

Taina Rajanti

THE CITY OF SOCIAL SPACE

1. The City is

1.1. The City is Archaic

The city is a spatial mode of speech, a spatial form of organising and installing social relations, institutions, subjects. It is covered with stories and myths, organised by stricter and looser grammatical systems that regulate the flow of communication and exchange; it is ornamented with rhetoric and teeming with rumour and gossip. The story of the city is stretched way back before history began, and yet it is born anew each second in millions of utterances. The city as a social space is always created in this tension between tradition and the present, history and the actual moment, social totality and lived practice, language and utterance.

The city is the archaic space, the very ancient "primal scene" of the formation of the social. The first extant evidence of the city in history is its destruction in a war. Rome, the holy city of western culture, began by murdering his brother who scornfully jumped over his newly built ditch. Language is a relative system whose units must be agreed upon by convention, but chosen arbitrarily: this means that it will constitute a system of arbitrary differences, that is, arbitrary inequality [Culler, 1987, pp. 19-52]. The digging of a ditch and the building of a city will always tell of social differences, inequalities, ex-

exploitation, it will mark the difference between those who have and those who have not, those who are low and base and those who are high and cultural, those within and those without. There are no social forms without differences.

"Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains", exclaimed the great social thinker Rousseau. [R o u s s e a u, 49] He put the blame on the first acquisitive man that enclosed the land and made it his property, but he

was not willing to tell us how the founder of civil society went about enclosing his land. He staked out a claim, or dug a ditch, it would seem. The dawn of the following day, the stakes were pulled out and the ditch filled, not by an egalitarian philosopher passing by, but by those who wanted to put themselves in the property-owner's place. One of the successors occupies the space so quickly that I think he was contemporaneous with the first occupant. In the first diggings of the city walls of Rome, the twins are poorly distinguished from one another: the one who encloses the terrain and the one who transgresses the enclosure. They are both first *ex aequo* in this tie of origin. And they kill each other. It is not too difficult to find simple people to believe you, but to save oneself from their jealousy is a forlorn hope. The first who, having enclosed a terrain, decided to say "This is mine", was a dead man, for he immediately gave rise to his assassin. In the beginning was the murder; the ancient texts tell us so, and reason shows us. Romulus only worked to bury Remus deep in the ground [Serres, 139].

The city, a spatial language, is built of hierarchies, differences that have been installed by murder and have to be held up by violence.

Or one could say, like René Girard, that differences are necessarily born out of the levelling violence, the poorly distinguishable murdering twins. Mimetic desire leading to mimetic violence turns brothers to enemies and makes everyone each other's mimetic double. The vicious circle of mimetic violence raging in a community comes to the cathartic turning point when it is directed at one arbitrary member, when all attack one twin together and find a new unity in this unanimously killed victim. According to "persistent heretical versions" Remus too died "in turba", in the confusion of the angry crowd. At this turning point violence changes from destructive to positive, restoring and strengthening both the unity and the existing differences within a community. Religion, folklore, carnival and political parades (etc.) act

out and glorify this cathartic moment. The social is born and maintained on this balanced point, the space of the social encloses at the moment of the victim's death [Girard, 1984, 1986].

Or one could claim like Eric Gans, the language separates from action, signifier from signified only in that space of tension where two equally violent desires clash on one object. (Gans) The city, being a spatial language, carries within traces of this primal scene, moment of suspense and suspicion, of confusion and positive, structural violence. "But is not every square inch of our cities the scene of a crime? Every passer-by culprit?" [Benjamin PH, 1979, pp. 256]. But the traces of the primal crises will also be inscribed in the social memory, collected by "Gedächtnis", to form the aura, the unique atmosphere of an object. The aura is a means of the social memory, it is the shape of the social in objects, the traces of a memory around a crisis that has been solved. "Experience of the aura thus rests on the transposition of a response common in human relationships to the relationship between the inanimate or natural object and man. The person we look at, or who feels he is being looked at us in turn. To perceive the aura of an object we look at means to invest it with the ability to look at us in return. This experience corresponds to the data of the *memoire involontaire*" [Benjamin, *Motifs*, 1973, p. 190].

Social space, like social system, like language, is ubiquitous, since what cannot be contained within, cannot be perceived, comprehended or articulated. Yet this enclosure of culture and reason will forever define itself by that which it closes out: the other (confusion, darkness, dirt crime, anarchy, chaos, madness, irrationality, native, oriental, savage, beast, excrement, sexuality, childhood, woman). It is the sewer that is "the conscience of the town where all things converge and clash" (Hugo), which hidden "under the surface" becomes "the ultimate truth of the social" [Stallybrass, 1986, p. 141].

The exclusion of the parasite, the recognition of the Other, the elimination of dirt, or the founding of a city is not a negative moment, but a positive attempt to organise the environment. A social system is maintained on a balanced point of

violence and determined by enclosure, but this does not mean that it works by repression, by keeping the Other hidden and in silence. What is excluded is put in constant discursive practice, it is taken into account and given utterance at every moment. A social system works by production, producing customs, sayings, religions, sciences, songs, cities [D o u g l a s, 1984, p. 2].

1.2. The City is Modernity

The city is the mythical space of modernity. It is literature and study of the big city that creates "modernity", that defines modernity and its issues. Baudelaire flaneuring the glorious decay of the streets and gutters of Paris; Dickens, Engels and Poe amid poverty and crime in the gaslit foggy streets of London; Simmel in Berlin wondering about the socialpsychological make-up of the alienated individual in modern metropolis; Aragon the Paris Peasant; Joice and his odyssey in Dublin. "Their general concern was the discontinuous experience of time, space and causality as transitory, fleeting and fortuitous or arbitrary - an experience located in the immediacy of social relations, including our relations with the social and physical environment of the metropolis and our relations with the past" [F r i s b y, 1985, p. 4]. And nothing so exemplary of this changed social reality as the big city crowd.

A city like London, where one can roam about for hours without reaching the beginning of an end..., is really something special [...] Hundreds of thousands of people of all the classes and ranks of society jostle past one another; are they not all human beings with the same characteristics and potentialities, equally interested in the pursuit of happiness? [...] And yet they rush past one another as if they had nothing in common or were in no way associated with one another. Their only agreement is a tacit one: that everyone should keep to the right of the pavement, so as not to impede the stream of people moving in the opposite direction. No one even bothers to spare a glance of others" [Engels; cit. B e n j a m i n, *Motifs*, 1973, p. 121].

But Engels, as Benjamin points out, was newly out of the still provincial Germany; a true city-dweller not only survives in the rush, he is at home. In fact, he is not drawn to the citycenter just because of the possibilities of shopping or the

necessities attending to business, but precisely because it is crowded. "Tokyo's pedestrians obey traffic signals, which New Yorkers often do not, but show the same inclination to conservation in the most crowded of places" [Whyte, 1986, p. 27]. When one considers that this monstrosity, the crowd, has become a natural element, it is evident that a fundamental change in everyday realities and their conception as well as their intellectual understanding has taken place.

The starting point of the lived practice or its analysis cannot be the social totality, but rather "the fortuitous fragments of reality". There can be no fixed, secure object of study, not because the social really would have disappeared, or the social totality would have become inaccessible, or because one would have chosen a particular mode of viewing modern life, but because "the object of study is determined by the new mode of experiencing a new social reality itself" [Frisby, 1985, p. 6]. "It did happen: Freud and Einstein and two world wars and the Russian and sexual revolutions and automobiles and airplanes and telephones and radios and movies and urbanization, and now nuclear weaponry and television and microchip technology and the new feminism and the rest, and there's no going back to Tolstoy and Dickens and Co. except on nostalgia trips". (Barth, cit. Sardine 23).

The Gemeinschaft is gone (if it ever existed). "Lost in this mean world, jostled by the crowd" an alienated man meets a reified world, and what is more, learns to enjoy it. The crowded city does not tolerate slow deliberation or posture of someone lost in contemplation. Our senses of perception are transformed to receive continuous shocks, overabundance of stimuli and communication, "shock experience has become the norm". Technology assists the process. Photography reveals an "optical unconscious", makes it possible to penetrate an auratic portrait and replace it with snapshots, "captions", captured moments. This is a "dangerous art", since it "can endow any soup can with cosmic significance but cannot grasp a single one of the human connections in which it exists". This snapshot of perception, "the shock experience which the passer-by has in the crowd corresponds to what the worker "experiences" at his machine. [...] gives short

shrift to the weighty past [...] is equally devoid of substance" [Benjamin PH, 1979, pp. 243-255; Motifs, 1973, p. 134]. But the passer-by knows how to enjoy the soup can, and its representation: the anonymous consumer's "modern art of everyday expression" has a "walking rhetoric" with a "wandering of the semantic that "carries away and displaces the analytical, coherent proper meanings of urbanism". This practice of passing-by, the passer-by's practice follows the logic of dreams and the unconscious collapsing and enlarging existing structures and details, creating a network of social memory around the seemingly isolated soup can [de Certeau, 1984, pp. 100-103].

The city is the space of the Imaginary, the Other of modernity, and more precisely, it is the space of the Other of the middle-classes or the petit bourgeois, the backbone or the founding stone of modern capitalist society. Particularly, it is the Imaginary space of the Other of the middle-class intellectual, the only intellectual we know of as a species. But even the not-so-intellectual members of the petit bourgeoisie like the reformists of the nineteenth century let their discursive abilities wallow in the issue of the city, in the filth and pollution of physical and moral conditions. Here as elsewhere, civilisation sought to define itself by the difference between it and its other. In Henry Mayhew's "London Labour and the London Poor" the ditch is dug between "the wanderers and the civilized tribes". The nomad is constructed in terms of his desires: "his passion for stupefying herbs and roots, and when possible, for intoxicating fermented liquors [...] his love of libidinous dances"; and in terms of his rejections or ignorance: "repugnance to regular and continuous labor [...] want of providence [...] looseness of his notion as to property [...] absence of chastity [...] disregard of female honour [...] vague sense of religion". "In the slum, the bourgeois spectator surveyed and classified his own antithesis" [Stallybrass, White, 1986, p. 128].

Numerous pamphlets describe "the fifty thousand lairs" of the poor, the stench and the excrement, the filthiness of the inhabitants, the looseness of their moral habits. The "contamination" of the prostitute is complained to force its way into

the respectable home, for it the "typical Pater-familias" ventures a look from his window, "he sees the pavement - his pavement - occupied by the flaunting daughters of sin, whose loud, ribald talk forces him to keep his casement closed". But this survey, this surveying gaze of the reforming middleclass does not merely record their will to survey and surveillance, but their desire for this Other. "Through the discourse on prostitution they encoded their own fascinated preoccupation with the carnival of the night, a landspace of darkness, drunkenness, noise and obscenity". There were actually "slumming-tours", where the idle and curious rich escorted by police could go and gaze to their satisfaction prompted by Pierce Egan's *Life in London* (both a book and a play) in the 1820s and 1830s. Similarly in the 1880s there was "a time of crisis for the poor and of renewed moral panic amongst the bourgeoisie" and "an epidemic of slumming", and "a flood of writing about the slums which could be consumed within the safe confines of the home" [Stallybrass, White, 1986, p. 139].

The intellectual takes his stand at "the corner window", or ventures on the street, flaneuring: surveying but keeping his distance, confined within his interieur hiding behind "masks" (the strategy of intellectual and "civilized bourgeois" [Norro, 1986, pp. 15-17]). This is the traditional position of a scientist, protected and stabile center, point of departure, from which the gaze may penetrate the fascinating spectacle of the crowd. The (re)searching look is turned in the masses for the purpose of creating order and reason in this unknown realm of the Other. Yet, as Benjamin already pointed out, the intellectual "goes to the marketplace as a flaneur, supposedly to take a look at it, but in reality to find a buyer" [Benjamin SE, 1973, p. 34]. The distance between the crowd and the intellectual shortens, interieur and outside get confused, the center is shaken. This is the heart of the fundamental epistemological crisis of western understanding called modernity: the bourgeois intellectual is forced to realise that the ditch between himself and the Other is founded on violence; that he himself inhabits the space of the Other [Jardine, 1985, pp. 70-71].

1.3. The city is

The city is a spatial language, but not an inscription or representation of a social reality residing elsewhere. The city is the space where its social reality must be defined. The city is a point of transgression; it is an idea, a concept belonging to the realm of the Imaginary; it is a subject of political and social organisation and action; it is a body, a material reality of material bodies. The city is the space where idea, action and body transgress. The city is.

2. The control

2.1. The polis

The greek city-state, the polis, was an attempt to create an impartial governing subject, a public space of control, outside interests and passions clashing by ditches. "The terms a Greek would use to express this concept are striking: he would say that certain deliberations, certain decisions must be brought "es to koinon", to the commons, that the ancient privileges of the king and arche itself were set down "es to meson", in the middle, at the center. The recourse to spatial image to express the selfawareness that a human group has acquired, its sense existing as a political unit, is of value not only as a comparison; it also reflects the creation of a social space that was altogether new. Indeed, urban buildings were no longer grouped, as before, about a royal palace ringed by fortifications. The city was now centered on the agora, the communal space and seat of the "hestia koine" (the central or public hearth), a public area where problems of general interest were debated. The city itself was now surrounded by walls, protecting and delienating the entire human group of which it was composed. On the spot where the royal citadel once rose - a private and privileged dwelling - the city erected temples that were open to public worship. On the ruins of the palace, on that acropolis which was henceforth consecrated to gods, the community itself was now

projected on the sacred plane, just as at the profane level it found its proper place in the expanse of the agora. What this urban framework in fact defined was a mental space; it opened up a new spiritual horizon. Once the city was centered on the public square, it was already a "polis" in every sense of the word" [Vernant, 1982, pp. 47-48].

The modern city is a continuation of this project. It is planned from the panoptic angle, the god's-eye-view that levels the multitude of forms and always tends towards squares, leaving round forms and blurred details only as decorations. The city-plan aims at a pure space where the inhabitants and all their movement - across the physical space as well as within the social plane - can be regulated and controlled, policed. The darkness of the Other must be made visible, opaque, brought to the open public square under the scrutinizing gaze of governments and intellectuals.

The civilizing process can be seen as a sanitary process. Western civilisation was to "shed its light" upon "the darkness of Africa", and also to the filthy native within the city's "dark places". White man's burden is to enforce his ideas about purity and filth on (O)thers, to bring sanitation and enlightenment to the needful. "The connection between sanitation, light and policing can be seen in a Hudson's soap advertisement of the 1890s. In the picture, a policeman stands in the night holding up his lantern to illuminate a poster of Hudson's "extract of soap". At the top of the poster "PUBLIC HEALTH" is written, and underneath: "Dirt harbours Germs of Disease". But the "source" of "Danger" will be removed by using "Hudson's" (in huge letters, occupying the centre of the poster). The bottom half of the poster is given over to the miraculous powers of Hudson's and concludes: "Home, Sweet Home! The Sweetest, Healthiest Homes are those where HUDSON'S EXTRACT OF SOAP is in Daily Use". The policemen and soap are analogous: they penetrate the dark, public realm with its disease and danger so as to secure the domestic realm ("Sweet Home") from contamination. The police and soap, then, were the antithesis of the crime and disease which supposedly lurked in the slums, prowling out at night to the suburbs; they were the agents of discipline, surveillance, purity" [Stallybras, White, 1986, p. 134].

The cleaning of Paris in the nineteenth century was given to Haussmann, "the artist of demolishing", whose project of renovating was "the securing of the city against civil war. He wished to make the erection of barricades in Paris impossible for all time". Haussmann built the streets wide, the houses strong and massive so that no cobblestones could be dug for the barricades and no dark alleys or winding corners could hide the rebels. He succeeded in further alienating "the rootless population" by driving them to the outskirts of the city [Benjamin, Capital, 1973, p. 174].

2.2. The policing

In the 1950s there was a withdrawal from the big cities, especially in the USA, and a decay of "old" centres set in, with colored ghettos and crime, drugs and prostitution taking the place of middle-class citizens and daylight business. "The highway era" changed the city that had been built around the public square and public activities. Fast highways carried the inhabitants to their safe suburbs, to vast supermarkets outside cities, to huge buildings, selfsufficient "megastructures", which in one massive structure enclose offices, hotels, retailing. "From the outside they look like fortresses and they were meant to". Middle-class people must be offered security from the city, which is "accordingly, shut out - even the sight of it. At Detroit's Renaissance Centre, the entrance is flanked by two concrete berms. Come in and be safe from Detroit, they seem to say". Even within the city's center, the suburban supermarket has become a dominant force, the model [Whyte, 1986, p. 37].

"And so came about the invasion and capture of the center city. The developers and their architects proceeded to put up what they had been putting up in the suburbs: [...] a big windowless box. There had been no need in suburbia to attract passersby with display windows. There were no passersby [...]" But in the city there were pedestrians, yet no display windows were put, or even "windows of any kind". Pedestrian walkways are being put "everywhere but street level - up above in skyways, down below in underground concourses". The result is that activities

and people move away from streetlevel, which becomes dominated by the blank wall. This is a "war against the street", in which there is one basic choice "to deny the street or to celebrate it". Blank walls do not attract people, and any building in the city has its fate decided by its relation to the street, its accessibility from the pedestrian, passerby angle. "What is at issue is not the outward amenities but the basic function of the city [...]: a central place for people to come together face to face. On the street" [Whyte, 1986, pp. 33-39].

Dean MacCannell reads in this withdrawal or war against the crowded city the post-bomb unconsciousness on the macrolevel. The atomic bomb is aimed at civilians: "You have to understand that it isn't military weapon. It is used to wipe out women and children and unarmed people, and not for military uses", explains president Truman in a letter. This makes cities as large concentrations of civilians within, a relatively small area the main targets of nuclear weapons. Also, the strategy of "deterrence by threat of massive retaliation" rests on the following basic assumptions:

- 1) survivability: "Nuclear strategists must assume limited »survivability«",
- 2) the city as a Nuclear Defence Weapon: "the defence role of the city is not just to receive the hit, it is to absorb the hit so that damage minimally spills over to surrounding »survival areas«",
- 3) the strategic Role of the Rural Areas: Survival is considered possible in smaller units able to support themselves [MacCannell, 1984, pp. 39-41].

According to MacCannell, one may see slips and evasions, behind which is revealed the desire to offer the cities and their population of workers, poor, blacks, criminals, as targets. Thus one may save tax money from improvement and welfare for development and building of more bombs. Maintenance of "strategic poverty" makes it possible to "continue the advance of capitalism as a zero-sum game, in which it takes X number of people in poverty to make one millionaire". "The threat of nuclear attack (is essential) to perpetuate the abstract idea of »Free Enterprise« as an administrative totalization [...] The city will

also absorb the impact (of nuclear attack); and in so doing also cure itself of our officially designated »social problems« : crime, poverty, disease, high infant mortality rates etc. What is more important, even if the bombs never come, this lucky arrangement has out our leaders in a position to revive Capitalism in its pure form" [M a c C a n n e l l, 1984, pp. 43-45].

2.3. This is establishing control and enforcing sanitation,
and digging the ditch of New Rome on mass scale

"I don't think that the mayor and the chief of police hate graffiti, what they hate is what they can't control", quoth a fourteen-year old graffiti-artist from the city of New York. The communal and governmental officials do not condemn the form of expression (which, after all, is not easy to separate abstractly from art hanging in galleries), and it is not the material losses which count most (for they come largely from the experiences of cleaning up). It is the maddening idea of anyone, a passerby, taking part in the planning and forming of the city, initiating changes on their own. "What makes the chief of police really mad is that he wakes in the morning and does not know where he will find the next graffiti" - and the chief echoing: "Now I go to sleep and the next morning I find that my car has been covered with this paint".

Sociology has all the opportunities of taking part in this "withdrawal", this "war against the street", taking the part of surveyors and policers. Most of all it can withdraw methodologically, behind large institutions, impartial surveys and plans-made from the god's-eye-view. Even the softer methods may include the strategic starting point of the flaneur, stem from a privileged distance. I suggest that we not merely "go native" or "slumming", but admit ourselves to be on the street.

3. The Aura

3.1. The City Library

The City Library, the surroundings of the lending-desk, Monday 27.10.86, 9.45 am.

An old woman, about seventy, cruises with her books past the lending desk to the returns desk. She is directed back to the lending desk. She arrives there from the wrong direction, past the line-up. - "How do you know where to come and go", she complains. An old man, not quite sure of what to do, walks to and fro with mittens on, lost in his thoughts.

The most typical activities, perhaps surprisingly, are wandering, staring and searching. We would have expected the people to march in, find what they came for and leave, but it is not like that. Because of the structure of the building, the way it is organised, and bad directions people wander aimlessly and seldom find what they came for without help. When interviewed, a member of the personnel said that people come to the new library building to get "impressions and experience it as a happening. To get lost, that is?" [Lehti, Lähteenmäki, Salo].

The building where people cannot find their ways is the pride of Tampere, the new city lending library, designed by the Pietilä's, full of careful architectural planning and details, chosen colours and forms, arrangements that please the eye and built in symbolism to satisfy the mind. But the people that come just wander and stare. They do not find their ways because there are no "their ways", not yet. There is no aura about it yet, no shape of the social, no trace of memory around it. The aura of a place is a lucid and fluid concept, but also a lucid and fluid property - now you see it, now you don't. It is everyman's property, for all of us can sense and perceive the aura, and more, it has to be perceived by a multitude, a social mass with its social memory to exist. The aura does not form solely around golden memories but around catastrophes and crises, around mistakes and monstrosities. It will contain both the good and the

bad, but never the new: the new is a moment of shock, until it is woven within the spatial tale, until it is subtly altered by traces of the social, blacks chipped off for mementoes, initials carved: Kilroy was here. Bishop Berkeley would be delighted, but a sociologist is somewhat perplexed.

3.2. On the others' space

There has been research on the representations of a society on the one hand, and its modes of behaviour on the other. What is left outside the analyses is "what the cultural consumer 'makes' or 'does' with these images". This usage or consumption is in fact a hidden production. Michel de Certeau proposes a definition of two kinds of production of culture: "to a rationalized, expansionist and at the same time centralized, clamorous and spectacular production corresponds another production, called 'consumption'. The latter is devious, it is dispersed, but insinuates itself everywhere, silently and almost invisibly, because it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through ways of using the products imposed by a dominant economic order" [de C e r t e a u, 1984, pp. XII-XIII].

"(T)his cultural activity of the non-producers of culture, an activity that is unsigned, unreadable and unsymbolised remains the only one possible for all those who nevertheless buy and pay for the showy products through which a productivist economy articulates itself. Marginality is becoming universal" [de C e r t e a u, 1984, p. XVII] (Which maybe at always was). The centralized, rationalizing production of a minority who has proper names and proper places describes very well the surveying and policing activities of bourgeois classes and their intellectuals. It means, however, that penetrating their discursive practices does not tell the whole truth about the social reality of the "marginal majority", the crowd. For instance, even though Foucault's "microphysics of power" explain well enough the workings of a productive disciplinary apparatus of power, "it is all the more urgent to discover" how an entire society resists being reduced to it, what popular procedures (also minuscule and quotidian) manipulate the mechanism of discipline and conform to

them only in order to evade them, and, finally, what "ways of operating form the counterpart, on the consumer's side [...], the innumerable practices by means of which users reappropriate the space organised by techniques of socio-cultural production" [de Certeau, 1984, p. XIV].

How to tackle the Other, "unsigned, unreadable and unsymbolised" without doing violence to its otherness? De Certeau suggests an analogy with language. Language may be seen an established system of grammar, vocabulary and semantic; but it is also a practice on the level of enunciation, utterance, spoken sentences (not necessarily grammatical sentences); messages ostensibly within the enclosure of language, yet following a logic of their own. There are further concepts like "trajectories", "wandering lines", which have in them the idea of possible randomness, mistake, nonsense that is also part of life, but tends to be left out of analyses focused on the recurrent, the coherent story. Added to the trajectory is its "tactical" character, "a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other". There is also rhetoric, the ancient science of "the ways of speaking", that to de Certeau offers figure-types and studies ways of making the weaker position seem stronger [de Certeau, 1984, p. XIII; XVIII-XX].

3.3. Customers and customaries

Kauppahalli (indoor market): "There are some regular old men's groups that come there to see their friends, but also to do their shopping. Often they gather around the tables outside the cafe. First one old man sits down, and because he is visible from far off, in a while he is surrounded by bigger a group of acquaintances. They like the place also because it is a good one for greeting acquaintances passing by and exchanging gossip with them [...] (When interviewed these customers) did not consider it a regular meeting-place. We on the other hand noticed that people came to the cafe to find company to talk with, and that held true for acquaintances as well as strangers" [Huttunen, Isoviita].

The bus station. "It becomes soon clear that the users of the bus station belong to two kinds of groups: travellers (customers) and so »customaries«. The customaries are generally a bit rugged, alcoholic old men. [...] Both groups have their own realism. The customaries sit by the wall next to the cafe, and spy out the surroundings from their base. The customers sit on the benches by the ticket-office. The benches are as if from an old wooden church, and the behaviour of the customers is in accordance, it has a feeling of devoutness. Most customers sit straight, read a newspaper or just wait. The customaries use the space in several ways. They play the games (slot machines), sit on the bench or go to the cafe. Usually they are alone. If there are more, their behaviour may get so noisy that the personnel has to call in the police" [H a u t a m ä k i, V ä i s ä n e n].

The railway station: "The feeling of being under constant surveillance created social tension and a need for appearance of being engaged in something approved". This tension showed itself most clearly in both the travelling and non-travelling customers. People sitting down were most at ease, they were able to just sit, stare and wait; perhaps they felt the surveillance less, since sitting down among people standing up they were less visible. Standing non-travellers with friends formed small circles (interieurs) in quite central places. Lonely travellers stood in corners; some of them moved and acted restlessly: gazed intently at stands and machines or advertisements, bought something, hid behind a newspaper or went to and fro. Non-travelling customers never stayed for long.

The customaries on the other hand seemed quite immune to surveillance or a need for appearances. Firstly there were the game-players (slot machines), who seemed to be rather regular customaries. They were mostly men, sometimes pensioners or otherwise marginal women. The players turned their backs on surveillance and gave their attention wholly to the game, even when not playing themselves.

Another loose group of customaries formed of people like pensioners, alcoholics, unemployed and homeless, whose role is characterised by a certain leisure and unhurrying atmosphere. An example were "the couples", for instance: Two men in their

thirties, general appearance of deterioration, come in together, buy cups of coffee and sit down at a table. They observe the people but don't speak a word with each other. Having drunk the coffee, they just sit gazing around awhile, say their goodbyes and walk their ways [Minkovitsch, Tuhkanen].

3.4. On the street

The term for over-crowded cities was "behavioral sink". (Here, as before, the middle-classes define its Other, and sees "the ultimate truth of the social" in the sewer, the excluded: "the behavioral sink").

"But how many people on the street were too many?" W. H. Whyte set out to discover how the crowds themselves distanced and protected themselves from the overcrowded city. His hypothesis was that people meeting each other on the street would move out of the main pedestrian flow. "People did not move out of the main flow, we discovered. If they were away from this stream of movement, they gravitated to it, and the longer the conversation, the more apt it was to be smack in the center. Just why this should be so I have never been able to determine, but I suspect it has to do with choice. [...] The street is a social place, and this insight is inextricably bound up with why it tends to be crowded. Department-store entrances are a case in point. With people trying to get in and out through their cumbersome doorways, the entry space in front of them is crowded enough as it is. But it is also a place where people wait to meet people, hold conversations, exchange goodbyes or just stand there" [Whyte, 1986, p. 27].

Further research reveals that this is not a peculiar trait of New Yorkers only. "The key factor is not nationality but the character of the city. People in large metropolitan centers tend to act more like people in other countries' large cities. Studies from Copenhagen, New York, Tokyo, London bring out the "inclination to conversations in the most crowded of places". "Given the basic elements of a crowded street, people in one city tend to act much like people in other cities". Whyte's studies on the revitalizing of the city center leads to the conclusion; people

are attracted by other people, and the smoothest possible continuation of the street level (and no blank walls!). It is clear that there are practices, "minuscule and quotidian", that decide big things like whether a city center will decay or live [Whyte, 1986, p. 27, 39].

The flow of pedestrians, the act of passing by is a "spatial practice" in the sense of de Certeau. "The art of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to statements uttered. [...] Surveys of routes miss what was: the act itself of passing by". The act of walking has a triple enunciative function: "it is a process of appropriation of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian (just as the speaker appropriates and takes on the language); it is a spatial acting-out of the place (just as speech act is an acoustic acting-out of language); and it implies relations among differentiated positions, that is among pragmatic 'contracts' in the form of movements (just as verbal enunciation is an allocution, 'posits another opposite' the speaker and puts contracts between interlocutors into action)" [de Certeau, 1984, pp. 97-98].

The walking rhetoric of passersby has two fundamental stylistic figures: synecdoche and asyndeton. Synecdoche means enlargening a part to stand for the whole, "as a brick shelter or a hill is taken for the park in the narration of a trajectory". Asyndeton is the elimination of connectives, a fragmentation of space that skips over links and whole parts [...] like a child on one foot". The asyndeton opens gaps in the continuum (of the city plan) retaining selected "relics", clinging to "tradition", credible or memorable things" that make places habitable (This is where old Mrs H lived, here we used to play cops and robbers: this is/was the place). The synecdoche expands spatial elements amplifying details and miniaturizing the whole. Both undermine the rational spatial logic of "the polis", city as subject and pure space. Both are very auratic figures, and concepts [de Certeau, 1984, pp. 100-103].

This fragmentation of totality and breaking up of continuum is also the logic of the unconscious and the logic of the dream. It reminds one of descriptions of modern reality and its ex-

perience. It brings to mind Walter Benjamin's conception of revolution: a standstill in the continuum of time, a crack in the continuum of history; a moment of tension, a constellation between past and present, the Jetztzeit, when it is possible for something really new and radical to slip in [Benjamin Theses, 1982, pp. 263-266]. A "stubborn resistance" and guerilla tactics for de Certeau. Maybe change is not merely a big, loud calculated thing, a public display, but a turn of the unconscious, of a dream, of a walk that brings out a new thing, a new way of seeing or doing. Maybe "rocks have their dreams and the earth changes".

UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Four reports on observations of Tampere under the title The City as a Social Space.

- H a u t a m ä k i T., V ä i s ä n e n M., Linja-autoasema - kaupungin ruumis.
 H u t t u n e n P., I s o v i i t a H., Kauppahalli - kaupungin sielu.
 L e h t i M., L ä h t e e n m ä k i O., S a l o A., Tampereen uusi pääkirjasto.
 M i n k o v i t s c h T., T u h k a n e n H., Tampereen rautatieasema - kaupungin alku ja loppu.

Also quotations from memory from a TV program Rapping, Scratching and Breaking, a one hour program on New York's latest "city culture".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- B e n j a m i n W., 1973, (The Capital): Paris - the Capital of the Nineteenth Century, [in:] Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism, NLB Norfolk.

- B e n j a m i n W., 1979, (PH), A Small History of Photography, [in:] One-Way Street, NLB Norfolk.
- B e n j a m i n W., 1973, (SE), The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire, [in:] Charles Baudelaire, NLB Norfolk.
- B e n j a m i n W., 1973, (Motifs), Some Motifs in Baudelaire, [in:] Charles Baudelaire, NLB Norfolk.
- B e n j a m i n W., 1982, (Theses), Theses on the Philosophy of History, [in:] Illuminations, Fontana/Collins Books, Suffolk.
- C e r t e a u de M., 1984, The Practice of Everyday Life. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- C u l l e r J., 1976, Saussure, Harvester Press, GB.
- D o u g l a s M., 1984, Purity and Danger. Ark Paperbacks, London.
- F r i s b y D., 1985, Fragments of Modernity, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- G a n s E., 1986, Sacred text in Secular Culture, [in:] To Honour Rene Girard. Stanford French and Italian Studies, vol. XXXIV.
- G i r a r d R., 1986, The Scapegoat, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, London.
- G i r a r d R., 1984, Violence and the Sacred, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- J a r d i n e A., 1985, Gynesis, Cornell University Press, Ithaca NY.
- M a c C a n n e l l D., 1984, Baltimore on the morning... after, "Diacritics", vol. I, No. 2.
- N o r o A., 1986, Simmel, muoti ja moderni. Esipuhe teoks; S i m m e l G., Muodin filosofia; (Simmel, Fashion and the Modernity, Foreword, [in:] S i m m e l G., Philosophy of Fashion), Odessa, Rauma.
- R o u s s e a u J. J., The Social Contract, Penguins, Harmondsworth.
- S e r r e s M., The Parasite. The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- S t a l l y b r a s s P., W h y t e A., 1986, The Politics and Poetics of Transgression, Methuen, London.

Vernant J. P., 1982, The Origins of Greek Thought, Methuen, London.

Whyte W. H., 1986, New Developments in Urban Design, "Dialogue", No 72.

Taina Rajanti

MIASTO JAKO PRZESTRZEŃ SPOŁECZNA

W formie eseju autorka analizuje społeczny i kulturowy fenomen miasta. Odwołuje się do koncepcji R. Girarda, W. Benjamina i M. de Certeau. Miasto jest przestrzenną formą organizowania stosunków społecznych, instytucji i podmiotów. Jest pełne opowieści i mitów, sposobów regulowania komunikacji i wymiany. Miasto jest polem zmagania tradycji i współczesności. Miasto jest podmiotem politycznych i społecznych działań, ale jest też ideą. Miasto jest przestrzenią, w której idea, działanie i ciało przenikają się. Artykuł pokazuje, w jaki sposób "miasto jest" przestrzenią społeczną, w której historia i nowoczesność są współobecne. Miasto jest formą i terenem sprawowania kontroli społecznej zarówno sanitarnej, jak też policyjnej. Miasto ma, wytwarza własny klimat, w którym ludzie obcują ze sobą, w określonej, znanej im przestrzeni. Miasto jest tą przestrzenią, w której zachodzą zjawiska potocznego, codziennego życia.