space and culture

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Bluff. Black and white photograph.
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Space and Culture

A Resumé of Everyday Life

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Throughout the English-speaking world, traditional university departments are changing. Sociology and communications departments are hiring geographers, and geography departments have begun to follow other disciplines in hiring those with backgrounds in not only urban or environmental studies but scholars who understand themselves as social scientists in a broad sense. In part this has been driven by the reexamination of the value of a liberal education by the emergence of cross-disciplinary research problems such as spatiality, everyday life, and globalization, and in part the process is occurring as departments scramble to hire the best against a demographic trend of academics reaching retirement age. Geographers teaching communications or anthropologists teaching geography ask the old questions in new ways. This may involve simply bringing new methods to the field. These render certain aspects of phenomena "researchable" that are otherwise hard to rigorously observe or analyze.

Space and Culture emerges from the movement toward interdisciplinary study and a conversation that emerged and has flourished in our pages. During the past 4 years, contributors have woven disciplines into a fresh, integrated approach to everyday life and contemporary culture. By *everyday life*, I refer to Lefebvre's radical conception of the everyday as the ground of sociality, culture, and the emotional ground tone of individual interaction. The everyday is not only banal but so mundane that it is of the essence and yet beneath the radar of domination and power relations. As a social field it is brought into existence only via daily practices. It is the most underdetermined aspect of what Gramsci glossed as civil society. Everyday life is colonized, as Habermas

or Debord might say, and as Lefebvre would argue is the volatile combinatory in which resistance reaches the flashpoint at which it emerges into the formal realm of political struggle. This quality of everyday life explains why revolutionary social changes are usually unexpected and why planned revolutions which fail to transform everyday life and its spatiotemporal relations are unsuccessful.

Through our contributors this journal has become a site at which research paths cross and from whence we have attempted to identify lines of flight—research directions and the engagements of disciplines in humanities and social sciences with everyday life and its spaces. All are noteworthy, but I will make the error of mentioning only a few.

1

Our theme issues have traced a path between some of the first engagements with the potential of concepts such as *Flow* (Vol. 1, No. 1, 1997) and its antinomies— bounded and embargoed places, the finitudes of an imagined, risk space of *Apocalypse* (Vol. 1, No. 2, 1998). We argued that flows, whether of capital in political economy, migrants in sociology and postcolonial critique, or thought in poststructural philosophy, needed to be made the subject of a "rhythmanalysis" for rhythms of what we live and experience, not flows or pure mobility (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 206). What of imprisoned flows and the manner in which inhumane environments were rendered *Habitable Spaces* (Vol. 1, No. 3, 1998)? Foucault's spaces of discipline are also lived, inhabited spaces. In these, bodies are hardly docile. People continually stray from the prescribed norm as part of an equally necessary process of inhabiting and place-making (Roderick, 1998, p. 4).

2

These two aspects form a dynamic system in *Virtual Spaces* structured as *Organizational Networks* (Issue 4/5, Vol. 2, No. 1-2, 2000). Here, the virtual spaces of information and telecommunications media were seen in their relation to the embodied world of food and materiality. But within the context of everyday life, attempts to focus rigorously on a world of flows, of movement and becoming, elude most cultural and social research methodologies. They demand a new calculus of change, perhaps not methods per se but allegories and forms of analysis. These Antimethods (Issue 6, Vol. 2, No. 3, 2000) keep mobile phenomena in view rather than tracking their quarry through traces in analytical landscapes too often emptied of the complexity of human life. Even in cultural research, those experiences that given meaning to life, that give color to existence, are too often trivialized and excluded (Nietzsche, 1974) in the name of contemplation and knowledge.

3

A triple issue on *Assemblage*, *Love and Mourning*, and *Dialogues* (Issue 7-9, Vol. 3, No. 1-3, 2000) pushed the tendence of focuses on the everyday to produce a form of normativity and research on spatiality to generalize specific places to the level of uni-

versals. Assemblages are mixtures of difference or the coming together of elements. This concept recasts the normativity of Foucault's disciplinary society and the voluntarism of Bakhtin's popular carnival as a heterogeneous process of events and coexisting spaces that are closely articulated with each other. A badge, clothing style, slogan, music, or even an event or place like the relation of a dream to experience can condense assemblages into pithy icons. These function as negative totems against which anger is directed or identities and banners behind which the immanent micropolitics of assemblages is rallied to take to the streets and onto the stage of state politics.

At the beginning of the issue on love and mourning, Will Shively's photo, "AIDS Angel 1," covers her face in emotion. Her naked body confirms her all-too-human status: The emotion is horror and grief. Spaces of death and trauma, mourning and melancholia, also trouble the normative quality with which everyday has often been associated even though it is the field of survival—cultural and individual—par excellence (Ironstone-Catterall, 2000).

In the same way that the advanced capitalist societies have repressed death from the everyday, so capitalism has tolerated no beyond. The contributors to the issue on dialogues showed how capitalist modernity inexorably moves to incorporate the most marginal spaces. These are the spaces and experiences of migrancy (Chambers, 1994), or what Derrida famously called "the supplement" and Freud "the uncanny." "The unsettling moment of in-betweenness which errupts when difference cannot be subsumed under identity . . . an a-topia, a no-place" (Van Loon, 2000a, p. 210). As Freud demonstrated, difference cannot be completely subsumed or reduced to a commodified thrill. There is an otherness, within which inaugurates a beyond experienced as risk (Beck, 2000, p. 211; Van Loon, 2000b, p. 165).

4

Both the virtual and the everyday are *Archival Spaces* (Issue 10, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2001). These environments are saturated by recollection and memory—forms of knowledge governed by not only epistemology but structured ontologically. Places may function as condensations and concretizations of historical experience. And in rituals and via pilgrimages, this may be transferred to individuals as prosthetic memories of key events that have shaped their cultural identity as a people. So too are the online archives of virtual space structured in an architecture of Web sites and a logic of paths in the form of links from site to site (Elmer, 2001, pp. 9-10). Rather than an open frontier of information, the Web is a structured space of information in which opportunities for knowledge, and via this the social relations of everyday life, are increasingly managed.

The materiality of everyday is thus understood to be folded over, doubled, in the virtuality of the Web. This is not a simple mirror but yet another case of the beyond. The contributors and editors of the issue on *Spatial Hauntings* (Issue 11/12, Vol. 4, No. 2-3, 2001) returned to the methodological and theoretical limitations of the literalness by which the social sciences have understood their objects of research, relegating the past to history and the uncanny to psychoanalysis. Limiting what is "there" to the materially present, excluding memory, the "immutable qualities hardly obvious to the eye, described most of the times as an atmosphere, a mood; or . . . the uncanny . . . 'hauntings' encapsulates our concerns" (Degen & Hetherington, 2001, p. 1).

In the pages of *Space and Culture*, the more the everyday was examined, the more it came to be seen as unsettled and unstable, haunted—the reason perhaps for it being seen by writers such as De Certeau and Bakhtin as a reservoir of resistance and popular self-determination. Circuits of exchange linking the far off and near-to-hand also come to be seen as transcending the monetary. They include an economy of futures and options that draw as much on the past and the virtual as on the present and material. As for space, it appears to become more than culturally constructed; it seems to have acquired a voice and a repertoire—of places and flows, memories and anticipations, the near and the beyond.

5

We enter our 5th year strengthened by an agreement with Sage Publications to publish and distribute *Space and Culture*. We plan to follow a more general style than the theme issue approach but will continue our critical exploration of approaches to elements of everyday life that are often overlooked in geography and the other social sciences. We see this as a cultural, an ethical, and a political project to open a space in academic dialogue and to contribute in a small measure by sketching the routes by which the critical might be taken beyond the academic. Perhaps this is like bringing Lukács of the critical essay to Brecht of engaged theatre, and vice versa. We seek a critical geopolitics that operates at not only a global, but engages audiences and communities at the human scale.

This issue features the photography of Roger Palmer on the cover and interspersed throughout. In these images, mundane objects take on an overdimensioned quality by virtue of reflections or cracks in their surfaces that give glimpses of other spaces. Ian Hunt links them to the art of the Italian Quattrocento. The theme is picked up in Alessandra Bonazzi's reflection on condensed heterotopias as well as everyday and liminal sites—the beach, Disneyland, and the less well-examined phenomena of urban margins and transborder transportation corridors examined by James Freeman, Deborah Phillips, Tom Nielsen, and Jane Henrici, respectively. *Space and Culture* has long included postcards from everyday life—in this issue, Arizona as a liminal zone.

The advantage of the spatial turn that our contributors have taken in cultural research is that it allows the incommensurable and aspects of daily life that are studied only separately in different disciplines and specialisms to be grasped together. In the spatial arena of one locality, for example, the encounter between structural forces and voluntaristic individuals can be seen in one and the same analytic glance. In what ways can this approach contribute further to current research conversations such as around speed and immediacy, or crucial transnational flows such as pathogens and the cultural shifts that take place in their wake? How can it be deployed to examine the archetypical spaces of globalization including airports, the low-wage enterprise zone, Web sites, and even the marketplace and the respective embodiments, inhabitings, hauntings, virtualities, and everyday forms of social interaction that each of these imply?

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Democracy and Danger on the Beach

Class Relations in the Public Space of Rio de Janeiro

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Through an ethnographic study of a stretch of beach in Rio de Janeiro's Copacabana and Ipanema neighborhoods, the author argues that the public space of the city can act as a sort of public sphere where the politics of everyday class and race interaction can be part of larger scale politics, even in a very divided city like Rio de Janeiro. But Rio's beaches only confer a sort of marginal citizenship on their users. They are not the location of discursive democracy idealized by some social theorists, nor are they the egalitarian classless and color-blind spaces mythologized by the Brazilian elite. Rather, they are the site of an unequal, often confrontational politics of class whereby the legitimacy of the social order is challenged, renegotiated, and ultimately reproduced.

Observers of the modern city have long been fascinated with the mixture of people on the street. In the anonymous crowd, social status established elsewhere can be ignored as the rich rub shoulders with the poor on seemingly equal terms. No one really knows who anyone is, giving people a certain freedom to be who they want to be that they would not have in a traditional face-to-face community. Some have taken this argument further, claiming that the public space of the city—because of this leveling effect—can function as a location of discursive democracy. The model for this sort of public space are the boulevards and cafés of 19th-century European cities, where citizens are said to have met as equals, debated the problems of their societies, and formed consensuses that would influence government decision making.[1] Robert Putnam's

(1993) characterization of one contemporary urban public space illustrated this argument: "Bologna's central piazza is famous for its nightly debates among constantly shifting groups of citizens and political activists, and those impassioned discussions about issues of the day are echoed in the chambers of the regional council" (p. 6).

Is there room for this sort of democratic public space in large Latin American cities with degraded centers, sprawling slums, and upper classes that insulate themselves in helicopters, bullet-proof cars, and gated communities? In this article I will examine the claim commonly made in Rio de Janeiro that the public beaches of the city are such a space by focusing on a particular stretch of beach in the neighborhoods of Ipanema and Copacabana.

I will argue that Rio's public space is not democratic in Putnam's (1993) sense of the word but that there is a politics of class in the public space whereby the legitimacy of the social order is challenged, renegotiated, and ultimately reproduced. Rio's beaches are an important arena for the very polarized classes of Brazilian society to face each other and learn about their relationship. Whereas beach goers categorize each other in many ways, including race, gender, age, sexual preference, favorite soccer team, and musical taste, I am particularly interested in the way that class in the Marxist sense works through these other lines of division on the beach. I

Figure 1. A crowded Sunday on Ipanema beach
Source: Photo © James Freeman.

would argue that there is a strong class subconscious that lurks right below the surface of Rio's harmonious public life. Much ideological work is done organizing the jumble of received ideas that make up common sense to produce an interpretation of the world that explains everyday experience while justifying the status quo. When the contradictions between experience and ideology become too great, class subconscious is always ready to draw on those same resources to reinterpret the world in ways that challenge the dominant view, opening the door to conflict and rebellion.

Rio's Shared Public Space

Cariocas, natives of Rio de Janeiro, will tell you that their city is special. Unlike other cities, Rio de Janeiro has a public space that is very much alive and used by people from all walks of life. The vitality of Rio's public space can be traced to the city's particular history, culture, and geography. The lower classes have long made the street and the *praça* their space of sociability, dating back to the time of slavery when the street represented a refuge from the strict discipline of the master's household.[2] But what makes Rio unique is the willingness of the upper classes to join them on the

street. With the development of the Carioca obsession with the beach in the first half of the 20th century, first the upper classes and then the middle classes moved to beach neighborhoods in the *Zona Sul* (southern section of the city) in pursuit of the emerging Brazilian ideal of the good life, which meant spending a good part of one's leisure time between the beach and the outdoor corner bar or *botequim*.[3] This tendency of the middle class Carioca to live in the public space was reinforced beginning in the 1950s with the "democratization" of Copacabana. Real estate developers discovered that they could make more money by building large apartment buildings packed with tiny apartments that the middle and lower-middle classes could afford. Thus, many apartments in the Zona Sul are very small, and the middle classes tend to socialize on the beach or at the corner bar rather than entertaining at home (Velho, 1973/1989). And although the very rich in Rio de Janeiro are famous for their exclusive lifestyles, many have not lost their attachment to the beach and the corner bar.

The fact that rich and poor share Rio's public space leads many Cariocas to argue that the city's streets, praças, outdoor bars, and especially its beaches constitute democratic space. But Rio is also a very "divided city" (Ventura, 1994), and not everyone has equal access to the beaches. Brazil is one of the most unequal societies in the world, and that inequality is clearly inscribed in the landscape of Rio de Janeiro. The city is divided by the Tijuca-Carioca mountain range into the Zona Norte—the inland area north of the mountains—and the Zona Sul—the coastal area south of the mountains (see Figure 2).

The majority of greater Rio's 13 million inhabitants live in the sprawling slums of the Zona Norte that extend well beyond the city limits to the north, whereas the upper classes are concentrated in the Zona Sul on a narrow strip of land between the mountains and the beach. Many Zona Norte residents travel 2 to 3 hours each way by bus to reach the Zona Sul neighborhoods for work or leisure. But even in this upper class enclave, Rio's poverty is present.
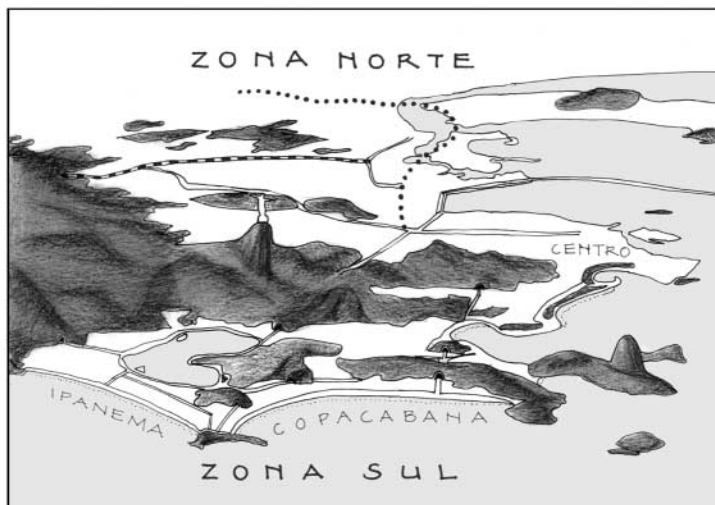
Figure 2. Map of Rio de Janeiro

Source: Map © Anne-Marie Broudehoux (2001).
Note: Rio de Janeiro is divided into the poor Zona Norte and the rich Zona Sul. The latter is isolated from the rest of the city by the Tijuca-Carioca mountain range.

Poor squatter settlements known as *favelas* cling to the sides of the mountains that surround the Zona Sul neighborhoods, putting the shacks of the poor on eye level with—or hovering above—upper class apartments in modern 15-story high-rises. Favela residents in the Zona Sul are privileged compared to the poor of the Zona Norte in that they are close to jobs as maids, nannies, construction workers, and odd-jobbers serving the upper class residents. And they have quick access to the beach. But

they also suffer the stigma of living in illegal communities.[4] And the coexistence of rich and poor is not always peaceful. Rio has a reputation as one of the most dangerous cities in the world with murders, armed robbery, kidnapping, and shoot-outs regularly making headlines.[5] In late 1994, the feeling of insecurity on the part of the upper classes was so great that the army was called out to occupy Rio's favelas for several months in an attempt to contain crime, especially drug trafficking (Resende, 1995).

Figure 3. Copacabana Posto 6 with the *favela* of Pavão in the background

Source: Photo © James Freeman.

But everyone goes to the beach, and in hundreds of informal conversations and formal interviews on the beach in Ipanema and Copacabana the theme of the beach as democratic space came up repeatedly. Interviews were carried out from July 1998 to December 1999 along the beach from Posto 6 in Copacabana to the canal of Jardim de Alá that separates Ipanema from Leblon. This area was chosen because it provides a good mix of upper class residents and visitors, local favela residents (from Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho), and visitors from the poor suburbs.

Beach goers agreed that Rio is a very divided city with a lot of problems but that Cariocas are basically easygoing people who avoid conflict and get along with each other, especially on the beach. Part of what allows rich and poor to share the beach with relatively little overt conflict, I would argue, is a set of ideas about who Cariocas are and how they act, which is part of a larger set of ideas about who Brazilians are. The tradition of describing Brazil as a racial democracy and the Brazilian as the cordial man still has much influence. The myth of racial democracy holds that although Brazil was a society of Portuguese slave-owners and African slaves a century ago, today Brazil is largely colorblind. The myth of the cordial man holds that Brazilians are friendly, easygoing people who prefer to resolve their differences through diplomacy rather than confrontation. These two

Figure 4. Politics on the beach: Copacabana during the gubernatorial election campaign of 1998

Source: Photo © James Freeman.

myths have been discussed at length by social scientists (Dzidzienyo, 1971; Freyre, 1959, 1986; de Holanda, 1936/1995; Skidmore, 1974/1993). I would like to suggest a third myth, which clearly resonates with the other two: the myth of the democratic beach. The beaches of Rio de Janeiro are considered the one place where Cariocas can put aside their differences and face each other as equals in the anonymity of their bathing suits. Although the myth of the democratic beach can be refuted as easily as these other myths, all three represent partial truths. They are partial because they are incomplete, and they are partial because they take sides.

One beach goer named Marcos, a 37-year-old graphic designer, summed up Carioca sentiment about the beach:

> You get a real mix of people on the beach. There are thieves from the favela right next to people of the high society. When people aren't wearing their clothes you don't know who you are speaking to. Ipanema is very mixed and democratic. Being a Carioca means being liberal, letting others live their lives. Ipanema epitomizes the Carioca spirit.

Figure 5. Posto 6, Copacabana

Source: Photo © James Freeman.

Newspaper articles echo this popular wisdom, regularly pointing out the mixed democratic nature of the beach and emphasizing the diversity of beach goers who are all sharing the same sand. One article declared, "Mixture of tribes is the recipe for a good beach. . . . Rappers, tourists and body builders share this stretch of sand" ("Verão no Rio," 1997, p. 53). Another, entitled "The Sun Shines for Everyone," told of a city councilman, a volleyball player, and a model who are sharing a beer on the beach and concluded, "Despite the differences, they frequent the same beach" (Costa, 1987, p. 1). Official statements by the city's promoters concur. Rafael de Almeida Magalhães, who coordinated Rio's unsuccessful bid to host the 2004 Olympics, cited the democratic beach as one of Rio's advantages in the contest: "Rio is a unique city. It is the most democratic space in the world. Here people of all classes share a very small space. The beach is a democratic space, as is the bar" (Thompson, 1997, p. 22).

Navigating the Beach

From these descriptions, one might imagine an undifferentiated mass of people distributed randomly along the beach. And for the uninitiated arriving at the beach on a sunny weekend day, the mass of chairs, umbrellas, and bodies that hardly leave a

patch of sand visible for long stretches might seem to support the democratic unmarked space argument. But in fact, regular beach goers have a sophisticated understanding of this landscape that allows them to read it, talk about it, and navigate within it. As with all popular geography, this system is not objective, rational, or systematic but borrows from various rational systems that were created at different times in the past and includes references to institutions and experiences that have been long forgotten by collective memory. Some references are relics that are only used by older people, whereas others are emerging and are used only by the young. Thus, some parts of the beach are referred to by official neighborhood designations, such as Leme and Arpoador, whereas others are named after buildings that face the beach like Cap Ferrat, an exclusive modern granite and glass apartment building. Still other stretches of sand are named after buildings that used to face the beach like Castelinho, the "little castle," an elaborate turn-of-the-century mansion that was torn down in 1965 (Castro, 1999; Peixoto, 1999). Others are named after the numbered lifeguard stations, such as Posto 6, which refers to the last stretch of Copacabana beach and the adjoining neighborhood despite the fact that the sixth lifeguard station was never built.

Posto 9 is by far the best-known posto reference and possibly the most famous spot on the beach. Posto 9 represents more a lifestyle than an actual lifeguard station. In interviews near the actual lifeguard station, people spoke about the history of Posto 9 and how Posto 9 moved several meters down the beach at one point and then migrated back part of the way toward the original location. Of course, the actual lifeguard station never moved. Chacal's (1998) book on Posto 9 also charted a very mobile history of this stationary lifeguard station: "In my cartography, Posto 9 began beside the sea in Copacabana, Xavier da Silveira street, Posto 5" (p. 11). He then traced the movement of this scene from Posto 5 in Copacabana to its current location past the actual Posto 9 to "Posto 9 1/2" in Ipanema. Chacal quoted a poet friend Eudoro Augusto:

> Not even the territory was rigorously demarcated: its nucleus went from the posto itself to Montenegro street, later renamed Vinicius de Moraes. But in fact it extended a bit to the left toward Farme de Amoedo street and a bit to the right toward Joana Angélica street (p. 58).

But on a more micro scale, the most important references for beach goers are the *barraqueiros*, the informal beach vendors who set up stands at regular intervals on the sand to rent chairs and umbrellas and sell beer within carefully negotiated and demarcated territories. Understanding the importance of barraqueiros suddenly imposes a grid on what at first glance seems like a chaotic sea of bodies. On a busy beach day, unbroken chains of white *barracas*, or tents, a few feet apart can stretch for hundreds of meters on popular parts of the beach. Although the city government has recently required the uniform white tents, the barraqueiros do everything they can to distinguish themselves. Most of the barracas bear the nicknames of their owners in hand-painted letters that can easily be read from the sidewalk: Barraca do Pelé, Barraca da Baiana, Barraca do Russo, and so forth. Others fly flags to make their barracas recognizable. One well-known barraqueiro known as *O Uruguaio*, the Uruguayan, plants the red flag of the Worker's Party (PT) in the sand in front of his tent. Another displays a gay rainbow flag, and others fly flags of different soccer teams and countries. One particularly enterprising barraqueiro, known as Pelé, advertises the address of his Web site in large letters across the side of his barraca.

Figure 6. *O Uruguaio* in action: Beach *barraca* at Posto 9, Ipanema
Source: Photo © Anja Kessler.

Regina, who has had her barraca at Vinicius Street for 5 years, flies a Brazilian flag so that her regular seasonal customers, who are mostly foreign tourists, will recognize her stand. Like many barraqueiros, she stresses the importance of being there every day. If her customers come and do not find her there, they will go to someone else or maybe even go back home. If she does not turn up for several days some other barraqueiro will likely take her spot. Because barraqueiros find it so important for their business to be consistent and reliable, they provide stable references for beach goers. Many have been selling on the same spot for 20 or 30 years. The extreme regularity of some of the barraqueiros and the habits they have imposed on the people around them is illustrated by one sunny Saturday when the Uruguaio, a more than 30-year veteran of the beach, did not show up to erect his stand. The beach was full, but there was a gap 20 meters wide where the Uruguaio and his customers should have been. The beach is public space, and the barraqueiros are illegal but tolerated. The city government has registered many barraqueiros and sought to enforce certain rules about how they conduct their business. But enforcement is uneven and official rules compete with a strong set of informal practices that involve negotiation among barraqueiros and between barraqueiros and the authorities. Barraqueiros stress that the beach is public and that no one can own a patch of sand, but many admit that the rights to particular stretches of beach are bought and sold freely.

Turmas

Thus, Cariocas possess a rich if eclectic vocabulary for talking and thinking about the beach, but they use these tools mostly to find their way to their regular spots and surround themselves with familiar faces in the sea of anonymous bodies. The case of Veneno is illustrative of the attachment people have to particular patches of sand and the insular social worlds these places represent. Veneno is a 57-year-old insurance salesman who has lived in Ipanema all his life and has spent a good part of his leisure time on the beach. He has been patronizing the Barraca do Chico, across from the Cap Ferrat building and near Garcia D'Ávila Street, for the past 15 or 20 years. He seems comfortable on this crowded section of beach, greeting and joking with many other beach goers. When he was younger, he played soccer all up and down the beach, but now his social group is very concentrated on this spot:

> In those days everyone knew everyone. It was like a big family. Generations of kids have grown up on this beach. They come out of their mother's womb and they come right to the beach. But the beach has gotten much more crowded in the last 10 years. There are much more outsiders. In the past everyone greeted everyone. Now if you go 10 meters in either direction you don't know anyone. There was a huge family. Now it's just this pocket of friends here.

Veneno comes to this spot on the beach Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays, weather permitting. He comes early and by 12:00 or 1:00, "depending on [his] thirst," he heads for his regular bar, *Paz e Amor*, four blocks down Garcia D'Ávila Street, for a beer or two. About his social group, or *turma*, he says, "Some of us know each other more from the bar and some of us know each other more from the beach." He also participates in a street carnival group, or *bloco*, called *Que Merda é Essa*, which is based at the bar. The name of their bloco translates as *What Is This Shit?* Street carnival groups, known as *blocos* or *bandas*, are a Carnaval tradition that seemed to be dying out but have become popular again in recent years. A group of friends, often based in a particular bar, forms a bloco with an ironic name and each year they invent a new samba song full of sexual or political puns. Then they parade through the immediate neighborhood once or twice during Carnaval in absurd costumes, dancing, playing their song, and trying to attract onlookers to join them.

The participants of Veneno's bloco come from three beach crowds: his turma at the Barraca do Chico, a group from the nearby Barraca de Miro e Eliza, and a group that hangs out at the nearby sidewalk kiosk, a formal permanent structure where drinks are also sold. The kiosk crowd comes from the older middle-class neighborhood of Larangeiras, whereas the rest are all from Ipanema.

This story of a turma associated with a particular barraca on the beach and a particular place away from the beach—like a bar, a nightclub, another neighborhood of Rio, another city in Brazil, or a foreign country—repeats itself endlessly along the length of the beach. And regardless of what people might say about the leveling effect of the bathing suit, beach goers are acutely aware of the social connotations of each part of the beach. Mentioning such broad designations as Posto 9, Country (for the exclusive Country Club across the street), or Farme (for the intersecting Farme de Amoedo Street) will produce knowing smirks from anyone who has spent any time in Rio de Janeiro. Any Carioca child can list off some of the better known beach turmas defined in terms of lifestyle or class. Although no two people's accounts of who belongs where on the beach are exactly the same, there is a consensus understanding of the basic social divisions of the 3 kilometers of beach that this study concerns itself with. Thus, Country is for *mauricinhos* and *patricinhas*—little Morrises and Patricias, or rich kids. Posto 9 belongs to old leftist intellectuals and marijuana smokers. Farme west of the ditch belongs to the *Turma da Farme* or Farme Gang—mostly young middle-class men who practice Jujitsu and like to pick fights. Farme east of the ditch is gay. Arpoador is the territory of surfers, residents of the Cantagalo favela, and *suburbanos*—poor residents of the Zona Norte and the remote suburbs beyond. Posto 6 is for poor people and tourists.

People generally characterize nearby groups in a more nuanced way than they do broader regions of the beach because these characterizations are more influenced by firsthand experience and observation. Marcos, the graphic designer, gave an account of the turmas of the beach: The people from his friend Luiz's barraca at "Posto 9 1/2" are the new generation of Posto 9. "They are the children of the old Posto 9 crowd.

They smoke and get high all the time. They are neohippies. They are healthy and into sports and health food." Marcos likes this part of the beach because he likes to be around younger people who are healthy and take care of themselves: "Gravity hasn't had its effect on these people yet." They call the people at Posto 9 "senior citizens." The Barraca do Zé at Posto 9 has this sort of older crowd. "It's a turma that has been hanging out together for 20 or 30 years. Their conversation never changes. It's the same old leftist line. They haven't managed to get up to date." A little farther down the beach on the other side of Posto 9 are the "marombeiros da Farme"—the muscle boys of Farme street— or the "pit bull boys." They are rich kids in their 20s and 30s who do not work and practice Jujitsu. "They'll retire as surfers. They call their girlfriends 'bitches' and on Mondays they show up and brag about the fights they had over the weekend." Down the beach in the other direction the crowd is more "mauricinho." They follow fashion and are concerned with clothes. Next to Luiz's barraca is the Barraca do Baiano, which Marcos calls the *pé sujo* of the beach. *Pé sujo* literally means "dirty foot" and is a pejorative term for an open-air working-class bar where customers stand at the counter and presumably drop the remains of food and other garbage on the floor at their feet.

Figure 7. Ipanema and Copacabana with numbered lifeguard stations
Source: Map © Anne-Marie Broudehoux (2001).

But social distinction on the beach is not only spatial. Often it is temporal or related to behavior and dress. Many upper class interviewees said they avoid the beach on sunny weekends or holidays, or if they come they only come in the morning before the crowds from the Zona Norte arrive. Claudia, a long-time resident of Ipanema who patronizes the Uruguaio, remembers when the suburbanos first started invading the neighborhood in the mid-1980s. She remembers her first encounter with a group of teenagers from the suburbios. They were not dressed right. They were boisterous and loud, kicking sand all over and bothering everyone. The group approached her from behind and one of them grabbed her butt. She turned around and told them it was clear they were not from Ipanema because they did not know how to act on the beach.

An examination of the Arpoador–Posto 8 section of the beach—which is shared by residents of the nearby favela of Cantagalo and residents of remote poor neighborhoods whose busses have their final stops there—is illustrative of this distinction by time, behavior, and dress. Paulo, aged 26, who lives in Cantagalo and works as a janitor in a nearby residence hotel, is quick to differentiate between Cantagalo residents like himself and suburbanos: "The people from the favela are more civilized. They know how to behave on the beach." He is bothered by the suburbanos who use the same part of the beach that he does, near Teixeira de Melo Street a few blocks from the

main entrance to the favela. He echoed a common refrain of middle-class Ipanema residents about avoiding contact with suburbanos: "I try to come at 8:00 a.m. The beach is good before noon and after 4:00 p.m. The suburbanos don't arrive until noon and they're gone by 3:00. At noon the best thing to do is pack up your stuff and leave." He also commented on the behavior of the suburbanos, which he finds inappropriate for Ipanema:

> The suburbanos arrive at the beach with all sorts of stuff. They bring their boxed lunches, their chicken, and their big radios. They wear huge Bermuda shorts and run everywhere they go, kicking up sand and carrying on private conversations so loudly that everyone can hear them. They swear constantly. Even the children swear. It's like a concert of voices. They don't do it on purpose. They just don't know how to act. Sometimes you can tell it's their first time on the beach. They will already be standing in the sand and one will say to the other, "Hey, let's go to the beach!" And they will run and jump into the water. Then when they are in the water one will say, "Hey, it's salty!"

Paulo thinks that the city should impose a code of beach conduct. He is also interested in theater and said that he would like to do a play about the suburbanos. Paulo's play would likely be popular. During the interview his audience was clearly entertained by his description of the suburbanos. The fact that the suburbano has become a recognizable stereotype that can be parodied indicates a broad agreement on what working-class beach goers are like. Paulo contrasted the suburbano's inappropriate conduct with his own relaxed, very Carioca style of going to the beach, in terms that would not seem out of place in a Bossa Nova song: "People who know the beach, know how to behave. I just want to relax, catch some sun, enjoy the beach, see a beautiful girl, and drink a beer." Paulo's attitude toward the beach follows a long tradition of Bohemian beach culture in Copacabana and Ipanema.

Paulo also referred to the suburbanos as *farofeiros*. *Farofa* is a popular Brazilian dish made from manioc flour. Paulo explained that the suburbanos are always playing with the sand, throwing it around and rolling in it. The white

Figure 8. Poor kids and tourists: Children from the community of Pavão at Posto 6 with the Copacabana skyline and Sugar Loaf in the background

Source: Photo © James Freeman.

sand sticks to their dark bodies and it looks like they are covered in farofa. "They don't care how they look when they leave the beach. They don't even brush the sand off." Others use the term to refer to the food suburbanos bring to the beach. Shortly after express bus service from the Zona Norte to Ipanema was established, Rio's *Jornal do Brasil* newspaper reported, "At Posto 9 yesterday there were several groups having picnics of roasted chicken, noodles and *lots of farofa* [italics added]. Beach vendors com-

plained about the farofeiros who 'don't do anyone any good'" ("Ligação Pelo Túnel," 1984, p. 5). Bringing food to the beach, especially certain kinds of food, is a mark of low status. A true Carioca, as Goslin (1991) put it in her satirical account, goes to the beach spontaneously and unencumbered, with money for beer and snacks tucked into his swim suit. But the working classes cannot afford to spend the R\$7 (U.S.\$4) that the average beach goer spends on beer and snacks when the minimum wage is R\$140 per month (Dias, 1999). "Everything is very expensive here," said Maria das Dores on the beach at García D'Ávila with her family, who spent 2 hours on two busses to get to Ipanema from Marechal Hermes in the Zona Norte. "It's a good thing we brought a bottle of water from home" (Tolipan, 1987, p. 1). Farofa, a cheap and filling staple, has come to symbolize poor people on the beach, as have other consumption items. "When they come asking for two-liter bottles of soda and bologna sandwiches, I know they aren't from here," said a beach kiosk owner in a 1996 newspaper article entitled "Bathers of the Zona Sul Resist the Invasion." The article commented that the kiosk owner's statement "summarized the reaction of almost all the residents of the Zona Sul to the bathers who arrive every sunny Sunday on thirty-eight bus lines with end stops in Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon" (Goulart & Moreira, 1996, p. 31).

Anonymity of the Bathing Suit

These accounts call into question characterizations of the beach as democratic space where people from different walks of life can interact as equals in the anonymity of their bathing suits. Instead, the beach seems to be divided into many small cells of sociability that exist side by side but whose boundaries are clearly demarcated by space, time, behavior, and dress. It is not surprising that the story of the democratic beach is most fully articulated by middle-class beach goers. But the idea of the beach as democratic space also resonates with lower class beach users, maybe because there is a degree of truth to it: There does seem to be a certain anonymity to the bathing suit, and to the culture of public space more generally, that provides an opening for socializing across status groups. How well do people of a beach turma know each other after as long as 20 years? Many interviewees stated facts about their friends' lives, such as where they lived or their professions, only to be contradicted in separate interviews with those same friends. The majority of the people interviewed said that they met the other members of their turma on the beach. Paula, a 31-year-old secretary from the middle-class neighborhood of Larangeiras, said on the beach at Garcia D'Ávila Street, "People establish friendships on the beach. I've made many friends on the beach." Lillian, a 34-year-old computer analyst and semiprofessional volleyball player from Sweden, plays volleyball on the beach at Posto 6 in Copacabana. She says that she does not really know much about the people she plays with. They do not talk about their lives much. She wonders how they have the time to hang out on the beach and how they support themselves.

One turma whose three poles are the Uruguaio at Posto 9, the Bofetada bar on Farme Street, and the Mariuzinn night club at Posto 6 in Copacabana seems to have an unwritten code of conversation that proscribes certain personal information. The core of this turma dates back about 7 years. Many regular members of the group know each other only by first names, do not know each other's professions, do not know each other's phone numbers, and have never seen each other's houses—if they even know where those houses are located. Conversation in this group can be characterized

as *bate-papo*, or shooting the breeze, which involves light politics, gossip, sexual innuendo, and other word games. Members of this group will probably never have the kind of conversation that two American businessmen might have in the first half-hour of meeting each other on an airplane, where direct information about status is exchanged. Several interviewees said that there are a lot of fakers in Ipanema, people who are not what they pretend to be. Jaílson, a 32-year-old informal street vendor who lives in the remote working-class suburb of Bangú and sells contraband watches on Farme Street, said the strange thing about the Zona Sul is that you cannot tell who is who. In his neighborhood everyone knows who everyone else is. In Ipanema, there are a lot of people who pretend to have money. "A lot is hidden here."

Levi, a 41-year-old manager from Copacabana who hangs out on the gay section of the beach east of Farme Street, says that a lot of gay men live beyond their means to fit in. He noted that this section of the beach attracts a better crowd than the gay section of Copacabana beach, which gets a lot of transvestites and people who cause trouble and get into fights. "It's another social level. Here you get gays who like a quiet beach." According to Levi, the majority of the people who come to this area are journalists, doctors, professionals, and entertainers. But there are also people who share apartments with five or six others so they can live in Ipanema and so they can dress well and afford to go out. People try to hide their difficulties. "The guy might be unemployed, but if someone invites him out for a drink he'll find a way to go. He has to pay $10 to get into the club. He can't afford to be there, but he'll put off paying a bill to go out that night." There are also a lot of young guys who turn tricks to be able to support their lifestyles. They advertise in the paper and do it privately. "On the beach it's not always easy to tell who they are."

The Cordial Barraqueiro

The anonymity of Ipanema's public space and the culture of not talking about certain things gives people a degree of freedom to be who they want to be. But another aspect of Rio's public culture might also support the democratic space narrative: the friendliness and personalism of Rio's public life that seems to include everyone as part of the family. In a classic work on Brazilian culture, social historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1936/1995) discussed the Brazilian tendency to personalize relationships. He argued that social interactions that might be anonymous impersonal transactions in another society require in Brazil that the participants establish a relationship of affection and familiarity. He reported, for example, that an American businessman was shocked to realize that in Brazil he needed to make a friend of a man to win him over as a customer (de Holanda, 1936/1995, p. 149). Although everyday interactions between strangers on the beach are surprisingly cordial, with every accidental jostle in a crowd producing a sincere apology, it is in this more specific sense of business relationships that de Holanda's cordialness plays itself out on the beach.

The relationship between barraqueiros and their customers is highly personalized in this way. In her humorous guide book for foreigners in Rio called *How to Be a Carioca*, Priscilla Goslin (1991) commented on this relationship in her beach etiquette section:

> Step 7. Making friends with the beer vendor: Develop a friendly rapport with the closest barraqueiro (beer vendor with his own stand). This may be achieved by first introducing

yourself in the following fashion: "Qualé mermāo? Beleza?": "What's up, buddy? Everything cool?" Shake his hand, pat him on the back, give him the thumbs-up, and it will be the beginning of a great relationship. (pp. 82-83)

This satirical account will ring true for anyone who has spent any time on Rio's beaches because both customers and barraqueiros do go out of their way to establish a great relationship. In numerous interviews, barraqueiros discussed the special relationship they have with their customers, stressing the importance of the *freguês certo*, or regular customer. Regina, aged 43, who has a barraca on the beach at Vinicius Street, said that she has good customers, "people from out of town," who always come back to her. Sometimes if she is late to the beach they will be sitting there waiting for her. "If you don't come the neighbors will try to win over your customers, make them think they are being better treated." Henrique, aged 59, who lives in the remote working-class suburb of Duque de Caxias, has been working on the beach for 25 years. He has

Figure 9. *O Uruguaio* at rest: Beach barraca at Posto 9, Ipanema on a cold day

Source: Photo © James Freeman.

his barraca near the volleyball courts at Maria Quiteria Street. He has seen a lot of the kids grow up. "Their parents bring them when they are babies, and they keep coming out of habit." During the interview people come to him to pay their bills. "You see how it is? They come to me to pay. They could just walk away. It's the way I operate. They trust me and I trust them." He lets people run a tab and pay him the next week if they want. Occasionally someone does not come back, but the majority become regular customers. Lourdes, aged 53 and from the remote suburb of Inhaúma, has had her barraca on the beach near Garcia D'Ávila Street for 15 years. "They come from the time they are small. They like me." She also spoke of watching kids grow up. Sometimes the little kids are lost and she will help them find their mothers. "I'm friends with everyone. It's like a family here." The kids call her "Auntie" Lourdes. "We know their mothers and their fathers and their grandmothers."

The fact that barraqueiros are treated like family, or at least like members of the turma, masks the social disparities between barraqueiros and their clients and allows both sides to play down the underlying economic relationship where one person serves and the other pays. During the interview with Veneno about his carnival bloco, Silvio the barraqueiro joined freely in the conversation. He sang a couple of the samba songs the group has used during the years and seemed to know more about the bloco than anyone. Veneno told us that Silvio wrote the song one year. But clearly the egalitarianism of the special relationship has its limits. When asked if Silvio ever paraded with the group or participated in other bloco activities, Veneno replied, "No, he has to

work." Silvio is 33 years old and grew up in the old working class Zona Norte neighborhood of São Cristóvão. He began working at the barraca with his father when he was aged 10. His customers like him. "They bring presents for my children . . . I'm much loved here."

It was clear from numerous interviews that customers also greatly value their relationships with barraqueiros in part, I would argue, because barraqueiros serve as intermediaries between them and the dangerous world of the public space. When a bank manager leaves his home or his office, puts on a bathing suit, and walks down to the beach, in a way he leaves his status behind just as the democratic beach narrative would have it. He becomes an individual on an equal level with the woman who lives in a shack in the favela and scrapes by on $50 a month. And if some anonymous person decides to stick a gun in his back and kill him for his watch, all his social capital and all his money in the bank will not help him. But his relationship with the barraqueiro might. Lillian, the Swedish volleyball player, says she always comes to the same spot on the beach at Posto 6 because she knows and trusts the barraqueiro, Severo. She leaves her stuff with him and knows it will be safe. "If I had this much money [making an expansive gesture with her hands], I would leave it with him." Paula, the secretary on the beach at Garcia D'Ávila, spoke highly of her barraqueira Lourdes. She can leave her bag or her bicycle with Lourdes, and Lourdes will let her pay later if she does not have any money. Some people on the beach can be "crude," but she feels safe with Lourdes around. Lourdes is *super de confiança*—very reliable and trustworthy. Cristina, a 24-year-old tour guide from Copacabana who is on the beach near Teixeira de Melo Street with four lower-middle-class women friends who live in remote working-class suburbs, said the barraqueiros know them and protect them: "If there is trouble the barraca guy is there. *He knows who is who* [italics added]."

Knowing "who is who" is key to the barraqueiro's role as intermediary, which comes out in discussions of the problem of thieves who steal people's belongings from the beach when they are not looking. Beto, aged 25, lives in the favela of Cantagalo and has had a barraca on the beach near Posto 8 for 5 years. He says barraqueiros know who the thieves are: "If you work on the beach for many years you know who is who." Marcelo, aged 19 and from Duque de Caxias, who has a barraca at Vinicius Street, said, "I know who they are. I've known some of them since we were kids." Batista, aged 41, who lives in the remote suburb of Guaratiba and has had a barraca at Posto 9 for 16 years, said he tries to protect his customers: "I don't allow it with my customers. I know a lot of them [the thieves]." If he sees a thief he might warn the customer or he might go to the thief and try to talk him out of it. He might explain to the thief that this is a regular customer and that he can't afford to lose the person's business, possibly invoking his own personal ties with the thief as a means of persuasion. Other barraqueiros seemed less concerned about letting thieves steal from tourists, who are outsiders and not part of long-standing relationships. Lillian, the Swedish volleyball player, worked for a year selling tours to tourists on the beach. She had to negotiate the right to work certain areas with other informal workers and became somewhat of an insider in the world of the beach economy. But she was shocked when thieves expected her to let them steal from tourists while she was pitching a tour to them. She regularly warned tourists that they were about to be ripped off.

What people say about the beach is not innocent. The story of the beach as democratic space is produced collectively, and large parts of the story can be agreed on by people on both sides of the class divide. But different people also tell the story differently and push to shape it to their own interests. Thus, upper class beach goers seem

to be saying to the poor that "everything is all right in Brazilian society because we can both use the beach. I'll be your friend, treat you as an equal, and pay you rather than some other guy if you respect my status, see to it that your friends do as well, and overlook the fact that I'm 20 times richer than you." The poor seem to be saying that "the beach is democratic and therefore we have a right to use it for recreation and not be excluded from it. We also have a right to privatize it and use it for our livelihoods. The rich owe us that much: Look how they live and look how we live." And there is a veiled threat in the discourse of the lower classes working in the informal sector: "At least we're not mugging people." On this point the democratic space of the beach seems to have produced a consensus: "At least they're not mugging people," members of the upper classes are often heard saying.

Although many people on both sides seem to believe in the special relationship between barraqueiro and freguês, others are more cynical in less guarded moments. Adenildo, aged 61 and who lives in the remote suburb of Pavuna, has had his barraca on the beach west of Farme Street for 30 years. People call him Jorge because he used to have a partner named Jorge. It was easier for the kids to remember the name Jorge, and because, as Adenildo said, "all black people look the same," the kids just started calling him Jorge. Adenildo said he is sometimes too frank with people: "There was a general who used to ask me every day how things were going. One day I told him, 'Your life is great sitting there drinking your coconut, while I struggle to make a living.'" His customers are mostly young people:

> They are *playboys* [working-class designation for rich kids] with their pit bulls; black belts who work out at their gyms on Farme Street. They are young kids who don't have a normal way of thinking. For them life is beautiful. They don't have any commitments. *They are my friends but I like to keep my distance* [italics added]. They have a different way of life. They think they own the place. I don't know how they support themselves. They come with their dogs, speak loudly and use bad language. The playboys have always been the same in all the years I have worked here. The culture gets passed on from generation to generation.

Even in this highly cynical account, Adenildo seems to be struggling to reconcile his special relationship with his customers with what he knows to be the underlying inequalities.

The Arrastão

But whereas lower class beach users show that they see through the myth of the democratic beach in unguarded moments, the real challenge to the ideal of class harmony came with the riots on Ipanema and Copacabana beaches. The first big riot was on October 18, 1992, the first sunny Sunday of the season. The beaches of the Zona Sul were packed with people, including a large contingent of poor, mostly Black teenagers from different Zona Norte neighborhoods. There were reportedly 600,000 people on the 8 kilometers of Ipanema and Copacabana beaches ("Arruaça na Areia," 1992). Groups of working-class kids on different parts of the beach created disturbances that scared middle-class sunbathers who were already wary about sharing the beach with crowds from the Zona Norte. As middle-class bathers ran in panic, kids swept down the beach after them, scooping up belongings that were left behind. This kind of riot is known as an *arrastão*, which literally means dragnet.

The arrastão of 1992 and the lesser copycat beach disturbances of the following years especially shocked middle-class Cariocas, first because of the sense that the barbarians were at the gates. The poor dark-skinned masses were terrorizing elite beach goers in their own neighborhoods. But these events were also shocking, I would argue, because there is something sacred about the beach that goes to the core of what Cariocas and Brazilians like to believe about themselves. On October 18, 1992, the beach was not democratic, people on the beach were not cordial, and racism was out in the open. What is more, the conversation across the class divide did not produce a consensus. Instead, people's accounts of what happened that day show that there were at least two very different worlds coexisting on the beach. When the elite speak about the arrastões, the story about the democratic beach falls apart and is replaced with fear and racism. Media accounts represent the dominant, upper class perspective. They describe scenes of complete chaos where hoards of Black kids storm down the beach attacking and stealing from everyone in their path as panicked citizens scramble for refuge from the violence. Águida Nozari, a housewife from Copacabana quoted in a news magazine article following the 1992 arrastão, told how she watched the riot while she hid behind a sidewalk kiosk for safety: "It was a cowardly bunch of poor, dark skinned and badly dressed people." Othoniel Pessoa, a resident of Ipanema, said he would leave town on weekends from now on: "This is going to become a no-man's land" ("Arruaça na Areia," 1992, p. 20). One middle-class resident of Ipanema, speaking of an arrastão in 1999, said all she saw was a "dark cloud" in the distance moving down the beach toward her and she quickly left the beach.

Working-class users of the beach, on the other hand, tend to downplay the arrastões. Ana, aged 25, who lives in Cantagalo and has a barraca near Posto 8 in an area said to be prone to arrastões, described the typical arrastão:

> One person runs, a second person runs, and pretty soon the whole beach is running. People run without knowing why. The trouble might start at Posto 8 and go as far as Farme Street. When people run, they leave their stuff on the sand. When they come back their stuff isn't there any more. During the arrastão of 3 years ago [1996] people started throwing coconuts and bottles. The police showed up, stood over there on the sidewalk and shot into the air. That's when people really started to run.

Thus, according to Ana, middle-class sunbathers panicked for no reason on one occasion and the police caused the riot on another. Edson, aged 60, lives in the remote working-class suburb of Ramos and has been working as an informal vendor in the Arpoador area for 20 years, an area with a reputation for arrastões. He moved his fruit stand from the sidewalk to the sand 2 years ago. "I've never seen an arrastão here. The *baile funk* gangs [gangs of poor kids who fight at *funk* dances and are said to bring their rivalries to the beach] started coming here in the early 1990s. There has been the occasional fight, but those weren't arrastões." He said that the media invents the arrastões. He remembered one time some kids right in front of his barraca said, "Hey, let's run to Posto 8." The rumor spread that it was an arrastão and people started running; kids will be kids. "Maybe there are arrastões further down the beach but not here. Rich kids do worse things than suburbanos." Suburbanos have a right to come to the beach too, he said. "Who wouldn't want to come and see the most beautiful beaches in Rio." Other barraqueiros argued that politicians have organized arrastões to scare people into voting for law and order candidates. They said they have seen the troublemakers being unloaded from private vans and have heard of people being paid to cause a disturbance. Others find it suspicious that the television cameras suddenly appear right when the arrastão starts.

Although rich and poor strongly diverge about beach riots, there is agreement that violence is a problem. The sense that the city was out of control was so generalized in the early 1990s that mass protests were organized in 1993 and 1995 that put hundreds of thousands of people from all walks of life on the street unified in their opposition to violence (Ventura, 1994). What was interesting about this movement were the different ways that people from different classes understood violence. Upper class participants were protesting carjackings, kidnappings for ransom, and muggings. For them, violence is a code word for poor on rich crime. These are the same people who supported sending the army into the favelas. Lower class participants were pro-testing a long-standing pattern of police abuse in poor communities, including two recent mass killings by off-duty police officers—one of 21 people in a favela and the other of eight street children who were sleeping in front of a downtown church.[6]

Figure 10. Policing the beach at Arpoador

Source: Photo © James Freeman.

Like the story of the democratic beach, violence finds some common ground but also diverges. Everyone agrees that Rio de Janeiro is a violent city, but rich and poor differ sharply on the question of who is doing what to whom. The upper classes know that they live very privileged lives because the poor are always present. In this sense, the violence narrative is a genuine expression of fear at the potential power of the masses. Upper class talk about violence can also be a call for oppression that is often acted on by the authorities, as the occupation of the favelas shows. For the lower classes, talk of beach violence shows the ignorance and paranoia of the upper classes. If they get up and run for nothing, they deserve to lose their belongings. If they bring expensive things to the beach and then do not keep a good eye on them, they deserve to lose them. And the youth may gain a certain satisfaction in scaring wealthy beach goers without really doing anything wrong. At least on the beach they can feel some power over the people who have power over them in most other circumstances.

Conclusion

Rather than being democratic in the sense of unmarked space free of power relations where every citizen is an equal participant in a conversation with nothing at stake, the beaches of Ipanema and Copacabana are the highly stratified location of an unequal conversation that has winners and losers. The beach does provide an opening for the lower classes to face their bosses in a space that is nominally democratic and where they have more power than they do in the factory, on the construction site, or

in the better homes of Ipanema. The way the beach is discursively constructed makes it difficult for the poor to be completely excluded and gives them space to make claims on resources. The beach is Rio's stage. Public opinion is formed there, trends are set, and anything that happens on the beach immediately registers in the media. On the beach, the poor can remind the upper classes of their condition, hold them to their own ideals of democracy and equality, and make them feel the latent power of the majority. But acts of symbolic discontent or even outbursts of class violence have limited power to make fundamental changes in a society where the elite has superior control over the production of space and the production of ideas. The struggle over how the beach is thought about and used is fought through newspapers, television, literature, and music, as well as through urban beautification programs, civic campaigns, infrastructure interventions, and police action. Although there is room for counter-hegemonic tendencies arising from the working-class subconscious, the institutional power of the elite seems to prevail. Survival for the majority means entering into unequal economic relationships as individuals or as members of a family, rather than as a class. Paternalistic relationships lend a certain materiality to ideas about class harmony that make them harder to see through. These ideas are passed on from generation to generation just as the corresponding social roles are passed on, so that the sons of barraqueiros learn the importance of having a special relationship with their customers in the struggle to prevail over an ever-multiplying number of competitors. And the daughters of regular beach goers learn to trust the barraqueiros their parents patronized in the dangerous world of the beach.

Notes

1. Many urbanists see the public space of the 19th century as this sort of sphere of discursive democracy that they contrast to the degraded, commodified public spaces of today. See, for example, Christopherson (1994), Holston (1995), and Sorkin (1992). For critiques of this view, see Crawford (1995) and Domosh (1998). Habermas (1989) made a similar argument for the more abstract public sphere of early modern Europe.

2. The majority of the population of Rio de Janeiro was African slaves in the mid-19th century. Slavery in Brazil was not abolished until 1888. See Chalhoub (1986), Graham (1988), and Karasch (1987) for accounts of slave and working-class use of the public space in the 19th century.

3. For accounts of the development of the European ideal of the beach, which prompted Brazilians to discover the beach, see Lencek and Bosker (1998) and Corbin (1994). For an account of the invention and development of Copacabana, see Cardoso (1986); Cardoso, Vaz, Albernaz, Aizen, and Pechman (1986); and Abreu (1997). For a discussion of the importance of the street and the *boteqim* in Rio's social life, see Holston (1989).

4. Several *favelas* in the Zona Sul were forcibly removed between 1969 and 1971, but since then favelas have been provided with some infrastructure and services, and it would be politically very difficult to remove them now. See Portes (1979), Perlman (1976), and Valladares (1978) on favela removal. Favelas are also stigmatized because they are associated with drug dealing and other criminal activities.

5. According to Garotinho (1998), the murder rate in the city of Rio de Janeiro ranged from 50 to 70 per 100,000 inhabitants between 1991 and 1997, compared to the murder rate in New York City that ranged from 13 to 30 between 1985 and 1996.

6. In the Vigário Geral massacre, 21 people were killed in the remote favela of Vigário Geral on August 28-29, 1993, by hooded police officers (PMs) seeking revenge for the murder on the previous day of four PMs who were trying to take their cut of a large cocaine deal. The 21 victims were not involved in the drug trade (Ventura, 1994, pp. 66-68). In the Candelária massacre,

off-duty police officers, apparently employed by area merchants, massacred eight street children as they slept near the downtown church of Candelária on July 23, 1993.

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Consuming the West

Main Street, USA

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Main Street, USA is the corridor to the Disneyland parks, whether in Los Angeles, Paris, Florida, or Tokyo. Main Street offers the appearance of a public space, with architectural references to civic institutions, but is a bounded and privatized site, which requires an entrance fee. Main Street offers a nostalgic construction of early twentieth century American small-town life. It is also the space in the theme parks that is most dedicated to consumption. Main Street is an idealized urban landscape that has not stopped at the theme park; the Disney owned town, "Celebration," in Florida is organized around the same nostalgic wish for an urban context that offers itself as both traditional and modern. Main Street offers a version of America frozen at a point of late nineteenth century modernity; it presents a mythical reconciliation of past and future, ecology and consumption, and the local and the global in its simulacrum of a small-town America which could never have existed, but which can be endlessly reproduced across the globe.

> Main Street is the climax of civilization. That this Ford car might stand in front of the Bon Ton Store. . . . Our railway station is the final aspiration of architecture. . . . Such is our comfortable tradition and sure faith. Would he not betray himself an alien cynic who should otherwise portray Main Street, or distress the citizens by speculating whether there may not be other faiths?
>
> —Sinclair Lewis (1921, p. 6)

Main Street, USA is the access point to all the Disneyland sites, the first area in the park that the visitor encounters. It is also the space most dedicated to consumption in its idealized construction of a turn of the century American street. Main Street is lined with consumer outlets for food and souvenirs; although these may be present elsewhere in the park, it is here that they are at their most concentrated.

Main Street, USA, first built for the Disneyland park in Los Angeles in 1955, has become the paradigm for the organization of space at the theme park entrance. All contemporary theme parks now have a similar walkway that leads the visitor from the entrance into the attractions of the theme park, and which is lined with consumer outlets and customer services; in the United Kingdom, Alton Towers has Towers Street, Chessington World of Adventures, Market Square, and Drayton Manor has its Entrance Plaza. At the Disney sites, Main Street is the space that channels visitors from the ordinary spaces of their car and the company car park (invisible from inside the site) into the fantasy lands of the theme park. It is Main Street that marks the beginning and end of all visits; it is the space where people gather for the daily and evening parades, and is the optimum point from which to watch the fireworks that bring the visitor's experience of the park to a close. Main Street, USA may be a focal point that gathers people together, but it is also the space in the park from which people can most easily be led to the exit.

Main Street is a place that promises the ordinary and the extraordinary; it is simultaneously the space that offers the visitor vistas to exciting other worlds and a reference point that marks the exit from which to return to the familiar. The landscape combines the fantastical with the reassuring; at one end of the street are the gates that mark the site off from the outside world and the car park, whereas the view from the entrance at the end of the street is of the centerpiece fairytale castle. The paths from Main Street lead to the spaces of Victorian fairy tale in Fantasyland and to the futuristic fantasy of Tomorrowland (or Discoveryland in Disneyland, Paris), and framed glimpses of these worlds can be seen from Main Street. In the words of one Disney souvenir book: "The view down a gingerbread Victorian city street toward an 18 storey fairy-tale castle seems as natural as if the castle were a magnificent town library or civic hall" (Kurttii, 1996, p. 45).

The visitor is thus positioned from the first entrance into the park in a world that integrates and celebrates modernity and tradition in the same space, as the guide book puts it; "The America of Yesteryear comes to life" (Walt Disney Company, 1998, p. 10). Main Street Station is one of the few spaces in the park at which the generically themed lands of the park coincide; both the Disneyland Express (a nostalgic reconstruction of a nineteenth-century railway) and the futuristic monorail stop at and are clearly visible from Main Street: the past unproblematically reconciled with the present. This reconciliation of opposites is central to Marin's designation of Disneyland as a utopic space:

> Disney's utopian operation can be found in the name "Main Street USA" itself . . . through America's self-contained potential the reconciliation of opposites is performed, but within representation, of course.
>   The past and future, time and space, the playfulness and serious determination to be found on the market, the real and imaginary—all are brought together. (Marin, 1990, p. 248)

The architecture of the Main Street buildings is relatively familiar, eschewing the modernist fantasies of Tomorrowland and the Gothic extremes of Fantasyland, although it is no less idealized. The styling draws heavily on a particularly American popular nostalgia, as Francaviglia (1996) and Zukin (1991) have noted, which relies on Hollywood film and television representations of an imaginary American urban community. A Disney sponsored book celebrates Walt Disney's America in these terms:

Disneyland and Walt Disney World bring . . . us face-to-face with Disney's essentially American character. (The symbolism is quite clear. In both theme parks an exquisite reproduction of an American small town Main Street leads to Disney's romanticised versions of the past and the future.) (Finch, 1978, p. 46)

Whereas Finch (1978) acknowledged that other spaces in the site are romanticized, Main Street is nonetheless represented here as a reproduction rather than a construction of Americana, but is just as romanticized as the other lands of the theme park. Finch's book is one of those officially sanctioned accounts of the Disney parks that has promoted the Disney authorized myths of Main Street as a representation of small-town America and integrates that with a mythologizing of Walt Disney himself:

In the theme parks, the Main Street areas are virtually a statement of Walt Disney's cultural credo . . . he evidently grew up with an enduring passion for the street life of Middle America. As a small boy, in the years that his parents operated the farm in Linn County, Missouri, we can be sure that he often visited the nearby town of Marceline. Such early experiences have a way of staying with a man and of taking on a mellow glow with the passage of time. (Finch, 1978, p. 47)

There is a consistent emphasis in such Disney promotional publications of the authenticity of Main Street as based in a real place; it is repeatedly claimed that Main Street, USA is based on Walt Disney's boyhood memories of his home town Marceline, at (as most of the biographies put it, rather vaguely) the turn of the century. The mellow glow of Main Street is, however, rather more than Walt's nostalgic memories of Marceline; its mise-en-scène is a mediation of a version of community that was already well established in the popular American memory, and which also extends beyond Walt's personal history.

As Zukin (1991) noted, the version of America that Main Street draws on is a very selective nostalgia:

Disney's peculiar vision was based on a highly selective consumption of the American landscape. Anchored by a castle and a railroad station, Disneyland evoked the fantasies of domesticity and implicit mobility that were found in the vernacular architecture of Southern California. The castle and station were joined on an axis by "Main Street USA," an ensemble of archaic commercial facades. This mock-up in fact idealized the vernacular architecture Disney remembered from his childhood in Marceline, Missouri, before World War I . . . Disney designed Disneyland by abstracting a promise of security from the vernacular. Disney's fantasy both restored and invented collective memory. (p. 222)

Main Street, USA is not a reproduction or a representation of a memory; it is a simulacrum. Main Streets may have existed across America, and the architecture of Main Street, USA clearly derives from 19th-century engravings and news images of the building of town high streets, but the America of Disney's Main Street is one of nostalgic fantasy. Its naming evokes Sinclair Lewis's 1921 novel, and with that a paradigm of American small-town life; as Lewis put it:

Main Street is the continuation of Main Streets everywhere. The story would be the same in Ohio or Montana, in Kansas or Kentucky or Illinois, and not very different would it be told Up York State or in the Carolina Hills. (p. 6)

The Disney Main Street, however, is not the continuation of any recognizable geography or history but rather an idealized construction of a small-town America that never was. It has no roots in any particular locale, nor any relation to the geography outside the gates of the park, but can be endlessly replicated beyond Los Angeles, in Florida, Paris, or Tokyo.

While representing itself as a quintessentially American mode of consumption, the outlets of Main Street stock all the commodities of the global markets; it is a Main Street that could never have existed at the turn of the century. It is a site that mythologically resolves contradictions and contemporary anxieties about modernity: While the architecture simulates antique American styles, the buildings have the cleanliness and shine of the brand new. The outlets for consumption are presented as traditional, on the cusp of Victoriana and Edwardiana (Main Street restaurants in Disneyland, Paris, offer "The Gibson Girl Ice-Cream Parlour" and "Victoria's Home-Style Restaurant"), but the range of goods on offer are unequivocally modern and supplied by global corporations; the ice cream is by Nestlé, and the soda at Casey's Corner is "hosted" by Coca-Cola.

Whereas the shopping parade of Main Street suggests a street of competing traders, that competition is itself illusory. There is an apparent diversity of small businesses, which are in fact rigorously controlled by the single agent, Disney. Consumers can be seen to be comparing prices in different outlets, but "on property" (as Disney sales people put it) all the businesses are either owned or licensed by the Disney Corporation and prices are controlled across the site and different parks. Although the shop fronts present a facade of individual small shops, the street is in fact built as a warehouse that can be walked through the length of the street. As one of the official Disney publications explains the architecture of Main Street,

> Main Street, USA is actually constructed as four individual buildings of "blocks" (Northwest, Northeast, Southwest and Southeast) bisected in the center by a crossroads (Center Street, appropriately). Each of these four main buildings is cleverly designed to appear as a grouping of individual and distinctive structures. Inside, each shop or attraction is treated with different decor, ornament and materials as appropriate to the function and story being told. Disney Imagineers are ever vigilant in avoiding visual contradictions and intrusions that might interfere with the basic story telling in each project. (Kurttii, 1996, p. 45)

The "basic story telling" of Main Street, USA is that this is a high street located in a community, but this is an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) that is based not on national identity but on identification with a corporate identity. The Disney theme park, wherever it may be located, is a privatized space, but Main Street, in each site, masquerades as a public space. At one end of Main Street are the booths at the entrance to the park where visitors are charged a fee, but the architecture and its naming borrows from the language of civil society and the public sphere. The spaces of Main Street, USA are titled as though they were communal—"Town Square," "City Hall," and "The Plaza"—as though the warehouses, shops, and offices that lie behind the facades are actually sites for public use. A publicity book for Walt Disney World describes Main Street as the center of a community:

> At the South End of Main Street is Town Square, the civic center, with Main Street Railroad Station, City Hall and a municipal park complete with flagpole. At the north

end of Main Street is the Plaza, known colloquially as the "hub." It is from this point that most of the other realms of the Magic Kingdom may be entered. (Kurttii, 1996, p. 45)

The colloquialism of the "hub" is one that can only be shared by Disney employees; the community of Disneyland is one that exists only for the space of a day. The civic center has no civilians and operates only as an information center. The City Hall, the park, and the civic center may appear municipal, but all are empty—the Railroad Station transports people only across the site of the park and, in Florida, to the Disney hotels. As Sorkin (1992) put it,

> Disney invokes an urbanism without producing a city. Rather, it produces a kind of aura-stripped hypercity, a city with billions of citizens (all who would consume) but no residents. Physicalized yet conceptual, it's the utopia of transience, a place where everyone is just passing through. (p. 231)

Main Street does not have the thrill rides or the clearly defined narrative genres of the other spaces in the park; instead, it is the conduit to them. In its celebration of consumption and American civic life, it has its own narrative structure, one that draws on a myth of the American West, a narrative more fully exploited in the Frontierland space of the park. Both Main Street and Frontierland make direct reference to an idea of the Wild West derived from the Hollywood Western.

The iconography associated with the Western cinematic mise-en-scène was already well in place by the time the first Hollywood film versions of Western stories were made. The landscaping of Frontierland and the modeling of Main Street borrow directly from late 19th century images of a romanticized Western landscape and town produced by such artists as Frederic Remington and Charles Russell. Images of the West were circulated through illustration, painting, and illustrated news reports, which were reproduced across America as news illustrations in magazines such as Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Weekly Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* (Beebe & Clegg, 1955; Dawdy, 1974; Grafton, 1992). Such images of heroic cowboys and the boom towns of the Gold Rush were to extend beyond America into Europe, with reproductions in such papers as *The Illustrated London News*, and were to establish a set of conventions for the representation of the American West. However, if Remington and Russell were ostensibly reporting on the frontline of the West, the version that their illustrations constructed was one that was already nostalgic. As Ketchum (1997) put it paradoxically,

> Frederic Remington and Charles Marion Russell are regarded as the most important illustrators of the American West, their paintings and sculpture capturing the essence of the nation's frontier life in the nineteenth century. Yet both worked at a time when much of what was regarded as the West was already gone and the rest vanishing rapidly. (p. 4)

The essence of frontier life in these images was taken up in the set designs and costuming of early cinema Westerns and went on to establish a visual vocabulary for the genre. Main Street and Frontierland take this print and screen language and render it three-dimensional—Main Street as an architectural and Frontierland as a landscaped model of the screen image.

Marin (1990) pointed out that Main Street is geographically structured in proximity to Frontierland and shares its narrative themes:

> Main Street, USA actually belongs to one of the particular areas of the western side of Disneyland, Frontierland, because of its decor. It thus also promotes a feeling of historically "winning the West" in heroic fashion. (p. 247)

America thus becomes the dominant narrative of the park, with the majority of its lands devoted to telling the stories of American history. At Walt Disney World, Florida, this is extended even further than at Disneyland, with the celebration of American democracy at "Liberty Square" ("Colonial History and Frontier Fun," the guidebook explains) providing a transitional space between Frontierland and Main Street. Marin did not develop the correspondence between the two sites further, but Main Street's architecture can be read as the "town" of the Hollywood Western mise-en-scène, whereas Frontierland represents the Wild West.

Many critics of the Western film have identified a tension in the genre between the wilderness and civilization or, in Levi-Strauss's terms, between Nature and Culture. This structural opposition is most fully worked out in Kitses's 1969 study of the Western film director, in which he identified in the genre "an ambiguous cluster of meanings and attitudes that provide the traditional thematic structure of the genre. This shifting ideological play can be described through a series of antinomies" (p. 11). If Kitses's neat binary opposition has been challenged by more recent Western films and contemporary film critics, it is a structural opposition that nonetheless continues to be sustained in the Disney parks and that is physically inscribed into the landscape. The grid that Kitses (1969, p. 12) developed in his analysis can be used to directly map the distinction between Main Street and Frontierland; whereas both employ the stories and the iconography of the Western in film and literature, Main Street is the site of the community and institutions (City Hall and Town Square are located there), whereas Frontierland promises individual adventure and the experience of the American cowboy. Frontierland clearly addresses a male adventurer, and images of women in the site are largely restricted to those of bar room entertainers; the shops on the site offer toys and costumes that are aimed at boys, whereas those for girls are to be found in Main Street and Fantasyland.

As Frontierland is gendered as masculine, Main Street becomes the feminine place of shopping and domesticity that the aspirant (it is clearly implied, male) cowboy leaves and will return to. Main Street is the site of consumption and refreshment, which have been traditionally associated with femininity (Bowlby, 1985). The everyday experience of shopping is framed in a nostalgic fantasy of American consumption. As Marin (1990) explained,

> Main Street, USA is the place where the visitor can buy, in a nineteenth century American decor, actual and real commodities with his real actual money. Locus of exchange of meanings and symbols in the imaginary land of Disney, Main Street, USA is also the real place of exchange, money and commodity. It is the locus of the societal truth—consumption—that is the truth for all Disneyland. (p. 247)

Main Street is the space where the familiar experience of exchanging money for goods is most foregrounded; the use of cash is largely absent elsewhere. Ritzer (1999) identified the credit card as a "facilitator" in the process of consumption and went so far as to suggest that "Disneyworld and Las Vegas would not exist at least at their present scale, without credit cards" (p. 156). Credit is central to the operation of the Disney

parks; individual rides are not paid for, the entrance gates encourage the use of credit cards, and for those staying in a Disney hotel, most restaurants and accommodation bills will be settled with a final credit card payment. If the money, commodities, and exchange of Main Street are real, the context in which they take place is an imaginary one that offers itself as a version of American small-town life as a knowable community (Williams, 1973). Within the structure of Disneyland, Main Street is positioned as the other of Fantasyland, Adventureland, Frontierland, and Tomorrowland, and is presented as a "reality" from which the dreams of the rest of the park are perceived, the commercial center from which all other possibilities open up. Main Street is no less of a fantasy space; although its shopping arcades employ all the techniques of contemporary consumer outlets, the shopping experience is presented as one in which local and familiar shopkeepers are plying their trade.

Central to the conceit of Main Street as the center of a traditional community is the sustained illusion that the shopkeepers are personally known to the consumers. In a world of global commerce, the names on the shop frontages might be familiar because they are those of multinational corporations, but they are here personalized and located at a time before their global reach was established. The proprietor of the old-fashioned soda fountain becomes Mr. Nestlé, the camera shop is Mr. Kodak's Emporium, and the Main Street vehicles garage that displays vintage cars is (at Disneyland, Paris) presented by Mr. Hertz. There is an uneasy mythological resolution here of the conflict between the local and the global, standardization and individuality; the personalization of the corporate brand name mystifies and assuages the impact of the global market on small traders. Main Street presents itself as in a position to offer simultaneously the assurance of traditional personal service with the reassurance of contemporary and familiar global brand names. Disney relocates the global map of consumption in the less alienating and threatening "good old days" of a local economy.

If Main Street claims itself as a nostalgic experience, its planning and architecture nonetheless manifest all the characteristics of contemporary sites of consumption, identified here by Rob Shields (1992):

> the interdependence of the private spaces of subjectivity, media and commodity consumption, and the changing spatial contexts of everyday public life. This includes shopping malls which have developed as privately owned "public" spaces for retailing, traditional public spaces such as markets, public buildings and monuments such as museums of heritage sites like Stonehenge, as well as the ephemeral "public" space of the mass media. (p. 1)

Disneyland is a site that can cohere all these demands to a remarkable degree: The theme park is a space that deploys fantasy to enter into the private spaces of subjectivity; Disneyland is part of a media corporation that can mobilize the cinema going and childhood television experiences of its consumers. If Main Street is not a shopping mall as such, it is certainly a privately owned space that makes reference to the public sphere, and if it is not a heritage site, Main Street is the space in the park that most explicitly expresses a nostalgia for a past America and also at which Disney most visibly celebrates its own history; among the attractions of Main Street is "The Walt Disney Story," which "follows Walt Disney from his boyhood through the creation of the Walt Disney World Resort" (Walt Disney Company, 1998, p. 4).

Jameson (1991) described "the insensible colonization of the present by the nostalgia mode" in the Hollywood film and his points hold for the reconstruction of a mythical past in Main Street:

The nostalgia film was never a matter of some old-fashioned "representation" of historical content, but instead approached the "past" through stylistic connotation, conveying "pastments" by the glossy qualities of the image . . . we are now . . . in "intertextuality" as a deliberate, built-in feature of the aesthetic effect and as the operator of a new connotation of "pastness"; and pseudohistorical depth, in which the history of aesthetic styles displaces "real" history. (pp. 19-20)

The intertextuality of Main Street references mid-19th century news images of the American Western town, but it also draws from Hollywood films of small-town life, such as *Meet Me in St. Louis* (Freed, 1944), *On Moonlight Bay* (Jacobs, 1951), and *By the Light of the Silvery Moon* (Jacobs, 1953). Such films, popular just before the building of Disneyland, were to establish a set of conventions for the imagining of American small-town life (Francaviglia, 1996) and, like Main Street, USA, are located in a mythical turn of the century at the point of expanding urbanization. If Main Street is frozen in nostalgic mode, it is nostalgia for a very particular moment; the architecture, iconography, and technology all situate it at a point of historical transition. Nostalgia is coded as Victoriana, a vaguely defined period on the cusp of the late 19th and 20th centuries. "Pastness" is connoted through reference to quaint and old-fashioned technologies, such as vintage cars or early silent film, which serve to confirm the progress and superior technologies of contemporary life. Disney is reported to have said of his vision of Main Street:

Here is America from 1890 to 1910, at the crossroads of an era . . . the gas lamp is giving way to the electric lamp, and a newcomer, the sputtering "horseless carriage" has challenged Old Dobbin for the streetcar right of way . . . America was in transition. (Walt Disney quoted in Francaviglia, 1996, p. 153)

The significance of this transitional moment—the crossroads of an era—to the Disney ideology is evident from the extent to which the same phrases are repeated verbatim in a Disney World guide book, sponsored by the Disney Corporation:

Main Street lives up to its description as the "crossroads of an era." The gas lamp giving way to electric light, the sputtering "horseless carriage" challenging Old Dobbin for the streetcar right of way. Throughout the day it is alive with vehicles. A quaint horse-drawn streetcar plods along its leisurely rail-track route from north to south and back again, while more modern, motorized jitneys (with special mufflers to create the appropriate sputtering sound) and even a fire engine add to the bustle. (Kurttii, 1996, p. 47)

Main Street is thus presented in the discourse of Disney as a site that celebrates the development of urbanization and the moment of the beginnings of the mass production and circulation of goods, but these historical shifts are firmly located in a nostalgic frame and denied as a transition into modernity.

The department stores and arcades of the late 19th century, as Shields (1992) noted, were the precursors of the shopping mall, and it is to this period that the explosion of Main Streets across America belongs. Main Street, USA directly references the

designs of the new metropolitan arcades of the late 19th century in its construction of late Victorian architectural styles and in the naming of the outlets. Shops at Main Street include Uptown Jewelers, The Chapeau, and The Emporium, names that suggest urban department stores that can offer luxury commodities from across the world. The social impacts of the shopping arcade and mall are condensed at the Disneyland sites into a mythological construct of progress, commerce, and community, in which the local shopping street remains unaffected by the emergence of a corporate capitalist culture.

Shields (1992) also understood the development of the consumer arcade in the late 19th century as a consequence of new technologies and new forms of consumption:

> The genealogy of the mall has two roots, the luxurious arcades built for the European bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century . . . and the emporia or department stores in which mass produced household commodities and clothing became available in settings designed as palaces of consumption. Cast-iron engineering allowed new architectural effects such as multi-store atria which amplified the effect of a spectacular, simultaneous display of a spectacular simultaneous display of a vast quantity of goods on offer. . . . To this background one might add a darker touch of the Foucauldian panopticon prison where visibility and surveillance reigned supreme. (p. 3)

Main Street explicitly echoes these palaces of consumption, with architectural flourishes, imitation cast iron atria, and bountiful displays of commodities. The emphasis is on luxury—Main Street offers shops selling crystal, jewelry, and "Disneyana Collectibles," and goods are piled high in a carnivalesque display of conspicuous consumption.

Main Street is also the site at the Disney parks at which forms of Foucauldian discipline are most visibly apparent; although forms of surveillance are certainly present throughout the park (Philips, 1998) these tend to be covert, whereas the barrier between the inside and the outside of the park is quite explicitly policed. The guards at the entrance gates may be dressed as fairytale soldiers but are nonetheless clearly there to monitor and to marshal paying visitors. It is Main Street that is rumored to have been the site of Walt Disney's own personal panopticon. As Francaviglia (1996) reported, in terms that disconcertingly evoke an image of Walt Disney as God,

> It has been said that Disney's favourite place in the theme park was an apartment above the firehouse which looked right down into the public square to observe the activity. Using this commanding location, Disney could observe the public interacting with the environment that he had created, and by all accounts, Disney was reassured by what he saw. (p. 154)

The Main Street shopping district blurs its relations with commodities and material systems to provide the consumer with a magical resolution of many of the perceived crises of late capitalism and postmodern globalization. Jameson (1988) cited the impact of colonialism on consumption as one of the determinants of modernity:

> Colonialism means that a significant structural segment of the economic system as a whole is now located elsewhere, beyond the metropolis, outside of the daily life and existential experience of the home country, in colonies over the water whose own life experience and life world—very different from that of the imperial power—remains unknown and unimaginable for the subjects of the imperial power. (p. 11)

Main Street, USA domesticates and naturalizes the moment at which the economics of consumption shifted into a global market. In bringing together the fruits of world commerce in a nostalgic urban setting, it reassures that global markets and production can be domesticated, and simultaneously asserts that a corporate American economy (and Disney in particular) can be relied on to provide consumers with the best that the world can offer. Main Street offers the visitor a quaint and antique setting but can offer the consumer all the commodities of the new technologies. The mythology of Main Street allows the consumer all the benefits of a global market without any of its attendant anxieties; it reassures that the products of multinational corporations need not mean the end of the small local entrepreneur and that the individual traders of a small-town high street remain unthreatened. The market of Main Street has all the assurances of multinational brand names while presenting itself as individual and humanized. This may not be peculiar to Disney marketing; shopping malls across Europe and America emulate this myth and employ similar designs and strategies, but it is the Disney corporation that has most effectively brought together the marketing of a global product with the professional skills of set design.

Christopher Finch (1978), one of the official chroniclers of Disney, said,

> The symbolic values of Main Street are at the centre of the Disney aesthetic. He had an imagination which could stretch itself to cover much of the world and many periods of history, but Marceline, circa 1909, always remained home base. (p. 49)

Whereas the Disney aesthetic might in itself seem insubstantial, its impact has stretched beyond the confines of the cinema and the theme park to become a recognized and much imitated architectural style that has become a part of the urban and suburban landscape. As Ritzer (1999) noted, "The line between the mall and the amusement park has almost been obliterated" (p. 135).

Mike Davis (1990) and Sharon Zukin (1991) are among those who have charted the extent to which public spaces of late modernity have become increasingly subject to private and corporate interests, whereas Sorkin (1992) has pointed out the impact of the theme park on the American urban landscape. An award-winning casino and hotel at Las Vegas is named Main Street, themed in the style of the Disneyland Express and built on the site of what was once Las Vegas's railway station. It is an image of shopping malls and leisure zones across America and Europe of a commercial leisure space that has taken over a public site. Shopping malls across America and Europe require the narratives of nostalgia and community and reference the civic language, the Victorian flourishes, and the architecture of Main Street, USA in an attempt to render an alienated environment familiar and attractive to consumers. Foucault (1986) described such sites as "heterotopic" spaces, identifying the heterotopia as a compensatory space for the disorder and alienation of modernity, and describing the heterotopia in terms that articulate the reassurance and orderliness of Main Street, USA. For Foucault, heterotopias

> have the function of forming another space, another real space, as perfect, meticulous and well-arranged as ours is disordered, ill-conceived and in a sketchy state. This heterotopia is not one of illusion, but of compensation. (p. 17)

Baudrillard (1988) famously claimed that Disneyland is no more real than its Los Angeles context:

> Disneyland is there to conceal the fact that it is the "real country," all of "real" America, which *is* Disneyland. . . . Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real, when in fact all of Los Angeles and the America surrounding it are no longer real, but of the order of the hyperreal and of simulation. (p. 172)

It is less, as Baudrillard suggested, that it is Disneyland that makes America feel real about itself, than that America and other Western consumer market sites want to recreate themselves as Main Street.

Main Street, USA promotes myths of its own origin and authenticity and simultaneously offers a figurative small-town community that never was or could have been. The nostalgia that Main Street evokes in its preoccupation with a kinder, gentler past is not restricted to the environment of the theme park. The discourses, the designs, and the organization of space of Main Street, USA have become a familiar lexicon in the shopping mall and themed environments of leisure and consumption and have extended to now become an urban landscape in their own right. If Main Street, USA is a simulacra, its mode of representing urban space has assumed a physicality that extends beyond the three-dimensionality of the film or theme park set. Disney's town in Florida, Celebration, is a logical extension of Main Street; designed by the Disney Imagineers, it is a walled, inhabited suburb that is perfect, meticulous, and well-arranged and is, as Andrew Ross (1999) discovered, a community. Disney has moved beyond screen sets and theme park design into town planning.

Celebration may be owned and designed by the Disney Corporation, but it is only one among thousands of gated communities and housing estates in Europe and America that invoke the nostalgia for the local and community that is embodied in the narratives of Disney's Main Street. The Main Streets of suburbia were designed as a "New Urbanism" but are simulations of the simulacrum that is Main Street, USA. A village in Southern England (Bolnore Village, Crest Nicholson Residential) markets its housing with a ready-made history of a neighborhood that is entirely newly built; its glossy promotional material from 2001 presents an entirely fictional narrative of a community (that does not yet exist) waiting to embrace newcomers:

> This is the story of a village in the making. The narrative is that of any English village where over 300 years of architectural history can be traced in the design of homes—and in the shape of the village itself. . . . But this village is unlike any other. It is the dream, the vision, of a group of exceptional people—architects, designers, master builders. It is a village that has spent almost a decade on the drawing board. Now we invite you to hear the story, to share the vision, to experience the reality.

Like Main Street, the narrative of Bolnore Village reconciles tradition and modernity ("combining the best of the past with contemporary specification and innovative ideas") while neatly eliding the possibility that it is precisely such residential developments that have eroded the reality and shape of the English village.

The hyperreal aesthetics, the simulation of community, and the organization of space promoted in Disney's Main Street, USA now inform shopping malls and town centers, spaces of consumption, and residential developments across the globe. Corporate building developments, gated communities, and the heterotopias of the theme park answer to a nostalgic yearning for a lost organic community with a simulacrum of a Main Street. It is precisely the growth of such spaces, which have no

organic connection to their locale, that has contributed to that loss and to the erosion of traditional communities.

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Heterotopology and Geography

A Reflection

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Topology is the search for the places in history. It is the possibility to suspend time. Here, starting from Edward Soja and Michel Foucault, it legitimates the returning to the very beginning of the modern age-there, where we can perceive that original and premodern heterotopia concretely ordered by a mirror and a panel. This heterotopia reflects and inverts a space ordered by analogies, a space that is not still fixed by the mortifying tabular logic proper of the modern age. Or else a space whose main working might be similar to the postmodern wrapping. This heterotopia—the specular projection by Filippo Brunelleschi—reflects the subjection in which the space submits whoever looks towards it. The aim is to understand the premodern origins of that mechanism through which postmodern geographers could redraw their maps.

"In the end I do not know—but neither, I think, does Baudrillard. Meanwhile, let us not forget Foucault." With this sentence, expressing the necessity of doubting and remembering, Edward J. Soja (1995) concludes his article, "Heterotopologies: A Remembrance of Other Space in the Citadel LA." This doubt reflects on the possibility of formulating a thought that leaves behind the seductions of the postmodern language game to grasp the unmediated surface of phenomena on which the multiple versions of the real and its representations are played out. The reference to a memory refers to an article by Foucault in which he explains the mechanism of heterotopology; this article represents the starting point of Soja's reflections and also my own. In a similar way to Soja, in this article I also intend to go back to Foucault's piece and above all to cast a doubt on the postmodern attempt at understanding through a process that involves "becoming eye-less, I less, and aye-less" (Soja, 1995, p. 31).

The concept of heterotopology Soja referred to originates in a minor text by Foucault, *Des spaces autres*, published posthumously in 1986 (Foucault, 1986). In this piece Foucault effected a transposition in space of the more famous heterotopia, which, in the foreword of *Les mots et les choses*, was used to organize Borges's paradoxical taxonomy of the Chinese Encyclopaedia. Whereas in *Les mots et les choses* the paradox was built around the absence of a table "which allows words and things to coexist side by side," in *Des spaces autres* he attempted to explain what remained once the table—that was an invisible and reassuring grid that assured a flat description of things in the world—was not there any more. It is precisely this attempt which allows heteropology to become a useful instrument to investigate a postmodern space that is functional to a human geography and which, in turn, takes geography back to space itself. Soja understood heterotopia as a sort of compass that geographers could use to redraw their maps, to rediscover the logic of those forms that remain hidden behind the tabular forms of modernity.

To clarify this, we must start from the very beginning. Soja's pretext for redefining heterotopology was offered by the celebration of the second centenary of the French Revolution.[1] On this occasion, the Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning of UCLA created a space in which La Place de la Bastille in Paris and the Citadel LA—that is Los Angeles's center of social space—were re-created, fused together, compared, and conflated. This commemorative space, which conforms to the same principles of heterotopology, also reveals the ideologies, the hidden knots, and the entanglements that are at the basis of the postmodern representation of Paris and Los Angeles.

Before beginning to illustrate the space of the exhibition, Soja provided a useful introduction for understanding its logical structures, an introduction that is reminiscent of Foucault's text. In this text we read that some places "have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to subject, neutralise or invest the set of relations that they happen to designate mirror or reflect" (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). The specular characteristic, which no space escapes, belongs to both ideal places (utopias) and real ones (heterotopias). Soja (1995) stated that to stress the distinction between utopia and heterotopia, the French historian employs "a lateral glance into the mirror" as the latter has the power to represent an "unreal place in which I see myself where I am (eterotopia)" (p. 14). This subjective reflection contains the possibility for a critical representation of the whole social space, that is to say for heterotopology, which is a different human geography, whose main focus is a space that "draws us out of ourselves, in which we assist in the erosion of our lives, our time and our history, the space that claws and gnaws at us" (p. 15). This is not a reassuring analysis of spatial relations through the customary forms of description, recording, circulation, denomination, classification, and codification, but a disquieting revelation, which implies an immediate realization of conflict and criticism. Further on in this introduction, Soja summarized the five principles of heterotopia. The first principle is that heterotopia belongs to each and all human groups but manifests itself in different forms. In the second principle, heterotopia changes according to time, in line with the synchronicity of the culture in which it operates. In respect to the third principle, heterotopia simultaneously contains and juxtaposes irreducible spaces. Finally, heterotopicality is linked to spans of time (heterocronicity). The synchronicity of time and space or, in other words, the spatialization of history, allows eterotopias to function. These are places in which you enter and exit under surveillance.

Having illustrated and explained his method, Soja began to take into consideration the space of the exhibition. Here two centuries and two cities are unraveled and continuously referred to each other. In this synchronic postmodern space, we go back and forth from the power of the place to the place of power. This collapse of chronological distances is well exemplified by the "Bastaventure" sculpture that mixes features of the Bastille (the historical symbol of the French Revolution) and the Bonaventure Hotel (which represents the disorienting experience of space as interpreted by John Portman).[2] The dynamic and brilliant staging of these irreducible spaces is reassembled to create a luminous screen where everything is placed in doubt, reversed, and criticized. The synchronic projection of the history of Los Angeles and Paris on this screen subtly reminds us of the pervasive and ever-changing forms of political surveillance in the urban space, in a way suggesting that "to think of the city as a prison is only the beginning." Soja used the problematic geography of Foucault to show that the confusing multiplicity of appearances does not merely signify anarchic dispersion with no order and function but, according to the concept of heterotopia that Soja put forward, it is precisely this form of dispersion that constitutes the social order; in other words, Soja linked the totality of the representations contained in the space in question.

In this regard, he remarked on how Baudrillard used to smile at his typically modernist attempt to invest sense on what appears as a simple phantasmagoric exhibition. Soja admitted that, from the standpoint of Baudrillard, Los Angeles seems a fragmentary space made up of confusing simulacra in which the play of images eliminates any critical position one might adopt. The tension, which informed Soja's position—as hinted above—was resolved, as I have noted at the beginning, with the necessity to remember and to doubt. Is it in this way that, as Soja said, heterotopology works, and that its essential specular nature belongs to postmodernity? This is the doubt that also permeates this short study; the memory equally refers to a passage by Foucault in which he explained the self-reflexive mechanism that regulated Utopia and Heterotopia.

Topology is the search for the places in history, which begins with the realization that history unravels in an eternally present space. For this reason, it is precisely in space that we are made aware of the multiple, logical forms history is made up of (Vitiello, 1994). The possibility to suspend time, that is, to destroy the linear distance that has ordered the above-mentioned forms, becomes the necessary condition to recognize the functional analogies and the structural connections among different places in history. It is this possibility that has enabled first Foucault and then Soja to discover within the same space the modern and the postmodern mechanism of surveillance. By contrast, such a possibility will become instrumental to refer to the beginning of modernity when the original heterotopia is given the tangible shape of a mirror that reflects a space that is not yet defined through a mortifying tabular logic. During the 16th century, the *emulatio*, the rhetorical figure of the simile, partook of "both the mirror and its reflection" and contributed to the knowledge of the things of the world. In a similar way to the eterotopia staged in UCLA, it suspended, distanced, and untied the links among things, and unveiled their relationship beyond their appearances— here the specular duplication mingles the reflection with its source. Such duplication makes visible—drags to the surface—the web of likenesses (the significance) among things. In this way, similar forms are enveloped by other like forms, which in turn are enveloped and will probably be enveloped in turn again (Foucault, 1986, pp. 33-35). Or, as Jameson (1992, pp. 101-102) put it, the indifferent and fluctuating sum of the signs taken out of a precise context is "wrapped" by an unseen horizon of signification to unveil significations and likenesses that would otherwise be invisible. Such "wrap-

ping" is what will be in turn wrapped by another and different set of significations. This folding on oneself is the form that, in the era of the narrative of the world and of postmodernity, regulates the deceptive relationship between what is represented and its representations, transforming the whole world in a ceaseless staging of mere signifiers (Cosgrove, 1990). In an unconscious way, then, the most critical and scrupulous postmodern geography seems to keep faith with the prototype of the modern perspectival device that serves to imagine a space that is once more ordered by echoes and analogies (Jameson, 1992, pp. 101-103). If echoes and analogies are reflected in the postmodern description of the space of heterotopia, the dissemination of things in the premodern space is represented through the possibilities of specular emulation. Yet there is something that signals a formal, though not a functional difference, between these two reflections (and these two spaces): that is the problematic "point of surveillance," the apex of the perspectival pyramid through which the representations of different spaces are translated and drawn into a unifying signification. In a historical period in which the modern "cartographic conception of power" (Cacciari, 1977, p. 62) is negated, such a point of contact scatters these representations, reveals its irreducible difference, and, in last analysis, suspends any stable order of significations. The apparent absence of a precise focus of power is evidence of the changes in the form and nature of this point and of the difficulty of perceiving it. One can only hint at such complexities, which inevitably refer to that topological theory which refuses to endow political power with a precise place. Political power does not appear to be part of a topological discourse. Indeed, it does not merely appear so; it is not part of topological discourse at all (Vitiello, 1994, p. 56). However, it is precisely this point that Soja, and before him Foucault, was searching for. It is heterotopology that can demonstrate its existence, even though, differently from its archetypal form, heterotopology does not endow this point with a concrete and geometrically determined space that is immediately visible.

At this juncture it is necessary to return to the article by Foucault (1986). Foucault began from far away with an analysis of those spaces that function as counterspaces. As with utopias, these places represent, invert, and criticize the totality of social space.[3] These spaces occupy a real place—in other words, it is always "possible to indicate their concrete locations" (p. 24), and at the same time they are estranged and distinct from what they reflect on and converse with. To distinguish these spaces from utopias, Foucault defined them as heterotopias, hence the role of the mirror as the object that is able to translate in a visible experience two concepts of space that are intertwined. This is a kind of space without a place—in the case, for example, in which behind its surface it reveals a virtual space—and it is also a concrete place that turns upside down what it reflects. Hence, Foucault did not use the mirror to suggest difference, as Soja noted; on the contrary, he used the figure of the mirror either to suggest the confusion between the real and its representation or, perhaps, to make perceptible the aphasia that anyone who would try to formulate the observation, "*Ceci n'est pas une pipe*" (Foucault, 1973) would perceive or, in line with a more coherent set of thoughts in this context, to follow one of the main rules of topology that stated that the analysis of places can only take place "in the light of ou-topia" (Vitiello, 1994, p. 13). "From the standpoint of the mirror," wrote Foucault (1986),

> I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there. Starting from this gaze that is, as it were, directed toward me, from the ground of this virtual space that is on the other side of the glass, I come back toward myself; I begin again to direct my eyes toward myself and to reconstitute myself there, where I am. (p. 24)

Foucault made a clear functional distinction between the gaze and the eye. What returned from the mirror was the gaze. And this movement back corresponded precisely to what, according to Lacan (1979), was the function of the picture. The essential relationship between being and appearance—that is, between that which from the ground of the picture observes and that which is observed and becomes a rough sketch in the picture—is realized through the "springing fountain of reflection," that is, through the gaze.

In Foucault's heterotopia, the representation that stains the virtual space "is there watching in order to . . . 'capture' the ones who are watching that is to say us" (Lacan, 1979, p. 94). This picture has, as its correlative, the gaze. It does not belong yet to the later modern perspectival representation that is characterized by geometrical vision, excluding the gaze and obliterating reflection. But let us read further:

> The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there. (Foucault, 1986, p. 24)

These few lines contain a message that is of central importance. The only thing that exists over there is, as it has been noted above, the gaze. This is, however, defined as a virtual point through which reality has to pass through to be perceived. Hence, we have a mirror and a representation whose possibility to be perceived (i.e., to become a picture) depends on a virtual point (that determines the function of the picture). There are, in conclusion, three essential elements to be noted in the mechanism that "reveals the depth of field, with all those ambiguities and variables which cannot be mastered" (Foucault, 1986, p. 98). However, this mechanism belongs to the origin of projection, which can be traced back to the first perspectival experiment by Brunelleschi. At the beginning of the quattrocento in Florence, Filippo Brunelleschi invented a heterotopia that is similar to the one I have described above in all its aspects but one. Brunelleschi's experiment consisted in a panel on which the Baptistery of Florence was represented according to perspectival rules. The vanishing point of the perspective here coincided with a hole made on the surface of the panel. Behind the panel, the subject of the perception looked through the hole at the image of the painting reflected in the mirror, which was placed opposite the panel. Immediately the observer notices his absence there, where he should be (in other words, he cannot see his image in the mirror because this is hidden by the panel); at the same time he also perceives the indiscreet presence of something (the stain produced by his eye), which, from the background of the representation, returns and gazes at its reflection, a luminous point which has not yet been transformed in the geometrical vanishing point—in other words, the subject perceives himself first as an eye and then as a point—he looks at himself.[4] In this way the observer, as Foucault (1986) and Lacan (1979) noted, is reconstituted through the gaze—the locus where the relationship between being (the gaze) and appearance (the eye) is made visible. Such specular projection demonstrates the place that controls the whole representation (it makes clear the coincidence between the point of view and the vanishing point); it demonstrates its material nature (the gaze is the hole filled with the eye) and, through an overturning, it also reflects the subjection of the observer to the place he or she is observing.

There is a further characteristic to be noted in this inaugural and originary heterotopia. The upper edge of the panel was identical to the edge of the buildings represented. In this way, Brunelleschi excluded from his representation the sky and the

clouds: He cannot, in fact, depict what perspective cannot represent, that is to say, the "body without surface" of the aerial space. This, however, has still to be represented despite the fact that it cannot be grasped by perspectival geometry. This is the reason why Brunelleschi gave the mirror the task to reflect this space that according to a perspectival logic is irreducible. The mirror manifested itself as an "index of discontinuity, heterogeneity and heterotopy" (Damisch, 1992). The perceiving subject can see, on the same and adjacent specular surface, two spaces that are opposite and overturned.

A final comment I would like to make regards the possibility of the original model to denounce its limits and function as essentially subjective. However, there is a problem. Both Brunelleschi's and Foucault's mechanism include a place of the gaze. The first is a concrete hole trough which we can perceive the representation. The second is a virtual point through which has to pass what will be a representation. The first is the sign besides which infinity unfolds, both theoretically and visually. The second is a point that comes back as the former but, on the contrary, does not signal the unfolding of anything. By this I mean that the reflection of the eye from the mirror comes back to me as a gaze; the gaze reflects back to me. Could we not then presume that the essence of postmodernity consists of its difference with modernity and in the different structure and nature of its gaze? The one who is writing cannot offer an answer. But following the lesson of Soja (1995, p. 31), she wanted to cast a doubt and in so doing attempt to understand the origin of the mechanism through which postmodern geography can put forward a critical and political act of resistance or, in Lacan's (1979) words, "the doubt has become the very sign for resistance" (p. 37).

Notes

1. An explanation of this term had already appeared in a previous study by Soja entitled "Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space" (1989).

2. Here Soja referred to the well-known study by Fredrick Jameson on postmodern logic and culture entitled *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1992).

3. Here I refer to libraries, psychiatric hospitals, military quarters, and those strange heterotopologies represented by cemeteries.

4. For the implications of the perspectival regime that I have described above, see Damisch (1992) and the above-cited Lacan (1979).

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Speed and Space Within a NAFTA Corridor

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At present there is a resurgence of interest in the city as nexus and metaphor within conceptualizations of globalization. Debates concern the city, community, and neighborhood as units of study and the use of such terms to link spaces to race or ethnicity and then to social conditions. Within the United States there is an additional propensity by some to view certain cities as entirely distinct from others within the country and from those outside of it. However, this author is among those who consider urban-suburban units to be less helpful in representing current relations among groups of people than linkages among possibly distant sprawls and business districts. Speed of contact from this viewpoint alters configurations and expands an interest in the exchanges that cross borders, time zones, and hemispheres. Within the Americas in particular, deregulated north-south connections entrench certain avenues and cause new ones to be built for increased transactions and speed. This article is a condensed expression of some of the issues in identity and power that may be reconfigured along one such corridor, Interstate Highway 35, as it passes between northern Mexico and southern and central Texas.

> NAFTA has done wonders for this bordertown at the crossroads of life and business in the U.S. and Mexico. The first non-missionary, non-military Spanish settlement in North America, Laredo is now the fastest-growing city in Texas (and the second fastest-growing city in the U.S.).
>
> —"Laredo," Lycos (2000)

> Laredo is solidifying its dominance along the border. Nearly 40% of all U.S.–Mexico trade passes through Laredo, which is the terminus for Interstate 35. The town just added a fourth bridge to Mexico, and its share of U.S.–Mexico trade has been rising. In August 2000, 131,158 trucks crossed from Mexico to Laredo, an increase of 17.3% from a year earlier.
>
> —*The Wall Street Journal* (2000)
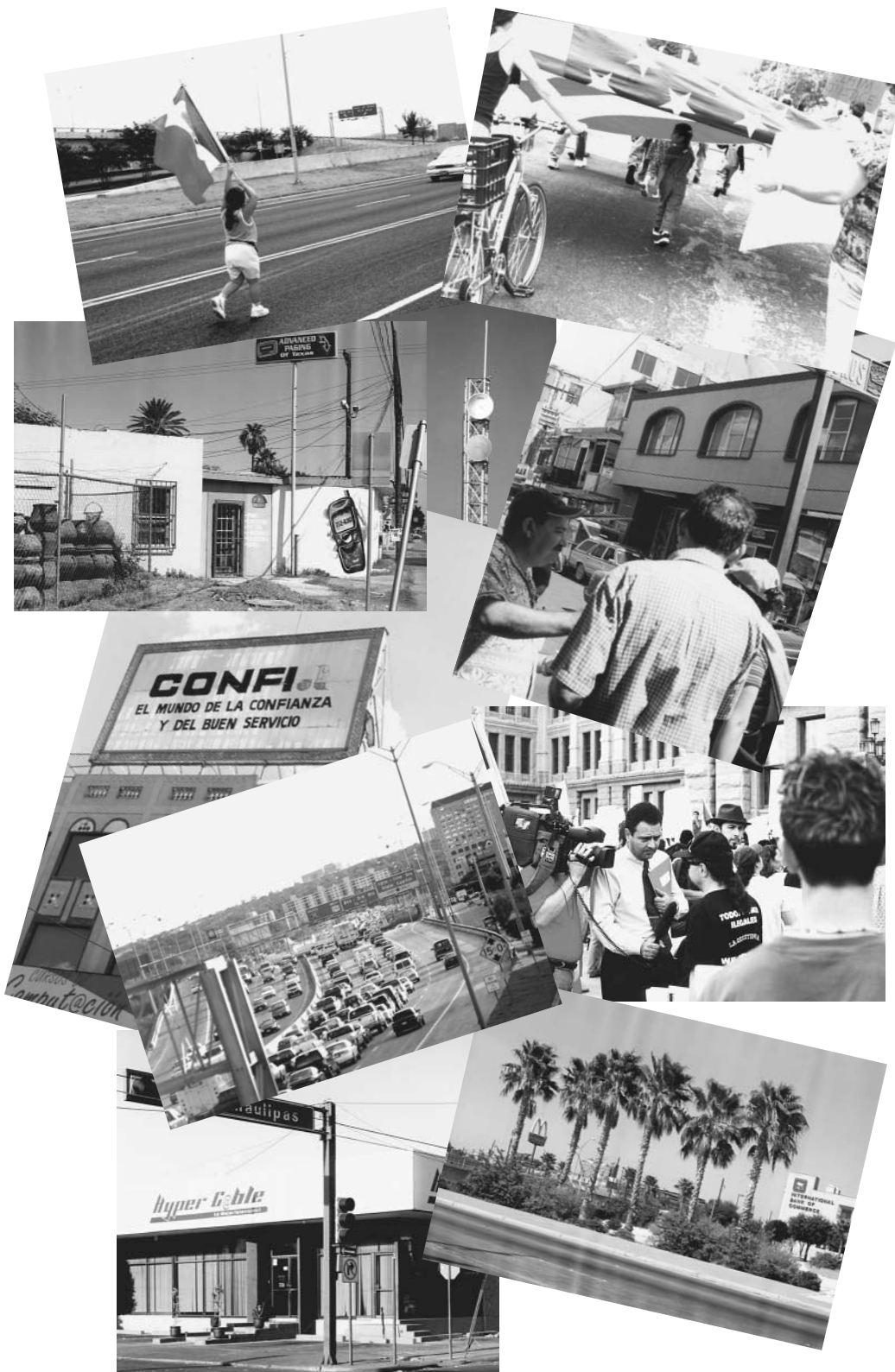
Some cities have air pollution. Laredo and Nuevo Laredo have airwave pollution. It's not unusual to see shoppers at Laredo's mall pull walkie-talkies from their bags to call friends and loved ones in Mexico. Across the Rio Grande in Nuevo Laredo, thousands of small radio antennas have sprouted like whiskers above the skyline. . . . A cottage industry has sprung up to tweak and assemble electronics gear to bypass the rules of the wireless world. . . . The result is radio chaos.

—Harmon (2000, pp. A1-A9)

Within the United States, certain cities are viewed by some as radically different in formation, and in the effects of globalization, from others. In addition, U.S. scholars often view cities in the United States as distinctly transforming in contrast to those of other nations, and this is due to, or causal of, racial and ethnic divides. In contrast, I find in South and North America that transnational, possibly globalizing, tendencies extend changes throughout the northern and southern hemispheres so that new connections are made while others are being cut. Cities throughout nations join other spaces depending on the speed of movement along, as well as the number of, their links.

In examining these cuts and connections, urban-suburban units seem less helpful in framing studies than junctures among possibly distant sprawls and business districts. Incorporations, limits, and borders weaken in relevance from this viewpoint while focus turns to interregional highways, satellite dishes, Internet cables, and pager towers as they join some sites and skip over others. Within such a configuration, space retains importance in issues of identity and power, but speed of contact redefines separations and unions among groups and societies. New forms of what is considered by some to be economic development seem to appear among particular regions and peoples, with new forms of marginalization for others.

Many communities find that differentiated communication and travel systems add to the challenges of new technologies laid over existing conditions. Within the Americas in particular, deregulated north-south connections entrench certain avenues and cause new ones to be built for increased transactions and speed.

One of the deepening and widening corridors of expanding and intensifying exchange in North America accompanies U.S. Interstate Highway 35. I-35 conveys human, informational, and product traffic to and from Mexico's Highway 85, then moves north to the U.S. border with Canada. Within Texas and along the Mexican border, the highway has become an expression of NAFTA commerce and a target for political protest against that trade agreement. A growing literature contributes to the scholarship about this geographic and political corridor. In particular, the title of an article by Peter Andreas illustrates one of the fundamental paradoxes of this central sector of NAFTA: "Borderless Economy, Barricaded Border" (1999). As some activities hasten, others become more obstructed.

Communications towers, apartment buildings, and highway lanes since 1993 have come to appear denser in quantity than the scrub bushes and low-branched trees on either side of the Rio Grande. Meanwhile, the regulations concerning the movement of humans as laborers, tourists, and residents from north to south and south to north have become thicker and thornier.

These photographs depict various exchanges along the I-35 southern corridor and some of the diverse visible efforts at speeding contact among them. These are images from the I-35 Corridor as it extends from Austin, Texas (United States), through Nuevo Laredo, Nuevo Leon (Mexico), taken August-October 2000.[1] I omit place

names as captions although they might appear within the image simply because, as I argue, some of the specificities of space along this corridor have come to seem less significant than the speed of contact in between.

Note

1. An earlier version of this text and these images, digitized from film and printed in a montage arrangement, was presented at the 99th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in San Francisco, November 15-19, 2000.

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The Return of the Excessive

Superfluous Landscapes

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As the cities continue to grow, through the addition of more or less controlled enclaves, they develop into highly differentiated, heterogeneous urban fields of centers and that which lies in between. It seems like a mechanism or an unknown natural law is working against the homogenization and "in-formation" of the city for which the urban planning is working. The in-between spaces beyond the urban centers are made up by the part of the material structure of the city that cannot be defined positively and therefore is in excess. These backsides of the city are used and reappropriated as alternative public spaces, accommodating the rituals and meetings of people. As an alternative to the possibilities of a public appearance, offered by the increasingly staged and controlled primary public spaces of the urban centers, the alternative public exists at the backside of the spaces of the primary public and the way that people use the superfluous landscapes is a way of consuming them. These superfluous landscapes almost call for such consumption, just as they deny any idea of the disappearance of the urban heterogeneity. The article tries to understand and describe this through Bataillian ideas of heterogeneity and formlessness. The superfluous landscapes are seen as something that haunts not only the planners but the city itself, as unseen and undeveloped parts of the urban field that has to be understood as a part of an ongoing process of excretion and reappropriation. In the article, these ideas are related to observations of a concrete example—two hills of surplus soil.

Urban Heterogeneity

The continuous growth and expansion of the urban areas has created greater differences within them. Between the built and the unused—between the localities where investment of money and energy is directed toward and the areas in between. It has become increasingly difficult to decide where the city starts and where the country

ends. Studies of the contemporary city reveal that it differs from the metropolis and its representations by being thin, fragmented, and "un-dense" in almost every way (Koolhaas, 1997; Pope, 1996). Large areas of grass, asphalt, or anonymous "green" spread out between the built that, as a tendency, appears to be limited, clustered together in enclaves. Covered inner-city shopping areas, new city centers with opening hours, gated communities, and business parks are characteristic examples of enclaves, but most of the newly built urban substance seems to form autonomous units. In this process, both the enclaves and the areas taken up by the infrastructure necessary to support them become more and more prominent and visible. It seems that when one part of the city has a strong profile as front, then inevitably a back will appear. Parking lots, roads, high-voltage pylons, and waste disposal areas make up a still greater part of the cities. Between the enclaves and their infrastructure, areas left over from the planning and building of the city emerge. Areas that are not usable, not yet used, or already used and later abandoned. These superfluous landscapes have been left over by planning because they are situated outside what the planning institutions traditionally have been able to include and understand as their field of action.

Contemporary cities can be understood as urban fields, which make up a structural heterogeneity of more or less closed centers and that which lies beyond. Beyond the centers, the part of the material structure of the city that cannot be defined positively and therefore is in excess is found. Every time a new part of the city is constructed, every time a new enclave is added to the urban field, the heaps of surplus soil and building debris left over after construction grows. Simultaneously there is an increase in the size and numbers of the areas not used but still included in the urban field because the new infrastructure isolates them and obstructs the access to them. It seems like a mechanism or unknown natural law is working against the homogenization and "in-formation" of the city as matter that urban planning is working for. The concrete matter of the city will always exceed the ambitions and attempts to control and shape it, and it will always have features that cannot be exposed in the representations that planning has to work with. As the cities continue to grow, the persistent attempts to plan and control their transformations and expansion seem less and less likely to succeed. In fact, maybe it is the attempts to try to plan and homogenize them that result in the opposite: an increasingly formless and heterogeneous urban field, strongly differentiated on ever more levels (Nielsen, 2001).

The Return of Excess Matter

Following the idea of Dutch urbanist Rem Koolhaas (1995, p. 509), who described the contemporary urban planner (but it could have been humanity) as Frankenstein and the city as his monster that returned to haunt him, the superfluous landscapes can be seen as something that haunts not only the planners but the city itself. This idea opens a new way of perceiving the superfluous landscapes. They can be seen as something that has been excluded from the primary, ideal, and wanted world, and then later has returned as a sort of obtrusive matter impossible to reject or plan away.

This idea echoes Henry Charles Puech's understanding of the "Piranesian space" found in the graphic work by baroque architect G. B. Piranesi:

(Beginning with Piranesi), man is definitively overrun by what he creates and what little by little boundlessly destroys him. The obsessional idea of construction, the ordering of

stones or of machines, these human triumphs! Carried to an extreme, open to an infinite vista of nightmares and of multiplied punishments wrought by the automatic law of the vaults, the pillars, the stairways, a multiplication there is no reason to stop (totality, form existing only on a human scale, man is outstripped by the very need for representation that has unleashed this crushing force). (cited in Bois & Krauss, 1997, p. 40)

The inbuilt features of his creations overrun mankind, and the superfluous landscapes can be understood as a result of a perception of a material and aesthetic excess in them. A sudden discovery of the terrifying beauty of places that was not intended to be beautiful or even intended to "be" at all.

Puech's description of the Piranesian principle was originally a contribution to *Documents*, a journal edited by Georges Bataille in 1929 through 1930. Bataille worked from the 1920s until his death in 1962 on what he called a *heterology*, a way of seeing things that was based in the idea that all systems excrete something, that homogenization has its limits, and that the world has to be understood as having both high and low parts. Bataille's idea of heterogeneity is that it "*is what escapes, or what flows in and through homogeneity. The dissipative, antiproductive, 'other', element in the heart of production. Both constitutive and representing radical negativity at the same time*" (Diken & Albertsen, 1999, p. 11).

Figure 1.

If this Bataillean idea of heterogeneity is transferred to the contemporary city, a deeper understanding of what has up until now been considered only as leftovers develops. The city may then be seen as a simultaneous unity and radical differentiation between the positively defined and controlled centers (architecture/the built enclaves) and the negation of these centers in the material excess.

The uncongested material excess of the city is an inevitable result of the closure that occurs when the city to a still greater extent is conceived and developed as autonomous enclaves or bubbles in a bubble diagram (Koolhaas, 1997). The leftovers of the closure return as the conceptual "monster" needed to reopen the discussion. Understood this way, Bataille's idea of heterogeneity as a part of the homogenization process provides us with a position from which the superfluous landscapes can be thought.

Urban Excess

Georges Bataille's thinking was antiidealistic and evolved around the idea that the material side of things always will contradict and counteract human aspirations of the ideal. Philosophically, for Bataille, this worked as an alternative to dialectic thought.

His understanding of "the formless" (*l'informe*) leads him to conceive the world from a general concept of heterogeneity rather than of homogeneity. Following that, a world of (at least) two sides with both high and low features and practices emerged, a heterogeneous world where the consciousness and knowledge about the segregation- and excretion-processes was central.

Bataille's heterology, thoughts about the formless, and work on describing the indescribable can be used to get closer to an understanding of superfluous landscapes. Thinking with Bataille, the focus on the urban field can be shifted from its high part, the enclaves, to its low part, the excess spaces of wasted material and land.

The superfluous landscapes do not in any way express or represent any ideal of how the city should look. The necessary and the practical result in the unforeseen and so new urban phenomena, like deserted asphalt plains or strange garbage mountains, emerge. When left over not only by planning but also by their primary users (e.g., the construction companies or the car owners), these structures become something else than what they started out to be. The disinterested Piranesian perception reveals them as superfluous landscapes. These landscapes occur when no meaningful or productive use is made of a concrete area, space, or surface. In that way the idea of them as heterogeneous derives not only from a structural perception of them but also from their temporary character and continuous transformations.

The superfluous landscape is not a stable entity; rather, it must be considered as part of an ongoing transformation process on a material level. During the course of time, the unseen and undeveloped parts of the urban field are incorporated into the known, planned, and controlled side of the city. The landscapes are territorialized or, maybe more precisely, reterritorialized. The vacant lots are being developed and built on, the garbage dumps converted into parks, and the abandoned industrial sites recycled. The area that has remained undeveloped because it is isolated by the infrastructure can be superfluous in many years; whereas the parking lot only is a superfluous surface during the hours, it does not serve its purpose as infrastructure for a store or an institution. In such a context, not only the superfluous landscapes but also the urban field as such can be understood as an interconnected series of processes: a process of wasting, reappropriation, and consumption of urban matter and space.

These transformations make up an interesting problem for urban theory. Not only does this reappropriation and reuse mean that new urban prototypes emerge (e.g., the garbage park). Describing and categorizing the superfluous urban matter in this way, as prototypes initially, is a way of appropriating them into the high field, an activity that is facilitating their conceptual disappearance as "other places." In that way it is possible, on a conceptual level, to think and describe heterogeneity and the superfluous landscapes away, whereas at a concrete material level they would be impossible to get rid of. They would continue to haunt even after their conceptualization because of their size and their structural inevitableness. On a material level, it is the actual use of them and the material processes that change them.

Georges Bataille was from the very beginning of his work on the heterology aware of the conflict or paradox in describing and theorizing heterogeneity, the paradox of putting a form round the formless. In the dictionary that was a part of the journal *Documents*, one of the first articles published was *L'informe* by Bataille:

> Formless: A dictionary begins when it no longer gives the meaning of words, but their tasks. Thus "formless" is not only an adjective having a given meaning, but a term that serves to bring things down in the world, generally requiring that each thing have its

form. What it designates has no rights in any sense and gets itself squashed everywhere, like a spider or an earthworm. In fact, for academic men to be happy, the universe would have to take shape. All of philosophy has no other goal: it is a matter of giving a frock coat to what it is, a mathematical frock coat. On the other hand, affirming that the universe resembles nothing and is only "formless" amounts to saying that the universe is something like a spider or spit. (cited in Bois & Krauss, 1997, p. 5)

Showing and naming the superfluous landscapes can be a way of bringing them "down in the world." To work with these phenomena dismantles fixed concepts like a parking lot, waste deposit, or vacant lot and the urban forms they designate by pointing to the fact that they are something else too. At the same time it is important to insist on the singularity of the different phenomena, to keep the work grounded in concrete situations and materials.

The Flow of the Superfluous Landscapes

In their book *Formless—A Users Guide* (1997), art historians Yves-Alain Bois and Rosalind Krauss used the heterology of Bataille as a point of departure for describing parts of 20th-century art independently of conventional modernist classifications and art history schools. The alternative art history of Bois and Krauss is based on four concepts derived from Bataille's heterology: horizontality, base materialism, pulse, and entropy. These four concepts can meaningfully be used for changing the perspective on the urban field, from the front to the back of the constructions, and to further understand and describe the flow or transformation processes of the superfluous landscapes.

Figure 2.

As concrete reference I use here two hills of surplus soil from construction in the city of Aarhus in Denmark. (Images of these hills make up the other part of this article.) The depositing of excess material originally changed a locality from being a field to an industrial waste deposit. As these sites have grown into hills and seriously differentiated the otherwise flat local topography, people have started to use them. The hills have become very significant visual features, and they offer a view of the urban field (in a conventional understanding as well as an insight into the sometimes hidden heterogeneous structure of the

field of enclaves, infrastructure, and superfluous landscapes). They are used as terrain for walking, mountain biking, running, horsebackriding, sledging, bonfires, and New Year's Eve celebrations. The city administration has developed one of them (the one not being used as a waste deposit anymore) into an official recreational area, which means a gradual change of the users from "urban explorers" to families. Strangeness moves toward familiarity. Like nature, through a series of territorializations the waste has developed into a part of the known, planned, and controlled city, as a consumption of a material and topographical excess. Understood in line of the four concepts, these prototypes can be described:

Base materialism designates the material in an unidealized form. The heterology of Bataille describes such materialism where the raw matter is sacred without being idealized. In this understanding, matter is something that exists for nothing and that cannot be used productively or invested abstractly. Bataille wrote of *Materialism* in the *Documents* dictionary:

> The time has come, when employing the word materialism, to assign to it the meaning of a direct interpretation, excluding all idealism, of raw phenomena, and not of a system founded on the fragmentary elements of an ideological analysis elaborated under the sign of religious ties. (cited in Bois & Krauss, 1997, p. 53)

Figure 3.

The superfluous hills are urban elements that appear in all places where human activity, consumption, and construction are going on. They normally function as waste deposits of unwanted and unusable material like surplus soil, building debris, household garbage, and industrial waste like slag or cinder. The surplus soil belongs to the excessive part of the city because it is raw, unrefined matter. Matter that has not been formed or "in-formed" creates places not designed but only planned on a very basic level by deciding to put something on a certain locality. In Aarhus the surplus material has resulted in formless mountains that because of their strangeness and distinctive materiality dominates the visual space and attracts the contemporary urbanite passing by. In spite of the fact that initially no one wants them (neither planners nor the urban dwellers), they appear as very significant horizontal markers that planners and the urban dwellers have to relate to. Unintentionally the hills become very attractive because of the sheer quantity of material.

Horizontality designates the pre- or nonarchitectonic space, the space where the material in no way has been erected or organized but exclusively is influenced by the force of gravity and the ongoing processes within the material itself. Even if, as in Aarhus, the garbage or waste materials are piled together to create a distinctive iden-

tity as a hill, it is at the same time a flowing out, a horizontal movement that results in a local lifting of the horizon.

The horizontal is also connected to the question of mass. The mass not organized hierarchally is characterized by extension and impossibility of the general view (The Tower of Babel fell down!). The new urban monuments like the superfluous hills but also the oil tanks, container stacks, airports, highways, and all the monumental parking lots do not grow monolithically into the sky—they repeat themselves and extend horizontally. (Horizontality thereby connects to the issue of haunting via the question of reproduction that is central—initially wanted and later feared in Mary Shelley's [1831/1994] Frankenstein tale.)

Pulse designates the temporal extension and is connected to what has been

Figure 4.

described as horizontality. The pulse is the seemingly endless repetition of the same. As opposed to the controlled and designed interiors of the urban enclaves in which any event has to be unique and original, time in the superfluous urban landscapes is perceived as extension. Differences in these landscapes are primarily identified through bodily movement as opposed to the events in the staged primary public space that gives primacy to the visual. The experience is structured by repetition, the rhythmic and recurrent encounter with the basic material and structural forms that

Figure 5.

is caused by the horizontal and scattered character—like the high voltage masts passing the superfluous hills in Aarhus, the repetition of the same tracks and marks from the earth-moving machines, or the reoccurrence of similar piles of soil or waste.

Entropy designates the condition of similarity or dedifferentiation and the inevitable movement toward a still higher level of disor-

ganization that any physical system describes. Because almost no energy, resources, or intention is invested in them (after their construction), the superfluous landscapes of the contemporary city metaphorically move toward a state of the totally undifferentiated. This condition of both chaos and standstill leads to a emptying out and destabi-

lization of meaning—and a situation of radical openness, conceptually as well as concretely perceived. But the dynamics of decay assures that the superfluous landscapes never stay the same, like the surplus soil in Aarhus that even though it is piled in giant formation by bulldozers will move from vertical to horizontal formations after the machines stop. Entropy is what makes us know what was before and what is after; it gives time a direction. In the superfluous landscapes, time is experienced directly as a change in the material structure, which makes them different from the urban enclaves modeled after the theme park and in which the time always is the same and the decay is withheld by large investments of energy.

Excess Space as Public Space

Outside the staged, homogenized enclaves and public spaces of the urban field, on mountains of excess soil, over isolated but not built on leftovers of cultural landscape, on empty parking lots, under highway bridges, or on large grass plains, the unexpected and inevitable results of urban planning—people meet other people. The superfluous landscapes can be understood as alternative public spaces. Public spaces because they are accessible for all, and alternative because the activities that take place there (e.g., skating, alcoholism, skateboarding, rappelling, graffiti painting, bonfires, horsebackriding, prostitution, jogging, creative driving and parking, motocross, camping, tai-chi, skiing, and walking) are different from the ones taking place in the primary public space in the urban enclaves.

The alternative public life is lived at the backside of the spaces of the primary public life. In the designed spaces, the primary public life is framed in a controlled, themed, and scripted event space, with the mall and theme park as the dominant models of new urban developments (Crawford, 1992). Outside of this and the territory of the surveillance cameras, but still inside the overall setting of the consumer society and the general need for identity construction, the alternative public life unfolds. The way that people use the superfluous landscapes is a way of consuming them. This consumption is a part of their transformation process, and the understanding of the way they are used (and not used) is central to the conception of them as excessive.

Where the primary public life describes the activation of the individual through consumption of services and entertainment or through shopping after necessities and lifestyle products, the alternative public of the superfluous landscapes to a large extent is defined by individuals or small or large subcultural groups practicing activities difficult to integrate inside the controlled semipublic spaces. Activities like hanging out outside organized hangouts or urban sports like skateboarding are obvious examples of how an alternative public life can be a consumption of space and material circumstances rather than of commodities and staged events.

Consumption of the Excess Material

Georges Bataille developed a general economy in his book *The Accursed Share* (1991). It is a study of how energy is distributed on Earth and how the life of humans on Earth can be understood in relation to this. Bataille's basic idea is that the Earth as a system produces more material, more plants, more animals, and more humans than

needed. The Sun as a eternal source of energy causes this continuous growth. But the constant supply of energy combined with the restricted space of the Earth generates a pressure. Nature itself regulates this pressure; organisms eat each other, natural disasters occur, and so forth. But it is, said Bataille, also possible for Man to consciously be a part of this regulation or consumption of the excess material and energy—the spending of the excessive. The problem for Bataille was then that

> man's disregard for the material basis of his life causes him to err in a serious way. Humanity exploits given material resources, but by restricting them as it does to a resolution of the immediate difficulties it encounters (a resolution which it has hastily had to define as an ideal), it assigns to the forces it employs an end which they cannot have. (p. 21)

Bataille observes how humanity has not been conscious of the necessity of the unproductive loss of the excessive, and that when we believe that we can completely control the matter of the Earth and make purposeful use of it, the loss will be in the form of wars and other catastrophes. The rational systems turn back on humanity when they are not aware of the fact that there is no absolute end to constructions and systems, and that the seemingly rational systems and constructions always have a dark side:

> The living organism, in a situation determined by the play of energy on the surface of the globe, ordinarily receives more energy than is necessary for maintaining life; the excess energy (wealth) can be used for the growth of a system (e.g., an organism); if the system can no longer grow, or if the excess cannot be completely absorbed in its growth, it must necessarily be lost without profit; it must be spent, willingly or not, gloriously or catastrophically. (p. 21)

Figure 6.

The regulations of a specific economy result in what Bataille considers as tragic catastrophes. If the produced excess was spent or given away, then the possibility of avoiding the destruction of wars, for instance, is present. The completely useless and disinterested spending of the material excess is a necessity but also a possibility (see Figure 6).

The consumption of the superfluous landscapes can, in a much more specific and much less dramatic perspective, be understood in this line of thought as a necessary spending of the waste products of the contemporary city and urban development. When the material excess of the urban development cannot be homogenized or brought to proper use inside the existing urban system by the specific economy of planning, then it must be spent when it

returns as unwanted and unused material resource. It must be consumed as an urban space but with no productive or rational objectives.

The superfluous landscapes almost call for such consumption, just as they deny any idea of the disappearance of the urban heterogeneity. So the idea here is to voluntarily let oneself get overrun by the developments that lead to the massive constructions transforming and extending the city, as well as by the unforeseen spaces and situations that these constructions result in.

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Aberdeen. Black and white photograph.
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Encounters

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The photographs by the British artist Roger Palmer, illustrated in this issue, take us to places such as South Africa, Canada, Scotland and Ireland, but in ways quite distinct from photojournalism. Palmer uses shallow spatial arrangements and a dialogue with many forms of art -- his own wall drawings, vernacular art, abstract art and also western European painting --to make unpeopled images that imply some of the difficulties of cultural negotiation. The viewer is placed in an encounter with surfaces, reflections, traces of wear and tear from passing humans and signs that they have left, both legible and illegible.

> Repetitiveness without identicalness.

> —Baron Haussmann (1853)

Roger Palmer's works divide principally into wall drawings and photographs. His engagement with photography is an intense one, but it should not be forgotten when looking at this selection of recent works that we are looking at half of something. Palmer's drawings made on walls, based on found images or words, are directly relevant to the surfaces recorded by and the perspectives to be found in the recent photographs. Motifs of the wall drawings have included the ship *Bengal Merchant*, which departed from Port Glasgow for New Zealand in 1839 carrying the first settlers from Scotland (this drawing, measuring nearly 4 meters in length, can be found in the public library at Port Glasgow), and are on rock art motifs such as *An Orange Free State rock painting of four eland surrounded by zigzags* made at Hartford, Connecticut. Palmer's drawings show a concern for surface, for facture in the patient but not entirely routinized labor of the pencil that they require.

In the photographic works, however, the sense of encounter that Palmer seeks has been found particular, formal concision. In past projects and series, a thematics of black and white arises from the observed world, from a particular engagement with their excessive meanings in South Africa. More recently this thematics has been allowed to diminish—black and white still appear, but they are no longer so strongly

coded. They always were pitched at a point between significance and insignificance. They draw attention to themselves but often fail to communicate as messages, as in the magnificent white painted railway signs shown in *Chain of Signs* (illustrated in *Remarks on Colour,* 1991). These convey something to a railway driver but something else within an artwork, in which the aesthetic and political complications of white and whiteness are indicated without resolution as "a code without a contents" (Bann, 1995).

What might be called *decreased vigilance* to black and white is related also to Palmer's own journeying. The photographs have arisen in recent years in a wider range of countries, including Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Uganda, and Greece, as well as South Africa and Lesotho. But a particular tension was created by the way Palmer dramatized his encounter with South Africa and gave it visual form. First a tendency to view things from some distance, as in the *Precious Metals* series; and then often as the presentation of near and far in equal divisions, as in the powerful series of vertical photographs of crumbling walls in a desertified landscape, made in 1989; and only then to getting close to things—a getting close which then often comes to inhibit the longer prospect. The studies of signs, graffiti, or painted images and words in the landscape, which Palmer has subsequently taken with him as a preoccupation to other countries, seem to have begun in South Africa, or if not to have begun there to have found some of their most telling outcomes as works.

The use of reflective surfaces as a way of generating new types of pictures examining the dynamic of near and far, on the other hand, appears to have arisen more recently in his work in Scotland. And it has been taken out from there to destinations including Nieu Bethesda and—unable to resist the allure of such yoked names—*Aberdeen*, which in this instance is not the stone town of Scotland, although the grayness of the image is appropriate to it, but a small town in the Great Karoo region of South Africa. Here the word *cell* was noticed and photographed, with the reflected perspective of an empty street: dirt road (we intuit the color red), gable ends of large houses (signs of prosperity at some point), and what looks like it may be a cemetery wall with decorative railings, all reflected in what may be a storefront. Aberdeen uses a characteristically shallow perspective. The vanishing point may be found somewhere in the large area of white unexposed paper within which each print is isolated, but it never figures within the image. Square-on pictures are still made, but it could be said of Palmer's work that it no longer requires the square-on view to make clear its dialogue with painting and its artifactual quality, its evident constructedness. The shallow perspective also means that even when urban settings are shown, we rarely get a sense of how the street plan works or a sense that we can easily orientate ourselves in relation to what we see. That sense of what remains beyond comprehension, spatially and culturally, is crucial.

Related to the works using reflections but distinct from them are the views through damaged, scratched, or marked surfaces of perspex or glass, usually that of bus shelters as in *Loch Fyne*, where the surface is dotted with stickers of football players that have themselves been drawn over by felt-tip pen. These damaged transparent surfaces more easily allow a square-on view and seem mostly to have arisen in photographs made on journeys in Scotland and Ireland, usually in places near open water.

This account of where and when visual tendencies emerged in Palmer's work is by no means complete. It could also be pointed out that in recent years the tendency to make works in series—and Palmer has made some major works using this approach, which is significant ones for 20th-century art (see Welish, 1999)—has become less

noticeable. He has tended to the making of individual photographs, as are all those reproduced here: acts of seeking for something, reflected back and forward into other works and other places, and often employing the shallow perspective already mentioned. Briefly considering tendencies within Western art's use of perspective is as interesting a route into thinking about Palmer's work as a more subject-driven approach, emphasizing the postcolonial negotiations that his work is evidently a part of.

The mathematics and aesthetics of perspective were explored with great sensitivity in the Italian art of the Quattrocento: in frescoes painted in architectural interiors and in sculpture made in low relief. Palmer's works exemplify what Adrian Stokes (1978), the English interpreter of Renaissance art, called a love of perspective, a love of space. Nevertheless, although his images seem to aspire to flatness and shallowness, they remain irrevocably involved in the geometries of positioning that come with post-Renaissance painting. Later moments in the use of perspective to be emphasized in this brief history would have to include the fascination with optics and reflections underlying the painting of 17th-century artists such as Vermeer, who painted space with a limpidity never before seen; or the negotiations made by a painter such as Bellotto, an important topographical artist of the century following, whose aesthetic sensibility to space is revealed in a dislike of effects of deep perspectival recession common in the depiction of architecture.

Early Renaissance art had a preoccupation and a skillful way with animal motifs, a sense that the human and the animal worlds remained involved with each other. Animal motifs are also significant in Palmer's work, and he photographs depictions of them frequently. I suspect what he likes is the way they convey how foreign a place is to us, which is shown by what in that place is a familiar enough animal to be granted an image on the side of a building or as part of a civic crest. In this selection we have three nicely painted chickens (*Maseru*), for example. By referring to these two art historical moments—the warmth of the natural and human worlds portrayed in the art and space of the early Renaissance, and the slightly chillier factual world revealed to sight with such skill in 17th-century Holland—I want to argue two things. That Palmer's approach in his wall drawings and his photographs recalls the love of surface and the love of space of the early Renaissance, but that it is finally the slightly chillier and later, disenchanted illusions of space that determine the visual complexities of his recent works. Nevertheless, Palmer's fidelity to black and white, to the monochrome reenchantment of the world, can be seen as a promissory note for color and warmth, not an abandonment or deletion of it; and by a similar twist, his unpeopled landscapes promise and promote a social exchange and negotiation of true complexity and richness.

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Ian Hunt writes on art and publishes the poetry imprint Alfred David Editions.

Namirembi. Black and white photograph.
© 1999 Roger Palmer
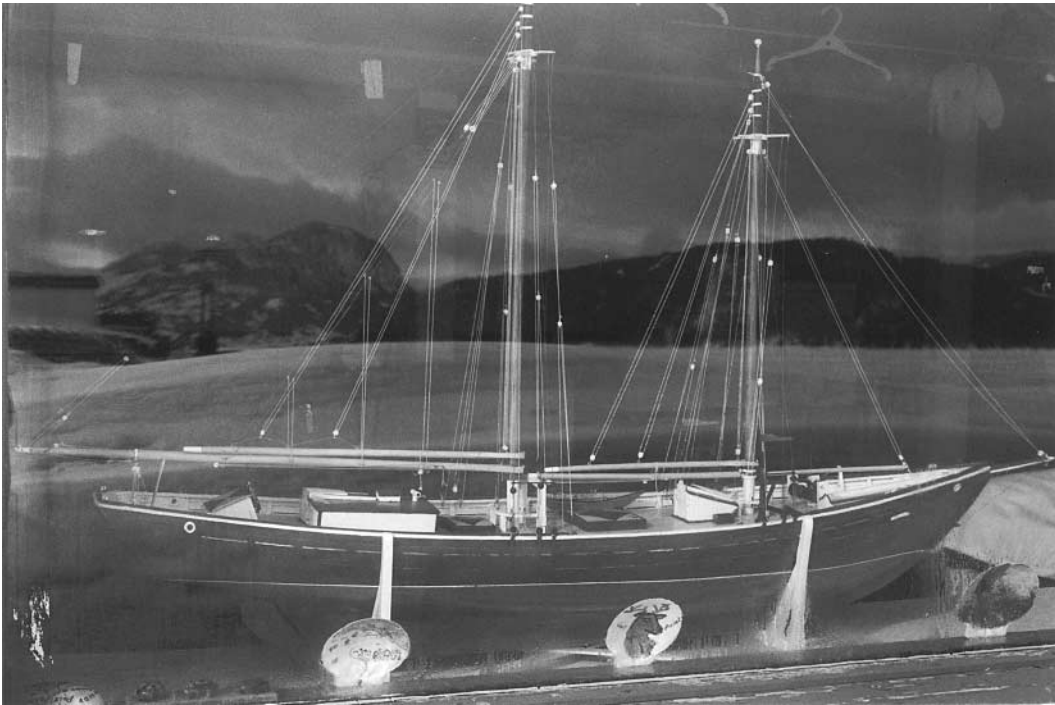
Bonnie Bay. Black and white photograph.
© 1997 Roger Palmer

Maseru. Black and white photograph.
© 1998 Roger Palmer

Postcards From Arizona

Katie Argyle

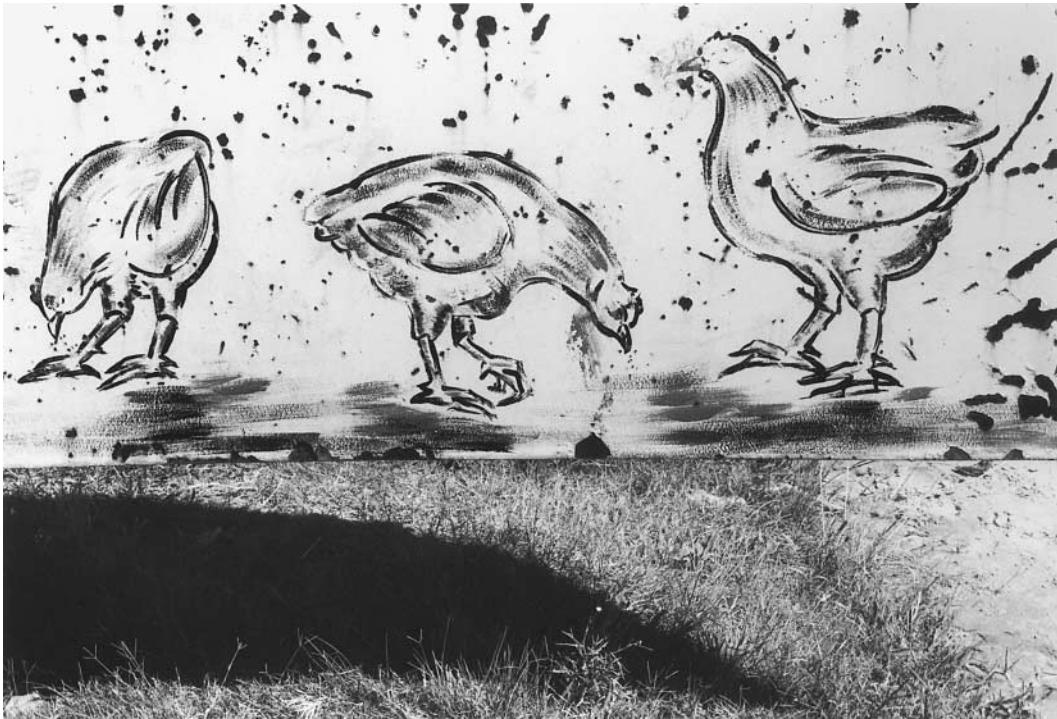*Fascinated by the beauty of the desert, I am constantly aware of danger. Both the people and the land itself tell me this is a place on the edge. Boundaries are not as rigid as they seem, threatening to shift as suddenly as flash floods that consume dry land without warning.*

Rattlesnakes + Rain

People here tell rattlesnake stories. Growing up in Sudbury, Ontario, we told bear stories. They felt the same.

All rattlesnake stories begin with, "I saw the snake over there." "Over there" being under the chair, in the yard, or near the fence. The stories continue with, "I stayed very still," and then the snake goes away. The potential for great harm is waited out. Sometimes the snake is discovered accidentally and you slowly back away and call the authorities for snake removal. The fire department comes to take the snake away. But the environmentalists have scored a victory and no longer are snakes really taken far away but instead are dumped at the end of the property on which they were found. Environmentalists argued that placing snakes into areas where other snakes potentially already lived is unfair to all snakes. And so people live with their snakes all year long, just trying to get them out of view, out of the way, like an unwanted relative.

> "Uncle Bob was sleeping one night and when he woke up the rattlesnake was coiled up on his chest sleeping. Well he looked at it, stayed still, and went back to sleep. In the morning it was gone."
>
> "Yeah, but Uncle Bob liked to drink so maybe he didn't really see a rattlesnake."
>
> "True enough."
>
> "I saw the snake curled up under the chair. Oh it was a big one! It rattled its tail and I stayed still."
>
> "I laid out my plastic for my sleeping bag, pulled up the sides and laid down in it for the night. I heard a rattling sound but didn't move. I didn't get out to check about it either. In the morning it was gone."

It wasn't rattlesnake season yet, but people were getting ready for it. They were also waiting for rain.

"Those clouds over there, see them? It's raining over there. You can see it."

I never did see the rain falling over there, had no idea what they thought they saw, but they were sure it was raining in the mountains over there. This was the only real concern over water that I heard. While we were visiting it rained. For 3 days and 3 nights it rained. I wanted to see what the ground was like in the rain. I took my foot and gently tapped the dirt in the same spot over and over. Where I am from, this creates a wiggly, jelly-like surface. Mud. Here there is nothing. The ground looked like aquarium gravel. The air had the smell of a campfire when you throw water on it. The creosote bush is the smell of the desert. Pungent and medicinal, it wafts through the environment harsh and biting. It was especially strong during the rain. Creosote is what I thought paint strippers were made of. I can recall its skull and crossbones image on the tin container it comes in. This is the source and it smells it. It looks like a tree, without leaves, just sticks, and with a gummy surface. I imagine it dissolving any insect life that may fly onto it and ingesting the life fluids of these bugs.

The rain looks like rain anywhere I think to myself as I sit watching it in the parking lot of a mall, having just had coffee at a Starbucks, watching puddles form on the pavement through the windshield of a car. I could be anywhere I think, and then I see the palm trees across the street, and the cactus in the medians that divide the lanes of traffic. I can't be anywhere. I know that. I am here, in this desert. It is like nowhere else.

Carefree

We visit Carefree, a town near where we are staying, to check out the local Art and Wine show. The streets here are extremely entertaining. I get out of the car and stand at the crossroads of Easy Street and Nonchalant Boulevard. I can't decide where I would rather be, so I stand in between and get a picture to record this event. The show is on Ho Hum Road. These are actually two streets, another intersection, winding its way through the town square. The main attraction is the gigantic sundial marking the center of town, the meeting place. The saguaro cactus cast huge shadows around the dial, but the sun, and the sky above, climb to unimaginable heights, so much that I don't notice it until I see my photographs back home. In these images the sky is enormous. It's no wonder that my lasting impression of the Arizona desert is one of "up." Everything here stretches up into the sky (see Figure 1).

The vegetation is like sticks, jammed into the earth, pointing to the sky. With no rustling leaves, little wind, and still, dry air, the vegetation can stretch out. Cactus arms that are built of moist, fleshy fibers with a tough waxy shell and armored with needles, supported by an inner cactus rib that is strong enough to build shelters with, are always on guard. Their beauty is unfathomable and silent. They promise great destruction if they were to fall I am told, making the sound of thunder as they descend to the earth. One mature saguaro cactus can weigh close to 2,000 pounds. It can crush a house, a car, or a person. I eye each specimen from then on, wondering if it is going to fall right now. The story, well-told here, about the idiot who loved to go out and shoot at cacti, who shot one one too many times, only to have it fall over and crush him to death. A popular postcard shows a fallen saguaro crushing a Cadillac car.

Scottsdale

Scottsdale was down the road from us. It looked so new, so fresh, so shiny and clean. The new Scottsdale would not be usurped by the old rundown Scotts-dale, a place we were shown in passing on our way out to the airport. It did not even rate a tour by car. New Scottsdale would assert itself and stay fresh and clean by emanating rays of fushia, purple, and turquoise from the newly constructed facades. Lots of money had poured into the area I was told. Construction was everywhere. I was shown many large homes, built right into the sides of the mountains here. Right into the bottoms and up the sides of mountains that looked like they were from Roadrunner and Coyote cartoons, complete with the teetering rocks at the top of the summit.

Figure 1.

Source: Photo © Katie Argyle (1999).

"Is that smart, to build there?" I asked my hosts. They didn't answer.

The road signs in this city were curious. Plenty of them warned of flash floods and fast-running washes or, as my host pronounced them, "warshes." This occurred when the rains started and the natural path of the water was where the signs were placed. Every year news crews position themselves along the routes of the washes to watch hapless motorists try to drive through the water. Sometimes the fast-moving current swept big trucks with burly male drivers away. Sometimes the water extinguished the motors and they floated away. The other sign that caught my eye was "No Restaurants." At the beginning of one of the new roads leading into the mountains where new developments were being built, the citizens here had felt the need to erect a sign telling others there were no restaurants on that road. Those of us hungry and looking for a place to eat need not venture in.

Grocery Store

In Scottsdale I went to a grocery store. Here the dress code for all staff was black tie. White shirts, black tie. I was told to keep my eyes open for celebrities—Jack Nicholson could be picking through the mushrooms right next to me. As we got out of the car my host asked me to take a look at the parking lot before we went in. He said that we

had the cheapest car in there, the rest being high-end luxury models. I noticed a woman in a snake skin pantsuit glistening in the sun. The snake skin was dyed an unreal red. She wore bright pink acrylic shoes with a yellow plastic flower on each toe. I thought that the shoes did not go with the snake skin and wondered if she had rushed out of the house to buy stuff at the store for dinner. Is this the Scottsdale equivalent of a T-shirt and jeans? In the grocery store, on the lookout for the rich and famous, I walked up to the meat counter. Behind the barrier of stainless steel and glass the two meat counter guys were having an argument.

"No, that's not his name."
They turned to me and my host and asked us, "What was the name of the bear on Grizzly Adams?"
"Gentle Ben?" I offered.
"No, Gentle Ben was another bear. Grizzly Adams had a bear, what was his name?"
"Well. Grizzly Adams was Dan Haggerty. Don't know who the bear was," commented my host. "He owes me money too, not the bear, Haggerty," he added.

On the way out of the store I noticed a few shelves of magazines by the door that were giveaways. There were at least five good-sized, glossy paper magazines about Arizona and Scottsdale. The cover price was $5 and more. They were current issues and were free. I grabbed one of each and thought to myself that rich people really do love free things, and really do get them.

Sedona

We traveled one afternoon to Sedona. I read at home before my trip that a psychic cat lives there. I wanted to find it and get a reading. Sedona is known for its New Age activities and its red rocks. It is here that several "energy vortexes" are supposed to be. I found a local map and looked on it to see if the vortexes are marked. I think to myself that there must only be four vortexes, then find that there are many, many more. I am most intrigued by the vortex called "Mike" on the map. We find these sites to be elusive in spite of the guide. I choose not to ask any of the locals about the location of the psychic cat, instead leaving it up to fate as to whether I will get an encounter with the creature. After all, if I am in the right place at the right time it will happen. In the meantime, we shop.

At Starport Sedona I discover that Sedona is heralded as an entry point to the cosmos. I did not know that it was an active UFO gathering place. As we walk into the shop, the person at the cash is in a strained conversation with a customer.

"I might close early today. I'm not feeling so good."
"Oh? What's wrong?"
"I'm in Day 3 of an all–vegetable oil cleansing fast. I'm feeling weak today."
"Oh I know about that. You know what will fix that?"
"No, what?"
"Coca-Cola. Just drink some Coca-Cola and you'll perk right up."
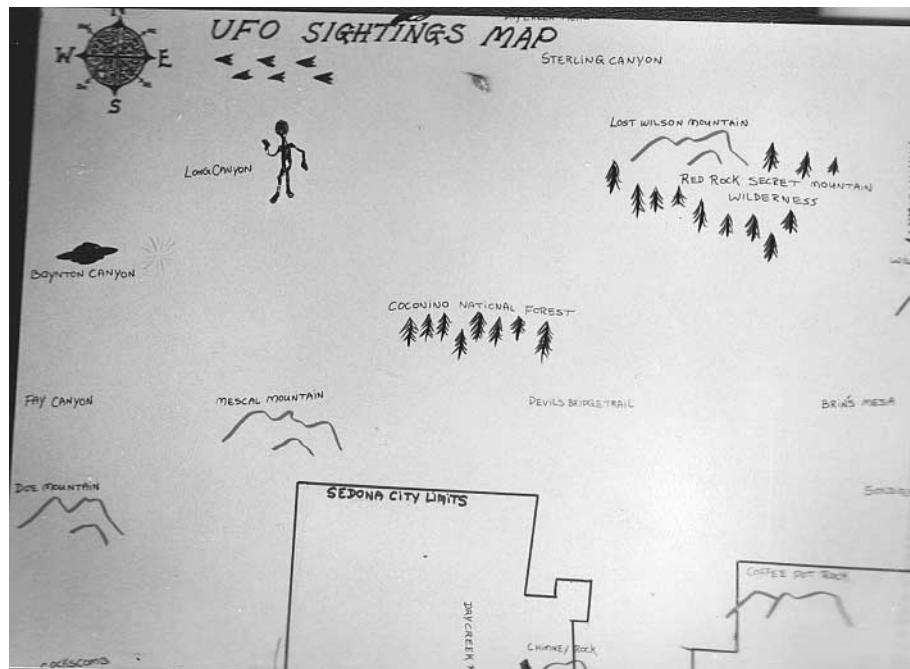"Thanks, I'll try that."

Figure 2.

Source: Photo © Katie Argyle (1999).

There is a homemade map of the Sedona area indicating all the UFO sightings and landing sites attached to a filing cabinet near the cash. I ask the shopkeeper if I can take a picture (see Figure 2).

He is happy to accommodate me. After getting the pictures I look for a good T-shirt to bring back home. I choose a shirt that says, "Sedona, Gateway to the Galaxy." On our way out, a tarot reader tells me he wants to read my cards. I look around to see if he is accompanied by a cat, and seeing none I decline his offer.

Texmex Restaurant

I am sitting in an Ottawa, Ontario, Texmex restaurant in a mall. I look up to see a fake stained glass panel above the window of the restaurant. On it is a simplistic painting of a saguaro cactus, a rolling desert landscape, and a pointy mountaintop. All of the sudden I am gripped by a desire, by a total bodily longing to go back to that place. It is an ache that grows with every inward breath. I did not know that the desert got under my skin. I want it as if it was my childhood home. My memories come back to me sharp as a cactus spine. I did not realize it had taken hold of me so deeply until this moment. The desert has traveled slowly through my body, getting under my skin during my March visit only to reach my heart in November.

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Life Beyond Law: Remnants of Auschwitz, the Witness and the Archive, by Giorgio Agamben. New York: Zone Books, 1999. 175 pp. ISBN 1-890951-16-1.

> For I dare not deny that—even though the circulation of blood is maintained, as well as the other [signs] on account of which the body is thought to be alive—the human Body can nevertheless be changed into another nature entirely different from its own.

—Spinoza (1985, p. 569)

In his *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness, and the Archive*, Giorgio Agamben proposes that human essence belongs to a juridical process. *Remnants* is the third installment in Agamben's *Homo Sacer* series. It continues the author's philological expedition through Roman and Germanic law to expose the juridical structure of contemporary (European) biopolitics. Consequently, Agamben reanalyzes the biopolitical theme developed in *Homo Sacer I* (1998): that the human being can be ontologically reduced to a bare life or juridical exception, outside the protection of state, religion, and cultural-history. Moreover, he concentrates his analysis around a critical case in the history of biopolitics: Nazism's mass concentration and extermination of Jews during World War II. Through this case, Agamben redistributes his earlier conception of bare life into an indefinite bifurcation between two new concepts: organic and animal life. Organic life is coextensive with the juridical exception that bare life evoked, but there are open channels for it to become animal life and subject to law. Consequently, the life of an animal may also cross channels and revert to an organic state of exception, as the case of Auschwitz survivors attests (p. 37).

In *Remnants*, the animal distinguishes itself from organic life through a juridical process. This process actualizes a complex system of intersubjectivity that expresses itself and individuates its subjects through the sociotechnics of language, culture, and history. No subject can precede the juridical process that individuates it. For Agamben, what precedes the juridical (or equivalently: what precedes subjectivity) is the organic. However, he constitutes organic precedence as a negative moment hinged on the juridical (nonbeing/being). Outside the law, organic life has no rights—no possible say within the process—and cannot affirm its existence because it cannot be a subject.

In between the subject and its suspension, Agamben places the Nazi extermination camp: a technology for excising the animal from organic life. The camps operated as channels of desubjectification, sluicing the Jewish subject into a state of organic exception. What once was a subject of the German state with the rights of citizenship and a place in history becomes vermin to be exterminated without compunction or remorse. Outside the juridical process, organic life stands culturally neutralized, erased from history, disconnected from the flow of intersubjective discourse. With this

four-fold negation Agamben presents Nazism's biopolitical aesthetic: to carve an arti-
ficial state of exception from life to select who or what may justifiably live.[1]

Agamben follows a philological trail that elides the power of organic being and
confines philosophical inquiry to themes of juridical process.[2] From this perspective
there are no possible worlds for life beyond law (pp. 148-149). For example, subjec-
tivity requires authority (Latin root: *auctor*): "It is the author who grants the uncertain
or hesitant will of a subject the impulse or supplement that allows it to be actualized"
(p. 149). The author is "he who persuades" and

> signifies the witness insofar as his testimony always presupposes something—a fact, a
> thing or a word—that preexists him and whose reality and force must be validated or cer-
> tified. In this sense, *auctor* is opposed to *res* (*auctor magis . . . quam res . . . movit*, the wit-
> ness has greater authority than the witnessed thing [Liv. 2, 37, 8]). (p. 148)

In following the trail of binary oppositions from *auctor/res* to animal/organic,
Agamben discloses a metaphysical continuum between Western juridical process and
Nazism's biopolitical aesthetic. Thus, he proposes that we cannot simply reduce
Nazism to a bout of irrationality. The extermination camps entailed justifications built
on preexistent binary oppositions within Western metaphysics whereby law necessar-
ily supersedes life. Moreover, Nazism dispensed a system of authorization to prevent
subjectivity from individuating an affirmative concept of organic being beyond the
state of exception.

Before investigating organic being we must understand the stance Agamben
takes—as a speaking subject—within animal life. The animal's subjective essence is a
potential for witnessing to existence (in Latin: *testi*). Each witness implies a being sub-
ject to law that delivers testimony. The subjective field of testimony that emerges from
the interaction of witnesses enacts juridical process. As each subject-witness expresses
a (particular) configuration of the process, its utterances shift along a plane that cor-
relates with the (general) intersubjective structures of language, culture, and history.
Following Foucault (1972), Agamben calls this plane the archive. The archive connects
potential utterances with schemes that mobilize possible worlds. Thus, what the sub-
ject can or cannot say is determined in the archive (p. 145). Furthermore, an archive
is attuned to plural subjective fields of testimony that disperse and partition
schemes—the languages, cultures, and histories it gathers. In other words, the archive
inflects a modal distribution of subjectified schemes (i.e., possible actions, procedures,
and strategies) generated by the testimony of witnesses. Archive and testimony cocon-
stitute the juridical process that structures subjectivity (p. 147). Every potential utter-
ance inflects a series of possible worlds that temper its potency (condition its effect).
Even in contexts where a subject may not speak (i.e., in lacking authority), his or her
impotence testifies of a possible world. The impossible is outside the juridical process
and expresses a mode of desubjectification; but this outside exerts a force against every
possibility, such that a subject cannot speak (justifiably, lawfully, authentically, etc.)
without pressing against an unspeakable border that circumscribes organic life.

The animal witness testifies on behalf of the organic, its desubjectified counterpart.
Witnessing enacts the involution of archive and testimony: a subjective field express-
ing the juridical process (modal distribution) containing all witnesses against the out-
side. What cannot witness stands within a purely objective field of remnants (the
unlawful remainders unprotected by language, culture, and history) incapable of

upholding the juridical rights of subjectivity. Except for the caesura that marks their exception, these remnants or objects are insignificant under the law. As a result of their suspension, remnants are completely expendable.

So far we have taken Agamben's juridical perspective for granted. His exposition of the Nazi extermination camp offers no other position beyond the witness/remnant. But what is the inverse of this perspective? Is there a power in organic life that exceeds the biopolitical aesthetic Agamben describes? Organic being is not simply a remnant that cannot speak for itself. The unspeakable is only a relevant concept within the juridical process. The organic is irresponsible. It does not care if it belongs to the law, if language and history preserve its form (idea), or if culture honors its presence. Only those who belong to the law of subjectivity, even the masses who stand in horror between the animal and organic (as partial witnesses who see but cannot testify), are capable of qualifying the organic as a negation of power or fall from grace. All creatures with a trace of the juridical operate within the confines of its modal distribution; and because the organic exerts a subjective impossibility within the juridical process, its power is unlawful and insensible. Against the perspective of juridical subjectivity, the organic is outlaw.

Organic being exceeds all testimony (for no witness is capable of exhausting its possibilities) and respects no laws because it is not juridical but natural: a perfect deployment of power (Latin: *virtus*), without lack or negativity, whose only mode is necessity. Consequently, even a concept like Natural Law reduces organic being (natural right) to a juridical process (Hobbes, 1651/1981, p. 189). Although Agamben refuses Natural Law, his model deploys a juridical absorption of the organic that also negates its outlaw perspective (i.e., resistance, pluralism, multiculturalism, etc.).[3] *Remnants* (p. 159) ontologizes the organic as law's negativity, dialectically relieved by the positivity of witnesses. Thus, while the animal survives organic life to tend and attest to its remnants, organic being is placed in the void of juridical process. Through this ontology Agamben distils the essence of the metaphysical system in place to justify and design an inhuman technology like the Nazi extermination camp.

There is, however, a perspective on organic being that subverts the supremacy of law over life. It is a variation of the Spinozist conception of organic perfection (see Deleuze, 1988; Spinoza, 1985). Organic perfection mobilizes an ontology in which every living being lacks nothing but simply expresses the necessity of its own power. As such, animals emerge from an organic distribution that sustains and selects the ethological modes (Latin: *affectio*) their powers express. Thus, there cannot be a juridical process without the necessity of natural selection. Without an organic distribution there can be no subjective field of archives and testimony, no language, culture, or history.

Beyond the law, life remains: a proliferation of genetic information whose single mandate is to persist through the expression of its own power. Thus, when an animal returns to an organic state outside the law, a different kind of nature comes into effect: persistence. Outside the juridical process that preserves a subject's dignity, its rights and status as witness, the animal becomes an irresponsible survival machine, completely consumed (and perfected until destruction) by natural selection. Every encounter involving this creature is an exercise of its own power. Each move it makes is perfected to be its last; for there is no law to revoke the status of organic life and no possible worlds to which it subjectively belongs. Only the power of its own being pre-

vents the world from crushing it. As such, the essence of an organic being is its own existence: Together they form its singular mode, necessity.

When Agamben relates the testimony of Auschwitz survivors, he gathers the subjective remains of partial witnesses (those not fully reduced or purified by the Nazi camps). According to the survivors, only a few of the camp inmates ever reverted to a completely organic being. Most perished, whereas those who survived became suspended fragments in between the juridical and its outside. But the inmates who reverted to organic being cannot be adequately understood within the confines of juridical process. What choice do we have in finding an adequate model? We can try to conceptualize organic being as a kind of modal distribution, distinct from juridical process, by partitioning its genetic archive into possible individuals or mutations. However, the range of organic persistence (its *affectio*) inevitably exhausts our calculations.

Exhaustion overtook the survivors. In their state of exception they faced organic being and confronted an irreconcilable alien force: inmates whose behavior altered just enough to no longer resemble humanity, Muselmann, living corpses reduced to uncontrollable sighs, or unconscionable creatures who would do anything for a scrap of food (pp. 56-57). Persistence does not imply dignity or mastery: It expresses the gift of organic being to continue indomitably until external forces break it down. It is a power that cannot yield. Thus, organic ontology meets its impossibility. Even if we could suspend the sociotechnics of language, culture, and history, we would remain entangled in a modal logic of experience (the archive) that takes hold of us and builds our image each time we relate to existence. To reach organic being our only adequate choice is to experience it through the silent persistence of each and every life. Following Spinoza (1985), our description of the organic archive must be an immanent expression of its perfect power (*virtus*), for we cannot contain or exhaust its potential within the juridical confines of our fragmented subjectivities. A life beyond exception is all we can offer.

Notes

1. However, Agamben has created a partial model of Nazism, the negative ontology of its biopolitical aesthetic. Nazism also deployed a positive ontology whereby the interdependent concepts of land and folk transform the animal into Spirit (Lacoue-Labarthe, 1997, pp. 148-156). Together, positive and negative ontologies complete the aesthetic: a mythical renewal of Germany's spiritual kingdom (the essence of land and folk) founded on a sublation of the animal-organic; to purify the animal of its organic traces, the spiritual kingdom was to be founded on the extermination camp.

2. Being coded by juridical process, the organic shadows lawful subjectivity in a binary opposition.

3. In *Homo Sacer I* (1998), Agamben displaces the foundation of Hobbes's social contract from Natural Law to sovereign state of exception. Although Natural Law forbids a subject from doing "that which is destructive" of her life (Hobbes, 1651/1981, p. 189), the sovereign reserves the right to suspend Natural Law and exterminate bare life. However, Agamben elides Hobbes's concept of Natural right "in which case every one is goverened [*sic*] by his own Reason; and there is nothing he can make use of, that may not be a help unto him, in preserving his life against his enemyes [*sic*]" (pp. 189-190). Natural right is organic individuality, distributed by natural selection.

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The City in Your Pocket: Birth of the Mobile Information Society, by Timo Kopomaa. Tampere, Finland: Yliopistokustannus University Press, 2000. 143 pp. ISBN 951-662-802-8 (paperback).

Mobile phones allow the new urban nomads to be spontaneous in their daily lives—"homing in on the city's public places, they make their temporary home in places which hitherto have not been perceived as functional centers" (p. 6). Kopomaa offers intriguing observations on how Finland's mobile phone use allows people to blur the lines between public and private spheres.

The book looks at how and when people engage their cellular phones, as well as the effects that mobile telecommunications has had on social relations and society. This book, which was based on group interviews, observations, and press clippings, gives a small but insightful glimpse into the world of cell phone users. It allows the reader to see how the mobile phone offers its user a 'third place' outside the home and workplace where people can create instant social groups. It also briefly discusses the effect that cellular phones have had on the structure of urban settlements by redefining all those spaces that either connect or separate people (p. 26).

Kopomaa makes some fascinating observations, yet leaves one to wonder the effect of these observations on society. Because the book was so brief, he does not engage a lot of the concepts and ideas he highlights; instead, he quickly brushes over such issues as gendered use, public/private boundaries, and cultural differences. Although throughout the different sections in his book he makes claims about different gender and age use, he does not supplement these claims with interview materials or observations. For example, he mentions that the "management of social relations brings up the question of gender equality" (p. 24), yet goes no further into explaining this or the effects of different gendered uses of such technology.

Kopomaa suggests that the reasons for acquiring a mobile phone today are similar to the reasons people acquired telephones in the United States; therefore, "the telephone for the housewife meant escape from the monotony of everyday life, the reasons why men needed a phone were professional" (p. 32). This is a strong claim that is

not backed up with evidence. He continues in this manner with his analysis of different gendered uses in relation to the physical engagement of mobile phones, styles of communication, and use of text messaging. This is an important area of study and an area that may have great implications on society; it is unfortunate that Kopomaa does not pay them greater attention.

Although he concludes the book by stating that "observations of use in Finland do not necessarily apply across all cultures" (p. 127), he does allow one from another culture to draw similarities from his observations. Kopomaa gives insight into urban mobile phone use, I just wish he would have worked more with his data to give stronger insights and implications into his analysis.

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