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Urban Knowledges

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Saperi urbani

Guest artists: Cyop&Kaf

Editoriale / Editorial / Edito

Dominique Boullier

Méthodes de tri des foules et des publics dans le parc humain lors des événements / Metodi di ordinamento delle folle e dei pubblici all'interno del parco umano in occasione degli eventi urbani

Philippe Artières

Des Ecritures illicites. Le savoir des agents de la sureté sur l'écrit à Paris (1871-1900)

Prashan Ranasinghe

Consumption, Public Disorder and the Politics of Knowing / Consumo, disordine pubblico e politica del sapere

William Kornblum & Kristen Lawler

Collecting and Connecting in New York's Central Park

Margarethe Kusenbach

Nearby, Well Known: The Parochial Realm of Neighborhoods

Davide Ghiraldini

Copenyard: pratiche, soglie e conoscenze nei cortili di Copenhagen / Copenyards: practices, thresholds and knowledges in the courtyards of Copenhagen

Céline Cholez

Au-delà du plan. La topologie urbaine des livreurs

Michele Carpani & Lucia Fernandez

Il sapere urbano dei clasificadores

Jérôme Denis & David Pontille

Describing the Cycling City. Map-makings of an elusive object / Décrire la ville cyclable. Cartographies d'un objet élusif

Simone Ferracina

Cyber-Imageability

Andrea Mubi Brighenti

Waking up and getting off

David Beer

Urban knowledge through popular culture

EDITORIALE

La città è uno spazio di circolazione non solo di persone e beni ma anche di affetti, atteggiamenti, atmosfere e saperi. In questo numero, presentiamo alcune ricerche su tali saperi che circolano nello spazio e vengono richiamati, sviluppati e applicati in relazione allo spazio. I saperi urbani sono in effetti come dei "modi di vedere" e valutare i fenomeni, oltre che degli strumenti per regolare lo spazio, attraversarlo, orientarvisi e agire su di esso.

Diverse forme di conoscenza sullo "stato" della città sono ad esempio prodotte costantemente dai sistemi tecnici utilizzati per rilevare dati e tracciare dati. Si tratta di sostegni fondamentali della società tecnologica; ma esistono anche saperi urbani più quotidiani e apparentemente non strutturati, come nel caso del sapere comune sviluppato dagli utenti della città o da specifici gruppi di cittadini per svolgere il loro lavoro o promuovere i loro interessi. Così, i saperi urbani possono essere formali o informali, visibili o invisibili, professionali o amatoriali.

Cominciando da saperi professionali ma ampiamente invisibili, Dominique Boullier propone una tripartizione analitica per comprendere le tecniche per selezionare i pubblici che si formano in occasione degli eventi urbani. In prospettiva storica, Philippe Artières rivela poi come, nell'ultimo quarto del diciannovesimo secolo, gli agenti di sicurezza di Parigi cominciarono a controllare le scritte sui muri al fine di sorvegliare le classi popolari.

Altri saperi professionali possono essere molto più visibili, quantomeno nei loro effetti. È il caso ad esempio del sapere sul "disordine pubblico" (mendicanti e senza dimora) sviluppato dalle società private e studiato da Prashan Ranasinghe nella sua ricerca su come i rappresentanti dei *business improvement districts* definiscano quelle che considerano come le fonti di "minaccia al consumo civilizzato". Nell'articolo seguente, William Kornblum e Kristen Lawler raccontano la loro ricerca su Central Park a New York, riflettendo su come essa sia stata, non solo un modo di raccogliere dati, ma anche una possibilità di entrare in relazione con il parco stesso e le sue dinamiche sociali.

I quartieri urbani costituiscono una dimensione importante in cui si sviluppano saperi non-professionali sullo spazio abitabile. Nel suo articolo, Margarethe Kusenbach mostra l'esistenza di competenze di interazione che formano il "domino parrocchiale" del quartiere, mentre Davide Ghiraldini riporta un caso di politica della (in)visibilità tra i cortili di Copenhagen, dove i residenti locali occultano i punti di accesso ai propri giardini comunitari.

I tre articoli seguenti prendono in considerazione come certe occupazioni sviluppino dei saperi pratici per navigare, usare e descrivere lo spazio in cui svolgono le loro attività vitali: Céline Cholez mostra in dettaglio come corrieri sviluppino una conoscenza topologica dei luoghi e delle vie attraverso il ritmo delle strade, mentre Michele Carpani e Lucia Fernandez si focalizzano su come in America latina i *clasificadores*, raccoglitori e selezionatori informali di rifiuti, facciano uso delle aree residuali delle città. Jérôme Denis e David Pontille analizzano invece comparativamente due diverse tecniche sviluppate da attori differenti per mappare le piste ciclabili a Parigi e nell'Ile-de-France.

Nell'ultima parte del numero ospitiamo tre articoli sulla relazione tra saperi urbani e media. Simone Ferracina riflette su come la *augmented city* e il fenomeno della *extreme customisation* reso possibile dalle nuove tecnologie dell'informazione stiano trasformando la classica nozione di Kevin Lynch di "immaginabilità" della città; Andrea Mubi Brighenti si attarda sulla curiosa relazione tra new media e sonnambulismo urbano; infine, nel pezzo conclusivo, David Beer suggerisce che il sapere urbano può essere analizzato attraverso alcuni prodotti della cultura popolare, prendendo ad esempio il caso di alcuni telefilm inglesi degli anni Settanta e della 'città melodrammatica' da essi evocata.

JD, DP, AMB

EDITORIAL

The city is a space of circulation not only of people and goods but also of affects, attitudes, atmospheres and knowledges [savoirs]. In this issue, we present an inquiry into various instances of urban knowledges, i.e. forms of knowledge that circulate across urban space and are spatially evoked, developed and applied. Urban knowledges are like 'ways of seeing' and evaluating ongoing phenomena may be used to shape and regulate urban space, as well as to navigate it, orient oneself in it, and act in and on it.

Knowledges about urban states are routinely produced by technical systems used in detecting data and tracking events. As such, urban knowledges are fundamental underpins of a technological society; however, there are also mundane and uncoordinated urban knowledges, as in the case of common knowledge employed by city users or specific groups of urbanites to pursue their interests or just do their job. Thus, urban knowledges can be formal or informal, visible or invisible, professional or amateurs.

Beginning with professional but largely invisible knowledges, Dominique Boullier proposes an analytics to understand the techniques for sorting gatherings (which Boullier calls semi-crowds and semi-publics) that form on the occasion of large urban events. From a historical perspective, Philippe Artières reveals how, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Parisian security agents used to monitor and scrutinise wall writings to keep watch over the popular classes.

Other professional knowledges are much more visible, at least in their effects. In the case for instance, of corporate knowledge about 'public disorder' (meaning essentially panhandling and homelessness) studied by Prashan Ranasinghe, who did extensive research on how business improvement districts' representatives understood and explained the major 'threats to civilised consumption'. In the following piece, William Kornblum & Kristen Lawler report about their long-term research on New York's Central Park, reflecting on how such research proved to be not only a way of collecting data but also a way of actually connect to the park itself and its living social dynamics.

Neighbourhoods are a particularly interesting urban dimension where non-professional yet specific urban knowledges are developed. In her piece, Margarethe Kusenbach reflects the types of interaction competence that characterises the 'parochial realm' of the neighbourhood, while Davide Ghiraldini reports on the politics of (in)visibility of Copenhagen courtyards, examining how local residents 'conceal' the entrances and access points to their community gardens.

The next three articles consider how certain occupations develop their working knowledge to navigate, use and describe the space where they carry on their activities: Céline Cholez details how delivery workers develop a topological knowledge of locations and directions through the very rhythmicity of roads, while Michele Carpani and Lucia Fernandez focus on how the Latin-American *clasificadores*, informal waste pickers and selectors, use the residual areas of the city. On their turn, Jérôme Denis and David Pontille analyse comparatively two different techniques developed by different actors to map bike lanes in Paris and the Ile-de-France district.

In the last part of the issue we host three articles that delve into how media and new media are tied to urban knowledges. Simone Ferracina reflects on how the augmented city and the phenomenon of 'extreme customisation' made possible by the new ICT media are transforming Kevin Lynch's classic notion of city imageability; Andrea Mubi Brighenti ruminates about the curious relationship between new media and urban sleepwalking; and, in the end piece, David Beer suggests that urban knowledges can be fruitfully analysed through popular broadcasts, analysing in particular some 1970s British comedy shows and their depiction of a 'melodramatic city'.

JD, DP, AMB

EDITO

La ville est un espace qui est traversé non seulement par des personnes et des biens, mais aussi par des affects, des attitudes, des atmosphères et des savoirs. Dans ce numéro, nous présentons une exploration de différents savoirs urbains, formes de savoirs qui circulent dans l'espace urbain sous des formes variées, tantôt simplement évoqués, tantôt développés, tantôt « appliqués ». Les savoirs urbains sont comme des "façons de voir" permettant d'évaluer les phénomènes en cours aussi bien pour façonner et réguler l'espace urbain que pour y circuler, s'y orienter, ou encore agir dans et sur lui.

De nombreux savoirs urbains sont produits de manière routinière par des systèmes techniques de détection faits de capteurs pour suivre des événements. En tant que tels, ces savoirs représentent une infrastructure essentielle d'une société technologique. Mais il existe également des savoirs ordinaires, non articulés, comme ceux que mobilisent les usagers de la ville ou certains groupes de citoyens qui suivent des intérêts particuliers ou font simplement leur travail. Ainsi, les savoirs urbains peuvent-ils être formels et informels, visibles et invisibles, professionnels et amateurs.

Commençant avec des professionnels mais à propos de savoirs largement invisibles, Dominique Boullier développe une analyse pour comprendre les techniques de classement des rassemblements (qu'il nomme les semi-foules et semi-publics) qui se forment à l'occasion de grands événements urbains. Dans une perspective historique, Philippe Artières révèle comment, à la fin du XIXe siècle, les policiers parisiens contrôlaient et examinaient minutieusement les écrits sur les murs pour surveiller les classes populaires.

D'autres savoirs professionnels sont beaucoup plus visibles, au moins dans leurs effets. C'est par exemple le cas du savoir institutionnel sur le "désordre public" (c'est-à-dire essentiellement la mendicité et les SDF) étudié par Prashan Ranasinghe, qui a mené une recherche approfondie sur les manières dont les représentants des quartiers d'affaires comprennent et expliquent les principales "menaces envers la consommation civilisée". Dans le texte suivant, William Kornblum et Kristen Lawler rendent compte de leur recherche de longue haleine sur Central Park

à New York, montrant comment cette recherche a été non seulement une occasion de produire des données mais aussi une manière d'articuler le parc lui-même à ses intenses dynamiques sociales.

Les quartiers sont des lieux particulièrement intéressants où sont développés des savoirs urbains non professionnels mais néanmoins singuliers. Dans son article, Margarethe Kusenbach les types de compétence interactionnelle qui caractérisent le "domaine paroissial" du quartier. De son côté, Davide Ghiraldini rend compte de la politique de visibilité/invisibilité des cours de Copenhague, en examinant la pratique des résidents locaux pour "dissimuler" les entrées et les points d'accès aux jardins de leur communauté.

Les trois articles suivants s'intéressent à la manière dont certains professionnels développent des savoirs de métier pour circuler, utiliser et décrire l'espace qu'ils traversent durant leurs activités. Céline Cholez détaille comment les chauffeurs-livreurs développent un savoir topologique des lieux et des directions fondé sur la rythmique des rues. Michele Carpani et Lucia Fernandez se concentrent sur la façon dont les clasificadores Latino-Américains, récolteurs et sélectionneurs informels des déchets, investissent les zones abandonnées de la ville. De leur côté, Jérôme Denis et David Pontille proposent une analyse comparative de deux techniques développées par des acteurs différents pour cartographier les pistes cyclables à Paris et en Ile-de-France.

Dans la dernière partie de ce numéro, nous accueillons trois articles qui approfondissent l'analyse des liens entre technologies et savoirs urbains. Simone Ferracina étudie comment la ville augmentée et le phénomène de "personnalisation extrême" rendu possible par les nouvelles technologies transforment la notion classique d'imagerie de la ville proposée par K. Lynch. Andrea Mubi Brighenti réfléchit sur les relations étranges entre les nouvelles technologies et le somnambulisme urbain. Et, dans le dernier texte, David Beer suggère que les savoirs urbains peuvent être fructueusement analysés à travers les émissions populaires, en étudiant notamment des comédies anglaises des années 1970 et leur description d'une "ville mélodramatique".

JD, DP, AMB





Méthodes de tri des foules et des publics dans le parc humain lors des événements

Dominique Boullier



L'espace public d'Habermas et celui du gestionnaire d'une ville pourraient ne jamais se rencontrer : après tout, pour Tarde (1901), le public est constitué par cette connexion des cerveaux à distance, permise par la presse notamment. Ce que l'on qualifie d'événements dans une ville représente cependant un moment rare de mise en présence, en contact physique, dans l'environnement bâti de la ville, de ces esprits, préparés, échauffés, « mobilisés » à distance auparavant. Mais cette focalisation de l'attention collective, ce centrage partagé sur un même agenda, ne dit rien des formes de composition de ces collectifs co-présents dans un lieu public. Il est alors trop facile de les réduire tous au statut de foule, comme le fait paresseusement toute une tradition sociologique à la suite de Le Bon (1895). Nous avons proposé (Boullier, 2010) au contraire une « prudence » de la catégorisation qui tienne compte du caractère instable de ces regroupements, en parlant de « quasi foules », mais aussi de « quasi publics ». Park (1903) adoptait une attitude similaire en employant le terme de « mouvement de foule », pour éviter de lui donner une substance et une permanence. En prolongeant Tarde, nous avons proposé, de façon symétrique, de parler aussi de « mouvements d'opinion » et non plus « d'opinion publique ». Dès lors, il devient possible de rendre compte de tout un gradient de constitution de l'espace public, qui part depuis cette proximité des corps qui peuvent donner des mouvements de foule (et l'on sera plus près de l'espace public au sens urbain du terme) jusqu'à cette participation des esprits au même enjeu, sur un même problème (« issue ») qui constitue un public (Lippmann, 1927) et produit des mouvements d'opinion, ce qui est le propre de l'espace public au sens politique du terme. Ces gradients ne sont pas de simples opérations conceptuelles, ce sont en fait les indices qu'exploitent tous les participants à un événement pour mesurer (c'est-à-dire « sentir ») ce qui se passe, comme c'est le cas lors des grandes transformations politiques vécues en 2011 dans la « rue arabe », expression qui possède précisément les deux sens de foule et de public, de cadre bâti et de phénomène politique.

Ces méthodes, au sens de l'ethnométhodologie, pour rendre possible cette épiphanie du collectif comme esprit partagé à partir de corps individuels physiquement proches, sont au nombre de trois, directement observables dans les formes du cadre bâti choisi pour trier les publics dans le parc humain (Sloterdijk, 1999).

1. Sériation des individus et démocratie représentative

Le tri des collectifs se fait d'abord en les sériant, en les réduisant à des individus dotés de propriétés identiques. Réduit à une juxtaposition d'individus, « le peuple » semble « gérable » pour employer un terme de management et, mieux encore, il semble accepter la mise

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en scène spatiale des différences sociales radicales, car tous sont réunis « pour le spectacle » ou « pour le soutien à leur équipe », comme cela se passe dans les stades. Cette méthode de création d'un monde commun ressemble en fait à celle de la démocratie représentative fondée sur des opérations de vote, individualisées à l'extrême, qui permettent de recomposer, après de nombreuses étapes, la volonté générale. Le stade ou les concerts ne semblent supporter le peuple qu'à la condition de le sérialiser, d'atténuer la puissance du nombre qui le caractérise, comme on le fait pour la démocratie représentative. Toutes les procédures de filtrage nominatif renforcent cette tendance : les 20.000 abonnés du club

Nous avons proposé de rendre compte de tout un gradient de constitution de l'espace public, qui part depuis cette proximité des corps qui peuvent donner des mouvements de foule jusqu'à cette participation des esprits au même enjeu, sur un même problème qui constitue un public et produit des mouvements d'opinion

de foot, le Paris Saint Germain (PSG), possède tous leurs cartes magnétiques avec photo personnelle, indispensables pour entrer. La « République du PSG » distribue désormais ses cartes d'identité pour autoriser ou non

la participation à un espace public. . . qui ne l'est plus, puisque devenu au sens strict, une affaire de club. Pour retrouver une maîtrise de son public trop ségrégué et agrégé en foules concurrentes (les tribunes Auteuil et Boulogne), le PSG a, en 2010, innové en créant un placement nominatif aléatoire, sans zoning préalable : il pousse ainsi encore un peu plus la démarche de sériation des individus identifiés pour éviter tout effet de foule. On mesurera cependant la différence avec les manifestations de rue, qui, dans certains cas, assez rares, donnent lieu à éviction de groupes par d'autres mais qui, plus souvent, restent ouvertes et anonymes. Il existe bien plusieurs politiques de rassemblement public et du public, certes différentes selon les enjeux marchands ou civiques dominants mais aussi selon les projets des organisateurs. Le « débordement » qui va faire émerger l'événement serait alors en premier lieu celui de cette politique de tri, puisque pour devenir public et se révéler comme connection des esprits, il va falloir dépasser cette sériation. Hantise des organisateurs qui craignent la fusion explosive des corps qui pourrait en résulter mais en même temps espoir de ces mêmes organisateurs, qui verront leur travail de programmation et de tri produire le miracle de cet instant fusionnel qui, seul, fera événement.

2. Ségrégation spatiale et zoning social

Le tri des publics se fait ensuite dans l'espace en installant les équipements du cloisonnement, en hiérarchisant les places et en évitant les contaminations. L'espace public de ces événements se constitue comme un lieu à part, hors des lieux publics, alors qu'ils les occupent. C'est le cas, en mode mineur, de la manifestation qui est encadrée par un service d'ordre mais c'est le cas en mode majeur de tous les événements à caractère de spectacle. Ceux qui sont organisés dans un cadre bâti conçu pour cela sont évidemment plus à leur aise pour réaliser le travail de « conteneur », qui tient les corps ensemble sans pour autant se résumer à une contention trop visible. Les festivals de rue et les manifestations de rue sont propices à toutes les contaminations, les quasi foules et les quasi publics se mélangeant aux vrais passants, malgré les tentatives de clôtures humaines par les services d'ordre.

Ce modèle n'est pas celui des espaces publics non plus mais il est proche des modèles de ségrégation spatiale que l'on observe dans la ville. Le stade n'est guère autre chose finalement qu'un urbanisme de zoning fonctionnel qui aurait totalement réussi au point de pouvoir ranger les groupes sociaux selon leurs statuts. Les caméras de surveillance que l'on met en place dans les villes ne seraient alors que l'écho de ce fantasme déjà réalisé dans les stades où l'on peut en permanence savoir ce que chaque groupe fait, voire même prémédite. Mais

attention, car la division n'a pas de fin lorsqu'elle est enclenchée : ainsi, au sein des groupes de supporters d'un même club, la concurrence, voire la haine, peuvent être farouches. Le conteneur des tribunes visiteurs d'un stade peut même matérialiser ces divisions internes sous forme de grilles installées au sein même de la tribune visiteurs. Tout le stade déploie une géographie sociale très marquée, où l'on peut suivre des parcours dans le cycle de vie d'un supporter selon sa génération et sa trajectoire sociale.

3. Epuration dans le temps et processus d'assimilation

Enfin, le tri s'effectue sous forme temporelle, comme c'est le cas dans les files d'attente. Le dispositif de gestion des foules traite alors les collectifs selon une succession d'états qu'ils doivent franchir pour être progressivement épurés, en traitant un attachement après l'autre. Pendant leur approche de la ville, ce sont des voyageurs qu'il faut transporter, à l'entrée du concert, ce sont des clients qui ont payé un billet, une fois entrés, ce sont des fans qui font public.

Ce modèle de traitement par sas, par seuil, ressemble fort au traitement de l'assimilation des étrangers. Toutes les files d'attente des grands événements présentent des analogies topologiques avec Ellis Island, avec tous ces terminaux qui stockent les étrangers avant de les faire franchir le seuil d'un monde tant désiré. Pour accueillir des collectifs hétérogènes, il semble nécessaire de les avoir préalablement épurés, contrôlés et réduits à certaines propriétés acceptables, assimilables. Dans les deux cas, une forme de fiction est respectée qui voudrait qu'on débouche sur une assimilation, alors qu'en réalité c'est tout un mixte de cultures et d'expériences qui passe le seuil et qui débordera toujours le supposé prototype national pur, ou tout au moins sa définition administrative provisoire. Le modèle idéal de l'espace public délibératif, éclairé, comme le proposait Habermas, repose ainsi sur cette supposée épuration des sentiments, des a priori, des émotions, bref, des corps (de la foule ou du peuple) qui doivent se transformer en purs esprits (du public, de l'opinion publique ou des citoyens).

La manifestation fait encore figure à part dans ce processus. Car son ordre propre, sa hiérarchie, veillent à faire faire l'apprentissage aux novices ou aux réfractaires de ce qu'est « la bonne manifestation », celle qui est politiquement correcte. J'ai déjà mentionné ailleurs à quel point le travail de purification des causes est radical de la part des partis à l'aide de la formule de conjuration : « c'est pas politique » (Boullier, 2001; 2009). Mais le même processus peut se vérifier pour les syndicats ou pour d'autres groupes qui cherchent la reconnaissance. Nous avons ainsi observé une manifestation de ravers, lors du festival des Trans à Rennes, qui, voulant gagner en respectabilité, accepteront de se mouler dans le modèle de la manifestation en défilant dans un ordre impeccable dans tout le centre ville de Rennes, en respectant même à la minute près les engagements pris pour terminer le défilé et éteindre les sound systems. Les responsables de la police furent véritablement ébahis de cette mutation complète de comportements. Voilà les ravers assimilés, devenus force politique de proposition, mouvement social reconnu ou tout autre terme qui qualifie la participation à des formats standards de représentations des collectifs.

Conclusion

Dans ces trois opérations, la réduction du potentiel subversif de la foule est manifeste. Et ce travail fait par les organisateurs n'est pas si éloigné de celui des sociologues qui rabattent alors ces collectifs sur les catégories a priori de foules ou de publics. Dans cette manœuvre, des organisateurs et des sociologues, c'est l'espace public au double sens du terme, politique et urbain, qui se retrouve reformaté et singulièrement réduit. Les collectifs hybrides qui font les foules et les publics sont alors sérialisés (comptés), rangés (dans l'espace et dans l'espace

social) et assimilés (dans le temps) mais les rencontres, avec leurs risques et leurs potentiels créatifs, auront été rendues impossibles. C'est pourtant ce qui fait sans nul doute l'esprit de la ville (Wirth) mais aussi l'espace politique du public, qui constituent ensemble la climatizzazione collettiva (Sloterdijk, 2004).

Metodi di ordinamento delle folle e dei pubblici all'interno del parco umano in occasione degli eventi urbani

Lo spazio pubblico di Habermas e quello di un tecnico della gestione urbana non potrebbero mai incontrarsi: dopo tutto, secondo Tarde (1901), il pubblico è costituito da una connessione di cervelli a distanza resa possibile in particolare dalla stampa. Tuttavia, ciò che chiamiamo un "evento urbano" è uno di quei momenti di presenza e contatto fisico tra questi "spiriti", riscaldati e mobilitati a distanza e a priori, che si ritrovano nell'ambiente costruito della città. Ma questa focalizzazione collettiva dell'attenzione non ci dice ancora nulla sulle forme di composizione di tali collettivi co-presenti in un luogo pubblico. Si è allora tentati di ridurre il fenomeno a una questione di "folla", come infatti fa tutta una tradizione sociologica che si rifà piattamente a Le Bon (1895). Da parte nostra (Boullier, 2010), abbiamo proposto al contrario una prudenza categoriale volta a tener conto del carattere instabile di questi raggruppamenti urbani, denominandoli "quasi-folle" e "quasi-pubblici". Analogamente, per evitare l'essentialismo, Park (1903) utilizzava il termine "movimenti di folla". Seguendo Tarde, abbiamo proposto di parlare di "movimento di opinione" invece che di "opinione pubblica". A partire di qui, diviene possibile rendere conto dei gradienti di costituzione dello spazio pubblico, a partire dalla prossimità dei movimenti di folle (lo spazio pubblico nel senso urbano del termine) fino alla partecipazione e alla focalizzazione su un medesimo problema o questione (*issue*) che definisce un pubblico (Lippmann, 1927) e produce dei movimenti di opinione (lo spazio pubblico nel senso politico del termine). Questi gradienti non sono delle semplici operazioni concettuali, ma degli indizi utilizzati dai partecipanti stessi per capire e "sentire" cosa sta succedendo, come nel caso delle grandi trasformazioni vissute nel 2011 nella "strada araba", espressione che riassume precisamente l'unità di costruito urbano e fenomeno politico.

Questi metodi (in senso etnometodologico) per rendere possibile il manifestarsi del collettivo a partire da corpi individuali fisicamente prossimi sono essenzialmente di tre tipi, e sono direttamente osservabili come forme del costruito per mettere in ordine i pubblici all'interno del parco umano (Sloterdijk, 1999).

1. Seriazione degli individui e democrazia rappresentativa

L'ordinamento dei collettivi si compie anzitutto per seriazione, riducendoli cioè a individui dotati di proprietà identiche. Una volta ridotto a una giustapposizione di individui, "il popolo" diviene, per impiegare un termine manageriale, "gestibile"; di più, esso accetta la messinscena spaziale delle differenze sociali, in quanto il fatto di riunirsi viene riportato allo "spettacolo" o, negli stadi, al "sostegno alla propria squadra". Questo metodo di creazione di un mondo comune assomiglia alla democrazia rappresentativa fondata sull'operazione di voto, che come è noto è estremamente individuale, che permette poi di ricomporre la "volontà generale". Lo stadio o i concerti sopportano il popolo solo serializzandolo, attenuando la potenza del numero, esattamente come la democrazia rappresentativa. Tutte le procedure di filtraggio nominativo rafforzano questa tendenza: i 20.000 abbonati al club di calcio Paris Saint Germain (PSG) hanno tutti una carta magnetica con foto personale, indispensabile per entrare. La "Repubblica del PSG" distribuisce ormai carte d'identità valide per la partecipazione a uno spazio pubblico... che tale non è più, proprio in quanto gestito da un club privato. Nel 2010 il PSG ha introdotto la novità del piazzamento aleatorio, senza *zoning* preventivo, il che spinge ancor più verso la seriazione individuale che impedisce effetti di folla. La differenza rispetto alle manifestazioni di strada, aperte e anonime, è evidente. Esistono diverse politiche di riunione pubblica e del pubblico, che differiscono certo rispetto

all'obiettivo commerciale o civico ma anche rispetto al progetto degli organizzatori. Il "debordamento" che fa emergere l'evento è allora in primo luogo causato da questa politica di classificazione, dato che per divenire un pubblico e qualificarsi come riunione "spirituale" occorre superare la seriazione individuale: incubo e insieme sogno degli organizzatori, che da un lato temono la miscela esplosiva della folla ma dall'altro hanno bisogno dell'istante fusionale che "fa evento".

2. Segregazione spaziale e zonizzazione sociale

L'ordinamento dei pubblici si fa poi nello spazio, introducendo degli equipaggiamenti di chiusura, gerarchizzando i luoghi ed evitando le contaminazioni. Lo spazio pubblico degli eventi si costituisce come un luogo a parte, esterno ai luoghi pubblici che pure occupa. È il caso delle manifestazioni così come di molti spettacoli, inquadrati da un servizio d'ordine. Le riunioni pensate per ambienti interni sono naturalmente più facili da contenere senza che l'effetto di "contenitore" del costruito risulti troppo visibile. I festival e le manifestazioni di strada, invece, danno costantemente luogo a contaminazioni e mescolanze pressoché inevitabili.

Questo modello non ricorda tanto lo spazio pubblico quanto i modelli di segregazione spaziale urbana. In effetti lo stadio non è altro che un modello di zonizzazione funzionale perfettamente riuscito, e le telecamere di sorveglianza installate nelle strade non sono che l'eco del sogno già realizzato allo stadio, dove tutti i gruppi sono costantemente osservati. Ma attenzione perché, una volta attivata, la divisione rischia di non arrestarsi: all'interno di una tifoseria la tensione può salire molto. Il contenitore delle tribune di uno stadio può materializzare queste divisioni interne in forme di reticolati di separazione. Lo stadio per intero sviluppa una geografia sociale marcata, in cui è possibile seguire anche la traiettoria di un singolo tifoso nel corso degli anni.

3. Epurazione nel tempo e processo di assimilazione

Infine, l'ordinamento si effettua anche lungo l'asse temporale, come nel caso delle code di attesa. Il dispositivo di gestione delle folle tratta allora i collettivi secondo una successione di stati che devono essere attraversati per giungere a una purificazione progressiva, attraverso i diversi attaccamenti. Per arrivare in città occorre trasportare dei viaggiatori, per entrare a un concerto occorrono dei clienti con biglietto, una volta dentro ci troviamo davanti a un ritrovo di fan di

un certo gruppo musicale.

Questo modello di trattamento, che implica soglie e salti, ricorda il trattamento degli stranieri. Tutte le code di attesa dei grandi eventi hanno delle analogie topologiche con Ellis Island, con tutti i suoi terminali che incasellavano gli stranieri prima di permettere loro di attraversare la soglia di un mondo tanto desiderato. Per accogliere dei collettivi eterogenei sembra dunque necessario operare preventivamente una loro epurazione per ridurli a insiemi di proprietà accettabili e assimilabili. In entrambi i casi si rispetta una sorta di finzione secondo cui si giunge all'assimilazione, anche quando in realtà l'entità che attraversa la soglia è una mescolanza di culture e di esperienze che risulterà necessariamente debordante rispetto al prototipo nazionale puro o alla sua definizione amministrativa. Il modello ideale dello spazio pubblico deliberativo come lo proponeva Habermas si basa cioè su questo presupposto di epurazione dei sentimenti, delle emozioni, insomma dei corpi (della folla o del popolo) che dovrebbero trasformarsi in puri spiriti (del pubblico, dell'opinione pubblica o dei cittadini).

In questo processo la manifestazione è una figura particolare, dato che il suo stesso ordine, la sua gerarchia implicano un apprendistato per i novizi di cosa sia una "buona manifestazione". Ho già esaminato altrove a che punto sia radicale il lavoro di purificazione delle cause che i partiti compiono attraverso la formula: "questo non è politica" (Boullier, 2001; 2009). Ma lo stesso processo si può verificare per i sindacati o per altri gruppi che cercano un riconoscimento. Al festival delle Transmusicales a Rennes abbiamo osservato un gruppo di *raver* che volendo guadagnarsi una rispettabilità accettavano di fondersi nello stampo della manifestazione, sfilando in ordine impeccabile per il centro città di Rennes, rispettando al minuto l'orario concordato per spegnere il *sound system*. I responsabili della polizia ne furono basiti. Ecco così assimilati anche i *raver*, divenuti ormai forza politica propositiva, movimento sociale riconosciuto o qualsiasi altra cosa che qualifichi la partecipazione a dei formati standard di rappresentazione dei collettivi.

Conclusione

In queste tre operazioni, la riduzione del potenziale sovversivo della folla è chiaro. E questo lavoro compiuto dagli organizzatori non si allontana da quello dei sociologi che di fronte ai collettivi utilizzano le categorie a priori di folla o pubblico. Ma così facendo è lo spazio pubblico, nel doppio senso di politico

e urbano, che viene riformattato e rimpicciolito. I collettivi ibridi che compongono le folle e i pubblici vengono allora serializzati (contati), ordinati (nello spazio) e assimilati (nel tempo); ma gli incontri, con i loro rischi e i loro potenziali creativi, vengono impediti a priori. E d'altra parte erano proprio quegli incontri che costituivano lo spirito della città secondo Wirth, ma anche lo spazio politico del pubblico, che costituivano cioè l'insieme della climatizzazione collettiva (Sloterdijk, 2004).

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Des Écritures illicites

Le savoir des agents de la sûreté sur l'écrit à Paris (1871-1900)

Philippe Artières



« On a constaté aujourd'hui sur le socle de la statue de la République, en face de l'Institut les mots suivants peints en vert : "Vive le Roi". Les lettres mesurent 10 centimètres environ de hauteur. Elles sont situées sur la partie du socle regardant la Seine. Les passants ne prêtent pas beaucoup d'attention à cette inscription. »¹

Ce rapport est celui d'un policier parisien en date du 29 décembre 1884 ; ce regard sur des écrits tracés sur un mur paraît aujourd'hui banal tant la lutte contre le graffiti (« contre le vandalisme ») fait partie des prérogatives policières. Il n'en était rien, il y a cent cinquante ans : ce constat d'écriture illicite constitue un événement aussi minuscule que considérable : il s'inscrit dans un moment important de redéfinition des fonctions du policier² ; il inaugure un regard et sa pratique ; le policier précise non seulement le siège de l'écrit mais sa taille, sa couleur, son support et sa consistance. L'agent indique aussi le trouble provoqué, ce qu'aujourd'hui on nomme la saillance d'un écrit. Comment un tel constat d'écriture a-t-il été rendu possible ? Quel intérêt pouvait pousser un policier faisant sa ronde à noter, avec tant de soins, quelques signes traces à la peinture verte ? Pourquoi soudain cet écrit en public devient suspect ? Et surtout pour ces inspecteurs qu'est-ce qui constitue dans leur fonction l'acte d'écrire en un acte à observer et à décrire dans un rapport ?

Ce savoir policier s'inscrit dans la continuité du regard des médecins sur l'écrit ; à partir des années 1850 en effet s'est développé en Europe un savoir absolument inédit sur l'écriture. Non seulement sont décrites et nommées pour la première fois des pathologies d'écriture mais c'est le corps graphique même qui est soumis à l'œil du médecin. Les courbes et les déliées révèlent la vérité des sujets : leurs pathologies mais aussi leur dangerosité. A partir d'un échantillon autographe, on croit pouvoir connaître un individu.³

Or s'opère à partir de cette clinique la mise en place de ce que nous avons appelé un panoptique d'un second type, le panoptique graphique dont Foucault esquisse les contours dans *Surveiller et punir*. Ce dispositif nouveau s'appuie sur des lecteurs qui surveillent l'espace pu-

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1 Voir fonds de la Préfecture de Police de Paris, série BA. Voir l'article important sur les écritures séditieuses : C. Braconnier, «Braconnages sur terres d'état : Les inscriptions politiques séditieuses dans le Paris de la Commune, 1872–1885», *Genèses* 35 (1999) : 107-130.

2 Voir les travaux des historiens de la Police : notamment Q. Deluermoz « De la sédimentation juridique à la pratique du contrôle social : l'exemple du Guide des sergens de ville de l'officier de paix Barlet, 1831 », dans V. Milliot (dir.), *Les Mémoires policiers, 1750-1850*, Rennes, PUR, 2006, p. 271-285.

3 Cf. Ph. Artières, *Clinique de l'écriture. Une histoire du regard médical sur l'écriture ordinaire*, Paris, Synthelabo, 1998.

blic, en relève les écritures illicites, traque les écritures clandestines et luttent contre l'écriture anonyme. Il prend place aux lendemains de la Commune de Paris (1871), au moment donc où après que la ville ait été recouverte d'affiches, le pouvoir ait décidé de nettoyer l'espace urbain de ces écritures exposées.

Micro-dispositifs

Ce panoptique graphique fonctionne en effet plus discrètement car il ne s'appuie plus sur des bâtiments. Une brève du journal *Le Gaulois* daté du 27 octobre 1882 témoigne de façon

Or s'opère à partir de cette clinique la mise en place de ce que nous avons appelé un panoptique d'un second type, le panoptique graphique dont Foucault esquisse les contours dans Surveiller et punir

exemplaire de cette pratique :
« Hier matin au levée du jour, les gardiens de la paix du 18^e arrondissement ont arrachés des affiches qui avaient été apposées la nuit dernière aux alentours de l'église du Sacré Cœur à Mont-

martre. Les placards au nombre de 5 sur papier blanc bordé de rouge portaient ces mots écrits à la main : "L'église du Sacré-Cœur des bigots qui est une insulte aux républicains de la Commune, est condamnée par le peuple juge. Elle sautera au jour fixé par les justiciers de la Révolution". Une enquête est ouverte par la Préfecture de Police, mais il est probable que comme toutes les enquêtes celle-ci ne fera découvrir aucun coupable. »

Il y a d'une part des agents de police qui ne se tiennent plus en un point fixe mais qui sillonnent la ville ; il y a ensuite une technique de captation et de description de l'écrit découvert et il y a enfin la mise en relation de cet écrit avec d'autres qu'une enquête doit déterminer.

Le lecteur mobile

La police de l'écriture pour parvenir à ses fins — capter l'ensemble des écrits produits dans l'espace public — s'exerce en mouvement ; l'agent n'attend pas que des citoyens viennent rapporter ce qu'ils ont lu, mais c'est au cours des rondes qu'il effectue avec un de ses collègues, à pied (par la suite ce sera aussi en bicyclette) qu'équipé d'un carnet et d'un crayon, il chemine à travers les rues en quête d'écrits. Le plus frappant dans cette transformation du policier en lecteur mobile est la compétence qu'il acquiert très vite pour repérer dans l'espace, sur les murs, dans le recoin d'une porte, au bas du socle d'une sculpture des écritures qui ne sont pas monumentales et qui pour beaucoup d'entre elles ne mesurent que quelques centimètres de haut.

« 28 avril 1882. Cette nuit on a placardé sur diverses maisons du quartier du Père Lachaise une vingtaine d'affiches toutes écrites de la même main et ainsi conçues : " Pour les loyers, Mort aux propriétaires". Je transmets une de ces affiches qui a été ramassé au bas d'un mur où elle était tombée. »

Ce qu'observent les agents ce ne sont pas seulement les écrits. En effet, le regard qu'ils portent sur le graffiti prend en compte le niveau de dérangement que l'écrit produit : combien de personnes s'arrêtent en passant devant lui ? Qui le lit ? Autrement dit, il ne s'agit pas pour ces policiers de l'écrit de lutter contre le vandalisme ou une pollution visuelle que pourraient constituer ces écritures (ce qui constitue aujourd'hui le mobile principal des campagnes contre les graffitis), mais de veiller à ce que les murs du quartier dont il a la charge ne soient pas recouverts d'écrits qui perturberaient le cours ordinaire. On attribue donc aux graffitis une force de désordre considérable, une capacité subversive qui par conséquent exige une répression aussi importante.

« 8 février 84, ce matin à 5h40 le gardien Jacquet passant rue des Archives a remarqué sur le mur

de la maison portant le n°5 les mots "du pain ou du plomb" écrit à la craie. Cet agent a effacé aussitôt cette inscription qui avait attiré l'attention d'une quinzaine de personnes. »

Ces agents lecteurs sont aussi, on le voit, des agents effaceurs. Cet acte d'effacement semble constituer la restauration de l'ordre et donc être aussi un acte d'écriture redoublé par la copie opérée dans le constat.

Le constat d'écriture

Car après avoir été lus et avant d'être effacés, les graffitis font l'objet d'un acte déterminant: le constat. Comment s'effectue-t-il ? On l'a dit l'agent est équipé d'un petit carnet et d'un crayon avec lesquels il réalise son relevé qui comprend : le lieu de l'écrit (la rue et le numéro) le siège (sur une palissade, un mur de pierre, une porte, le trottoir), l'heure de sa découverte (parfois une indication de l'heure à laquelle il a pu être fait), une transcription de l'écrit (généralement complète), sa couleur et sa taille (ce qui suppose étant donné la précision de certain relevé que les agents étaient équipés d'un mètre).

Ce premier constat d'écriture est suivi une fois de retour au commissariat d'une mise au propre qui consiste aussi en une mise en relation de l'écrit constaté avec d'autres. C'est-à-dire que le constat consiste dans un second moment à former une série entre plusieurs écrits relevés lors de la ronde : au constat succède donc le rapport qui n'est pas seulement une description mais une analyse de ce qui a été lu dans la rue. Aussi il arrive souvent que ce ne soit pas l'agent qui en assure la rédaction mais son supérieur, le commissaire du quartier.

« 10 février 1884, ce matin à 6h, le gardien Barret a remarqué les mots "Vive le Roi" écrit à la craie, sur les points ci-après :

1. Rue beaubourg n°10

2. Rue Bailly sur la devanture du magasin de nouveauté "Au Moine St Martin" et dans les urinoirs établis rue Reaumur devant le n°26 et 34. Il a effacé immédiatement ces inscriptions. »

L'agent ne décrit pas seulement l'écrit et ses lecteurs, il cherche aussi par ce constat à rendre compte de l'acte qui l'a produit : ainsi il redessine le parcours du scripteur dans l'espace urbain espérant ainsi en découvrir l'identité : une importance est ainsi donnée à la situation de l'écrit dans l'espace comme ce rapport du 13 octobre 1884, rédigé par commissaire du quartier Bonne nouvelle en témoigne : « Aujourd'hui , à 3 heures le gardien de la paix Hunger a remarqué, au devant du n°184 de la rue St Denis les lignes suivantes tracées à la craie blanche sur le trottoir : "Ne passez pas sans le lire ! Ici la grève de la misère sans pain ni feu mort aux patrons, on les pendra" Ces menaces sont probablement le fait d'un des nombreux porteurs qui viennent stationner tous les matins sur ce point, en quête de travail, et y ont établi une grève irrégulière. Bien souvent les habitants de ce quartier ont demandé la dispersion des individus qui la composent et il serait désirable que ces gens composés en majorité de vagabonds et de filous puissent être renvoyés par les gardiens de la paix. J'ai fait disparaître cette inscription ».

On voit bien ici combien cette police de l'écriture est en lien avec une lutte contre toutes les déviances sociales, que ce soit le vagabondage, le chômage, ou les activités illicites. Ce n'est pas encore l'écrit qui permet de les repérer mais on articule leurs présences et des traces graphiques observées. C'est-à-dire ce savoir tend à vouloir mettre en relation des écrits, des lieux et des individus. Un savoir-pouvoir.



Consumption, Public Disorder and the Politics of Knowing

Prashan Ranasinghe



It is often said that we are what we consume. We are a consuming public, and a ravenously consuming one at that. We are, in other words, constituted by an ethic of consumption that is the hallmark of the world we live in (see Bauman, 2007; Hannigan, 1998; Zukin, 2004). This consuming ethic however, is not without criticism and has come under scrutiny from a variety of quarters. There is one in particular, which is not only a criticism of or about consumption, but also a reflection, even by-product, of it. This is the problem of visible poverty such as homelessness that pervades many large cities. In particular, many of the manifestations of visible poverty, what is often referred to as 'public disorder' – for example, panhandling, squeegeeing or loitering – are said to be of dire concern to consumption and the consumptive ethic.

Between 2006 and 2007, I conducted research into the way Business Improvement Associations (BIAs) in Toronto and Vancouver address problems of public disorder. Virtually all the interviewees I spoke with were unequivocal that public disorder is a "critical concern to businesses," or "not conducive" to it, as two representatives put it. Numerous reasons were proffered, ranging from the mundane, such as the impediment of movement or aesthetic unpleasantness, to the more critical, such concerns about public fear and safety. What appears to have underpinned all these concerns was the simple fact that there was no sight of immediate relief, even if it was only of a fleeting kind: statements such as, it "never lets up," "it's constant" or "all over the place," aptly capture this belief.

What follows are some reflections about the way(s) the problem of public disorder is constructed and framed, focusing in particular on the myriad forms of knowledge that are appropriated and disseminated for this purpose.

There is a concerted and conscious effort within the business community to decouple homelessness from panhandling so that the two are seen as distinct phenomena. Homelessness is constructed as a problem of genuine need and of utter despair. Often, there is sympathy and empathy for such persons. Panhandling, on the other hand, is viewed not as a problem of need, but of a variety of other factors, including the recalcitrance towards work. Unsurprisingly, panhandlers are viewed with contempt. This decoupling serves two important purposes. First, the crackdown on (aggressive) panhandling is rendered legitimate. Secondly, and related, any sense of guilt or burden the business community might feel is displaced, for the punitive measures are reserved only for those deemed 'undeserving' of compassion and support.

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Interestingly, this decoupling is rationalized through an eclectic array of ‘facts,’ some intuitive, some anecdotal, some experiential, and others, ‘scientific’ — the end result being that they all exist seamlessly so much so that it is somewhat difficult to decipher and differentiate which is which. In many cases, this decoupling is made through an “intuitive decision” or “gut feeling,” as two representatives put it. This is further buttressed though experiences and other anecdotes. I was often curious as to how the genuinely needy were distinguished from the ‘imposters,’ so to speak. One representative explained that if she spotted a person asking for money in inclement weather, for example, when it was “freezing cold,” then she was more likely to believe that this person’s request for money was genuine, that is, that the

Many of the manifestations of visible poverty, what is often referred to as ‘public disorder’ — for example, panhandling, squeegeeing or loitering — are said to be of dire concern to consumption and the consumptive ethic

person was truly homeless. However, if she tended to spot that person only, or mostly, when the weather was fair, for example, in the summer, then she would conclude that this person’s request

for money had little to do with need.

As alluded to before, scientific research also informed such views, but there was a strong tendency to believe that everyday experience will always trump what a research project can highlight. For example, during the time I was conducting my interviews in Toronto, the city had recently initiated a pilot project aimed at capturing the ‘true’ nature of homelessness. The representatives I spoke with simply viewed this study among the litany of other studies which had failed to produce real, tangible, results. One representative bluntly asked me: “How much will they learn [with this study]?” Another representative said: “We *know* the problem; [there is] no need for another study” (emphasis added). What the two interviewees were alluding to is this: the city needs to start listening to the problem as constructed by the business community — as they see, hear and feel it, from the ground-up — rather than invest time and money to produce studies that are bound to be useless.

When scientific studies or government reports are drawn upon, they are selectively appropriated — partly because of the general suspicion towards research(ers) — in an effort to further buttress the already established ideological positions or values of the BIA. A good example is the way a representative of a BIA interpreted a city of Toronto Report on homelessness. The Report essentially stated that panhandling needed to be decoupled from homelessness, but did so in an effort to highlight the multitude of people, over and beyond the homeless, who might panhandle to make ends-meet. The city’s Report, in other words, was an attempt to expand the range of people who genuinely needed to panhandle (City of Toronto, 2007).

This representative however, took this call for the decoupling of the two to mean that those who panhandle were not homeless. He explained to me that the Report showed that “4 out of 5” panhandlers are “adequately housed.” “If that’s the case” he reasoned, “then it is a popular misconception that panhandlers are homeless.” Thus, for him, panhandling should not be permitted because it “is no longer necessary for survival”; since “[h]elp is available for all who want it.” In other words, it was the explicit choice *not* to choose the available help, rather than legitimate need, that led people to panhandle. In selectively reading the Report as he did and in promulgating the results as such, he was in a position to use science to verify his personally held beliefs that those who panhandle on the streets are not homeless, and thereby further buttress the need for the crackdown of panhandling.

It would be misleading to say that a uniform, monolithic and consistent business 'voice' exists. There is strident discord on some of these matters. However, and this is the important point to underscore, whatever these disagreement are, they are generally sidelined to the 'backstage' areas (Goffman, 1956/1959) where these discussions are hashed out. Publicly, in other words, these matters are presented as though a consistent and unified business 'voice' exists, as I have observed on many an occasion, one being at the Executive Committee Meeting at City Hall in Toronto in May 2007, when the business community spoke in unison about and against problems of public disorder. The business voice thus, is turned into the voice of reason, partly because of its apparent uniformity. Such posturing has several implications. Not only does it elide the possibility of appreciating the disparate voices, but it becomes somewhat difficult to appreciate the myriad ways in which these voices, first, come to take shape and then, are silenced in favour of the unified business voice. In addition, the presentation of a uniform voice allows the business community to lay claim to a monopoly in the construction of the problem at hand, which further tends to substantiate the 'truths' it seeks to disseminate.

Consumo, disordine pubblico e politica del sapere

Si dice spesso che siamo quel che consumiamo: siamo un pubblico che consuma, e in modo decisamente affamato per giunta. Siamo, in altre parole, costituiti da un'etica del consumo, che è il vero segno del mondo in cui viviamo (vedi Bauman, 2007; Hannigan, 1998; Zukin, 2004). Questa etica tuttavia è anche criticata ed è stata vagliata da vari punti di vista. Uno in particolare, che non è solo una critica ma anche un riflesso e un prodotto collaterale del consumo, è il problema della povertà visibile, divenuto pervasivo in molte città. In particolare, si dice che le manifestazioni di "disordine pubblico" associate alla povertà visibile – le figure dell'elemosinante, del lavavetri o del vagabondo – siano "preoccupanti" per il consumo e la sua etica.

Tra il 2006 e il 2007, ho condotto una ricerca su come i Business Improvement Associations (BIA) a Toronto e Vancouver affrontano questo problema. Per tutti gli intervistati con cui ho parlato non c'era il minimo dubbio che il disordine pubblico era "una preoccupazione critica per il commercio" o che quanto meno era un fattore che "non lo facilita", come mi è stato detto da due rappresentanti di BIA. I motivi identificati erano diversi: alcuni banali, come l'intralcio alla circolazione e la sgradevolezza dello spettacolo, altri più critici, come preoccupazioni per la paura e la sicurezza. Tutti però sottolineavano la natura "costante", "assillante" e "pervasiva" di questo fenomeno.

A partire di lì, ho riflettuto sulla costruzione del disordine pubblico, focalizzandomi in particolare sulle molteplici forme di sapere sviluppate a tal fine.

Anzitutto, i rappresentanti dei BIA cercano sistematicamente di separare la condizione di senza dimora e la

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pratica dell'elemosina. La mancanza di casa è dipinta come un problema serio e si mostra persino simpatia per le persone colpite. Al contrario, la richiesta dell'elemosina viene descritta non come una necessità ma come il risultato di altri fattori, ad esempio la scarsa voglia di lavorare, e di conseguenza quelli che chiedono le elemosine possono essere considerati con sospetto. In questo modo, si legittima anzitutto la tolleranza zero contro l'accattonaggio e, in secondo luogo, si fa piazza pulita di qualsiasi senso di colpa rispetto alle misure punitive della povertà, dato che esse verrebbero applicate solo a coloro che non meritano genuina compassione e aiuto.

Questa separazione viene razionalizzata attraverso una gamma di "dati", un misto di elementi intuitivi, aneddotici, esperienziali e "scientifici" — mescolati al punto da essere indistinguibili. In molti casi, la separazione si opera sulla base dell'"intuito" o "di pancia", come mi hanno detto due rappresentanti. Spesso ho cercato di comprendere come si facesse, in questa logica, a separare i "veramente bisognosi" dagli "impostori". Un rappresentante donna mi ha raccontato ad esempio che se vedeva qualcuno che chiedeva l'elemosina con il brutto tempo, quando "c'era un freddo gelido", era più portata a ritenere che si trattasse di una richiesta genuina, segno cioè di una vera condizione di senza dimora. Ma se il tempo era bello, ad esempio d'estate, la questua era subito interpretata come qualcosa che non aveva davvero a che fare con una situazione di reale necessità.

Come detto sopra, ci si riferiva anche a fatti scientifici, ma in generale all'esperienza diretta veniva sempre attribuito più valore. Ad esempio, mentre stavo conducendo le mie interviste a Toronto, la città aveva appena cominciato un progetto pilota sui senza dimora. I rappresentanti che intervistavano me lo citavano sistematicamente come uno di quei tanti studi sociologici che non avevano prodotto alcun risultato reale e tangibile. Uno mi chiese brutalmente: "Cosa credono di poter imparare?". Un altro disse: "Lo conosciamo bene noi il problema; non c'è affatto bisogno di un'altra ricerca". Quel che si voleva esprimere era più o meno questo: la comunità degli affari detiene già un sapere preciso sul fenomeno — in quanto lo veda e lo senta sul campo — e la città farebbe bene a basarsi su questo sapere invece di spendere tempo e denaro per produrre altra inutile ricerca.

Quando poi ci si basa su studi scientifici o rapporti ufficiali della pubblica amministrazione, l'appropriazione è selettiva: ad esempio, un rapporto sui senza dimora del comune di Toronto (City of Toronto, 2007)

affermava la necessità di separare richiesta di elemosina e condizione di senza dimora, ma lo faceva per sottolineare la molteplicità di persone, ben più ampia dei soli senza dimora, che si trova a doversi basare sull'elemosina come fonte di sopravvivenza.

I rappresentanti dei BID, tuttavia, insistevano sulla separazione di pratica dell'elemosina e condizione di senza dimora per dimostrare che i postulanti non erano dei veri senza dimora. Secondo loro, il rapporto mostrava che "4 su 5" elemosinanti erano in realtà "adeguatamente alloggiati". "Se è così, dicevano, l'idea che si chieda l'elemosina perché si è senza dimora è solo un fraintendimento". L'elemosina allora non dovrebbe essere permessa "perché non è un mezzo necessario per la sussistenza", dato che "l'aiuto è disponibile per chi ne ha davvero bisogno". Leggendo il rapporto in modo così selettivo e strumentale si può facilmente usare la ricerca scientifica unicamente per rafforzare i propri convincimenti sui mendicanti, sostenendo la linea dura contro di essi.

D'altra parte, sarebbe errato affermare che la comunità degli affari parla con un'unica voce rispetto alla questione del disordine pubblico. Come ho mostrato, però, anche se ci sono evidenze contrarie, i disaccordi vengono confinati in un'area di "retroscena" (Goffman, 1956/1959) rispetto alle prese di posizione pubbliche. Nelle occasioni pubbliche, come ad esempio alla riunione della Giunta del Comune di Toronto nel maggio 2007 che ho avuto modo di seguire, la comunità degli affari si è espressa all'unisono contro i mendicanti, e proprio a causa di questa sua visibile uniformità si è potuta accreditare come la "voce della ragione". Il fatto di nascondere le proprie diversità interne ha sinora consentito alla comunità degli affari di affermare un monopolio sulla costruzione del problema in questione, monopolio che a sua volta ha rafforzato le definizioni più piatte e unilaterali del fenomeno del "disordine pubblico".

Collecting and Connecting in New York's Central Park

**William Kornblum &
Kristen Lawler**



Manhattan's Central Park is one of the world's best known public places, but do we need to know exactly how popular it is? Would it be useful to know how many people actually visit the park each year? Or is that question itself a diversion into needless quantitative speculation? If the park welcomes x million or y million persons yearly who cares? As long as they enjoy their visits and find what they came for in the park, why bother counting them?

It turns out that the question is important for theoretical and practical political reasons. The effort to find a credible answer, however, is hardly trivial. Efforts to count visitors and otherwise know more about public uses of Central Park have a long history, but only in the past two years have resources been mobilized by park managers and park users themselves to organize a systematic count over an entire year of park use. The resulting figures on park use are themselves a form of urban knowledge generated by dedicated park users, most of whom live in the many neighborhoods that border on the park itself.

Central Park recently celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth year, but its nineteenth-century creators faced plenty of criticism from the city's real estate leaders who saw no reason to take so much land out of their immensely profitable urban land market. Many skeptics doubted that it could become a successful public place. Some feared it would serve only as a parade ground for the rich horse and buggy set, while others warned that the vulgar behavior of the lower classes would threaten the enjoyment of the park by the privileged classes. Frederick Law Olmsted, the Park's creator and its first manager, knew he had to have hard facts to allay these fears. He stationed a "park keeper" at every entrance, part of whose job was to monitor public behavior and to compile exact counts of those entering the park during day or night. This is why, until this year, the best observations and counts of public use of Central Park were compiled during the first five years of the park's existence. That's how we know that in the first two years of its operations from 1865-1867, Central Park was drawing more than two million annual visits, even though the population center of Manhattan was still below Fourteenth Street and the park landscape was not fully completed.

When Olmsted lost his position as Central Park manager in wrangles with Tammany political bosses, the park also lost its system of accurate visitor counts. Over the years, pressure from surrounding communities for easier access also meant that new park entrances were created. Today there are about fifty-three openings into the park, as opposed to twenty-three when Olmsted resigned as park manager. Greater freedom of access has made it more difficult to keep track of visitors, but measures of public use are in ever more demand. Political leaders in the city want hard facts and figures about park use in order to justify budgets and expendi-

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tures. It is not enough to just argue that Central Park and public spaces like it are vital to the city's life. "Show us the numbers" say the city's leaders (but make sure it does not cost too much to gather them).

Working with Central Park planner, Lane Addonezio, and the park's coordinator of community volunteers, we developed a sampling procedure that would allow the planners to come up with credible estimates of hourly, daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly volume of use for the entire Park. Staff professionals recruited well over one hundred local volunteers who used hand counters to actually count visitors coming through all the entrances. Our students supplemented these volunteer efforts. Volunteers, all of them avid park users themselves, worked in all seasons doing counts and stopping a random sample of visitors. These survey respondents were asked questions that would get at basic data like origin and destination of visitors, what they did in the park, who they came with and so on. Kornblum and colleagues had earlier conducted major surveys of park uses, but this was the first time we also conducted systematic counts at every park entrance, which allow planners to assign weights to segments of the survey in order to come up with estimates like how many tourists versus local residents visit the park in different seasons.

Now we can say that the annual number of visits to Central Park is approximately 35 million. This is ten million more than we had previously estimated (but by methods that were far less defensible). We also know now that about 7.5 million different persons account for these 35 million annual visits. Approximately 6 million are domestic and foreign tourists who tend to enter the Park from its entrances along Central Park South. An estimated 1.2-1.5 million are New Yorkers and people from the metropolitan area who visit the Park at least once during the year, and account for about 26 million (74%) of total annual visits. About 40,000 people say they visit the Park every day during the warm months. The majority of these daily visitors also come with a dog whom they walk in the Park. Overall, 18% of visitors to the Park come with a dog on its leash.

In March 2011, Central Park's managers will release a full report on Park uses based on the work of park users who cared enough about the issues to invest their time over an entire year in the research effort. These efforts by neighborhood residents were supplemented by the help of students from local colleges, who came with their instructors to assist in the counting and interviewing. Co-author Kristen Lawler was one of those who witnessed at first hand some of the consequences for younger students of having worked on the project. Five of her sociology students at The College of Mount Saint Vincent, a small liberal arts college in the Bronx, were among those involved in the field research. They spent three days during the winter count and four during the spring, recording the number of visitors at selected entrances and surveying a sample of those who entered. They also tallied surveys, entered data, and prepared survey packets for upcoming counts. They wrote qualitative observations of selected areas of the park that they shared with Conservancy staff. And they periodically reflected as a group on the experience of doing the research. Lawler observes that her students gained a great deal of practical research experience. "They saw that a seemingly impossible task like counting all the visitors to the park and understanding their patterns of use is actually possible, if broken down systematically and carried out scientifically. Even more important, though, they gained a feeling of engagement with Central Park that was new for each of them."

Working-class kids from the Bronx and rural upstate New York, Lawler's students always tended to see Central Park from a distance, and most said they had never thought very much

about it. They don't remember a time that the park was dangerous and in disrepair, so they took it for granted that it was exquisitely tended and safe to traverse. Learning the history of the park and the Conservancy opened the students' eyes to the political struggles around public space and public sector austerity, struggles in which they were now beginning to feel like real participants.

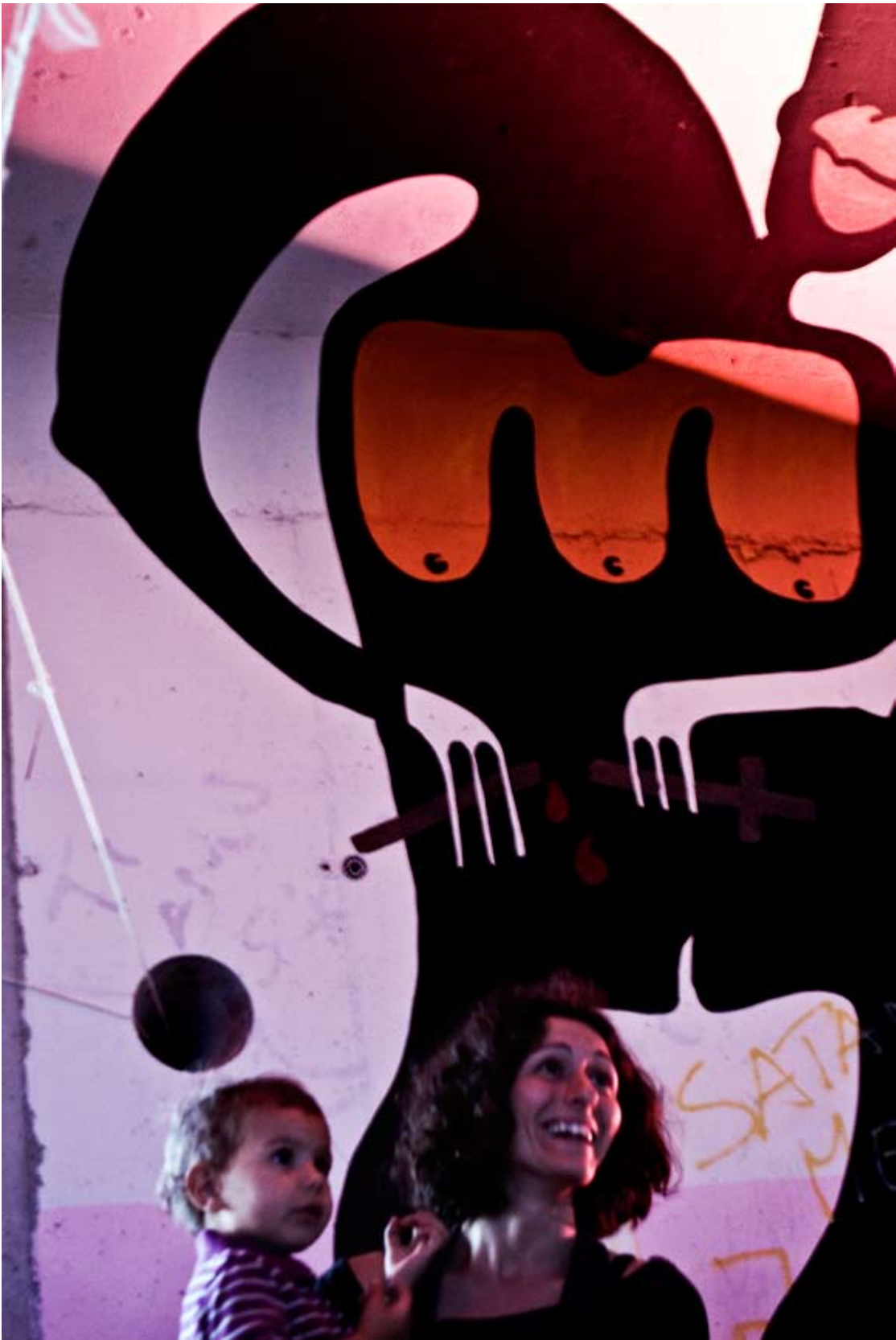
Working in the park and talking with visitors, they were struck not only by the massive number of users, but especially by how excited seemingly jaded New Yorkers were to talk about how they used the park. Students learned how deeply meaningful the park is, especially for longtime daily visi-

tors. They looked at Central Park users with fresh eyes, developing a sense of the park as a space in which strangers, from around the city and all over the world, come together to play and relax.

Working with Central Park planner, Lane Addonezio, and the park's coordinator of community volunteers, we developed a sampling procedure that would allow the planners to come up with credible estimates of hourly, daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly volume of use for the entire Park

Their work made them feel part of the park and through it, of the city – in the words of one student discussing her field experience, “I felt like such a New Yorker!”

It's not surprising that collecting data on Central Park made the students feel more connected to the park and to the city of which it is such a vital part. After all, the essence of knowledge is engagement – to know *is* to engage, to connect with the world. And parks exist as spaces in which members of communities can connect with the natural world and with one another. When community members like the students come to *know* a park – its history, its use patterns, its value, its pathways – they make real the promise parks as public spaces. They connect. And, in the spirit of the sociological imagination that animates research, they inevitably gain a sense of themselves as part of a group of people partial to urban public space. In contemporary struggles over the privatization and increasingly restricted use of public space, it's not only the data itself that aids the parks movement, but its collection as well.



Nearby, Well Known

The Parochial Realm of Neighborhoods

**Margarethe
Kusenbach**



Ironically, few urban sociologists study what is uniquely urban about cities, namely its public places where most people cross path and interact as strangers (Lofland 1998). Students of urban neighborhoods often fail to notice that their research areas are typically slices of the parochial realm, meaning a social territory that is not unique to cities but also common in suburbs and even small towns. Of course, there can be huge differences between an urban hood and a small town quarter yet both share important characteristics which some urban scholars overlook in their belief that city boundaries, density and diversity, or a certain look and feel guarantee the urban-ness of their research areas.

Put differently, the category “urban” is much too crude to capture the details of social realities that can be found within cities. Building on Hunter’s (1985) earlier model of three social orders, Lofland’s (1998) conception of three social realms (private, parochial, public) opens the door to a more precise understanding and terminology when it comes to capturing social life. Realms are defined not by physical territories but by a dominant “relational form” which produces specific interactional patterns and relationships. Parochial realms are defined by the dominance of a communal relational form where most people meet and interact as acquaintances, whereas an intimate relational form indicates the existence of a private realm.

Despite their conceptual clarity, Lofland’s social realms are far from simple in real life. The three realms form a complex landscape in which they overlap and blend into each other. Depending on whom you ask, parallel constructions of public, parochial and private realms can be found. In some places, realms transform swiftly depending on the season, the day, the time or special circumstances. A unique feature of the public realm is that it is the same for everyone, whereas private and parochial realms appear in two basic formats that make a big difference: my own and someone else’s.

Lofland’s model is a big step toward a more nuanced description of social life yet more ground remains to be covered. Understanding how people experience and construct their social environments shall be among the primary goals of a sociology of “urban knowledges” as pursued in this edition. To this goal, the remainder of this essay offers observations on three kinds of knowledge—knowing people, knowing places and knowing oneself—that characterize the parochial realm of one’s neighborhood, whether urban, suburban or rural by location.

Knowing People

A key feature of neighborhood life is the ubiquity and regularity of “passive contacts” (Grannis

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2005). Taking notice of others, either directly or via traces of their doings, is unavoidable in close quarters. The term “passive contacts” specifically refers to the high frequency of interactive encounters in neighborhoods which are facilitated through a range of circumstances, including sheer proximity, architectural features such as courtyards and facing windows, and similar lifestyles and daily routines (Festinger, Schachter & Back 1950). People usually know, by sight or name, a good number of others who live or spend time in the immediate vicinity of their homes and along their regular paths.

Practical knowledge of the dominant principles of social exchange, and the meta-rules of interpreting and applying those principles, characterizes competent participants in any given realm. Parochial realms possess rules of interaction which are different from those in both public and private realms. For instance, the parochial principle of “friendly recognition” (Kusenbach 2006) clearly differs from the public rule of “civil inattention” (Goffman 1963; Lofland 1998). In neighborhoods, one is supposed to remember the names of people and details of their lives after having learned them, and one is supposed to express a certain degree of pleasure and engagement upon running into others.

Although neighborly greetings tend to be superficial and do not take much effort, they carry tremendous significance. Any more intimate form of neighborhood sociability begins with friendly recognition; it is the foundation for the development of relationships that eventually form networks and communities. Deeper involvement between locals quickly ends or never takes off when friendly recognition is withheld.

“Neighborly helpfulness,” “proactive intervention” and the active “embracing or resisting of local social diversity” are other important principles of interaction in parochial realms (Kusenbach 2006). The most distinctive pattern appears to be proactive intervention which demands from good neighbors that they “watch out” for each other and get involved on other locals’ behalf even when they are not able or bold enough to ask for help.

Instances of neighboring are usually embedded in social relationships. Unfortunately, we do not have suitable terms to properly describe them (they are much weaker than Granovetter’s famous “weak ties,” cf. Granovetter 1973, 1983). What is certain is that neighborly ties of this sort form a social network that is almost invisible and appears inconsequential in daily life. However, it is this featherlike web that springs into action and can make the difference between life and death in times of local crises or disasters. In any case, knowing others, knowing the realm-specific “interaction order” (Goffman 1983) and knowing the relationships and institutional structures that develop from parochial contacts are one important dimension of what it means to know one’s neighborhood.

Knowing Places

As it is used in urban sociology, the concept of “place” already implies knowing: places are chunks of space that have been infused with individual or collective meaning. Place meanings are frequently saturated with emotion, negative or positive, thus contain a kind of knowledge that goes well beyond cognition. Embodied practices, such as viewing, touching or otherwise using places are often integral aspects of their experience.

Again, conceptual clarity does not come with real life simplicity, as neighborhoods are complicated places. They do not mean the same to everyone who lives or spends time in them; they do not even mean the same to one person at different times. And while entire neighborhoods certainly count as places, they are also filled with smaller meaningful sites, for instance one’s home, the primary setting of the private realm. Outside the home, neigh-

borhoods are dotted with micro-places which may be more or less known to others, and more or less visible to outsiders. A neighborhood can contain both places that one actively creates, such as a community garden, as well as places that one suffers, such as the unkempt front of a neighbor's house.

When thinking of neighborhoods as places, it helps to differentiate between the various kinds that surface when observing and interviewing locals (Kusenbach 2008). People often refer to what I have called "microsettings" or "street blocks" when describing neighborly interaction and relationships, and they think of "walking distance neighborhoods" or "enclaves" when conveying their local orientations to outsiders. The four parochial zones differ by residents' practical uses, sentiments, interactions and relationships, and collective representations; and people emphasize different aspects of their familiar environment within different social situations. Many people have a nuanced yet often implicit knowledge of how these zones function in daily life.

Investigations of neighborhood or place "attachment" form an established subfield within urban sociology (e.g. Milligan 1998). However, there is a certain tendency to favor positive person-to-place connections (Lofland 1998) and downplay negative ones, shying away from the fact that the neighborhood can be a powerful source of fear, loathing and shame in someone's life—just ask some public housing or mobile home park residents how they feel about their communities. Yet even when they are not well liked, neighborhoods as places, and a neighborhood's micro-places, are wrapped in a blanket of familiarity which often provides a basic sense of comfort.

Many places derive their meanings from past interactions and relationships with others (Milligan 1998, 2003). When those links are interrupted, places generate feelings of loss and nostalgia. When entire neighborhoods change, the former versions continue to live on in the nostalgic memories of old-time residents, while the new surroundings foster new meanings and attachments among newcomers at the same time. Neighborhoods as places therefore can have multiple and conflicting layers of significance for different individuals and groups. Many studies of community-level change, such as gentrification (Brown-Saracino 2009; Patillo 2007) or suburbanization (Salamon 2003), raise important questions regarding neighborhood authenticity, ownership, exclusion and inclusion, as well as power and representation which are intrinsically linked to the multiple knowledges and meanings of place.

Knowing Oneself

Aside from preserving memories of others, places carry layers of meaning that do not feature other people. Many people enjoy natural sites exactly because they offer a break from interactions and relationships with others. I believe that even those places symbolize connections that are social on some level. Just as people develop social ties with animals, they can also engage in meaningful exchanges with natural or built environments. And with time, places reflect past experiences into the present, thereby spinning a social relationship between one's current and former selves.

In other words, I claim that current and former neighborhoods as places, and the micro-places within neighborhoods, somehow preserve one's life story. Familiar local sites, even when changed, summon images and understandings of who one was before, and they may, by extension, shed new light on who one is or will be in the future, carrying forward a sense of continuity (or discontinuity) regarding a former incarnation of "me." In sum, neighborhoods, similar to homes, transmit an intimate knowledge of oneself. Though interesting, this last dimension of neighborhoods is rarely discussed in urban sociology.

Having made a number of conceptual points in this essay, I close with a comment on research methodology. Many urban and community sociologists utilize methods and produce data sets that do not convey the importance of social realms and places as real life social realities. Spatial environments are still too often treated as containers rather than constitutive ingredients of experience, interaction, relationships, institutions and social structures.

Ethnographic community studies, building on first hand observations and in-depth interviews, frequently offer insights into those issues yet they also have their limits. Unfortunately, urban ethnographies rarely offer historical or comparative perspectives which are needed to identify larger patterns of social and cultural (ex)change (Katz 2010). Another weakness of those studies is that even ethnographers rarely follow people to where daily life takes them, into the home and around and beyond the neighborhood (Kusenbach 2003). A promising new initiative in this regard is the development of so-called “mobile methods” of research (e.g. Büscher & Urry 2009) which can be attributed to the “spatial turn” and to a recurring interest in phenomenology and issues of embodiment within the social sciences. I believe that urban and community sociologists are well advised to incorporate these and other perspectives and procedures into their work, and to compare notes with scholars in related fields who might have already moved beyond some of the questions and issues we are still investigating.

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Copenyard: pratiche, soglie e conoscenze nei cortili di Copenhagen

Davide Ghiraldini



Introduzione

Questo articolo delinea alcune pratiche d'uso del Blågårdsgade/Wesselsgade Gårdlaug, uno dei *courtyards* [cortili-giardini] situati nel quartiere di Nørrebro a Copenhagen¹. Nell'insieme, si tratta di giardini delimitati da edifici e muri, di dimensioni piuttosto consistenti (Blågårdsgade/Wesselsgade consiste di 46 edifici e 1500 residenti) e che ospitano pratiche di *leisure*, socialità, gestione familiare e domestica.

Vorrei dapprima tratteggiare queste pratiche rispetto agli esiti prodotti, alle forme di attivismo che le sostengono, al senso di cui vengono dotate e alle ramificazioni che esse comportano in soggettivazioni socio-economiche, per approfondire poi la dimensione politica dei loro rapporti con l'intorno, i confini e le scene urbane.

Conoscenze

Le cene, i ritrovi tardo-pomeridiani, le feste di compleanno e gli incontri di vicinato che si svolgono nei *courtyards* utilizzano oggetti di proprietà condivisa tra i residenti (tavoli, barbecue, panchine, spesso riposizionati per l'occasione) e delineano spazi di azione e prossemici specifici (ad esempio, il via-vai negli appartamenti attigui). Non potrebbe essere diversamente, dato che a partire dagli anni Ottanta gli appartamenti sono stati dotati di riscaldamento e servizi igienici, comportando una generale riduzione della metratura. Si produce così una territorializzazione di *hyggelig*, valore condiviso dalle famiglie danesi e fatto di disposizioni armoniche, intime, conviviali, vissute in uno spazio rilassante e confortevole.

Un altro insieme di pratiche territorializza il tempo familiare, corrispondente ad attività di cura e gioco con i bambini, processi di gestione familiare che si ripercuotono nel giardino (appendere la biancheria, portare i rifiuti, ecc.) o che consentono di controllare i bambini mentre giocano a ridosso delle residenze (attraverso le vetrate delle cucine o le scale antincendio interne, che connettono cucine e giardini). A tale proposito va osservato come il connotato vagamente "panottico", convenzionale e rassicurante dei *courtyards* li renda localizzazioni preferite dalle giovani famiglie che vi si trasferiscono spesso provenendo da aree suburbane.

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¹ Questo testo si basa su uno studio di caso da me condotto come *visiting PhD student* a Copenhagen (dicembre 2008-dicembre 2010), ora parte della dissertazione di dottorato *Everydaymaking: eventi, pratiche e politiche*, Dottorato di Ricerca in Pianificazione Territoriale e Politiche Pubbliche del Territorio, Università IUAV di Venezia, discussa nel mese di marzo 2010.



Cyop & Kaf dedicano No comment – il libro che raccoglie tracce sparse dei loro disegni, edito recentemente da [Studiocromie](#) – “alle città e ai loro abitanti”. I loro tratti hanno infatti segnato, e segnano, muri e scorci di moltissime città, ed è sbalorditivo come in quei disegni che vediamo fissati sulle pagine del libro (meno sulle superfici che li hanno accolti, soggette al tempo e al deterioramento, spesso alla rimozione) si riveli proprio la natura delle città e dei cittadini che le fanno, che ne fanno la materia, e che ne fanno l’anima. Sono colori e figure che fagocitano quello che c’è sotto, rivelando le pulsioni, le contraddizioni e le energie che muovono lo scorrere delle cose su quelle superfici, talvolta anche con qualche parola – 22° (dicembre) – come pensieri a voce alta, ad indicare una direzione ed uno spessore al disegno, forse un’interpretazione. Come è successo a Quarto, comune a nordovest di Napoli, dove Cyop&Kaf hanno disegnato per tre lunghi anni – dal 2007 al 2009 – fino a realizzare “Cemento. La menzogna come collante sociale”, una composizione di figure che si dispongono in mostra sui piloni di uno svincolo di periferia.



Un luogo assurdo, unico, peculiare, dove le grandi strutture di cemento che sorreggono una strada a scorrimento veloce si animano di bocche e occhi e figure a colori lucenti, a dimensione da pennellata a rullo, gigante. La mostra si dispone sui piloni, ne scandisce il ritmo e ne dà un verso, figure antropomorfe e colori brillanti da un lato, volti come maschere dai tratti larghi e un po' più tenui dall'altro. Intorno, pezzi di città mancata ed in potenza, case, centri commerciali, siti di stoccaggio di rifiuti, campagna urbana, ancora strade, inquadrare dai disegni, rivolti verso un contesto beffardo.

Lungo le navate di una cattedrale postmoderna, di una cattedrale alla mobilità futuribile che pare già abbandonata, sotto i piloni ci si muove più che di sopra. Camion a sfaccendare verso la discarica campana dell'ultima ora, migranti in bicicletta, auto che si fermano e scaricano rifiuti ingombranti e scomodi.

È qui che hanno lavorato Cyop&Kaf – probabilmente con quel loro parlarsi in silenzio e capirsi per espressioni impercettibili, come in una danza a forma di sguardi



concavi&convessi, assolutamente complementari, che a vederli all'opera si riesce a malapena ad intuire – respirando i cambiamenti di questi luoghi e riportandone il senso, lo stupore e l'interdizione nei disegni che ne danno misura e che svelano una verità amara e lapalissiana, ma che senza dirla sarebbe stata paradossalmente meno menzognera di quello che rivela. Sono loro stessi a raccontarlo, nelle parole che hanno accompagnato i giorni dell'invito alla festa-vernissage, nell'inizio dell'estate del 2009.

Questa dello svincolo dell'Ipercoop di Quarto, è la storia delle periferie di Napoli e di altre mille città. Una campagna velocemente trasformata, case basse, alzate prima che le infrastrutture urbane potessero arrivare, un centro commerciale, flussi di denari a costruire le strade per arrivarci, comodamente in macchina – da parcheggio a parcheggio – e da inaugurare solo quando poi si sarebbe rivelato opportuno.

“Già c'era un raccordo con la tangenziale che portava direttamente a Quarto senza passare per l'uscita di Pozzuoli-via Campana” raccontano “ma per tutti gli anni Ottanta e Novanta è rimasto chiuso. Era completato, noi ci andavamo a giocare a pallone. Il campo poteva essere lungo quanto si voleva ed era bellissimo stendersi sulla strada deserta o guardare dall'alto dei suoi piloni”. “Andando a dipingere sotto le fondamenta di un simbolo delirante [quella strada, ndr] ci chiedevamo: cosa tiene ancora unita la società socialconsumisticocapitalista?”



Provano a dare forma alla loro stessa risposta: la menzogna, che appartiene tanto a chi la dice, quanto a chi ci crede, che si fissa sul cemento di un percorso urbano di periferia, illuso di essere foriero di uno sviluppo che non sia solo accumulazione di quantità di volumi e concatenazione di nuove isole, e la materializza. Una menzogna che appartiene alla ripetizione mediatica e ossessiva che la genera e fa sembrare meno finta la finzione, moltiplicando “un’adesione acritica ad un mentire generalizzato scambiato per il vero”.

In quella mostra, che oggi è già memoria, si legge – ritornandovi – quello che resta. I disegni sono lì, vivi e brillanti come nella festa di due anni fa che ne ha sancito “la fine” ed al contempo l’inizio, il loro darsi al tempo. Un luogo in bilico tra una modernità così veloce e mai consumata, di grovigli di arterie di cemento e di edifici sospesi in un tempo in cui l’attimo della demolizione e della costruzione si confondono nello scheletro delle strutture e del mai compiuto che sta loro intorno, che sembrano un’archeologia. Tutto intorno cambia e tutto intorno resta identico.

Fare e disfare, con l’illusione che si faccia, affinché tutto resti immobile, abbandonato, pronto ad essere pensato già dismesso, per poter costruire altro.

C.M.

Uno degli elementi fondativi dell'abitabilità dei giardini è costituito da una molteplicità di interventi diretti sulla natura. Si deve ricordare il contesto di dismissione o delocalizzazione delle piccole industrie e laboratori artigianali che fino agli anni Ottanta si trovavano fra i cortili, seguito da un complesso processo di costruzione (attraverso il diradamento insediativo e il *landscape design*) e ricostituzione (attraverso l'avvio delle arene deliberative dei residenti che si occupano della gestione dei beni condivisi) dei giardini. Si è trattato di una strategia di riqualificazione avviata e gestita nell'ultimo trentennio da parte dell'apposito ufficio Comunale Grønnegård [Giardini Verdi]. Questo processo è stato inoltre accompagnato da varie forme di attivismo da parte dei residenti, che si sono presi cura della vegetazione ed hanno

L'entrata nei courtyards di Nørrebro è possibile solo attraverso scale interne agli edifici, portoni chiusi a chiave e soglie/interstizi

avviato progetti di sperimentazione nella gestione delle risorse naturali. Questi interventi di cura e gestione si connotano per una consistente dimensione "teleo-affettiva" dell'impegno, esito di un

particolare attaccamento a questi spazi. Negli album di foto personali diffusi tramite internet o nelle "visite guidate" effettuate per amici e conoscenti, i residenti sembrano associare ai propri *courtyards* importanti funzioni e fruizioni ecologiche ed estetiche, che si reggono su una situazione di "salute morale" e di "controllo sociale".

Nella gestione e organizzazione degli spazi a ridosso delle residenze risultano inoltre osservabili segni che rinviano a stili di vita e identità individuali e collettive (elementi come fiori, passaggi per gatti, spazi verdi, gazebo, ecc.) e che costituiscono altrettanti indizi delle reti locali di vicinato, della topografia delle esperienze, della articolazione delle reti sociali e delle loro memorie. Ciò rinvia anche a dinamiche più ampie, come quelle delle politiche della casa e del significato della cooperazione rispetto ai diversi complessi residenziali degli anni Settanta e Ottanta, la cui costruzione fu accompagnata al tempo da numerose contestazioni. Nei discorsi ufficiali dell'amministrazione comunale, il *courtyard* diviene così il contenitore per eccellenza di buone pratiche e di storie di successo, una "base verde dietro le facciate delle case" dove ammirare "uccelli, piante rampicanti, bellissimi fiori". Il giardino viene anche fatto partecipare a diverse competizioni volte a sollecitare l'"impegno e l'applicazione di idee ecologiche", come l'iniziativa *green courtyards* nell'ambito di Agenda21, che intende incentivare l'utilizzo di pannelli solari, la creazione di nicchie ecologiche con determinate specie di uccelli e di insetti e così via.

Queste forme di "attivismo verde" devono far fronte agli esiti della raccolta dei rifiuti e dei parcheggi per le biciclette (numerose e ingombranti, specialmente i modelli danesi per il trasporto dei bambini). In particolar modo questi ultimi aspetti vengono regolati sia dal comitato di gestione del *courtyard* sia da un giardiniere assunto, un vero e proprio *factotum*, che si occupano del mantenimento e della cura dell'arredo e che hanno facoltà di accettare o meno piccoli servizi proposti dal Comune (ad esempio la pulizia dei marciapiedi), altrimenti spesso effettuati in modo autonomo.

Ancoraggi

Sulla base delle mie osservazioni etnografiche, delle interviste e dei diversi materiali raccolti vivendo per due anni nel quartiere di Nørrebro, mi sembra di poter confermare che le rotte dei non residenti che frequentano il quartiere non incrociano pressoché mai i *courtyards* di comunità. Le cause sono molte e diversificate: in senso ampio, esse includono le politiche della casa a Copenhagen, l'uso dei giardini come strategia di riqualificazione urbana e gli

esiti delle mobilitazioni sociali degli anni Settanta e Ottanta. Qui ci si può soffermare solo su una breve fenomenologia dell'accesso ai giardini.

Nell'insieme, l'entrata nei *courtyards* di Nørrebro è possibile solo attraverso scale interne agli edifici (accesso privilegiato dei residenti), portoni chiusi a chiave e soglie/interstizi. Questi ultimi sono piccoli passaggi tra gli edifici utilizzati per raggiungere piccoli depositi e retrobotteghe, varchi occlusi da piccole sbarre o aree di deposito di rifiuti. Si tratta di spazi poco curati in quanto sostanzialmente inutilizzati dai residenti come accessi. Nei pochi casi in cui dalla soglia risulta possibile dare un'occhiata all'interno, si vedono segni indicanti telecamere e proprietà privata.

Un caso interessante è costituito proprio dal Blågårdsgade/Wesselsgade Gårdlaug. I suoi accessi sono un cancello sul quale è apposto un cartello indicante "area privata", diversi portoni chiusi ed un sentiero comunale che attraversa in modo tortuoso parte del *courtyard*. La gestione delle soglie è una questione molto dibattuta tra i residenti. Due principali strategie sono state elaborate: da un lato, interventi di design atti a dissimulare il giardino e a non favorire deviazioni dei passanti dal sentiero principale (tramite piante, arbusti, identificazione della direzione da seguire per uscire dal giardino); dall'altro, cartelli sistemati all'interno del *courtyard* che comunicano l'ingresso avvenuto e indicano codici di condotte appropriate, forme di cortesia e decoro (caldeggiano la cura di piante, fiori, tavoli, panchine e la prudenza nell'uso delle bici, imponendo la localizzazione dei barbecue negli spazi appositi, proibendo la circolazione di ciclomotori, stabilendo che i cani siano al guinzaglio, ecc.).

Queste circostanze assumono particolare rilevanza se si considera come Nørrebro risulta attraversato da processi riconducibili non solo a riqualificazione e gentrificazione, ma anche a stigmatizzazione, come posto di situazioni inconsulte e pericolose, esito di un passato turbolento e di un presente multietnico.

Una forma di contestazione di questi esiti è effettuata da un movimento sociale locale, la cui finalità è di eludere la sorveglianza, identificare, mappare e rendere pubblici gli accessi ai cortili, spingendosi fino a raccogliere le chiavi di accesso dai proprietari. Le azioni di questo gruppo, denominate come Nørrebro Open City, intendono provocare cambiamenti nelle mappe mentali e nei costrutti d'uso delle popolazioni, residenti o in transito. Tali esiti previsti andranno di certo valutati nel lungo periodo, a causa del carattere carsico ed effimero del movimento e della necessità di riferire il senso di queste azioni alla trama delle plurime ed instabili rotte delle pratiche d'uso.

Tre questioni conclusive

Il rapporto così delineato tra posti, conoscenze e ancoraggi delle pratiche sembra sollevare tre ampie questioni critiche. Il primo punto riguarda la materialità. Fisicità e materialità degli spazi costituiscono orizzonti rilevanti, ma come si è visto il *courtyard* non è un semplice contenitore di pratiche; esse dipendono infatti da uno sguardo che viene inevitabilmente sollecitato a qualificare la trasversalità delle combinazioni in azione da parte di diversi agenti. Di conseguenza, alcune caratteristiche che fanno del giardino il "posto" di una pratica, non essendo intrinseche, possono anche essere inattese. Per esperienza personale, comprovata da racconti e storie raccolti in varie situazioni, soglie e addirittura muri di cinta non sono sfondi inerti, ma facilitano e sostengono episodi di fuga e nascondimento (individuali ma anche di gruppo, in seguito a tafferugli e contestatazioni, non inusuali a Nørrebro).

Il secondo punto è strettamente conseguente al primo. In diversi documenti ufficiali, i *courtyards* sono considerati come esemplificazioni di "cittadinanza attiva", sullo sfondo di

una esaltazione della socialità, della gestione delle diversità con calma, tranquillità e senza conflitti dirompenti. Ma il presupposto è quello della chiusura e dell'uso esclusivo. Una riflessione sui possibili esiti di defamiliarizzazione, ad opera ad esempio del movimento per l'apertura dei *courtyards* o di altre congiunture imprevedute, sembra dover essere riferita alla problematicità della coesistenza con le altre pratiche di uso sopra tratteggiate e non alla mera "apertura alla vista" di questi spazi.

Il terzo punto riguarda infine un possibile reinquadramento della questione. Le pratiche e le esperienze di *courtyard-making* si potrebbero e si dovrebbero osservare non solo rispetto a questioni spazialmente circoscrivibili al *courtyard* in sé; esse infatti rinviano a processi di costruzione e di gestione di questioni urbane e territoriali.

Copenyards: practices, thresholds and knowledges in the courtyards of Copenhagen

Introduction

The article outlines territorial practices of courtyards located in the Nørrebro neighborhood in Copenhagen, referring specifically to Blågårdsgade/Wesselsgade Gårdlaug 1. The courtyards of Copenhagen are delimited by residential buildings and external walls considerable in their dimensions. The courtyard studied here consists of 46 buildings and 1500 residents. These green spaces reflect different social practices related to leisure, sociability, and household maintenance. The practices are delineated in relation to outcomes, sense-making processes and socio-economic subjectivations, and considered in the context of surroundings, boundaries and urban scenes.

Knowledges

During afternoon gatherings, dinners, birthday parties and neighborhood meetings, common residential properties (tables, barbecue, benches) are used to shape connections-in-actions by reorganizing courtyard's artifacts, coming and going to and from the apartments, thus creating specific proxemics. It could not have been different, as since the 1980s apartments have been equipped with heating and sewage systems, reducing indoors living spaces. These practices could be considered as a territorialization of *hyggelig* (a shared habit by some Danes), meaning harmonic, intimate and friendly dispositions in a relaxing and comfortable space.

¹ This article draws from the case study undertaken during my visiting PhD student experience in Copenhagen (December 2008–December 2010), now part of my PhD Dissertation *Everydaymaking: events, practices and policies*, Doctorate Study in Regional Planning and Public Policy, University IUAV of Venice.

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Other practices enact family time in terms of caring and playing with children, doing home tasks (putting up the laundry, cleaning the rubbish, etc.), overlooking children playing close to the buildings (by keeping an eye on them from the apartment windows or from indoor fire exit stairs connecting kitchens with the courtyards). In this regard one should point out that the vaguely panoptic, conventional and reassuring features of courtyards make them the chosen locations for young families coming from the suburban areas.

One of the fundamental aspects related to the livability of gardens is their nature-oriented use. This characteristic is also consequential to the delocalization/closure of workshops that until the 1980s were located in the gardens, the construction of gardens (by tearing down unused buildings and redesigning the landscape) and the constitution of the courtyards by setting up deliberative residential boards responsible for common goods. This complex (and in some cases conflictual) strategy of urban renewal has been initiated and managed over the last thirty years by the ad hoc municipal office Grønnegård (Green Gardens). This process has been followed by various forms of residential activism about nature caring, use of recyclable materials and experimental projects related to natural resources management. Such interventions are featured by consistent “teleoaffective” commitments, the outcome of an attachment to these spaces. The representation of the courtyards by residents (in web albums and guided tours for friends) highlights important ecologic and aesthetic functions and fruitions. These images can be considered as metaphors representing an ideal of good morality as recognized by a common cognitive and normative knowledge.

The spaces closer to the buildings particularly indicate life-style representations and individuals/collective identity constructions which can be visualized through green spaces, flowers, cat-passages, gazebo, etc. These elements constitutes clues of local networks, a topography of experiences and memories, as well as social consequences of housing policies and routines. Thus the courtyards are considered in many policy discourses as a space characterized by good practices and stories of success, as a “green oasis behind the building walls”, in which it is possible to appreciate “birds, wonderful flowers, ramblers”. The boards also take part in competitions related to the commitment and application of ecological ideas, such as the “green courtyards” initiative within

Agenda 21, aiming at fostering the use of solar energy, the creation of ecological niche through specific birds and insects, etc.

These green forms of local activism face indirect consequences of waste and household management, and bicycling parking (large Danish bike models suitable for children transport). These latter issues in particular are regulated by the courtyard board and by a hired gardener (a sort of “factotum”) who are responsible for organizing space and deciding whether or not to resort to external services (such as the cleaning of pedestrian sidewalks).

Anchorage

Following ethnographic observations, personal experience, interviews and gathered materials in the Nørrebro neighborhood, it is possible to confirm that the routes of non-residents who make use of the neighborhood never come to cross the courtyards. This is recognized and deliberate policy of courtyards’ residents, deemed to be supportive of their social life practices. Under these circumstances, a number of diverse factors are at play: the housing policies in Copenhagen, the use of gardens as strategy of urban renewal, the outcome of social movements in the 1970s and 1980s, etc. In this article I only focus on the phenomenology of access to the courtyards.

Access to the courtyards of Nørrebro is possible only through the fire exit stairs (residents’s most used entryways to the courtyards), large closed portals and interstices. The latter are constituted by narrow pathways in between buildings, tight passages used to reach back storage spaces, walkways physically obstructed by small bars, waste and abandoned bikes. These spaces are not taken care of, as residents are not using them as entryways. In the few cases in which it is possible to have a glance of a courtyard from the outside, there are signs highlighting the presence of surveillance cameras and indicating private property.

In relation to this, the Blågårdsgade/Wesselsgade Gårdlaug is an interesting case. Its entryways are: a fence with a sign indicating “private property”, several large closed portals and a pathway that cuts partially through the garden. The management of the threshold garden/path is a relevant issue to residents. Two main strategies have been elaborated: design interventions aimed at dissimulating the garden and preventing visitors’ access (using plants, bushes, signs indicating the “right” direction of the pathway) and, further down in the garden, a separate sign indicating the courtyard’s norms of conducts and





regulations related to fair behavior, gardening, use of things as benches, barbecue, etc. These circumstances have particular relevance if one considers that Nørrebro is characterized by processes of urban renewal including gentrification, but also of stigmatization as a place of recurring violent events due to its turbulent past and its present multi-ethnic population.

Such consequences of “closure” are challenged by some local activist networks, who reclaim the courtyards’ keys, making access thresholds public, and identifying usable pathways. These actions, labeled Nørrebro Open City, aim at changing the mental maps of Nørrebro. The relevance of these interventions has to be considered in long-term, due to the ephemeral practices of these networks and the necessity to constitute them to the different ordinary social practices.

Three final questions

The relation of places, knowledges and anchorages of practices seems to suggest some points. The first issue concerns materiality. Whereas physicality and materiality of spaces are relevant, practices cannot be simply considered as situated in the courtyards conceived as spatial containers. In regards to the previous account, practices are materially interwoven connections departing from a field of outcomes and consequences. By taking this line of thought, many (unexpected) paths would arise on the non intrinsic-features that could contribute to the use of the courtyards. As far as my personal experience is

concerned, validated by many stories and discourses, thresholds and surrounding walls even support and facilitate episodes of escapes and concealment of individuals or groups (that played a part in Nørrebro riots).

The second issue is strictly related to the first. The courtyards are set up by the municipal conceptualization as examples of an “active citizenship” grounded on peaceful and quite socialization capable of dealing with diversity. On the basis of this, the closure and exclusive use become sensitive features. Nevertheless, one should not have prejudices on this issue. From the perspective of shared time and space in relation to occurring social interactions, the opening of the courtyards is not in itself enough to understand the possible “new” encounters in the courtyards that occur along the byways of paths, of local situations, of becoming of previous practices.

The third issue holds the potential to reframe of the overall horizon of these practices. Indeed, the above outlined “courtyard-making” practices, as micro-experiences of propinquity and daily ordinary life, could also be inquired in relation to their representation and constitution in problem-setting processes that concern urban and territorial issues.

Au-delà du plan

La topologie urbaine des livreurs

Céline Cholez



« Les rues de Blois, je les connais par cœur. Le matin, je peux prendre un récépissé, je peux dire si la rue elle existe sur Blois ou pas. »

Extrait d'entretien avec Vincent, chauffeur-livreur salarié

Nombreuses sont les activités professionnelles au sein desquelles s'orchestrent des « défis » classant les professionnels en fonction de leur degré d'expertise. Parmi les livreurs, une joute fréquente consiste à soumettre à un collègue un nom et un numéro de rue au hasard pour qu'il indique le plus rapidement possible le plus court chemin pour y parvenir. Ces jeux professionnels révèlent un aspect essentiel de l'engagement dans l'activité de travail : l'ancrage dans un espace approprié comme territoire, le secteur de tournée. Les livreurs maîtrisent en effet leurs tâches grâce à leur connaissance des zones géographiques qu'ils sillonnent quotidiennement. En quoi consiste cette topologie ? Le jeu évoqué plus haut donnerait à penser qu'elle relève essentiellement de la connaissance du plan. En réalité, ce sont moins des lieux géo-localisés que des lieux habités, traversés et articulés qui composent la structure d'une tournée de livraison. La « mémorisation » des lieux et des chemins s'appuie sur des dispositifs matériels variés qui sans cesse renouvellent un savoir pragmatique et dynamique.

La localisation des destinataires : une activité mobilisant de multiples paramètres

La lecture de la déclaration de Vincent attire notre attention sur le rôle que jouent les dispositifs matériels dans l'activité de localisation des destinataires. Parmi ces dispositifs, les récépissés ou bons de livraison jouent un rôle majeur. Sur ces documents de transport qui accompagnent une expédition sont précisées des informations telles que les coordonnées de l'expéditeur, l'adresse de livraison, le nombre de colis ou de palettes, le poids total, ainsi que la prestation (délais de livraison). Le décodage d'un bon ne consiste pas seulement à lire l'adresse mais à construire des hypothèses sur le destinataire : selon la taille et le nombre de colis, selon l'expéditeur on peut deviner s'il s'agit d'un particulier, d'une administration, d'un gros commerce ou d'une boutique ; on peut également présumer son activité donc sa disponibilité vis-à-vis du livreur.

Suivre les livreurs en tournée c'est constater que localiser ce n'est pas seulement identifier une adresse mais aussi sa topographie. Il est très fréquent que l'adresse indiquée ne corresponde pas au lieu de réception. Seule l'expérience permet de savoir où est la bonne

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entrée de l'entreprise, le bon service dans tel bâtiment administratif ou encore l'adresse de la réserve du magasin. Les conditions de déchargement de la marchandise peuvent demander des manœuvres particulières qui vont conditionner l'accès au lieu, par exemple une marche arrière. Lire une adresse sur un bon de livraison requiert donc une opération de "traduction" dans l'espace des activités des clients. La localisation des rues n'est d'ailleurs pas la seule connaissance spatiale mobilisée par les livreurs. Ces derniers prennent aussi en compte les contraintes matérielles qu'ils vont rencontrer sur leur chemin, par exemple certains sens giratoires qui peuvent se prendre avec un véhicule lourd en mordant un peu sur le terre-plain mais qu'il faut éviter si l'on transporte des marchandises fragiles.

Lorsque l'on cartographie les déplacements quotidiens des livreurs dans l'espace urbain, on s'aperçoit qu'ils mobilisent un certain nombre d'axes routiers qui permettent le passage entre des sous-secteurs. Ces axes ne sont pas nécessairement les artères principales que les réglementations urbaines recommandent d'utiliser. Ce sont souvent des rues de taille moyenne (voire des ruelles), qui permettent d'accéder très rapidement à un certain nombre de points. Ces axes sont structurants de l'activité de localisation et de construction de l'itinéraire, tout autant le matin lorsque les livreurs classent leur tournée que lorsqu'ils sont confrontés à une rue inconnue.

Une connaissance des rythmes urbains

On le voit la connaissance du secteur de tournée ne se réduit pas au plan. A la connaissance des destinataires, de la morphologie de leurs bâtiments et de leur activité s'ajoute une autre connaissance d'usage : celle des autres usagers de l'espace public. Car les espaces sillonnés par les livreurs sont des lieux fréquentés par différentes catégories d'usagers avec lesquels ils sont en compétition : automobilistes, autres professionnels "nomades", conducteurs de bus, éboueurs, autres livreurs. L'expérience sur un secteur donné apprend les heures charnières au-delà desquelles tel axe ou tel quartier est complètement bouché. Certains livreurs connaissent les itinéraires de certaines lignes de bus ou des éboueurs de leur zone. Nous avons rencontré un livreur capable de décrire la répartition hebdomadaire de la charge de travail de ces derniers. Un autre connaissait les temps des feux de circulation des principaux axes de son secteur. Lorsqu'ils expliquent la manière dont ils organisent leur tournée, les livreurs évoquent en permanence des enjeux de rythme : rythme du flux et des feux de circulation, rythme des travaux sur la voirie, rythme de l'équilibre entre temps de conduite et temps d'arrêt.

Pour un livreur expérimenté, le temps urbain est cependant élastique. Tout d'abord, la connaissance des « non lieux » tels que les venelles privées, les zones de chantier, les parkings et les terrains vagues sont autant de raccourcis permettant de contourner les contraintes urbaines parmi lesquelles les embouteillages. Ensuite, l'anticipation permanente, par la lecture de multiples signes permet de conserver la fluidité nécessaire et de faire les bons choix en matière de circulation. Ces signes renseignent sur l'état de l'environnement traversé. Par exemple, la taille des bouchons dans certaines rues donne une idée de l'état du trafic. Lire d'un coup d'œil les affiches dans les commerces permet d'être au courant des programmes de travaux.

Un ancrage social

L'appropriation d'un secteur de tournée passe également par l'intégration dans un réseau social urbain souvent invisible au promeneur. Au bout de quelques années, la plupart des livreurs sont « connus » des occupants réguliers de leur secteur de tournée : petits commerçants, chauffeurs de bus, agents des forces de l'ordre, éboueurs, habitants du quartier.

Cet ancrage social est essentiel. Au fil des interactions s'établit une intercompréhension qui favorise les ajustements mais aussi la confiance et l'indulgence, là où le débutant commet en permanence des erreurs s'attirant les foudres des autres professionnels de la ville.

Le réseau de tournée repose également sur le partage d'une solidarité réelle avec les autres livreurs des entreprises de transport concurrentes. Cette solidarité se manifeste dans plusieurs domaines. La conduite est sans doute la situation professionnelle qui génère les gestes d'entraide les plus courants. Les livreurs se cèdent volontiers la priorité lors de dégagements. On peut aussi les voir se protéger lors de manœuvres : quand un chauffeur se gare, l'autre se positionne quelques mètres derrière afin d'empêcher les voitures de se faufiler ou de voler la place. Il existe également de l'entraide pour les tâches de manutention (décharger le camion ou porter une palette trop lourde). Le réseau de confrères est enfin un canal de circulation des informations utiles à la logistique urbaine : sur l'espace (travaux, manifestations) ou sur les clients (localisation, déménagement, inventaire, etc.). Certains livreurs, connaissant parfaitement les circuits des uns et des autres, sont à même de renseigner les destinataires de la progression de leurs confrères.

L'ancrage social dans le secteur de tournée semble jouer un rôle essentiel dans l'identité socio-professionnelle de livraison, l'appartenance à ce réseau venant appuyer la construction d'un sentiment de légitimité et d'expertise, notamment vis-à-vis des automobilistes et des piétons avec lesquels les livreurs peuvent se trouver en conflit. Accusés de bloquer la rue, les livreurs développent de multiples stratégies pour gérer l'agressivité et désamorcer les conflits : se garer sur le trottoir ou dans des petites rues peu fréquentées, accélérer la livraison avant que le bouchon ne devienne trop important, éviter le stationnement près des écoles, interrompre la livraison pour faire le tour du pâté de maison, adresser un sourire, un petit signe de la main pour s'excuser ou un geste indiquant que l'on n'en a pas pour longtemps, entrer et sortir en courant du lieu de livraison pour montrer que l'on se dépêche, que l'on fait des efforts. Les livreurs développent une posture professionnelle consistant à limiter les abus et ils négocient leur légitimité moins par un échange d'arguments, que par une posture, une manière d'être dans l'espace.

La maîtrise du territoire professionnel de livraison repose sur une connaissance pragmatique de l'espace, des compétences d'optimisation des déplacements en fonction de multiples aléas, l'appartenance à des réseaux d'entraide spatialisés et la négociation avec les autres usagers de leur légitimité à occuper cet espace. D'ailleurs ce n'est pas tant la livraison que la tournée qui s'apprend : en suivant le livreur titulaire, l'apprenti apprend à s'y déplacer et à s'y montrer comme en témoigne l'expression fréquemment employée par les livreurs pour qualifier leur apprentissage : « il [le titulaire] m'a montré ». Connaître la ville, c'est aussi d'une certaine manière y être connu et reconnu.



Il sapere urbano dei clasificadores

**Michele Carpani &
Lucia Fernandez**



In termini generali il pensiero architettonico che attraversa tutte le linee d'azione degli interventi statali dagli anni Sessanta ad oggi è simile in un punto: i territori spontanei, gli insediamenti irregolari o informali, sono visti come un problema da risolvere, eliminare, sradicare, ma in nessun caso vengono analizzati o studiati i contributi portati dai suoi abitanti alla città in termini di coesione economica, sociale e ambientale¹.

Non esistono, a tutt'oggi, analisi statistiche realizzate sull'incidenza delle attività economiche che sorgono nei territori spontanei sull'economia formale e sul funzionamento della città. Si conoscono le statistiche sulla violenza e la paura generate dalla presenza degli insediamenti informali, ma per quanto riguarda il loro apporto positivo, non esiste una conoscenza certa.

Michael Foucault in *Des espaces autres*² descriveva come "eterotopie di crisi" quei luoghi privilegiati, sacri o proibiti, riservati a quegli individui che si trovano, in relazione alla società e all'ambiente umano in cui vivono, in uno stato di crisi: per esempio gli adolescenti, le partorienti, gli anziani. Foucault sosteneva che le eterotopie di crisi proprie delle società del passato stessero scomparendo, sostituite da eterotopie di deviazione, vale a dire, spazi dove vengono collocati coloro il cui comportamento appare deviante in rapporto alla media e alle norme imposte, come le cliniche psichiatriche, le carceri e i ricoveri per gli anziani. A questi esempi bisognerebbe aggiungere i territori cresciuti e abitati spontaneamente, gli insediamenti irregolari, le favelas, gli slums come eterotopie di deviazione del XXI secolo, dove gli abitanti vivono con i resti della città.

Foucault connette inoltre le eterotopie alla dimensione temporale: nelle "eterocronie" infatti gli uomini si incontrano in una sorta di rottura assoluta con il loro tempo tradizionale. Ad esempio, nella Montevideo del XXI secolo, i carri a cavallo, utilizzati come mezzo di trasporto tradizionale nell'era pre-fordista, sono una sorta di eterocronia, una chiara constatazione dell'illusione del progresso tecnico ed economico. La rimozione dei carri da parte delle autorità municipali è peraltro piuttosto frequente e viene contestata da parte dell'unione sindacale dei *clasificadores de residuos urbanos* poiché non esiste una legislazione specifica in questo senso, ma è frutto di valutazioni soggettive sul disagio procurato al traffico e sugli odori sgradevoli nelle zone centrali³.

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Lucia Fernandez ha studiato architettura presso la Facoltà di Architettura di Montevideo, in Uruguay, dove ha insegnato nei laboratori di progettazione di Sprechmann e Danza fino al 2004. Dal 2008 si trova in Francia per completare la sua formazione tra la Facoltà di Architettura di Grenoble e la Facoltà di Filosofia di Lione. Il suo lavoro permanente con i riciclatori di Montevideo, dell'America Latina e dell'India, l'ha portata a lavorare come coordinatrice per il progetto WIEGO.



1 Il presente articolo utilizza alcuni estratti dalla tesi di Master in Architettura della Ecole nationale supérieure d'architecture de Grenoble di Lucia Fernandez.

2 Michel Foucault, *Spazi altri. I luoghi delle eterotopie*, Mimesis, Milano 2002.

3 I *clasificadores* o classificatori sono lavoratori informali che raccolgono dai domicili materiali da riciclare e/o

Lucia Fernandez, coordinatrice del progetto WIEGO⁴, ci informa che oggi a Montevideo 2650 persone percorrono le strade a piedi, 3350 in bicicletta e 2800 a cavallo, per raccogliere rifiuti da classificare successivamente nelle proprie case e da vendere ai mercati spontanei di oggetti riciclati. La loro capacità di carico equivale alla raccolta di tutti i rifiuti prodotti a Montevideo e si stima in 684 tonnellate al giorno (in media 77 kg per ogni *clasificador*)⁵. 394 di queste tonnellate raccolte vengono trasformate in materiali riciclabili che entrano, dopo essere stati precedentemente classificati, in una catena di compratori intermediari, primo anello della catena del riciclo industriale che trasforma di nuovo il residuo in materia prima. Circa 400 tonnellate di materiali riciclabili vengono così deviate, in maniera spontanea, da quella che dovrebbe essere la loro destinazione di smaltimento finale in una discarica a cielo aperto.

Con questo tipo di lavoro si potrebbero così risparmiare, considerando il costo di interrimento di 6 dollari per tonnellata e il costo della raccolta di 59 dollari a tonnellata, 26.200 dollari al giorno⁶; ma la sovrapposizione con l'attuale sistema di raccolta dei rifiuti (vale a dire camion che girano per le stesse strade e raccolgono gli stessi contenitori) non permette in realtà di ottenere alcun risparmio.

Oggi è l'estetica della città a prevalere su tutto il resto, il desiderio dei governi cittadini e di gran parte della popolazione è che queste persone abbiano un altro tipo di attività di sopravvivenza, poiché non vengono considerati i possibili vantaggi economici e ambientali che potrebbe generare questo lavoro gratuito⁷.

I *clasificadores* si dedicano alla gestione dei rifiuti nelle proprie case, che funzionano come luoghi per una classificazione artigianale e familiare, dove realizzano la separazione primaria che gli abitanti della città "formale" non fanno. Il trasferimento dei rifiuti nelle loro abitazioni espone le famiglie dei *clasificadores* a enormi rischi sanitari, per la mancanza di igiene, la presenza di animali in grado di trasmettere malattie e l'esposizione persistente a sostanze inquinanti. Questi fattori sono stati, in molti casi, un pretesto per il trasferimento in nuovi quartieri dove avrebbero potuto vivere degnamente.

La non considerazione di questa attività come lavoro quotidiano, con i propri spazi esterni adeguati, fa sì che molte persone tornino ad occupare terreni per poter continuare a lavorare, cosa impossibile in un appartamento tradizionale. Sarebbe già molto importante comprendere il tipo di lavoro che svolgono. Infatti la maggioranza dei cittadini non ha idea di quello che sta facendo quella persona che passa per la strada a raccogliere la spazzatura senza che nessuno gli dia qualcosa in cambio (non viene pagato da nessuno perché porti via i rifiuti). Semplicemente sapere e capire che esiste un sistema di riciclaggio parallelo e organizzato spontaneamente sarebbe di grande aiuto, dopo di che si potrebbe agire di conseguenza. Non essere considerati come ladri o straccioni, ma come lavoratori del riciclaggio, sarebbe il

riutilizzare, lo separano dividendolo tra materiale per l'autoconsumo e materiale per lo scambio e per la vendita. Il processo si suddivide in tre parti: raccolta dei rifiuti dalle strade della città effettuando una prima separazione; separazione definitiva dei residui nel proprio domicilio; vendita agli intermediari della materia prima ricavata.

4 WIEGO (<http://www.wiego.org>) è una rete globale di ricerca e politica che cerca di migliorare le condizioni dei lavoratori, soprattutto donne, nell'economia informale.

5 Stime del Plan Director de Residuos Solidos de Montevideo y Area Metropolitana, Anexo Residuos Solidos (LKSUR, novembre 2004).

6 P. Barrenechea, I. González, C. Croce, *Estudio de Mercado: Materiales Reciclables de Residuos Sólidos Urbanos, Informe Final*, Montevideo 2003.

7 Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, *Tirando del carro: clasificadoras y clasificadores: viviendo de la basura o trabajando con residuos*, Montevideo 2006.

maggior riconoscimento che i *clasificadores* potrebbero ottenere in un primo momento. In alcuni casi, sono state tentate alcune politiche a favore dei *clasificadores*, mettendo a loro disposizione spazi e macchinari più adeguati per lo svolgimento del loro lavoro. Si sono formate così persino delle cooperative di *clasificadores*⁸.

Quello che è interessante notare nella storia urbana di un secolo e mezzo fa è che la nostra concezione di “pulizia urbana” non è nuova. A Parigi, la costruzione della cinta muraria voluta da Thiers a metà dell'Ottocento cambiò la configurazione urbana, il perimetro di 34 chilometri di mura difensive definì

un nuovo “fuori” dalla città. Da qui l'espulsione dalla Parigi del Barone Haussman della popolazione e di tutte le attività che non avevano un posto all'interno della “città dell'igiene” e che si

I clasificadores si dedicano alla gestione dei rifiuti nelle proprie case, che funzionano come luoghi per una classificazione artigianale e familiare, dove realizzano la separazione primaria che gli abitanti della città formale non fanno

sistemarono in quello spazio chiamato *la zone*. I suoi abitanti, gli “zoniers”, ispirarono storie sorprendenti, nate soprattutto dalla paura e dai pregiudizi dei parigini che vivevano dentro le mura, ma suscitavano anche l'interesse da parte di artisti e scrittori dell'epoca come Zola e Baudelaire. Molte persone vennero espulse dalla città sia a causa delle demolizioni che per l'aumento del valore del suolo parigino, con la promessa di migliori alloggi e di una diversa qualità di vita. Il pretesto per delocalizzare questa popolazione fu sostenuto da diversi studi sull'igiene condotti dal dottor Du Mesnil, amico del Barone Haussman.

La verità, invece, era che, fuori dalle mura, le persone vivevano soprattutto in abitazioni o baracche precarie costruite con materiali di recupero. Nel 1883, erano stimati a Parigi circa 6.000 *chiffonniers*⁹ secondo censimenti ufficiali, 25.000 secondo le stime dei sindacati, che raccoglievano 91.400 tonnellate di materiali all'anno, facendo risparmiare alla città l'equivalente di 600.000 franchi (calcolando il valore del recupero a 6,5 franchi per tonnellata). Nel momento in cui il sistema di raccolta dei rifiuti si modernizzò e venne affidato a nuove imprese private, gli *chiffonniers* cominciarono a essere cacciati non solo dalle proprie abitazioni, per le ragioni già descritte, ma anche dai loro luoghi di lavoro.

Le abitazioni di queste famiglie, un tempo disperse per la città, davano vita ad una Parigi eterogenea, che si trasformò rapidamente: le espulsioni dal centro cittadino formarono un habitat compatto, fortemente individualizzato e lontano dalla città, con interi quartieri di *chiffonniers*.

Sembrerebbe dunque che per tutto ciò che sfugge all'immagine moderna, sviluppata, pulita e ordinata della città sia prevista la stessa politica di espulsione e rimozione dal tessuto visibile urbano. Oggi quello che sta accadendo in Italia o in Francia con i Rom e a Montevideo con i *clasificadores* è il risultato dello stesso tipo di politica di allontanamento e di occultamento. Con tutti i mezzi si prova a far tornare i Rom nei loro luoghi d'origine o a rimuoverli dai luoghi più visibili, dai centri cittadini, e confinarli nei campi recintati e sorvegliati dalle telecamere. A Montevideo la povertà si trova in periferia e, quando cerca di avvicinarsi al centro, viene nuovamente espulsa.

Un meccanismo che porta alla costruzione di spazi di sospensione in cui confinare tutti colo-

⁸ Vedi ad esempio la rete <http://www.redrecicladores.net/>

⁹ Il mestiere di *chiffonnier* era diffuso in Europa, specialmente in Francia e in Italia fino agli anni Sessanta. Gli *chiffonniers* erano persone che passavano dalle città e dai villaggi per raccogliere vecchi stracci, carta e scarti per poi rivenderli alle imprese di trasformazione.

ro che "non appartengono", pezzi di territorio posti al di fuori dell'ordinamento giuridico normale. Il dispositivo del campo va oltre il sistema di inclusione-esclusione che ha funzionato sui confini della città, tra cittadini e non cittadini, o sui confini degli stati nazione; si tratta di territori di sospensione dove la segregazione spaziale diventa un vero e proprio confinamento. Questi spazi segnano la decadenza dell'idea stessa di città come spazio democratico, non sono più né dentro né fuori di essa, ma rappresentano una sorta di terza area all'interno della quale viene rinchiuso un numero crescente di individui in eccesso rispetto a una dimensione inclusiva che entra in crisi.



Describing the Cycling City

Map-makings of an elusive object

**Jérôme Denis &
David Pontille**



The map is both a particularly powerful representation tool and a political device that closely articulates knowledge and power (Latour 1985, Harley 2002, Lévy et al. 2004). The sensitive issue of the definition and the location of boundaries is of course at stake (Leuenberger and Schnell 2010; Ben-David 2010), as well as the detection of spatial socio-political phenomena, such as criminality (Beaude 2009, Wallace 2009). Although many studies have documented these aspects, only few have questioned the fabric of maps on its practical side. It is precisely what we aim to do here: not to reduce the production of maps to a purely technical issue, but to show that their political aspect is closely linked to the very conditions of their production itself. To address this question, we consider the case of the mapping of bicycle facilities in the region of the Ile-de-France.

From a technical point of view, one could think that the knowledge used in any map-making is exclusively linked to debates on the most suitable representation of an external and clearly identified reality. But these two sides are indeed inseparable: knowledge and representation techniques literally produce a reality. They act directly on its tangibility and its outlines, not by suggesting a possible perspective on it or interpretation of it, but by enacting 'states of the world' (Lynch et Woolgar 1990; Mol 1999). Because they are difficult to identify, locate and describe, the case of bicycle facilities will allow us to examine concretely this performativity of maps by showing that it is reality itself, and the entities the maps seeks to spatially represent, that raise questions, before any possible dispute over their modes of representation.

Looking at the territory of the Ile-de-France, how to know if a bike path really exists at a certain location? When is a certain path to be counted as usable by cyclists? Can this part of the road, devoted to buses but allowed to bicycles, be designated as a bike lane? These are daily issues for those responsible for producing maps on bicycle facilities. Their problems concern simultaneously the quality of graphic representations of the territory they produce, the ways to qualify its components, and the search for information about their very existence. We would like to show here that the knowledge involved in urban map-making is related to these three types of operation: testifying the presence of entities, developing categories to describe them, and producing representational formats. More generally, we think that the contemporary city is populated by entities that remain relatively elusive, that is to say not only hard to describe but whose very identification is difficult. Such an enigmatic, elusive, evanescent quality is due to the splintering of urban infrastructures (Graham and Marvin 2001) and the organization of municipal departments that seize the city from domains of

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intervention (roads maintenance, urban planning) that do not overlap neither the uses, nor the public services.

One of the complex challenges of producing maps concerns the activity of people who are in charge of their making. Who has the jurisdiction or authority to produce a map of a particular area? The case of bicycle facilities in the region of the Ile-de-France offers the advantage of gathering (at least) two very different kinds of actors: a planning agency and a new private company that comes from the world of bikers' associations. The first one has mandated a geographer who is responsible for daily updating the Geographic Information

The contemporary city is populated by entities that remain relatively elusive, that is to say not only hard to describe but whose very identification is difficult

System (GIS) of the agency and for producing a free paper map of bicycle facilities. The second one provides an online tool for calculating cycle route. It has hired its own data collector, who uses

and expands the participatory database Open Street Map (OSM). We propose to explore the methods developed by these two actors to map urban facilities dedicated to cyclists, in order to understand their similarities and differences. Here, we mainly focus on the difficulties they face to produce a satisfactory map.

First, a few words on the practical problems related to the supply of information infrastructures. As technicians in science or medicine (Bowker and Star 1999, Berg 1997), the geographer of the planning agency and the data collector of the small company have to come to terms with the diversity of geographical data formats they handle and with the categories they choose or create in order to designate the entities they shall represent on their map. For instance, the geographer juggles with data previously indexed in different GIS systems, with map extracts in "picture" format for Adobe Illustrator, or with roughly photocopied lists of sites. As for the collector, he prints a part of the map available via Open Street Map, covers it with several annotations during his tours, and then integrates the latter in OSM via a web interface.

Transitions from one format to another are not obvious. Each goes with an operation of translation that shapes in a specific manner the urban knowledges in development. It is the same for setting categories, which is a particularly noticeable issue in the case of bicycle facilities since no clear standardized definition has been adopted yet. On this point, the OSM practitioner is confronted with most of the work. As a participatory tool, the device includes in its own functioning the necessity for a public discussion about the procedures for classifying geographic entities on the map. Thus, debates are frequent, sometimes venomous, over whether to consider a particular type of track a bicycle facility of a particular type.

Formats and categories are some points of tension already identified, particularly in science and technology studies. But our case invites us to go further. Indeed, even before they move from one format to another or to reach the appropriate categorization of an equipment, the two actors face a problem even more abysmal: the statement itself. How to identify tracks, runways, bus lanes shared with bicycles, and so on? For both actors, the mapping of these entities that are bicycle facilities implies a real investigation. It is in this precise operation that they differ radically.

The geographer of the planning agency does a specific organizational work: she spends her time traveling in towns, or on the phone to find the person who will be able to assure her that such types of equipment are actually in place. Her investigation is then to find good

“spokesperson” of the entities that she seeks to map. She must navigate the complex web of institutions according to their jurisdictions and the goodwill of people. The task is all the more complex that it is never done once and for all. Each year, on the occasion of the new edition of the map, she has to revive the people, and eventually discover that they have moved, changed their job, and so on. In her search for contacts, which can be hazardous, the geographer adds information awareness, watching out for some official announcements of inauguration in the local press. Result: the map of bicycle facilities in Ile-de-France is still far from complete and reveals entire zones without bicycle facilities, or rather without information on such equipment . . .

The collector operates in an entirely different manner. Starting from the participatory model of OSM, he turns himself into the ‘spokesman’ of the mapped entities by systematically pacing the territory. He experiences the presence or absence of bicycle facilities, seeing with his own eyes and from his own bike. He does a written statement of their position on the printed part of OSM and creates (or corrects) them online once back home.

These two cases, very briefly reported here, show how much urban knowledges are part of what Law (2010) terms ‘description practices’: even if they seem to be directed toward the same purpose, the two activities studied here are actually very different. First, they are parts of two distinct political projects. The geographer is mandated by the regional council, who wants to make visible the bicycle facilities it participates to fund. The collector works for a start-up, previously an association, dedicated to promoting bicycle uses and based on participatory tools. Of course, the differences are also tied to the recipients of the maps they produce. The map of the planning agency is primarily directed to the towns ‘to be trained’ in green policies (“the more bicycle facilities you provide, the better you rank on the map”). The map of the start-up company, on the contrary, is dedicated to cyclists, novice or experienced, who are assisted in planning their rides.

Yet these two practices of cartographic description are not equal to the object “bicycle facility”. Depending on circumstances, these facilities are more or less elusive. From the viewpoint of visual acuity and detail of description, the collector and contributors to OSM are better, since they are located at the ground level and they cross the territory in person, free from infrastructural and administrative borders. As experts in direct observation, they cover a large territory at a slow pace, even if they can build on elements shared by other institutions using OSM. As in any other participatory model, here the quality of urban knowledges are based on a large number of contributors. It also has a cost: a collective agreement on categories and formal standards is never completely reached. Conversely, the geographer of the planning agency rarely travels. Her knowledge is mainly based on interpersonal and organizational skills. This way, she alone can cover a much larger territory, but one that is left with many descriptive “holes”.

Elusive objects such as infrastructures dedicated to bicycles are numerous in modern cities. The production of knowledges shared on a large scale, being a potential source of services, goes through the articulation of the two practices we have described here. The complementarity between the detailed and participatory knowledge of the territory as it is experienced and the sound knowledge about heterogeneous actors who are responsible for leading and equipping the territory is an asset to generate new urban realities. We think it is all the more urgent to facilitate such a complementarity especially when OpenData prophecies seem to draw a world where the cartographic description is taken for granted, and has neither political nor practical value.

Décrire la ville cyclable. Cartographies d'un objet élu

Outil de représentation particulièrement puissant, la carte est un dispositif politique qui articule étroitement savoir et pouvoir (Latour 1985, Harley 2002, Lévy et al. 2004). S'y joue évidemment la question très sensible de l'emplacement et la définition des frontières (Leuenberger et Schnell 2010 ; Ben-David 2010), mais également celle de la mise en évidence spatiale de phénomènes sociopolitiques, tels que la criminalité (Beaude 2009, Wallace 2009). Si de nombreux travaux ont bien documenté ces aspects en revanche très peu ont questionné la fabrique même des cartes, dans sa dimension pratique. C'est ce que nous souhaitons faire ici, non pas pour réduire la production des cartes à une question purement technique, mais pour montrer au contraire que leur dimension politique est étroitement liée aux conditions mêmes de leur production. Pour aborder cette question, nous proposons de nous pencher sur le cas de la cartographie des équipements cyclables en Île-de-France.

D'un point de vue technique, on pourrait penser que les savoirs mobilisés dans toute entreprise cartographique sont exclusivement liés à des débats sur la "bonne" représentation d'une réalité extérieure qui serait par ailleurs clairement identifiée. Mais les deux versants sont inséparables : les savoirs et les techniques de représentation produisent littéralement une réalité, ils agissent directement sur sa tangibilité et ses contours, non pas en proposant une perspective possible ou une interprétation, mais en instaurant des états du monde (Lynch et Woolgar 1990 ; Mol 1999). Parce qu'ils sont difficiles à identifier, à localiser et à décrire, le cas des équipements cyclables va nous permettre d'interroger très concrètement cette performativité des cartes en montrant que ce sont la réalité elle-même et les entités que l'on cherche à représenter spatialement qui posent parfois problème, avant toute éventuelle querelle sur leurs modes de représentation.

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Comment savoir si une piste cyclable existe à cet endroit précis de la région ? Doit-on considérer que ce chemin peut-être emprunté par les cyclistes ? Cette portion de la rue réservée aux bus, mais autorisée aux vélos, peut-elle être désignée comme une bande cyclable ? Pour les personnes chargées de produire des cartes décrivant les équipements cyclables, ces questions sont quotidiennes. Leurs problèmes concernent aussi bien la qualité des représentations graphiques du territoire qu'elles produisent, les manières d'en qualifier les composants, que la recherche d'informations quant à l'existence même de ceux-ci. Nous souhaitons montrer ici que les savoirs liés à la cartographie urbaine relèvent de ces trois types d'intervention : attester la présence d'entités, élaborer des catégories pour les qualifier, produire des formats de représentation. Plus généralement, nous pensons que la ville contemporaine est peuplée d'entités qui demeurent relativement insaisissables, c'est-à-dire difficiles à qualifier, mais aussi dont l'identification est elle-même délicate. Cette qualité énigmatique, fuyante, évanescence, est fondée sur le caractère fragmenté des infrastructures urbaines (Graham et Marvin 2001) et de l'organisation même des services municipaux qui saisissent la ville selon des domaines d'intervention (voirie, urbanisme) qui ne recourent ni les usages, ni les services.

Un des enjeux complexes de la production de cartes concerne les acteurs mêmes qui en ont la charge. À qui revient la compétence, voire l'autorité, de produire une carte dans tel ou tel domaine ? Le cas des équipements cyclables en Île-de-France offre l'intérêt de rassembler (au moins) deux types d'acteurs très différents : une agence d'urbanisme et une jeune entreprise issue du monde associatif. La première a mandaté une géographe, chargée de nourrir le Système d'Information Géographique (SIG) de l'agence au fil de l'eau et de produire une carte papier (gratuite) des équipements cyclables de la région. La seconde propose un outil de calcul d'itinéraire cycliste en ligne. Elle a embauché son propre releveur qui utilise et enrichit la base cartographique participative Open Street Map (OSM). Nous proposons d'explorer les méthodes que ces deux acteurs mettent en œuvre pour cartographier les équipements dédiés aux cyclistes, afin d'en comprendre les différences, mais aussi les similarités. Faute de place, nous insisterons surtout sur les difficultés qu'ils rencontrent pour produire une carte satisfaisante.

Tout d'abord, passons rapidement sur les problèmes pratiques relatifs à l'alimentation des infrastructures

informationnelles. Comme les techniciens en science ou en médecine (Bowker et Star 1999, Berg 1997), la géographe de l'agence d'urbanisme et le releveur de la jeune entreprise composent avec la diversité des formats des données géographiques qu'ils manipulent et avec les catégories qu'ils choisissent ou créent pour désigner les entités qu'ils doivent représenter sur leur carte. La géographe jongle par exemple avec des données déjà indexées dans des SIG, avec des extraits de cartes "images" au format d'Adobe Illustrator®, voire des listes d'emplacements simplement photocopiées. Le releveur, quant à lui, imprime une partie de la carte d'Open Street Map. Il la couvre d'annotations lors de ses tournées qu'ils intègrent ensuite via l'interface du site.

Les passages d'un format à l'autre ne se font évidemment pas de manière transparente. Chacun s'opère par une traduction qui façonne d'une certaine manière le savoir urbain en cours d'élaboration. Il en est de même de la mise en catégories, particulièrement sensible dans le cas des équipements cyclables dont aucune définition précise standardisée n'est encore adoptée. Sur ce point, c'est le praticien d'OSM qui est confronté au plus gros travail. Outil participatif, le dispositif inscrit dans son fonctionnement même la nécessité de porter à la discussion publique les modalités de classement géographique des entités présentes sur la carte. Les débats sont ainsi fréquents, parfois envenimés, pour savoir s'il faut considérer tel ou tel type de voie comme un équipement cyclable relevant de telle ou telle catégorie.

Les formats et les catégories sont des points de tension déjà bien identifiés, notamment dans le domaine des Science and Technology Studies. Mais notre cas invite à ne pas s'y arrêter. En effet, avant même de passer d'un format à l'autre ou de s'atteler à la juste catégorisation des équipements, les deux acteurs sont confrontés à un problème plus abyssal encore : celui du constat. Comment recenser les voies, les pistes, les bandes, des couloirs de bus partagés, etc. ? Pour les deux acteurs, la cartographie de ces entités que sont les équipements cyclables nécessite de faire une véritable enquête. C'est dans cette opération qu'ils se distinguent radicalement.

La géographe de l'agence effectue un travail organisationnel : elle passe son temps en déplacement dans les communes, ou au téléphone, afin de trouver la personne qui sera capable de lui certifier qu'il existe sur telle partie du territoire tels types d'équipements. Son enquête consiste donc à trouver de bons "porte parole" des entités qu'elle cartographie. Pour cela, elle

doit naviguer dans le maillage complexe des institutions en fonction de leurs compétences territoriales et de la bonne volonté des personnes en question. La tâche est d'autant plus complexe qu'elle n'est jamais effectuée une fois pour toutes. Chaque année, à l'occasion de la réédition de la carte, il faut relancer les personnes, découvrir éventuellement qu'elles ont changé de poste, etc. À ce travail de recherche de contacts, qui peut être hasardeux, la géographe ajoute une veille informationnelle, guettant dans la presse locale les annonces officielles d'inauguration. Résultat : la carte des équipements cyclables de la région est aujourd'hui encore loin d'être exhaustive et révèle des zones entières sans équipements, ou plutôt sans informations sur les équipements...

Le releveur opère sur un tout autre registre. Sur le modèle participatif d'OSM, il se fait lui-même porte parole des entités cartographiées, en se déplaçant systématiquement. Il éprouve, de ses propres yeux et sur son propre vélo, la présence ou non des équipements. Il fait un relevé à la main de leur position sur la carte OSM imprimée et les crée (ou les corrige) sur le serveur une fois rentré chez lui.

Ces deux cas, très brièvement exposés ici, montrent à quel point les savoirs urbains des acteurs concernés relèvent de descriptions pratiques au sens où l'entend Law (2010) : même s'ils semblent tournés vers un même objectif, ils sont de ce point de vue très différents. Ils relèvent tout d'abord de deux projets politiques distincts. Dans le cas de la géographe, il s'agit d'un mandat de la région elle-même qui veut donner à voir les équipements cyclables parce qu'elle participe à les financer. Dans le cas du releveur, il s'agit d'un travail mené pour une start-up, ancienne association, dévouée à la promotion des usages cyclistes et reposant sur des outils participatifs. Les différences concernent aussi, évidemment, les destinataires des cartes ainsi produites. Celle de l'agence vise avant tout les communes elles-mêmes que l'on cherche ainsi à sensibiliser ("plus vous fabriquez d'équipements cyclistes, mieux vous apparaissez sur la carte"). Celle de l'entreprise est destinée aux cyclistes, confirmés ou novices, que l'on aide dans la préparation de leurs déplacements.

Or, ces deux pratiques de description cartographique ne sont pas égales face à l'objet "équipements cyclables". Selon les cas, il est plus ou moins insaisissables. Du point de vue de l'acuité et du détail de la description, ceux qui s'en sortent le mieux sont le releveur et les participants à OSM, qui se trouvent à ras du sol et traversent le territoire en personne, se libérant sans

s'en rendre compte des frontières infrastructurelles et administratives. Expert dans l'observation directe, ils vont en revanche à un rythme lent pour couvrir un grand territoire, même s'ils peuvent se fonder sur certains éléments partagés par des institutions avec OSM. La qualité du savoir urbain repose ici, comme dans tout modèle participatif, sur l'importance du nombre des contributeurs. Elle a aussi un coût : celui d'un accord collectif jamais complètement clos sur les catégories et les standards formels. À l'inverse, la géographe de l'agence ne se déplace que très rarement jusqu'aux équipements "eux-mêmes". Son savoir est essentiellement fondé sur des compétences organisationnelles et relationnelles. Elle peut par ce biais couvrir, presque à elle seule, un territoire beaucoup plus vaste, mais composé d'un grand nombre de "trous" descriptifs.

Les objets insaisissables, tels que les infrastructures dédiées aux vélos, sont innombrables dans les villes contemporaines. La production d'un savoir partageable à grand échelle, source éventuelle de services, passe par l'articulation des deux pratiques que nous avons décrites ici. La complémentarité entre une connaissance fine et participative du territoire tel qu'il se pratique et une connaissance tout aussi fine sur les acteurs hétérogènes qui ont la charge de l'animer et de l'équiper est une richesse pour produire de nouvelles réalités urbaines. Il nous semble d'autant plus urgent de la faciliter que certains prophètes de la libération des données publiques dessinent aujourd'hui un monde où la description cartographique va de soi, et n'a ni valeur politique ni valeur pratique.





Cyber-Imageability

Simone Ferracina



Experiencing an environment triggers a two-way exchange between the environment and its observer¹, a process that bridges materiality and immateriality by creating what Kevin Lynch calls an “environmental image”. Such an image consists in a “generalized mental picture of the exterior physical world that is held by an individual”² and it is critical in contributing to the subject’s ability to engage his/her environment, from orientation and way-finding to social interaction and emotional mooring.

Environmental images are drawn both on personal – *subjective* – factors and on collective – *objective* – responses to sensory cues. *The Image of the City*, Lynch’s famous volume, sets out to investigate the latter: how the physical environment can be planned so that its corresponding image is “vividly identified, powerfully structured” and “highly useful.” These features account for what Lynch calls “imageability”: the “quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer.” In the near future, the technology-driven rebalancing of objectivity and subjectivity in the perception of urban environments might call into question the relevance of such prescriptive approaches. This essay attempts to re-frame imageability in the context of the Augmented City and to envision and propose a new, digitally externalized, environmental image.

Objective Navigation

The Augmented City is a mixed urban environment where virtual and material objects entwine and are simultaneously experienced, one where cyberspace and the physical world co-contribute to the construction of reality. In this near-future cityscape, it seems unlikely that urban orientation and way-finding will rely on physical cues. Here is why: (1) Today’s widespread usage of GPS navigation systems and applications in cars and smart phones heralds the substitution of do-it-yourself way-finding in favor of reliable technology-led navigation apparatuses. (2) Digital navigation provides increased security and minimizes the probability – both actual and perceived – of becoming lost. (3) Computers tend to be more reliable than people; they have slimmer margins of error and can pick-up and adapt real-time information such as weather forecasts, news reports or service changes. (4) Satellites see farther than eyes, their vision being unbounded by environmental barriers and unobscured by darkness. Even in the absence of sensory cues, they know where the next subway

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¹ See Andrea Mubi Brighenti, ‘New Media and the Prolongations of Urban Environments’ in *Convergence* 16 (November 2010).

² Kevin Lynch, *The Image of The City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998).

station is and how to lead me to it.

The transposition of navigational cues from matter to bits does not necessarily promote digital alienation. On the contrary, a subject's physical surroundings are emphasized and continued by digital information overlays: their gaps filled, their inefficiencies smoothed away, their visibility augmented.

The mediated inhabitant of the Augmented City must still read and interpret his/her environment in order to successfully engage it, however the necessary identity and structure – characteristic of Lynch's paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks – are not embed-

The mediated inhabitant of the Augmented City must still read and interpret his/her environment in order to successfully engage it, however the necessary identity and structure are not embedded in the mediated object, but designed and programmed into the mediating interface

ded in the mediated object, but designed and programmed into the mediating interface.

Going one step further, we might wonder if matter-embedded objectivity is doomed. Today objects

of all scales from forks to buildings to entire neighborhoods owe part of their shape and inner organization to the demand for discernable images. A door, for instance, is defined by the capacity to perform a function – open and close – but its hinges and handles are not only functional pieces of hardware, but also cues helpful to recognize the object 'door'. In a building, the entry door is still defined by its function – providing access and connecting inside and outside – but in the context of the city the door's success depends almost exclusively on its ability to signal presence and to be found. To this end, architects have historically employed clusters of strategic indicators: canopies, entrance plazas, variations in scale, symmetry, ornamentation and so forth.

Now, in a mixed setting where indicators are predominantly digitized, how will the practice of architecture change? How will buildings organize the relation of their parts to the whole if the semantic link between user and physical building is broken? The way we understand and design the environment may be on the brink of a paradigm shift.

Of course, there is an inherent risk in replacing physical orientation and way-finding cues with electronic systems, the most obvious ones being the possibility of mechanical failure, black-outs and technological segregation, but these challenges aren't much different from those met thousands of times by human beings employing new technologies: from the reliance on fire in food preparation or lighting to extend the day, to the use of cars and airplanes to move around and the adoption of computers to process and store data.

Subjective Domestication

"The environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer – with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes – selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he sees. The image so developed now limits and emphasizes what is seen, while the image itself is being tested against the filtered perceptual input in a constant interacting process."³

The urbanites Lynch had in mind when writing *The Image of the City* were different from us and from the future dwellers of the Augmented City in significant ways. Their experience of the urban environment is implicitly counterposed to the domestic experience, one characterized by maximum perceived security and privacy, impeccable orientation and

³ Lynch, *The Image of The City*, p. 6.

absolute control over the identity and organization of space. At home we feel safe, we are able to orient ourselves in pitch dark, and we are aware of the content of each drawer, shelf and wardrobe. In this sense, home could be re-defined as the bounded space of perfect correspondence between a subject's environmental image and the environment. A correspondence, it is worth noting, that derives more from familiarity and habit than from an objective, coherent organization of space. Now, when Lynch's subjects venture out of the domestic sphere, they leave behind not only the constellations of objects and functionalities with which they appropriated their home, but the very capacity to appropriate space with similar pervasiveness.

On the contrary, the contemporary *electronomad* can carry along with himself/herself, in the form of bits and networks accessed through portable and wearable devices, many of the functionalities and belongings once associated with domestic life⁴. Furthermore, if, as inferred, real time information overlays will absorb and broadcast part of the identity and structure of the built environment, the mediated/mediating citizens of the Augmented City will be endowed not merely with control over environmental images, but with control over the environment itself.

Extreme customization is the ability of the technologically equipped subjects of the near future to customize their own perception of the urban environment through digital curatorial channels, locational feeds and mnemonic geographies. It is an electronic filter capable of mediating the cityscape according to one's interests, memories, social values, group associations, tastes and so forth.⁵ In conclusion, we can predict that subjectivity will play such an extensive role in the experience of mixed space, that its virtual layers and the subject's corresponding mental images will often overlap and merge. The environmental image of the future will be an externalized digital representation of customized objective and subjective cues; an electronic spatialization of identity, structure and meaning; a ubiquitous dimension of home.

4 For more on electronomatics, see William Mitchell, *Me++: the Cyborg Self and the Networked City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

5 For more on extreme customization, see Simone Ferracina, *Organs Everywhere* No.1, *Augmented Selves*, <http://organseverywhere.com/past/issue1/> (accessed January 30th 2011).



Waking up and getting off

**Andrea Mubi
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The first impression observers get of city life concerns its pace, the peculiar state of urban spatial and temporal concentration and compression. The notion of “stimulation”, as we know, has been at the centre of early urban theories that focused on the metropolitan experience as inherently “shocking”, due to constant solicitations. Yet if, following Tarde, we move from “similarities and repetitions of complex and confused masses to similarities and repetitions of details, more difficult to grasp, but more precise, elementary, infinitely numerous and infinitesimal”, then we may begin to notice that, within the relative compression of the urban state, all sorts of rhythmic modulations exist, which are far from uniform and which, in their superposition and composition, constitute the very fabric of the city, a fabric which is no less eventless than eventful.

Large, indefinite, suspended times and spaces systematically open up in urban rhythms, which we can appreciate considering for instance the case of metro transportation. Urban public transport, and the metro in particular, creates a specific condition in which mobility is accompanied by immobility, since being transported entails the fact that one’s body joins a mobile system (getting on the train) which collectively hosts a group of fellow co-travellers – an anonymous immortal society rhythmically on the move through successive departures and stops. The transported traveller is in movement while in fact his/her body remains still, seated or standing, waiting for the right stop. Incidentally, people begging for money on the metro are perfectly aware of this fact, as they can harvest on precisely such temporary immobility of travellers. Thus, the specific territoriality of an urban public transport system like the metro can be analysed through the anonymous rhythm of the carrier, made of punctuations (train stops) and more or less suspended (accidents are always possible) in-betweens.

Perhaps, in his reflections on the laws of imitation, Tarde was not that misguided in asserting that society is founded on a kind of “sleepwalking”. To a certain extent, metro travellers are precisely such sleepers whose displacement in space turns into a waiting time, a countdown, an imitative absentmindedness. All they need to do is just wait for the time to be propitious to their getting off. But also shows that sleepwalking is not all there is, for eventually there comes a moment when it is time to wake up and go. Arguably, a substantial part of the urbanite’s navigational knowledge of urban space concerns the ability to wake up at precisely the right moment – the ability to realise when sleeping and walking become incompatible acts (precisely conceding to Tarde that this is far from always being the case).

In this context, it may be interesting to consider what happens with the spread of new media and the rise of so-called new media urbanism as an everyday form of life. Do new media

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specifically affect the way urbanites walk, sleep and wake up? Certainly, new media seem to have entailed a significant reshaping of the accepted levels of what Goffman used to call “auto-involvements”, and even “occult involvements”. Not only can new media devices be used as deliberate involvement shields (a function once performed by hiding behind a newspaper open wide, and now by staring to – or into – iPods and smartphones screens) but, in the measure in which they become bodily extensions and personal accessories, these gadgets also function as the focus of inadvertent, distractive involvements with one’s own personal effects.

A substantial part of the urbanite’s navigational knowledge of urban space concerns the ability to wake up at precisely the right moment – the ability to realise when sleeping and walking become incompatible acts

From this point of view, checking the email on one’s smartphone is ultimately not that different from checking the dust on one’s jacket or one’s makeup in a pocket mirror – all are commonly accepted forms of backstage work

in public. Consequently, the same rules of interaction that apply to initiating an interaction also apply to these cases. Sometimes, though, the use of new media devices also generates the suspect of occult involvements: is this person talking on the telephone with earphones and mic, or is s/he talking to ghosts? In both cases, s/he seems to be “hearing voices”. We occasionally need to have a second quick look to check for our co-traveller technological equipment in order to formulate a working judgement on his/her psychic health. It may even be that occult involvements will become more accepted since the majority of people have begun to experience the peculiar tensions that are associated with the reconfiguration of the territorial boundaries of the legitimate situation of interaction.

However, if new media devices lull us in our sleepwalks, don’t they also wake us up? Aren’t they like little domestic pets that we constantly have to feed? (And because they are constantly on us, aren’t they like the pirate’s parrot or the punk’s mouse?) Isn’t there a sort of “Tamagotchi DNA” inside each of these devices? They are objects that want to be attended and taken care of, and they provide us with plenty of reasons to do so. Actually, these devices address us no less than we address them. They solicit us, or, to retrieve a time-honoured term from ideology theory, they “interpellate” us. But precisely this way of keeping us talking and, so to speak, “walking in an interaction” entails a sleep, a global absentmindedness, an endless sleepwalking. From the point of view of the public domain, there are no longer lonely travellers, the smallest vehicular unit is now the couple “human+device”, an ambulant bubble of communication, and a peculiar addition to the ever-changing combination of walking, sleeping, waking up and getting off in the city.





Urban knowledge through popular culture

Some reflections on everyday encounters with the melodramatic city

David Beer



I suspect that it is an obvious observation, but some time ago it occurred to me that a good deal of what I know about cities is a product of the cultural resources that I have consumed over the years. Various TV shows, musical works, films, books and the like have contributed to an accumulated general and sometimes more locally specific knowledge about cities. When trying to think this through I kept returning to a well-known 1970s British comedy show called *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads*. This show follows the lives of two characters, Bob and Terry, who live in Gateshead near to the city of Newcastle in the north east of England. It was a sequel to the earlier 1960s comedy *The Likely Lads*, in which Bob and Terry were depicted as young working class men, employed as electricians in a factory environment during the day and spending their leisure time drinking the local Newcastle Brown Ale, eating chips and attempting, with little success, to meet women – please let me apologise from the outset to the international readership of this journal for relying on such a localised example, I hope you will bear with me and hopefully readers will have some similar personal and locally specified instance with which this description might resonate.

The 1970s follow-on series revisited Bob and Terry's lives several years later. The series begins with Terry returning home after five years serving in the armed forces. As a consequence of his flat feet Bob was unable to join the army, so instead he was found to be building a middle-class life for himself in a newly built suburban estate with his wife-to-be Thelma. Terry, meanwhile, ends up at his parent's old terraced house espousing the virtues and enjoying moaning about the hardships of working class life as an unemployed ex-serviceman. Thus the situation allows the comparison of Bob and Terry's new found social positions and facilitates the juxtaposition of the two central characters' social aspirations, senses of belonging and plays-off the emergent tensions of social mobility. The backdrop to the TV show is quite radical social and urban change tempered by the continuities of local tradition and heritage. Terry is disappointed that he has missed the period known as 'swinging London', Bob though points that that such cultural emancipation failed to reach the provinces of the northeast of England.

When thinking about urban change, the episode of *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads* that springs to mind uses Terry's absence from his home city to reveal the scale of transformations to the urban fabric that have occurred during the period of his travels. Bob and Terry drive around in Bob's new car visiting their old haunts. To Terry's dismay the city has changed, post-industrialisation has kicked in, to some extent, and the rise of new forms of work and consumption have reshaped the landscape. The city of their youthful adventures has, in

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places, been left in ruin, and in other instances has been transformed into functional space affording the infrastructures of the city required by the social transformations of the time. In one famous scene Bob and Terry are pictured on a multi-storey car park that has been built on the former site of one of their favourite venues, the Go-Go club. As Terry rhetorically queries, 'the Go-Go, gone?'. It is in this tour of Newcastle and Gateshead that we see a variety of aspects of the changing urban setting of the north of England.

This might seem like a quite banal example, surely this is simply a popular comedy show using a setting and situation to derive comedy value, and indeed it is. This show, however, has structured my understanding of Newcastle and the transformation of a number of similar types of city. We find in this comedy show content that speaks directly to themes of urban transformation, gentrification, zoning, segregation, consumption, urban classes and leisure space. In short, this episode provides a narrative and images that flesh-out some of the central themes of urban studies. What I would like to argue in this short article is that cultural resources and particularly those in popular culture are far more powerful in defining and structuring urban knowledge than we might anticipate. Indeed, this is a crucial aspect of the 'making' of cities that has received very little attention.

Recently I have been working with colleagues to explore the example of the cult TV show *The Wire* in order to examine the depth and sophistication of the urban commentary and critique provided by seemingly 'glossy' cultural forms (Penfold-Mounce *et al*, 2011). We have argued that this is actually a part of a broader presence of the 'sociological imagination as popular culture' (Beer & Burrows, 2010), this is to say that there is a vast array of sociological content in popular culture that provides consumers with accounts of the social that vary somewhat in quality and insight but which transform knowledge about the social world. This development, we have suggested, is creating some serious challenges for how it is that we do social science. In the case of *The Wire* we might even feel that the urban knowledge developed and communicated by those working in the university sector is challenged by the sophistication and clarity of popular urban knowledge. We have certainly been having some feelings of anxiety as we attempt to face such challenges in our teaching and research strategies (for a discussion of this see Atkinson & Beer, 2010).

We might ask though why this is significant. Surely urban knowledge in narrative and visual form has always been present in cultural forms of various types. This is indeed the case, there is clearly a history to the types of urban knowledges within popular culture, take for instance the history of 'cinematic urbanism' (AlSayyad, 2006). There is no reason to think that this is something that is entirely new, urban knowledge and popular culture clearly have a long history. It is though, in my view at least, possible to reflect upon the relative escalation of narratives and images of the city in popular culture. Beyond the example of film, other popular media such as television and video games are providing a wealth of resources from which people derive urban knowledge, in addition to these mainstream forms we might also include developments in participatory web cultures which make available new insights into the city in the form of blog and wiki entries and the numerous visualisations of cities that are being created by individuals 'mashing-up' new data sources (Hardey, 2007; and for some examples see www.flowingdata.com).

The wealth of urban knowledge in popular culture is, hopefully, clear to see. What I would like to do here is conclude by offering some reflections on the relative significance of this form of urban knowledge. Let us return to the notion that popular culture provides a resource for shaping urban knowledge. Drawing upon Walter Benjamin's (1999) account of the

impact of the technological mass reproduction of culture, we can of course identify that contemporary media and popular culture allow us to see, in a non-auratic form at least, things that we could not encounter. To put this another way, AlSayyad (2006: 1) notes that, in the case of film, the 'images and sounds found in movies today routinely bring people the experience of distant cities they may never visit'. Instantly then we can see popular culture as a resource that enables us to gain knowledge and insight about places we have never visited. We might also conclude then that these resources also act to structure our expectations of the places we do actually visit. This apparently routine information about places could in fact be something far more significant than it might first appear when we consider how it might define urban knowledge.

To explore the above point further it is worth turning

briefly to the work of Bev Skeggs and Helen Wood and their recent project exploring the social significance of Reality TV. Skeggs and Wood conclude that popular culture, such as Reality TV shows, provide resources that 'make' social divisions (Skeggs, 2005). They argue that it is not possible to fully understand contemporary social divisions without understanding the way in which popular culture depicts social differences. They point toward the over-representation of particular social groups and the way in which apparent class differences are exaggerated within the 'spectacular morality' of the melodramatic television show format (Wood & Skeggs, 2008). The underlying premise of their work on this issue is that popular culture provides what they describe as a 'grammar of conduct' (Wood & Skeggs, 2004) that structures behaviours, provides limits to proper self-presentation and makes-up social differences. This is useful in beginning to frame the impact of urban knowledge in popular culture, it helps us to imagine what types of urban knowledge we may be accumulating from the popular cultural resources that are prominent in our lives.

If popular culture is responsible for 'making' social class and other social divisions, then it is reasonable to assume that it might also be responsible for 'making' places – as the TV show *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads* has 'made' the city of Newcastle for me. We might imagine that the narratives and impressions of the city that come to integrate themselves in our understandings of places and urban life might well be the consequence of competing resources. But, if we accept the arguments of Skeggs and Wood, this is often likely to be a *melodramatic city*, a city in which social divisions are played upon to form an urban 'spectacular morality', a city of heightened senses of difference, of tension and of problems. In short, a particular type of city is likely to be formed where urban knowledge is shaped by popular cultural resources. The dominant city in such resources is likely to be a *melodramatic city* in which issues of various sorts are magnified.

What I would like to suggest in concluding this short set of reflections is that we know very little about how urban knowledge gleaned from popular culture might shape understandings, practices and interactions within urban spaces. This is clearly a challenge. There is, I would suggest, a need to think critically about how the city is formulated and operationalised in popular culture, particularly if we think of this as being perhaps *the* dominant resource that people use for understanding places. Similarly though we should see some potential here for expanding our repertoires by using these popular cultural resources for communicating the knowledge created in universities. Daryl Martin has spoken recently of

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a 'poetic urbanism', a way of capturing the city within poetic prose, it is possible that there is a poetic urbanism present in popular culture, a way of talking about the city, a way of communicating urban knowledge that we might be able to take advantage of in our attempts to involve a wider audience in our explorations of space and society. The question I would like to finish with is simply this, how exactly can we go about creating a greater understanding of the ways in which urban knowledge in popular culture is shaping or making our understandings, experiences and attitudes toward cities? What type of urban knowledge is formed through the resources of popular culture? In developing some answers to this question we might be able to think through what these visions of urban spaces reveal, how we might encounter them critically to uncover their implications and affects, and finally, this might also enable us to appreciate how we might use this urban knowledge to successfully communicate our own ideas and forms of urban knowledge to the widest possible audience.

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Io Squaderno 19

Urban Knowledges

a cura di / edited by / coordonné par // Jérôme Denis, David

Pontille, Andrea Mubi

Guest Artists // Cyop&Kaf

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19

In the next issue:
Gardening / In giardino

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