally compose the general and omnipresent form: the collaged skin. Indeed, they incarnate an emergent quality of subversion, necessary for facing the crisis and struggling, mentally or physically, against it.

Hence, if the surface of Athens in crisis was examined as a collaged form, that would be the subversive collage. Subversion is the central quality of collage; the collected material is deprived of its principal context and its embedding in new compositions is an act of subversion, a form of protest (Busch & Klanten, 2016, p. 2). The subversive strand of collage can be examined in the urban sphere of Athens related to its "skin", through the way how people react with the architectural volumes and objects found in the cityscape. Their initial role and function seem to be rather obvious and ordinary. Yet how can they be transformed into "social diaries", into "a terrain of conflict and metamorphosis" (Tsilimpounidi, 2015, p. 18) expressing a more general public disappointment, finally composing an "urban collage" of protest?

Peponis (2008, p. 9) argues that although the walls are the most suitable place for the writing of slogans, any other space becomes available, both as a receiver and transmitter of messages: benches, entrances of apartment buildings and sidewalks are regularly converted into communication means. Zaimakis (2016) mentions that "surfaces on historical buildings and banks, shabby walls, viaduct poles, rubbish bins, shop windows and derelict houses" allow room for the writers to render "the visualized city more vibrant, intriguing, and protesting" (p. 70). We see therefore that, on the one hand, there is a necessity for space, as if the space is never enough. On the other, the unprecedented expansion and density of collaged elements simultaneously account for an inquiry of examining a "skin", rather than its mere individual constituents:

> painted trains, walls, window screens — a multi-coloured collage taking over the city, a threat that state as well as private individuals are no match for. (...) Every effort made for "cleaning the place up" has become just a memory. Everything is overpainted — a heaven for writers — and we really feel like home. (Pissa, 2012, p. 3)

This collaged derma is a living, dynamic organism that is transient and non-resistant to time's effects. It may occupy a space that may become larger or smaller, itself becoming larger or smaller. Instead of a timestamp of creation, because of its organic development, it exists as a breathing entity in a time-range.

Let us consider how younger generations, in particular, have faced the crisis and grown up in this urban environment and visual culture surrounding them. The sense that during a crisis everything is transient and momentary is also reflected on this skin, being in a process of incessant change as well. "Things change rapidly. Used up words like crisis and depression have taken hold of everybody's mind. Not just in terms of economic advancement, but of the whole western culture…" (Pissa, 2012, p. 3). I intend to approach how the recording of this ephemeral state, for both individuals and their cityscape, is essential for further reading a crisis through its visual evidences: the omnipresent human trace. This understanding may help us realise how our surrounding environment — our tailored skin — is a mirror of our economy, social and political life, and in the end of our culture.

A Methodological Study of Athens: A City in a State of Socioeconomic Emergency

Throughout the years, the economic strand of Greece's financial crisis has influenced and altered the visual imagery of the urban sphere. The public cityspace visually reflects the consequences of the financial domino.

As far as my practice-based methodology used in this article is concerned, I have been engaged with photography, 3D modelling, photogrammetry and Google Maps potential. An early photographic attempt of the Athenian cityscape's alteration occurred in December 2008, when I took images of slogans, stencilled visuals and messages in the aftermath of the protests in memory of Alexis Grigoropoulos's murder by a policeman. At that stage, these slogans functioned as "stencil-acts", "calls to struggle and forms of struggle", and they were the invented medium of an uprising to be coming (Stavrides, 2017, p. 166). However, as I above explained how the financial strand of the crisis influenced the Greek society, the considerable visual realisation of the crisis occurred when people began to confront the images of closed stores. This change within the urban imagery was connected with the sudden and in massive number closure of stores, in particular in the city centres. Athens downtown, once lively and vibrant, it gradually became a landscape of ruins. "The ruptures created in urban space by disinvestment, austerity and years of political struggle constantly produced new surfaces and spaces: boarded-up urban ruins, unfinished buildings, vacant shop windows, and decaying billboards with nothing left to advertise" (Tulke, 2017, p. 202). A germinal photographic phase of my current research took place during the first years of the crisis, when I photographed a number of closed stores in Athens city centre (2011 and 2012). Although the term "street art" is commonly used to refer to self-authorized visual and material interventions in public space (Tulke, 2017, p. 204), my shift towards photographing the closed stores

(and different stages of their visual changes throughout the years of the crisis) focused on the metamorphosis into ruins. Since 2018, I adopted 3D scanning and photogrammetry to re-build the scanned city spots. As the photographer Jonathan Miller (1999) stated for his fragmented urban images "it's difficult to reconstruct the scenes from which my *bits* have been captured" (para. 4). Given that technological advancement contributed to the 3D processes, I adopted that digital tool to revive the scenery in detail, a possibility that mere photography could not provide. Since this research initiated in 2018, and only a few documentations of the displayed spots were recorded, I relied on GIS potential and Google Maps for retrieving past city layers. Certainty, this virtual exploration of the past is limited, providing that only a few and fragmented time-lapses were available. In the following pages, I will present this "metamorphosis" through visuals as well as the crossing from the one technique to the other.

The gradual consequences of the crisis: the stores have massively been closed, and in the place of the prior shopfronts (displaying commodities and products) we now notice alternative appropriations of the space.

In the Figure 1, we can see a closed store near Omonoia square, Athens city centre. Wood panels have covered the former showcase, probably to protect its glasses. Samples of torn posters indicate that layers of posters have been removed, and a prior layer of spray-paint writing activity was unveiled. The image witnesses spatiotemporality: while looking closely to the two remained posters of the image, we slightly detect information of a musical that took place on November 19, at The Athens Concert Hall.

Figure 1 *November 2011. Closed Store Near Omonoia square*

Credits. Panagiotis Ferentinos

In the Figure 2, we can observe two closed stores (in the middle and on the left), probably in Valtetsiou street, covered with steel panels. The panels served as canvases or "notice boards" for various activities. Graffiti, tagging, slogans, and the dominant element: the posters. Equally, in this case the posters provide spatiotemporal information (dates in December and January are indicated, and different places in Athens).

Figure 2 *January 2012. Two Closed Stores*

Credits. Panagiotis Ferentinos

By meticulously examining Figure 2, the context provided by the posters is mostly socio-political relevant to events that occurred during that period. Indicatively: a call for an assembly for direct democracy, a 24h Attica strike, a concert in support of the strikers in steel industry. A poster in memory of the 15-year-old student Alexandros Grigoropoulos, murdered by the police, states: "3 years after the uprising. From the government of murderers to the government of fascists". Other posters state: "resistance and action for the freedom of... [an anarchist]", "sirect action", and so forth. At this stage, it is essential to stress that the visual activity, in general, covers all the provided surfaces: metal, marble columns, walls, the tent, even the neoclassical wooden door on the right. The detection of this expansion in accordance with a necessity of space makes clearer my hypothesis of the "derma", the skin of the city and its context during the economic crisis. It moves beyond ideas such as the "overpainted walls" referring to slogans and graffiti (Karathanasis, 2014, p. 178), "overwriting the city" for "graffiti's role as a form of strategic communications in areas of social and political crisis" (Kim & Flores, 2018, p. 9), and graffiti as "a testament of creativity and artistry" (Stampoulidis, 2016, p. 10).

Retrieving Past City Layers: A *Décollage* Approach

An access to prior city layers in order to retrieve the visually written history of this urban collage would be possible through a "décollaging" methodology. A *décollage* is "the opposite of collage. It means ungluing, unsticking, taking off. It occurs naturally in cities when poster hoardings are torn and defaced revealing several layers of imagery" (Walker, 1977, p. 100). This definition implies a material act, a hand-based one or weathering, a tactile defacement as artistic act. Within the framework of materiality, in mid-1960's Alain Jouffroy (1966) described Raymond Hains as the artist who "prefers ripped-down posters as he finds them, as they appear to anyone in the street, and who with something like awe discovers in them traces of *a poetry composed by everyone*" (p. 82). Hains's *décollages* were the "poetry of the street, archaeology of the collective unconscious" (Jouffroy, 1966, p. 84). Yet, this aspect of *décollage* appears rather deconstructive. Taylor (2008) sees *décollage* as a more constructive process:

> for if décollage, or the ungluing of paper, is the tearing of parts asunder, then collage, literally sticking, is a constructive attachment of parts to make a new or reassembled whole. But "destruction" and "construction" are imprecise metaphors here. For just as décollage reveals an existing surface beneath, and hence is constructive, collage deals in already detached fragments and in that sense pays witness to a previous dismantling. (p. 9)

Décollage, as a constructive vehicle rather than decomposing, may provide a new role to a decision for a documentation strategy. We can document different stages of the derma, before a new layer hides the prior one, and the forthcoming follows the same course. Hence, a temporal *décollaging* formula is built that digitally preserves in detail each stage, without any lack of the material in terms of a physical tearing apart. In my methodology, by utilising Google Maps, I explain and examine how *décollage* shifts to a virtual space and, through technology, it functions as a tool for unveiling fragments of the past.

Case Study: B&K Closed Store. Place: Themistokleous 37, Athens 106 83, Greece

When I first photographed B & K closed store in January 2012 (Figure 3), I was not able to understand what kind of store it was in the past. Both its door and showcase were extremely covered with multiple layers of posters. At first, the slogan below the covered showcase drew my attention: "LAMPROS LIVES". Lámpros is a Greek male name and literally means "one who brightens". But written in capital Greek (so the accent is not obvious) it could be the adjective "lamprós", which means "bright". This double potential meaning, "light lives", made me record the whole store. The displayed thick skin of posters' layering is indicative of the transformation of the closed stores during the years of the crisis.

Figure 3 *January 2012. B & K Closed Store, Themistokleous 37, Athens*

Credits. Panagiotis Ferentinos

Let us consider how Figure 3 may function as a "map" of the specific moment of this capture (January 17, 2012). If a map is "a symbolic representation of selected characteristics of a place, usually drawn on a flat surface" (National Geographic, 2011, para. 1), could this image — as a fragmented symbolic visual representation that portrays the last added layer (the surface) — be torn away and see under the surface? Is there a way to reclaim previous layers and see when this store was still open, what kind of store it was, when the layers of the crisis' skin started to take its place? Can this de-mapping be a *décollaging* like the ungluing of paper, the process of taking apart? The reason for this is that *décollaging* unveils the existing matter underneath and is a constructive process (Taylor, 2008, p. 9). Since December 2018, when I decisively began a periodical recording of city locations, I was only able to preserve fragmentary layers of this reality. One of my projects was B & K closed store, that I had photographed in 2012 for the first time. Nonetheless, what about the layers before the image of January 2012 (Figure 3) and all those after, from 2012 to 2018? For this purpose, I adopted Google Maps' potential to retrieve past layers. But this peeling away process, "de-mapping" or "*décollaging*", is also fragmentary. As I stated before, only a few layers of the past are provided. The skin of the city in crisis has so rapidly and dynamically evolved, that Google Maps (as a methodology) dealing with temporal fragments is also fragmentary on its own. A problematic arises: the skin cannot be scanned or documented in total, only mere representations of it may be achieved.

In the following figures, I show past stages of B & K store's metamorphosis, and how they can function as layers of reading through them the development of the crisis throughout the years. According to the Figures 4 and 5 , in June 2009, at the beginning

of the economic crisis, B & K was open. Relying on them (panoramic and zoomed in), it was selling women's clothes. At this stage, the only discernible trace of writing activity lies on the left side of letter "B" of the sign. It is a tagging with black marker. A woman was looking at its showcase and another was doing the same at the shop on the left. Both stores were then open.

Figure 4 *June 2009. Panoramic View of B & K and Those Nearby*

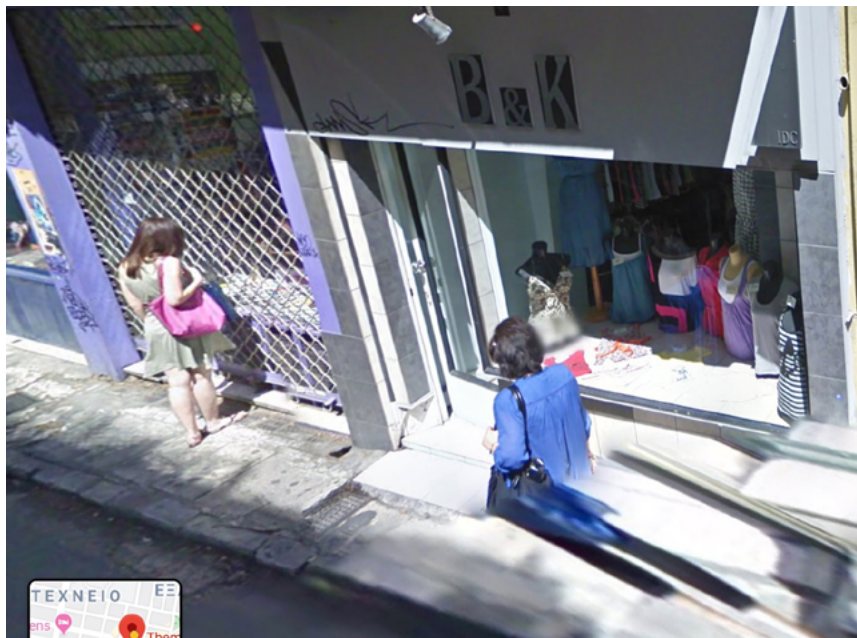*Credits.* Google Maps. © 2019 Google

Figure 5 *June 2009. Further Zooming*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

As we can see in the figures 6 and 7, in August 2011, almost 2 years after the previous stage, B & K was closed. Based upon these two past stages it is unknown when that

happened, however its showcase was full of posters and two of them are obviously stuck on its door. Comparing with the image of January 2012 (Figure 3) there is nearly the same activity. Within those 4 to 5 months, the posters' layers became thicker (Figure 3), so no one tore (or removed) the prior layers apart. In both cases (Figure 3 and Figures 6 and 7) the writings around the sign are the same. The purple store on the left was still open.

Figure 6 *August 2011. Panoramic View of B & K and Stores Nearby*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

Figure 7 *August 2011. Further Zooming in*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

In the Figures 8 and 9, in August 2014, the posters have proliferated and also expanded on the column on the left. Any last added poster is placed on top of torn past posters. The writing spray-painted activity has increased. At this stage the spot is so

much covered that one could not believe there was once a store at this place. In 2014, the purple store on the left was closed too.

Figure 8 *August 2014*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

Figure 9 August 2014. Further zooming in

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

This points out an evidential connection between the crisis and the cityscape, as "since its inception, the city has been a place of fluid normativity, political conflict and sociocultural vibrancy" (Pavoni et al, 2021, p. 5). One could thus have their first visual encounter with the crisis, through the gradually appeared ruins of consumerism. Guy Debord (1967/2014), in *The Society of the Spectacle*, pointed out that in modern societies where production is predominant, life is incarnated through a vast "accumulation of spectacles", and the worldview has been materialistic to the extent that it becomes the objective reality (p. 2), In the case of Athens in crisis, what happens when materialism is inactive, and the way of living through the "fetishism of the commodity" — the domination of the world by "imperceptible as well as perceptible things" (Debord, 1967/2014, p. 14), namely the fulfilment of the spectacle — cannot be reached? Indeed, during the years of the crisis the field of the spectacle, the market places that provided commodities, was about to become ruins. Based on fieldwork, periodical recordings in Athens since 2018, and past visual documentation (and their readings), I examine how this "inactive spectacle" is reflected and read on the proliferated skin that has covered Athens.

If we look at the above images (Figures 1 to 9) anew, we can particularly perceive how the poster, due to its material nature (more than the spray-painted writings), started playing a constructive role to this Athenian skin. A poster's role is to serve the promotional material, to persuade someone of its context (Tripney, 2007, , para. 1); it is in fact a stimulus to communicate a message to the general public (Adom, 2016, para. 1). During the crisis, however, its role to promote products, commodities in general, or even an artistic spectacle or a concert was rather useless. It would be even provocative in its glamorous colours and capital captions. As it was above-mentioned, people were not able to consume, having to pay debts with minor salaries or while being unemployed. How would they be interested in purchasing or even encountering the "spectacle" they cannot afford? This may provide a new twofold dimension to the urban torn poster *(décollage)* in Athens: the poster that promotes commodities has no reason to reside the city in crisis, it has to come down. Nonetheless, the political poster becomes dominant both in context and presence. This is in the end the major component of the collaged skin of Athens in crisis.

The Athenian Derma: The Urban Collage of the Crisis

If a collage is "a technique of composing a work of art [produced] by pasting on a single surface various materials not normally associated with one another" and "an assemblage or occurrence of diverse elements or fragments in unlikely or unexpected juxtaposition" (Dictionary.com, n.d.), what kind of urban collage would Athens in crisis be? In fact, the surface of the city hosts a number of apparently contradictory elements that finally find a way to co-exist.

What can an urban collage include? A concurrence of various activities' outcomes: posters, graffiti, tagging, bubble graffiti, signs. In fact, Figure 10 pays witness to this co-existence. Let us try to read the image. On the left, closer to street for gaining further

visibility, the eye level view accommodates a series of posters. Posters have to be closer to the eye level and be more accessible for direct replacement. On top of them, so that no deformation is secured, there is a graffiti portraying a face, alongside an air-conditioning box and an abandoned "rotring" sign. With the aid of Google Maps, I confirmed that, in August 2014, this graffiti had already existed, and it has been there ever since. In the middle, a niche hosts posters too. On the right side, mostly hidden and close to the front door of a building, there are three bubble graffiti nearly covering the whole wall. Next to them, three yellow papers indicate "for eent" and "for sale". The urban skin features a plurality of matters, information, textures, colours, drawing, volumes, and so forth. As the below Figures 11, 12 and 13 display, various city volumes (objects) also host the urban collage's activity.
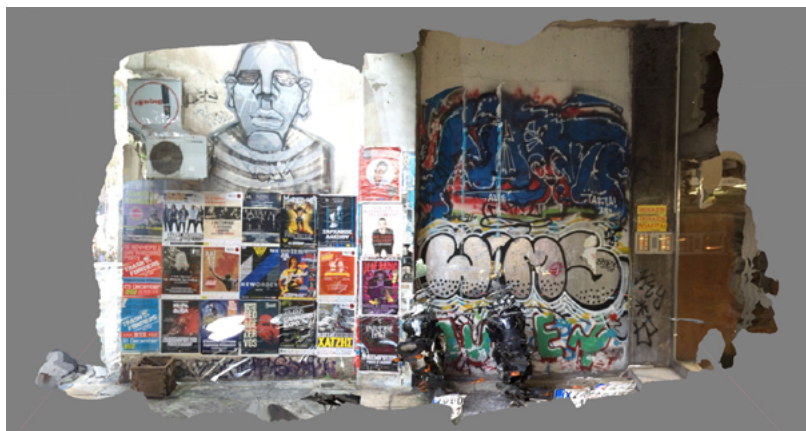

Figure 10 *Themistokleous 42, Athens 106 78. Image of the Frontal View of a 3D Model. December 2018*

Credits. Panagiotis Ferentinos

Figure 11 *Grey Post-Box. Themistokleous 46-48 Street, Athens
106 77. 3/4 Views of 3D Models. December 2019*

Credits. Panagiotis Ferentinos

Figure 12 *Corner of Solonos & Emmanouil Benaki Street, Athens 106 78. Metal Boxes Participate in the Developing of the City's Skin. 3D Models. July 2019*

Credits. Panagiotis Ferentinos

Figure 13 *A Panoramic View of Solonos & Emmanouil Benaki Street Corner. Walls, Pillars, Metal Boxes, All Covered With Posters and Writings. 3D Model. December 2019*

Credits. Panagiotis Ferentinos

What truly makes collage the medium of our epoch is the fact that it reflects and responds to some of modern life's key issues and phenomena. Excess is one of our times most pressing concerns, as exemplified by the insatiable consumerism and unmanageable amounts of waste, so collage's recycling and repurposing of imagery in a world that is also visually saturated is particularly meaningful. (Busch & Klanten, 2016, p. 3)

As a collaging development, the skin of Athens may provide an additional dimension of this "medium of our epoch". In a place where consumption is inactive and excess can become the proper recycled material, the skin is flourishing. This urban collage consists of layers of the visualised socio-political conditions, and its "precise aesthetic task is to find ways and channels to express socio-political dissent and critique, as well as anger, in the face of a political system that is increasingly unable to represent social demands" (Pavoni et al, 2021, p. 6). The ephemeral coatings are continuously changing and redefined due to the additional material stuck on top of another, to portray the different periods of the crisis. Based on this vigorous process, we argue that the urban collage acquires a historical quality either the layers are recorded or not. If we were to retrieve any previous layers of the city surface, we would have access to a history that was written the very moment it was occurring. How the history of the crisis would be preserved in our time, when the vanishing of a feeling of history, the manner by which "our entire contemporary social system has little by little begun to lose its capacity to retain its own past" (Jameson, 1985, p. 125)? If we were to utilise the visualised information of this always updated collage, we would be able to restore past history from the layers of the surface of the city.

The Urban Collage on the Walls of the Big City: The Unlimited Field of Poetic Achievement

The organic surface of Athens, rich in trace activity under incessant change, can be examined in response to Leo Malet's statement, in 1969, referring to the "collage of the future" (p. 421). It can be presented a condensed summary for perceiving the idea of Athens as an immense urban collage:

> the collage of the future will be executed without scissors or razor or glue, etc. In short: without any of the utensils that were necessary until now. It will leave behind the worktable and the artist's cardboard surfaces and it will take its place on the walls of the big city, the unlimited field of poetic achievements. (Malet, 1969, p. 421)

Malet (1969) puts the tools (technology) used for its execution first. The very initial sentence is a prediction of the radical change of the media and technology of this future collage (Buchloh, 1991, p. 98). As far as my hypothesis on "urban collage" is concerned, this sentence may rise a twofold correspondence. On the one hand, the variety of mediums involved in the production of it (spray-paint, posters, etc.) and the surfaces engaged: apart from the walls, even the pavements and various city volumes (post-boxes, buildings' entrances, columns, etc.) are included. In brief, that is the field within which my city-roaming and fieldwork is realised, providing the collected material for research. On the other, the technology I use does not only aim at recording, but also at interpreting and transforming both this raw digital material and the experience of the wandering into new forms. The shift from the artist's worktable and cardboard (the canvas) to the

walls of the big city, may rise a new question through my research case in regard to Malet's (1969) collage of the future: is there an intentional collage maker in Athens? Who is this maker when all this activity is bound to the crisis and its echo, and not to mere artistic interventions? Is finally the crisis the maker, sparking the human hand to urban interventions? Although I examine fragments (spots) of the city as case studies, I finally review the activity as a whole. Any ephemeral trace equally advocates the city collage and produces the skin of Athens in crisis.

The Role of the Poster in the City of Anti-Spectacle

The urban poster in Athens of crisis has a twofold role: it is a solid constructive material of building up the "skin" of the city, due to its immense proliferation, and the vehicle of socio-political messages. This poster resists any of a poster's previous uses as servant of advertising and commerce.

How could, however, the current Athenian poster differentiate itself from the past posters' exploitation and demonstrate a uniqueness in the present spatiotemporal context of Athens in crisis? In World War II after the Nazis occupation, the walls of the big city would be exploited as a vehicle for political propaganda and fascistic forbidding — any disobedience could cost human lives. After the war, the same walls would accommodate another kind of propaganda, an undetectable form of violence: the recently invented tactics of advertisement, aiming at reviving consumerism in the 1950s (Buchloh, 1991, p. 98). In post-war, Europe artists dealt with the emerging capitalism and mass consumerism and attack to the society of the spectacle, as Guy Debord (1967/2014) would call it; and indicative example were the *décollagists* who sought the physical ripped posters of the urban hoardings to divert their advertising status (Butler & de Zegher, 2010, p. 95). The idea of the torn piece of poster, in collage and *décollage*, embraced a physical appropriation and material revival.

If the poster in post-war France was a tool of consumption, *décollagists*' decision of ripping it was their response against the spectacle. The *dé*collage was a depicted response to the moment that the commodity and its mediums of publicity had invaded into every surface of social life. What actually did *décollage* to act as a critic of the spectacle and attach it?

> Moreover, we are not dealing with one poster but a veritable mattress of posters, myriad skins whose identity has been destroyed by irregular tearing (carried out over time): the strata merge into one another; the lettering grafts together; the words cannibalise one another; information is little by little reduced to undifferentiated noise. (Bois, 1997, p. 178)

During the Greek economic crisis where the poster is unable to have a real advertising role, any *decollaging* act is constructive: it releases new and "fresh" space for urban activity and all the merged ingredients into one new form lead to the idea of the derma. My investigation aims at unveiling this new identity: the poster to be seen as a narrator

of the socio-political, and at the same time a building up material of Athens current imagery.

Defining the Framework of a Current *Décollage*

A juxtaposition of the conditions within which the post-war *décollage* emerged and those of Greece's economic crisis may further clarify what kind of *décollage* is necessary in my present investigation.

The *décollage* activity began to occur when in the early 1950's the spaces of public urban display, the billboards, and the technology for printing the large-scale posters (visual and text) started to fade away. The decline of both spaces and technology gradually attracted the artistic interest. The abandoned sites of advertisement (ruins) and the outmoded technology both became useless for the promotion of commodities with the advancement of the knowledge of engineer (Buchloh, 1991, pp. 98–100). In Athens case, it was the crisis that inactivated the power of spaces and means of advertisement: the ruins are the closed stores, the hoardings were useless, and been gradually been abandoned. Commodities cannot be displayed, they would not be sold. Hence, we do not notice a shift towards another public space or means.

In post-war France, the *décollagistes,* the anonymous lacerators of the billboards, would realise an artistic rebellion including anonymous gestures of defacement, in an indifferent urban space with an outmoded medium (Buchloh, 1991, pp. 100–101). The anonymity is also a characteristic of the Athenian lacerators, but they do not intend to attack the spectacle of advertisement; the posters of the crisis mostly communicate socio-political calls for protests and strikes. Even the advertisement of cultural events (musicals, theatrical displays) that took place in the city could be seen as a protest: although the crisis is devastating, we still invest in culture. As I stated before, in Athens, urban *décollage* is a way to gain "fresh" space for new information, it is not an act of artists or artistic rebellion. Besides, another *décollage* is how the mayor of Athens and other private business vanish this skin and whitewash the city I will refer to this case at length below.

The Layers From Pre-Crisis to Crisis: The Constructive Quality of *Décollage*

Through a peeling away process in Athens cityscape's surface, we would be able to achieve to recognise the steps towards the visual ruins of the crisis, or even earlier, those of the pre- and early-crisis period that gradually led to a devastating recession. A *décollage* approach would be therefore a compositional process, a synthesis of past history, and not a further destruction in favour of the crisis. Collage and *décollage* can only be metaphorically connected to construction and destruction, considering that at the time that *décollage* flourished, the European city arose from the rubbles of a past war (Taylor, 2008, p. 9). Hence, *décollage* is the tool of restoring what is hidden and has not be forgotten.

By *décollaging* the visual coats of Athens' development, incarnated in the thick layers of posters, we would see an echo of prior forms of consumerism before and at the

beginning of the crisis. Yet, while moving deeper into the crisis, could any spectacle succeed in advertising massive consumerism? This advertising has no depth and absorbs all original cultural forms giving prominence to a superficial form (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 87). Instead, the poster coats that belonged to the crisis would mostly witness — in particular those of the city centre — struggling and demonstrations, and a number of culture events that resisted the financial difficult conditions. Advertising resistance instead of commodities has been the new reality.

According to Baudrillard (1994), advertising is an "instantaneous form, is a form without a past, without a future, without the possibility of metamorphosis" (p. 87). Nonetheless, in the case of Athens surfaces this prior advertising had indeed a potential to metamorphosis: it was the very initial layer that gradually led to the skin that has covered the city. Its depth would reflect a struggle against the spectacle, either referring to the political spread information or the immense coverage of it.

December 2019

Ethnikis Antistaseos Avenue & Tripoleos street, in Dafni 172 37 Athens, Greece. The lower parts are used for spray-painted writings and graffiti. The upper part of the walls looks untouched, with no traces of any intervention.

Figure 14 *Corner in December 2019*

Credits. Panagiotis Ferentinos

APRIL 2009

I display below the image of the same corner in April 2009. The spectacle of the colourful billboards: expensive brands of clothes and expensive night life.

Figure 15 *Corner in April 2009*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

The upper poster on the left advertises the 14th Touristic Panorama under the slogan "every year return to Greece". On its right, the poster promotes electronic household's equipment. On the bottom side on the left, a huge pack of cigarettes advertises smoke. On the right side, a smiling blond lady singer promotes expensive night life.

Figure 16 *Tripoleos Street Side*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

May 2009

Some months before the Greek elections, on October 5, 2009. On the right bottom and left upper side, there were posters of the political leftish party SYRIZA. The slogans display "Populism [written on the left top corner with small and lowercase letters] or Responsibility [with an immense font covering the whole panel]?". On the right upper side, the same party's slogan: "for the needs of all people".

Figure 17 *Tripoleos Street Side*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

The face of the politician George Papandreou on the left. He became Greece's Prime Minister in October 2009 with the Panhellenic Socialist Movement party (PASOK). The slogan on the right side states: "we vote for Europe, we decide for Greece".
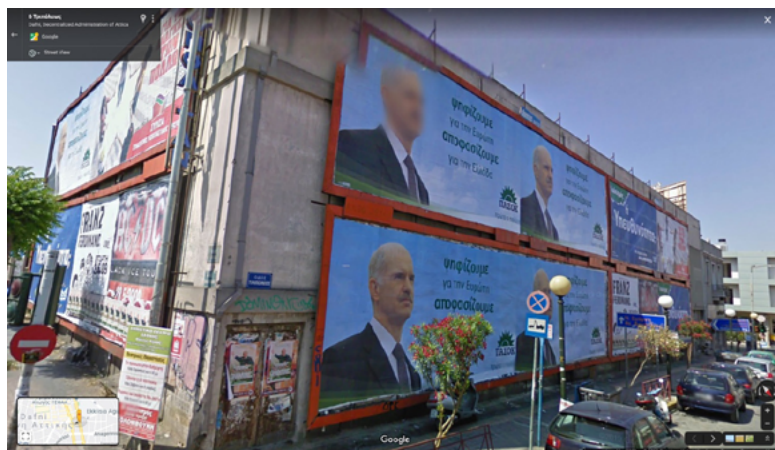
Figure 18 *The face of the Politician George Papandreou*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

April, May 2011: The Spectacle is the Casino

Both sides of the corner, Ethnikis Antistaseos Avenue and Tripoleos street are fully covered with advertisement of a Casino.

Figure 19 *April 2011*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

August 2011: The Spectacle Is the Casino

Again, the advertisement for the Casino. In different colours though.

Figure 20 *August 2011*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

AUGUST 2014

The Tripoleos street side. The upper part of the billboard has been abandoned and worn away. A natural décollage took place. The lower part is still representative, but its colours faded away. The lower part advertises a glamorous club of Athens and displays a celebrity male singer.

Figure 21 *August 2014*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

Both upper sides are in shreds. On the left side we notice the ruins of the earlier casino advertisement. Only fragmented rubbles of the previous advertised spectacle have remained.

Figure 22 *August 2014*

Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

November 2014

A panoramic view of both streets. Ethnikis Antistaseos Avenue and Tripoleos street.
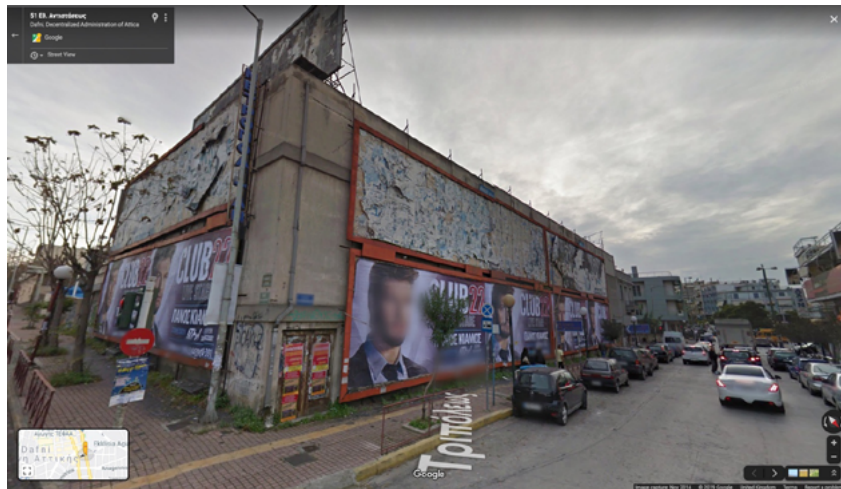
Figure 23 *November 2014*
Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

A juxtaposition of the upper and the lower billboards. The lower part is still active advertising a night club, whereas the upper part in shreds (Tripoleos street side).

Figure 24 *November 2014*
Credits. Google Maps. © 2019 Google

Crisis: A New reality. Ruins of "Spectacle" Build the Anti-Spectacle

The Greek crisis, as the new omnipresent condition, arrived not to pretend or usurp the place of the prior reality, but to establish a new one without products and commodities. Could this simulation of reality, the crisis, be the new real that in the long term came to ostracise the society of the spectacle, and outplace it?

As I stated before, according to Guy Debord (1967/2014) modern life is an "accumulation of spectacles" (p. 2). These spectacles have altered the experience of living into a representation, an inversion of life, a non-living (Debord, 1967/2014, p. 2). Imagine all the remaining coats of the pre-crisis era in Athens as an accumulation of inactivated layers of this spectacle. It is a spectacle that can no longer be reached. We then discuss about a skin from its ruins. That is the era of anti-spectacle.

Taking into account Borges's (1946) story, "On Exactitude in Science", and the relation of the map and the territory, the map covered and superseded the terrain that it represented. If the Greek crisis had come to cover the prior reality of commodities and products, namely the society of the spectacle through consumption, the skin of traces that covers and takes the place of the concrete map founds the anti-spectacle.

In Borges's (1946) allegoric story the prior map of the empire was useless for the following generations, that with no mercy "delivered it up to the inclemencies of sun and winters", where "in the deserts of the west, still today, there are tattered ruins of that map". In the case of Athens, that "generation" would be those who identify the anti-spectacle, and the new skin of the metropolis of the crisis that coincides point to point with the prior reality.

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The Carnivalized Metropolis: The Street Carnival Groups as Surrealists and Situacionists Performances in Rio de Janeiro

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Abstract

The street carnival in Rio de Janeiro, cultural manifestation in rapid growth in the last three decades, has been the target of recent investments by the government and commercial interests. One of the consequences of this intervention was the distinction of *blocos de rua* (street carnival groups) between official and unofficial. This article will deal with this second type of groups, characterized by spontaneity and horizontality, taking as an exemplary case the group named Cordão do Boi Tolo. Such manifestations substantiate city experiences that impose themselves, from the aesthetic and cultural point of view, as creative experiences of performatization of bodies. From a political perspective, they are libertarian forms of occupation of public space and of redefining the uses of the city. Combining literary analysis, sociological reflection and ethnographic observation, the article intends to discuss this street carnival as an unexpected extension of the surrealist and situationist proposals for the re-enchantment of the world and the manifestation of the wonderful. It concludes that the magic that literature works in surrealism continues to be updated in the streets and crossroads of Rio de Janeiro by the *blocos de rua*, in their opposition to institutional powers and market control. It is in the enjoyment of the city by the revelers that the *flânerie* becomes creative writing of reality. It is in the streets of the carnivalized metropolis that the *dérive* is rooted in the oldest traditions of the square as a free space of popular creation.

Keywords

city, street carnival, street carnival groups, situationism, surrealism

A Metrópole Carnavalizada: Os Blocos de Rua Como Performances Surrealistas e Situacionistas na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro

Resumo

O carnaval de rua do Rio de Janeiro, manifestação cultural em franco crescimento nas últimas três décadas, foi alvo de recentes investimentos ordenadores pelo poder público e pelos interesses mercantis. Uma das consequências desta intervenção foi a distinção dos blocos de rua entre oficiais e não-oficiais. É acerca deste segundo tipo de blocos, caracterizados pela espontaneidade e pela horizontalidade, que este artigo tratará, tomando como caso exemplar o Cordão do Boi Tolo. Tais manifestações consubstanciam vivências da cidade que se impõem, do ponto de vista estético e cultural, como experiências criativas de performatização dos corpos. Numa perspectiva política, estas manifestações constituem formas libertárias de ocupação do espaço público e de ressignificação dos usos da cidade. Unindo análise literária, reflexão sociológica e

observação etnográfica, o artigo pretende discutir este carnaval de rua como um prolongamento inesperado das propostas surrealista e situacionista de reencantamento do mundo e de manifestação do maravilhoso. Conclui-se que a magia que a literatura opera no surrealismo continua sendo atualizada nas ruas e encruzilhadas do Rio de Janeiro pelos blocos carnavalescos, em sua oposição aos poderes institucionais e ao controle do mercado. É no gozo da cidade pelos foliões que a *flânerie* se converte em escrita criativa da realidade. É nas ruas da metrópole carnavalizada que a deriva se encontra enraizada nas mais antigas tradições da praça como espaço livre e gratuito de criação popular.

Palavras-chave

blocos de rua, carnaval de rua, cidade, situacionismo, surrealismo

They're still going to kill me on a street. When they discover, mainly, that I am part of these people who think that the street is the main part of the city.

—Paulo Leminski, *Quarenta Clics em Curitiba* (Forty Clicks in Curitiba)

Introduction

Street carnival[1] can be defined as a set of popular, spontaneous and playful events that are distinguished, in Rio de Janeiro, from the so-called "avenue carnival", from the parades of the great samba schools. In contrast to this carnival, founded on a rigid and closed division between performers and spectators, and orbiting around the competition between associations, street carnival presupposes the active and free participation of the reveler, who "plays" the party without any goal other than fun itself. Its most common organizational form is the *blocos de rua* (street carnival groups), understood as popular, semi-organized, non-competitive and non-commercial (or free, at least) carnival groups, which typically go on a procession through the city streets (although there may also be groups that does not move). The experience of the *blocos de rua* implies the redefinition of city spaces, removed from their everyday use and transformed in subjects of affective investments. Such experiences of symbolic appropriation of the urban space constitute forms of political resistance (deliberate or not) and affirmation of the being in the street as a right, but also of cultural resistance, by claiming particular ways of performing this presence. If such carnivalesque manifestations are typically opposed to institutional powers and constituted authority, they also address ways of controlling behavior that are manifested in a diffuse way at the level of culture, on the ways of living everyday life. It is, therefore, about affirming city experiences that impose themselves both from the

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[1] There is no consensus in the bibliography on the use of the initial capital or small letters in the spelling of the term "Carnaval". Following Ferreira (2004), I chose to use the initial capital letter to refer to the party dated in the three days prior to Lent (Carnival), choosing to spell with lower initials the term "street carnival", because I understand it as referring to a possible manifestation of that greater festivity.

aesthetic and cultural point of view, as creative experiences of performing bodies, and from the political point of view, as libertarian forms of occupation of public space.

Such an approach, of free and spontaneous transit through the city as a form of resistance to systemic controls of power and money, finds its best genealogy in the intersections between social thought and literature. This takes place from the Baudelairean conception of the *flâneur* (and the way it was reappropriated by surrealist poetics and situationist praxis) to the way this character finds his other in the reveler, a modality free and improvisational of enjoyment of the street (Simas, 2020). It is in this theoretical (and practical) path that we will find the poetic and political antecedents of the current forms of occupation and meaning of the city of Rio de Janeiro by carnival revelry. Street carnival, in its maximum libertarian potential, is a being in the city by extrapolation of playing and performatization of bodies from the search for the fulfillment of desires. It can be thought, in this sense, as an unexpected extension of surrealist and situationist programs for the city of Rio de Janeiro.

This presupposition demands the establishing of the connections between literature and everyday life as ways of producing of meanings about the city. The literary analysis will be followed, therefore, by the attempt to understand ways the street carnival of Rio de Janeiro was configured in the last decades from improvisation and the refusal of standardization attempts. The Cordão do Boi Tolo, street carnival group created in 2006, will be taken not only as an ideal type of this Carnival model, but as its extrapolation, surpassing the condition of *bloco de rua* and becoming an immersive ambience. From the intersections between the *flânerie* and the literary *dérive* and the concrete experiences of street carnival, especially my own[2], I will seek to perceive this festival as an objective manifestation of the surrealist reenchantment of the world and the city, in harmony with the search for those poets for the encounter between art and vital praxis.

Here, fieldwork establishes intersections with literary writing, as in a set of mirrors. For surrealists, the wanderings of the poet–*flâneur* through the city constitute another form of perception of the wonderful, complementary to the practice of literary writing. Together, *flânerie* and writing constitute for Walter Benjamin (1929/1987) the supreme form of surrealist profane enlightenment. Ethnography, in turn, can be thought not only as a transposition of the surrealist method of collage, which constructs images by superposition of distinct and decontextualized realities (Clifford, 1981/2000), but as an experiment of objective chance, in which meanings emerge by the projection of desiring subjectivity on objects (Farias, 2003). In this process, similar methodological challenges are imposed on the *flâneur* and the ethnographer as researchers of their own everyday life. In his attempt to become the "peasant of Paris", Louis Aragon (1928/1996) takes an attitude that anticipates that of anthropology, by the strangeness of the familiar, which I will seek when analyzing my own experience of Carnival. For situationists, the individual

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[2] I have been going to Rio de Janeiro's street carnival since 2000. From 2016, I got involved in the network of amateur musicians linked to the movement of neofanfarrism and street carnival. I have participated since then in the organization of bands and street carnival group.

subjectivity of the experimenter, since in tune with other voices of his time, can put "this time in harmony with our desires" (Vaneigem, 1967/2002, p. 12).

Thus, my own look will be complemented by interviews of other participants of unofficial street carnival, in order to put this experience into perspective. For this paper, organizers and musicians from different street carnival groups were interviewed. Among those cited, Tomás Ramos is creator and organizer of BlocAto Nada Deve Parecer Impossível de Mudar and Ocupa Carnaval movement, which articulates unofficial street carnival groups in political occupations of the streets; Clemente Momberao is founder of Technobloco and Bloco do Bagunço. Both interviewees, however, participate in several other blocos in Rio de Janeiro. In addition, a founder and organizer of Cordão do Boi Tolo was interviewed, whose identity will be kept confidential, considering the unofficial character of the bloco and the possibility of applying municipal government sanctions on its organizers. All interviews were granted to the author in December 2020.

The Writing of the City: The *Flâneur,* the Drifter and the Reveler

No character embodied so well the modern subject of big cities as the *flâneur.* From Balzac to Edgar Alan Poe, from Victor Hugo to Karl Marx, 19th-century European thought recognized in this wanderer the central character of modern life, whose great scenery is the street. No one sang the *flâneur,* however, so enthusiastically as Charles Baudelaire (1863/1995), who defined him as a resident of the street, of which he is a chronicler and philosopher, a passionate observer of the crowd. João do Rio (1995) defined the *flâneur* by a double condition: "be a vagabond and reflect (...) be a gaper and comment, have the observation virus linked to that of loitering", in short, "roam with intelligence" (p. 5). The development of *flânerie,* a lifestyle that is also a form of thought, corresponds to the conformation of a certain type of city, that of the large boulevards and commercial galleries, a sea of unknown and potentially dangerous faces (Benjamin, 1938/2000). In it, the *flâneur* is mixed with another urban type, the bohemian, composed of the rebels and conspirators who, in turn, are confused with the scum of ragmen and prostitutes. Together, they share the condition of dangerous classes and form a kind of living protest against the established order and the rationalizing attacks of reforms on the urban tissue of the French capital.

If Benjamin (1938/2000) notices the protestor potential of *flânerie*, his limitations in the process of reinvention of the city do not escape him, on the other hand. For him, the *flâneur* is both a potent urban researcher and a critic of the objective life of cities as a decadent type surrendered to the commodity fetishism. It will be the surrealists, literary heirs of the *flânerie* in the 20th century, those who will rescue both their demiurgic capacity and its critical and iconoclastic potential. In 1924, surrealism declared war on capitalism, bourgeois society and Western rationality, especially regarding the effects of such phenomena on the human spirit: the death of the wonderful, the disenchantment of the world and the reduction of life to the instrumental and technical dimension (Breton, 1924/2001). However, one of the great mysteries that inhabit surrealist thought, one of

its most accurate dialectical blows, is perhaps the elegant balance between the complete denial of modernity and the assumption of the city, the scene of modern life, as its rightful habitat. There is no doubt about human demotion by the advent of modern life, its science, its technique and its machines. From journalistic presses to psychiatric machinery, the whole bourgeois world is an offense to humanity. The spiritual life of this world of technical ingenuity is poor, needy and nostalgic for the magic of country life and the enchantment of the oneiric (Breton, 1924/2001). But it is the cities that surrealism turns to. It is in its streets that the fantastic encounters will take place, the objects will reveal the wonderful and the objective chance will produce the surrealist images by the fire that arises from the shock of different realities.

When wandering "down and up" through the boulevards, with no determined goal and at random, the surrealist *flâneur* becomes a vector of the production of deep meanings from the unplanned and the contingent. As in the experience of automatic writing, *flânerie* becomes a research method and a new meanings production technology (Löwy, 2000/2018). Walking freely operates as a vector of truly important encounters, whether with friends, lovers or intellectual partnerships (Breton, 1928/2007). In addition to a study laboratory, the streets are also the battlefield of the surrealist revolt. It is at night that the knights–poets plan their assault on the cities, to implode them from inside and from below, dragging to the deep of the waters, where everything is slow and rusty, the bourgeoisie and capital machines (Breton, 1924/2001). The surrealist *flâneur* walks through the shops condemned by urban reforms, run over by the boulevard that bears the name of the reformist baron of the previous century, as who revisits the barricades of the Commune of Paris. It reveals not only the transitory character of cities, but the conflicts surrounding such changes. He perceives, in the posters in the windows and on the pages of the local newspapers, the echoes of a civil war, a reaction to the sound of the picks that destroy old Paris in the name of progress (Aragon, 1928/1996).

Result of the double journey of literature and flânerie, the city is, according to Benjamin (1929/1987), the supreme work of surrealists and the synthesis of their spirit of revolt. The experience of objective chance surpasses the drunkenness of the 19th-century flâneur by the intoxicating nature of the commodity, replacing the pleasure of the consumption desire with the enjoyment of the desire consummation. This rupture with the reified character of *flânerie* would be consummated, decades later, in the situationist practice of dérive, a form of urban ambience experimentation guided by give away to the requests of the ground and encounters (Debord, 1958/2003c). *Dérive* reveals the situs passion for the research of new ways of life in cities, more free and autonomous, in radical denial of the spectacular character of a world divided between performatizers and the public (Debord, 1957/2003b, 1967/1997). Its practice allows the construction of situations that call on the subjects to act as experiencers, creating a favorable field for the creation and fulfillment of their desires and becoming, in the best sense of surrealists, "an enchanted walk in the realm of Liberty" (Lövy, 2000/2018, p. 14). Against the existence reduction to the rationalist functionalism, the dictates of order and the seductions of capitalist promise (Internacional Situacionista, 1959/2003), the streets are experienced

by the drifters as the ground for a passionate game (Debord 1955/2003a), necessarily collective, participatory and collaborative, focused on the construction of new meanings for the city, for relationships and for everyday life itself (Jorn, 1958/2003).

Flânerie and *dérive* will find unexpected developments in Rio de Janeiro, a city that João do Rio (1995) describes through the daily experiences of subversion of order and mixtures. The *flâneur*'s eye discovers a plot created by those dangerous classes that formed their cultural broth and against which the city itself, planned, became an instrument of containment (Simas 2020). This Rio *flânerie* reveals a city of inventions and inversions, mixtures and interpenetrations, displacements and gaps. Here, São Jorge bridges the gap between Ogum and the Nordic warrior Sigurd, Carlos Gardel is received in a spiritist center while a tupinambá spirit plays the bandoneon and *choro* players mix European music with African rhythms. It is in its streets that Zé Pelintra, a rural spirit, urbanizes and becomes the *malandro*, a carioca mix of *flâneur* and bohemian (Simas, 2020). It is this exusiac energy that defines Rio de Janeiro, the enchanting soul and enchanted body of its streets. According to Simas (2020), "the streets belong to Exu" (p. 9), a god converted into political and epistemic principle, culturally manifest in various ways: from Legba, the god of the streets and markets of the Dahomey people, to pombagiras, owners of gates and crossroads and archetypes of women's freedom over their bodies. In opposition to the oxalufanic[3], defined as relating to order and method, the exusiaic concerns invention and improvisation, unpredictability and gaps, subversion and inversion of the order (Simas, 2020, p. 105). The exusiac principle of Rio's streets is manifested, according to the author, as a principle of creation in discomfort, a way of circumventing normativity and modern rationality and resistance to a civilizational project of European matrix.

It is during Carnival that the streets of Rio de Janeiro are "exemplarily exusiac" (Simas, 2020, p. 105), that relations are (dis)organized by the inversion and dilution of identities, the loss of directions and forgetfulness. It is in Carnival that the city is taken by a sense of adventure and "unforeseen distress" (Rio, 2002, p. 27). The subject of the Carnival experience is the reveler, a type that can be thought of in a double relationship of continuity and rupture with the forms of resignification of urban space by *flânerie* and *dérive*. The reveler's presence in the city is always performed collectively. His enjoyment in occupying the public space only makes sense when immersed in an indistinct mass that sometimes challenges the idea of individuality at the level of the body itself. Involved in the collective catharsis of Carnival, the revelers get carried away by the human wave, often physically. Some street carnival experiences are characterized by the extreme concentration of people, and the physical contact is naturalized in an unusual way, sometimes as an inevitable inconvenience, often as a defining element of the event itself. The reveler shares this appreciation for the crowd with the *flâneur,* but with a central distinction: if the *flâneur is* the "man of the crowd", his enjoyment of the street is often lonely. On the other hand, no one is a reveler alone. In addition, there is an element of subversion of the

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[3] Oxalufã, old and wise, is the god whose positivity lies in the exercise of patience and in the fulfilling of tasks (Simas, 2020, p. 107).

order in the collective enjoyment of the reveler that defines it as a dangerous category. His collective wandering is anarchic and noisy, expansive and erratic, fueled by drugs and alcohol. It is true that the experience of the *flâneur*, even in its surrealist version, is of jouissance, but it is an internal delight, civilized, bourgeois. The character Nadja for whom André Breton (1928/2007) is enchanted in the streets is, in this sense, an anticipation of the reveler spirit: his behavior is erratic, anarchic and essentially delusional. But Nadja, lonely in Paris in the first half of the 20th century, is displaced in time and space. Breton (1928/2007), after all, cannot stand her. Admits not being ready for her.

What happens when the *flâneur* meets the reveler? João do Rio (1995), the Rio *flâneur* par excellence, is taken by absolute dread when he finds the *cordão carnavalesco*, street carnival group, coming towards him by the Ouvidor street, in the Rio downtown of the first decade of the 20th century. Overrun by a convulsed crowd, the street seems about to "burst with lust and noise" (Rio, 1995, p. 89). "Laughter, screaming, howling and squealing" join the "confused" and "epileptic" "drumming", complemented by the nauseating smell of cheap perfume, dust, rancid and alcohol (Rio, 1995, pp. 89, 95). Hiding from door to door of what he considers a "pandemonium", the chronicler exclaims, "oh, these *cordões*! I hate the *cordão*!" (Rio, 1995, pp. 90, 93). This immediate aversion to the Carnival anarchy of the *cordão* is followed, however, by the *flâneur* comprehension about the importance of Carnival not only as a creative power of the streets and the soul of Rio de Janeiro, but as a maximum expression of all human feelings. But this meeting between the Rio *flânerie* and the revelry is not, for João do Rio (1995, 2002), just an intellectual game. The *flâneur* and the reveler correspond to different positions that, not being mutually exclusive, manifest themselves in distinct temporalities of the city: the former in their daily life, the latter in the exceptionality of the Carnival period. In these "four paranoid days", in which everyone gives in to excess, extravagance and transport of the flesh, the Rio *flâneur* is transfigured into a reveler, launching itself into the "rogue wave of voluptuousness and pleasure" that takes over the whole city (Rio, 2002, p. 28).

The experience of situational *dérive* is close to that of the reveler by its collective and playful character. It is distinguished, however, by its reflexive and even intellectual quality. Conversely, street carnival can be described by the terms of *dérive*: the free enjoyment of the city in response to immediate affective states and requests for meetings. But Carnival requests have a unique quality, making the city a licentiousness place in which honor and common sense become burdens and where "everything is possible, the greatest absurdities, the greatest crimes" (Rio, 2002, p. 32). The reveler is the purest expression of the energies of drunkenness that Walter Benjamin (1929/1987) finds in surrealists, although mediated by literature and revolutionary discipline. From the wild and popular *entrudo*, through the mass witnessed by João do Rio before the *cordões*, to the street carnival groups that made his play a form of resistance to authoritarianism, Carnival reached the end of the 20th century without losing its power of order subversion. The emergence of *blocos de rua* that, in the first decades of the 21st century, make their presence on the street a challenge to officiality is another virtuous chapter in the history of Carnival *dérive*.

An Instrument in Your Hands, an Idea in Your Mind

After a long period of shrinking, in the context of authoritarian modernization under the military regime, Rio de Janeiro's street carnival experienced, in the second half of the 1980s, a revitalization moment. This "Carnival resumption" (Sapia & Estevão, 2012) took place mainly around south side neighborhoods, led by the intellectualized middle class youth who perceived, in the political panorama of the end of the century, the possibility of taking to the streets to express themselves (Frydberg, 2017). A festive dimension of the political redemocratization, this resumption was guided by the feeling of citizenship that Brazilian society was taken by (Pimentel, 2002). Taking as its motto a verse of the song "Plataforma" (Platform), by Aldir Blanc and João Bosco, "não põe corda no meu bloco" (don't surround my bloco with a rope), the movement was guided by the affirmation of the street as a free place for enjoyment and the party as the main use of the city. The *blocos de rua* proposed a Carnival style characterized by political criticism and democratization of the revelers participation, as opposed to the previous enphasis in the model of samba school parades as tourist shows (Sapia & Estevão, 2012).

Extending until the first years of the 21st century, this rebirth of the street carnival took place in parallel to the revitalization of the so-called "*samba de raiz*" as a form of cultural occupation of the Lapa neighborhood, which quickly went from the condition of a slum to an entertainment hub to Rio de Janeiro's youth. Following the logic of carnival resumption, the street carnival groups of the 21st early century were still organized around the *samba* parties and bars of the city, but now its preferred place was downtown. Its musicality also evoked a revitalization spirit, with a traditional repertoire, composed by *sambas*, *ranchos* and *marchinhas*. The small number of participants, in a period in which Bahia's Carnival was still the preferred destination of the bourgeois youth of the city, expanded this memorialist appeal, with processions that bucolicly crossed the alleys of old town.

Street carnival resurgence would gain monumental dimensions, however, from the second half of 2000, in a second resumption movement. Herschmann and Cabanzo (2016) refer to this moment as "boom of Rio street Carnival" (p. 7), in close connection with the arrival in the city of the so-called neofanfarism movement. Despite the novelties presented by these new groups, among which stand out Songoro Cossongo, created in 2005, and Orquestra Voadora, created in 2009, some central elements of street carnival's expansion were already manifested in *blocos de rua* of the late 1990s. One of the interviewees, founder and organizer of several street carnival groups, points out that

> our street carnival, parade carnival, without sound-equipped cars, which does not have a defined script, which has the ability to create alternatives, that uses acoustic instruments... this carnival type that has the ability to organize quickly, at a moment´s notice, spontaneously, it is born in 1996, with *Cordão do Boitatá*. (Tomás Ramos)

The emergence of new *blocos*, identified as "fanfares" or linked to this musical group format, brought, as an innovation, the inclusion of new themes, rhythms and musicalities, but also new conceptions of the relations with the public space. Fanfares can be defined as a form of musical occupation of the streets of nomadic and slow character, in the face of their use as a place of passage and guided by everyday life's imperatives (Herschmann & Cabanzo, 2016). Materially, they are characterized by the use of wind and percussion instruments, chosen both because of their greater mobility and the possibility of being "acoustically consumed by the public in the noisy environment of the city" (Herschmann & Cabanzo, 2016, p. 3). The Brazilian neofanfarist movement gained momentum, starting in Rio de Janeiro, where it was distinguished by a carnivalized performance, networked with the street carnival groups. It is guided by the idea of democratizing the access to culture and brings together groups of professional and non-professional musicians who meet in the Carnival of several cities. Although this music format has traditionally a martial character, new fanfares stand out for eclectic repertoires, composed of acoustic versions of various song styles. This aesthetic trait, transposed to the street carnival, was a central element for its growth, attracting an audience that traditionally was not interested in hearing *marchinhas* and *sambas*.

Another central feature of fanfare *blocos* was the organization of musical workshops, lending a new dynamic to the Carnival movement. The workshops produced an explosion of street musicians, encouraging, in those who once performed as revelers, the taste for this form of participation in the party (Frydberg, 2017). Such workshops consist, in general, of classes organized by instrument, covering all the suits of wind and percussion instruments that make up a *bloco*. Their fundamental goal is to train the components in repertoire execution to be presented at Carnival. This model was created from the experience of Orquestra Voadora, although other groups of carnival resumption already offered workshops only for percussion instruments (Frydberg, 2017, p. 5). The fanfare model of workshop, however, by teaching instruments of all suits found in a band, allowed the formation of autonomous musical units, leading to the emergence of new bands and *blocos*[4].

Carnival's workshops created sociability networks among revelers and a movement of musical occupation of the city that extends throughout the year, including the unorganized, spontaneous and purely festive incidence of improvised encounters, nicknamed by participants of this network the *cracks*. The term was coined, at first, to name formal musical meetings of students of Orquestra Voadora workshop, on Tuesdays, after classes. It is, as can be assumed, a controversial allusion to the narcotics derived from cocaine, related by the participants themselves to uninterrupted desire to play, resulting from the new learning[5]. Over time, the term began to be used by fanfare carnival revelers

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[4] The Orquestra Voadora's workshop had, in its annual program, an activity known as "mini-fanfare module", which had the result of encouraging the creation of new bands and *blocos*, such as Ataque Brasil, Damas de Ferro and Os Biquinis de Ogodô Convidam as Sungas Odara.

[5] As we can see in the documentary film *Aprendendo a Voar* (Learning to Fly), produced in 2015 by Orquestra Voadora workshop students (Orquestra Voadora, 2015).

as a reference to any amateur musicians meeting for carnival improvisations, during Carnival period or in other times of the year. More comprehensive interpretations of the term define as crack any *bloco* that does not rehearse, or any procession that is spontaneously formed, often from fortuitous encounters of amateur musicians. The crack practice — from which the categories *cracudagem* and *cracudos* derive, the former referring to a collective, the latter used to nominate their individual officiants — implied a spatial and temporal expansion of Rio's street carnival. Expanded temporality manifests itself in the current use of the statement that *cracudagem* plays Carnival all year round. In fact, carnival processions are common throughout the year, without any special reason but the pure desire to play in the street. Spatial expansion occurs during the carnival period itself, due to the explosion of improvised musical units, revealing crack as an organizing principle of unofficial street carnival:

> *blocos* that I watched being invented appeared spontaneously, in the way people call crack: that moment after a specific *bloco*, in which a few musicians join to go out playing, to have fun. And a phenomenon happens, that is: as Carnival grows, having more and more *blocos*, more and more musicians, you will have a musicians network who play in several *blocos* together. When a certain *bloco* ends, this crowd has the repertoire of all *blocos* at their fingertips, then they can play the songs played by other *blocos*. (Tomás Ramos)

The resumption of street carnival was accompanied by another resurgence, that of attempts to co-opt and discipline these demonstrations. After decades without any intervention by the government, the street carnival groups began to be targeted, from 2009, of a municipal administration's regulatory initiative, named as "Official Carnival"[6]. A municipal decree from 2010 (Municipal Decree No. 32.664/2010) began to regulate the procedures for holding street carnival parades, conditioning public space occupation to groups registration and prior authorization of carnival processions by Municipal Department of Tourism. As a whole, such regulatory initiatives mischaracterized Carnival as an exercise of rights to culture and to the city, converting it into a tourist product and business opportunity, while disrespecting cultural manifestations. Despite its conjunctural causes, street carnival regulation by the city of Rio de Janeiro, just when it was experiencing a resurgence moment, reveals the structural character of government's attempts to control popular manifestations of festive life. A control by repression or co-optation, whenever these forces erupt as remeanings of Brazilian society and the city, and as producers of collective identities in a spontaneous, open and playful way.

On the other hand, Rio de Janeiro's street carnival maintained its vitality, affirming, year after year, its free and anarchic character. The officialization of Carnival by a

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[6] This carnival regulation model was described and analyzed in detail, in its formulation and operation, by the annual reports of the Special Carnival Commission of the City Council of Rio de Janeiro, in order to analyze the relationship and responsibilities linking the municipal government to Carnival, in the years 2017 to 2020 (Câmara Municipal do Rio de Janeiro, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020).

mercantile model of municipal administration found its counterpoint in an affirmation of *blocos* presence and identity that came to be classified as "unofficial". This category (and its recurring variants: "pirates", "clandestine" or "secret") focused on groups that, in the process of Carnival resumption, represented their freest and most spontaneous expression. *Blocos* that resulted from fanfare musicality and acoustic bands, often organized in crack form or in close relation to them. They are those who play Carnival without city government authorization, most often because they understand it as averse to the party itself. Part of these collectives were organized around Desliga dos Blocos, an articulation whose name rightly evokes the opposition to the model of carnival leagues, organized to mediate the contact between carnival groups, public authorities and private companies. In September 2009, when the first decree that created Official Carnival was enacted, Desliga dos Blocos organized a "*bloqueata*" as a form of protest — the neologism bloqueata suggests a march (*passeata*) of blocos. The manifesto that accompanied the act affirmed street carnival understanding as a way to "create our own scripts to chance and participants will" and "stimulate free dancing" (Henrique, 2010, para. 1), words worthy of a situationist document. The following year, the same collective organized the first "Unofficial Carnival Opening", as a way of stating their opposition to the attempts to formalize street carnival groups. Since then, this event annually anticipates Momo's reign over the city, independently to party management official initiatives.

Unofficial street carnival is a powerful affirmation of ways to enjoy the city that rise up against festive life mercantilization, restoring its magical and unique character of sets of relationships that signify the city. In this process, the material resources and street technologies elaborated by fanfare carnival offered themselves as resistance elements. Acoustic *blocos*, like the fanfares, stimulates the formation of collectives characterized by a higher degree of spontaneity and less organization investment. This improvised mode of collective wandering through the city, whose path is often decided in the heat of the party, is allowed much less to convert into an official and saleable spectacle. The characteristic amateurism of this revelers carnival, resulting from workshops expansion and a non-professional network organization, is a central element in its definition as non-mercantile par excellence.

Where is Boi Tolo?

Some unofficial demonstrations of street carnival exceeded the condition of *blocos*, understood as street carnival associations and organizations, and gained the broader condition of situations, strongly involving the revelers and breaking barriers between executors and public. In the best sense of surrealist and situationist thinking, such events can be understood as promoters of momentary life ambiences capable of producing strong subjective impacts on their participants. The free play experience of carnival revelers, undertaken without mediation, operates, therefore, as an enlarger of the desires fulfillment ability. They are resistance forms to a functionalist, spectacular and instrumental

conception of everyday life and an attemptive to build libertarian relationships, connected to the wonderful.

This seems to be the case with Cordão do Boi Tolo. Created in 2006, this street carnival group is a historic landmark in Rio Carnival resumption. Its founding myth shows the spontaneity, horizontality and ludicity signs that define street carnival. As one of its organizers says, the *bloco* was created on a Carnival Sunday in which a revelers group waited, in XV de Novembro square, by Cordão do Boitatá, one of the most frequented downtown street carnival groups at that time. Despite the long wait, Cordão do Boitatá did not appear. The absence of the street carnival group is ascribed by the interviewee to a commitment of the band in another locality, but another current version speaks of the strategy then used by Cordão do Boitatá to change its locations and parade times to avoid large agglomerations. Anyway, several tellers of this story describe how revelers, some of them amateur musicians, put together a few instruments and went out in an impromptu procession. They took as a banner a piece of cardboard on which could be read, on one side, "Os Boicotados" (The Boycotted) and, on the other, "Cordão do Boi Tolo" (Foolish Ox *Cordão*), in clear and jupine reference to the supposed strategy of dispersion undertaken by the expected *bloco*.

What at first had been just a mockery, a Carnival transmutation of a frustrated meeting into an improvised party, became, throughout the year, an articulation for a second procession[7]. In the dispute between the two original names, the second was imposed, pointing to the carnival sense of foolishness, charged with positivity, as opposed to the negative character of the idea of boycott. All *boitolinos*, as the *bloco* followers are called, are joyfully foolish and celebrate, year by year, the folly of original mismatch, in incessant search for their own disencounter. It is common among revelers, on Carnival Sunday, a joke in which he asks "where is *Boi Tolo*?", reference to unplanned character of his journey through downtown. Its wandering mass becomes a point of revelers encounters and mismatches on Carnival Sundays. The choice to appoint a *cordão* stems, of course, from the reference to the *bloco* that originated the primordial encounter, Cordão do Boitatá. In any case, it also evokes the old carnival *cordões* that, in the 19th century, were identified as more anarchic forms of revelry (Ferreira, 2004).

Cordão do Boi Tolo does not have a band or a defined formation of those who undertake the party, does not rehearse his repertoire and does not have participation criteria. It has an organizing group formed by original formation components, but also by people who have approached the *bloco* over the years. The existence of a collegiate instance does not imply the formalization of the group, and its activity, in general, is restricted to logistical decisions around parades. Boi Tolo is not registered and has no regulation, only a general understanding around its principles, which were summarized by the organizer interviewed in three "standing rules": "we do not pay and do not receive", reference to non-mercantile character of carnival parades, in addition to open and reflected resistance to carnival bands professionalization; "we defend public space

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[7] At least two revelers organized communities on the Orkut social network, from which the second procession was articulated.

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occupation", revealing Collectivo's political character; "if you can play and you want to play, you can go in [the *bloco*] and play". Thus, one of the characteristics that distinguishes Boi Tolo from other *blocos* is its absolutely open character: anyone can play or perform on the *bloco*. The "human rope" that separates officiants from revelers serves only to guarantee safe and comfortable space for the performance, and can be crossed by anyone who wants to manifest themselves artistically. According to one of its organizers, it is precisely this participatory openness that makes inevitable the formation of an organizing group: "if Boi Tolo is a *bloco* in which everyone can enter and play, we should do a Rio de Janeiro plebiscite to make decisions". With this orientation, musical quality is deliberately deprecated in the name of exclusively playful character of musicality and open, free and anarchic nature of play.

Boi Tolo traditionally parades on Carnival Sundays, around 8 o'clock in the morning, time of its first (no)meeting, in 2006. For years it kept its carnival procession concentration in XV de Novembro square, in the vicinity of Mercado street, where its first parade departed and which is currently called by the revelers "Largo do Boi Tolo"[8]. As the *bloco* grew in size (and considering that Cord*ão* do Boitatá kept this place as its concentration point), Cordão do Boi Tolo began to concentrate in the vicinity of Candelária church[9]. In its original parade, the group replicated Cordão do Boitatá path, from Mercado street to Rio de Janeiro State University Philosophy and Human Sciences Institute (in what one of its organizers called "the shortest parade of Boi Tolo"). Over the years, however, it has become a habit and an expectation that the parade, starting in the morning, will extend throughout the Sunday. As an interviewed organizer reports, in the first years the path was defined spontaneously, "walking" to the taste of the revelers themselves. With the increase in revelers numbers, the carnival processions began to be planned, in preference for wider avenues. Still there was "improvising on the spot", largely due to the movements of revelers themselves.

Typically, carnival processions are marked by a beginning, called by revelers and organizers "concentration"[10], and by an end, where the *bloco* finishes its parade with a symbolic act of collection of its flag. It became an unofficial street carnival custom that this final moment was also that of the beginning of crack. It is the moment when any amateur musician can join the band of the *bloco*, whether to play again its repertoire, or to play songs that are part of other groups repertoires, in addition to *marchinhas* and *sambas*. Thus begins an extension of the party that, contrary to formal parade prediction, has no ending time. The absence of a fixed band and previously chosen and rehearsed repertoire does not allow, in the case of Boi Tolo, the identification of this moment. Its parade is, in fact, an immense crack, "the first spontaneous crack in [Carnival] history", in the opinion of one of its organizers. One of interviewees considered Boi Tolo as a *bloco* that responds to an "anarchic logic, without beginning and ending" (Tomás Ramos).

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[8] *Bloco*'s first flag, replicated for the second parade in 2007, is exhibited in Kamikaze Bar, located in that square.

[9] From where it came from in following years, except for 2017, when the *bloco* was divided and concentrated in different parts of the city center.

[10] The term is also used to name the place in which its beginning is planned.

Another interviewee recalled how carnival musicians planned their participation in other *blocos* and bands in expectation that Boi Tolo would last "all day" (Clemente Momberao). Cordão do Boi Tolo, in this sense, came to be understood, felt and lived by its revelers as an immersive experience, to challenge its participant's physical limits. In 2017, a revelers and amateur musicians group recorded, joyfully, the *bloco* dispersion on arpoador beach on Monday, at 8:30 a.m., when the Boi Tolo's flag was collected after more than 24 hours of parade.

The time extension of Boi Tolo carnival experience makes its Sunday parade an act of city occupation, both from a material and a symbolic point of view. Revelers and amateur musicians cross their flow throughout Sunday, coming in, going out and coming back in, not before finding someone to answer the question of the day: "where is Boi Tolo?". It is not uncommon for this anarchic and festive occupation of the city to take to symbolically formal places like the steps of Parliament, the facilities of Gustavo Capanema Palace and the lobby of Santos Dumont Airport, subverting its use and transforming them into party scenary. After passing through Rio downtown, the carnival procession route often culminates with the abandonment of street layout towards Flamengo Park. The revelers stay between trees and lawns, as the night falls in a garden converted into an absolute Carnival territory, magically transformed into a world of their own, without the physical and social constraints of urban space. Since 2017, this occupation of the Flamengo Park is followed by the advance of Boi Tolo troops towards the south side, adding to Carnival Sunday another experience that would be repeated in all subsequent years: the crossing of two tunnels that connect the neighborhoods of Botafogo and Copacabana. A frenzy noise moment that has become a revelers obsession and in which, under the tunnel lights, thousands of people jump to the percussion instruments amplified sound.

In 2016, the *bloco* growth became a problem for its organizers. It is estimated that Boi Tolo had, that year, 50 to 100,000 revelers and a band of 400 to 600 musicians. The carnival procession was divided for the first time, organized on several fronts that came out simultaneously from different points of Rio downtown. These factions were called by organizers as "trunks", term that describes the city's bus lines, but soon gained another nickname by revelers: "herds". The term referred to the multitude sense that, over time, came to define Boi Tolo. The division into trunks had an effect of recovering another carnival meaning that seemed to have been lost with Boi Tolo and street carnival growth: the one related to affection exchanged between the revelers. "Herds" were organized around fanfares that play in the city, by affinity between amateur musicians, stilt walkers and performers and certain bands, their components, audience and repertoire. The strategy was completed, however, in the middle of the day, with meeting of all "herds" in Arcos da Lapa square. This gigantic concentration turned Boi Tolo into a single *bloco* again, reaffirming its monumental character and announcing the crowd as its defining trait. The next year, Boi Tolo also paraded in the "herds" format, but they did not meet like in the previous year, but left all the same place, in front of Candelaria church, again as a way of affirming their unity. In 2019, the carnival parade was organized in form of a sequence of several *blocos*, parading in the same direction, at regular intervals. The original

organizational form, in a single large group, was restored in 2020, as an affirmation of its strength in the face of new repression attempts of street carnival by the municipal administration.

When street carnival repression was initiated by the privatist logic of municipal administration, in 2009, Boi Tolo came to be seen by its organizers and revelers as a carnival protest form of "hitting head-on with many political decisions", as stated by one of its organisers, by affirmation of street occupation as a right and against party commodification. A form of resistance that is manifested fundamentally by freely "walking through downtown streets, where you want, walking without destination, occupy the street, make a spontaneous carnival procession, without corrals, without strings, without ropes", in the words of the interviewed organizer. The condition of "anarchic block", unregistered, unauthorized, without fixed band, participatory and open, made the actors of the street carnival, especially the musicians, perceive Cordão do Boi Tolo as a space to say what could not be said by official street carnival groups. Boi Tolo is currently elevated "to the level of political debate" (Tomás Ramos), constituting a possibility of popular expression of city and public space demands. It is Rio's way to unite party and struggle in the streets, making Carnival, according to the interviewed organizer, "a moment to join, celebrate the city, the life and our space".

Conclusion

The 21st century carnival resumption, of neofanfarism musicality, explosive multiplicity of small bands and reveler's improvised and (dis)organized play, reaffirms the street carnival subversive vocation. In the broadest sense of the term, it is a reveler carnival, extracting unexpected potentialities from the proposals of surrealist *flânerie* and situationist *dérive*. First, due to a resistance to culture spectacularization, from "*não põe corda no meu bloco*" (don't surround my bloco with a rope) motto to so-called "crack culture", resulting from carnival workshops popularization and creating spontaneous, collective and transitory musical situations across the city streets. Secondly, the opposition to Carnival formalization and commodification, against which unofficial groups, of which Cordão do Boi Tolo is an exemplary case, are affirmed. Finally, this deliberately unofficial Carnival, an anti-officiality militant, asserts itself as an anarchic and horizontal form of streets occupation, as a political act and crowd takeover of the city, although circumscribed to a virtuous moment. More than mere denial, this presence is an affirmation of playing and affection, of organization by play and of a play that disorganizes and defies order, in the spirit of situationist and surrealist revolt. In this process, revelers are collective subjects of new ambiances construction, from the most anonymous to those involved with the musical and organizational practices of *blocos*, becoming city thinkers in act. My own carnival experience, embodied in this paper, is added to interviewees contributions in the form of an ethnographic *flânerie*. All this movement enhances street carnival as an experience of reenchantment of the world and collective resignification of urban space. A demiurgic moment that leaves its traces of dreamed city in the awake city.

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With enough curiosity and imagination, the everyday walker can follow reveler clues, and discover another possible city.

Translation: André Videira de Figueiredo and Darlan Ferreira Montenegro

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Tourism and Culture: Carnival in the City of Maceió-Al (Brazil)

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Abstract

Carnival is celebrated in a peculiar way in the city of Maceio, in the State of Alagoas (Brazil), by presenting greater involvement of local society in the weekend before the official date consecrated to the festival in the calendar. The "Previa", as it is called, is consolidated in each edition, even if government actions seek to develop a broader Carnival agenda, which includes the official dates for such festivities. As such, the aim of this investigation was to historically rescue the dynamics between the city and Carnival, in their transversalities with culture and tourism. The investigation strategy of the research, the focus of this article is qualitative-exploratory in nature, and data collection was based on bibliographic and documentary research and interviews. The study to understand the peculiarities of the empirical object covers the 19th, 20th and early decades of the 21st centuries. At each historical moment it questions the articulation of the carnival festivities with the city itself, culture and tourism. The data obtained makes it possible to characterize four cycles in the Carnival of Maceió, periods that may overlap: (a) from 1850 to 1930, a time when the spontaneous manifestations of the *entrudo* gained organicity, involving especially Afro-descendants and, simultaneously, the prevalence of racism among the white elites; (b) from 1930 to 1990, marked by the distancing from the historical centre leading to the spatial segregation; (c) from 1993 to 2005, added to the spatial segregation, the temporary segregation associated to the *Prévias*; (d) after 2005, when the festival expanded, but was not necessarily coupled with social inclusion.

Turismo e Cultura: O Carnaval na Cidade de Maceió (Brasil)

Resumo

O Carnaval é celebrado de forma peculiar na cidade de Maceió, no Estado de Alagoas (Brasil), ao apresentar maior envolvimento da sociedade local no final de semana anterior à data oficial consagrada à festa no calendário. A "Prévia", como é denominada, consolida-se a cada edição, mesmo que, em anos recentes, ações governamentais busquem o desenvolvimento de uma agenda carnavalesca mais ampla, que alcance as datas oficiais para tais festejos. Nesses termos, o objetivo desta investigação foi o de resgatar historicamente as dinâmicas apostas entre

a cidade e o Carnaval, nas suas transversalidades com a cultura e o turismo. A estratégia investigativa associada à pesquisa, foco deste artigo, apresenta caráter qualitativo-exploratório, e a coleta de dados apoiou-se na pesquisa bibliográfica e documental e em entrevistas. O estudo, para compreensão das peculiaridades do objeto empírico, percorre os séculos XIX, XX e décadas iniciais do século XXI, em cada momento histórico questionando-se a articulação da festa carnavalesca com a própria cidade, a cultura e o turismo, quando este se faz presente. Os dados obtidos permitem caracterizar quatro ciclos no Carnaval de Maceió, períodos que podem se sobrepor: (a) de 1850 à 1930, momento em que as manifestações espontâneas do entrudo ganham maior organicidade, envolvendo especialmente afrodescendes e, em simultâneo, presença de racismo pelas elites brancas; (b) de 1930 à 1990, marcado pelo afastamento do centro histórico levando à segregação espacial; (c) de 1993 a 2005, soma-se à segregação espacial, a segregação temporal associada às Prévias; (d) após 2005, quando há expansão da festa, mas sem que a mesma venha, necessariamente, acompanhada de inclusão social.

Palavras-chave

Carnaval, cultura, turismo

INTRODUCING

The city of Maceió, capital of Alagoas, a state located in the northeast of Brazil, is home to an estimated population of 1,025,360 inhabitants (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e de Estatítica [IBGE], n.d.). Its economy is based on the trade of goods and services, among which tourism appears with significant relevance. In addition to the scenic beauty, which attracts visitors and structures the highest performing tourism segment — the sun and the sea —, the local gastronomy and the festivals of popular cultural expressions stand out, such as the pre-Carnival, the cycle of June festivities and the Bumba-Meu-Boi exhibition. Even so, the city has low human development indexes (HDI) and the highest Gini[1] index of Brazilian capitals (Borges & Nealdo, 2019).

With Maceió and its Carnival as focus, this article aims to historically rescue the dynamics between both, in their transversality with culture and tourism. In this city, nowadays, the festivities take place in the week before the official days of the festival in the calendar[2], hence the programming is treated as "Prévias Carnavalescas" (Carnival Preview), a name that leads to a certain contradiction. It leads to the assumption that something will follow it, which is not fully confirmed, because on the official date of Momo festivities, more specifically, there is not the same festive vigour that marks the celebration in various parts of the country and abroad (Silva Neto, 2014).

We consider as general introductory assumptions for the discussion that will follow, based on the keywords, the questions presented below.

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[1] The Italian mathematician Conrado Gini developed an index to measure the level of of income concentration in societies. The final resulting number, the closer it is to zero, the closer it is to equality; the closer it is to one, it expresses its opposite.

[2] Carnival is celebrated 47 days before Easter Sunday. The date of the festival is not fixed, sometimes occurring in February, sometimes in March, due to Holy Week being celebrated according to the first full moon of the spring equinox in the northern hemisphere.

Firstly, Carnival arises from the Middle Ages and is established, since then, as an urban festival. Therefore, it is important to bring its development closer to that observed in cities, in particular to what was drawn from the transition from the 20th to the 21st century. At the time there was an expansion of the cities in economic and geopolitical terms (in detriment of the presence of national states), and of Carnival, which reached, in the same sense, high economic status.

Secondly, the hegemony of the urban leads to the diversification, specialisation and qualification of cultural production, to serve an increasingly demanding consumer audience, including tourists. What is designated as culture in the final decades of the 20th century, shows a conceptual and temporal expansion. Temporal, because the symbolic exchanges mediated by advances in technology, globalisation and consumption, change the perception of historical time and cultural representations (Featherstone, 1995; Hartog, 2007). Conceptually, now included as "cultural" are not only those goods associated with the magnificent material heritage, but also immaterial goods such as festivals, among them the Carnival, handicrafts and culinary knowledge, in both their erudite and popular expressions. The daily practices of different social groups are altered, among others by their availability in the market of symbolic and economic exchanges (Canclini, 1999).

Thirdly, tourism, associated with its massive offer, was an important economic contribution for many contemporary cities. In this situation, it presents both dialogues and conflicts with local cultural expressions. For the purposes of this reflection, we resume what we have already mentioned in a previous article (Gastal & Moesch, 2007), that the tourist activity implies historical-social practices associated with the subjects' mobility in times and spaces different from those experienced in their daily lives. It also means that tourist displacement will no longer be marked by the distance travelled in the territory, but guided by the estrangement(s) that may be produced in the subjects (Campos, 2012). In this way, we assume that it is possible to do tourism without leaving the urban perimeter of the residence.

Fourthly, the conceptual, typological, and chronological expansion of what is treated as culture nowadays leads to the consequent expansion of the possibilities covered by the segment of cultural tourism. In this dimension, contemporary travellers seek greater interaction with the daily life of the places they visit, including traditional festivals. Tourism and culture become intrinsically linked, regardless of whether cultural resources are the primary motivation for tourist displacement. In these terms, in a broad sense, it is possible to understand that all tourism practice is cultural, leading to the incorporation of other segments as cultural, such as creative tourism (Gastal, 2012; Pérez, 2009; Richards, 2011). For the World Tourism Organization (as in Richards, 2009) — in what Richards (2009) characterizes as a "narrower definition"—, cultural tourism comprises:

> movements of people in search of essentially cultural motivations, such as study tours, theatre and cultural excursions, trips to festivals and other cultural events, visits to localities and monuments, trips to study nature, folklore or art and pilgrimages. The central aspect in this definition is

that cultural tourism involves essentially cultural motivations. (Richards, 2009, p. 1)

This segmentation would represent 37% of the global tourism, with such percentage varying according to the concept for cultural tourism applied by the localities. Among its audiences, there would be tourism agents and workers in the cultural sector. According to Richards (2009), it would mean that people who work in museums, when they are on holiday, visit other museums. This seems to be a clear evidence that extending rather than reversing everyday patterns of consumption is important for many cultural tourists (Richards, 2009, p. 3).

Based on the four assumptions set out in the research, this article proposes to understand how the Carnival in Maceió is historically organized and how its relations with the cultural field and tourism in the urban space are constituted, leading to peculiarities such as the aforementioned "Prévias". The research process was based on a qualitative approach. Data collection resulted from bibliographic review and documentary research based on the keywords carnival, tourism and culture, and collection through in-depth interview, questioning the interrelationships between them, in the city of Maceió. Based on the proposal of Tomazzoni (2009), it is considered that in the analysis of situations associated with tourism — and one could add, with culture —, it is necessary to consider, among others, authorities and political realities, local culture, tourists, and local and external partners in this process. For the author, such actors are private entrepreneurs, the public sector, local communities and the tourists. Their interation requires permeable boundaries to provide a favourable environment for creation and reinventions.

In these terms, leaders of cultural and tourism organizations in the city were heard, and for this article we highlight the speeches of Vinicius Palmeira (then president of the Municipal Foundation for Cultural Action of the City of Maceió); Edberto Ticianeli (director and founder of Jaraguá Folia); Bruno César Cavalcante (anthropologist and researcher at the Federal University of Alagoas); and records of a radio interview that brought together, on February 21, 2014, Vinicius Palmeira and Claudia Pessoa, then, respectively, municipal secretaries of Culture and Tourism (Rádio Educativa de Alagoas, 2014).

Theoretical Context

Carnival is among the major seasonal festivals — Christmas, Easter and New Year, among others — which would report to European pagan rituals in their origin. They are symbolically associated with birth, death and the resurgence of life, and to the cycles marked in nature. Such festivals expand when they are Christianized and urbanized, because the city established an "urban time proper to the celebration of the festival" (F. Ferreira, 2009, p. 25).

Peter Burke (2010) states that popular festivals have undergone successive transformations throughout recent history, as tradition and the sense of collectivity decline, overtaken by a notion of the individual. The historian also notes that the medieval courts were constantly influenced by the dances and chants of the peasantry, but from the 16th

century, the aristocracy's parties became more reserved and sober. At the same time, popular Carnival started to associate political and anti-religious manifestations. Modernity increased popular festivals, a situation made easier by the advent of the printing press, demarcating new behaviours. In this modern scenario, in 1873, the traditional Nice Carnival was already presented as a resource to attract tourists, in actions coordinated by a festival committee (F. Ferreira, 2009).

Academically, Carnival is part of a broader category of analysis, the festival. Freud (2006) states that the festive feeling is released when people act collectively and "open themselves up to an allowed excess, or rather, mandatory, with the solemn break of a prohibition" (p. 144). Durkheim (1989) considers this feeling similar to the religious ritual, in which people are transported out of themselves and distracted from their ordinary occupations and worries. However, in its asymmetries, Carnival is also a moment in the cultural universe. Thus,

> a privileged moment due to its characteristics, for the analysis of sociability practices and the multiple meanings that pierce and guide (or condition) them, since their rites (Carnival practices), reflect the dialogues and tensions of the society that produces them, transposing them to the symbolic field. (Brito, 2005, p. 2)

Brito (2005) goes on to state that Carnival must be seen as a social phenomenon, in which the whole society expresses itself, being the result of culture and, therefore, a result of exchanges that go beyond — but do not nullify — the limits of class and social situation. The most important thing would be to apprehend their meanings, among others, placing themselves as a mirror of the individual and the collective to thereby "seek to rediscover historical and cultural guarantees, reconfirming them in the representation, in the communicative and community act" (M. Ferreira, 2005, p. 28). It also means that festivals with the dimension of Carnival extrapolate to those physically present in the festive arenas, involving society as a whole, directly or indirectly.

To discuss the Carnival in the city of Maceió, this article resumes questions proposed by Lorena (2019), for whom the momesque festivity has been used to analyse themes associated with national identity and other aspects of social life, including social class, race, gender and even tourism, themes that tend to emerge, moreover, intersected (p. 63). The author reviews the studies on Carnival and sets them up in broad lines of theoretical support. The first, the one launched by Bakthin, sees the festival as an inversion, not only in the tradition in which men dress up as women, but as a subversion of hierarchy and stratifications of the status quo, as well as an escape from the tensions of everyday life, and therefore it is an extra-ordinary moment.

Lorena (2019) also highlights DaMatta, who is included among the theorists who treat Carnival as inversion-subversion, but on the premise that this festival, by confronting the system, would validate it. It is necessary to consider, therefore, not only the performance itself but also the intentions underlying it. The validation (or not) of the system would involve the discussion about the social control exercised over the festival and the society resilience to it. Seen as a form of resistance, the Carnival would constitute a

counter-hegemonic instrument, "in which not only asymmetries and inequalities would be revealed and questioned, but also other alternative worlds would be created and experienced, even if temporarily. The subversion potential of Carnival could even affect structures and power relations" (Lorena, 2019, p. 55).

Regardless of *parti pris,* Lorena (2019) highlights the importance of the intersections imposed on Carnival. It prioritizes in this article the triangulation of city, culture, and tourism, to consider the Brazilian case, in the city of Maceió. In Brazil, Carnivals are presented as significantly urban popular festivals, with cultural-identity ties to explaining the meaning of being in the world of a given society, in the sense proposed by Bakhtin (1987). In addition, these are events with strong business and financial mobilization that guarantees the festivity the condition of a big business, that moves a complex economy (Miguez, 2008), including tourism.

Furthermore, even though it is recognized as a cultural and artistic spectacle, it is intimately and dynamically related to the political order and the power struggle.

> However, its political significance changes depending on the context. The dynamism of the event gives its study a heuristic reach in the analysis of political and cultural dynamics. (Lorena, 2019, p. 56)

As Lorena (2019) highlighted, it is a multifaceted phenomenon, to which study different areas of social sciences contribute, among which, culture and tourism, diversifying and enriching approaches (Cavalcanti, 2013).

For data analysis, Lorena (2019) is considered once again, when she quotes Scott (1990), for whom Carnival would be "an institutionalised form of political disguise and a good analytical instrument to dissect the social order" (p. 59). The author also invokes Cohen (1993) to affirm that "Carnival would still be a masked policy behind cultural forms" (Cohen, 1993, as cited in Lorena, 2019, p. 59).

Historical Context in Brazil

The earliest distant reference to Carnival in Brazil dates back to 1553, in the book *Antologia do Carnaval do Recife* (Recife Carnival Anthology), in which it is reported that a couple, residents of the Camaragibe mill, donated a slaughtered sow to their workers, on a Tuesday of Shrovetide (Silva, 1991), the earliest denomination of what would be characterized as Carnival. Another record, from 1608, refers to the prohibition of the celebration of the Shrovetide in Laguna, state of Santa Catarina, by the practice of "mela-mela" (exchange of kisses and caresses, not always of free consent between the parts) that would accompany the festival. Other bans followed (Fernandes, 2001; Pereira, 2004; Silva Neto, 2014).

In 1808, campaigns in newspapers triggered public opinion against what would be the barbarity of and in the Shrovetide, standing for a civilized modernity, whose reference would be the French Carnival of *belle époque* (Cunha, 2001). The campaigns had an effect and flour, talc and other less noble materials, thrown by the participants and at the

passers-by, were replaced by scented water, currants, wine and vinegar, confetti, streamers and spear perfumes. Rio de Janeiro, seat of the imperial government, held its first masquerade ball around 1840, in lounges with banquets, music and drinks, the musicality marked by polka and waltz (Cunha, 2001).

It is worth noting that during the first Masquerade Carnival, held in 1851, in the city of Recife, the attention went to the couple masked with African adornments. At that moment it revealed the assimilation of black languages by the local bourgeoisie, advancing in the following decades its approach to the regional *frevos* and *maracatus* (Cunha, 2001). In Salvador, Bahia, the phenomenon of re-Africanization[3] of local Carnival is registered, from the 1970s onwards (Miguez, 2008). Maceió is geographically located in the middle of these two metropolises of north-eastern Brazil, Recife and Salvador, therefore directly referenced by them.

Throughout the 20th century, Carnival grew in importance in Brazilian cities because it increasingly attracted local guests and many others from nearby or distant cities, leading to public and private interventions associated with tourism and, often, to disputes with the cultural field (Silva Neto, 2014). These are two conceptually complicated fields and bringing them together raises other issues and tensions. Starting with culture, the multiplication of studies, approaches and concepts surrounding the term generates theoretical discussions and influences its practices. The same, however, can be applied to tourism, as it is "a phenomenon that presents, at the same time, economic, social, cultural, administrative and environmental aspects related to a universe, in which several social actors, with contrasting interests, find themselves in an arena of complex relationships" (Barretto, 2005, p. 3), affecting both the theoretical and the practical spheres.

In general, local cultural expressions are segmented as cultural tourism, within the scope of public policies that have in marketing an important bias. The *Plano Nacional de Turismo 2013-2016* (Brazilian national tourism plan 2013-2016) (Ministério do Turismo, 2013), for example, configured cultural tourism in the business macro environments, because "it is in them that opportunities are realized" (p. 105). Already in the documents on tourism technology, one can find that "cultural tourism comprises tourism activities related to the experience of the set of significant elements of historical and cultural heritage and of cultural events, valuing and promoting the tangible and intangible goods of culture" (Ministério do Turismo, 2010, p. 5).

In the documents of the Brazilian public authority, the stage for the tourist offer would be the monumental architectural constructions, and one should also consider the resources that accompany the local knowledge, among them the cuisine, the handicraft and the events articulated with the local manifestations. An integrating rationale is perceived within public policies, in partnership with private initiatives, from a growing

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[3] Risério (1981) uses the term "africanization" to characterize the strong presence of black organizations and clubs in the carnivals of Bahia, at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, removing the pejorative sense commonly used by the press at the time, and contrasting it with the spirit of "Europeanization" that officially marked the party. Identifying a similar phenomenon in the mid-1970s, with the emergence of Afro *blocos* (groups) and the resurgence of *afoxés*, this same author characterizes this moment as the "re-Africanization" of Bahian carnival (Miguez, 2008, p. 104).

investment in local cultural expressions, reinforcing in this intertwining, its sustainability webs, its regionalization, commercialisation and a strengthening of local relations.

Still on the relationship between tourism and culture, Gastal (2012) warns that the logic present in segmentation policies, highlighted in public planning in different instances, have been characterized by a reduction of the possibilities of visitors' experiences in localities. Cultural tourism cannot be seen only as a specificity of the travellers' motivations in their displacements "to be used by local marketing. Reflection and cultural practices currently have very exciting performances, which cannot be ignored by tourism" (Gastal, 2012, p. 237).

Empirical Context: The City of Maceió

Maceió became a village in 1815 and provincial capital in 1839 (Carvalho, 1980). Since then, the settlement was established as a central region, which began to receive incentives for its institutional and commercial development. In 1856, the Metropolitan Cathedral was inaugurated by the imperial couple Pedro II and Teresa Cristina. The emperor was received at the seaport and a parade led him to the Main Square. "Curious parade", the Emperor declared in his notes about the visit (Duarte, 2010, p. 122.). From then on, other transformations came in urban life, hosting parties such as Shrovetide, Corsican, sea baths in fantasy costumes and balls in social clubs. In 1883, it had regular steam transportation to national and foreign destinations, and six hotels in the accommodation service (Sauer, 1883).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the city collected opinions of its illustrious visitors. We quote two: that of the writer Mário de Andrade (2015), who undertook a journey in the north-eastern and northern regions of the country in the 1920s and recorded: "Maceió, ugly ..." (p. 202). With a different opinion, the Portuguese ambassador to Brazil, Júlio Dantas, when he stayed at the Bela-Vista Palace Hotel in 1924, as an official guest of the state government, stated: "I have the impression of being in a land of princes, because this hotel is one of the most beautiful in Brazil" (Veras Filho, 1991, p. 44). Such opinions, however, rather than diverging, punctuate Maceió[4], a town marked by profound contrasts, also present in its Carnival, as presented below.

Carnival is a historical product, as it reflects societies and cultures (Lorena, 2019, p. 60). If historical, it is important to retrieve its temporal path, for better understanding. Roughly speaking, it would be possible to compose the Carnival of Maceió in four cycles, not necessarily excluding: that of spontaneous manifestations that start to gain a certain organicity and, as a result, racism by the white elites (1850 until about 1930); that of spatial segregation (1930 to 1990); that of temporal segregation (1993 to 2005); and that of expansion without inclusion (from 2005 onwards).

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[4] Alagoas has one of the largest land concentrations in Brazil (Lira, 2007.). This agrarian elite, by occupying the front ranks of politics, the judiciary and trade sectors, makes civilizational changes and innovations arrive late to the state, subjecting them to intense regulatory control. This malaise is still perceived in the 20th and 21st centuries as it translates into agonizing works such as the fictional short film *Maré Viva* (Live Tide; Tela Tudo Clube de Cinema, 2013) and in several poems by Lêdo Ivo (2004), including Planta de Maceió: "The wind from the sea gnaws at the houses and men,/From birth to death, those who live here/are always covered by a light shroud of dampness and saltpetre" (p. 546).

The first cycle would last from the mid 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century, when Carnival began to be celebrated with a certain organicity in its spontaneity, in the form of Fandangos, Maracatus, Cordão de Quilombolas and Zé Pereiras, many of them with a strong African influence (Rafael, 2004). Lima (1956) describes the parade on Saturday night in 1903, when, "in special trams, the traditional and much applauded Zé Pereira da Fênix Alagoana emerged, after being announced by clarion calls" (p. 12). This was followed by "the bright guard of honour, made up of members, some dressed in white, others in costumes, all mounted on horseback, carrying a cane fire"[5] and a first car in the shape of a huge ostrich that, "with its wings spread, carried a little girl, richly dressed, flanked by costumed Fenians. In the second carriage was a well-arranged gondola, manned by beautiful young ladies dressed in pierrettes" (Lima, 1956, p. 12).

In a ruralized society with a strong Catholic influence, racism was a long-standing presence. For example, in 1856, the same year the imperial court of Brazil was in Maceió, the City Council enacted a law that prevented the sale of essential goods by people of African descent, citing that black people monopolized the trade of foodstuffs and it was necessary to end the monopoly (Andrade, 2012).

In the growth of this blemish, there was, in the Carnival of 1912, the invasion and destruction of Candomblé's "terreiros" on February 2 of that year, a fact that history recorded as "Quebra-Quebra de 12" (Break-Break of 12; Lima, 2015). The consequences of these actions resulted, among others, in the cultural and religious silencing of the Afro matrix in the city and in the State, with the expansion of the processes of ethnic avoidance (Silva Neto, 2014). Even so, the influences were still present. Africans in Alagoas come from the Banto (or Bantu) linguistic branch, leaving as a legacy:

> moral, spiritual, religious, aesthetic, social and political values, body techniques, agricultural technologies, collective associative behaviours, models of family organization and others. And that is why the Africans did not contribute to Brazilian culture, because those who contribute do it "from outside"; they constituted it, that is, they elaborated it "on the inside". (Milani, 2005, para. 6)

Lima (1956) records festive movements in the weeks leading up to Carnival, in the first half of the 20th century, involving small traders and artisans on Rua do Hospital, with masks adorning the shop windows. He highlights the movement of revellers in the house of a certain "Mr." Ludgero, an old carpenter, and in a commercial house called "Chapéu Chinez", which only opened during the festive period. On Carnival Sunday there were *blocos* (groups) in the Praça dos Martírios, the centre of public administrative power and reference for commerce, which mixed side by side, workers and traders. In addition to the *blocos* (groups), the same author identifies "loose revellers", dressed up as characters from the folklore of Alagoas, as well as girls wearing trousers (which would horrify the women of "good family"), "Indians" painted with annatto and cinematographic "cowboys".

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[5] Typification of a firework that burns in various colours.

About this pulverization of identity, a researcher from the Federal University of Alagoas interviewed as part of the research highlighted, referring to another north-eastern state, Bahia, but with what can be reported to Maceió due to its influences on what is being analysed here: "until the 1970s, the black man from Bahia dressed up as a North American Indian. He was not an Indian from the northeast; he was an Indian with a plume. So, this was the otherness, the victim of the cowboy in the cinema" (Cavalcante, February 10, 2014). The re-Africanization of Bahia occurred when the tourism entrepreneurs saw that they could explore the ethnic model.

The second cycle is marked by spatial segregation, a process that begun in the late 1930s and lasted until the 1980s, marked by sea baths in fantasy costumes on the Avenida beach, Carnival marathons and balls at social clubs on the Pajuçara beach, for members only. It characterized the first festive decentralization, in relation to the historic centre. On the particularity of this period, the same university professor explains that there had always been "a trend towards Prévias (previews) here. (…) Diegues Jr., in the 1930s already said that bathing in fantasy costumes has always been 'Prévia.' It was always before Carnival. So it is traditional, this tendency of ours to have Prévia (preview)" (Cavalcante, February 10, 2014). Another historical reason for the "Prévias" that take place in the week before the official date of the Carnival in the calendar would be associated with the introduction of the train, in 1894, connecting Maceió to Recife and Rio de Janeiro, leading local elites to seek Carnival festivities in those cities. However, Carnival would only follow a greater trend. For Edberto Ticianeli, interviewed in the research, the escape of the most wealthy of Maceió to other places, whenever the opportunity arose, was due to the urbanization of the city, for him a late urbanization:

> the first school in Maceió appeared in 1900. The higher education courses in 1940. This led the children of the elite to study abroad, in Recife, Salvador, Rio [de Janeiro], some in Europe. The shopping was done in Recife. Therefore, this problem meant that in Maceió, during Carnival, or [people] would go to play Carnival in the countryside, which was very good, it was good because they were close to families, to their nucleus of friends, etc. Or they would go to Recife, to Salvador, or to Rio de Janeiro. (Edberto Ticianeli, February 8, 2014)

Carnival Prévia became a way for local elites to participate in the festival. Still according to the same interviewee,

> in the resumption of 1985 it is the middle class that is already on the street. It is not the people; it is not the popular Carnival. It is the middle class. [The block] Boys from Albania are the middle class. Predominantly middle class. Of course, because of the link with the PCdoB [Communist Party of Brazil] there were many popular segments. But it was a middle-class block. With middle class discourse. It is no longer a rescue from the Carnival of Maceió. It is a new phenomenon. And our model was Bahia, because Bahia was the first middle class experience on the street. (Edberto Ticianeli, February 8, 2014)

The third cycle, that of the temporal segregation is marked by the MaceióFest, or Micareta[6], the off-season Carnival, created by the government and the Liga dos Blocos (League of Blocks), under the management of the Partido Socialista Brasileiro (Brazilian Socialist Party; PSB)[7], when in charge of the city hall and the state government, between 1993 and 2005. At that time, the second decentralization of the festival took place, moving further away from the city centre and the Avenida beach, degraded by pollution. The new circuit of electric trios, using large vehicles and sophisticated sound equipment, now runs along the Pajuçara and Ponta Verde beaches, in December, culminating in the beginning of the high season with the holiday's parties and summer holidays. Ticianeli explains the reason for the transposition of the block parades:

> Jaraguá was going through a period, the mid-1990s, in which with the revitalization of the neighbourhood, that architectural reform, that renovation of buildings, improvement of the street, etc., there was also a very intense reactivation of night-life, of bars. This also led to an intense cultural life in the area. (...) And in the late 1990s, Tanagi, owner of Casa da Sogra, one of the most frequented bars there, called me for a kind of consultancy. He was the only one who bought the property, all the others were rented. Everyone was closing down, going into decay and he was penniless. And he said: look, what can I do with life? I'm dying here! Do something, create something for the Jaraguá Bar and Restaurant Association, so we can try to boost this here. It's very complicated. [I replied:] It is a process that is beyond my scope, but I can create at least one event. (...) The first event took place in 2001, at that time we didn't even call it Jaraguá Folia. (Edberto Ticianeli, February 8, 2014)

Despite the initiative to seek greater popularization of the street Carnival by transferring it to the Jaraguá neighbourhood, far from the city centre, it did not get the expected success, because

> the Carnival of the waterfront is a segregating Carnival. This area [referring to Ponta Verde beach] is not the people's space. (...) Both in Jaraguá and in the waterfront, it is a middle-class Carnival. A certain sociological profile, the populace, the masses, are excluded from the party. Self-excluded so to speak. Because I play a week before you do. The problem is not to

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[6] Micareta (1995-2005) organized by the viability of the public authorities, by entrepreneurs in the entertainment sector and by the Liga Independente dos Blocos Carnavalescos de Maceió (Independent League of Carnival Blocks of Maceió). The last was extinguished in the first decade of the 2000s and reactivated in 2019 under the name Liga Carnavalesca de Maceió, being considered as a Public Utility entity by the Municipal Bill No. 7.340/2020.

[7] Ronaldo Lessa (PSB), mayor of Maceió 1993-1996; Kátia Born (PSB), mayor of Maceió 1997-2000 and 2001-2003. Ronaldo Lessa, governor 1999-2003, allied to Partido Comunista do Brasil (PCdoB), Partido Popular Socialista (PPS), Partido Verde (PV), Partido dos Trabalhadores do Brasil (PTdoB), Partido Humanista da Solidariedade (PHS), Partido da Reedificação da Ordem Nacional (PRONA), Partido da Mobilização Nacional (PMN), Partido Liberal (PL), Partido Democrático Trabalhista (PDT) e Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT). According to Bezerra (2007), it was after his administration that a new cultural identity was institutionally established in Alagoas.

> have Prévias, but to have exclusive Prévias, because then everybody goes
> away and the rest damned. If there were *Prévias* (previews) with everybody,
> it would be interesting. (Cavalcante, February 10, 2014)

In this regard, there is a behaviour which lasts throughout history that is the evasion from the city during the official days of Carnival in the city of Maceió that causes two subsequent movements nowadays: advertising aimed at tourists who want to rest during the momesque period, and the annoyance generated in intellectuals and cultural agents who believe that this broadcast prevents vigorous native actions related to the festivity.

The cycle of expansion without inclusion, which started in the late 1990s, continues today, consecrating the Carnival Prévias, and their main events are free: Pinto da Madrugada, since 1999, at the Pajuçara beach, on the Saturday morning before the Carnival, with thousands of revellers and *frevo blocos* (groups); and Jaraguá Folia, since 2001, in the neighbourhood with the same name, and today with more than 100 *blocos* (groups) of *frevo*, *afoxés* and *maracatus*, on the Friday night before the Carnival. This cycle also begins the development and consolidation of the construction of Carnival programmes in the interior of the state, many of them influenced by the format of MaceióFest, with electric trios and Axé Music.

The fourth cycle is marked by actions of public authorities in favour of the Carnival, of Maceió, in which it is possible to consider that the political will seeks greater democratization of the festival and appreciation of local culture. Municipal law n° 4.749/1998 establishes permission to use public streets for festive purposes, provided that a prior application is made to the competent body and the event includes at least 50% of local musicians and groups. The municipal legislation highlights as of public utility: União dos Blocos de Frevo de Maceió (Union of Frevo Blocks of Maceió), Liga das Escolas de Samba de Alagoas (League of Samba Schools of Alagoas), Associação Cultural Tambores de Alagoas (Cultural Association Tambores de Alagoas), Núcleo Cultural da Zona Sul de Maceió (Cultural Centre of the South Zone of Maceió), Centro Cultural e Esportivo do Benedito Bentes (Cultural and Sports Centre Benedito Bentes), Núcleo de Cultura Afro-brasileira Iyá-Ogunte (Centre of Afro-Brazilian Culture Iyá-Ogunte), Organização Cultural Serenata da Pitanguinha (Pitanguinha Serenade Cultural Organization) and the historic Clube Carnavalesco Cavaleiro dos Montes (Carnival Club Cavaleiro dos Montes).

In 2013, the mission of the Fundação Municipal de Ação Cultural (Municipal Foundation for Cultural Action) was to "operate the cultural policy and insert Maceió, above all, in Sistema Nacional de Cultural (National Cultural System). We took on the mission of structuring, we took on the mission of doing, mainly in the fields of the institution's regulatory frameworks", according to then-secretary Vinicius Palmeira, in a research interview. In the same interview, he pointed out that

> it is a mistake to say that Maceió is a city to rest during the Carnival period,
> if this dictum means that the city is condemned to silence. It is a city with a
> 1,000,000 inhabitants, 800,000 of whom earn up to two minimum wages.

These people will not be resting on Carnival days (Vinicius Palmeira, February 14, 2014).

On the relationship with tourism, he clarifies:

> we work on cultural policy that prepares the city, which the tourism policy follows and seizes (...). For example, I do not do Maceió Summer 2014 for tourists. I do it for the city. For people here, in my city, in my state. And, consequently, we want all the tourists here to participate. (...) We understand that tourism benefits from the cultural policy. (Vinicius Palmeira, February 14, 2014)

This is followed by his disagreement, for example, in relation to actions such as "setting a group of traditional revellers at the pier of the port to receive tourists, which I think that this is not the role of our popular culture". Regarding the technical articulations between tourism and culture in Maceió, Cavalcante considers:

> we have a serious problem of professional staff. We have no management, nor documents that register memories of those managements. This is very serious. Today there is a greater openness to culture here in relation to tourism, even if it is utilitarian. It would be nice if the tourist who arrives here could see the local population giving prestige to the revellers together with him. It looks like a showroom relationship, a showcase. Tourists go to Jaraguá, the neighbourhood is pleasant [but] there is nothing to do there. (...) We have to do more organic things for the city. A real city, not a showcase city. Tourists like experience, that's the watchword, experience. (...) There has never been this concern to make the city more organic for those who live in it. (Cavalcante, February 10, 2014)

When commenting on the task that the city council took upon itself to organize Carnival, he adds:

> Vinicius was appointed secretary with a very strong support from cultural groups, and he knows how to lead this, respecting the decisions of these groups to this model of cultural management. (...) Now, what I think is happening is that before, the links between the hotel and tourist trade and the municipal public administration were wide open. (...) You heard the Tourism department was working much more than the Culture department. (...). The *frevo* Carnival here is the Carnival that excludes the revellers. (Cavalcante, February 10, 2014)

Expansion without inclusion can also refer to urbanization, if we consider another line from the same interviewee:

> our very late urbanization creates several problems. (...) An absurd social segregation between rich and poor. We have a very rich popular culture that

we hate. We have learned to value it as a symbol of social negotiation, which doesn't mean that we like it. We like to say that we have a great folklore diversity, but we don't know how to sing a song. This, paradoxically, gives us a great creative freedom. (…) So, it is a very exciting city to investigate, to study. (…) Here we live this healthy alienation, I would say. Alagoas paradox which I find very appealing as a subject of study. (Cavalcante, February 10, 2014)

In a radio interview in February 2014, Claudia Pessoa, then municipal secretary of Tourism, explains that the tourist profile expected for Carnival in the city, at that time, was "the family, the young, the elderly. We have always sought qualified audiences, that is, it doesn't mean people with a lot of money, but it is a qualified audience, which we saw in the Maceió Verão editions". Language expresses thought processes that take place *in* words and are never innocent. By reaffirming the "qualified audience" profile as the desired one, the then-secretary seems to reinforce a certain Alagoan narrative tradition, namely, that of socio-ethnic-racial avoidance:

but I reaffirm this aspect of the profile that we saw in the last editions of Maceió Verão, families, we saw children on their parents' laps, here in the neck as we say, on the necks of fathers, mothers. Many of them had very light skin and very light eyes. We saw that there were many people from elsewhere, even from abroad. So we are very happy because we have a clear vision that our work is based on responsibility, on partnership with the community. (Claudia Pessoa, February, 21, 2014)

The interview to the public authority, while trying to illustrate the importance of the option for a festival that involves light-skinned and light-eyed families, in these terms, strangers to the place, consolidates what the article sought to present as different moments of exclusion, which lead to emptying the festivities as a popular manifestation in Maceió. From car parades, which give organicity to what were spontaneous manifestations of Shrovetide, through the spatial segregation, when the party is transferred to spaces further away from the urban centre and consolidating in temporal segregation by anticipating the festivities a week, so that elites can enjoy Carnival in other cities, the process is consolidated with the whitening of the party, when public policies prioritize tourists over locals.

Final Considerations

This article aimed to draw a reflective perspective on the Carnival in the city of Maceió, located in the northeast region of Brazil. Like Rio de Janeiro, it is a region where these festivities are marked by cultural effervescence, revellers' joy and high popular participation, a situation that transforms the momesque festival in a highly appealing tourist product. In Maceió, however, the festivities have peculiarities that set it apart, even when compared to other regional festivals of the same period.

Following what was systematized by Lorena (2019) which suggests that more important than the performances associated with the festival are tensions underlying it, these appeared, in the case under study, at the articulation of the historically built relations between culture and tourism in the city. To recreate such processes, bibliographic and documentary sources and interviews with people who played an active role, in the decade of 2010, in the cultural and tourism fields in the city of Maceió were compiled.

The results allow ta systematic historical reconstruction from four moments, not necessarily defined by rigid or more precise dates. There is fragmentation between the cycles themselves, especially because in all of them there are recurrences such as racism, even if sometimes veiled, and the social (and cultural) exclusion of the popular classes.

In the first moment, which the historical and literary records reveal took place in the middle of the 19th century, the free anarchic manifestations of the Shrovetide were superseded by a certain organization into groups of revellers (Maracatus, Zé Pereiras....) and the parades in cars and floats. Such organization contributes to the segregation of African-based groups. The parade, in turn, separates those who make Carnival, from the audiences attending along its route.

The spatial segregation during the 1930s and following decades derives from the transfer of festivities to beaches along the waterfront, implying a search for the physical separation from the popular classes that filled the historic centre. Temporal segregation, from 1993 onwards, is associated with the spatial separation, when the elites' carnival festivities began to take place the week before the official date of the festival, in the so-called Prévias. Finally, from 2005, there is social expansion sponsored by left-wing governments, which incorporates middle-class segments, but does not attain the inclusion of the popular classes.

It appears that the carnival festive centrality changes according to the urban expansion. Data suggest that the abandonment of Maceió by the local elites during the momesque holiday is a traditional action, which endures over time. It is radicalised in the transition to the 21st century, due to the tourist offer of revelry programming in coastal cities in neighbouring states or even valuing the Carnival in Rio de Janeiro. Alagoas is geographically located between the two major carnival hubs of the country, Pernambuco and Bahia, where Carnivals reflect the identity of popular expressions of the local culture, nurturing a certain sense of belonging ("baianity"; "pernambucanity"), which would still be lacking in the search for an *"alagoanity"*.

Maceió's tourism marketing, among the various slogans it has adopted over time, has prioritised advertising it as a "cidade descanso" (relaxing city), seeking to attract visitors less affected by Carnival festivities, common in most sun-and-sea tourist destinations. The reaction of some interviewees from the cultural field makes us infer that the slogan "cidade descanso" (relaxing city) causes discomfort among them, for highlighting, continuously, the local weaknesses in terms of identity. Such appeal would also go against the promotion of a popular and inclusive local Carnival. In a city where the Carnival impetus is not legitimized even in terms of tourism, social and cultural stereotypes associated with the festival are emphasised, which underline the lack of access of the

popular classes to the festivities, in their unwanted presence marked by ethnic origin. Contradictions that can often result in conflicting encounters.

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Interview | *Entrevista*

Interview with Hildegard Westerkamp: "Once you Start Listening to the World You Are Dealing With All of Life"

Entrevista com Hildegard Westerkamp: "Quando Começamos a Ouvir o Mundo Estamos a Tratar da Vida Toda"

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Picture postcards are partly responsible for the visual relationship we still have with urban places today. They used to fix images of villages and cities and draw our attention to what can be seen. Cities are, however, places that can also be experienced and described in aural terms. They are a kind of auditorium, where the noise of traffic combines with birdsong. The experience of conscious listening — which has been analysed more intensively since the 1970s — is a way of getting to know one's environment, as well as a way of preserving the body's sentient nature. In this interview — which was recorded in January 2021 as part of the project "AUDIRE. Audio Repository: saving sonic-based memories" — Hildegard Westerkamp explains how original and unique a soundwalk can be and how inspiring or disturbing the urban acoustic experience can be today. The concept of soundscape and the notion of conscious listening are here considered fundamental to understanding our relationship with the environment.

With an academic background in music and communication, Hildegard Westerkamp is a composer, radio artist and sound ecologist. She was born in Germany, but has been based in Canada since 1968. As a researcher she participated in the "World Soundscape Project" team, which was coordinated by R. Murray Schafer. In the mid-1970s, she led the "Noise Abatement Project" of the Society Promoting Environmental Conservation (SPEC) in Vancouver, and a few years later created her pioneering radio programme *Soundwalking* on Vancouver Co-operative Radio. She lectured in acoustic communication at Simon Fraser University for almost a decade, between 1982 and 1991, and was researcher for the "Women in Music" project. Between 1991 and 1995, Hildegard Westerkamp edited *The Soundscape Newsletter* and in 2000 she founded the *Soundscape: The Journal of Acoustic Ecology,* of which she was the chief editor until 2012.

An enthusiastic promoter of soundwalks, which she describes as excursions whose main purpose is listening to the environment, Hildegard Westerkamp is a founding member of the World Forum for Acoustic Ecology. According to the *Canadian Encyclopedia* (Bazzana, 2007), Westerkamp is a member of many associations and several of

her artworks have been awarded and earned recognition at American and European competitions.

Environmental sounds are the "musical" resources of her compositions. As an artist, Hildegard Westerkamp is a kind of sound poet. Her exceptional experience in transforming everyday sounds into artistic practices and her clear but emotive understanding of sound as a language are the reasons why she is today one of the most distinguished references for researchers of sound studies.

Today there is no researcher in the field of sonic studies not referring, in a way or another, to the word *soundscape*. In your opinion, why is this such a unique concept?

When I started working with Schafer in 1973 and the "World Soundscape Project" (WSP), the word *soundscape* was new. Apparently the word was used by someone else beforehand, but Schafer took that concept and really just ran with it.

The simple way of speaking about it is to refer to the word landscape. In the English language, this is a very obvious connection. When we think of landscape, we think of everything from its geography, its vegetation, its inhabitants and its culture content, in other words the interaction between living beings and the specific environment they live in. The same applies to soundscape, which, according to Schafer, is to be understood as a sonic place that communicates to us and that we communicate within. It's a place that is perceived aurally. His interest in soundscape originated in the concern that we were not paying enough attention to it, that we were beginning to have too many sonic problems, especially in the urban environment.

When we talk about soundscape, we are not just talking about the sounds that are occurring in the environment. We are talking also and most importantly about our relationship to it, in fact that of any living being, and how we listen to it and making sound in it. What is the interaction? What are we doing to the sound environment? What voices are we putting into it? And how do the sounds occupy an environment? How does an environment reflect sound back? An environment, a landscape, an urban place, a room will shape any sound through reflections, echoes, and resonances, and will give it its unique characteristics.

There is always a relationship between how an environment receives a sound and how we put sound into it. Very often that kind of ecological relationship that we are talking about here is forgotten when the word *soundscape* is used these days. But historically the term soundscape always implies — and is indeed its essence — that we are speaking about the relationship between living beings and the environment. All too often nowadays, we hear people speak about a soundscape even when they mean a musical piece, a composition, and not even necessarily a composition that uses environmental sound. Indeed, sometimes a piece of music can also be a soundscape. But often in those contexts the emphasis would be on an ecological understanding of this soundscape, how we relate to it, how we listen, what meanings do the sounds carry for us and so on.

Probably because of its connotation with sound ecology and natural landscapes, the word is very often used as meaning enjoyable listening…

This is a misunderstanding. I remember when I was in Japan some years ago, we had an intense discussion about exactly that. The term soundscape in Japanese culture then tended to imply a pleasant sound environment, such as the beautiful traditional gardens. No, in the "World Soundscape Project" tradition, we are talking about *any* sound environment. The idea at the time, in the 1970s, of starting to listen consciously to all aspects of the sound environment was very much based in the fact that the sound environment was getting progressively more polluted. And precisely because of that we needed to listen to it, especially since, as Schafer felt, the people involved in fighting noise pollution were not including listening in their anti-noise fights. Lots of measurements were made and noise studies were conducted in order to understand noise pollution and to make changes, but the one thing that was missing was *listening* to noise. Schafer claimed that conscious listening would help us to understand viscerally what is actually going on out there. His idea was that in our study of the whole soundscape we also needed to insert perception into the study of noise, uncomfortable as it may be.

It can in fact be noticeably uncomfortable to listen to the soundscape if a soundwalk leads along a noisy street for a long time. In that context the listening is conscious! You are not just blocking the noise out; you are doing the opposite, you are opening up to it. And that can become very uncomfortable and exhausting. An experience like that is a reality check. It reveals what happens to our bodies and psyche even if we do not pay attention to it. If we block out that sound as we often do in daily life, while we are walking along a street, we are usually also not conscious of what that sound is doing to us. So, the essence of why we would want to listen to soundscapes in that fashion is to understand their impact on ourselves and any living being, especially when we are exposed to this kind of noise in everyday life. What is the reality of that? To supplement the listening experience with measurements and acoustic research was the ideal really behind the work of the "World Soundscape Project". Let's work together with scientists who are studying the sound environment, and bring together the information that comes from both quantitative data and qualitative research. If we combine these approaches, we may get a broader understanding of what we're doing to our sound environments.

However, such a comprehensive approach to studying the sound environment opens up enormous and complex arenas of work. Before I started working with the "World Soundscape Project", when I was still a music student, I had never heard about sound research, noise measurements, environmental acoustics and the like, and certainly had never imagined to get into this field of study. Suddenly you are dealing with quantitative data, you want to understand terms such as the decibel, reverberation, resonance, and so on; you want to understand how environmental conditions influence sound quality, why something is disturbing or not; you learn about the psychology of listening, the physiology of the ear, to name just a few aspects of studying the world of sound. Not only are you entering into multi-disciplines of sound and acoustics, but on a personal

level you are also beginning to understand *how* you listen, what kind of listener yourself are. This is a life task really, to begin to understand how we listen, how we react to sound, why some people are more sensitive to noise and loud sounds than others, why certain cultures are much more sonically expressive and outgoing than others. I always say that Schafer has left us a huge legacy, because once you start listening to the world you are dealing with all of life.

How would you describe our everyday acoustic environments, thinking specially of those people living in cities? You were talking about noise. David Hendy (2013) says that the modernity is noisy. Is this your belief as well?

It is a tricky subject. There has been a resistance to likening city and urban living to noise. It is not a black and white question. Schafer has been criticised for presenting a duality between nature/good/quiet, city/loud/not good. On the surface, yes, that is what one can read in his book [*The Soundscape. Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*], which was written in the 1970s when noise pollution became a fundamental impetus for him to pay attention to the quality of the soundscape. But when you really read his work in depth, the premise of listening to the world and researching the sound environment reveals deep complexities in how soundscapes are experienced and interpreted. It is never black and white. For example, as people in older cultures know, urban environments can have incredibly beautiful quiet places — the nooks and crannies of small streets, where motorised sounds cannot penetrate. In North America, it is a bit different: cities tend to be sprawling places where broadband sound from traffic can kind of pervade large territories. The low frequency rumble of motorised sounds and of air conditioning from high-rise buildings, for example, can travel far and be all-pervasive.

In contrast, in my own hometown in Germany it was decided in the 1970s, I think — I had already emigrated —, to empty the old town centre of all motorized traffic. It is the most beautiful urban space that I can imagine, because all you hear is footsteps, musicians and voices, basically. The buildings don't have air conditioning outlets like so many in North American cities. Of course you can experience this in many other cultures, in which one can find this interesting combination of a quiet soundscape (devoid of motorised sounds) and yet socially a very lively atmosphere — beautiful urban environments that can be much quieter than some parts of the country side where one hears agricultural machines or major traffic arteries. If we really begin to listen to all those details in the soundscape, then we can no longer insist on dualistic interpretations of the sound environment.

Authorities are also becoming more sensitive to the acoustic quality of cities and buildings...

Exactly. Peter Cusack recently wrote a book entitled *Berlin Sonic Places. A Brief Guide* in which he highlights how, when we move through a city, we "pass through a continual succession of soundscapes that merge, often unnoticed, from one to the next". Every

part of the city has its own sonic characteristics. When the "World Soundscape Project" was studying the soundscape of Vancouver in the early 1970s, this was a very new approach. It had not been done in a comprehensive way before. We were trying to get a sort of global aural "image" — for lack of a better word! — of Vancouver, by recording it, by studying different aspects of it. Only in the process of studying it we began to understand how impossible that really is, how complex an urban environment is, how inspiring or also absolutely oppressive it can be. We have beaches in Vancouver and we have beautiful open spaces. That does not mean that we don't hear an urban hum all the time, depending on the weather, the wind, the air pressure. It changes every day. Then we have the opposite, the Downtown East Side. People who live there have to deal with noises that can be frightening, noises that are not just loud traffic, but there are sirens, voices of people who are suffering from addiction and homelessness, and yes, there is traffic continuously, construction, and so on. Between those extremes, we have everything else, including the more glitzy financial, commercial centre of downtown with its high rises.

During the beginning months of covid we suddenly had very little traffic. It was particularly interesting to go into those high-rise areas when traffic had pretty much come to a stand still. Suddenly you could really hear the acoustic parameters of a place like that. You walk through those now empty streets ringed by concrete and glass, high walls, hard surfaces and you realise when you make a single sound in there it reverberates strongly or even echoes. But when these same streets are filled with continuous traffic sound, it is very hard to discern how much that sound gets amplified and reverberated by those glass walls. Downtown streets are basically acoustic tunnels of amplified motor sounds. It's called the canyon effect. Covid has highlighted many such soundscape characteristics and ideally may encourage and enable changes in urban sound design in future city planning.

Is it a challenge to experience the polyphonic nature of cities?

Polyphony to me represents a coming together of many voices interacting with each other, and in an ideal way you hear all aspects of it. In a four-part fugue by Johann Sebastian Bach you hear every note. When you are in a North American downtown street, as I have described before, there is one sound that dominates, which is the traffic. Yes, you can hear a polyphony of cars passing, of buses and trucks, and you can hear that clearly. Do you hear the footsteps of the people that are walking along the sidewalk? Do you hear their voices? Do you hear voices across the street? Do you hear the wind in the trees that might be there? Do you hear the birds that are singing at the same time? Yes, you may, but what is the relationship between all that? If you would take away the traffic, you would hear those quieter sounds clearly. When the traffic is there, you might still hear aspects of it but you don't have the same transparency and clarity as you would have in a truly polyphonically balanced soundscape where all voices are clearly discernible. The traffic creates a sound wall, as Schafer called it, that prevents us from listening into the distance or to the subtleties in humans' voices. In a conversation walking along a noisy

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Interview with Hildegard Westerkamp: "Once you Start Listening to the World You Are Dealing With All of Life" · Madalena Oliveira & Cláudia Martinho

street, do you hear the subtle intonation of the person speaking with you? Do we have to speak louder because of the traffic and what does that do to our intonation? Some bird species have become louder because of traffic sound. So, we can hear them, and we can hear them because they occupy a higher frequency range than the traffic. The high frequencies still come through but are they hearing each other clearly enough? Why have they become louder? In order to hear each other. For survival.

Yes, there is a polyphony of many voices in dense urban environments. This can be very inspiring, can be exhilarating, as in a market environment, where there is a lot going on, where we hear vendors and many lively voices. And right now during the pandemic we all crave to hear a bunch of voices in the streets again, hear the life of the people in the city. That is a positive experience of people living in a community together and that type of social polyphony needs to be examined: is there a balance of voices in terms of their sonic power? If the traffic dominates, as I said earlier, then the actual human and animal communication is not as clearly decipherable. If urban planners could go on soundwalks, especially now during these pandemic times, then the conscious listening that happens on any soundwalk, would reveal new information useful for urban acoustic design and significantly different from that which is derived from noise measurements. But sadly that consciousness of listening is mostly still lacking in much of urban planning.

Our culture and learning systems are very much visual-based (digital screens-based). Our experience of urban places is also probably much more visual than acoustic. At least the way we register this experience. How could a sonic-based experience of urban places be promoted? And what can a sonic experience offer us that cannot be seen?

First of all, I would claim that the experience has become more visual because of the noisy environments that we are in. An environment that is dense with motorised and broadband sounds — sounds that cover the whole frequency spectrum and are often continuous sounds, such as air-conditioning, vehicular traffic, etc. — environments like that do not encourage listening, because they quickly become uninteresting. When a soundscape becomes seemingly too familiar and doesn't carry new information, it becomes a background sound that seemingly does not require our attention, but it also does not give us any cues for orientation in our movements. It is a natural aspect of our aural perception that we block out what doesn't interest us. Yet, when we are in conversation with someone while walking along a noisy street our ears have to strain to hear the words and it becomes the role of our eyes to make sure we cross the street safely, for example. Under such conditions, it has become our habit to orient ourselves mostly visually. The only people who have to rely on their aural acuity even in noisy environments are blind people. But for them it's very difficult, because they have to decipher acoustic information from traffic's ebb and flow, and from within the broadband density of the traffic sounds.

Covid has taught us something, I believe. When the world became quiet so suddenly in March 2020, that broadband sound was largely missing and our ears woke up to a new neighbourhood ambience. We heard more clearly what was always there, the quiet itself. Suddenly one could hear the entire envelope of a car passing from the very beginning of its appearance to the very end of its disappearance — a very rare sonic experience in the city. You could hear individual voices communicating with each other, people speaking across the street from each other. You could hear many more birds, which probably had always been there, but we didn't notice them before. Because that noise bed of the city was gone, we could hear all the subtler sounds with more clarity. It became a pleasure to hear people communicating from their balconies. For many months, here in Vancouver, every evening at 7 o'clock, people would come out on their balconies and make sounds and noises of gratitude for the health workers who were working hard in hospitals and care homes. I remember going out into different parts of the city recording those 7 o'clock events. Every neighbourhood sounded different! The beginning of covid-19 was an aural wake up moment for everybody in the world. But now the novelty has worn off. It is precisely at this moment that we need to stay awake aurally and become conscious of what we might learn from this experience for the future of urban soundscape design.

The contrast of coming from a noisy to a quiet environment, if it is experienced consciously, is the same kind of wake up call. If we drive in a car for hours our hearing acuity will be reduced. Our ears will have been inundated with hours of motor sound. So we will experience a temporary threshold shift, that is, we will be slightly deaf. When we arrive and get out of the car we will experience a sudden quiet. It will take some hours for our ears to recover from the noise induced shift in our hearing and gradually the subtle sounds in the quieter environment will come to our attention, especially if we can experience this transition consciously.

Many people don't know — there is a lack of education — that we experience what is called a temporary threshold shift, where we temporarily loose some of our hearing. Physiologically the hair cells in our inner ear have been bent by the continuous motor sound that we have been experiencing. If we are lucky enough to be exposed to a quiet environment long enough after such an exposure — which could be as much as twice as much time of the noise exposure, depending on the decibel level — the hair cells will return to their healthy upright position and we regain our original hearing acuity. If we understand this physical process, then we know that quiet is necessary for the recovery from such a temporary threshold shift and we can try to give ourselves that time. If we do, we will be able to connect to the quiet sounds of the environment, to their richness. Going into a desert or going into the mountains has that same impact. But if we don't have that opportunity, if we are always surrounded by a wall of higher sound levels, we don't have the comparison. In such a situation, if we have the luck to be exposed to somebody who offers soundwalks or opportunities for some sort of environmental listening, that can give us experiences of acoustic contrasts even within the urban environment, then we begin to notice all these subtleties that are implied by listening consciously to the environment.

Once you have been on a soundwalk, you don't forget that experience. We can talk about soundwalks, but unless people have actually experienced them, they really don't know what we are talking about. They have to be done. To spend just one hour concentrated on listening and not talking, paying attention to all sounds, is a very refreshing if intense experience. I don't think I have ever been on a soundwalk where people were not inspired afterwards. It is an inspirational experience because your hearing has been opened up in a new way. That happens even when you walk in a noisy environment. It is just a bit more exhausting. In a soundwalk you are connecting to the act of listening in a conscious way, no matter what the sound quality of the environment is. And that is precisely where the source of discovery, new information and inspiration is located.

What have I heard today in my neighbourhood that has always been there but I have never really noticed before? It is the noticing that connects us aurally to place. In a soundwalk you are making the relationship between self and environment conscious on an aural level, which is very different than site seeing. We become conscious that we actually are always inside a soundscape, we are not listening at, as we are looking at something. To know what we are inside of, what that acoustic "room" is that we are inside of all the time, and how its structure and its quality change and affect us or a situation, is very important information, because then we also understand why we are relating to it in certain ways, how we respond to it. To know who we are as listeners in any culture, in any environment, means that we learn to better understand our relationship to it. And that in itself is a first step towards ecological action.

Would you say that the practice of soundwalking enhances our body as a sensorial place in itself?

Yes, totally! We are not just listening through the ear, we are sensing with our entire body. All sound frequencies bring the air into motion and its vibrations touch our bodies. If you think of it purely in terms of the physics of sound, that is the reality. Percussionist and composer Evelyn Glennie [United Kingdom] who lost almost all her hearing at an early age, has taught us how the whole body and not just the ear, really is one sensing unit, how different parts of the body are affected by different frequencies and how the whole body can "hear" that. All of us, who are lucky enough to have healthy ears, have the disadvantage of never really learning how the rest of our body hears, because we don't need to sense the soundscape around us in that way, our ears seem to do the job. Only in very loud situations, such as a nightclub or along a truck route, can we feel the low frequencies vibrating our bodies. People may try to protect their ears in such situations by wearing ear protection, but in reality most of the sound still impacts the rest of our body.

Besides being a way of raising some awareness of the ecological crises, can the practice of soundwalking be understood as a way of improving our condition, balance, and well-being? Can it be a kind of therapy?

Yes, definitively. Usually in the discussions after the soundwalk, there is a sense of enthusiasm that comes from people, an excitement about having noticed sounds that

they had not noticed before. That in itself is therapeutic and inspirational. I often get the feedback that a soundwalk is a meditative experience. If it is a well-composed soundwalk, or if the environment "plays" well with us during a soundwalk, you hope to have a kind of a sound "composition" that is balanced in itself. Participants would experience times of sound stimulation and times of repose, and other such changes in the sound environment alternating in a balanced way.

Sometimes there may be street music, or transitions between indoor and outdoor sounds, traffic, ducks in a pond, or children on the playground, muzak in a mall, anything is possible. Soundwalks can be very magical when they give us those beautiful changes from one soundscape to another. Our ears and whole being is stimulated by such changes when we notice them. In daily life we tend to block out that kind of listening experience. To notice sounds on a soundwalk without reacting or talking about it immediately, by just listening, by just letting it come and go, is in itself calming. In meditation, we notice our thoughts, the noise of our brain, and we learn to acknowledge them and let them pass. In a soundwalk we do something quite similar: we notice the sound, acknowledge it quietly and let it go. At the end of that experience, it can be very healing for people to have an exchange about what they experienced. It often points out how each one of us listens differently and what we have in common in our listening, how we feel about certain sounds, how we react to them.

People get touched in a soundwalk in various ways. That is the immediate effect. Comparing these experiences creates a deeper consciousness about how we listen as a person or as a community and it is an opportunity to explore why we might react in certain ways. There are therapeutic aspects in all of this, especially if one creates soundwalking as an ongoing practice. Here in Vancouver this has been made possible for quite a few people through the establishment of the Vancouver Soundwalk Collective who has offered soundwalks to the public through Vancouver New Music since 2003. For some members this kind of listening has become a practice in their daily lives, similar to a regular meditation practice. It is the regularity of such a practice that has positive and calming effects and encourages a continuous process of deepening, changing and renewing the listening and thus the relationship to the world around us.

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Book Reviews | *Leituras*

Book review of *A Cidade em Todas as Suas Formas* (The City in All Its Forms)

Recensão do livro *A Cidade em Todas as Suas Formas*

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La Rocca, F. (2018). *A cidade em todas as suas formas* (A. A. Ramos, Trans.). Editora Sulina. (Original work published 2013)

A Cidade em Todas as Suas Formas (The City in All Its forms) written by the sociologist Fábio La Rocca, was published in 2018 by Editora Sulina, in Brazil, and is the Portuguese translation of the original work published in 2013, by CNRS Éditions, under the same title.

Along the pages of this book, divided into four chapters, Fábio La Rocca, who has published multiple works focusing on sociology of imaginary, communication and media, visual sociology, cities and urban spaces, provides readers with a passionate tour of the city universe, thus being able to elicit accurate and up-to-date reflections on the infinite urban possibilities in constant metamorphosis. With constant references to Simmel, Heidegger, Baudrillard, Maffesoli's works, among others, we are immersed by restlessness: after all, it is necessary to learn to think the urban ambiances with our eyes.

In order to elaborate a literary *flânerie* through the chapters, we have registered below some impressions and reflections that the work has elicited.

Wandering Around Urban Environments in a Current Climatology

In a first chapter, La Rocca presents, in a question form, a summary of the next pages. "How should we look at the city?" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 17). Is there a more correct way of perceiving urban space? Since we recognize this impossibility, we are suggested to think, then, in new ways of perceiving, understanding, feeling and living the city(ies). Thus, it is necessary to wander through its paths and experience its architectural "skin", its forms, styles, identities and fragments. Until the "urb", as Calvino (1972/1990) mentioned, gives us an answer.

In this contemporary climatology, the change in the urban paradigm evoked by La Rocca is perfectly clear. Linear cities, arising from structural rationalism to Le Corbusier, give way, as if in an ecdysis, to the postmodern cities of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown that provide for the explosion of forms, open situations and aesthetics of diversity.

In this urban promenade, the form and modalities of the physical city are interpreted beside the sensitivity of the aesthetic experience of the different subjects responsible for giving meaning to the place. This worthwhile encounter between space and sociality, presented by Heidegger's analysis of the "being-city", is described as "a process of symbolic elaboration of the space that emerges in the practices of daily life" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 20).

The cities are perceived, in this way, as a sensitive poetics that reflect their postmodern spirit, either (a) through the architectural body-city with sinuous shapes, an icon of beauty that spatializes the imaginary and works as a medium while transporting polysemic narratives; (b) through the chaotic cyborg–city, a giant spectacle, used by the author in the Bladerunnerization metaphor; or (c) in the understanding of "super-places" — neologism associated with the idea of non-place in Marc Augé's (1992/2016) work published in 1992 — of psychophysical attraction that spreads through the metropolises, changing and setting themselves up as magnetic spaces for consumption not only of objects, but mainly of desires, impulses and dreams.

Urban Imagery(ies)

In the second chapter, entitled "Formas do Imaginário Urbano" (forms of the urban imaginary), the city is reaffirmed as a great social research laboratory by becoming a cinematographic character. Cinemas has been the object of numerous analyzes in recent years, and according to Marc Ferro (1977/1992) in the 1970s, it offered a counter-analysis of society. Following this premise, it is observed by La Rocca that the magic of this medium would be to contribute to the production and propagation of social imaginary as well as mental maps. In the line of this idea, by making use of a variety of references, the author deduces that one of the possibilities of urban imagery is intrinsically related to the world of images in cinema. In his words: "cinema appears as the production of an urban culture capable of showing us and making us observe the vastness of the forms of the urban landscape that, consequently, become cinematographic landscapes" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 81). Thus, it is in the visuality of the cinema that we are able to experience and verify the complexity of the urban form(s), in a new mental cartography created individually in each observant.

This analysis is in agreement with a *phenomenology of perception*, proposed by Merleau-Ponty in 1964, as the author rightly states. La Rocca's considerations indicate that cinema invites people to reflect on the individual relationship of subjects with space and redesigns, in this way, an "intimate geography" of the city. However, in this intimacy, would there be space to see ourselves in community?

By combining considerations about the collective city, or rather, the Dionysic city (Maffesoli, 2003) in which we get inebriated and wander (Baudelaire, 1976, as cited in La Rocca, 2013/2018), La Rocca brings another suggestion of urban imagery: the hype city. At this point, it is considered an urban cartography of fun, of "sensationalism of pleasures", of "tribal religions". Several festive episodes in the city become the medium of "nervous

excitement mobilizing all the senses. A total and synesthetic mobilization of the energies that are correlated with the ideology of entertainment" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 109).

From that point, regardless of how and where, it is possible to interpret the city in "a continuous process of transformations and transfigurations of its own spaces" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 125). The author disrupts and restructures the city based on the collective narration of infinite situations that happen in everyday life. Communication and community. In an existential dynamism, fragments of life, places of sociality and (sensitive) spaces of emotions conceive and signify, in a ritualistic process originated by the subjects, following Carey's line of thought (1992), what we now know as the symbolic reality of/in the city. It is the collective practices that "give sense, values and significance to space" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 135). There is no city without its inhabitants.

Seeing and Thinking With Your Eyes

In the third chapter there is a growing visual stimulation arising from the proliferation of images in cities that, in turn, experience a continuum of daily elaboration of experiences and possibilities. Urban forms are then considered to be a polygon of signs. "We find ourselves in a position of relationship with this visual stimulation as never seen before, capable of exercising a power of fascination, of attraction, but also of repulsion" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 158). In *Crise no Castelo da Cultura: Das Estrelas Para os Ecrãs* (Crisis at the Castle of Culture: From the Stars to the Screens), Martins (2011) already states that the "image constitutes the very form of our culture" (p. 77).

In this tour guided by countless visual stimuli through the cities, though, we can adopt the *blasé* attitude (described by Simmel) as a form of protection or practice visual *flânerie* either in the daily walks or in the inter-paths for the uncontrollable becoming. In transport or outdoors, sitting inside a cafe, for example, it is necessary to (re)learn to see the city behind this glass-screen.

In this urban crossing of postmodern climatology, without certainties and promises, "then a communicational constellation appears, which is quite the sign of an aesthetic *spatialization* from which a journey of the urban imaginary is triggered" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 165). There is space, then, to (a) touch (with) the gaze through outdoor advertising, social body, form of communication and cultural expression that contributes to designing an urban space — and inhibiting or even preventing others (Pires, 2007); and (b) to manifest a "being-in-the-world" based on graffiti, interpreted by La Rocca (2013/2018) as visual and linguistic codes, tattoos on urban "skin", "icons that produce a visual imagery that is embedded in urban interstices, and that make the streets similar to open-air art galleries" (p. 211).

Wandering Through Hybrid Cities

After walking through this urban visual grammar that appears as an "emotional and at the same time symbolic metaphor" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 211), tecnópolis is

presented in the fourth chapter. At the beginning of this journey, La Rocca provokes us by quoting Cedric Price "technology is the answer, but what was the question?" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 213).

Considering that the metropolises are increasingly permeated by digital technologies, new ways of living and inhabiting these spaces are inevitably emerging on a daily basis. This urban fusion where "*technè* fuses with *bios*" (La Rocca, 2013/2018, p. 217) is seen from the topics media interconnections, technodigital spatialities and second city.

In contemporary climatology, human life and presence in the city — always on or available — is recorded and shared in a tribal digital imprinting; enhanced and "oriented" — and sometimes made possible — by the technological presence, in which a possible example is digital modulations of digital *déambulation* such as Google Maps, Google Earth, Drive & Listen, among others.

Would this be the farewell of the *flâneur/flâneuse* that walks through the galleries and streets inebriated by the thousand ambiances?

In line with the ideas of Leite (2006), we can understand the metamorphosis of Baudelaire's characters. After all, in this new conception of space, or better, in this second city, where communication and information storage capacities are enhanced — cyberspace — there is space for *cyber-fl*ânerie. In the postmodern "bit architecture" there is room for an ontologically reconfigured "being-city", nurtured and inhabited in a symbiotic, interactive and increasingly hybrid way.

The tour comes to an end when the pages end, but it continues as a valuable epistemic contribution in our knowledge of *the city(ies) in all its forms*.

Translation: Isabel Maria da Silva Vieira

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