

UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA

FACULDADE DE LETRAS



Steps towards an urban speech

Manuel García y Ruiz

Mestrado em Cultura e Comunicação

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Advisor: Professor Maria Teresa Malafaia

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-Right to preserve: right to learn and get surprised

-Right to eradicate: standardization of the cultures

-Right to introduce: right to dream a better city

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Abstract

The present dissertation reviews different academic traditions on urban conception and urban art in order to set a base for future researches on urban cultural studies. In this work we present the core of our theory, the acts of experience, the urban consumer and the liminality. These concepts are introduced and applied on different scenarios, making a world overview of the current state of the cities and the urban arts. This work sets an alternative reading of the *city* and an open suggestion on public policies in order to improve the habitability of the cities, underline the importance of urban arts and the high relevance of inhabitants' opinion. The different urban spheres are reviewed in this work and some suggestions are given to skip marginalization and extreme liminality situations.

Keywords: city, urban life, urban art, cultural mediation, liminality, urban consumer.

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Introduction

When you look at a city, it's like reading the hopes, aspirations and pride of everyone who built it.

Hugh Newell Jacobsen - Architect

Many authors and researchers focused their studies about the *city* from a socio-economic or territorial perspective; many others from an anthropological or geographic view, but is the *city* only *space*?

Urban Anthropology, Urbanism, Urban Social Geography, Social Psychology, Politics and many other disciplines have had a word on this regard. The question presented before is the eternal query, with multiple answers. In this work, we will use all these different resources in order to find out our own answer to the difficult question presented above.

It's expected for the next years that almost 70% the world's population lives in a city. This critical situation states and describes perfectly the deeply need of these works. When we speak about the importance of these studies, we are thinking in something more than water consumption or energy deployment; we are thinking about cultural hybridation, public-power spheres, communications, and a long etcetera that finish on the *city* as a cultural construction. We are talking about time, about shared spaces, cultures in contact, memory and power. We are talking about the future that is today.

We are interested to reveal how ephemeral is the construction of the city, how many different cities live in a same space, and how many territories coexist on the same land. Regarding this, we are going to establish an "intimal" relation with *urban arts*, especially with graffiti. This art is born to mean and disappear; completely temporary and completely misunderstood. Graffiti (re)uses space, recycles the way people look at the city, provokes the reader and interferes with time and human action. Graffiti is art and communication at the same time and it has a lot to offer when we plan to talk about *public space*, and *public spheres*.

Inspiration and Critic Reading

There are many researchers that inspired this initial work, but we are in debt with Michael de Certeau and his linguistic reading of everyday life. This researcher reversed the traditional understanding of the social sciences regarding our societies and in particular the consumerism activity. His work turn over the perspective normally used, from above, to provide the correct relevance to the *end user*, the *walker*, the *citizen*. This individual recreates and (re)appropriates their space, they read everyday objects differently -such as the streets-, and they compose a different map of the reality. We can understand, easily, the importance of this approach that subverts the rituals and representations that institutions seek to impose upon us.

Victor Turner and his work on the *rites de passage* is another of the real inspirations of our research. When we started to imagine how to approach what it was a vague idea about the city, we immediately thought to use the urban anthropology to help us, but we didn't really expected to introduce this ritual anthropology. Turner and his liminal system enriched our perspective of *user*. People living on the margin but not being marginalized, just living on a *virtual* area of the society. His work really provided some lights about how an individual is a creator and a consumer at the same time and how they construct their reality in base of a constant and evolving status change. This changing status is equal to be *in* or *out* of the society and it determines their relations and their performance on the public sphere. This eminent anthropologist and his *rites de passage* offered some important points regarding the individuals that compose our city, underlining a few characters that, soon, took our attention: the outlanders and the artists. These special targets are in action, their formal constitution or persona is in movement; this action is what really justifies their inclusion into our research. The outlander is in progress to be accepted in the society where he lives, he is part of the *urbs* but not to the *polis*; artist are in progress to digest reality to create (making a constant reading) and they move between their conceptions to the reality on an endless way back. These people live on the margins, in coexistence with the main system; they are co-present and they are an influent part of the city ecosystem, as many other authors reveled.

From the British Cultural Anthropology, field where we feel comfortable, we made an incursion to a different perspective about the late modernity. Garcia Canclini, one of the most relevant Latin-American researchers in Cultural Studies, supposes an interesting approach to the *cultural hybridation*. When we talk about cities, we are obviously talking about immigration and cultures in contact. As mentioned before the *passage* of the outlander modifies the way we read the city, and by its contact in *praesentia* our reading, of the city, changes. This author presents highly important concepts of cross-cultural and mass communication re-readings. He built his work from a citizen (user) outline that differs from other cultural and communication scientists as he focused his research on the relation between mass media and audiences.

Canclini speaks about people living in that kind of social limbo that Turner presented. People living at a society but not yet inside of the society itself. What happen when cultures bridge? Cities evolve, grow up, mature... but some urban areas die on the same time that others bloom. These forgotten areas often occupied by this *in progress citizens* or by other targets that may use those for other reasons, as could be the artist in order to capture what Durkheim would denominate *collective effervescence*.

These *dead* or *emerging* places are *in transition*: they are changing their status following with Turner's theories. On our research they will be denominated *liminal spaces* and they will be explained in deep on future chapters. Liminal spaces coexist with the *visual space*, understanding this term as an accepted mainstream space. These liminal spaces must not to be confused with the *non-places* of Marc Augé. This French philosopher presents an interesting concept of space based on its use, but completely independent of its users. Space is created to be used (functionalized), to be performed, to facilitate the transitions or fluxes (people, money, services...), but it is not designed to host the user (impersonalized). This radical difference compose the liminal space as a more interesting place for cultural studies, as new forms of culture and communication can be developed within them.

Regarding the ephemeral constitution of the cities, and the accelerated process of liminality, defended on next chapters, we have chosen graffiti and urban art to illustrate how artists and outsiders can redefine the concepts of public space, and public sphere. On this regard we will use the theories presented by Anna Waclawek about urban art and the contesting speech expressed by and the increasing relevance of these arts on the

visual sphere. Nowadays Street Art and Graffiti are probably one of the very best examples that we can find of ephemeral art, as they are created to disappear in a short time. They born to die, from the liminal space to the mainstream. Its capitulation by the general public -as Certeau points out- invite us to do a reflection about many topics such as identity, space, time, the future of cities and the future of arts. Cultural Industry has already incorporated these “liminal arts”, transforming them and changing their status. This *passage* changes, as well, the way we look the street and our configuration of the city, but how intense is this transformation?

Many other authors will be reviewed and consulted during our work; different schools and different academic traditions are called to bring some light to this research. We pretend to use academic and bibliographic resources other than American or French, in order to enhance with other researches and traditions that could enrich this dissertation.

Memory, imagination, creativity... is everything evolved, and the image of city is in base of our perception. The city lives on the user, on the walker, on the outlander... in the artist that looks at it.

Justification

The *city* is something else than a *piece* of land populated by people. It is something else than a mere addition of different urbanistic plans superposed and stratified; it is something more than the result of the human action to get benefit from different geographical enclaves. We have not to forget the origin of the traditional cities, where any natural aspect inducted or facilitate their construction (water sources, defensive natural structures, commerce facilities...) but, nowadays, we find cities that don't correspond to any human-natural depending relation. Cities as Abu-Dhabi, created in the middle of the dessert, are blooming on different countries as the expression of the human power and domination upon nature. This change of paradigm is very relevant for us because, for first time, we are not prisoners of the land and we are able to reinvent our space in base of our fantasies and myths. Technology is helping us to create a new

world of worlds, but once again... those cities are experienced, and those reading are what we call city.

There are a few cities worldwide that don't stop on their growing process. During the first half of the XXth century, and a good part of the other half, urban thinking was only on one direction: up. Skyscrapers were growing up everywhere as a symbolic manifestation of the human technology, power and development and on the same time ghettos and marginal neighborhoods were flourishing on the peripheries. This urban growing was, as well, an *extension*, as the cities were needing more territory to host the newcomers, the outlanders, that were arriving to the cities looking for job opportunities and a better life. We are speaking about the dichotomy *center-periphery* and the immigration flux that cities represent as magnetic pole for professional development. These workers' settlements could be read as a *liminal areas* and it is not surprising that it were on these spaces where many artistic movements were born.

Today we are experiencing a deep change on space consumption. Cities are still growing and on their expansion some places get marginalized; liminal spaces are created as a side -after- effect of this development but, far to become ghettos, they opt to be places on transition; places that with a correct cultural planning became, once again, mainstream places.

Here we will talk about how graffiti and visual street arts can avoid the *ghettoization* of the urban space, how these spaces in transition can be rescued, and how we can re-read the everyday objects in order to build a new city.

Methodology

The methods and materials used in this work are suitable for fulfilling the specific objectives of the study. The primary focus of the study is the *city*, its development, its physical time-space structure, its composition and its perception by *users*; the secondary focus of interest is how street art and graffiti can turn liminal areas into visual areas recycling the public space and altering the public sphere.

Quantitative methods will be used to better understand the different subjects of this research. On this respect we will be assisted by the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, especially by its Cultural Heritage Department. We will use their important graffiti and street art geographic database in order to create a liminal mapping. Lisbon is our case of study and our laboratory in order to validate the theories and the concepts that, on next pages, will be developed and clarified.

The City

Our first stop in this itinerary will be a formal definition of what *city* means. In order to formulate any theory about the city and the liminal space we will proceed to review the bibliography written on this purpose. Different disciplines and different perspectives will be included in order to cover every aspect of the city.

We will surf on the different existent bibliography in order to clarify a few points that we strongly believe as relevant to a city theory construction. We will review the relation between space and human perception, the delimitation of territories and the bases of the city founding. Land occupation will allow us to talk about the evolving process of social organization, and therefore to talk about urban design and urbanism.

Many authors talk about the *city* when they refer to the *polis* or to the *urbs* but these concepts are not the same as they refer to very different realities. Many authors establish a dichotomy between the *rural* and the *city* while there is a wild world around and in behind. Here we will speak and make a radical difference between the infrastructures and the spaces that conform the city and the different occupants or users of the spaces. It's in here where we will develop our explanation about the *space(s)*, their definition and our incursion on the liminal space, liminal areas, and center-periphery. We will speak about the immigration and the creativity class, and we will argue about the borders between status and power. We will explain the *liminal man* and the *liminal space*, and we will confront it to the non-space and the mainstream space. This important stop on our tour in the city -from the margin- will hold the key concepts that we will use along our work.

The city, nowadays, is not finish by any territorial limit; it is extended on a virtual prolongation. We can find a continuum of liminal users on internet that prolong the borders of the cities on a conceptual *superplace*. This *superplace* will be compared with the traditional extensions of city: literature, comic, cinema... and we will make an approach to the *superplace* from the street art and the graffiti.

This important bibliographic research will be performed giving an important relevance to the very last studies and works. We understand that the last works describe, in better terms, the world we currently live in. Different approaches and different views are welcome as far as they will be justified and we recognize the possibility of error.

Urban art

Internationally known as the capital of Fado, Lisbon is as well the European Capital of the Urban Art. Walking on its streets is like walking on a gallery or a museum. This situation is very important, up to the point that there is, in fact, an urban gallery with international and local artist in exhibition with a cultural program behind.

In collaboration with the GAU (Galeria de Arte Urbana), that is managed by the Cultural Heritage Department of the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, we will trace a map of the areas where urban art is most concentrate, in order to better understand if, in fact, the liminal spaces are in concomitance to the liminal areas.

For these, we will use the extraordinary well-documented database¹ of the GAU and their cataloging system. We will visit as well these areas in order to have a personal impression of this situation and by direct observance define how deep is the degree of liminality and its expression.

With this map we are expecting as well to verify the transaction of space, the life of urban areas, and how urban art can contribute to reactivate same spaces in extinction, or ghettoization.

¹ Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. (2012). GAU - Galeria de Arte Urbana. Retrieved 23/03/13, from

MEDS Reaction LX 2013 Experience

During this dissertation writing process, I was invited to participate to the MEDS Reaction LX 2013 workshop as advisor for a few “actions” and as well as leader of the very first Urban Parliaments by Zuloark. This workshop offered the possibility to verify the theories and concepts built on the present work: the liminal city and its relations with urban arts.

MEDS ‘Meeting of Design Students’ was founded in 2010 by students from different countries and different departments of design. It was created with the aim to join all design departments together. Architecture, interior architecture, industrial design, graphic design and all other departments of design, but for the very first time a non-related design discipline was invited on the workshop. Reaction LX 2013 aimed to recover the neighborhood of Graça in Lisbon by the implementation of cultural actions, design intervention and urban furniture incorporation. We were working with a very traditional community so someone trained on social mediation and social work was needed in order to merge MEDS’ interests and inhabitants needs. I was invited in a first moment to negotiate between the parties, but soon I was called to advise on two different intervention: Action 7 directed by Kairit Sõlg and Action 11 directed by Andrej Vuk and Lana Petrak in collaboration with the Italian architect Federica Rosati.

This workshop was deployed at a recovered for the occasion convent, a liminal place, and brought 235 participants from all over the world (outlanders). This scenario became an excellent laboratory for the liminal, and the Urban Parliament facilitated the communication and dialog about the city and the mission of the urban consumer.

The different actions undertaken on this workshop will be described and related to the different topics treated on this dissertation as an example of our theories.

Steps forward an urban speech

The Urban Polyhedron

Explain regulated social behavior may perhaps be to consider it as a language that expresses a structure, and then the task will lie in deciphering. This requires submitting to sharing many variants of the same text, relating them to their cultural milieu.

Jean Cazeneuve

The Passenger City

The city as an object of scientific research is relatively recent. Even today there are many scholars who reject anthropological research about the city -and in the city- because they start from scientific prejudices rooted in the history of anthropology. Anthropologists have managed to evolve over the years adapting their methods and methodology in a world in constant change. Currently there are not many African or American tribes to be discovered, but many societies are emerging within our cities, without even noticing.

Belonging processes, territorial delimitation, segmentation, tribalism, etc. are very common in the cities called as *elite* and the truth is that it seems reasonably easy to find parallels with pre-industrial societies.

The city may be studied from different perspectives: sociological, cultural, anthropological, architectural... and all of these perspectives can help us to understand a different side of the urban polyhedron. The *urban polyhedron* could be understood as the sum of the rites that users of a city make on their individual or collective practice of social life. Each rite, or consumption of the city, is determined by a set of predefined rules that are learned within a given culture. These cultures coexist with each other but they are identified internally by its own exclusion with other neighboring cultures. We should mention here that we are not talking about formal subcultures or countercultures, we part from professor Gelder research *Subcultures: cultural histories and social practice*, and his six major points: negative relations to work, negative or ambient relations to class, territory association and ownership, movement out of the home into non domestic belonging forms, stylistic ties to excess and exaggeration, and refusal of the banalities of ordinary life and massification. His work, and Turner's research, inspired without hesitation our liminal reading of human associations and individual growth. We talk about the different process of passage that motivate an individual to identify himself with a particular group, whether or not his own by tradition or inheritance. Victor Turner in his work *Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites of Passage* presents very clearly this phenomenon from a traditional ethnographic reading. In this work, Turner focuses on the process of *change of state* (social), defining the state as "a relatively fixed or stable condition whose meaning could include any

legal circumstances such as profession, office or position, status or class" (1994:4). Turner prefers this term (state) better than *status* as it is more inclusive and has a direct relationship with the culturally recognizable. This may be translated as functions in the society that the individual will develop, when being approved and accepted as an agent for certain actions or certain character roles. Turner, in base of van Geneep's works about the rites of passage, mentions that there are always three states: separation, marginalization (or limen), and aggregation. The first phase involves the dissolution of the subject with respect to his community of reference, stripping the candidate from his social status and any other cultural element that may define him previously. In this phase, the subject moves between states and is isolated from any reference that would identify him with his previous state. In the second phase, liminal or marginalization, the subject who is moving between states is presented as ambiguous; he has attributes from his previous position and the future one. In the third phase of this trip between states, the subject is accepted in his new form, breaking with his previous state, being different and taking a number of new characteristics that are proper to the new state. Turner extended the concept of *rite of passage* applying it to circumstances of our modern societies. This author notes that these processes could be applied equally to any situation that results in a change of status (not necessarily physical). Therefore an element in transition should transgress a primary identity -or form- through an intermediate state, which is directed and decisive, in order to achieve a new form or identity. Turner offers, in order to illustrate the process of the passenger, some examples: the acceptance of an individual within an elite society or in a secret club; both examples picture the social change of a person creating a new identity when changing his social state.

The urban polyhedron, therefore, is a configuration of uses in transition. The city itself is in a constant process of marginalization or liminalization, or what would be the same, in an endless cultural disaggregation process. The city, as a living element, would be categorized as a *passenger*, as it remains in the liminal space, keeping elements from previous states and adding new elements on a constantly change; the city is always moving forward to its next state. Here we should think about the city before walk any further. It seems clear and easy to understand that any city it's impregnated (suffers) with the aforementioned process, so every city is more than a sum of buildings that comprise a number of constituent subsystems. Cities have meaning, or meanings,

depending on the user(s) who experience the urban configuration. The urban polyhedron responds to such uses, and it is the sum of each different way of seeing *-way of walking²* - that the consumer has, develop, or perform.

The city could be related to human natural processes: born, growth, maturity and death; but here is where the force of those users -who live in the city- intervenes. Users don't normally left in oblivion their cities, they nourish and maintain them, they help them grow, and they change and *move*. These processes help to create new spaces, which are inhabited and uninhabited by turns. It is a constant coming and going (forward and backward) of people, flows of culture, traditions, and hopes. The cities grow and extend their borders with aim of better host those people who come to live within. Cities are reinvented, changed, and permeabilized with the traditions and symbols of those people who settle in on new spaces, or who repopulated available spots -other time used. The city, in constant liminal process, produces an invisibilizing effect, which can lead to marginalization on those new spaces re-created (or in those in process of being created). This invisibilizing process responds to the values and preferences of the dominant society of each city: they will give more importance to certain constituent aspects of the passenger city than to others. Similarly, the city not only responds to growth factors, i.e. space, but also responds to temporary factors. Turner, when he talked about the neophytes (individuals who roam between states) indicated that they were structurally "dead" or -for a short or long period of time- they were treated like. Marginalized spaces, following a constant diachronic liminalization (as they were unable to adapt to new states after a constant changing process), meet this condition because they are ignored or treated as dead, i.e. invisible.

The urban polyhedron is composed of different views on the same space, but with timing differences. These temporary differences also include different cultural views that may overlap, coexist, merge or influence to each other. Turner's neophytes were considered asexual or bisexual, being viewed more as an indefinite human raw matter or a *prima materia* than an existing defined reality. *Passenger cities*, like these neophytes, exhibit an indefinite possibility to change or alter their shape and form. This could be translated into, although they have an existing form, their ability of self-creation or self-

² Allusion to Certeau, M. d., Giard, L., Mayol, P., & Pescador, A. (2010). *La invención de lo cotidiano* (A. Pescador, Trans. 1a ed.). México, D.F.: Universidad Iberoamericana Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente.

recycling, what would allow them to become any other city. Here, we are not talking only about spatial uses, but also economic and social ones. Richard Florida in his book *The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent* defines his cities in relation to a number of socioeconomic features, which are justified by the increasing of *applied creativity*, as a determining factor for the rise of wealth. This growth is due to the creative capacity of cities to welcome new skilled-workers immigrants, people of different moral and cultural background, etc. The Creative Cities of this author, could not fail to be more than passenger cities in constant specialization to achieve high economic levels, i.e., a semi-processed raw material. This detail is really interesting, because we could find a direct relations between rates of city reinvention and specialized immigration rates; and in between new social settlements and new cultural forms (cultural hybridisms). Obviously, and as critics raise their voices against Florida, the data would be highly difficult to obtain or its *fidedignitas* difficult to prove. In any case, here we find a great new topic to make future researches in order to understand the spaces of the city and its composition.

Turner, in the aforementioned work, did mention that if there was something important to point out, in liminalization processes, is that the passenger has nothing. This unproviding process applied to the urban polyhedron is relatively complicated. The city does not belong to itself, it is an element in the hands and uses of the *urban consumers*, and they are the *owners* of the city. We use the term urban consumer rather than citizen or resident, as we consider that these terms do not actually reflect the reality that we analyzed. The *urban consumer* refers to all living being with awareness of living in the city, which maintains a direct or indirect relation with the place and participate in any of the processes of generation, regeneration or destruction of the city. *Urban consumer* does not imply to be a resident or a citizen; they may well be a tourist or a person passing through. Tourists are aware of their relation with the space and they became part of cultural and economic processes on the cities that temporally host them, being wrapped in the urban life cycle. The urban consumer goes beyond the category of individual with rights of use or decision-making over the territory. This user will take profit and will enjoy from whatever he can find in the urban space, composing a personal rhetoric about the city. Therefore, if we stop thinking on citizens or residents, and we start thinking about urban users or consumers, we could directly or indirectly see Turner's thesis, because everything belongs to everyone and nothing belongs to

everyone as well. The problem that soon will come to the mind of the reader is that the human being has truly rooted notions of property, especially when we speak about the territory. Nestor García Canclini, Argentine researcher based in Mexico City, is interested in the production of cities and he understands that this is the result of the practices of their inhabitants. Quite related to these lines we have the researches of Michel de Certeau who understands that the city is constructed by the dwellers in their constant pedestrian walk. We will come to these authors later and try to understand what they present on their theories.

We were indicating earlier that cities have nothing, but this affirmation is not exact as their urban consumers provide with content and value to the cities, so the cities are laying on their users capacities, knowledge, morals, etc. We could speak, though, of a hierarchy of passenger cities in base of certain aspects such as economic, cultural, urban, social indicators, etc. These factors would endow the city with some questionable content and would be questionable the *nothing of the city*. Similarly, if we created a ranking of cities, we could talk about *key cities* and *reluctant towns*, or what Levis Strauss called hot societies and cold societies. Here we could also introduce some dispute between these cities what would shine as an engine for evolution. Their comparison between each other would motivate their own growth and it would intervene in their process of passage, turning the raw material into semi-processed material, which could be recycled back as raw materials in the absence of success to be added into the key cities ranking.

Cities, as symbolical liminal beings, maintain direct submission relationships with their consumers. This relation could be similar to the one described by Turner between neophytes and their instructors. These instructors were in charge of accompanying the passenger during their change of state. The city has always being subject to consumers who have a high degree of direct control and guidance, so the city reflects the decisions they take. The city, therefore, absorbs and learns from its customers, in order to be accepted; but on it's intent, it is destroyed and the process is renewed. Here there is no process of equality, cities compete to get the best and more effective consumers. The urban space is transformed and pollutes the visions of each consumer, as each consumer transforms and pollutes the view of other consumers.

When Turner speaks about the passenger and the authority of the elderly, he explains that it is not established on the basis of a legal framework, but in a deeper system based on respect and the acceptance of tradition. Our passenger city, conforming to this turnerian principle of rite of passage, seems to be extremely ambiguous. On the one hand, we find that the city respects the oldest elements of its structure such as castles, aqueducts or even squares; on the other hand, buildings are demolished and avenues are (re)built. The city respects its old items under the urban consumer discretion, who knows that they are key elements for the city economy and the city identity and decides to keep them as historic symbols and structural elements. The *permanent urban consumer*³, the one who resides or is physically attached to a specific place, has a higher ratio of the city, and their decisions in the form of elections or calls are complied by the city. Also, the city can take surprising decisions when decide to build on a historical emplacement. Here the city subvert the submissive role for the active or dominant role and may even force to a user to move or to be relocated, violating their decision-making. Let's imagine a derelict building that has an old tenant, this -for his own good- will be relocated to another apartment, in another part of town, and the occupied space will be rebuilt. Here the city overthrows the game and the (elder) authority is subverted through a legal system. Thus we find that the city can act out on respect of its own history, by decree of the urban consumer, or may challenge this force and attack the instructor, as the city is protected by a parallel legal system.

The Urban Experience

The city as a liminal individual seems relatively easy to imagine, or see. But the passenger city must to be unraveled in order to understand how its gears and inner workings work.

We could say that the city has different performance levels, which are directly related to their consumers. Consumers are individuals who provide of content to the city, they define and experience the city; so the city becomes a complex system of meanings, which are defined by a shared code and an individual or/and collective

³ Also named as *resident urban consumer*,

experience act. This sharing-code would be transmitted by contact (cultural immersion) or assimilation (learning from tertiary sources, such as films, books, etc.) The *resident consumer* would be who maintains and creates a local variant of this experience code, being the *temporal consumer* or the *general urban consumer* who acquire it by immersion.

According to our theory of the urban polyhedron, urban consumers would be able to read the city from different assumptions: *their own*, they are aware of the functional and sign system of their own city; the *visitor*, from comparison to their hometown and reading code (local-native experience act); the *two-phase*, simultaneous reading of the city based on their own local-native experience act and an initial contact with the local urban act; and the *acquired*, referring to the urban consumer who can read and experience the different urban acts as their own when their relation to the city is merely virtual. These four assumptions, in turn, could be graduated, staggered and sometimes overlapping. Let's instantiate and dissect these assumptions for its better understanding, although they will be discussed in greater depth in future researches:

Native Experience Act (NEA): the consumer is aware of the sign system of the city, both macrostructural (place) and microstructural (elements that create spaces). They have full knowledge of the interpretive code (local culture) and limitations (laws). They can move between spaces with full knowledge, though they are not aware of this situation and they know which is their role in the urban polyhedron.

Guest Experience Act (GEA): this consumer ignores the sign system of the city. Precede to read the urban system from their own *nea* through comparisons, exclusions and judgments. He is unable to fully understand the system. They make superficial readings, being only able to identify common forms of urban consumption. Here we could mention, for example, an Asian tourist in a western city. This tourist ignores the language, culture, history, legal system, architecture, etc. however he belongs to the city as consumer. This tourist satisfies his cultural appetite visiting different spaces, recognizing different places, tasting new cuisines etc. but fails to see places through the eyes of a native consumer. He just watches and compares the place where he is with his cultural framework. His vision and participation in the urban polyhedron is superficial. This tourist pass through the city, and after their stay they might jump to another stage.

Biphasic Experience Act (BEA): the urban consumer is well aware of the sign system, and he is deeply familiar with the macro and the microstructure. It has an excellent knowledge of the interpretive system and the local constraints. This consumer is not native but, because of his presence or because of a learning process, is completely able to function as a local, retaining his alien nature. This type of consumer has an important valuation ability because, although they behave like locals, they don't stop to compare their experience with respect to their cultural framework or *nea*. We could categorize this kind of consumer as an individual who lives in between of different urban experiences: physical, emotional, experimental, etc. As an example, we could talk about the Chinese residents in the city of Lisbon and as well the first generations of immigrants in any other city. These residents are able to read and participate in the urban polyhedron, making different interventions within. They are involved -at different degrees- on the urban life, and they are able to function with perfect ease between communities and groups. They have the ability to be locals, while remaining foreigners but they have a high level of dependence to their cultures of origin.

Acquired Experience Act (AEA): the urban consumer knows intimately the sign system at the macro and microstructural level, and is able to read and participate in the city like a real native. His relation with the interpretive system and limitations is the same as a native -or very closed to. Here we might find a *transited* individual, someone who has been initiated, educated and trained in an urban liminal context. Unlike *bea* this individual does not judge, does not compare, he just move between acts according to time and situation. It is capable of living the urban act as a local and as foreign equally. We could find this situation in the first generation of consumers translocated or in young individuals who have been dislocated and inserts in other urban universe at early age. These individuals are able to move between acts of experience with no rating, they commute from one to another, and they benefit of each experience, balanced and equally.

The difference between *aea* and *bea* seem to root in a situation of individual and collective belonging feeling. Individuals maintain different degrees of relevance regarding their settlement according to the relations they have with other subjects who share their *nea* and who are present in the same area. These individuals would have more or less deep relationships with their cultural similar and this affects as well to their direct relation to the host placement. From this situation, we could consequently explain

the blooming of cultural and urbanely areas external to the general urban box. In other words, we could meet other foreign cities within our own city. To cite one case, we could recall any China Town, where once we walk in, we quickly realize that we cross an urban -and cultural- border, always within the *urban superstructure* of a particular city.

The urban consumer is highly pluriform. We could even increase the list of urban experience acts using different scales like regional, national, international, transnational etc. In this type of spatial jumps, we would meet coinciding points carried to larger scale, but we could do it as well to shorter scales as neighborhood, street, building, floor... These jumps would also denote different degrees of the subject on his own urban involvement. An individual could read a country according to his national and local basis, in the same way that an individual reads two different cities. This cultural and spatial increment wouldn't be more than an *act of urban distancing*.

Previously we talked about urban superstructures, urban macrostructures and urban microstructures, but we had not explained their meanings in our work. We understand the city as a text, which can be read and written, hence the importance of language and the use of a terminology applied to a slightly different concept. We are not the first, nor the last, to use this type of analogy; previously Michel de Certeau had already worked on this way, opening a new theoretical path. This French theorist, in his book *The Invention of the everyday life*, compare the steps made by citizens to a syntagmatic composition of the city. De Certeau is really firm on the refutation of the passivity of the consumers and the mass behavior, pointing towards a paradigm shift: from passive-consumer to consumer-creator. This retrieves the eternal question of what is *art* and what is a *way of doing*, questions already asked and answered by Durkheim or Kant, among others. He raises the ability of citizens to walk their own city and not consume it as passive agents.

This idea is central to our work because we believe that the urban consumer is not restricted to make a reading of the urban space or the urban time (walking the city), but is involved -passively and actively- in its creation (urban semiosis). The urban consumer, in our view, does not have to be tied to a place to be able to destroy it, create it, and liminalizing it. This key point makes our difference to de Certeau thinking, who focuses -primarily- on the resident consumer, stating that they are the solely ones

capable to make a direct intervention on the creation and composition of the urban space, and the city.

De Certeau, based on the principles of G. Ryle, built his theory on the "context of use", which starts in the beginning of the statement:

context of use draw attention to the traits that specify the act of speaking (or practice of language) and are its effects. Enunciation furnishes a model of these characteristics, but they can also be discovered in the relation that other practices (calking, residing, etc.) entertain with non-linguistic systems:

- 1) a realization of the linguistic system through a speech act that actualizes some of its potential (language is real only in the act of speaking)
- 2) an appropriation of language by the speaker who use it;
- 3) the postulation of an interlocutor (real or fictive), and thus the constitution of a relational contract or a allocation (one speaks to someone);
- 4) the establishment of a present through the act of "I" who speaks, and conjointly, since "the present is properly the source of time", the organization of a temporality (the present creates a before and an after) and the existence of a "now" which is the presence to the world (de Certeau, 2010: 39-40)

This enunciative principle, somehow, also leads us to create our *acts of experience*, as an urban experience is only real when it's practiced, when it is internalized as our own, when it is shared and when we have ownership and temporality feelings. Acts of experience are enunciations such as de Certeau indicate in his *ways of walking* the city. One *way of walking* (the city) would be a particular act of urban experience, but not a complete or a qualified one.

Our urban consumer would be a conscious and unconscious user of the de Certeau tactics and strategies. This urban consumer is strong as he is weak and therefore has more ability to create tricks to win, paraphrasing this author. Consequently, de Certeau's *ways of doing* could be included on our *acts of experience*, as they designate similar realities, but they are extended by the very nature of the author-experiencer.

Unlike de Certeau and his postulations, our aea can be virtual, breaking the notions of physicality. This comes from the construction of a contactless experience

with real space: an acquired experience, a simulation. Let's imagine that we are screenwriters that we propose to create a new script and the scenario is the city of New York. Let's imagine that we are Swedish, that we have never lived in the Big Apple, but we know the language, the customs, the culture and the different spaces and places that make up the city, as much as the sign system and the local limitations. We know every detail indirectly, but we are able to experience the city like a local and transmit it in our script. In an acquired walking through the city, we create our own urban poetry, and with our mass communication strength we are able to change attitudes or do others think and dream, about the city and its reality(ies). We write and we read the urban polyhedron. This would formulate a new kind of urban experience, the **Virtual Experience Act (VEA)** that is reserved for future researches.

Spaces and places

We've been talking about the urban consumer experience and have mentioned terms like *macrostructure* and *microstructure*, but we have not gone into depth on these concepts yet. Now is time to try to clarify these confusing terms that we consider key.

As mentioned before, we understand the city as a text, so we can analyze it using a textual-structural model. Firstly we found the superstructure, then the macrostructure and finally the microstructure. Obviously, in this dissertation, we will not go into intense depth on the different levels of analysis; they will be reviewed in future researches as well. Here we will lay the foundations for a city-reading methodology, which we consider important and necessary, for a better understanding of the urban system.

In previous sections we presented the city as a living being in constant change. A living being to be constantly evaluated and judged by consumers who live in it. A changing structure that is modified by the activity that it is performed within itself. In previous sections, we talked briefly about the individuals that transit in the cities or in urban places; individuals that by the mere fact of being in the city create the city: the urban speaker, the urban consumer.

Acts of experience, those we discussed previously, are based on the relationship that an individual has with a city, regardless this contact -or knowledge- whether be

virtual or real. This subject, our urban consumer, is able to identify spatial boundaries, and build their own universe according to them.

Our first stop is the concept of urban superstructure. We understand as *superstructure* the formal scheme that organizes the content of a text. Each text (city) has a special superstructure that it identifies and differentiates among others. In linguistics we find different superstructure models that are linked to a particular and specific macrostructure. The superstructure meets stable models or text forms such as descriptive, informative etc. which are clearly different between each other, even that they may coexist. When we talk about urban superstructures, we should talk about types of city. In previous sections we mentioned the Cultural Cities of Richard Florida, but these are not the only ones. We could rely on different criteria for the classification of cities: statistical, in base on their main core activity (administrative, service, industrial, agricultural...); descriptive, in base of their traditional use, such as cultural city, industrial, military... Other types of nomenclature would be based on their initial creation: defensive, commercial, port... We might call certain cities like Global Cities⁴, Megalopolis⁵, Supercities etc. in base of certain values or factors. These factors are -almost them- embodied with the wirthian tradition of city scaling (population, diversity, and urban size) but they have been reviewed during the last decades, adding some others considerations that are important to determine a city's degree of development such as education access, cultural access, health facilities, etc.

Following the superstructure we find the urban macrostructure. The macrostructure refers to the different parts of the text, in other words: its composition and consistency. Applying this term to the urban world, the macrostructure would designate the different constituent parts of the urban text from the perspective of the place. Delgado makes a great definition about this concept of *place*:

⁴ A concept that refers to those cities that due to the effects of globalization meet certain characteristics of ethnic and cultural diversity, economic and spatial distribution. These cities have a global tangible impact and represent foci of high importance to global economic stability. These cities in turn are subdivided into different types, according to their degree of relevance and function of the factors previously listed. It is a concept introduced by Saskia Sassen in her book. *The global city : New York, London, Tokyo* (2011). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

⁵ It refers to the cluster of cities that, for its rapid growth, ended up together, working closely and looking like one, but maintaining their separate administrations.

any order where certain elements are distributed according to relations of coexistence. It is excluded the possibility that two things be at the same time in the same place. It is the law of the place itself, my spot, or our territory: the elements are considered alongside each other, in place, pointing, stability, maps... (Delgado, 1999:126)

So *place* would refer to fix, institutionalized, unchanging or even topographic locations. In the macrostructural level we could start talking about neighborhoods, parks, urban areas, and the concept of center(s) and periphery. At the macrostructural level we may speak of the first divisions of the city, and it's the moment when we should down a step and meet the urban consumer physical experience. Our urban consumer is physically in contact and related with a reality, which is perceived by his senses and mediated by his culture and belonging feelings. Urban consumers identify neighborhoods, areas... and the establish borders on an automatic city reading, on an automatic place recognition. They can identify themselves with those places, they can feel them as their own and here, the place becomes territory.

Clear marks of urban territory demarcation are the *tags*. These tags are normally names or nicknames developed by graffiti artist, or graffiti crews⁶, and they are spread out on the city delimitating a territory (their territory) or their work circumscription area. It is considered that a new writer -graffiti artist- must advertise his or her tag all around the city in order to create (for) himself a name and a reputation. Writers have to advertise their name and build a self-brand mark as a partial fulfillment for their activity, if this is not undertaken they cannot –or rarely they are- considered as party members of the graffiti culture. In addition to this self-brand construction, they have to claim for their own territory, “fight” for the spaces available and create respect on the collectivity to avoid the possible erasing process (other artist write on top of their creation).

⁶ Group of associated writers or graffiti artists that often work together. They may have a hierarquical system, they may work in a regular collaboration basis or just be a spontaneous affiliation. Normaly a senior artist and a few candidates form these crews. They learn or improve their technique together, and sometimes they could be related to any gang, materializing their work as urban boundries.

At the macro level we should pay attention to the consistency. Here, contrary to the language system, the urban system shows large gaps of continuity. These gaps must be observed from different perspectives, being the socio-economic breach the most important for this research. At the macro level we find neighborhoods whose resident-consumers have completely different levels of education, income, property ownership, etc. between each other; this situation set and fertilize conflictual relations that must to be in consideration, and will be review in future researches. As an example of this consistency gap we could mention the paulistano neighborhood of Paraisópolis, one of the largest slums in the city of São Paulo (Brazil) that borders one of the most luxurious neighborhoods, Morumbi. Sometimes these contrasts are due to the place life cycle scheme, and this is closely related to the previously explained liminal system. Other times are due to the impoverishment of the area, the exodus of natural or legal persons and the system degradation on macrostructural and microstructural level.

The urban microstructure is the most complex level on the urban-morphosyntax. In the microstructure we find different linguistic functions such as *cohesion*, which presents various mechanisms of textual coherence such as textual connectors (copulative, disjunctive, adversative, explanatory, causal, consecutive); discourse markers, coreferences and pronouns. This allows us to create texts where the subject is identified and clear, avoiding duplication and unattractive forms.

Instead, *space* means something very different [ref. to *place*]. There's *space* when taking into consideration vectors of direction, speed and the variable time; just like the rites of passage of any society remind to its psychophysical subjects the instability and the hyperactive dynamism –in fire-, which found and organize: the nothingness that produces the staging of the whole. *Space* is a crossing of paths, of mobilities. Is the effect of operations of orientation, circumstances, and temporal captures that set it and make it to run. No univocity or stability. It's the field-path operations, of displacement, of transits and passages. This statement without discursive development is organized from the relationship between start lines and end lines and the non-place within. (Delgado, 1999: 126)

The urban microstructure is the realm of movement and time, but to better understand it we must consider how these elements are integrated in the city. First we look at the movement. It is certainly one of the most popular topics from the Industrial

Age, and Italian Futurism, for example, really took care of its study and its capitulation, whether on the plane, literature or in other arts, immortalizing the Urban Revolution⁷ of XXth century. Movement today becomes extremely fast and transports are an indispensable service in our daily lives, but what would they be without roads or streets, or avenues, or alleys? Roadways or transitways allow us to commute within the city, they let us change of scenario; they allow us to jump from neighborhood to neighborhood, from macrostructural element to macrostructural element. Roadways are elements that maintain the thread of the subject, adjust it, modify it, modalize it... They are present, they are there, and they separate macrotextual units (neighborhoods) as much as they put them together. They even make possible to annul some macrotextual elements (hide or invisibilize). We could say *roads* are connectors that facilitate to continue and keep the theme (the urban).

As we mentioned we could find textual elements that allow macrostructural elements to be invisible. There are certain mechanisms that allow us to make an ellipse in space and they are extremely important for this research, as we consider the city as an evolving subject and a liminal organism. Spaces that are suppressed in the urban language, we assume that they are highly liminal spaces, or completely degraded and thus marginalized. These spaces are in a process of passage: from one state to another quite different. Failing to talk about them, or not even consider them, would be potentially a social agreement, a taboo. Cazeneuve in his work *Sociologie du Rite* examines some rituals from which we have to highlight his study about the *impurity*. This author would define three sets of rituals concerning this topic. The first is the aforementioned taboo, which is characterized by the formal prohibition to mention or refer to an element, either person or thing, because it is considered as *unclean*. The second set of rituals would include all those whose purpose is to neutralize the polluting effect of impurity, once contact has been established with it. This agglomerate of rituals might be called *purification rituals*. Finally, the third group would be responsible for

⁷ We identify different *Urban Revolutions* on History being associated to other kind of revolutions such as technological, scientific, social, military.... This concept of Urban Revolution will be studied in deep on future researches where we would better study its historical roots. Here we merely underline the impact of the late Industrial Revolution as a city grow motor. The Industrial Revolution was a boom in urban population censuses, with many people wishing to join a factory and looking for an opportunity to carve out a career or obtain the security to support a family, among other reasons. This increase in urban population forced the *city* to increase its boundaries creating new districts, extensions, slums or shanty, etc. The Industrial Revolution is, according to our understanding, an Urban Revolution facilitator, in a sense of accelerated expansion in the growth and reinvention of social life.

maintaining the suitability of the individual during his process of change. Cazeneuve understands these rituals as a result and in relation to the rites of passage. The latter group, based on prohibitions and purifications, was considered as independent and not attached to any of the other two groups as it is mainly focused on the rituals themselves rather than into the passengers.

Men pass in the course of their destiny, from one state to another, from one universe of rules to another. One of the essential features of their life rules lies on, afterwards, that they are always overwhelmed by time. Thus the rule itself contains an impurity, which resides in the fact that it is transient. (Cazeneuve, 1971:43)

As we were saying in the first section, we consider the city as an ever-changing element, involved in the process of passing, that's why we call it *passenger city*. Such rituals might be, or applied, to the city due to its constant state of motion.

At microstructural level, we had already mentioned the roads and other communication ways, which design the city-map and generate reading lines -or connection lines- on the urban message. Lynch in his work *The image of the city* makes a deep analysis of various constituent elements of the urban design. In his research we clearly see the importance of the trails, roads, bridges etc. as shapers of the city's image. Also he set the stage for what we call macro-elements such as neighborhoods, districts etc. This author examines the formal and accepted aspects of the city but he flees -or avoid- to speak about the temporary campaments and the marginal settlements. Lynch is one of the most reputed urbanists of the last century and his work is still today alive, being a mandatory reading for any city researcher. His approach inspired and gave some light to this research as he worked on the mental maps that city consumers build as result of their interaction with the city. We miss, though, from his research the reuse of space, the time factor, and a deeper review on urban publics, as not all the inhabitants establish the same relations with the loci. Applying the ideas of Cazeneuve to the city, we could find different forms of spatial liminalization that would complete the urban mental map suggested by Lynch. We propose, then, use our city consumer theory to fulfill the mental mapping of the city.

At first we should speak of formal communication ways and wild communication ways. These first would be the result of a formal urban design, backed by some form of authority such as city halls, councils, etc. These roads are drawn to facilitate the passage of goods and people and generally have a consistent signage that allows traveling through them on a semi-established path. These ways would be the ones that de Certeau walked, inspiring his path while creating new narratives, new discourses, *on* and *about* the city. Moreover, we find the wild communication ways: those that allow the passage of people or goods but without any pre-established design or official planning. These could be the streets of any slum or favela, for example. We make this distinction because we start talking about the liminal spaces of the city.

Communication ways would work as textual connectors at a microtextual urban level, as we suggested earlier; but these may be of various kinds, among them we highlight the disjunctives. These are used for differentiation or separation (disaggregation), so the roads not only communicate but also disintegrate (liminalize). Any communication way has a direction or directions, and an itinerary; along this, urban consumers can discover different parts of the urban macrotextual system (districts, neighborhoods...), so they can build up their own city (urban narrative) by walking the city, paraphrasing de Certeau. Sometimes we find juxtaposed situations where a wealthy neighborhood faces a poor or marginal one whose border is only the way in which we circulate; an example of this might be the neighborhoods that are split by roads or highways, which generate segmentation and a high cultural and identitarian rupture on the macrotextual map. The microtextual element, here, breaks the macrotextual element and generates different times and different spaces with different character. In other situations the communication ways define institutional urban space (urban circumscription) and generates wild urban spaces, which are the aforementioned temporary settlements.

A temporary settlement may have an internal structure similar to the outlined above, an urban polyhedron by itself, but they are conditioned by an institutionalized urban space adscription. The inhabitants of this kind of settlement develop their business (work and leisure) in the city, as in the temporary urban settlement created by them. The communications-way segregates and differences them, yet, adds them to the

city. We could say that the roads have a copulative sense and a disjunctive sense, unites and differentiates simultaneously. Communication ways generate a process of passage by splitting these temporal settlements from the city (first step of a rite of passage). They build territory on the process of space differentiation, so consequently they develop alternative spatial identity(ies) (second step of a rite of passage). Communication ways marginalize these settlements and they prepare them for a change of state (it can be the adscription to the institutionalized urban structure or to create a new urban institutionalized system, therefore the thirist step of a rite of passage). But if we think that the city is what is right and that the temporary settlement is a contamination or aberration of the city (an impurity) we could speak again with Cazeneuve looking for an answer.

Urban space is constantly changing. The time factor makes it up and reminds us that the city is in a constant process of passage. The ever-changing urban space absorbs and destroys different places in a non-stop process. Continuing with the example above, the temporary urban settlement, we may find different policies for action from the institutionalized urban system. This system could decide to dissolve the temporal settlement and relocate the individuals that form it, elsewhere in the city. The city rises against his instructor (urban consumers) and decides on them. This situation, as mentioned previously, meets the neophyte-instructor relationship described by Turner and on the same time it can be understood as a ritual of purification according with Cazeneuve's premises. The institutionalized city recognizes the temporary settlement as an odder annex, an impure element that must be addressed and put in place measures to correct this incident. Correspondingly, other urban consumers would create their own narratives about the temporary settlement: ignoring it, marginalizing it, etc. responding to a certain taboo.

Any institutionalized city could ignore this kind of settlement, as its urban customers could do too, and then this kind of temporal settlement would remain parallel to the institutional urban space, with a relative interdependent relation. We speak about a copresence of structures, where one is subordinated to the other. In the case that the urban settlement wouldn't be annexed, it would remain separated, identified as impure, marginalized, and it will have not other option rather than move. Its inhabitants would be considered equally impure, and they will be marginalized by the fact of living in that structure, depriving them of the possibility of urban benefits, or restricting those to

them. We find an incomplete process of passage, following van Geneep's three steps, but always from the perspective of subordination. This temporary settlement would have its own evolution, as an independent urban system, and may generate a separate location to the city, a complete independent urban polyhedron.

Davis in his book *Planet of Slums* speaks of a certain type of urban settlements where several factors are involved such as its location (center or periphery), land ownership of the infrastructure occupied and levels of acceptance by institutional entities. This author emphasizes the correspondence between the type of city (superstructure) and the presence of temporary settlements due to a direct and indirect relation of opportunities. No wonder that if a temporary settlement got the required number of inhabitants and a good organization, it might -meeting a few mandatory regulations- became an independent urban space. We must also note that while the city can rise against the urban consumer and decide on and about him –i.e. mass relocation-, the institutionalized city can opt, equally, with the legalization of any temporary settlement adding it to its structure, legalizing or institutionalizing the liminal-marginalized territory. These insertion policies are having a good result, as might be the case for the organization "A Roof for Chile"⁸, which facilitates ownership of the occupied spaces, facilitating access to rights and urban infrastructure in a few South American countries. In this case, what initially appeared as an incomplete process of passage becomes a full process. These liminal neighborhoods, gradually, become formal (institutionalized) neighborhoods, and gradually they are inserted into the urban macrostructure, with its consequent acceptance, and incorporation on the urban consumer mind-map.

As mentioned, Davis provides a certain type of liminal neighborhood, located on the periphery; we can find them in the *center* of the cities too. Cities today, with its expansion and growth, have often changed their planning and management models. Nowadays, we find different models of city planning or urban design such as mononuclear or polynuclear cities. Now, the question about where the *center* is, takes special relevance. For some models the center is unique and unchanged, in other models we find various centers that responded to this boom of the cities, and a particular and needed administration of the space, people and production. Speaking today about *city*

⁸ NGO's name in Spanish is TECHO, further information on: <http://www.techo.org>

center is difficult because we should specify which center we are talking about: administrative, cultural, industrial, etc. There are many different types of centers that manage and articulate urban life today. We are thinking on what we will refer as *inner city liminal neighborhoods*, intramural liminal neighborhoods: those that are present inside the institutionalized city boundaries. With the steady growth of the cities and the reinvention of capitalism, we have found critical situations that have conditioned the demise of the industry in certain urban areas; with the consequent desertification of industrial activity and the progressive abandonment of the area occupied by the industry and workers. Similarly, the industrial exodus contributes to the extinction of the public transportation and the maintenance of the communication ways, with a progressive deterioration and marginalization of the former occupied areas. These areas, that hold the remains of a productive activity, now become cemeteries of industrial history, but also in greenhouses for ideas and liminal zones -with high peaks of cultural production.

In Lisbon we find two valuable examples of this kind of place. The first would be the Fábrica do Braço de Prata, one of the most important of the cultural scenes in town. The building was formerly the headquarter of the old factory of artillery and war material, which closed its doors in the late nineties and passed to the property of the company Obriverca, which was intended to build a luxurious condominium in these facilities. As a result of a verbal agreement between this company (Obriverca) and the society Eterno Retorno - Sociedade Limitada Unipessoal, bloomed the idea of use the main building to host, into its rooms, the emblematic and earlier located bookshop of Bairro Alto in Lisbon. This agreement provided the rights of use, of this space, to the society Eterno Retorno until the City Hall of Lisbon gave the permission for starting the construction of the residential complex *Jardins do Braço de Prata*. Upon completion of this project, the main building was expected to be in use as a selling stand and the society Eterno Retorno was expected to evacuate the installations. Obriverca accepted on this agreement to transfer the property of the main building to the City Hall of Lisbon after selling the new properties. We found an interesting point to highlight in this case and it is that the building is still occupied as a cultural center, illegally. The City Hall of Lisbon gave permission to Obriverca Society to start their works on July 16th 2008, but on this same day the Fábrica do Braço de Prata is declared as a municipal cultural building and it is asked to the society Eterno Retorno to manage this building in behalf of the City Hall of Lisbon. Unfortunately, this decision was not properly

transmitted by the City Hall of Lisbon as they were not the legal owner of the space, not at least until conclude the works and the sold out of the properties. Obriverca refused to prolong the initial agreement, translating the occupation of the Fábrica do Braço de Prata⁹ into an illegal settlement (occupation). This fact stop to the cultural society to have a legal status or a regularized situation, yet it continues to occupy the space and pays all taxes related to this occupation. Sometimes they have to face penalties and fines due to this illegal use, but they are alive, nevertheless, without any external financial aid. This cultural illegal institution is self-sufficient, what allows a free and independent agenda setting: no institutions have decision power on their activities. The Fábrica do Braço de Prata has hosted more than 300 artists (national and international) and has been the scene of several artistic permanencies for some well-knows artists such as Teresa Carneiro or Miguel Figueiredo. The Fábrica do Braço de Prata has several exhibition halls, a bar-restaurant, a library and a garden. Is sealed by a large wall that holds layers of graffiti and street art pieces and is one of the landmarks in the independent Portuguese cultural circuit.

Another important place of Lisbon, regarding building recycling and urban space revival, is LXFactory¹⁰. This project, located on the opposite side of town, was born as an evolution of the concept of Fábrica do Braço de Prata and it reuses the old factory installations of the old Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos Lisbonense to settle. This recycled space of over 23 000 m² hosts author restaurants; some major international firms offices, and a good number of temporary cultural spaces or exhibition halls. It is a culture scenario that attracts curious and professional experts from all over the world. A greenhouse of ideas and projects. A liminal place with great peaks of creativity.

Both of these examples illustrate how forgotten spaces -within the urban area- are recovered by some people who doesn't hold their ownership. This people keep these areas and buildings alive and transform these places from (dead) industrial to cultural places. We should to note here, that we can rescue forgotten buildings and turn them into living places or commercial surfaces.

These two examples show us how the transportation system is reactivated on the request of those urban consumers who are interested in the services served on these

⁹ Fábrica Braço de Prata. Retrieved 03/02/2013, from <http://www.bracodeprata.net/>

¹⁰ LXFactory. (2012). Retrieved 03/02/2013, from <http://www.lxfactory.com/>

places. We clearly see how these places are revalued and got back their importance, sometimes enriched with glamour or bohemian creativeness.

Ceci n'est pas une pipe, Magritte's famous quotation is as well one of his most emblematic works that is included on the collection *La trahison des images* (1929, LACMA). This work synthesizes what we see in those (re)inhabited spaces that are located on the intramural urban surface and occupied by liminal individuals. Its inception has little or nothing to do with their present; their original nature is in copresence with a different meaning and this could be read as a redefinition of space. This redefinition would correspond to a purification process (ritual) on an area previously separated and marginalized. The industrial zone -on its cessation- is identified as impure, as poor, and its importance -or value- is transferred to another place, being deprived of its own (native) meaning; creating an empty and scary place. The industrial place is undergoing a process of passage: wealthy/inception-poor/meaningless-reused/remeant, or what would be the same: industrial, abandonment, cultural reuse.

These processes of place-reusing or place-transformation can be equally undertaken by institutional initiative (public and private) or by the wish and goodwill of the urban consumer itself, but this point will be discussed below.

Lastly, we must not forget the non-places. Previously we had suggested this concept from a Delgado's quote, but we had not gone into this issue. Marc Augé recovers this concept from Michel de Certeau, applying it to those places where *time* is opposed to *space* or to any identitarian, relational or historical point. For him the city has thousands of non-places, points where relations are suspended and where anything is equal to any other thing in any other place in the world. Augé suggests a few examples of this non-places: airports lobbies, hotel rooms... they are all the same, we have no real evidence to be in a particular place, they are characterless and devoided of personality. These non-places are the extreme spatial threshold; they are somewhat the spatial annulment. At this point we cannot avoid to mention the concept of *Synthetic City* of Marcelo Cohen. This Argentine author discusses the imaginary and kinematics cities that are each city and none at once. His article *Informe Sobre Una Ciudad*

*Sintética*¹¹ is really interesting because it circumscribes the concept of non-place and time. Quoting him *each city, is many times in a single puff of present* (2010: 67) what describe perfectly a non-place but as well the concept of liminal space.

Non-places are everywhere; we have the feeling of being without being and they are based on a fleeting time and a dispersed identity. Augé, nevertheless, suggests that to have this anonymity we need an identity control (compare our cultural frame to the place where we are and try to read it as our own), so any traveler feels like at home, when he recognizes the rhetoric practiced by their neighbors. This identity control match perfectly with our *acts of experience* and as well with our *acts of urban consumption* as a non-place is opposed and in copresence to a place, which is read by a user at different levels and times.

Liminal space and liminoids

Streets are the perfect place to wander and get lost, the perfect place to build a new world and a new narrative. Each urban consumer reads and interprets the city differently; each urban consumer builds its own history from his or her very own perceptions. Michel de Certeau had talked of *building* cities from a walk, creating paths and routes that may not fix into a map, since they do not describe the time variant, or the character of the *consumer*. Streets are the domains of anonymity, thousands of people crossing each other, observing each other, speaking quickly to each other... but they don't get to know each other, nor where they walk.

Many authors establish a direct relation between *communication way* and *street*, but we believe that this conceptual association is not adjusted. The *street* is a figure of speech in our textual city, a signifier with complex meaning. Streets are composed of different elements, not only of a single material, a situation that differs to the communication way, which is bounded by a perceptible materiality. Streets have

¹¹ Cohen, M. (2010). Informe sobre una ciudad sintética. In J. E. Benavides & E. Becerra (Eds.), *Ciudades posibles : arte y ficción en la constitución del espacio urbano* (1. ed., pp. 61-74). Madrid: 451 Editores.

*effective vagrants*¹² as de Certeau would call to those urban consumers that spend their time transiting through and by the streets. These individuals provide content to a *communication way* and consequently this become *street*.

Each walk means a different thing, composes a new story and it is closely linked to the type of urban consumer and the situation that holds it.

The Situationist situation is a unit of action, a behavior that arises from the scene where it is produced, but that it is able to generate other sets and other behaviors. Situations are vital intensifications of the communication and information circuits that form our everyday life; revolutions and disruptions of the ordinary, without ceasing to be its self-possibility to be, and on the mean while an exaltation of the absolute and the rise of consciousness of the ephemeral. (Delgado, 1999: 188)

Our urban consumer, as any other *flanêur*, will create different sets of narratives and compose different cities each time. This new cities are based on a situational combination of events (what would be on its way) and on his own personal interpretation of what happened (acts of experience).

We must understand the street as a liminal space, a *space* and not a *place*. Direction vectors and time are gathered and interpreted together by an urban consumer; each urban consumer has a different degree of knowledge about the place -or territory-, and is influenced by a situation. A liminal space, because from the unit (the city) is chosen only a segment (segmentation); this part is customized and receives a number of attributes that did not have previously (liminalization), ending as a new space configuration (integration). The urban consumer will be the *initiator*¹³ and will be the responsible for establishing the similar and the different; thus create new narratives, new ways of integration of himself within the space. These new narratives can be influenced by the purpose of the walk, the itinerary chosen... in other words, the object

¹² Term used by de Certeau to describe those people who find illumination or creativity on the simple act of walking on the streets. Here we obviously appreciate his French cultural background as we can read this term as an evolution or adaptation of the French word *flanêur*, that refers to a particular character of intellectual who spend long time strolling on the streets on the mere act of observe, learn, and enjoy the city.

¹³ Refers to the person or people that guide the neophytes in any rite of passage.

of consumption and the relation urban consumer-urban structure. The urban consumer builds and destroys the city; he transforms the city with each step he makes and empowers the internal life of the city to evolve. Cities are suspended in a constant metaphor that creates new places, what allow them to be invented and experienced (interpreted).

But, what if the urban consumer was a liminal individual? We should think on the high influx of immigration between rural and urban areas, think on all the professionals who move to a particular city attracted by a lifestyle or a job, think on all those who come to a new city looking for a (better) place to live. We could consider, at this stage, the ideas of Park and the theory of social urban ecology promulgated by the Chicago School, in order to explain the cultural settlement in contemporary cities.

[on Park] In the urban context, are related those who tend to share not only a social role, but also an ethical value system. This affinity leads them to settle in the same urban area: creating inside of the city real "moral regions" (Signorelli, 1999:22-23)

These ideas seem to, somehow, justify the creation of suburbs and residential neighborhoods whose inhabitants, potentially, maintain a number of similar traits. A new urban consumer (someone who comes to town -or a new area- for first time with aim to settle down for long or short term) will interact with other neophytes, or with other individuals in constant process of passage, with whom he shares some common cultural or *moral* features. Turner pointed out this match when talking about the relations of solidarity among initiates (neophytes) in other rites of passage. This solidarity enables them to survive in a society that is generally hostile to them, but simultaneously embraces and encouraged them to achieve their internal evolution and their subsequent insertion into the system, as individuals with new-defined roles (on passage). The association of new urban consumers is strongly marked by countless socioeconomic and cultural factors, as not all *neoconsumers* have the same *accessibility*. We understand as *accessibility* a vast list of items that, well conjugated, allows to the candidate to urban consumer to settle successfully on a different level of the urban social structure. A rural immigrant with limited financial capacity and poor training, has not the same accessibility to certain neighborhoods or urban areas, or even jobs

positions, than a high skilled immigrant: prelimitations as these will restrict his potential permanence at the urban system. A professional immigrant with high revenues and a better training has a higher accessibility and probabilities of success in an aggressive social structure, as it is the urban. But the settlements of these neoconsumers are truly constrained by their ability to access to free spots and the availability of free space itself. Their accessibility can be boosted in case they have previous relation or association with already integrated individuals living or operating on the welcome-land. This networking would help them to skip some difficulties that are associated to their integration into the receptor society. In addition to this, their human skills and their abilities of self reinvention and adaptation would play an important role on their success to became new urban consumers, having, however, to change their patron or to working in a different urban consumer mode in order to achieve their goals.

Somehow we talk about diversity and competition, topics previously studied by authors such as Jacobs and Sennet. In a scenario where everything is changing, the neoconsumer has to adapt himself to his new place and shortly get an optimum level of integration or, otherwise, they would have to go away and try their luck in another urban configuration. They may choose, as well, to overstay, stretching a possibility of survive and grow, but with a relative high marginalization index. Here we should mention that marginalization is not equal to liminalization. The liminal being lives on the margins of society but within the society; the marginal being lives on the margins of the society, but outside or underneath of the society. An apparent minimum difference but with huge connotations.

Van Geneep in his work *Rites of passage* recognizes the traveler as a liminal subject, what we would call -increasing in significance- a urban guest consumer (GEA). However, we understand that we should to extend this concept to those new residents in progress to be implanted in a new city and who gradually become new biphasic urban consumer (BEA). This traveler has to develop a good accessibility, and he must learn and experience the city as an NEA, otherwise he would fail and fall into the possibility of marginalization. These consumers construct personal narratives when arriving to a new environment, they start scanning spaces and places and they make personal and social judgments in base of their cultural native frame. Their narratives will evolve as their contact and experiences increase with their new environment, but their first impressions would deeply mark their urban reading capabilities and they will have a big

impact on their urban evolution. Consequently, their accessibility and adaptability will be compromised by these remaining elements of their initiatic process of passage.

On the other hand we have the NEA. This kind of urban consumer is not immune to the marginalization, either to liminalization; in fact all urban consumers can be affected by these two situations. These phenomena are intrinsically correlated to the urban consumer behavior and their adaptability skills, so their position on the urban social structure would depend on their own ability of insertion and on their urban consumption uses.

We find very interesting the fact that, sometimes, among urban consumers who do not share a common moral, they finish to build successful networks that facilitate their mutual accessibility. Sometimes we will see that the fact of being liminal, urban users trying to grow and develop their consuming abilities in an hostile environment -social structure-, allow to some types of urban consumers to come together, get in touch and evolve as a result of this interactions (voluntary movements). This contact increases the ability of some to be incorporated into the city, being the BEA the most affected type, as they are the most dependent users described on our research.

This urban solidarity would create a liminal narrative of people who share their experiences and who learn from each other, of people who judge the city as a liminal person. This new narrative responds to a new urban dialectic, a new urban message (mind map), which facilitates evolution on internal terms (everyday more native) and intensifies the external terms (always foreigner). This dialectic can be seen in different strengths, for example we could detect -in a simple walk- those signs in Chinese and in local language, that propose Asian food (not necessarily Chinese) that present an integration on the gastronomic and social circles, and on the same time its demarcation as alien cuisines.

If we recall the theory of urban ecology, mentioned above, we would easily realize that it is obsolete today. Urban consumers do not need to live in the same area, or frequenting the same work environments, to integrate liminal networks. Perfectly a NEA could maintain a relationship with a GEA, or a BEA, and meet regularly in different places to practice any kind of ritual action. Applying to urban art, let's imagine a possible crew formed by a Lisboan baker, an American student and a Taiwanese soldier who meet regularly to create new graffiti pieces. The wall where they will write

is a physical element of the street, they -together and individually- will give a new meaning to the street as its work reconfigure its reading and builds a new narrative (graffiti). This graffiti is the sum of three urban experiences in collaboration (intercultural communication) and would result in an anonymous street art piece as none of the three would be identified individually (personal signatures), but collectively (crew signature). Upon completion of this work, they will keep in touch but they will return to their cultural frame. This street was built, consumed and exposed: liminalized.

The liminoids are not constricted to a particular location. Like the city, that is in a non-stop process of passage, every urban consumer is in an eternal process of change too, underlining the liminoid nature of the city user, and the liminality of the city. They fight for a change of state, a new job, a social consideration, a different position in the urban hierarchy... a new way of consumption, a new way of communicating, but what happen when all this situations get unite?

Earlier we talked about liminal places such as old factories, which have been rethought, or recycled for other uses, but so far we have not introduced the concept of *liminal space*, which seems highly interesting. A liminal space, following our model, would be one that includes vectors of speed and time: a space that is transited and modified. A liminal space is one that is not one being the same one, a space in constantly changing: metamorphosing. We believe that liminal places such as the Matadero in Madrid, or the Molino Marconetti in Santa Fé (Argentina) or even the Tate Modern in London, belong to our urban text macrostructure, but *liminal spaces* such as the Galeria de Arte Urbana in Lisbon are specific to urban textual microstructure. Liminal spaces, therefore, attract mobility and transit; they are message connectors and they distribute a *dialectic* of urban consumption.

Spaces like the subway system of any city, spaces like streets, spaces such as bridges or tunnels... could be interpreted as *liminal*: people pass through them changing their reason to be, and being kept in personal narratives, new perceptions. In this case, we may find a certain proximity between the non-places of Augé and our concept of liminal place / space, but we must stress upon the intention or act of consumption. For us the urban consumer not only transit through them, but also will experience them as their own; they construct a narrative about and from them and this consumer will provide some personality to those urban elements where and while they pass through.

As Delgado would say, a non-place is a place without enunciation, but an avowed space is not a non-space.

Look at Me!

Public Space, Liminal Space

So far we have treated the city as a living being, constantly changing and in the process of mutation. An entity with different faces, with different ways of being, with different subjects, alive and free will. A dynamic system of creation and destruction, a symbolic urban system and a complex experience system.

The city can be divided into different levels, as we have suggested earlier using the textual model, but there are other perspectives that aboard our subject which can enrich our research. The city and its forms are plural, as diverse as the individuals who live in them and make them up. These individuals get adapted to the places they occupy in the same way that the places they occupy are (get) adapted to them. This is a point we want to understand and we will address on forward in this research.

So far we have discussed the relations between the individual with the city, its recognition and its cognitive boundaries, but we believe that we must make the leap to the individual and their space: make a step down and approach the territory of the urban consumer. This inhabited and invented space is materialized as an extension of the personality (individual or collective) of each group of consumers, in other words, we talk about the urban consumer *habitar*.

The concept of *habitar* is not always easy to explain. There are many disciplines involved in the explanatory act of the *urban habitar* and we can extract from them many interesting parts that outline the face of this elusive concept. Martin Heidegger in his work *Building, Dwelling, Thinking* (1951) presents a series of highly interesting topics for this dissertation, that certainly will be addressed in further researches again. This paper, one of the most widely read philosophical texts by contemporary architects, refers to the creation of space and place, as well as the rational relationship of the *man* (human being) to the *territory*. In other words, somehow, he speaks about the *urban polyhedron* and about our *acts from experience*, but from a broader perspective and always contextualized at the time of Europe's post-war. This author attempts to answer, in this paper, a series of questions that relate human constructive activity: the ability to

inhabit a space, and how to think a space; situations that we question, also, in this dissertation.

The author introduces a variable previously untreated, the act of building. While we spoke about the urban consumer as the one who inhabits and consumes the city, he is also who built it, who expanded its borders, who desertificated and repopulate its spaces. As is pointed out by this author, not every built structure is a living space, understanding this as housing units. The urban consumer builds access roads and transit routes such as bridges, roads etc. but he does not dwell on them. These roads, urban microstructure forms following the model we presented in the previous chapter, respond to a structural and compositional nature of the space.

We attain to dwelling, so it seems, only by means of building. The latter, building, has the former, dwelling, as its goal. Still, not every building is a dwelling. Bridges and hangars, stadiums and power stations are buildings but not dwellings; railway stations and highways, dams and market halls are built, but they are not dwelling places. Even so, these buildings are in the domain of our dwelling. That domain extends over these buildings and so is not limited to the dwelling place. The truck driver is at home on the highway, but he does not have his lodgings there; the working woman is at home in the spinning mill, but does not have her dwelling place there; the chief engineer is at home in the power station, but he does not dwell there. These buildings house man. He inhabits them and yet does not dwell in them, if to dwell means solely to have our lodgings in them. In today's housing shortage even this match is reassuring and to the good; residential buildings do indeed provide lodgings; today's houses may even be well planned, easy to keep, attractively cheap, open to air, light, and sun, but-do the houses in themselves hold any guarantee that dwelling occurs in them? (Heidegger, 1993: 347-348)

In this quote we find what we might defined as *space* vs. *place* (and their extremes). This dichotomy, discussed in the previous chapter, is present in the work of all researchers about the city, no matter their discipline of origin. What strike us is the concept of *habitar* (*dwell*), and the concept of *habitar region* (*dwell place*). These two concepts embodied a series of scenes that could be considered of first order, since they are not integrant parts of the physical place itself, but from the perception of the individual who consumes it. This author introduce the concept of *habitar* as one area

that is home to humans, being cared for and by them, and as a place that has been designed with the purpose to dwell on it. He indicates that *habitar* is there because there are people living in it and therefore they mean it. It is very interesting, the lexicon used by this author, he clearly differentiates between *Building* (Latin *collere*: caring) and to build (Latin *aedificare*: raising up edifices), although both actions are related to the existence of the *habitar*: either by design (cognitive and symbolic act) or production (human action). The *habitar*, therefore, is a place where people can evolve intellectually and that is directly related to the experience, or experiences, as urban consumer(s). This author even delves into the concept of *liminal place*, a concept that we presented above. We mentioned that there are places where urban consumers don't live in it, spaces where they pass through, where they remains a certain time and then commute, where they feel like their own...: they experience them, but they don't actually dwell in. The liminal spaces that we propose are here represented again and we could say that they are those that set the *habitar region*. We could say that the *habitar* corresponds to the intimate experience level of the urban consumer, perhaps even its personal or private space, and the *habitar region* is the sum of the microstructural and macrostructural elements that compose the urban consumer liminal universe, the *urban polyhedron*.

A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something *begins its essential unfolding*. That is why the concept is that of *horismos*, that is the horizon, the boundary. Space is in essence that for which room has been made, that which is let into its bounds. That for which room is made is always granted and hence is joined, that gathered, by virtue of a locale,' that is, by such a thing as the bridge. *Accordingly, spaces receive their essential being from locales and not from "space."* (Heidegger, 1993:356)

Regarding the macrostructure, Heidegger makes a big mention when talking about the concept of *border*. A border doesn't *delimit*, it *signifies* the beginning of a reality, the beginning of a space composed of several places, as pointed out at the end of the quotation. The fact is that according to our model, the border may well be a transit route rather than a geographical or natural accident i.e. a microstructural element (an element built). We share with this author the theoretical concept of *border* as we start from a (re)cognition of the space, a creational act and an experience act, but its implementation

is what supposes difficulties for our urban understanding and reading. We see that the *boundary* term comes from an institutionalized city perspective and not from the perspective of the urban consumer. This is important, because although the urban consumer will recognize his own *habitar region*, this has not why to coincide with the limits institutionally set by the public administration. Borders mean units, but somehow also impose insurmountable separation, separation outmoded by the exponential growth of the last half-century, and the beginning of the XXI century. We believe that the term *margin* better defines our current borders. These borders have been exceeded by the evolution of cities and the development of temporary settlements; see industrial and population widening. Similarly, the term *margin* clearly refers to the liminal world, underlining the importance of studies on the urban periphery and the inner urban periphery.

Retrieving the term *boundary* we would fall into the division of the space and with it, the principle of territory; we would, also, fall into the dualities of space: private vs. public. The private space is richly described in the legal literature and it establishes a treaty of possession by an individual or individuals on a specific territorial limitation, acquiring a number of specific duties and binding obligations. This first hint, defining private space, refers to the possession of a space considered owned; this ownerships must be appraised institutionally and recognized by the community where the urban citizen is settled. We could say, on the other hand, that private space is that (real or imaginary) space that humans reserves to themselves, feeling it as intimate and in which social relations are easy to establish. In opposition to this we would meet the public space, which would refer to a collectively owned territory, where social relations are not so very easy to engage and where the human being shares his self -and privacy- by getting exposed to other individuals. Public space could be call as *common space* if we talk in institutionalized terms. Speaking about common space, other variables come into play as the concept of private space could be extended. We cannot restrict the concept of private space to the urban consumer's home; we have to expand it into a larger scale, such as might be the street or the neighborhood. If we look back on our memories, or if we travel to places where the urban factor has not been raised to the nth power, we could find children playing in the streets or elders knitting or play cards on the doorway of their houses. This still exists, and we can still find it in some districts or neighborhoods of Lisbon, or in Alicante (Spain) where I'd spent my youth. This assault

to the street could be an example of common space, or extension of private space; unfortunately in extinction.

Public space is blurred by private space, creating a gap: *semi-public space*. On societies where semi-public space is accepted and present, each individual is aware of the relationships established between the integrating subjects (and objects), so they maintain a certain relation of familiarity and high predisposition to the exposure (exhibition) of their private life. In opposition to this, we find the megadeveloped cities, where the individuals are self-reduced and self-excluded to their homes minimizing the interpersonal real contact (extended on virtual and simulative relations on-line instead, but not always). These individuals, sometimes, raise private places such as clubs or cultural centers, where people just like them has access, creating a *status quo* of identity and group moral. These spaces could be, as pointed out in the article by Sergi Varela *Espacio privado, espacio público: Dialécticas urbanas y construcción de significados*, similar to primary territories and public lands:

primary territories, with high personal significance, long-term control in time and outward manifestations of control and defense - and public -limited control territories temporarily and little ability to control and defense explicit. (Varela, 1999:22)

Here we should make a point about the social psychology of the environment. This orientates us toward the person-environment relationship and the relations established between them -directly and reverse. Humans modify the environment, and the environment shapes the human. It starts from a principle of context. The context would mediate how relationships are established on a specific situation, but we can find constants that are learnt and incorporated to our cultures. These constants, during the process of socialization, turn the environment as a symbolic agent with whom the individuals must learn to relate. Culturally is established a dialogue between the space and the human being, exactly as how might happen between real individuals. This principle comes to collation of what we were talking about at the beginning of this text and regarding Heidegger's work: space (*habitar*) and user experiences (*habitar region*).

Spheres and spaces

Somehow we reviewed different perspectives and interests of the Urban Anthropology and the Cultural Anthropology such as the situational approach, the focus on networks, approaches from above and from below, ... but we have not only worked with these disciplines, we invited to the Sociology, to the Philosophy, and many others to participate here too. We believe that a cross working of disciplines, a methodological triangulation, can benefit our research.

In the previous section we talked about the private space and the public space. Spaces in which individuals share their intimacy, establish property delimitations, territoriality, etc. but when we talk about these spaces we can easily relate them to the private and public spheres. These terms coined by Habermas (1989) refer directly to our contemporary societies and to a certain level of association and interpersonal communication. There have been many theories and criticisms to these *spheres*, but certainly they have been a very appropriate interpretation model for the transfer of information, values, morals, etc. between individuals. These *spheres* are divided into three levels, each level by reserving a certain niche. First we would find the *private sphere*, which could relate to the *private space* since it refers to the space that an individual reserves for himself, taking in it full authority. Within this area we make the *intimate sphere* that basically refers to the family, and this could refer equally to the *intimate space*, exclusive place reserved for our close relatives or ourselves. Secondly we find the *public sphere*, which is formed by intellectual interactions and the opinion of citizens in reference to a series of topics related to life in society. We must emphasize that the public sphere is a result of the social and the economic change, the result of a growing bourgeoisie. Currently this situation has evolved to new forms of communication and commerce as a result of the development and establishment of different forms of consumerism and capitalism. All individuals are equal before the state and all have the same responsibility. The *public sphere* as a system of business information and intellectual property is common and facilitates the evolution of the market and society. The State corresponds to the *sphere of public authority*, which is embodied by the forces of order and is governed (conducted) by a legal system. His authority is justified by the role of who assumes the role of fighting for the good of all citizens and who ensures justice and democratic coexistence. The concept of democracy

is important to stress, because it follows the principle of free trade, freedom of expression and likewise the principle of ownership.

Inevitably to talk, at this point, about one of the hottest topics today on the anthropological arena, the so-called *emergent phenomena*. This concept deserves our attention as we present a city in changing process, a mobile city, with borders and complex margins. We present the individual (urban consumer) as creator-reader of a polymorphous narrative that floats at different levels of a symbolic reality. Cucó (2008) invites us to understand the current *voluntary associative phenomena* and reminds us that the emergence of these should be viewed as consequence of an economic and cultural change; a change that comes inherited and has matured with the incorporation of new technology and the emergence of the Information Society. This term coined by Castells (1995) reverts to the change in the economic and urban landscape, described in his theory the *spaces of flows*. This is where our concept of *society in process of change* would be introduced, with hints -as you would imagine. To this author our world revolves around three vectors based on their support: electronic communication network, nodes and axes of space of flows. The *electronic communications network* would be comparable to a conceptual reading of the physical elements presents on our societies; it refers to the set of waves, pulses, computer processing... that constitute the network society and the basis of the information society. The second vector would be the *nodes*, which are translated as places that play the role of a global information coordinator; we refer, here, to those cities that host the headquarters of international companies, global institutions... This point is reminiscent to the theories presented by Sassen (2001), when she describes the concept of Global City, since from her unifying perspective of the global economic and financial market, a node would be able to coordinate, in conjunction with other nodes, the value of the international capital. Finally, the *space of flow*: those communication and structural systems that provide with information to other locations, institutions etc. that depends on the actions and decisions undertaken on the nodes, and as well that carry their feedback back to the source. But this is not important (now) for the voluntary movements, either for urban reading proposal; the important point is how Castells understands the *civil society* typifying it into a number of elites and subelites, which work for a breach/integration on the social structure. In this dichotomy, we find the need of some people to settle volunteer relations of assistance to go forward (what we referred previously as accessibility and

the networking of urban neoconsumers). This author indicates that at the top of the civil society we would find a small number of people that dominate the flows; we talk about people with higher education, highly mobile, with a strong cosmopolitan style of life. These people coincide with our biphasic urban consumers and our acquired urban consumers, who are able to move between urban spaces (cultural) without any problems. Here the urban consumer will create a series of rites and practices (a cultural code) to establish borders that could stop to anyone who does not belong to their group to subscribe to their elite. The first strategy would be to create an isolated symbolic community based on the value of life and cost of building space (cost of *habitar*), so only those who belong to this elite, can afford to live in certain areas. Castells is forced to reflect on the space of flows and he is conducted to rethink about a micro-personal networking subsystem (urban consumer affiliation network), which really articulates social reality by projecting private interests into glocal flows. The second strategy, that the author presents, is about specific consumption habits (present in every network node): a cosmopolitan person plays squash to close a contract, both in New York as in Shanghai. Opposed to these, we find a disqualified mass with restricted access to certain power or communication-information points. It is in this great mass of people, where Castells integrates all those people entering into the production system (young inexperienced, displaced, women, immigrants...) Here we see a structural dualism, two different faces of the same market, that finish as a “bankruptcy” in the symbolic system of the city and into a identification of the space crisis; therefore a kind of territory or habitat instability. However, not all is day or night, and we found a huge graduation and a big diversity in this segmentation of population; we found a rich range of acts of experience too, already presented in the previous chapter. Here, we should think about liminal and marginal populations, as Castells virtually ignores them, which would result in different aspects (participation and interactions) on the second and first sector described before. These aspects would bring different connotations, depending on the system integration and their income levels.

But... weren't we talking about voluntary associations? There are various analysis that we have found, as well as many collaborative social projects through NGOs and spontaneous or semi-directed solidarity movements that allow us to continue in this line and get into the subject. Castells presents a process of (meta)segregation in which the different classes are becoming more unlike due to their access to information, skilled

labor, adequate remuneration, etc. As we indicated, he was forced to introduce the principle of *personal action subnets*, alternative nets that get organized to materialize their interests globally. Thus, we find a large mass population that, contrary to what many people think, we believe well connected through various bonds of solidarity. These ties of solidarity networks may be based on kinship, friendship networks, patronage, or simply mutual knowledge networks (countrymen, university alumni, *writers*...). These networks, also known as the Fourth Sector, are important since they establish a system of relations and subrelations that can infer the dominant flow, can jump to the relevant public sphere and make an alternative agenda; they can even provide a stable informal economy structure able to unseat the mainstream economics, as we see in the case of the Tumin in Mexico.

While society mutates, the main themes of collective action are transformed, they change the forms of mobilization and organization, and enter into scene new social actors, endowed with cultural capital and relational equipment that facilitates the gradual transformation of the forms and strengthening of the entire set of practices outside the primary group. Throughout this process have much to see the changes in the political sphere, where the decline or lack of adaptation of the parties or unions, together with the crisis of militancy and political representation, have prompted parallel forms to the citizen participation renewal. (Cucó, 2008: 140)

The social movements on the 60s and 70s, in the U.S. and in Europe, are justified due to an ideological revolution, where the old Keynesian economy of abundance was questioned and the individuals started seeking a change: empower the communities, give value to people, and stop to be considered as production units or services facilitators. This resulted in various events such as the May of 68 (which would have a huge influence on the thinking of de Certeau), or social movements such as environmentalists/ecologist and feminists. These social movements were widely studied by scholars from both sides, focusing on different aspects and ending in a mutual collaboration to better understand these social movements. As a result we find in the 80s a theoretical confluence: *the framing processes, the political opportunity structure and the network approach*. First, we should review the *framing processes* whose conclusions suggest that the culture of a particular movement becomes a microcosm,

with ideologies, collective identities, rituals and material culture. This would allow us to understand how a particular group gives meaning to their life, make their vision of the city, their vision about the urban life, etc.: how they conceive their *habitat*. The *political opportunity structure* gives us the possibility to exploit a gap in the system, to call to an action -aligned or against- a particular policy. Here we have to stop and mention that while it was heavily correlated to the State, it can also be linked to social classes and the domination of the social strata. In other words a particular group can take advantage of a vacuum or social vagueness to win. Certainly the study of *networks* is important and as we have said so far, it is from this perspective that we can understand and read the development of the urban life and the urban consumer interaction with their habitat.

Cucó in the aforementioned quote presented these theories-methodologies, but in a society where the State relieved a great weight of its power -or protective role-, the citizen is entitled to take the counterpart and seek (sometimes fight) for their welfare. The social movement described above or *Third Sector*, as well as the *Fourth Sector*, indicates that the institutionalized city is not consistent on its role of State. The *Sphere of Authority* is questionable, hence the emergence of the *Rhetoric Sphere*.

Rhetoric sphere and the urban consumer solidarity

The Rhetoric Sphere concept presented by Hauser (1999) would be one of the many criticisms made to Habermas' theory which supplement or clarify terms new or already present, and ignored. *Rhetorical sphere* could be defined as the one that is shaped by socio-economically heterogeneous individuals who meet or get associated regarding an issue or issues that affect them directly or indirectly and therefore generates integrity (oneness) of class. This sphere is constructed around a discursive message (enunciation) rather than in terms of class and is highly related to the decisions that the habermasian public authority sphere undertakes (political opportunity structure). The members, or individuals, who come together or get associated around an specific matter, might show various positions that can vary: from the complete agreement to the absolute disagreement. To cite an example that could clearly illustrate this rhetorical sphere, we could recall the gay marriage politic issue, which raised fronts for and against in various countries. Many people came together to fight for this right,

on this issue, having two great *rhetoric classes*: those for and those against (and the respective buffers). These classes were not formed exclusively by homosexual or heterosexual, and income levels among these members were highly different, like its origin and ethnicity. Society is embodied according to the decisions taken or decisions to be taken, variables that compose new strata and contribute to create social strength and discursive resonance; this, therefore, recovers the definition of *rhetoric* in relation to the emergence of messages that communicate effectively, which aim to influence and obtain consensus or suasion. The rhetoric sphere creates messages or *claims* that share the same rhetoric structure as the political messages, in order to counteract the decisions taken by the *authority sphere*, and in many cases, are backed by the *media sphere*. We could mention here, for example, the demonstrations of American suffragists (women) in the early XX century and the anti-military movements concentrated against the wars of Vietnam, Iraq, etc. Therefore, an alternative dialogue is set to increment the voting process, in which Society recovers part of the delegated power, and consequently the public authority is persuaded or at least influenced on their deliberative process. The rhetorical sphere would reference to those social movements described above, the Third Sector, which are manifested around a particular issue, a thought or ideology.

When we talk about the rhetorical sphere we find a set of topics to be considered, that may be criticized or accepted, and according to its intensity they can establish the its rate of effectiveness. First, we find the *permeability of the group* and their *way of consensus*. Every group must build deep relations between each members in order to found a collection of values that identify them. These values can differentiate them from the general population, acting as a segmentator motif. We have to underline that there is a direct relation between the degrees of identification and consensus and the degree of acceptance of the rhetoric sphere (belonging feeling and group adscription). Divergence and discrepancy inside the group (rhetoric class) would be lower as the purposes for which they meet becomes clearer, so the structural speech would appear each time more and more specific and unique. One of the criticisms made to the mass communication theories is that societies are not passive. Societies do not get the message, accept it and digest it for better or for worse; societies are active and are mobilized to destabilize the public authority sphere, which must try to convince about what is their position, using the mass media, to the citizens. This circular flux is a dynamic way to continue the democratic process, a suasive system. The media can work for or against the public

authority, although this (the State) generally controls the second (the Media) by a legal code that fixes its limits of action. The rhetoric sphere is highly active, not in vain has public notoriety and can raise society's voice in protest movement against the public authority sphere. Recently it has been proven its effectiveness, i.e. the last social movements using alternative individual communication systems. The phenomenon of call-to-duty by SMS, email, social networking etc. shows that this sphere is not passive and has a high degree of consensus and/or attachment (enrolment) capability, i.e. Madrid in 2011 and in 2012 where people came together to ask for change, or in Algeria and Egypt where millions of people gathered to overthrow the President(s) or looking for social improvements. The activity and reactivity of class is very important because it is all part of an invested dialogue: from the state to the citizen, in which the second is restricted to a retroactive poor communication (lack of traditional mass media). We speak, thus, about the settlement of new alternative feedback ways, designed to be heard by those who are distanced representatively.

In the rhetorical sphere we find a very important element, which has a remarkable significance: the use of language. As mentioned above, this sphere uses a similar language to the political speech in order to create their proposals of insurrection or social reactivity. Language used characterizes and defines a group of people by their constant repetition of certain expressions, forms or acceptance/creation of a temporal slang, which is specific and hetero-normative. This point was extensively studied, as indicated previously, by the American and European schools as social movements. Language is made and justified by the context in which the rhetorical sphere is created and in direct reference to the *political issue* for which its members got associated. A rhetorical sphere, whose focus is the fight for a quality public education, would have a rich lexicon on academic semantics; a sphere created as result of social protesting against a nuclear plant will own a rich environmental lexicon. In any case, the language used would always emphasize certain aspects more than others, depending on the purpose of fighting, similarly to what happen during a political campaign or during any electoral processes (authority sphere communication). Also, this rhetorical sphere should be presented as credible, this means that the reason why people get associated must be justified as a legitimate reaction of revulsion or compliance with a certain organization and not a spontaneous situation (though this could be considered at times as rhetorical sphere, i.e. vandalism riots where the force is the language [not always])

and different demonstrators try to meet their objectives by a punctual revolution or uncontrolled actions). Finally, as a result of this point, we consider that the rhetorical sphere should offer and contain a range of *tolerance*. Tolerance opens dialogue and thus, allows messages to be received well; it invites to other people to participate fearless to any punishment.

We have tried here to find different perspectives on a same issue: the urban consumer and its public representation. Theories such as the Habermas' spheres (their criticisms and their extensions) and the Mass Communication Research can interact, as they talk about the same topic: human beings in their social context. The *public* and the *private space* have been reviewed here, as well as the urban consumers networks and their composition.

Art and the city

Urban Art and Public Art

We believe that at this point we also have to invite Art Studies to work along with the Communication Studies to do a better approach and to better conduct our research. Both will lead us to our final topic of study: the graffiti as a territorial element (marker) of the urban landscape (*cityscape*) and its deep relationship with the urban consumer.

We have spoken about the micronets that surf on Castell's *space of flows*, we have explained how this alternative networks can jump (irrupt) into the public sphere and compose their claims as a section of the public agenda; we have introduced the associative phenomenon of people who wants -or who must- to help to other individuals in order to survive, regardless to their degrees of kinship, friendship, etc. Our urban consumers have a complex behavior on these lines, they can collaborate in a voluntary organization -in an institutionalized way- (they are created around a politic issue and a concrete context, so they are very familiar with their own margins and constitutive standards) but also, they can work in a solidary way with other individuals that share a number of common traits (acts of experience), indistinctively of their nature or category.

In the first chapter we mentioned a group (crew) of urban artists that got together at one time to change the meaning of a street through an anonymous and common work. Anonymous because, even it could be signed with the crew's name, nobody would ever know the real names of the members of the group; common, not only in its elaboration, but because of being part of everybody's patrimony as it is located in the street where anyone can see it and interpret it. The voluntary association of these three individuals is arranged by their desire to communicate. Lets suppose that they gathered around a *political issue*, for example the current economic crisis; that they decide to collaborate in the creation of a *mural-protest* using any available wall in the street in order to transmit their message (previously designed, thought, meditated...); this way they *exhibit* their message, and they address their work to the eyes of many people with the solely objective of influence on them, building critical thinking and provoke a reaction against an unfair situation. The urban consumer will capture and decode the message, as they do with the outdoor advertising shown for display on billboards, mupis or any other street furniture. We would have here an act of communication (urban consumer interacts with the environment and reads and process the message codified by some

anonymous sender), and an act of consummation of the piece (urban consumers would remember, interpret the piece, share it...) Therefore, the design of a militant graffiti could be compared to a commercial message or a propagandistic claim, and it is not strange that writers use traditional advertising supports (external media) to spot their pieces (adbusting).

Before we continue, we must make a terminological clarification that we consider very important. Sometimes we find expressions such as "urban art", "graffiti", "street painting", "public art", etc. to refer to the same concept, though it is not correct. We believe that we should make a break and explain the differences between urban art (Street Art) and public art (Public Art). At first, we will discuss the so-called Public Art, which presents numerous difficulties when it has to be defined and limited, as Anna Waclawek tells us:

There have been several attempts to categorize public art. The most prominent grouping encompasses works, typically modernist, abstract sculptures that have been placed outdoors to decorate the plazas fronting governmental or corporate buildings. (Waclawek , 2005: 66)

While these *figures* are placed on outdoors, available to the sight of the urban consumer, it doesn't mean that they could be considered as public art in a restricted way. These pieces could be called *plopped* or as it's usually called *plop art*. The same author comments that these sculptures, or ornamentistic elements, that are (in)placed on public roads only fuels the need of public or private organisms to decorate a number of empty spaces by a "voluntary" or "altruistic" public contribution.

We also find other forms of public art as the so-called *art-in-the-public-interest*. The principle on which we base the difference between this and the previous one is that the *plop art* did not take into consideration the contextual elements (it simply builds a sculpture or art-piece under the orders/decision of a public/private entity and the direction of the artist –when needed-) On the other hand, the *art-in-the-public-interest* decides the *obra* to be installed, considering different variables that answer the potential public consumption; very often the local community is asked about what they want to

see, have or need. This kind of art in public space promotes the possible relationship of the piece with its context, not only on a physical but also in a temporary and instrumental perspective. This trend has many followers but has many detractors too; detractors consider that it builds or foments a certain paternalistic relationship with the local audiences. The apparent democratic process that this kind of co-participatory art looks for, seems to mask or murky the final decision-making process. The final decision will be taken by the artist and the authorities that requested the work and not by the people who are consulted or would receive/host the intervention. In other words, a given organization can ask for the advice or opinion of the community where the work would be introduced, but the final decision will always be taken by the organization itself.

These two definitions lead us to a mandatory definition: *art on display*. We understand as (public) art on display those pieces that have the ability to be visited, observed and are available to the sight of the visitor or resident (urban consumer) in an easy and low cost way; those that are located on public space or in private areas with open or semi-restricted access.

This art on display would have a certain economic and material value and could include statues, sculptures, and artistic or architectural elements inherited up to our days. They could be pieces located in the urban space or in semi-private space and they might respond to public or private cultural policies. These work-pieces can be found in areas of direct access and free of charge, or they can be located in (semi)restricted places with variable price (for example a foundation, private gardens....), which requests a donation or symbolic contribution in order to access to. This last point is important because if we speak about restricted access by mandatory ticket with fixed rates we could not longer talk about (public) art on display, we should, therefore, speak about (private) art on display, as it might be the museums and private collections.

(public and private) Art on display come into international cultural circuits being their authors, potentially, from out of the area where these works will be installed on (non-native authors with alien works). These works, their location, the name of the author, the cultural policies executed after their implantation and the tourism promotion campaigns, the city branding delivered as consequence of this policies... provide a flow of people attracted to discover them with a big cultural appetite. Subsequently we might

think that art on display could be a key factor for the de-liminalization of certain urban spaces by creating projects that reactivate liminalized areas.

This *art in urban exhibition* covers those pieces already present as an historical inheritance, as much as those that responds to a cultural plan or a cultural policy. We prefer this term, *art in urban exhibition*, as it describes the city as a virtual museum that can be walked, studied, designed, and experienced. Here we should talk again about the decisions to be taken, the decision takers and their professional skills; the local participation and the policies and actions to be implemented in order to grant a minimum of success or minimum of relevance that might avoid liminalization or marginalization in an specific place-point.

Art in urban exhibition, nevertheless, is not an independent category by itself, but a quality of public art. This (art) can be either of public interest or not and the term simply refers that it can be visited, sighted, consumed, by the urban consumer freely. These urban artistic elements implemented with cultural mediation and cultural policies of promotion, might have the ability to attract visitors, improve tourism, city branding, etc. and consequently they have a deep impact (positive or negative) on the places they are present on.

The question of what public art is, is still open and this concept is difficult to define as far as the public space is indeterminate and polymorph. There is no consensus on how to designate public space, although as we saw above, it could be understood as the one that is related to the public sphere: the physical space between our home (private space) and our neighbor's. Streets, squares, roads or sidewalks, would be part of this public space that we are talking about, therefore public space could be related to our *urban connectors* (urban microstructure); but they are also part of our neighborhoods and our reference areas (urban macrostructure) with the corresponding sense of ownership by the locals. This would prompt us to recover the concept of *private space* and *extended private space*, that one where the street is part of the private space and vice versa. These areas in between (liminal somehow) respond to the individuals who *dwell* in them and they drive us to questioning again the principle of *public space*, which is contradictory.

Many people believes that Art can only be found in spaces dedicated to the *worship of art*, understanding this as those spaces dedicated to the creation, preservation

and planned exhibition of the artistic activity, such as museums, galleries, ateliers... So the street, a non-sacred space for artistic activity, is “excluded” to hold artistic pieces or works. Therefore, not only the concept of *public art* is compromised but also the definition of *public art on display*.

We advocate for an open definition of public art, as this polymorphic concept is extended every day and it is in a permanent evolution and revolution. We would opt for a definition which could take into consideration the aforementioned points, therefore, it could be considered as public art "any artistic *experience* (dance, sculpture, theater,...) that can impact the urban consumer during their everyday life, outside of their private or private-extended area". This definition will include not only those *public sculptures*, but also other artistic pieces that generally fall into the oblivion of the urban researchers; in addition it would introduce the principle of *impact*, term profusely used in communication studies and that refers to the ability of a message to reach a particular target while their life praxis.

Once spoken about *public art*, we should talk about *street art*. This one, like the previous one, has a particular support (the ambiguous public space), but has no institutional support or deliberated programming. Public art was given by the initiative of a particular or private organization to build up an art piece, which would fill a vacant urban place and/or enrich a common space, therefore art on display and in exhibition. Street art, on the contrary, comes from the initiative of private individual(s) who want to develop an artistic intervention in the public space having, or not, permits or authorizations to execute their work. This constituent difference distinguishes both artistic forms, being one legal and the other illegal (with exceptions as may be the case of interventions by public/private invitation where the owner or group of owners allow or request a determinate work on one or more of its facades or infrastructures i.e. outdoors works by well known artists as Aryz, Os Gêmios...) There is another difference between these artistic forms and is the consideration and legal prescription of *vandalism* to street art, as this kind of works have not very often the support or acceptance that they should.

In our case we will focus on graffiti and especially on those forms that are known as *post-graffiti*. This concept is also known as *hip-hop graffiti* but currently it is not exclusively related to this subculture or identity group. Even that we disagree with the

term *post-graffiti*, because of the prefix “post”, which incur in a kind of chronological evolution, we accept it because it refers to a stylistic evolution:

The post-graffiti movement is characterized by wide-ranging stylistic, technical and material innovation, which place less emphasis on lettering with markers and spray-paint and more with on fashioning varied artistic intervention into the cultural landscape of a city. (Waclawek, 2011:30)

The post-graffiti, understood in its graphic materiality (it includes other non-binding forms related to the *wall-painting* such as the *knit-graf*¹⁴, *guerrilla gardening*¹⁵...), consists on a variety of forms and styles, which difficult the delimitation of this type of art. Nowadays, as indicated by Waclawek, we consider as post-graffiti those whose content are very stylized, being not longer simple *tags*¹⁶, or *throwies*¹⁷, but high-elaborated designs that are preconceived prior its application to a preselected surface. We also believe that the term *writer*, explained above, no longer fits the artistic reality we present and we experience today. Many researchers refer about them as *urban artists* but in the streets many artists continue to use this *title*, this term, perhaps by tradition (because they do not write letters exclusively) or because their work are real visual messages that compose new narratives or *rewrite* the pre-existent ones. We will

¹⁴ Art form consisting on knitting wool, plastic, cotton... on brightly colors to build a *coating* that is applicable to public furniture, public sculptures, etc. as a form of private vs. public expression. Knitta, Please (Magda Sayeg) is considered as the mother of this style becoming popular for making heaters for male sculptures in cities like Paris, Mexico or New York.

¹⁵ Technique in which urban artists use living organisms such as plants, seeds etc, for the creation of their works. These can be seeds that *grow up* any particular message; moss applied to certain surfaces or even grasses mats... What is important here is the application of natural elements (alive) in unexpected places and the handling process undertaken in the process to create alive messages.

¹⁶ It is considered as one of the pillar styles or one of the most elementary forms of graffiti, although we can sometimes find really complex works by the use of the *wording* and its combinatorics. The tag corresponds to the artistic signature of a *writer* and is usually brief, short and extremely stylized. It may also be the signature of a crew, in which we find minimal differences according to the member who has done this freehand action.

¹⁷ Refers to those works whose basis is the use of letters (*wording*). These compositions are not longer simply stylized words but large size and high quality composition with a very deep complexity and artistic execution.

continue calling them writers, in respect of the tradition, but we will use the term *urban artist* to refer to our urban consumer target too.

We must also mention that the urban artist is not forcefully related to any *teen* group or youngster association as its said in many American researches on Gang Studies such as Ley and Cybriwsky (1974), Stocker, Dutcher, Hargrove, and Cook (1972), and others. In these works the tag and the graffiti activity were linked with the consolidation of a group identity and its territorial demarcation (property enclosure). These researches, nowadays completely obsoletes, referred to the graffiti (basically the tag) as a symbolic name for a specific set of individuals or gang and underlined their use comparing to some African tribes or animal territorial demarcation. Currently, *graffiti* surpasses this initial ritual function of territory demarcation and becomes a useful and artistic visual ephemeral product, to the delight of the author and the urban consumers; and it can be read as a tool to create a critical mass linked to the Third and Fourth State.

The contemporary urban artist is not someone who comes exclusively from a marginal, liminal or forgotten urban periphery looking for a away to run away of his problems; today we find art students, graphic designers, architects and many other professions related (but not exclusively) to the arts finding in the street a space where they can develop their talent, and show their work. Hip-hop culture helped shaping this decoupling (graffiti would no longer be marginal) and today it begins its progressive consolidation as Art, reaching museums and galleries such as the Tate Gallery (2008) in London, or the Cartier Foundation (2009) in Paris.

There have been also many artistic styles that have influenced urban arts (post-graffiti), and we should mention here the incredible weight of pop art in this evolution, which suggests a greater relationship with advertising.

Urban Art and Advertising

Post-graffiti, nowadays, keeps a deep relationship with advertising, being rhetoric, metalinguistic, or even symbiotic sometimes to this. (post)Graffiti would adopt as his own the use of colors, shapes and commercial claims very soon, being a metalinguistic form of communication; that's why sometimes graffiti remind us some advs. or visual

campaigns, such as some pieces of D*Face that either emulates advertising pieces or modifies them to make self-advertising.

We even have a graffiti style called adbusting, which consists in the total or partial reproduction, as well as manipulation, of outdoor advertising with the objective of claim, ridiculed, etc. the original campaign or any other issue on the public agenda. However, even that this direct relationship exists (billboards are used vandalizing the commercial message) we will not focus in this similitude (product/support building), because what is of our interest is the capability of both to reach the urban consumer and transmit their message.

Advertising uses infinite shapes, colors, lights, etc. with the intention of causing a visual or perceptual impact on the urban consumer. The urban consumer receives millions of impacts daily; we could even talk about visual and acoustic pollution in the cities. Advertising populates the city, it covers buildings up, it can be found anywhere we look at, and it does it in an invasive way but it is accepted (there are, legal and deontological codes that regulate this activity thought). The urban consumer is partially immune to this impacts, he have learned to live with them and ignore them, this raises a question: why is not immune to graffiti?

Graffiti will look for the best sites to lay on and to be able to capture the attention of the urban consumer in their urban walk, just as advertising does it. But graffiti is freer than advertising, it does not have a legal body that regulates the location where a message can –or not- be placed on (basically it cannot be anywhere), it does not have neither any contract that stipulates the duration of the exhibition nor a predetermined format. Graffiti is free in its artistic form and in its constitution, as it is an illegal action beyond the heterocontrol. The artist will cover the walls and urban surfaces available¹⁸, fighting with advertising for the attention or interest of the urban consumer; they will have freedom of shape and size, as well as extension and reproducibility, but they have a double punishment: the ephemeral nature of their work (it can be removed at any time; boycotted by other artist...) and the constant possibility of being arrested in the act of execution.

¹⁸ In graffiti slang *to bomb*.

The art of graffiti is ephemeral; it is more ephemeral than advertising, because even though a billboard may be present during a given time (contractual), graffiti could be deleted in a few minutes. This is a key point to remember and keep in mind because that's what makes graffiti art: they are pieces created to disappear. Advertising is created to reach the memory, but they are doomed to disappear after a contractual time. What is ephemeral here is a consequence of its illegal execution and nature: since they do not have the permission of the owner(s) of the surface used, and they -generally-, proceed to clean it up, the piece disappears being forgotten. Many graffiti artists choose to create their pieces in abandoned buildings or forgotten surfaces instead, generally in the periphery, under the umbrella of the liminal space.

Just as advertising, the graffiti transmits messages. Post-graffiti is another way of resistance and these messages use to contest, or are justified, to some incidents or hot-topics on the public agenda, political or social conflicts, as well as the forever-lasting topics in the human mind (war, love, betray...). Both, advertising and urban art, try to communicate but among their main differences, we found the figure of the *emitter*. Advertising is a powerful communication tool used by an institution (public or private) whose purpose is the act of suasion (persuasion or deterrence) for achieving some objectives; urban art is a powerful artistic tool developed for the suasion by an individual or collective crew who build a persuasive or deterrence message to a specific public in a concrete space and time. We could say that advertising comes from above and urban art comes from below, but the question remains: is the urban art, really art?

Many times advertising is considered as *art* by having certain elements of design, color and shape, but not because of this it should to be consider as such, in *strito senso*. Urban art, on the other side, could be consider as a communication mechanism by using the same elements than advertising, but not because of this, its main mission became transmitting full content messages; not every graffiti-work has a militant nature behind and a lot of them are a simply plastic manifestation.

In consequence we could say that advertising as resident of the urban space and as an attention grabber of the urban consumer competes with the urban art in the transmission of messages, many of those are contested by the second one in an attempt to delegitimize, protest, ... a sometimes dehumanized society.

Urban Art and Liminal Space

In the first chapter we worked on the concept of liminal space, which referred to those spaces that remained beyond of the city's *mainstream* shape. We discussed the matter of *centers vs. peripheries* and we described a way of understanding the city from a textual consideration. Urban art, also, as we have been discussing, has a discursive capacity. It has a transmission power for visual/conceptual messages, and this could lead us to its capacity to transgress the *flows* and raise a specific message from a social movement in the middle of the audiovisual urban welter, avoiding the difficulties of the advertising saturation.

As post-graffiti practices demonstrate, no matter how controlled city spaces are, they are also open to subversion. Not every area is monitored, commercialized, depersonalized or functionalized. Some spaces are unrestricted, unobstructed, exposed, empty, isolated, forgotten, unmanaged and bleak. Even within the capitalist economy of space, there are gaps or marginal spaces that, while often neglected, are necessary for the conceptualization of the city as a complex arena. These “non-spaces” are not necessarily liminal by way of geography, but rather by way of use. (Waclawek, 2011:114)

In this fragment we find the use of the term “non-space” which, as we previously explained, we don't believe appropriate. We will use the term *liminal space*, which we consider fits better to the reality we are referring to. As indicated, many are the spaces that remain beyond the general control; these can be either in the *centers of attention* or in the *forgotten points* of the city. These terms refer to those locations inside the urban text that due to its frequentation, use, activity, effervescence... specially arise because of its nodal importance (center of interest, such as communication flows, transportation, people) or its anodal relevance (lack of what we just mentioned, therefore liminal space). These *points* correspond in a certain way to the concepts of center and interurban periphery, but not exclusively thus they could be located and defined inside these bigger areas, gaining independence and occasionally eclipsing them in a

metonymic exercise. We find a clear example of a *center of attention* in Broadway in the city of New York and in its *higher center of attention*: Times Square. Obviously, Broadway is not only Times Square, but this spot (in this area) concentrates the most of the attention of the urban consumer; for many, this situation could be translated as a direct metonymy: Times Square as Broadway. Opposite to this concept we will find the opposite face of the coin: the *forgotten points*. This concept is even harder to catalog as it will be located in the liminal or marginal areas where finding a focus of activity is more difficult, but not impossible. We could point out, for example, the Omnibus Central Station on Villa 31 in Buenos Aires, this is the center of communications and transit (people, merchandises, animals...) of this marginal area, what in a certain way turns this place into a kind of liminal temple by offering the possibility of approximate the *mainstream* of the city with the marginalized area.

The *forgotten points* and the *centers of attention* could be compared with the *hot points* and *cold points* in a supermarket. A center of attention would attract many people as does a hot point in a shop (there is a product of high demand, necessity...) so the consumer would walk directly to those spots or would mandatory go there to buy the wished/needed items. A cold point refers to those spots that even having content (products of any kind) are not that interesting or vital for the consumer, so they might ignore or skip them. Here we could discuss about how marketing articulates the placement of these products to guide the walk of the *buyer* and foment purchases, and how city planning could do to turn *forgotten places* into *centers of attention*.

We talked about a categorization of the space in function of its active presence on the *flows*, but this can be as well on a negative way: on the example of Villa 31, we see the same situation on the form of marginal space, the other pole on this equation. The liminal space, as we mentioned previously, is that space which responds to a in-changing process, a kind of rite of passage, and it could be read as that space that once was very active (business activity, living census, cultural processes...) but now is in decay without falling into marginality (and vice versa). We could also consider this space as those spots that even present in the general urban space (mainstream) they are not *significant* enough such as car parks, bridges... so they are left aside by the urban consumers becoming cold spots, or *forgotten places*.

Not surprisingly urban art, in its illegal nature, choose to develop its work on liminal spaces first. Liminal spaces, lacking or “virtually” deficient of supervision from law enforcement (public sphere and institutional politics oblivion), offer a fantastic scenario where an individual or group of writers (crew) can develop their work and training. There are a lot of artists who choose from the beginning to work in this kind of space, they find some protection here and this situation directly influences on their urban art learning process.

Painting a wall or a surface with different textures requires a specific amount of time and dedication so the final piece has an acceptable visual result. Execution Time varies according to the design, materials, surface and ability of the author or authors, but it is a priceless factor for the urban artists when they get out the liminal area and they start their career at the general urban space. In the *mainstream*, public space, urban artists must be fast in the execution of their projects, because they can be interrupted in the middle of the process or even get arrested, so they have to run away, leaving the piece incomplete if the take too long time. A lot of Kings¹⁹ began their work from the tag, learning the different techniques in the preparation of the final piece; lots of them worked in crews before they get this status and even many of them studied fine arts or design, but work in the urban arena needs a bench of specific abilities and it is a suicidal mission getting to a controlled space without the necessary expertise.

The liminal space is composed as a kind of artistic swarming, in which the candidates for urban artists can work and prepare themselves to jump into major works. Urban space represents an attractive platform for this kind of individuals (urban artists) and there are many candidates who come to the liminal places and spaces attracted by the anonymity that the liminality offers: looking for protection. Thenceforth the liminal space liminalizes in the sense that an individual can be (self)placed outside the general control (disaggregated) to work in his career (limen) and in his future artistic projects (potential reaggrupation). These spaces become, then, a *space of passage*: a particular place where the candidate, through a process of acquisition of new roles (skills), reaches a state other than the initial, being considered by a specific society (urban artists) as a prepared individual or *in process*, according to the moment of capture and the advances undertaken by this candidate.

¹⁹ A prolific artist, with great technique and experience in the creation of pieces written or artistic.

The liminal space fosters the process of change and is changed by applying successive layers of art, sketches, sketching, painting, tests... Urban space is changing (even when we don't look at it), and it is easy to find the walls and other urban surfaces completely different in a short period of time. The visibility of these works (in liminal space) is limited and it would strongly depend on people already present on this field. Liminal urban art require a person with foreknowledge, someone who knows where to look at, someone who knows how to participate and how to get involved. We have to remember that no *liminal area* or *forgotten point*, such as a tunnel under a highway, is (re)presented into *mainstream* public art or rarely appears in travel books as points to visit. Not because of this situation (lack of notoriety on the art market for these works) great artists stopped to use these areas; instead, many between them return to these spaces very often in order to work and train their abilities. We assume that the calm and freedom of these spaces, and the acceptance or indifference by the residents, as much as the reverence of other artists, encourage them to return and perform great works, individually or in crew.

We should make a pause here and mention that while the urban art we are interested in in this dissertation is (post)graffiti, there are other artistic processes taking place in the street and, somehow, they also enter into this matter as we can apply the same presuppositions explained on this text. Today there are many artistic interventions carried out in urban space trying to combine "art" with "public space" and "society", proof of this is the collection of actions implemented in different parts of the world presented by Parry, Medlyn, and Tahir (2011) or the workshop developed on the Lisbon neighborhood of Graça on the summer of 2013 (Meds_Lisbon) where I was invited to drive some actions and direct and coordinate the social interaction between artistic pieces, local population and artist; but this will be reviewed in future chapters of this work. In *Cultural hijack: rethinking intervention* we find interesting examples of art in exhibition that could certainly be linked with the issue we talk about: the *liminal urban art*. We could highlight different works like Peter McCaughey's at the old FUTURIST Cinema in Liverpool, a deserted theater in a degraded area, which for ten days was reopened and hosted certain projections and artistic activities (2011: 69-73). We can quote, as well, other actions-interventions as the performed by bgl (artist pseudonym) in a landfill in Quebec, where the waste was the material used to build this

work: an intervention that reported the overconsumption of our society, a work placed on the liminal space.

Related to the bipolarity between private and public space, we find Tazu Nishi's work who proposes a subversion of these spaces in a comic *in room* game. His work caught our attention since it consists in creating fictitious spaces (something that could remind us to a *home*). He raises these ephemeral spaces around a public sculpture, keeping the original piece of *public art* captive on an indoor space, decontextualizing the public and the private. Visitors, entering into these fake environments, feel that they are entering into a private property, but they find a (known and public) sculpture inside. These pieces are placed as part of the furniture, or perhaps as family members or even the owners/hosts doing any "everyday life" thing such as watching television. These works put the accent on the tourism industry and they highlight the increase of urban traveling as a leisure activity. This particular claim calls our attention by touching the emotions of the spectators: a sculpture in your *own home*, so *home* would also be a *city's* metaphor. The collective Geletin, instead, had chosen to install small wooden houses in the car parks of New York. This project reached to create private space in liminal space, recovering these forgotten spaces. Those little houses, resonant to shanties or poor tree houses, were called *homes*. These *homes* are a social-artistic attempt to report the lack of space for people to live in society and in the city. This artistic shouts and complains about the lack of urban planning and the risk of marginalization around (in) the *mainstreamed* social space.

This indicates that the liminal space and the *mainstreamed* urban space are actually changing. They are in process of change, in a process of passage, maybe that's why each day the tight line that restricted *art* to galleries and museums is getting brittle, hence we already have exhibitions of *urban art* in prestigious institutions and valued artistic works on the street.

Legal Urban Art

Urban art (and then graffiti) is an illegal art, or at least it has been like this until not very far ago. Day after day it recruits new adepts, people that recognize the value of

this art elaborated with spray cans. There are lots of owners that actually ask to urban artists to execute projects on the indoors or on the outdoors of their properties. When a property owner requests a graffiti work, and the writer responds by accepting the request, we could say that the consequent graffiti (or urban art piece) is a legal one. We could even say that it responds to a public's latent need to cover a wall or walls up with this type of product/pieces. These legal pieces respond to a contract between two parties that respect law and private interest. Therefore, by this contract, is not only legal and recognized the work of writers and urban artists, but it also gives to the artist the status of author and prestige to his work. The product, the piece, will respond to a previous designing process and only under the acceptance of the client will be executed in the wall.

In such situations, the *writer* and the *client* will get together after getting in contact (web, interpersonal networks...) and make/set an initial offer. The service requester (owner) will explain the objective, nature or reason why he wants this type of painting, as well as other aspects that are necessary for the conception of the piece. The writer (service provider) will be presented to the surface and its texture, sometimes, authorized to modify it or change it. The urban artist will design several sketches of the project, trying to concretize the items discussed during his client's *briefing* -usually the sketches and designs are computerized but we still find the traditional sketch book and other formats that come as an heritage from the early pop-graft. The artist must attach a list of materials, timing and fees, as in every other project to be valorized by the client. These elements conform part of the project plan and are decisive on the booking and engagement by the customer, who can accept or decline, even make a counter-offer. Then we see that *urban art*, indoor or outdoors, under the consideration and request of an owner is somehow legal and the consequence of a contract to provide a service. We say "somehow" because at the moment that this work would be executed, especially outdoors (facade, protection curtains in stores...), it must respect national and local laws, and it must have the agreement of the neighborhood and the authorization of the City Council or local authorities. Without these permissions, even though there is a request from an owner, it could be considered as illegal and it wouldn't fulfill all the requirements needed for the modification of urban space, citylandscape.

Urban art, in this context, faces very restrictive laws and constraints. We are struck by the difference and lack of unanimity on legal corpuses, a fact that makes us

think about the cultural depth of this practices as well as its cultural acceptance. We find a great variety of regulating codes about this art, ranging from situations of absolutely illegality as in Toronto²⁰ or Mexico²¹, to more flexible situations as in Lisbon, Pennsylvania or Berlin.

We must indicate that although the examples quoted above as *zero tolerance* are strict in regards to the illegality of the graffiti, they propose some specific exceptions and alternatives. Toronto's Council accepts the possibility of sponsoring an artist as long as he works on the community's interest and his consequent work does not attack the overall esthetic. This *public authority* even provides to the *stakeholders* a database of the local artists who were endorsed for previous works. These artists are reference artist but any owner can support the inclusion of a new writer to this list. This sponsoring program is a form of education and prevention of vandalism and collaborates into the development of a high quality career for the artist. In regards of legal graffiti, we see in general a certain tendency towards *muralism*, understanding this as great pieces that cover large surfaces where the graphic quality is decisional for its approval or rejection.

We find very suitable the definition that Toronto's Council established for urban art, but we appreciate that it does not include all those pieces elaborated outside the *mainstream* space, all those that are created in the liminal zone, where there are not owners or the surroundings are so marginal that the graffiti actually regenerates the place with its esthetic.

Graffiti Art is defined as markings made or affixed to properties that are approved by the property owner or occupant, where the markings aesthetically enhance the surface they cover and the general surroundings, having regard to the community character and standards. (Toronto Council, 2012)

²⁰ City of Toronto Municipal Code Chapter 485, Graffiti., 1218-2011 C.F.R. (2011).

²¹ Subsecretaría de Prevención y Participación Ciudadana. (2012). *Formas de Expresión Juvenil: Graffiti*. Retrieved from <http://www.ssp.gob.mx>.

Mexico DF. on their side, criminalizes the acts of graffiti-vandalism and does not accept youth demonstrations of this *art*. The report presented by the Subsecretaría de Prevención y Participación Ciudadana (2012) presents in deep the current urban art's situation in the city and it compares it to the whole of the country. The municipality requested this report to a scientific and legal researcher committee in order to cover different angles and perspective, something very innovator and enriching regarding this subject. We can read in this document the existence of many loopholes in the Federal Mexican Law, what makes that most of the responsibility and decisions about this type of actions (urban art interventions) lay on the local authorities: on their judgment and competence. In this document we find some actions and suggestions in the fight of graffiti-vandalism such as a national contest call, where the best designs are allowed to be executed on the public space.

What we can see in this situation is a process of urban art institutionalization – especially on the graffiti flow. The authority sphere has understood, or is starting to understand, the high relevance and persistence of this kind of messages that are capable of surfing on the flows and can be heard on every corner of the city. The authority sphere is starting to insert graffiti into the mainstreamed space, to standardize it and control it.

Laws and controls

Urban Art Homocontrol

As we have said we found a dichotomous trend in urban art. On the one hand we have those local governments or regional councils that manage and enact laws or regulatory acts about the activity of painting public space; on the other hand we find national trends on street art regulation that points out a progressive reinforcement of the sanctions and the apparition of alternative ways to prevent what is understood -so many times- as vandalic acts or public space invasion (attacks). We could say that the phenomenon of street art is a reality that works at different speeds; a creative act regulated by different codes and sometimes on contradictory ways.

Before continuing we want to speak out about a form of control on urban art that is generally ignored or unknown by the general public. We are talking about *homocontrol*. We name homocontrol to the in-group reaction of sabotage or respect to a work that is present in the urban space. This action responds to different patterns such as the recognition of the quality of the piece, the prestige of the artist or crew, the social reputation and image of the entity that requested the piece, the technical difficulty of the work, the difficulties that the surface presented to its intervention, etc. The collective of local artists can react in various ways, being the sabotage one of the best known. This situation would result in painting on the exhibited work and thus deface, destroy or simply boycott it. These acts are intended as punishment to the author or as censorship to the institution behind. It's a kind of (in)site management and it must to be read as a direct or indirect answer to the artist, as he may not respected local style guidelines; to the piece, which does not reach a minimum of quality, or simply it is considered glitz and banal. It can also be a critique to the contracting party or entity that promotes the artist, as the community of urban artists can, in this way, express disagreement on the decisions made or in the cultural management undertaken. The set of actions, on the works on display, responds to a form of urban artistic homocontrol activity. Works that met the minimum or exceed the technical possibilities would be respected and not suffer any alterations; in other words, they won't be trivialized.

Urban artistic homocontrol activity should be identified as the next step to self-control. We understand as self-control to the artist ability to spot and decide which are the most successful forms or styles for the construction or design of a work, in order to

comply with the local urban art cannon, language and rules. We have not to forget that every town has a population of urban artists in intimate competition that generates a corpus of style and a particular urban dialogue from their clashes. Therefore, the artist before creating any piece should really know the artistic language spoken in the area; must learn and interact with the locals, should get involve with the place where is expected to work, ... otherwise, locals would react so repulsive and censor his work: homocontrol applies. In other words, artists must respect the set of social norms (and styles) established and developed by the native-local community; otherwise their work would be punished and excluded from the local on display scene.

Today we are in a time of high mobility of people and styles. There are many artists or representatives of "urban schools" who move to another location and restart their career elsewhere. This situation refers to a very interesting reality: not always the newcomer artists are welcome. While many researches talk about a globality of styles or some standardization of urban art²², we find that there are so different ways of urban-art-working; for example, in a city of northern Europe we can find some elements or icons that are repeated systematically as result of its *cultural substrata* which will not be present on a city located on Latin America (completely alien to that initial culture frame), as well as materials and surfaces which are different, so the technics vary consequently.

We are talking here about a cultural substrata that enhance a graphic global art. These cultural substrates are similar to the linguistic substrates behind situations of linguistic occupation and the consequent pidgin languages or creole languages. Cultural universes, each author worldviews, are different as result of their own origin and experiences. Therefore, if we review chapter one of this work we could rescue the concept of acts of experience and its application to urban art activity.

First of all we should talk about those resident urban consumers who are native of the area in which they develop any artistic action. These consumers would respond to the type described as NEA. They are fully knowledgeable of the styles and forms that are used to building urban art on their specific place. These individuals would certainly be the leading urban art advocate-censors on a specific location or city.

²² Many authors consider post-graffiti as a revision of the American School (color and big forms) and French School (messages with a cause).

Then we would find the visitor urban consumer who responds to the category identified as GEA. These urban artists do not know the rules, styles or languages used in the place where they want to intervene, they arrive to a new scenario and they work directly, showing what could be read as a lack of self-control or fearless to local homocontrol. These urban consumers are unable to assimilate local forms or to interact properly with them, so at the time of the artistic execution they are endeavoring to satisfy their own ego. Pieces created by these temporal urban consumers do not respond to any kind of self-control or do not match local norms so they would be severely punished by the local artistic community (homocontrol). We have to mention that rarely a piece like this is kept on display, but we could find some exceptions in case that the final work overtakes local expertise.

Other times we might find local artists from different origin. Artists who have learned in the area where they perform their artistic works and who have as well learn in their place of origin. Let's imagine a Brazilian born artist (worldview 1) who has been educated in urban art in Lisbon (worldview 2). He knows the techniques and rules of the second place of execution and he is limited in these acts of experience; but he can switch into the artistic forms of his home place without any difficulty too. This person would operate as a polyvalent urban consumer, what falls in the AEA (acquired experience act) category defined on chapter one.

We could meet as well those urban consumers who are native in an artistic language but they work on a different area with a different corpus of style and rules. This scenario could be the previous stage to the explained above: our artist starts developing common projects in local crews (educational time-experience), he learns local artistic structures and he gets involved into the local urban art sphere. We underline here the fact that he do not compare his work with what he has previously made at home and he accepts and acquire progressively the local style as good as his own. This urban consumer would respond to the biphasic (BEA) act of experience.

Urban artists quite often get inspired on material and documentary sources which can vary from the country or residence. There are many publications on graffiti or urban art available in the market such as HIPHOP Nation, GRAFINK, etc. that diffuse local languages (from an area or locality) outside its constituent margins, this is the case of

monographics about São Paulo or Santiago de Chile on international magazines or other forms of the urban art industry. Internet also makes available to all of us all those local and personal languages developed around the world: it makes accessible to any user to publish (advertise) his own or else work, create distribution lists (video, photo, text...) Other users can consume these material from anywhere at a very low cost. This could be understood as a form of ideolinguistic dispersion and an easy way to learn other forms and styles, remotely. Through simulation and online learning, a foreign urban artist could end up learning the urban art system (style, social norms, respect authority figures...) from a place other than his own, being able to apply the act of virtual experience (VEA): someone who had not had physical contact with the “destination” place (alternative worldview), but is fully cognizant of the systems and subsystems.

Obviously, a better understanding of the local idiolect, the lower the risk of being interceded by the homocontrol. This is also related to the level of self-control that the artist acquired by contact or assimilation of the area: a good self-control guarantees a lower reaction of the homocontrol, and a longer potential presence in exhibition.

Sometimes, although the work does not respond in any way to the local standards or canons, it may be too good that can skip sabotage or destruction as we mentioned before. It can be an artistic milestone and its author may have (or gain) the respect of the international community, national artists, so the local circuit will not attacked the piece, even if it is considered as invasive within the city margins. These works can even respond to institutional requests or technical exchanges (graf-camp) where artists from different places come together to exchange experiences and techniques.

Local beginners are the ones who have more difficulties to reach any visual acceptance and they must build up a name before being respected. Young artists are normally intercepted by the homocontrol and only a very short number of pieces survive. Ways to reach a reputation vary, ranging from a profuse creation (mass production), participation in crews, association with local prestige artists (Kings), etc. but they will always be followed with some suspicion. Urban art world is very aggressive and only the very best are respected on the hot point of the city.

Urban Art Heterocontrol

As mentioned above, we find many legal codes that regulate or punish urban artistic activity. These can be local, regional and even national and sometimes they may vary from each other, creating lacks of authority or controversy. Sometimes we see that certain areas are more permissive than others in terms of creative activity of urban art; others are more punitive and restrictive. These experiential variations could be related to those substrates we mentioned before (root culture); or to a lack of knowledge about the benefits of urban art; or prejudices about this emerging form of art by associating it with vandalism or criminal acts.

As mentioned in previous chapters, so many authorities are working to institutionalize urban art, to professionalize it, to use it into the fight against those forms that are not art. So we could talk about institutionalized urban art (responds to all heterocontrol measures proposed by an organization or institution, to the contextual set of laws, to homocontrol and artist self-control) and wild urban art (which is spontaneous and serves to no external legal code, it is only ruled by the homocontrol and the artist self-control).

Wild Street Art is the one that sometimes falls into the gates of vandalism. It is that “art” or artistic practice that attacks the private or public property and the one that has no authorizations for its execution. They are unsolicited works that end up soon in its disappearance, as they have not any support. We can find many of these works in the liminal zone, where the absence of control or authority figures allow its development. The problem with these forms of art lays in its invasive nature to others property, sometimes their lack of artistic value (primitive tag), or to be unfriendly messages (sexual or political content, for example).

Institutionalized Street Art recognizes those artists and those works that have a cultural planification strategy. Public or private institutions subsidize artists and works for execution on public urban space or private urban space. We would examine first those that are performed in private urban space. These respond to a contract between the artist and a client, they are executed as a service or cultural product in a determined space and context; they are regulated by some contractual terms and they are predefined. The artist will be authorized to the execution of the proposal and will be

treated as a service provider. Uses for his work can range from a simply indoors/outdoors decoration to a form of urban valuation to attract young audiences -or associated targets- with this kind of art, renewal corporate image, etc. The private institutionalized urban art is considered an intellectual product to fulfill customer needs. On the other hand, public institutional urban art respond to a higher purpose; as in the previous case, this is settled by a contract between two parties who agree on the execution of a work to be located indoors or outdoors, depending on the goal to pursue; it is understood as a cultural product with authorship and its consequent market value. Unlike private institutionalized urban art, it has a communication and educational value as it is used to cover surfaces in areas with high rates of wild urban art, or hot spots in the city with a high saturation of this unrequested art. This form of promotion of urban art is based on the principle of homocontrol: respect to good artists and to good works, recognized and accepted by the local artist community; the non-aggression to the product created because it is a recognized work and therefore the preservation of the structures. Public or private institutions can hire renowned artists to somehow protect their facades or adjacent walls, knowing that this way, they have a shield against wild urban art painting.

It is a way, also, to protect street furniture as the GAU²³ (Lisbon Council: Galeria de Arte Urbana) or the Dublin City Council through the project DUBCITYBETA are developing for the last years. The first is fighting wild urban art and educating people through an open competition called “Reciclar o Olhar” (Recycling our way to see) which consist on re-designing glass containers. The second, works on the same lines but through various urban interventions and activities such as the promotion of urban art pieces on electrical boxes or on commissioned walls. Many cities around the world are opening their policies to the institutionalization of urban art as a good solution for graphic vandalism. This fact is contributing to a certain canonization of this art and the raise of formal (and informal) learning processes. This policies and conception of urban

²³ We must emphasize that GAU at Calçada da Glória would respond to an institutionalized liminal space. The street is “Street” yet it is an *institutionalized urban art gallery* (curatory by Lisbon City Council). It is a space in process of change, a space between two worlds that responds to characteristics of both. GAU is a rotating gallery as works change due to homocontrol or degradation. We should mention that also has a free *speech* zone where anyone can practice urban art without being punished or questioned: an area dependent on the authorities with and without heterocontrol supervision. A mixed area which seeks public creativity and development of urban art and its artists.

art is promoting a better acceptance of this art and these artists and it is helping to break the prejudices around these professional creatives, changing their reputation: giving value to an art in emergence.

Institutionalized Urban Art and Liminality

As outlined previously, urban art is unfolded on liminal areas because its anonymity opportunities, protection, available space and lack of presence of public authorities (heterocontrol forces). We might call to the liminal zone as homocontroland as urban art is largely regulated on the premises of homocontrol, but we cannot forget that it continues in the urban space and therefore under the rules and the specific regulations of the municipality.

At this point we can theorize a number of verifiable assumptions from the use of different maps, socio-economical researches, and other formal sources as census or NGO Memos. Today, Urban Social Geography uses sectorial and population maps where socioeconomic data is applied to generate flow maps and social disintegration patterns. These maps that research inhabiting modes; moral, cultural or ethnic occupation; violence perimeters... were highly interesting to us because they describe graphically and point out those areas with a higher risk of marginalization, or liminalization. We understand as liminalization (one of the possible definitions to our concept) the processes that progressively change the nature of a city area, turning it on a different one (normally into a decadent one); buffered zones between the mainstream area and the marginalized area: present forgotten spaces.

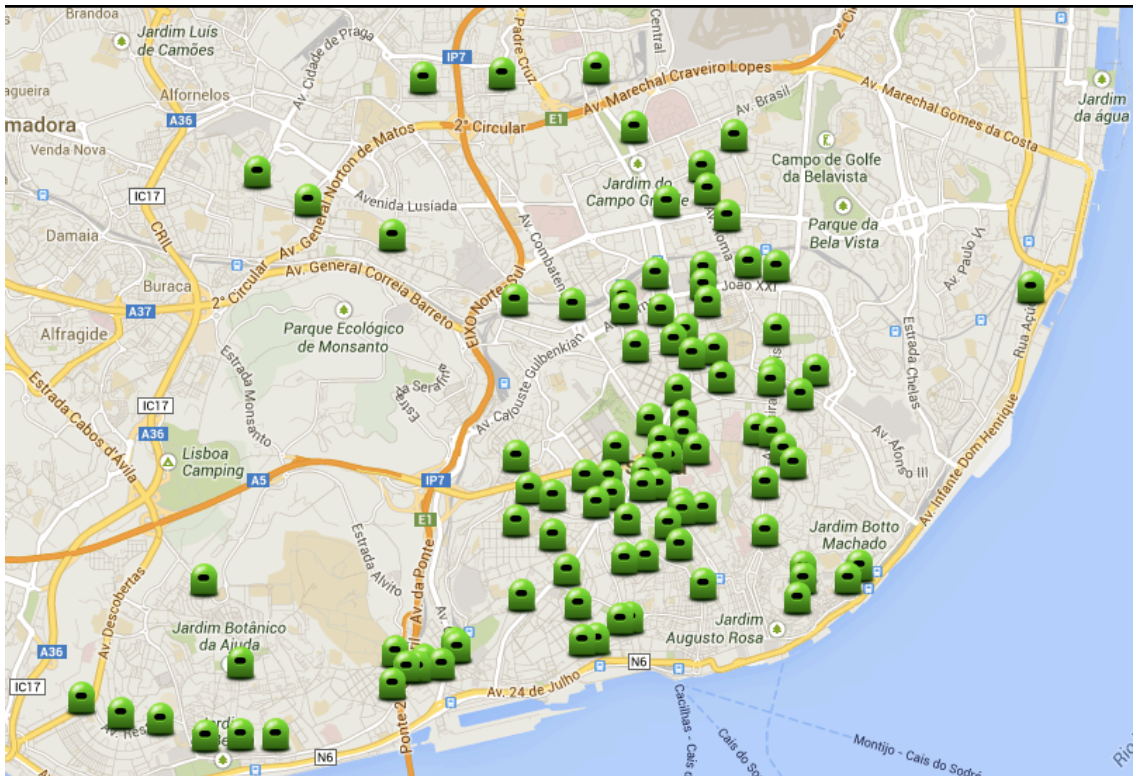
We considered here the case of Lisbon in order to illustrate these principles, which will be retaken on future researches in more depth. We propose the study of urban art as an indicator for early detection of liminal zones and depressed urban areas, with special focus on city centers and conurbation areas. This cultural reaction can be understood as a symptom of urban debacle, social instability; economic, cultural and administrative crisis, and therefore an open gate for marginalization.

We have used on this dissertation the inestimable work of catalogue and mapping on urban art pieces done by the GAU in the city of Lisbon. This work is available on the

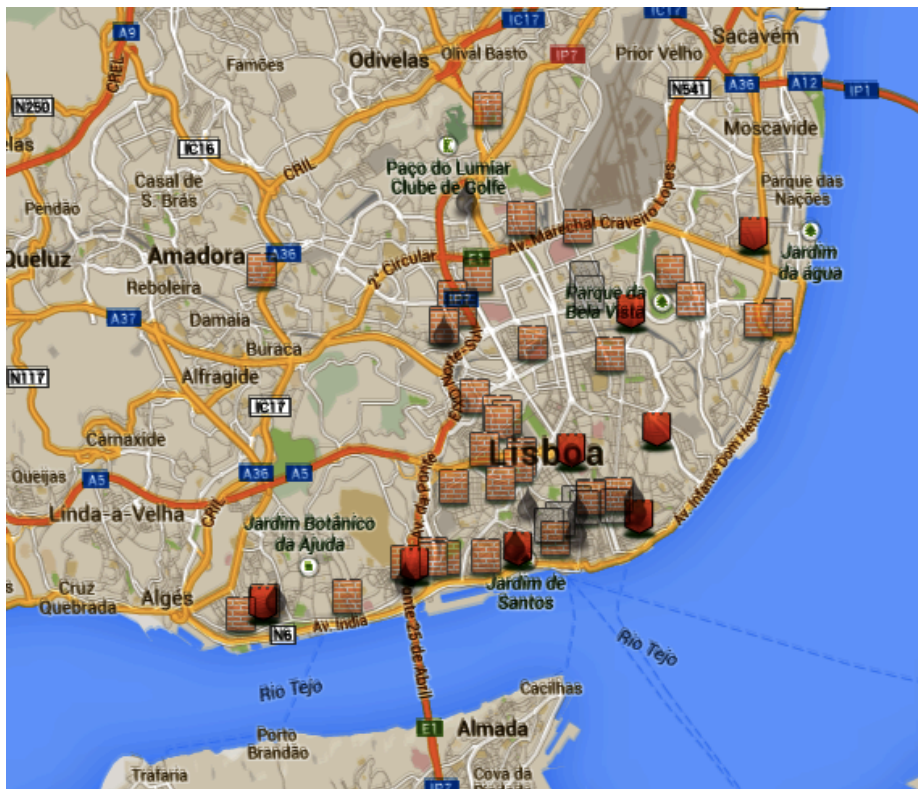
Internet and on real time under the name of "TIME LINE". This incredible project of detection, cataloguing, identification and classification of institutionalized and wild urban art pieces is promoted by the City Council of Lisbon, and it is one of the very few world wild. Anyone can contribute by sending images (with its capture coordinates, and if possible any further detail) turning this project an open source for this particular (in)material heritage catalogue. This virtual map of urban art pieces could be read as a music score where the macro-micro urban structure elements get combined to play a melody: the city of Lisbon. Here we proceeded to merge the different categories presented by this service onto just one map (il.2). GAU recognize different forms of urban art in base of its physical support: indoor, wall, façade, panel, glass container and others. We must mention that in this list there are two “categories” that responds to local government institutionalization process: the vidrão (glass container from project “Reciclar o Olhar”) and panel (permanent support of the GAU itself, located at the Calçada da Gloria). These panels host international urban artist works on a cultural programmed schedule, they are selected and presented under the accurate curator work of the GAU team. Glass containers are chosen for new contests, after an early selection and spatial distribution strategy, in order to cover as much as possible the city with this professional in progress art.

In illustration 1, we can see the strategic distribution of glass containers up to August 2013. Vidrões were evenly selected throughout the city in order to cover and "recycle" (teach) how to see and understand urban art. This kind of pieces would respond to institutionalized public urban art on display and art on interest of the public as they respond to an open competition that any urban consumer can apply for.

In illustration 2, we can see the sum of the different urban art pieces cataloged by the GAU (wall, façade, interior and other formats) excluding panel format and glass container (institutionalized pieces). As explained previously, those formats responds to the initiative of the Cultural Heritage Department of Council of Lisbon so by its exclusion we have a map of “non-public-institutionalized” pieces across the city. In other words, they include only those pieces created as consequence of a contract (private institutionalized urban art) or those pieces that could be considered as wild urban art.



1: Glass containers maps



Map Legend

-  Other
-  Façade
-  Interior
-  Wall

2: GAU Catalog - All types except Glass Containers and Panels

As shown in the second illustration, the city center of Lisbon hosts a high volume of urban art pieces. This volume of works -congregated on a same place or area- would respond to the concept of *saturation*. On the present study we do not distinguish the works detected and “pinned” on the map, we make no difference among the techniques used or the formats of the pieces: they are urban art on display. In this case we are interested in to detect *liminal zones* and *areas in transition* around the city, reason why we are more focus on urban art saturation points rather than the nature or typology of pieces that embody them – to be studied on future researches.

We can easily see, focusing on the map, that the historic city center attracts a lot of artists. Streets of downtown Lisbon are steep, poorly lit and very often under construction. These streets make up one of the most popular party areas in town (Bairro Alto). This neighborhoods are “underpopulated” areas with many (non)available buildings, and free spots (liminal places and spaces). Owners are quite often non-residents and houses are hardly maintained, as the costs are very high. This problem has been accentuated after Baixa’s incorporation to UNESCO International World Heritage List. This inclusion stopped to many owners to perform works at their properties, as they are no longer entitles to do it. This affects consistently to local investors, as pombaline houses do not match modern housing needs.

Bairro Alto is normally a *day uninhabited space* but an *inhabited* (in use) *night place*, a *liminal splace*²⁴. It seems quite predictable that on this plurality of empty (un)available spaces, with little supervision, and limited heterocontrol presence, flourish cultural spaces and a resistance thinking. It is also an "inspired" space as the GAU is located on the vicinity, pulling to artists to work in the area.

Lisbon historical center is a perfect point for the exhibition and display of urban art works. It calls the attention of visitors and tourists so works are photographed, consumed by traveling public; works are “transported” to other locations and they became part of the memory of those who are present and not present. Works interact with the local history creating new narratives, sometimes authority contestation, sometimes underlining needs... but, with no hesitation, this process -and doing- boosts interventional management (rehabitar), cultural management, and to rethink the city.

²⁴ Combinatory of Liminal Space and Liminal Place.

We find very interesting the result of cultural local intervention on Lisbon Downtown-Bairro Alto, now lets looking at the multi-ethnic neighborhood of Mouraria. This place of places is reputed to be the more international area of the city and host urban consumers from very different cultures and traditions. Unfortunately, a few years ago and up until recently, this neighborhood was considered to be one of the very worst ghettos *intramuros*. This liminal area was in process of decay but it has been intervened by some associations and “in-house” cultural selfdriven action (inhabitants working together no matter their origin) avoiding marginalization and starting an in-progress recovery.

Streets in the neighborhood respond to an arabesque pattern which favors limited supervision and controlled situations, given that police have difficulties in patrolling the area, in addition to the rich presence of cultures in contact, we find a high stress scenario. With so unique cultures working both, together and against each other at the same time, in order to set their experiential boundaries, we detect a panorama that could be read as a sum of incoherent narratives: both, at structural and cultural level. As mentioned before, this was and it is a bad reputed area so the living costs are low. It is home of multiple communities in coexistence and this fuel cultural conflict, that is turned around by cultural associations such as Renovar a Mouraria, which is trying to build up a *new identity* from respect and cohesion of ethnic diversity.

Hundreds of vacant (un)available or semi-demolished buildings, neglected and forgotten, seed this district but people cannot live on them legally. Illegal occupation and understand housing covers the map of this liminal/marginalized space. Poverty, empty spaces, cultural exclusion and cohesion are very fertile materials for an emergent resistance. Nowadays this neighborhood attracts anonymous artists from many disciplines, might because the easy access for a rent, might because the good possibilities of work on and in the streets, or simply because of the wide availability of spaces and the lack of restrictions by the inhabitants (and authorities representatives).

We also notice a strong presence of urban art works in industrial areas. The coast of the Tejo River is an uninhabited space, a place of factories -many of them empty- industrial plants, train stations and abandoned warehouses. Theses places are traditionally used by writers for the execution of their works and training. Also along this coastline we find many bridges and free spots with very low supervision presence

by heterocontrol agents. We draw particular attention to the urban art saturation around 25 de Abril bridge, one of Lisbon city landmarks. We believe that this creative activity is also due to the LX Factory protectorate, a liminal place described before, situated very closed to the bridge. Hence this liminal culture point could be a promoter of urban art activity, although we lack data to confirm this hypothesis, founded by the simple proximity to a source of urban artistic saturation. In any case, the bridge itself is a great place-support for works and their execution. The bridge offers a poor supervised area, with easy access for creative people. Its symbolism and attractiveness is notorious as it recalls the dictatorship era, we have to remember that bridge was call Ponte Salazar, so it provokes a certain resistance on local artists.

We find on the north of the city the Amoreiras - Campo de Ourique area, a very interesting neighborhood on the boundaries of Lisbon. This area has a dual nature, firstly it is a very residential middle class district and secondly it hosts one of the most important businesses areas in town. This neighborhood has borders with Rato (middle class) and Campolide (low-income middle class), which underline its factory-workers origin and soul. Amoreiras would be an area of interference, an area in-between populations and uses of space, a liminal zone in process of change. We find in this district large facades and walls available as the edge of the Direção General do Território, whose perimeter is in (illegal) use for artistic purposes (wild urban art). This is an average surveyed area but with a very low rate of active resident population, the reason why there are many *professionals* occupying the streets at night.

We've noticed that in newly built neighborhoods, which correspond middle-upper and middle class inhabitants, the rate of urban art production is low. This may respond to different situations such as a greater patrolling and presence of heterocontrol agents, as well as to a lack of available surfaces that meet a minimum visibility (newly built areas have low rate of routing and visitability). Also, these areas are more populated and generally their inhabitants are more reactive. This situation ends with an almost immediate suppression of the works or a shorter time on display, therefore these places are not interesting from a writer perspective: in this areas there is a high risk to be arrested as result of neighbors complain, or our work to be deleted from the works in short notice.

While we do not specify which kind of urban art was used on this map, we should mention that most of the pieces cataloged respond to graffiti on wall. The bare wall attracts urban artists, especially if they are in city centers with high volume of visitors and foot traffic. The conditions for protection and anonymity are important, as we have seen on this virtual tour of Lisbon.

Institutionalized urban public art can help avoid vandalic action, but also we should consider taking action against the desterritorialization and liminalization of the city because due to this phenomenon we infer the emergence of wild urban art too.

MEDS Reaction LX 2013: A Laboratory of the Liminal

About the Project

MEDS corresponds to the acronym for "Meeting of Design Students" organization created in 2010 by a diverse group of students of architecture, design and other related disciplines. Since its first edition, more and more people had applied and enjoyed of the experience. This workshop represents a good tool for international communication and exchange of experiences, techniques, dialogue and work. On the last edition a total of 23 nationalities were united, not only from Europe, becoming one of the most important events on Architectural and Arts yearly.

Every year this workshop is developed in a different city, a situation that promotes in each of the participants the acquisition of new social and interpersonal skills. For 2013 edition, it was chosen the city of Lisbon. The actions that conformed the workshop were carried out in the Lisbon neighborhood of Graça.

MEDS program in Lisbon was renamed REACTION LX, a name that responded to its purposes and clear objectives: contribute to the *recovery* of Graça neighborhood. This highly traditional neighborhood was born to house the working middle class families from other days factories in the area; now it faces various problems of deep draft: aging, desterritorialization, illegal immigration and xenophobia, as well as lack of conservation and preservation of the local heritage. MEDS-Reaction, aware of this situation, called for actions internationally with the intention of, in some way, improve the conditions of this Lisboan Freguesia²⁵.

There were many proposals received after this call, but only 17 projects were accepted. These projects vary on nature, skill levels and objectives, ... and the techniques to employ were significant different, situation that was pondered and reinforced. Applications submitted were evaluated by different members of the local organization, mostly architects, and representatives of the Board of Graça's Freguesia and experts. These actions were confirmed to each of the authors, who will be called *tutors*. Each tutor would be linked to one or more *co-tutors*, who were their representatives throughout the pre-production process until their arrival on site. Tutors were the moral responsible for the work and they were expected to direct-drive their

²⁵ Local administration bureau.

action. The co-tutor on MEDS Resolution LX 2013 edition had a great importance, as they were the connection between the community and the project: a work to be carried out in the urban space of Graça that affected the citizens who live in it. The functions of these co-tutors were different depending on each project but they never walked alone. The organizing team made a serious follow up and supported each tutor/co-tutor team and assisted on the negotiation of licenses or the implementation of the activities. I had the pleasure of being part of the organizing team; I was invited to participate because of my previous work with different communities and because of my anthropological view -and understanding- of the space. MEDS Reaction LX 2013 was not happy with implement cultural-mediation actions and structures only, so welcomed other disciplines -not related to architecture and design- for this edition, such as anthropologists, linguists and lawyers, among others. The *methodological triangulation* served this time to capture more aspects about the purpose of study: urban social mediation through the active participation of citizens, non-governmental, voluntary movements, as well as public and private authorities.

This action was funded and sponsored by various entities such as Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon City Council, Santa Casa Foundation, BPI, AfHLX, Ignite Portugal, Philips, Superbock, ComA and Zuloark. Reaction LX 2013 team joined companies and private foundations, as well as public departments, in order to promote the project and make it forward. Today, businesses are involved in the duty to give back part of their profits in the form of cultural actions; they assist the cultural development of people and also into their maturation as urban consumers. Foundations, tools for companies to get closer to citizens, responds to a *corpus* of Social Corporate Responsibility in the form of *policies*, which may be specialized in different fields: social, medical, etc. in order to meet the needs of a particular society. Here, in our case, we requested support to the local prestigious cultural foundations as well as to the public and private entities with the capacity to contribute into our project.

The fundraising part of any project is important because it significantly delimits the actions to undertake or because it demands to the Management to find alternative ways to deploy it: perhaps not as initially foreseen. Here, although having much of the funds, it was needed to find alternative forms of financing (fees) to get closed to the initial budget. As a consequence of this, sometimes, many of the actions were forced to

modify the materials requested initially for execution, or the quantity decreased, having a big impact on the actions.

Other times, collaborations and contributions were given in other ways: institutional support resulted in granted licenses, permits for experimental-work in public space and institutional support facing various situations. Here we must mention the great help received from the City Council of Lisbon, who aware of the work to be done, advised on the consecution of the actions and contributed by facilitating the bureaucratic permissions.

The project itself was planned in three parts: Forward, Play, Rewind. These phases were designed in order to respond to: planning, implementation and evaluation of the actions.

During the first phase, Forward, the organization team identified 15 different spots using socio-demographic and constitutive information of the space (maps) where recovery actions were necessary. We should mention that these 15 places were not marginalized spaces. Working on marginalized spaces need a longer presence in situ so it was not compatible with the run-time preset by the workshop format (14 days). The places would respond to our liminal category, previously explained. These liminal spots would respond equally to places of interest in the neighborhood of Graça, important points because of attendance of people, important points because of their relevance on administrative purposes, tourism or space management.

In illustration 6 we found the important points of Graça, neighborhood where MEDS Reaction LX 2013 executed their works. From this designed-space (map) and the revision of socio-demographic information, the local team of the workshop identified a series of spots where activities should be undertaken on.

Illustration 7 shows only the actions that were dependent of a given space. Part of the works that answered to the international call of activities were independent from any specific place, they were capable to be developed along the entire urban space. These “errant” works had the mission to offer coherence and unify the actions, taking them all together. The selected actions, as mentioned, had different approaches, some were more entertaining, others more techniques, but they were all designed to mediate with local

audiences and make them think about their important role in the city: the urban consumer awareness raise.

Second phase: Play, corresponding to 14 days of work in the Graça neighborhood. During this time tutors, co-tutors and participants developed the selected actions that MEDS Reaction LX 2013 accepted, within the approved spaces. This point corresponds to the execution of the workshop, which was followed with talks and conferences. The 235 participants applied for the actions of their interest after a general presentation briefing. MEDS Reaction Local Organization had developed a specific software to assign people to the different actions respecting the preference of the participants, their nationality, language and gender. This assigning prevented microgroups that could difficult the group work based on language or nationality and gender discrimination (the software was designed to be paritarianal). This system was demonstrated to be very good and helped to avoid unexpected situations that could end up with the fail of the action.

The last point would be Rewind: evaluation. MEDS Reaction LX 2013 project envisaged a period of six months after the completion of activities for evaluation and follow up of the activities. During these months, local-dependent action were followed by the local organizing team; technicians of the City Council of Lisbon and by some specialists elected by the sponsors. Unlike previous editions, this time, works were expected to offer a benefit to the community, therefore it was necessary to make a follow up on them: determine their weaknesses and strengths, maintain them, and after this period prepare an overall assessment with the benefits reported to the community, as this creations had the possibility to became definitive.

The Actions

We believe that it would be appropriate to explain the actions developed for a better understanding of the workshop.

The young Portuguese architect Vasco Lopes proposed and implemented at the Platô da Graça a tubular structure whose purpose was to raise a green roof: a shaded area through the use of climbing plants that would cover the tubes, offering a sun plant

protection. This spot in Graça is known to be a meeting place for elder people as well as to correspond to a stop of the famous Tramline 28.

This action would have a significant impact on the quality of life of the resident urban consumer and the guest urban consumer on the district of Graça: it improves the transportation awaiting place -making it easier and more comfortable-, and it improves the already extended private space on the public space -making easier the social relations in public. Public space occupation was encouraged as a consequence of the vegetable roof, which offers a protection from the sun during the hot and warm Portuguese days. This space, evenly, became more innermost thanks to the vegetal coating that generate a sensation of isolation and privacy. Streets were taken (again) by the urban consumer to develop their daily life on and voluntarily interact with other people. The different types of urban consumers would have a different use of this regained space, but obviously this intervention supposes an evolution on the public space occupancy.

This space continues to be a liminal space, a place between private and public, but always with a hint of hot spot since it becomes a meeting point for the local population. From another perspective, the built structure itself, artistically speaking, it would be a piece of art on display, public art in the public interest. This project got a license for two months extendable to uncertain date, but it was clear the acceptance by the community.

Actions 2 and 3, initially planned as separate and individual, ended up together in a single project. This activity was named "Flanêur" and during its deployment we worked on the theories and ideas presented by de Certeau and by Lynch (urban narratives and mental mapping). Participants had an opportunity to learn and apply these theories to the praxis, enriching their background and acquiring a different view of the city.

The first phase of this project was carried out on the steps of Damasceno Monteiro, the second part was developed at the Belvedere of Nossa Senhora Do Monte: a highly touristic place.

The initial idea of the Polish designer Anna Wejkowska was to try to guide the "walkers" and study the flow of people in these areas. She was seeking to reinforce the use of the stairs, which due to a delicate liminalization-marginalization process, fell into

neglect and were little used. The proposal of this young designer was the layout of certain lines on the ground with indications or instruction that the traveler could use to organize their next “visiting stage”. This team installed a set of mirrors along the stairs to facilitate its transit and make it more fun. This simply implementation on the stairs facilitated the avoidance of fear of being mugged as well as a “wire” to a forgotten place.

Action 4, proposed by the Serbian architects Anastasija Protic and Milan Spanjevic was relocated due to licensing problems at the very last moment and its initial location at the Miradouro da Graça ended in a vacant slot at Rua Josefa de Obidos, a fenced and inaccessible space. The project itself proposed the creation of a common green yard, where everyone in the community could participate, work with other people and exchange experiences. This common yard was thought to mitigate the effect of the generation gap (one of the most important problems of the area and in the city); mitigate ethnic and social class differences, and foment a positive community spirit.

This common garden responded to a public intention but with a private use (designed for everybody in Graça for Graça’s inhabitants use). It represents an experience to share within friends and neighbors but on the time an opportunity to reinforce relations. The resident urban consumer would perceive it with a different taste than any other urban consumer as its experience and the degree of contact was expected to be different (higher). This space was expected to grow some emotional feeling on the community, who were planned to become the caretakers of the new space. We preview as well the raise of some dominance on its use (territoriality). Probably some targets will take this common yard as their own but when this space was planned, MEDS Reaction LX 2013 tried to educate the different publics on its appropriate usage: free for all.

The initial slot became a comfortable place where to sit down and share some good moments with other neighbors: a place full of charm and open to work on. A linen roof was incorporated to this space in order to offer a shaded space, some benches were built for the occasion and the terrain was cleaned and prepared for gardening proposes.

The Portuguese architects Ruben Teodoro and Ricardo Morais proposed a recreational activity, cultural, to attract urban consumers to a specific point. Proposition 5, performed on the steps of Caracol da Graça, suggested the possibility of take a

photograph in a fair framework. These frames had pictures of other people's body, wearing clothes from another times, and they were very reach on Portuguese cultural signs. Users had to put their faces in the space reserved for this use in order to have a different snapshot, "in typical Portuguese".

Unfortunately this work had to change due to some technical problems that made difficult the work of the participants. This action was rethought and they build benches and other urban furniture to offer some comfort places on the stairs. Furthermore, they installed plaques with historical or curious information on the stairs using the slogan "Onde está a Graça?"²⁶. On these panels we can identify human forms indicating the direction to hot points around the stairs and it was thought as an invitation for the tourist to try a new path and find new things.

With this promotional activity of the space it was expect to reactivate a forgotten space by an injection of new tourists and the ascription of this stairs to become a "must see" of the city. As mentioned above, using exclamatory actions (giving something people want), we can force/guide to a user to use certain urban routes as we do in supermarkets. This work was excellently accepted by the immediate community, which engaged the duty of maintenance and cleaning.

Activity 6, also known as *Community Recreation Space*, was proposed to participate in the MEDS Reaction LX 2013 by the organization *Architecture for Humanity - Lisbon*. This organization develops and promotes structures for urban development and solidarity internationally and requested its inclusion on our program for working on the Quarteirão D. Leonor, project they were already working for recovery. This space was completely degraded and unlike the other spaces this one was (almost) marginalized so represented a special challenge and it needed a different approach.

This action officially started with the other ones but its ending date was completely different: undefined until its recovery. *Community Recreation Space* was continued in time and did not only respond to our organization demands, what made of this an independent but connected work. This project was seeking to make a few steps

²⁶ Trad. Where is the Fun? Graça is the name of the neighborhood but in Portuguese means "fun" as well, so participants were playing with this double meaning on the slogan.

forward: from a marginal space to a liminal space; from a liminal space to a “full” public place. This action was continued on the months after the end of Reaction LX 2013 and it was conducted by the aforementioned organization.

Action 7 proposed by the Estonian designer of spatial and social spaces Kairit Slõg and co-directed by the Spanish architect Aida G. Pinillos and myself as advisor, was a long string of surprises. This activity was developed at the Largo de Graça and it consisted on a series of sandbags to be used as urban furniture. This action, apparently simple, raised a kind of controversy: the community did not understand the project (initially) but was always on the lookout. The Largo da Graça is an important communication port, it is one of the main stops of the line 28, and so the presence of additional seats was a qualitative improvement. This liminal transportation point, a place between spaces, offered great opportunities to perform a previous research, so Action 7 Team interviewed some people in situ and set some communication boards where, anonymously, people could grab their comments and suggestions. Before we started the installation, residents and visitor were asked about what they thought that it should had to be improved in the area. Their responses were very different; some left messages on the boards installed at the largo, other people offered poems (their own and popular Portuguese ones), other people confessed their wish about a cleaner neighborhood, others didn't make any suggestion.

Installing a few sandbags and make some questions to the people was not what we were planning, we thought about going a few steps forward. Our bags were painted with people's messages and with the claim “Lispoetas”²⁷.

We were thinking on improving the quality of life and meaning of this punctual neuralgic point of Graça. We understood the deep need for some extra seats, a place where they could get together, or just wait for the *eléctrico*²⁸ 28, but we had the important handicap of the temperature. Here, as in Action 1, we thought to build a shaded area, build a roof. This new space offered to travellers and users a more comfortable area and it was made by a cellular structure of empty bags (the same of the sandbags). This reinvented space offered new or improved human interaction and

²⁷ Word combination from Lisboeta (lisbonian) and Poeta (poet).

²⁸ Trad. Port. Tramway.

created a private space in public space, or an extended private space (residents of the street).

Undoubtedly, this new space offered different ways to be understood and we can have different readings in base of the nature of the urban consumer. Nevertheless we find some common denominator: this public space is reunderstood, reinvented, recycled and turned into a more human space not only an empty (meaningless) public square.

This new space has some important characteristics that made it special: poetry as a vehicle of communication, sandbags (metaphor of time and the Mediterranean culture), as well as the ability to interact with other people on a place that has always been there but not always open to host people. We installed the bags, as well as the shaded area, and we followed this action with informal brief discussions with the users of this place (many curious and surprised of the action). We used the participant-observant methodology in this case, which allowed us to understand that even what we created was responding to peoples wish, it was not what they were expecting from us: a full set of traditional benches and roofing.

This activity, *Seeding seats*, was part of her tutor personal research. She showed a deep interest to understand local behavior and culture, from the very beginning, and we had the opportunity to work and conceptualize together during the whole action. She was more interested, like me, to understand the urban consumer behavior and conception of space than building beautiful structures. For further information about this action and the results, we suggest to read her thesis, which is still in preparation.

Action 8 was developed in Vila Berta and was by itself an integration process. The Polish architect Marcin Myjak and the Italian architect Anna Buono suggested this project. Many of the activities developed during the workshop represented punctual interventions -or very localized works- to improve the area but they excluded the community as part of the production process. This action, however, was accompanied by the residents and aimed to teach them how to build a versatile prototype of urban furniture, able to become a table or a bench / chair, all depending on the circumstances, uses or needs.

This furniture was designed to be used during the festival of St Antonio –Lisboan Saint Hallow. Vila Berta’s community decided to keep them, maintain the modules, and

use them as a base for their celebrations. This action was considered very successful as our participants were requested to work collaboratively with the residents, who even introduced certain modifications to the prototypes, customizing the design and uses.

Action 9 was one of the most requested by workshop participants. Remarkable, activity name, meant to create a photographic record of the city and a study of the area using the local photographic heritage deposit. This action end up with a public exhibition at a recovered from oblivion gallery. This room was revived, restored, prepared and conditioned to host our temporary collection but it remained open as part of Graça's cultural structures. Our temporal exhibition was the debut of this showroom which is functioning independently now, under the collaboration of the Junta de Freguesia de Graça-Penha de França.

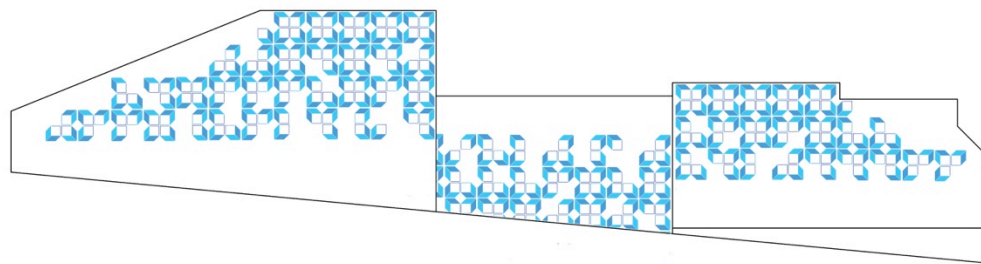
Action 10, *Graça's Signage*, pretended to create visual signs to be placed in the public urban space in order to guide the urban consumer on their walk and promote the consumption of certain forgotten spaces. For this, we proceeded to study the different users of the area: tourists, residents, visitors, ... to be able to compile their uses of space in the neighborhood. This project intended to foment alternative pedestrian narratives by guiding the decerteuninan walker. This way our urban consumer was redirected and encourage to take alternative paths and open new discourses between the city and himself.

This action sought to create other relationships between Graça and its urban consumers. It enhanced areas in risk of marginalization or liminalization to its revitalization by improving its visitability and recognition, but unfortunately, the process was unfinished, and the action could not be consider as adequate in real terms.

Croatian architects Andrej Vuk and Lana Petrak, in collaboration with the Italian architect Federica Rosati and myself as advisor, brought action 11, one of the most difficult to implement because of licenses and timing matters. The initial project meant to create a three-dimensional canvas on a façade for a later urban artist intervention by two local *writers*: Akarleone and Violant. We said that urban consumers extended their private space by occupying public space but here would be the private space itself occupying the public space, therefore a structural dilation of itself.

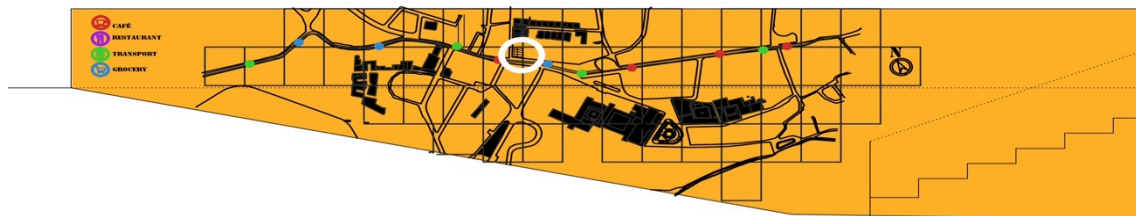
This urban design action was looking for a stylistic form of decoration -or humanization- on decadent facades: we wanted to recover some of the local aesthetic. However the project itself was excellent, as a result of certain bureaucratic matters we had not enough time to run it, so the team had to readjust and reproject this action.

We used the adjacent wall to action n° 1. We applied on this wall some white tiles, which had been altered by the participants applying some stenciled numbers. These tiles composed a virtual map of the neighborhood of Graça with numbered spaces that represented the different abandoned (available) buildings but not in use (*unhabited*).



3: Virtual Map Action 11

Similarly, using this surface we continued with the installation of an information mural (a map of the area with the most relevant spots). So a dead white wall became an information point for the urban consumer, changing its meaning and the value of the space.



4: Info Point

These interventions were expected to play an important role on messages transmission, an awakening to the urban consumer. On one hand we would find the "info-point" wall map that provided information to the urban consumer, orienting his

consumption of space (and local business) on their wanderings in Graça. This map was planned to be consumed by many people by its proximity to the line 28. Certainly this part of the project is similar to Action 10, *urban signage*, but there was not collaboration between these teams. Furthermore, directors and co-directors of this action pretended to send an awaking message to urban consumers: tiles as part of the city tradition and the empty spots available as places where people could live in.

Tiles are a traditional element on Portuguese architecture and a UNESCO's protected element in the city of Lisbon. Using (stenciled) white tiles (low price) and display them publicly to attract the urban consumer attention, comply with multiple objectives: to denounce the empty spaces in the neighborhood that could be use to room people; to expose the problem of traditional property deterioration due to the plundering of the architectural heritage (tiles); to educate the local community on urban arts and present these artist as allies of urban regeneration instead of urban aggressors and to encourage critical mind on urban issues.

This project was a great success even with last-minute bureaucratic constraints. We had from the beginning the unconditional support of the GAU (Galeria de Arte Urbana de Lisboa) and the invaluable assistance of Dr. Sílvia Câmara.

Because of licensing issues, this action ended up having a second wall in a camararian building²⁹. This wall was set for the creation of an urban artwork for the aforementioned urban street artists. The wall itself was immediately in contact with Action 4 (common yard) and became an additional piece of space, reconfigured and regained. This work was developed after the workshop as a pure timing consequence and artists had the necessary freedom to develop a social-personal work, that enriched the area as a contribute for the space offered.

Action 12, known as Remontada, was one of the most questioned during the development of MEDS - Reaction 2013. Polish architects Przemyslaw Chimczak and Tomasz Bojec, in collaboration with the Popular Assembly of Graça, worked in different activities that had not necessary a solid placement (mobile actions).

²⁹ Building owned by the City Council.

This completely versatile action was presented as a way of facilitating temporary services to the community. Bicycle repairing workshops, mobile libraries from books donated by the inhabitants of Graça, and a large number of sub-actions were executed during the fourteen days of the workshop. This action took place in the entire neighborhood, not limited to an exclusive place and this allowed gaining notoriety in the resident urban consumer's mind.

Actions such as a stenciled clothesline with the slogan "Na Graça Eu Quero", and the distribution of grippers with this message, were performed in an attempt of chasing up the emotional reaction of the inhabitants and to encourage critical dialogue. These actions were planned to recapture this neighborhood from a process of liminalization by integrating its inhabitants and giving to them the value they have on the city frame.

Action 13 was considerably difficult. Working at Vila Rodrigues was an adventure considering the cultural differences (different acts of experience) between the inhabitants of this close. A mixed "community" of Portuguese and other nationalities (predominantly countries PLOP³⁰) that even living together they could not understand to each other; a clear example about the impossibility to apply the traditional theory of the *urban ecology* promulgated by Park and the Chicago School in our days. The main objective of this action was to facilitate a way to open the communication between the inhabitants of this close, reason why we called to a basic necessity: food. Food, and gastronomy, can get people together, so Action 13 Team built a mobile kitchen prototype to prepare some food for Vila Rodrigues Close on an event scheduled by the end of the workshop. They built a full working portable kitchen prototype and a communal table with aromatic plants in the middle which could be use to condiment their food at the time that they created a nicer ambient.

Participants had several meetings with the inhabitants detecting several communication lack, negative stereotype, and even xenophobia. People living together on a same place but they could not stand together because they were not part of a same moral, life style, and they refused to tune in. Participants spotted different problems rooted on the stratification of the building (horizontal solidarity and vertical ignorance about their upstairs neighbors); they'd found out some physical problems on the close to

³⁰ Acronym of *Paises de Lingua Oficial Portuguesa*: Countries Portuguese as Official Language.

be repair (the main patio floor); and the fear inspired by living with people from other cultures.

Vila Rodrigues was a high success for MEDS Reaction LX 2013. At the end of this action, participants and a few inhabitants hosted at the close's patio a little party. They used the portable kitchen and table prepared during the workshop and invited to all the neighbors to assist and share a moment with them. They were very "shy" at the beginning but soon they were all together. The African residents started to play same music, Portuguese brought some wine and food, and soon they started a basic dialog breaking some cultural barriers.

Action 14 was unrelated to the external community and was focus on document the MEDS Reaction LX 2013 daily life. Its function was to track all actions and its development on a daily video recording documental and a journalistic follow up. REC, name of the action, was our internal communication agency and as well a key team for the subsequent stage of the workshop: rewind (valuation).

Finally we found Action 15. This action, like Remontada (Action 12), was wildly open. Comprised of three different working groups (and three different tutors), it was one of the most dynamic interventional team. Firstly, we would speak about the actions directed by the sisters de Miguel. This Spanish duo, formed by a biologist and a plastic artist, designed punctual actions that aimed to improve the quality of life of Graça's inhabitants and in particular their relation with their streets. They used waste materials to build rubbish bins and as well some garden-benches. These benches were some wooden structures made by old fruit boxes and pallets, they offered by a side the possibility to work as urban furniture (seats) and on the other side they were plants plots. These particular modules where installed on different points of the neighborhood and were welcomed as they responded to some social request: a cleaner Graça.

Secondly we find the actions proposed by the Hungarian designers Fanni Csernatony and Dénes Sátor. They proposed a series of playful interventions that stimulated the communication between all the actions, so the participants and the local community could interact to each other. These actions gained some notoriety and captivated the attention of the press and local inhabitants.

These interventions gave some unity to our workshop as they communicate our activity publicly and established some walking connections (itineraries) between each local related action. We underline the creation of a human Tramline 28 (The Sardine Tram). This tram recalled the traditional Chinese Dragons that are usually exhibited and performed during the Chinese New Years festival. The Sardine Tram was a cover in form of yellow Lisbon Tramway Car that walked between the different interventions. This “public transport” advertised our activities and attracted to children and curious who followed its walk between the interventions.

Unlike other actions, this one tried to capture the urban consumer attention presenting new narratives and activating liminal areas by using some performative urban arts.

The group led by the Macedonian architects Damjan Kokalevski and Milan Dinevski was a technological and fresh in concept extension to action 15. Creating Qcodes tiles printed with all the information about neighboring actions was one the most innovative ideas shown at the workshop. This particular new generation of tiles (element that participants identified as important on Portuguese architecture) allowed to the urban consumers to interact on a technological way with the workshop and by extension with the neighborhood.



5: Corporate Product Placement

This sub-action placed some corporate objects of MEDS Reaction LX 2013 (il. 5) in different public points of Graça in order to increase the visibility of the workshop within the community. This can be understood as the creation of a virtual network between the different actions and with MEDS Reaction, not only by the local or guest urban consumer. These tiles were left intentionally in order to remember the different works undertaken and a manifesto of what we can all do to regain notoriety and power on our own cities, spaces, and territories.

MEDS Reaction LX URBAN PARLIAMENT 2013

One of the daily activities that were undertaken during the workshop was the "Urban Parliament", a conversation between equals where different urban life issues were presented for discussion. This activity, which was not part of the previous 17 actions, either directly managed by MEDS Reaction LX 2013 organization committee, was directed by the Italian architect Anna Buono, the Spanish architect Aida G. Pinillos and myself.

Every day, two working groups (two action teams) were gathered to discuss one of the themes proposed on a fixed topics battery. This list of *urban issues* was created by the Spanish Architectural Collective Zuloark in base of the researches made by Mansilla and Tuñón (2012). The topics were introduced as a fix or semi-fixed pattern of subjects, which can be use and translocated to any cultural scenario. MEDS Reaction LX 2013 workshop and these urban parliaments were a pretest to the Lisbon Architecture Triennale 2013, where we were invited to participate and present our conclusions: Graça's Universal Urban Rights Declaration.

Subjects responded to two large blocks, which conceptualize different realities of the *city*. Block 1 is characterized by conflict situations where infrastructures and people can not find a common ground and communication is not smooth. Block 2 corresponds to forms of consensus, ways to find some kind of agreement among the urban agents or the urban consumers. These topics are listed in the table below:

Block 1

- Inhabiting controversy [**City conflict process**]

- Mind the Gap [**Including maximum number of agents in the process of taking decisions**]

- Building doors in the countryside [**Complex public space. Managing Projects with complex rules**]

- Hybrid City and Hybrid Communities [**Multiformat and transmedia city**]

- Equipped Square [**Right to host infrastructures in squares**]

Block 2:

- “Commons” Sense [**Regaining common sense in everyday life**]

- Hand Made Urbanism [**Construction of urban space through direct processes and pedagogical environments**]

- Half-done city [**The city has never been inaugurated and it will never be finished**]

- Open source city [**A Creative Commons city, with building instructions that makes it easy to copy elsewhere**]

- Transparency and Open Data [**Communicating and making explicit what’s going on and how in the different parts of the city**]

- Urban parliaments [**New interaction, opinion and meeting spaces between physical and digital worlds**]

Urban Parliament set-up is quite simple: after a brief introduction of the topic, participants are invited to respond to a very ambiguous question (this aims to collect qualitative information and gives the opportunity to participants to express their real interest in relation to the topic). The moderator is a participant on each debate too and he may contribute on the parliament by including new hints or making new questions. This role is very important for the Urban Parliament as they are on charge to keep the conversation on a correct basis and they must avoid that it moves out of place. In MEDS Reaction LX 2013 we have the presence of a second moderator who ensured the correct flux of the discussion and kept the linearity of the subject.

The argumentative flow is very important and participants are called to respect its speaking times. In case a question is not understood, the moderator will clarify or if necessary drive it to a clear point from where the participants can build up their

arguments. It is true that it is a semi-directed discussion but we believe that it is the most appropriate way to avoid off-topic discussions.

During the discussion one of the moderators will note and summarize the ideas presented by the participants in the Urban Parliamentary Board (integrated on the urban parliament grades). At the end of the debate, arguments are transcribed and used on the next phase: the *Declaration of Urban Rights*.

During the workshop we had the opportunity to set this parliament with Meds Reaction participants and with special guests. There was a special edition in which different authorities in the world of architecture in Portugal, as well as public representatives and other professions had a sit and talked about the importance of urban recovery and the value of the activities during the MEDS Reaction LX 2013. In these discussions I was invited to lecture and to participate as urban anthropologist, opening a different and provocative understanding line: the present in this dissertation.

Once treated the above topics, we synthesized the *MEDS Reaction LX 2013 Urban Rights Declaration*. The participants in a last plenary meeting made this declaration. Tutors and co-tutors were called to synthesize and respond to three questions: *a right to protect, a right to conquer, a fact to abolish*. Their responses were gathered on the Urban Parliamentary Board (as in any other urban parliament meeting). Their responses formed the first Declaration of Urban Rights ever conducted. This declaration was built by the experience and argumentation of 235 participants from 23 different countries, not exclusively European.

These urban parliaments certainly give us an overview of the different ways of consuming the city. We identified different perspectives and opinions expressed by the participant according to their relation and degree of experience with the topic discussed. The various *acts of experience* explained in the first chapter of this work were clearly presented during these meetings. Their detection was one of the most interesting ways of how to manage and maximize the results of these parliaments.

Participants presented their local problems (local experience act) as a frame to understand Graça's problems. Here we see the *guest experience act* reflected, which was a common denominator between the different contestants. *Guest experience act* as a way to solve and fix a local situation was a great experiment to perform with a

multicultural population and a good team. The result is the motivation of the local inhabitants and the rupture of a self-liminalizing local experience act.

It calls to our attention a phenomenon appeared during the debates: *experiential empathy*. We define *experiential empathy* as the urban consumer's ability to understand or to get close to the reality of another urban consumer in the act of sharing experiences, with or without prior contact with the reality in question, being completely virtual through the others speech. Furthermore, it could be related to the suggested *act of urban distancing*, quickly mentioned on the first chapter, and what will be reviewed on future researches.

These Urban Parliaments were considered very satisfactory, exceeding initial expectations and becoming many of the participants regular voices. This fact indicates the sensitivity of certain professions to city related issues and we could even talk about levels of knowledge. Similar to bilingual people who have a sociolinguistic knowledge degree, we could talk about *urban experience degrees*, as well as *experiential empathy degrees*. They could give some light on social urban recycling work, and they will be taken up in future works.

With no hesitation the best effect of these parliaments was the awakening of critical mass in the new generations of architects, urban planners and designers present on this event. A debate, some parliaments, some seeds to grow up while their future career... all contribute to possibly take into account the urban consumer as more than a simply user, a buyer or decision maker.

The Monicas' Convent, Lisbon

The Monicas' Convent was built in 1586 and suffered multiple architectural modifications due to the passage of the years and the Great Earthquake of Lisbon (1755). With the disappearance of the religious orders in Portugal (1834) and the death of the last resident nun, the convent passed to the government hands who transformed the building into a juvenile reformatory at first and later in female prison.

The convent was set free of charge for MEDS Reaction LX 2013 organization for its temporary occupation in order to host the workshop, participants and tools. The local organization with the invaluable help of many volunteers proceeded to clean and adjust the space, which was in a difficult situation of inadequacy and poor state of conservation. After many months of work, this space was partially recovered (many of the rooms could not be recuperated or the organization opted for not to act on them). Inside the building were found traces of its previous stages, which were stored and preserved for future researchers in other branches or archival.

The building walked from a *forgotten space*, unoccupied and left, into a liminal space. A place that represents something but being something different. The truth is that this building keeps our attention as it responds to multiple changes in nature (use): religious, governmental, civil... A clear example of liminal place: a building between states.

Nuns' cells were transformed into prisoners cells, and these into MEDS Reaction LX 2013 stores. The administrative bureau of this prison was transformed into some dormitories for the participants and the church was and remains after the workshop, a multipurpose space.

The church witnessed each urban parliaments and each general meeting organized by MEDS Reaction LX 2013 organization. This place during the two-weeks workshop regained its original meaning (Εκκλησία: popular assembly), as it was the place where all members, participants and guests got together for talking, communicate news, or just meet. It was as well room for tutors and co-tutors in case they needed to meet up for discuss anything related to the actions.

The central courtyard of the convent was converted into a leisure space for the participants as well as the garden was reused as an entertainment space for run away of the long hours working on the activities. The stables were turned into a warehouse and into a free working space for those activities that needed an open space (metal fusion or metal assembly, chemicals handling, adhesives or paint handling...) These situations where *one space* becomes a *different space*, acquires a new dimension, or temporally change its meaning, are the above described as liminal.

The building was recovered through cultural activities, as well as alternative uses of space. This was the revival of the area, not only by the presence of the 235 participants, but also by curious, locals and visitors. A liminal space rescued from marginalization. This is an example of how to attract or reactivate a particular place simply through a strong and well-run project, where an element is subjected to a process of change, to meet the needs of a community or a particular group. A project that reuses the present structures without creating new facilities or increase the existing skyline.

Conclusions

The present work has introduced a few topics on urban art and urban cultural construction. City consumption and the role of the different agents involved on the urban *corpus* are some of the very important issues on the academic and political agenda, and day after day the relevance of these processes unveils an emergence to create new ways to understand the city and reinvent the democratic processes behind the mainstreamed society.

Advocate for an *urban consumer* instead of a *citizen* is not that risky as many researchers, academics or politicians might think at first. An urban consumer, as explained on the text, means much more than a person with legal representship, with legal rights and obligations; it enhances a bigger mass of people and it better describes the real state of our cities. Illegal immigrants, legal immigrants in progress, temporal visitors and other profiles coexist in our cities, making and remaking our spaces and places everyday. An urban consumer is not an aseptic element on the social context and their interaction with the social and cultural tissue has very deep consequences. This means that an urban consumer, and the associations that might have, has the power to change the meaning of a neighborhood, and in a bigger scale a real area. This situation might recall the Urban Ecology Theory of the Chicago School, but we assume that on our days the processes of cultural mix and social association overpass this model. We introduced other ways to understand the difficult texture of our cities and we have briefly spoken about the *accessibility* of the *neoconsumers* to settle on new environments. This access is determined by certain aspects of volunteering association, group ascription, economic identity, and cultural reference.

Our *acts of experience* are a new model for understanding the different processes that grow inside of our social locations, a new model that opens an alternative gate for reading urban internal changes and cultural urban construction. It represents a new and crucial form for including all agents intervening on social and urban configuration. Acts of experience models help us to understand a city that works on different scales, a city that surfs on different flows, a city that has many faces, many accents, many ways to be. A city *changes* and *is* depending on the person who experiences it, this concept

inherited from de Certeau's work inspired our *urban polyhedron theory*, explained on the present dissertation.

As we said the city reveals different aspects [faces] and it is presented as *plural* when seems to be unique, the city is different depending on the eyes that look at it. Cultural backgrounds, time uses, spaces and local understanding are a few of the realities that are interpreted by the urban consumer; an urban consumer with different degrees of expertise and urban [local] knowledge. The Urban Polyhedron supposes to read the city pluraly, to work about a unit as it were different units on the same time, and to translate it in different languages with different times. We talk about a city in change, a city traveling between states: a dynamic system of construction, deconstruction, reconstruction of habitat. Using the *rites de passage* we were allowed to describe this unending process of reinvention/recognition and as well to provoke the question about the cities on *praesentia*. This point, our *passenger city*, would reflect on the democratic systems behind and the policies about cultural representation, immigration, urban planning, etc. as we have already demonstrated or illustrated on our fieldwork experience and quoted examples.

Speaking about the city, we had to face the difficult question about *public space*. This is a difficult topic to be explained as it is rooted on local cultures and it is not standardized, so we can barely generalize. We are presenting the city as a combination of cities, so... we have different ways to understand public space as well. This conflict represents one of our future researching interests but not only, *private space* seems to be a major topic too. In this work we introduced our concept of *extended private space*, a new space that suggest a new consideration of some areas located on the *shared space*. This "production" of new spaces is embodied with a particular space conception and the foundation of the liminal space. The urban space *in process of change* creates empty spaces, reinvents old spaces and transforms its shape and sets centers, peripheries and boundaries. The liminal space or space between states is present in every city and its management can produce very interesting scenarios for cultural production or social crisis.

The habermassian spheres were linked in this work as we recognize on them a common denominator with the spaces explained before: people. We have worked the private sphere and the private space, the intimate sphere and the intimate space; we have worked the public space and the public sphere, and the authority sphere and the urban space, but there is another sphere that we have to really think about: the rhetoric sphere.

This sphere is related to the urban consumer and its activity, its plural origin and their acts of experience. This relation has a direct co-reference with the cultural construction of the city, with the volunteer processes of association and the legal frame or urban decision-making.

Thinking about people and urban consumers drove us to think about people living in liminal areas, living in liminality, and their impact on the mainstream city. As van Geneep and Turner suggested, artists are liminal people, concept that we have upgraded with the ability to switch between *spheres* and *spaces*, and somehow *identities*. Working about the concept of city, we thought that the most appropriate was working with urban art, with no restrictions but with a special accent on graffiti art. This choice forced us to define "art" and make a clear differentiation between *public art*, *art in-the-public-interest*, *urban art* and *street art*, concepts that tend to be used insistently to define a same situation, but doesn't represent the same cultural product. On this process we had to target publics and clear their roles on culture policies constructions and culture management, underlining their purposes and motivations. This purposes and motivations helped us to define new concepts related to urban arts as the referred *institutionalized public/private urban art* and *wild urban art* in its opposition. This made us consider legal clauses and legislations worldwide, which popped up with a considerable lack of unity between their different legislative starts.

Urban art lives in the streets or in semi-open spaces, so they coexist with advertising from which they get inspired, and sometimes-even uses as a base (advertising). We have discussed the differences between both, their similarities and differences, and we concluded that urban art is not only *art* but an ideologic way of communication under certain situations, as advertising is not only a communication channel either. Probably this is the reason why many municipalities are against this kind of urban manifestations and the illegalization/institutionalization is raising everyday. On this regards, we have spotted three different ways of control: *homocontrol*, *self-control* and *heterocontrol*. Each one of these terms is related to a different regulating agent on urban art cultural production: local artist community, the self-artist and public authorities, respectively.

Urban artists are urban consumers as well, so their acts of experience are key factors on the elaboration of these particular cultural objects and their interpretation. We have spoken and applied our theory on this target and we have, as well, explained the uses of *hot and cold urban places*. These places were called on this text as *centers of*

attention and *forgotten areas* and they designate a determinate space with a particular ability (or its lack of ability) to capture and keep the attention of the urban consumer. These spaces are important to understand, as they are present on the mainstream city and the liminal city. If we follow our presuppositions we could make important cultural interventions and reverse the nature that they suggest; proof of this are the multiple cultural interventions performed worldwide or in our study case in the Lisbon neighborhood of Graça.

While working on our liminal laboratory (Meds Reactions LX 2013) we have founded a great-unexpected concept, the *urban consumer experiential empathy*. This means that any urban consumer can experience a reality by the mere virtual and personal recreation of an urban consumer experience. This was something unplanned or not visualized on a first stage of this work and it supposes a continuity for the present research.

This work conclusions are vast as vast are the topics here synthesized. Understanding the city as a polymorphic structure of cultural structures, and on the same time as a cultural object made by different agents, with different backgrounds and intentions, is a great challenge for a better understanding of our current realities. Recognize the raise of a new art, its canonization and its market share is not easy, but we spot the emergency of researchers on this field.

This work represent our first approach for future researches about Urban Cultural Studies, and we are happy and proud to say that the ideas presented in this text have already called the attention of architects and urban planners, reason why of my participation at the Triennale of Architecture of Lisbon, 2013, as speaker and organizer in some of the conferences hosted on their program.

Cities are people, not only buildings or streets; cities have meaning, and they can be read.

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Appendixes

App. 1: Para uma dialética do urbano¹

A cidade e os consumidores urbanos

A cidade começa a despertar o interesse de acadêmicos e pesquisadores devido a sua organização complexa e a esperada massificação de pessoas num futuro não muito distante. Em alguns anos, as cidades se tornar-se-ão grandes centros populacionais, que hospedarão a maioria da população mundial. Nestas linhas, temos de pensar numa intensa transformação da paisagem urbana, assim como nas formas de transformação cultural, transmissão de mensagens e consumo do espaço disponível.

Atualmente, as nossas cidades são compostas por camadas sucessivas de decisões complexas de administração territorial, assim como por diferentes movimentos migratórios, internos ou externos, mas com um grande impacto sobre a composição cultural e demográfica da cidade. A cidade responde a um modelo dinâmico de criação - destruição, um modelo pessoal e só é compreensível a partir de uma análise individual de cada caso. Cada cidade tem um jeito único de ser; porém, as pessoas que “viajam” nela são diferentes.

A cidade transforma-se constantemente, muda a cada momento e isso implica um estado de mudança incessante: um rito de passagem. A antropologia tem sido uma das últimas disciplinas interessadas no processo urbano, um processo altamente detalhado e pesquisado por outras disciplinas na área das ciências humanas, tais como a sociologia, a psicologia social, ou a ciência política. Nos nossos dias não é comum encontrar novos grupos étnicos ainda por descobrir, a colonização não é mais praticada da mesma maneira do que no passado e, certamente, as origens e bases iniciais desta ciência têm sido ultrapassados pelo tempo. No entanto, é uma questão de perspectiva, pois há muitos que têm olhado para o lado de fora e ignorado o que acontece em casa. Múltiplos grupos sociais, ritos transculturais, fenômenos de associação voluntária, hibridização

¹ Trad. *Steps Towards an Urban Speech*. O autor prefere esta tradução a uma mais literal que pudesse não conter a essência do seu título original.

cultural, culturas em contato, são exemplos da efervescência dentro das cidades. A antropologia começou a interessar-se pela cidade a partir de múltiplas leituras e isso contribuiu para uma diversidade de métodos de estudo e coleta de dados.

Richard Turner em *Betwixt & Between: Patterns of Masculine and Feminine Initiation* apresenta um fenômeno interessante que aplicaremos à cidade por considerar que se ajusta completamente à situação que pretendemos pesquisar. Os rituais de passagem designam esses processos sociais em que um indivíduo ou indivíduos mudam de estado através de um processo de trânsito entre estados. Nas sociedades pré-industriais, estes rituais são celebrados de forma comunal, mas nos nossos dias e nas nossas cidades dão-se sob formas e contextos diferentes.

São tanto os habitantes da cidade quem passam por processos de passagem, como a própria cidade. Podemos entender a cidade como um elemento em trânsito, um viajante entre estados que está a ser julgado quanto à evolução pela sua comunidade, além de por si mesma. Um objeto cultural que se transforma incessantemente e que deve responder a padrões móveis, certamente instáveis ao longo do tempo, mas assumidos de forma temporária. A cidade tem elementos das suas formas iniciais e da sua nova forma, apresenta-se como um elemento na *margem*, um elemento *liminal*. Entendemos como liminal os processos que estão e se produzem na margem, pertencentes e não pertencentes à uma mesma unidade: o que é sem ser. É um conceito versátil que deve ser bem entendido para o avanço do trabalho.

O autor com base no trabalho de van Genep, definirá três etapas sempre presentes para qualquer processo de mudança: separação, marginalização (*limen*), reagrupamento. Na primeira fase, o objeto viajante (ou em trânsito) seria despojado de qualquer coisa que pudesse identificar. Na segunda etapa, o viajante surfaria entre dois estados, ser-lhe-iam atribuídos elementos do seu próximo estado (o desejado), mas também reteria elementos da sua forma anterior. É, nesta fase, que todo o processo de mudança acontece e quando o viajante está em constante processo de avaliação por parte da comunidade, este deve permanecer fiel ao processo para garantir que a pessoa ou objeto completem corretamente o trânsito. Esta fase entre estados é chamada *limen* e refere-se a esta dupla natureza que fica na margem, em copresença e concomitância com o sistema. Finalmente, encontramos a reagrupamento, o que indica que o processo de

mudança foi concluído e que o viajante tem ido para um novo estado. Nesta fase, o indivíduo ou objeto mudou e tem uma nova forma ou estado que atende às necessidades preestabelecidas pela sua comunidade.

A cidade sob esta premissa está em pleno processo de mudança, em *liminalidade* constante, apresentando elementos de suas formas anteriores e incluindo elementos de uma constante e incessante nova natureza. Os elementos arquitectónicos de outras épocas convivem com elementos construídos de nova geração, a cidade cresce, criando novos espaços que convivem com os centros históricos do passado. A cidade é regulada pela sua colectividade, pelas pessoas que compõem a sua comunidade, quem vigia e supervisiona a sua evolução e o seu processo de mudança.

Este processo que descrevemos será referido como poliedro urbano. Um processo de disgregação espacial e cultural constante e insaciável, um processo de mudança de alto nível mas tão assumido que às vezes parece ignorar-se ou ser esquecido.

Qualquer processo de mudança inclui alguns problemas que devem ser resolvidos e é aí que podemos aplicar as teorias de Cazeneuve sobre o tabu descritas na obra *Sociologia do rito* (1971). Interessa-nos o seu trabalho sobre a *impureza* que responderia perfeitamente ao conceito de *cidade liminal* ou *cidade passageira*. Em primeiro lugar, deveremos deter-nos para estudar o *tabu* que seria a proibição formal de referenciar ou mencionar um elemento ou pessoa pois é julgado como impuro. Em segundo lugar, iríamos encontrar os rituais que são concebidos para a descontaminação ou limpeza dos indivíduos ou elementos que tenham estado em contacto com o que é considerado ignóbil. Neste nível, reuniriam-se todos os processos de *purificação*. Finalmente, encontraríamos esses rituais que tratam do processo de transição: mecanismos culturais que garantem o bom funcionamento dos rituais em execução, sistemas meta-rituais, pois regulam o processo em si.

Os ritos acima descritos interviriam no processo de mutação da nossa cidade passageira. Eles poderiam dar-se de diferentes formas e graus -já que a cidade é plural e mutável- e serviriam para controlar o correto funcionamento da cidade. Aqui podemos ver os processos de tabu aplicados a favelas ou bairros marginais, os quais são ignorados nos roteiros de transporte público ou mesmo pelos habitantes da cidade; ou os processos de limpeza de impurezas, tais como as campanhas de intervenção cultural em

áreas conflitantes. Da mesma forma, os rituais para garantir o sucesso dos processos rituais seriam estandardizados sob forma de projetos ou regulamentos municipais, leis e bandos institucionais.

A cidade passageira ou cidade liminal não só seria supervisionada por parte da comunidade, mas também seria capaz de agir contra esta, em casos excepcionais. Esta situação não é descrita por Turner e é um ponto de viragem nesta teoria dos processos de passagem. Supõe a quebra da passividade inoperante onde o *viajante* aceita unilateralmente as normas da sociedade de referência e abre a porta a um viajante ativo capaz de se revoltar, de oferecer resistência, mas que permanece ligado ao processo e ao sistema.

Por outro lado encontramos a presença do consumidor urbano. Hoje em dia falar de *cidadãos* não corresponde plenamente a realidade vivida na cidade. São muitas as pessoas que vivem nas cidades ilegalmente e que não tem os direitos próprios do cidadão mas que se relacionam com ela de forma direta e indireta; são muitas as pessoas que transitam pela cidade sem morar nela, mas que operam e interatuam com os processos socioeconómicos e culturais da urbe. A cidade é consumida como um produto, responde à natureza do objeto de consumo e é uma entidade simbólica criada por e para uma massa crítica mas plural. O consumidor urbano responde a diferentes tipos, dependendo de sua relação com o ambiente onde está e como decifra ou interpreta o poliedro urbano. Essas relações serão referidas como *atos de experiência*. Olhemos a continuação para os diferentes atos de experiência identificados:

Native Experience Act (AEN): o consumidor conhece o sistema sógnico da cidade, tanto a nível macroestructual (lugar), como microestructural (elementos que compõem os espaços). Tem um conhecimento absoluto do código interpretativo (cultura local) e limitações (leis). Pode mover-se entre espaços com pleno conhecimento, embora não consciente desta situação, e conhece o seu papel no poliedro urbano.

Guest Experience Act (GEA): este consumidor urbano desconhece o sistema sógnico da cidade. Procede na leitura do sistema urbano a partir do seu próprio *aen* e através de comparações, exclusões e juízos de valor. É incapaz de compreender plenamente o sistema. Faz leituras superficiais, sendo capaz de identificar as formas comuns de atos de consumo urbano. Aqui podemos citar, como exemplo, um turista

asiático numa cidade ocidental. O turista ignora a língua, a cultura, a história, o sistema legal, a arquitetura, etc. no entanto, relaciona-se com a cidade como *consumidor*. Este turista satisfaz o seu interesse cultural, visitando diferentes espaços; reconhecendo lugares diferentes, satisfaz o seu apetite com diferentes cozinhas, etc. mas não consegue ver o local através dos olhos do consumidor (urbano) nativo. Simplesmente observa e compara com o seu quadro de referências culturais o lugar onde ele está localizado. A sua visão e participação no poliedro urbano é superficial. Este turística transita pela cidade, e após a sua estadia, é possível que possa passar para outro nível de consumo urbano.

Biphasic Experience Act (BEA): o consumidor urbano é conhecedor do sistema sógnico, tanto a nível macroestructural, como microestructural. Tem um ótmo conhecimento do sistema interpretativo e das restrições locais. O consumidor não é nativo, mas por presença ou aprendizagem, é capaz de se desenvolver como um local, mas mantém a sua natureza como estrangeiro. Este tipo de consumidor apresenta um fenómeno importante de valorização, é capaz de se comportar como um local, mas continua a comparar a sua experiência com respeito à seu quadro de referência cultural ou AEN. Poderíamos dizer que é um personagem que se move entre diferentes experiências urbanas : física, emocional, experiencial, etc. Como exemplo, poderíamos falar dos residentes chineses na cidade de Lisboa ou as primeiras gerações de estrangeiros numa cidade qualquer. Esses residentes são capazes de ler e participar do poliedro urbano, fazendo diferentes intervenções (económica, social, cultural...) no mesmo. Participam em diferentes escalas da vida urbana, e são capazes de se relacionar perfeitamente entre comunidades e grupos sociais. Eles têm a capacidade de ser locais, sem deixar de ser estrangeiros, ainda que, mantêm um elevado nível de dependência com a sua cultura de origem.

Acquired Experience Act (AEA): o consumidor urbano conhece intimamente o sistema sógnico a nível macroestructural e microestructural; é capaz de ler e participar no poliedro urbano como mais um nativo. A sua relação com o sistema interpretativo e as suas limitações são iguais às de um nativo. Poderíamos falar de uma pessoa transitada (processo de passagem completo). Alguém que tenha sido iniciado, educado e treinado num contexto urbano liminal. Ao contrário do AEB este indivíduo não julga, não compara, simplesmente se move entre os atos de acordo com o momento e a situação.

Ele é capaz de viver o ato urbano como um estrangeiro e é como um local de forma similar e idêntica. Poderíamos encontrar esta situação na primeira geração de consumidores translocados, ou jovens deslocados e inseridos em outros universos urbanos numa idade muito precoce. Estes indivíduos são capazes de se mover entre os atos de experiência sem avaliação, e beneficiar-se de forma equilibrada e igualitária.

A diferença entre BEA e AEA parece estar em uma situação de sentimento de pertença. Os indivíduos mantêm diferentes graus de pertinência de acordo com a relação e assentamento de outros sujeitos que mantem a sua *nae* na área e com quem mantem relações mais ou menos profundas. Desta situação poderíamos desprender a construção de áreas cultural e urbanamente separadas ao quadro urbano geral. Em outras palavras, podemos encontrar cidades estrangeiras dentro de outras cidades. Para citar um caso, podemos referenciar as diferentes China-Towns no mundo, onde ao entrar, percebemos rapidamente que ultrapassamos uma fronteira urbana e cultural dentro da *superestrutura urbana* de uma cidade particular.

O consumidor urbano, portanto, é altamente pluriforme. Poderíamos até mesmo aumentar os atos de experiência urbana em atos de experiência regional, nacional, transnacional, etc. Neste tipo de saltos espaciais iríamos encontrar pontos de coincidência levados a maior escala. Estes saltos também denotam diferentes graus de participação do sujeito. Um indivíduo poderia ler um país de acordo com a sua base nacional ou local, da mesma forma que um indivíduo lê duas cidades diferentes. Este acréscimo cultural e espacial não deixaria de ser mais do que uma majoração ou distanciamento do ato de consumo urbano.

Anteriormente falávamos sobre superestruturas urbanas, macroestruturas urbanas, microestruturas urbanas, mas não tínhamos explicado o seu significado no nosso trabalho. Nós entendemos a cidade como um texto, que pode ser lido e escrito, daí a importância da linguística e o uso da terminologia aplicada a um conceito algo diferente. Nós não somos os primeiros, nem os últimos, em utilizar esse tipo de relação (cidade-língua). Anteriormente, Michel de Certeau tinha aberto caminho nesta direção. Este teórico francês, na sua obra *A invenção do quotidiano*, comparava os passos dos cidadãos à uma composição sintagmática da cidade. De Certeau apresenta-se realmente firme sobre a refutação da passividade do consumidor e a massificação das condutas,

indicando uma mudança de paradigma: de consumidor passivo ao criador - consumidor. Ele recupera a eterna questão do que é *arte* e o que é uma *maneira de fazer*, perguntas já feitas e respondidas por Durkheim ou Kant, entre outros. Ele eleva a capacidade dos cidadãos para *andar* a sua própria cidade e não contentar-se com o seu consumo passivo.

Esta ideia é central para nosso trabalho porque acreditamos que o consumidor urbano não se restringe a uma leitura do espaço urbano ou tempo urbano (caminhar a cidade), mas que participa da sua criação de forma passiva e ativa (semiose urbana). O consumidor urbano, em nossa opinião, não tem que estar vinculado a um lugar para ser capaz de destruí-lo, criá-lo e liminalizá-lo. Este ponto decisivo dista-nos de de Certeau que se concentra principalmente no consumidor residente, pois considera-o como o único com capacidade de intervenção direta na criação e composição do espaço, e da cidade.

De Certeau, com base nos princípios de G. Ryle, baseia sua teoria sobre o "contexto de uso", os qual parte do princípio da *enunciação* :

Os "contextos de uso" (contexts of use), ao planejar o ato em relação às circunstâncias, referem-se às características que especificam o ato de dizer (ou a prática da língua) e são os seus efeitos. Destas características, a enunciação fornece um modelo, mas eles vão encontrar-se na relação com outras práticas (andar, habitar, etc.) com sistemas não linguísticos. A enunciação supõe efetivamente :

- 1) uma efetuação do sistema linguístico através de um dizer que atualiza as suas possibilidades (a língua só é real no ato de fala);
- 2) uma apropriação da linguagem pelo orador que fala;
- 3) implementação de um interlocutor (real ou fictício) e, portanto, a criação de um contrato relacional ou uma alocação (falar com alguém);
- 4) o estabelecimento de um presente por meio do ato do "eu" que fala e conjuntamente, pois "o presente é a própria fonte do tempo", a organização de uma temporalidade (o presente cria um antes e um depois também) e a existência de um "agora" que é presença no mundo "" (de Certeau, 2010: 39-40)

Este princípio enunciativo, de alguma forma, também nos leva a criar nossos *atos de experiência*, pois uma experiência urbana é só real quando é executada, quando se interioriza como própria, quando é partilhada e tem sentimento de propriedade e temporalidade. Os atos de experiência são enunciações, tais como de Certeau indicaria nas suas formas de andar a cidade. Uma forma de andar a cidade seria um ato particular da experiência urbana, mas não por isso completo ou qualificado.

O nosso consumidor urbano é conhecedor consciente e inconsciente das táticas e estratégias de de Certeau. O consumidor urbano tem a força, sendo fraco e, portanto, têm mais capacidade para criar astúcias para ganhar, parafraseando o autor. Portanto, as *formas de fazer* de de Certeau poderiam ser parte dos nossos *atos de experiência*, pois designam realidades semelhantes, mas são amplificados pela natureza mesma do autor-experimentador.

Ao contrário deste autor; nosso *aea* pode dar-se de forma virtual (**VAE**). Isto dá-se da construção de uma experiência sem contato com o espaço real : uma experiência adquirida, uma simulação. Imagine que nós somos roteiristas de cinema, propomos a criação de um novo roteiro e o palco é Nova York. Imagine-se que nós somos suecos, que nunca vivemos na Big Apple mas que conhecemos a língua, os costumes, a cultura e os diferentes espaços e lugares que compõem a cidade, além do sistema sógnico e as limitações. Nós conhecemos cada detalhe de forma indireta mas somos capazes de experimentar a cidade como um local e transmiti-lo para o nosso script. De forma adquirida *caminhamos* a cidade, nós criamos a nossa própria lírica urbana e, com nossa força de comunicação de massas, somos capazes de mudar atitudes ou levar outros a imaginar a cidade. Escrevemos e lemos o poliedro urbano.

Nós entendemos a cidade como um texto que pode ser lido e escrito. Cada texto (cidade) tem uma superestrutura especial que lhe identifica e diferencia. Em linguística, encontramos diferentes modelos de superestrutura que estão ligados a uma macroestrutura específica e própria. A superestrutura responde a modelos estáveis ou tipos de textos tais como os descritivos, informativos, etc. Quando falamos de superestrutura urbana deveríamos falar sobre *tipos* de cidades assim como cidades portuárias, vilas defensivas, cidades culturais... são muitos e diferentes os tipos que

existem na literatura científica sobre a cidade, e a sua tipologia depende da variável que se utiliza para a sua categorização: económica, topográfica, histórica...

A macroestrutura refere-se às diferentes partes do texto, em outras palavras, à sua composição e coerência. Aplicando este termo ao mundo urbano, a macroestrutura iria designar as diferentes partes constituintes do texto urbano a partir duma perspectiva do lugar. Delgado faz um grande definição do lugar :

qualquer ordem, segundo o qual alguns elementos são distribuídos de acordo com relações de coexistência. Exclui-se a possibilidade de que dois coisas sigam ao mesmo tempo no mesmo local. É a lei do lugar em si, do meu lugar, o nosso território: os elementos considerados um ao lado do outro, no seu lugar, indicação, mapas, estabilidade (Delgado, 1999:126)

Portanto, faz referência a lugares fixos, institucionalizados, invariáveis e até topográficos. Na categoria macroestructural, poderíamos começar a falar sobre bairros, parques, áreas urbanas, e do conceito de centro(s) e periferia, entre outros. A nível macroestructural, poderíamos falar das primeiras divisões da cidade, descer um escalão para alcançar a experiência física, pois esta mantém certamente um nível cognitivo ou sentimento de pertença pelo utente. O consumidor urbano identifica bairros, distritos ... e pode identificar-se com eles, pode sente-os como seus próprios e aqui o lugar torna-se território.

Ao nível macroestructural, devemos prestar atenção à coerência. Aqui, ao contrário do sistema linguístico, o sistema urbano apresenta grandes lacunas de continuação. Essas lacunas devem ser vistas a partir de perspectivas diferentes, sendo as socioeconómicas as mais importante para esta pesquisa. Ao nível macroestructural, encontramos bairros cujos consumidores residentes têm níveis de escolaridade, níveis de renda, propriedade, etc. completamente diferentes dos vizinhos, sendo comum encontrar grandes diferenças entre eles. Aqui, por exemplo, poderíamos citar o bairro paulistano de Paraisópolis, uma das maiores favelas da cidade, que faz fronteira com um dos bairros mais luxuosos, Morumbi. Por vezes, estes contrastes são devidos ao ciclo de vida do lugar, sendo este intimamente relacionado com o sistema liminal explicado

anteriormente. Em outras ocasiões, é devido ao empobrecimento da região ou distrito, ao êxodo de pessoas físicas ou colectivas e à degradação do sistema a nível macroestrutural e microestrutural.

A microestrutura urbana é o nível mais complexo do sistema morfositáxico urbano. Na microestrutura textual encontramos a função da coesão, a qual apresenta vários mecanismos de coerência, tais como os conectores textuais (conjuntivos, disjuntivos, adversativos, explicativos, causais, consecutivos), os marcadores de discurso, coreferências e pronominalizações. Todos estes elementos permitem criar textos onde o tema é claramente identificado, evitando a duplicação de elementos de forma innecessária ou pouco atrativa.

Em vez disso, espaço designa algo muito diferente [ref. o lugar]. Há espaço quando se leva em consideração os vetores de direção, quantidades de velocidade e a variável tempo, exatamente igual que quando os ritos de passagem de qualquer sociedade lembram aos sujeitos psicofísicos que a compõem a instabilidade, o dinamismo hiperativo, em ebulição, que a fundamenta e a organiza: a *nadedade* que produz a realização da *totalidade*. O espaço é um cruzamento de trajetos, de mobilidades. É o efeito produzido pelas operações que o guiam, o circunstanciam, o temporalizam, que configurá-lo para trabalhar. Não há univocidade, ou estabilidade. É o escopo das operações-trajeto, dos deslocamentos, dos trânsitos e as passagens. Esta enunciação sem desenvolvimento discursivo é organizada em torno da relação entre os lugares dos que se parte a aqueles que se chega e o *não-lugar* que produz. (Delgado, 1999: 126)

A microestrutura urbana é o reino do movimento e do tempo, mas para o compreender melhor devemos considerar como esses elementos são integrados na cidade, porque a sua presença e percepção marcam consideravelmente o ritmo da vida urbana.

A nível microtextual urbano as vias de comunicação funcionariam como conectores textuais. Estes podem ser de natureza diversa mas nós destacamos para a presente dissertação os conectores disjuntivos. Estes são utilizados para estabelecer diferenças ou separação. As vias de comunicação não só comunicam (reagrupam),

senão que também disgregam (liminalizam). Qualquer via de comunicação tem um sentido ou sentidos, um itinerário, ao longo do qual o consumidor urbano pode descobrir diferentes partes do sistema macrotextual urbano (distritos, bairros...) e pode construir a sua própria narrativa da cidade, como disse de Certeau.

Devemos entender a rua como um espaço liminar, um *espaço* e não um *lugar*. Vetores de direção e tempo reúnem-se e são interpretados em conjunto por parte dum consumidor urbano, que tem um diferente grau de conhecimento sobre o lugar ou o território, sendo influenciado por uma situação (contexto). Um espaço liminal, pois da totalidade (a cidade) é escolhida apenas uma parte (segmentação), a qual é “personalizada” e atribuí-lhe-se um número de elementos que anteriormente não tinha (processo de passo/liminalização), criando um novo espaço que responde a um uso diferente do lugar (integração). O consumidor urbano é o *iniciador*, têm a missão de estabelecer o semelhantes e o diferente, e, assim, criar narrativas novas, novas integrações de si com a cidade. Estas novas narrativas podem ser influenciadas por o propósito mesmo do passeio, o seu itinerário, em outras palavras, o objeto e propósito de consumo. O consumidor urbano constrói e destrói a cidade, a transforma com o seu passo e permite que a vida interna da cidade evolui. Uma metáfora constante que cria novos lugares e que permite que a cidade seja inventada, experienciada, e em evolução.

Estamos hoje num momento de alta frequência e mobilidade de pessoas. Muitas pessoas são atraídas para se deslocar de cidade, para viver e fixarem-se numa cidade diferente a sua, para tentar a sorte e conseguir uma nova oportunidade para si e as suas famílias. Devemos enfatizar a importância das relações voluntárias e a ajuda voluntária entre consumidores estabelecidos (em *mainstream* ou em espaço liminal) e os consumidores recém-chegados, que chamaremos *neoconsumidores*.

A associação de novos consumidores urbanos é fortemente marcada por vários fatores socioeconómicos e culturais, pois nem todos os neoconsumidores têm a mesma capacidade de acesso. Entendemos como *capacidade de acesso* uma vasta lista de elementos que conjugados permitem ao candidato a consumidor urbano instalar-se com sucesso num nível diferente da estrutura social urbana. Um imigrante rural, com capacidade económica limitada e escassa formação, não têm a mesma capacidade de acesso a certos bairros ou áreas urbanas, nem a empregos ou opções de desempenho

urbano, que uma pessoa com uma forte formação académica e trajetória profissional de elite. Este facto delimitará a sua permanência potencial no sistema urbano e pode resultar em diferentes situações, incluindo a marginalização total ou parcial.

A cidade pode ser dividida em diferentes níveis, como explicado anteriormente sob o modelo textual e como trataremos a continuação sob outras perspectivas. Até o momento temos discutido a relação entre o indivíduo com a urbe, o seu reconhecimento e a sua delimitação cognosciva, mas acreditamos que devemos dar o salto para o indivíduo e o seu espaço: descer um escalão e aproximarmos ao território do consumidor urbano. Este espaço habitado e inventado por cada consumidor urbano, materializa-se pela extensão da personalidade, individual ou coletivamente, de cada grupo de consumidores, em outras palavras, falamos do *habitar* do consumidor urbano.

O conceito de *habitar* nem sempre é fácil de explicar. Há muitas disciplinas envolvidas no ato explicativo do *habitar urbano* e destas podemos extrair partes interessantes que descrevem o rosto deste conceito evasivo. Martin Heidegger em sua obra *Building Dwelling Thinking* (1951) apresenta uma série de questões muito interessantes para esta dissertação e que, certamente, serão novamente abordadas em futuras pesquisas.

Este filósofo alemão trabalhou num momento de entreguerras, uma situação que favoreceu uma visão liminar da cidade, bem como da história. Isto refere-se à criação de “espaço” e “lugar”, assim como da relação racional entre o homem e o terreno: o homem mediatiza o espaço tanto como o espaço ao homem. Esta situação plantea a questão do habitar urbano, do lugar onde vivemos, tanto como a questão do espaço por onde transitamos, marcando a diferença entre os dois, como nos propomos neste trabalho.

A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something *begins its essential unfolding*. That is why the concept is that of *horismos*, that is the horizon, the boundary. Space is in essence that for which room has been made, that which is let into its bounds. That for which room is made is always granted and hence is joined, that gathered, by virtue of a

locale,' that is, by such a thing as the bridge. *Accordingly, spaces receive their essential being from locales and not from "space."* (Heidegger, 1993:356)

Este autor apresenta o conceito de *fronteira*, um conceito que não tínhamos previsto trabalhar mas que se impõe como um ponto obrigatório para melhor entender a cidade. Uma fronteira não *delimita* mas *significa* o início duma realidade, de um espaço composto de vários lugares, tal e como aponta Heidegger ao final da cita. O caso é que segundo o nosso modelo, a fronteira pode ser perfeitamente uma via de trânsito e não só um acidente geográfico ou natural, é dizer um elemento microestructural (um elemento construído). Compartimos com este autor o conceito teórico de *fronteira*, pois partimos de uma cognição do espaço, um ato criacional e um ato experiencial, mas a sua aplicação é o que supõe-nos dificuldades. Vemos que o término *fronteira* vem duma perspectiva de cidade institucionalizada e não desde uma perspectiva do consumidor urbano. Este facto é importante, pois se bem o consumidor urbano vá a reconhecer a sua região do habitar (onde vive e se desenvolve como consumidor), esta não tem porquê coincidir com os limites estabelecidos de forma institucional. As fronteiras significam unidades, mas também impõem de alguma forma uma separação insalvável, uma separação ultrapassada pelos fenómenos de crescimento exponencial da última metade do século, e início do século XXI. Consideramos que o termo *margem* definiria melhor as fronteiras atuais, as quais tem sido ultrapassadas pela evolução das cidades e os assentamentos temporais, ou os ensanches de tipo industrial ou populacionais. Igualmente, o termo *margem* faz clara referência ao mundo liminal sublinhando a importância dos estúdios na periferia urbana e na periferia interna urbana.

Poderíamos falar, por outro lado, dos diferentes tipos de espaço. O espaço privado é aquele que o ser humano reserva para si, sentindo-o como íntimo e no qual as suas relações sociais são fáceis de estabelecer. Em oposição a isto, encontramos o espaço público, o qual faz referência a um território de propriedade colectiva, onde as relações sociais não são tão fáceis de estabelecer e onde o ser humano compartilha o seu *eu* -e intimidade- quando exposto a outros indivíduos. O espaço público, poderíamos denominá-lo como espaço comum se não falássemos em termos institucionalizados. Quando falamos do espaço comum, outras variáveis entram em jogo, pois o conceito de espaço privado poderia estender-se.

Uma vez abordados os *espaços* devemos conduzir o nosso olhar para o conceito de *esfera* apresentado por Habermas (1989) no seu trabalho *The structural transformation of the public sphere : an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, o qual consideramos que é altamente importante para melhor entender a nossa visão sobre a cidade. Em primeiro lugar, encontramos a *esfera privada*, a qual poderíamos relacionar com o *espaço privado* na medida em que faz referência ao *espaço social* que um indivíduo reserva para si, tendo neste plena autoridade. Dentro desta esfera, deveremos marcar a *esfera íntima*, a qual se refere basicamente à família, e esta poderia referir-se igualmente ao *espaço íntimo*, lugar reservado para o próprio ou para os parentes mais próximos. Em segundo lugar, encontramos a *esfera pública*, que está formada pelas interações intelectuais e a opinião dos cidadãos em referência a uma série de temas relacionados com a vida em sociedade. Devemos ressaltar que a esfera pública se dá como resultado duma mudança social e económica, fruto duma burguesia crescente. Atualmente, esta situação tem evoluído até novas formas de comunicação e comércio como fruto da evolução e assentamento de diferentes formas de consumismo-capitalismo. Todos os indivíduos são iguais perante o estado e todos têm a mesma responsabilidade (obrigações e direitos). A esfera pública como sistema de transmissão de informação comercial e intelectual é comum e facilita a evolução do mercado e da sociedade. O Estado é o sujeito da *esfera de autoridade pública*, que se concretiza nas forças do ordem e que está regulada por um sistema legislativo. A sua autoridade vê-se justificada pelo papel de quem assume o papel de lutar por o “bem” de todos os cidadãos e garantir a convivência justa e democrática (quando se tratar de sistemas o regímenes de tipo democrático). Devemos sublinhar o conceito de democracia porque deste desprende-se o princípio de comércio livre, de liberdade de expressão e igualmente o princípio mesmo de propriedade, que afeta diretamente à esfera a seguir.

O conceito da *esfera retórica* apresentado por Hauser (1999), seria uma das muitas críticas a Habermas que iria completar ou esclarecer termos novos ou já existentes e ignorados. Poderíamos definir a esfera da retórica como aquela que é formada por indivíduos sócio e economicamente heterogêneos que se reúnem ou associam a partir duma questão (*issue*) ou questões (*issues*) que os afetam direta ou indiretamente e, portanto, gera-se integridade (unidade) "de classe". Esta esfera forma-se por um jogo discursivo mais que em termos de classe e é altamente relacionada com

as decisões que a esfera de autoridade pública habermassiana realiza. Os membros ou indivíduos que a compõem reúnem-se ou associam-se entorno ao problema abordado (leitmotiv), mostrando várias posições que podem variar : desde o acordo absoluto, à desacordo absoluto. Poderíamos citar um exemplo que ilustra claramente esta esfera retórica em muitos países, o casamento homossexual causa muita polémica, tanto a favor, como contra, levanta apaixonadas manifestações a favor e contra com impactos diretos nas decisões políticas e legais.

Quando falamos sobre a esfera retórica, encontramos uma série de características a ser consideradas que podem ser criticadas ou assumidas e, que segundo a sua intensidade, podem marcar o índice de eficácia dessa esfera. A primeira característica a assinalar seria a permeabilidade do grupo e a sua forma de consenso. Cada grupo deve relacionar-se para obter uma série de valores únicos que lhes identificam e que os diferenciam do grupo social do que visam ser excluídos ou adicionados. A um maior grau de identificação e consenso (coesão estrutural), maior é o grau discursivo e, portanto, retórico: menor é a divergência e os objetivos para os quais os integrantes se associam tornam-se mais claros e o argumentário define-se com maior profundidade e efetividade.

Uma das grandes críticas que se faz às teorias da comunicação de massas é que as sociedades não são passivas; as sociedades não recebem as mensagens, as aceitam e as digerem para melhor ou para pior. As sociedades são ativas e mobilizam-se para desestabilizar a esfera de autoridade pública que deve tentar convencer de novo a os cidadãos utilizando os meios de comunicação sobre as suas intenções, quais são as suas posições sobre um *issue* determinado e qual é a melhor forma para continuar com o processo democrático. A mídia pode posicionar-se a favor ou em contra a autoridade pública, embora geralmente esta é controlada pela segunda. A esfera retórica é muito ativa, não em vão, encontra-se em forma de protesto contra a esfera da autoridade pública e revelou-se satisfatória muito recentemente a partir da utilização “alternativa” dos sistemas de comunicação individuais (redes sociais, SMS, mailing...) para organizar eventos de massa. Esta esfera retórica poderia facilmente relacionar-se com os processos de associação voluntária tão estudados por Cucó (2008), entre outros autores.

Arte Urbana

Antes de continuar com este texto, é preciso fazer um esclarecimento terminológico que consideramos muito importante. Às vezes, encontramos expressões como "arte urbana", "graffiti", "pintura de rua", "arte pública", etc. para se referir ao mesmo conceito, embora não seja correto. Acreditamos que devemos fazer um ponto e explicar as diferenças entre a arte urbana (*Street Art*) e arte pública (*Public Art*). Em primeiro lugar, trataremos a denominada Arte Pública, que apresenta grandes dificuldades para ser definida e limitada tal e como Anna Waclawek diz-nos:

There have been several attempts to categorize public art. The most prominent grouping encompasses works, typically modernist, abstract sculptures, that have been placed outdoors to decorate the plazas fronting governmental or corporate buildings. (2005: 66)

Embora estas figuras estejam no exterior, à vista de qualquer consumidor urbano, não consistem em arte pública de forma restrita. Este tipo de obras poderiam ser consideradas como *plopped art* ou como comumente são chamadas *plop art*. A mesma autora diz nos que essas esculturas ou elementos decorativos na via pública só alimentam a necessidade de decorar um número de espaços vazios que respondem à intenção “voluntária” de organismos públicos ou privados.

Nos encontramos, igualmente, outras formas de arte pública como a chamada *art-in-the-public-interest*. O princípio sobre do qual nós partimos para esta diferença é que, enquanto a primeira não levava em consideração o que são os elementos contextuais (simplesmente se construía a escultura ou peça artística sob a ordem duma entidade contratante e a direção do artista), nesta planeia-se a instalação a partir de variantes de interesse público, e as possíveis relações da peça com o seu contexto, não só físico mas também temporário e instrumental. Esta tendência, embora tenha muitos adeptos, também tem muitos detratores que se manifestam contrários, ao considerar que se estabelece uma certa relação paternalista com o público. O aparente processo

democrático que este tipo de arte co-participativa procura parece eclipsar o processo decisório final e é que a decisão final será tomada pelo artista e pelas autoridades requerentes da obra. Em outras palavras, uma determinada organização pode pedir conselho ou opinião à comunidade onde as obras seriam introduzidas, mas a decisão final será sempre da organização mesma.

Estas duas definições conduzem-nos a uma definição obrigatória: a arte em exposição. Entenderíamos como arte (pública) em exposição a aquela que tem a capacidade de ser visitada, observada e que está disponível à vista do visitante ou do residente de forma fácil e a baixo custo, sendo estas peças localizadas na via pública e em áreas privadas com livre acesso ou acesso semirestringido.

Nós optámos por uma definição de arte pública que não é particularmente restritiva e que tem em consideração os pontos explicados anteriormente, portanto, poderia ser considerado como arte pública "qualquer fenómeno artístico (dança, escultura, teatro,...) cujo suporte físico pode afetar ao consumidor urbano durante suas atividades diárias fora de sua propriedade". Esta definição inclui não só a escultura, mas também outros fenómenos artísticos que geralmente caem no esquecimento dos pesquisadores, bem como introduziria o princípio de *impacto*, princípio amplamente utilizado nos estudos da comunicação e que refere-se à capacidade de uma mensagem para chegar a um determinado indivíduo no ato de suas vidas diárias.

Uma vez tratada a arte pública, deveríamos falar da *arte da rua (street art)*. Esta, como no caso anterior, ocupa um médio particular: o *vago* espaço público. Esta arte a diferencia-se das anteriores mencionadas, pois não tem o apoio institucional nem responde a uma programação cultural o do território de forma deliberada. A arte pública formula-se como o resultado do conjunto de decisões que uma organização pública ou privada toma para a “construção” duma obra de arte à vista de todos, em exposição; a arte da rua, por outro lado, vem da iniciativa de indivíduos privados para desenvolver uma intervenção artística no espaço público, sem licenças ou autorizações. Esta diferença constituinte distingue ambas as formas, sendo uma legal e a outra ilegal (com exceções como pode ser o caso de intervenções realizadas a convite do proprietário ou grupo de proprietários de um prédio em uma das suas fachadas i.e. trabalhos no exterior de artistas de renome como Aryz, Os Gêmeos...), igualmente que com a autorização no

uso dos *suportes* caindo em vandalismo ou ataque a propriedade privada, pois são atividades não autorizadas.

O graffiti ao qual nos referimos agora mantem uma relação íntima com a publicidade, tanto gráfica como exterior. Por um lado, iríamos encontrar o uso dos cores, formas e mensagens publicitárias que, em breve, o grafite adotaria para si próprio numa forma metalinguística e é que o grafite, por vezes, nos relembra à publicidade como poderíamos encontrar nas obras de D*Face que emula trabalhos publicitários ou modifica estes para se fazer auto-propaganda de si mesmo.

O graffiti procurará as melhores localizações na cidade para a sua posição estratégica e para poder capturar a atenção do consumidor urbano durante a sua viagem urbana, assim como a publicidade faz. Mas o grafite é mais “livre” do que a publicidade, ele não tem um corpo legal que regule o local onde pode -ou não pode- adicionar uma mensagem, nem tem um contrato que prevê o tempo de exibição, nem um formato pré-determinado. O graffiti é livre na sua forma de arte e na sua forma de ação ilegal, mas tem um corpo regulador interno além que forças reguladoras externas como veremos mais para a frente.

O artista "queimará"² os muros e superfícies urbanas disponíveis combatendo à publicidade pelo interesse ou a atenção do consumidor urbano; terá liberdade de forma e tamanho, extensão, capacidade de reproducidade, etc. mas poderá ter que pagar uma dupla penalização: a natureza efêmera do trabalho (pode ser removido a qualquer momento; boicotado por outro artista...) e a possibilidade constante de ser preso no ato de execução.

Como a publicidade, o grafite transmite mensagens. É uma forma mais de resistência e estas mensagens são, muitas vezes, justificadas pelo momento em que são criadas, o contexto político e social, ou os temas eternos da consciência humana (liberdade, justiça, amor...). A publicidade e a arte de rua tentam comunicar mas entre as suas diferenças de base nos encontramos a figura do emissor. A publicidade é um útil comercial ou comunicacional ao serviço duma instituição (pública ou privada), cujo

² Pintura total e absoluta de um muro, deixando nenhum espaço livre ou intato.

objectivo é o ato da suação (persuasão ou dissuasão) a favor duns propósitos específicos; a arte urbana é um útil artístico desenvolvido para a suação, enviado desde um indivíduo -ou indivíduos- para um amplo público-alvo não sempre definido. Poderíamos dizer que a publicidade vem de cima, e que a arte urbana de baixo, mas o problema ainda persiste, é a arte de rua arte?

Em muitos casos, a publicidade é considerada arte, por contar com alguns elementos de desenho, do cor e das formas, mas não deveria ser considerada como tal em *strito senso*. A arte de rua, por outro lado, poderia ser considerada como um mecanismo de comunicação por utilizar os mesmos elementos elementares do desenho que a publicidade, mas a sua principal missão não é “transmitir mensagens”, pois não todos os trabalhos de arte urbana são de corte “militante” e muitos simplesmente são demonstrações plásticas.

Em consequência poderíamos dizer que a publicidade como elemento povoador do espaço urbano e como capturador da atenção do consumidor urbano compete com a arte urbana na transmissão de mensagens, muitas das quais são contestadas por o segundo em uma tentativa de deslegitimar, protestar, uma sociedade, às vezes, desumanizada.

As post-graffiti practices demonstrate, no matter how controlled city spaces are, they are also open to subversion. Not every area is monitored, commercialized, depersonalized or functionalized. Some spaces are unrestricted, unobstructed, exposed, empty, isolated, forgotten, unmanaged and bleak. Even within the capitalist economy of space, there are gaps or marginal spaces that, while often neglected, are necessary for the conceptualization of the city as a complex arena. These “non-spaces” are not necessarily liminal by way of geography, but rather by way of use. (Waclawek, 2011:114)

Nesta passagem encontramos o uso do termo “não-espaço”, o qual, como tínhamos comentado, não consideramos adequado. Nós utilizaremos o termo *espaço liminal* que acreditamos que se adapta melhor à realidade à que nos referimos. Como indicado, existem muitos locais que estão ao margem do controlo geral, estes podem ser

tanto nos *pontos de atenção* da cidade como nos seus *pontos esquecidos*. Estes termos referem-se aos locais dentro do texto urbano que por causa de sua frequência, uso, atividade e efervescência, destacam-se tanto por a sua importância nodal (centro de interesse, fluxos de comunicação, de transporte, de pessoas..) e anodal (ausência dos mencionados, pelo tanto espaços liminais). Estes *pontos* corresponderiam em certa medida, a conceitos de *centro* e *periferia* interurbana, mas não exclusivamente, pois eles poderiam ser localizados e definidos dentro destas áreas maiores, ganhando independência e às vezes até eclipsando-as num exercício metonímico. Um exemplo claro de *ponto de atenção*, poderíamos encontra-lo no bairro de Broadway, em Nova York e o seu *ponto de atenção majorada*: Times Square. Obviamente, a Broadway não é apenas Times Square, mas é o lugar que reúne a maior atenção do consumidor urbano dentro desta área e, para muitos, dá-se uma metonímia direta : Times Square é Broadway. Contrariamente a este conceito, iríamos nos encontrar o *ponto de esquecimento*, sendo esta mais difícil de classificar pois estaria principalmente localizado em áreas liminares ou marginais, onde encontrar um foco de atividade é mais difícil, mas não impossível. Poderíamos encontrar e citar como exemplo a Central de Ônibus de Villa 31 em Buenos Aires: central de comunicações e trânsito desta zona marginal, a qual, de alguma forma, torna este lugar num tipo de templo liminal ao oferecer a possibilidade de aproximar a *cidade mainstream* com este espaço marginal.

O espaço liminal, bem como o *espaço mainstream*, está constantemente transformando-se, estão em contínuo processo de mudança e cada vez a linha que restringia o arte às galerias de arte e museus torna-se mais frágil, razão pela qual, talvez, encontramos já exposições de arte urbana em salas de prestígio e vice-versa, e grandes obras rua.

Arte urbana e controlo de produção

Referimo-nos a uma forma de controlo da arte urbana que geralmente é ignorada ou que o público geral desconhece. Falamos então do *homocontrolo*. É possível definir o *homocontrolo* como a atividade de sabotagem ou respeito para com uma obra presente

no espaço urbano. Esta ação responde a padrões diversos tais como o reconhecimento da qualidade da obra pelo colectivo de artistas urbanos locais; o prestígio do próprio artista ou da parte que o contrata, a dificuldade técnica da obra, as dificuldades que a superfície apresenta ao momento da sua intervenção, etc. O colectivo de artistas poderá ter reações diversas, sendo a *sabotagem* uma das mais conhecidas. Esta reação poderá traduzir-se numa nova pintura por cima da obra exposta de forma a desfigurá-la, destruí-la ou simplesmente boicotá-la. Estes atos são percebidos como castigos ou bem como atos de censura ou gestão da obra pois o artista é informado, direta ou indiretamente, que a sua peça não cumpre com os critérios de estilo, não respeita os aspectos de qualidade mínimos ou simplesmente é considerada ostentosa e banal. Assim como também poderá tratar-se de uma crítica dirigida à parte contratante ou à entidade que esteja a publicitar o artista, visto que desta forma o colectivo de artistas urbanos encontra uma maneira de expressar o seu descontento relativamente às decisões ou a gestão cultural realizada. O conjunto de ações nas obras em exposição responderia a uma forma de homocontrolo da atividade artística urbana. As obras que superam os mínimos de qualidade ou que excedem as possibilidades técnicas são respeitadas e não sofrem alterações nenhuma, isto é, não seriam vandalizadas.

O homocontrolo da atividade artística urbana responderia ao passo a seguir: o *autocontrolo*. Entendemos por *autocontrolo* a qualidade do artista para decidir quais são as formas mais acertadas na construção ou no desenho da obra com o intuito de respeitar as normas locais de arte urbana. Não devemos esquecer que cada localidade conta com uma população de artistas urbanos em competição íntima e que, a partir dos seus confrontos, é estipulado e gerado tanto um corpus de estilo como um diálogo urbano particular. Portanto, antes da criação de qualquer peça o artista deverá conhecer realmente a língua artística “falada” na zona, aprendê-la e relacioná-la com os locais. Caso contrario, a reação da população será de repulsa e de censura perante a atividade desenvolvida. Isto é, o artista deverá respeitar o conjunto de norma sociais (e de estilo) que o colectivo nativo estabelece ou será castigado e o seu trabalho será excluído do cenário local em exibição.

Embora se fale de uma globalidade de estilos ou de uma espécie de uniformização da arte urbana, com marcada influência do graffiti americano e da mensagem francesa, é possível encontrar formas de trabalhar muito diferentes, por exemplo, numa cidade do

norte da Europa e numa cidade da América Latina. O *substrato cultural* destas marca a grande diferença tanto nas formas como nos elementos representados, o uso da cor ou das técnicas de aplicação da pintura. Os universos culturais, as cosmovisões de cada autor, são diferentes como resultado das suas origens e experiências. Portanto, poderíamos resgatar o conceito de *atos de experiência* e a sua aplicação na atividade da arte urbana.

Em primeiro lugar, é preciso falar do conjunto de consumidores urbanos residentes que são nativos da zona e que desenvolvem ações de tipo artístico. Estes consumidores responderiam à tipologia descrita como NEA e seriam conhecedores dos estilos e formas de construir arte urbana próprias do lugar. Seriam, certamente, os principais defensores-censores das atividades desenvolvidas na cidade.

A seguir, poderíamos encontrar os consumidores urbanos visitantes, os quais responderiam à categoria GEA: artistas urbanos que desconhecem as normas, os estilos e as linguagens utilizadas no lugar onde pretendem intervir. Eles são incapazes de assimilar as formas locais ou de interagir com elas e, no momento da sua execução, procuram a satisfação do seu próprio ego. Nestes casos, as peças não responderiam de forma nenhuma a qualquer tipo de autocontrolo e seriam severamente castigadas pelo conjunto artístico local (*homocontrolo*).

Em outras ocasiões poderíamos encontrar artistas locais cuja origem é diferente. Referimo-nos a artistas que aprenderam na área onde realizam os seus trabalhos, também no seu lugar de origem. Imaginemos um artista nascido no Brasil (cosmovisão 1), que foi educado na arte urbana em Lisboa (cosmovisão 2). Este artista conheceria as técnicas próprias do lugar e se circunscreveria a estas, atos de experiência, mas pode mover-se, coquetear, com as formas próprias do seu lugar de origem sem dificuldades, se ir trabalhar no Brasil. Isto responderia a um consumidor urbano polivalente que entraria na categoria de atos definidos acima como experiência AEA.

Igualmente poderíamos encontrarmos com os consumidores urbanos que, sendo nativos em um língua artística, desenvolvem a sua atividade em outra área diferente da do seu origem. Este cenário seria o mesmo que o acima apresentado, mas ao contrário, agora, nosso artista estaria potencialmente na fase de adaptação ao lugar: desenvolveria projetos conjuntos com crews locais, mas não deixaria de comparar o seu trabalho com

o que já tinha realizado no seu lugar de origem. Este ato de experiência responde ao ato bifásico (BEA) foi explicado anteriormente.

Os artistas urbanos, muitas vezes recorrem a materiais e documentais fontes da indústria de arte urbana para a sua inspiração. Existem muitas publicações sobre graffiti ou arte urbana disponíveis no mercado, tais como HIPHOP Nation, GRAFINK etc. que transmitem as línguas próprias duma área ou localidade fora de suas margens constituintes. A internet também disponibiliza diferentes formas de comunicação e propagação estilística: qualquer usuário pode publicar os seus trabalhos, pode criar listas de distribuição (vídeo, foto, texto...) que outros usuários podem consumir de forma direta e fácil. Isto pode ser entendido como uma forma de dispersão ideológica e linguística e uma forma fácil de aprender outras normas e estilos “remotamente”. Através de simulação e aprendizagem *on-line*, um artista urbano estrangeiro pode acabar por aprender o sistema de arte (estilo, normas sociais, figuras de autoridade e respeito...) dum lugar diferente do seu, podendo aplicar-se o ato de experiência virtual (VEA), onde realmente não se tem contato com a área de inserção, mas que é plenamente consciente dos sistemas e subsistemas adjacentes.

Obviamente, a uma melhor compreensão do *ideoleto* local, menor é o risco de ser intercedido pelo homocontrol, e também responde ao nível de autocontrolo que o artista adquire pelo contacto ou assimilação da zona a onde se trabalhará.

Às vezes, embora o trabalho não responda de forma alguma aos cânones locais, esta pode ser excepcionalmente boa e pode salvar-se do ato de sabotagem. A peça pode representar um hiato artístico e o seu autor pode ter o respeito da comunidade internacional ou artistas nacionais, então a escala local não atacaria a obra, mesmo se é considerada como invasiva dentro do perímetro da cidade em si. Estas obras podem até mesmo responder a pedidos institucionais ou fazer parte de intercâmbios de técnicas (*graff-camp*), onde artistas de diferentes lugares se reúnem para a troca de experiências e técnicas.

Os artistas locais iniciantes tem uma maior dificuldade para a sua aceitação visual, e devem criar um grande nome antes de ser respeitados e que as suas obras não sejam vandalizadas. Maneiras para ganhar uma reputação oscilam desde a hipercriação (produção em massa de peças de maior o menor valor), a participação em *crews*, a

associação com artistas de prestígio local (*kings*), etc. mas sempre serão seguidos com um certo receio. O mundo da arte urbana é muito agressivo e só os melhores são respeitados nos pontos quentes da cidade.

As autoridades públicas tem “rapidamente” compreendido a importância da arte urbana e começaram recentemente com o processo de institucionalização da arte de rua. Com a profissionalização da arte urbana pretende-se combater aquilo que não é “arte” no espaço público. Portanto, poderíamos falar de *arte urbana institucionalizada* (responde a todas as medidas do heterocontrolo propostas por uma organização, instituição e conjunto das leis contextuais, além do homocontrol e o autocontrolo) e a *arte urbana selvagem* (aquela que é espontânea e não responde a nenhum *corpus* legal externo, apenas regido pela homocontrol e o autocontrolo do artista).

A arte de rua selvagem é aquela que, às vezes, cai no vandalismo. É a arte ou prática artística que agride a propriedade pública ou privada e não tem autorização para a sua execução. São obras não solicitadas e que desaparecem rapidamente, logo não tem apoio nenhum. Podemos encontrar muitas dessas obras na zona liminar onde a ausência de controle ou de figuras de autoridade permite o seu desenvolvimento. O problema destas formas de arte reside na sua aparência invasiva na propriedade de terceiros e, às vezes, a falta de valor artístico (tag primitivo), ou mensagens pouco ou nada respeitadas (carga política ou sexual explícita, por exemplo).

A arte urbana institucionalizada responde ao reconhecimento de artistas e obras com um desenho e planificação cultural prévio. Instituições públicas ou privadas promovem ou dão subvenções a artistas para a execução de obras, estas obras podem estar localizadas no espaço urbano ou no espaço privado. Primeiramente, trataremos daquelas que são realizadas a título privado. Estas respondem a um contrato e são executadas como um serviço ou produto cultural num espaço e num contexto determinado pelo cliente. O artista será autorizado a sua execução e será tratado como um prestador de serviços. Os seus usos podem variar de simplesmente decorativos para uma forma de valorização urbana para atrair o público jovem ou associado a este tipo de arte. A *arte urbana institucionalizada privada* é considerada um produto intelectual ao serviço do cliente. Por outro lado, a *arte urbana institucional pública* responde a um propósito maior. Como no caso anterior, esta forma de arte atende a um contrato em que

duas partes concordam com a execução de um trabalho a ser localizado no interior ou no exterior, dependendo do objetivo a perseguir; é entendida como um produto cultural com a atribuição de autoria e com valor de mercado. Ao contrário da arte urbana institucionalizada privada esta tem um valor comunicacional e educacional, pois se usara para cobrir superfícies em áreas com altos índices de arte urbana selvagem, ou pontos quentes da cidade. Esta forma de promoção da arte urbana é baseada no princípio do *homocontrol*, respeitar o artista e o trabalho reconhecido pela comunidade, e não-agressão do produto criado porque é uma obra de arte reconhecida e assumida. Instituições públicas ou privadas podem contratar artistas de renome para proteger de alguma forma as suas fachadas ou paredes adjacentes sabendo que estas supõem um escudo contra pintadas vandálicas.

Por último, poderíamos chamar a zona liminar como *homocontrolandia*, pois a maior parte da arte urbana nestas instalações baseia-se nas normas do *homocontrol*, mas não podemos esquecer que continua no espaço urbano e, portanto, de acordo com as regras e regulamentos específicos do município e o estado.

Para concluir, chamou-nos a atenção um fenómeno que apareceu durante os debates organizados no MEDS Reação LX 2013 os quais tivemos a oportunidade de organizar e de participar : a *empatia experiencial*. Nós definimos a empatia experiencial como a capacidade do consumidor urbano de compreender ou aproximar-se à realidade de outro consumidor urbano no ato de partilha de experiências, com ou sem contato prévio com a realidade a tratar, podendo ser completamente virtual o seu contato através do discurso do outro.

Esta capacidade dos consumidores urbanos sentirem como próprias, ou de se aproximarem das realidades apresentadas (experienciadas) por outros consumidores urbanos, supõe uma forma alternativa de entender o poliedro urbano. A empatia experiencial traz consigo a abertura da cidade em termos perceptivos, além de consolidar a esfera retórica como mecanismo associativo e criador de novas realidades. Portanto a empatia experiencial poderia incluir-se dentro dos atos de experiência como uma função dependente de um ato de experiência e sempre ligado a uma leitura-transmissão concreta, realizada por um emissor (consumidor urbano), numas circunstâncias e num contexto.

Entender como os consumidores urbanos leem a cidade permite-nos prever movimentos sociais, melhor acomodar as necessidades reais das pessoas que utilizam a cidade, gerir o conhecimento e beneficiar os intercâmbios culturais que se produzem de forma espontânea nos nossos bairros. Entender a formação de espaços liminais permite-nos lutar contra a marginalização e compromete a cidadania e o desenho urbano para umas cidades mais sustentáveis, mas igualmente supõe olhar para um lar do nosso espaço urbano que não é vazio, senão muito rico em criatividade a pedir uma oportunidade.

Consideramos que os elementos identificados no presente texto podem utilizar-se como ferramentas para a gestão cultural, além de serem úteis para a identificação precoce de situações sociais em risco. Tomar em consideração, tanto as políticas artísticas culturais, como o processo de segmentação social descritos, permitiria, sem dúvida, uma melhoria na preservação do património, a incorporação de novas peças e a promoção de novas formas artísticas, igualmente ricas e interessantes com a participação cidadã.

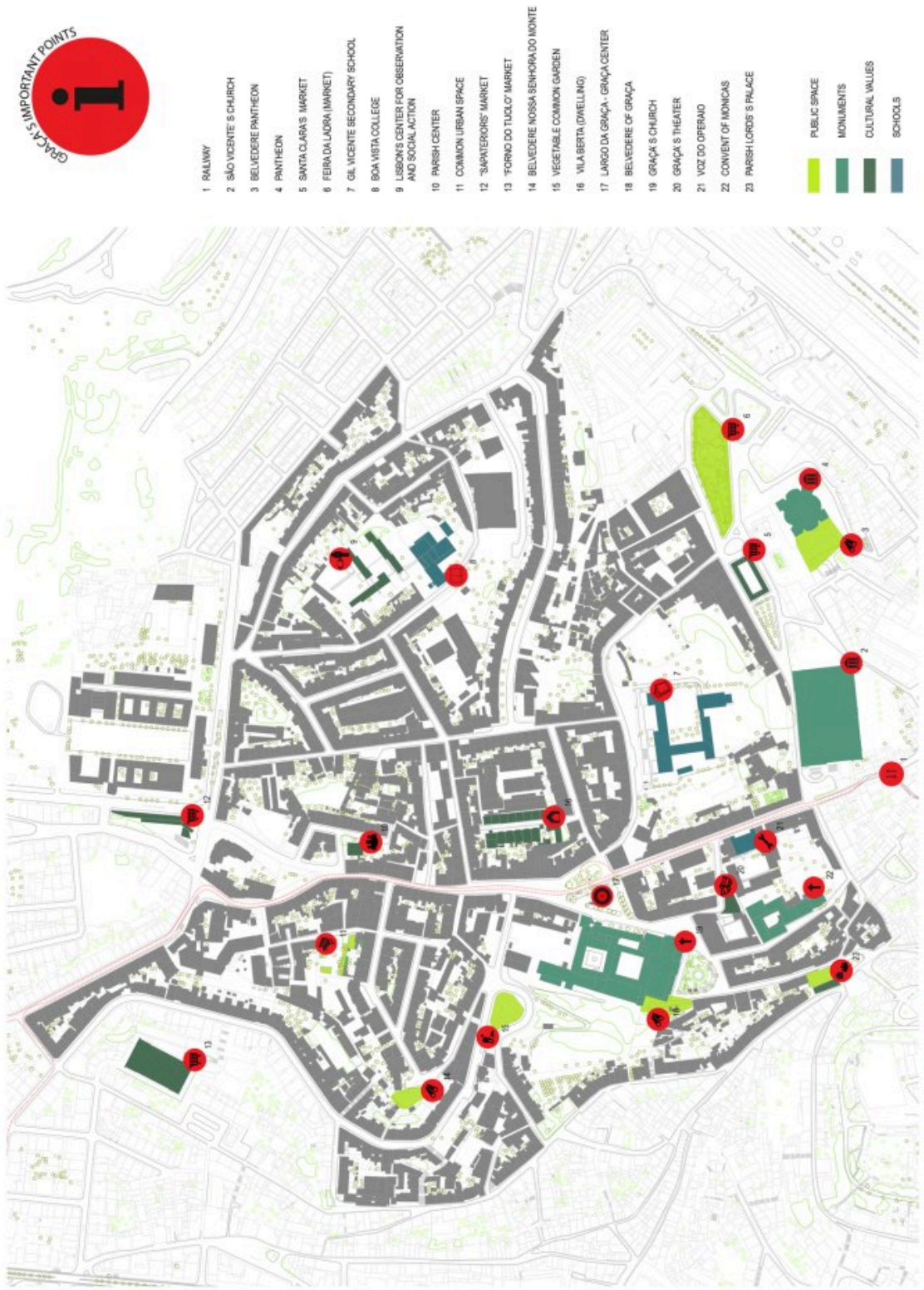
A presente dissertação apresenta a nossa linha de pesquisa, a qual será continuada em futuros trabalhos e investigações. Sem dúvida, temos muito trabalho pela frente, mas aqui recolhem-se os nossos pilares de base: os atos de experiência, os espaços liminais.

App. 2: Meds Reaction in Pictures³³

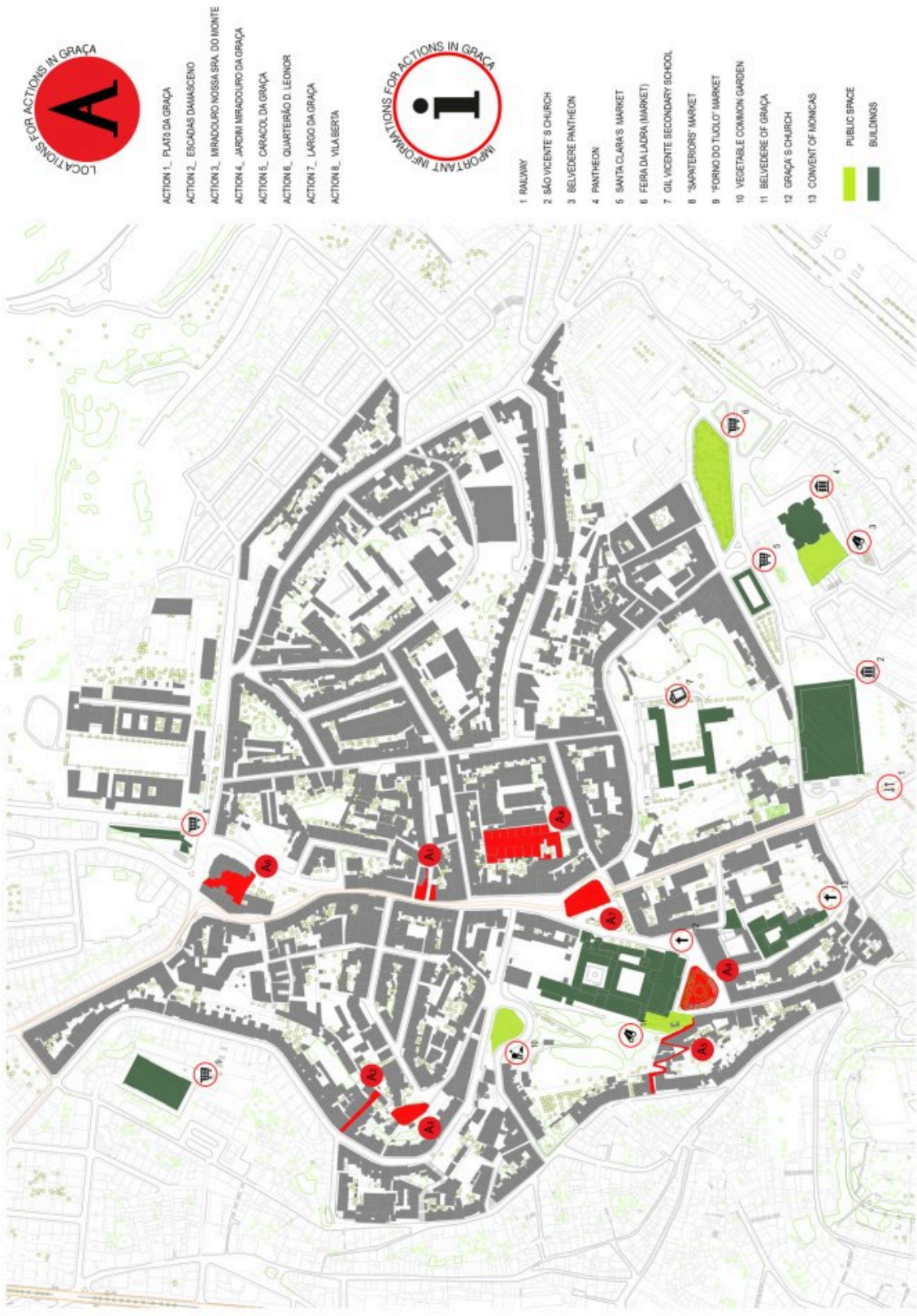
³³ Featured pictures by MEDS Reaction LX 2013 and Manuel García y Ruiz 2013.

Further pictures on digital support.

Graça's Maps



6: Graça's Important locations



7: Initial Activities Map.