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The City of the Senses, the Senses in the City

Zara Pinto-Coelho and Helena Pires (Eds.)

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Postmodernity); "L'Imaginaire et la Reliance Dans la Sociologie de Durkheim" (The Imaginary and Reliance in Durkheim's Sociology); "De l'Importance de la Psychologie Collective Dans les Sciences Sociales: Serge Moscovici et les Passions Humaines" (The Significance of Collective Psychology in Social Sciences: Serge Moscovici and Human Passions).

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About the City of the Senses, the Senses in the City: An Introduction

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Urban-oriented sensory analysis, inspired by ethnographic and phenomenological work developed in the last century, has a long tradition in the social sciences, namely in anthropology and sociology (e.g., Low & Kalekin-Fishman, 2018). However, in communication and cultural studies research, the sensorial orientation is still incipient. This publication is part of an ongoing call by Passeio, the platform for the study of art and urban culture of the Communication and Society Research Centre (CECS), for an organicist vision of the city, underlining the need to re-signify the role of the senses in the experience of everyday contemporary urban life by crossing disciplinary boundaries, approaches and geographies and using multi-sensory frameworks (Low, 2015). This initiative is included in Volume 8, Issue 1 of the *Lusophone Journal of Cultural Studies*, Sentient City — An Atonal Landscape (Pires et al., 2020), and this ebook.

The title we chose for this ebook plays with the double meaning of "sense" in conceptualising and analysing the (post)city. Linked to perception, we

have the meanings that subjects give to the city in their urban experience and experimentation through sensations, emotions, or thoughts provided by sound, smell, touch, taste, and sight. The common denominator of this construction of senses, always socially and culturally contextualised, its base or medium is the skin, that is, the body. Drawing from "our most primitive physical dimension" (*phýsis*/nature) and making the body our "first place", we can ask, making Cacciari's (2004/2010) disquiet our own, "if we are a place, how can we not seek places?" (p. 45). Our ontological question, though today displaced to broad debates de-situating us outside the boundaries of the human — towards the composite, simultaneously organic and cybernetic, designated by Donna Haraway (2003) by the term "cyborg", alongside other well-known terminologies by other authors, such as the "second self" by Sherry Turkle (2005), or the "posthuman" by Katherine Hayles (1999), or even the "post-phenomenological" body, according to Don Ihde (2002), — still does not dismiss the experience of the senses (*aesthesis*).

We are body-place insofar as we are formed on the grounds of our worldliness and connection with the sensitive universe (Merleau-Ponty, 1945, 1964) and by sharing that same phenomenological condition with others. We refer to cohabited places and, in particular, those woven by the constructed structure, the urban artefacts, the incessant flow of different luminosities, temperatures, rhythms and sounds, and the concentration of crowds and interaction between subjects, places of passage and ritualisation of everyday life. We talk about the city of the senses, the multiple forms of perception of inhabited places, out-of-doors. As opposed to the anthropological vision of Marc Augé (1992/2016), who argues that the so-called "non-places" disconnect us from the sense of relationality, identity and history, we recognise in the fragmentary experiences we live unfolded modes of being: in the train or underground stations, in public gardens, in the streets, or even in the enclosures of automobile transport, which still allow us to establish a cinematic relationship (Friedberg, 1993) with the space travelled and the scenes of ordinary life, as a travelling, mediated by the senses.

The city happens in these encounters between the being and the world, mediated by the multiple visual, sound, olfactory, tactile and gustatory signs. In other words, individuals in their perceptions give meaning to the urban experience, establishing bridges that connect their lives to the urban dynamics and others. That is the second sense of meaning implied in the title chosen for this work. Thus, there are multiple meanings of the city. In this publication, the city is perceived as a prosthetic place, inhabited by everyday life, the city as a body-city with which we body ourselves. To such

an organic conception, we add its inextricable technological imbrication, on the one hand, and the imaginary that produces the experience of feeling, on the other. The permanent reinvention of the sense of the city (and its senses) reflects its changing socio-geographic reality. It extends beyond the historical centres. It follows the (dis)figurations of the territory, urbanisation as a global phenomenon that colours with hybrid shades, each piece of ground strewn with shared experience and imaginary.

David Hopper, in painting, or, in the Portuguese context, André Cepeda, in photography, give expression to various senses of the urban in which public life and being-together or the sense of belonging to a place are disconcerted. Deeply solitary characters, though surrounded by the coexistence of those who cohabit in brief fragments of space-time, in cafés, or at roadside petrol stations, seem to surrender, in the painter's paintings, to a feeling of visible melancholy, directing the senses towards an intimate communication with the surrounding world. The books between hands (today Hopper could perhaps be inspired by the observation of individuals connected to mobile phones in the most varied public places), the lost gaze on the landscape, experiences of sensitive and invisible (in)communication while places are emptied of sociality. Cepeda highlights cutting lines, such as the motorway separators, severing the territory, transforming it into a challenge to the connection of the body able of walking, of crossing, constraining the modes of appropriation of the place and dwelling, and introducing conflicts or challenges that forcing the reinvention of other practices, creative, of use and experience. That reminds us of the importance of thinking about the countless meanings of the urban (Domingues, 2009). Can these examples illustrate the "end of the city" as a place of encounters, shared experiences and senses, and social life produced through socio-economic and symbolic exchanges?

The city is a plural and complex reality. There are many senses attached to the notion of the city today: the city as an expression of modernity (Simmel and Benjamin are among the founders of a reflection of the metropolitan urban condition), the skin of materialist culture (cities are understood, in this perspective, as "forests of signs"); the (post)historical city — extended to urban centres and the so-called "suburbs"; the spectacle city (unrealised and transformed into a pure simulacrum, a Disneylandised city); the nature-city, the organic, unattached city (whose dynamics are made and unmade, as opposed to the planned and disciplined city); the inhabited and lived city (perceived in its social and cultural tensions and frictions); the global city, the cyber city...

While the concept of city today has no correspondence with the experience of a confined socio-territorial place, on the other hand, its vast imaginary

follows us through all (non)places, including the "dwelling exotopic" (Felice, 2009/2012). Among the many urban senses, whether seen from the standpoint of geography, philosophy, sociology or history, we highlight the sense of senses in the production of endless possibilities of accessing the perception of our connection to the common world there is to see, to walk through, to hear, to know, to discover... Our sensory and affective disconnection from such desire for connection may be evidence of the redefinition of the body itself as a deterritorialised place. As Cacciari (2004/2010) would say, "the city is everywhere", and the senses of the city, we add, are all that allow us, still, to grasp the aesthetic-sensible as a discontinuous mode of being-with-the-others in contemporaneity.

The Book's Structure

This book includes theoretical and/or empirical contributions from researchers in sociology, communication and cultural studies, who explore three fundamental questions: (a) the effects of the tourist era under the COVID-19 pandemic, (b) the role of music in the production of places and socialities; and (c) the importance of ambiances in the constitution of a carnal relationship with the city.

Another particular aspect of this publication is that it includes publications written by researchers with work done in the field urban studies alongside those of PhD students pursuing new research paths in communication and cultural studies.

The volume opens with an article by Fabio La Rocca, a researcher at Centre d´Études sur l´Actuel et le Quotidien, Paris-Descartes, Sorbonne. It is not the first time this researcher has shared with the CECS community his postmodern proposal for reading the city. In 2010, he outlined his proposal in an article published in Volume 18 of the journal *Comunicação e Sociedade*. The author argued that understanding the urban today requires being in tune with the "diffuse metropolis' sense of the present" (La Rocca, 2010, p. 160). According to the author, one must also look at the potential conditions offered by the power of the "urban experience re-enchantment", highlighting the multiple signs providing "each city with a specific air and a sensitive poetics that reflect its essence, state of mind, vitality, and being" (La Rocca, 2010, p. 161). In the chapter we are now publishing, "Mood and Ambiances: A Narration of Expressive Forms and Urban Emotions", Fabio La Rocca highlights the quality of urban ambiances as a way of approaching the urban phenomenon. He claims that *flânerie* proves to be the appropriate method for

this purpose. It enables one to perceive the spatial essences and the societal energies which shape a carnal relationship with the urban space and allow the narration of the city from the standpoint of its moods. It is about understanding the city that expresses itself through the senses as a continuous process of experiences and the senses that we can build through experience, highlighting the expressive situations and making the city speak, thus opening the doors to the multiplicity of expressions of what is lived.

Pedro Andrade, a sociologist and a researcher at CECS, in "Everyday Urban Life: Genealogy and Journal of Actors' Bodies in the Viral City", gives an account of some theoretical reflections included in a sociology project about the urban fabric confined and transformed by the COVID-19 pandemic. The fieldwork developed is documented through photographs taken in 2020, revealing manifestations and effects of the pandemic in the daily life of cities, in the economic and cultural spheres and citizenship. The article proposes general assumptions to test the progressive definition of what can be understood as a viral society, which includes, among other processes, the viral city and the viral bodies of social actors and ways to overcome it through strategies of *social remobilisation*.

The chapter "The City of Guinga is Biographical" by Teresa Lima, a PhD student in communication sciences at the University of Minho and Zara Pinto-Coelho, a professor at the University of Minho and a researcher at CECS, explores the relationship between life-body, city-place and music, as part of an organic and symbolic whole. They seek to understand what art does to an artist and those who experience it, based on the composition "Meu Pai", (my father) by the Brazilian musician Guinga. The authors show that the artist creates bridges between the self and the worlds with whom he dialogues, trying to identify with a place, in this case, the city, which thus acquires the status of an organic whole, that is, of a body, another with whom one interacts.

Drawing from a preliminary mapping of street percussion groups performing in the cities of Fortaleza (Brazil) and Braga (Portugal), the chapter "Urban Drummers: The Experience of Playing, Being and Feeling in Community", Fábio Marques, a PhD student in cultural studies at the University of Minho, in collaboration with Jean-Martin Rabot and Helena Pires, professors at the same university and researchers at the CECS, discuss concepts and possible approaches to the understanding of the meanings given to this type of practice. Underlining the meanings given to them by those who participate in this type of practice daily, the authors discuss some definitions related to

the practice and group organisation of this type of cultural manifestation to understand its meanings in contemporary societies.

The book ends with the chapter "The Tourist Era in the City of Porto: Enchantment, Suspension and (Un)Sustainability" by Márcia Silva, a PhD student in sociology at the University of Minho, with Emília Araújo and Rita Ribeiro, professors at the same university and members of the CECS. It explores the time of tourism in Porto and its effects on things, spaces and the experiential time of the city and its residents, taking 2017 as a benchmark, the year they started a photographic repository of the city. It discusses some of the implications and challenges of the touristification process, around three main halts in the city's time: the "time of the city's enchantment" by tourism; "the time of decline", with the drastic reduction in tourist numbers following the COVID-19 pandemic; and the "wait" that is "desperate" for tourism to return.

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Mood and Ambiances: A Narration of Expressive Forms and Urban Emotions

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Abstract

Everyday urban life is invented and reinvented. As a result, the unique relationship we establish with places and spaces is the product of the effects of the territorial environment from an emotional and affective point of view. The lived space supports a collective identification with the development of a diversity of sensitive practices that constitute the variety of atmospheres and a form of narration of the urban and social scene that emphasises atmospheric qualities and urban tonalities. We focus on the sensitive qualities of space and the correlation of a phenomenology of sense that emphasises an ontology of coexistence and being with space, producing a narration of ambiances and atmospheres arrangement to understand the perceptions of urban emotions.

Keywords

city, emotions, imaginary, *Stimmung*, urban ambiances

Things see me as much as I see them.
— Paul Valéry, *Cahiers 1894-1915 – Tome V* (1994)

The city, and its socio-urban daily life, is invented and reinvented through the practices and uses of its multiple places and spaces. As a result, symbolic and affective effects are produced, characterising the lived experience through a collective identity generated by the sensible qualities and variety of ambiances encountered. That produces a potential ontological narrative of urban life as a space created through its sensory qualities, forming a kaleidoscope of sensations, where emotions must be understood as a way in which to identify an experience amplified by moods within a space. These urban moods express how a city is thought about, felt, and expressed. A theoretical approach, emphasising the quality of urban environments, shall be employed to address the urban phenomenon. "Setting the ambiance of a space", to cite Jean-Paul Thibaud (2013), is a way in which to focus on a kind of "poetics of space. To reference a famous analysis by Pierre Sansot (1973), uncovering the resonances permeated in urban daily life that can be decoded and deciphered through wanderings, *flaneries*, through the city. These last two actions must be thought of as a tangible method employed by a sensory observer who, through their own subjective sensory projection in space, can bring out the qualities of a space, the various moods encountered within this moment of passage. These passages can be accomplished when approached as a sensible flaneur, forming the corollary of a perspective on what we feel and resent. A kind of sensory engagement, the flaneur, in their own right, can experience emotions and sensations through their senses. That is how a framework of urban moods is formed, which can be multifaceted, depending on the sense(s) employed, whether smell, hearing or touch, composing a certain polyphony of urban ambiances. It is worth noting that Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin introduced the concept of "polyphony" as an approach to literary theory and the aesthetics of a novel. However, it can be adapted to the context of this paper and the urban experience, as a polyphonic space experienced through a plurality of lived and felt expressions. A space that arises through various expressive modalities formed by mood and ambient qualities, giving rise to an aesthetic of urban narration. That is a new communicative form of inhabiting a city, in which the space's sensory qualities and its ambiances are emphasised. Thus, the city is expressed through the senses and new senses constructed through experience. While cities, as a construction, are founded on the premise of always having something new to provide, it could subsequently be said that the collective narration of urban ambiances, as a specificity of the ordinary daily experience, is constructed and reconstructed by a certain sensory dynamism formed by the endless ways in which one can feel and position oneself.

The Immersive Approach of the Flaneur-Researcher

In this understanding of urban storytelling and its moods, scientific guidance is provided through the act of immersion. Spatial immersion, through which urban sensibility is discovered and perceived, is a subjective experience that can be compared to plunging oneself into the urban atmospheres of spaces, thus producing a vision of the imaginary of cities where the city is, parallelly, both the subject and object of this imaginary construction. That means that when one is immersed in one space, detecting and capturing its moods allows for a mosaic of impressions to be created through a sensory process that is observed, smelt, and felt. Here, when reference is made to this sensitive or sensory experience, it is important to emphasise the key role played by the senses and the meanings assigned to them in subsequent perceptual descriptions produced. Therefore, a phenomenological immersion aiming to perceive to describe, following Sansot's (1986) "layers of meaning", characterising the urban imaginary. A body immersing in one space provides the opportunity to demonstrate the perceptions of what it encounters (phenomenologically) during such an immersion. This approach is achieved when the position of a metropolitan flaneur is adopted, one capable of drawing attention to the sensory experiences a city can provide. Beyond being a literary figure, a flaneur — this figure of a purposeless, yet philosophical, metropolitan flaneur — made famous by various authors such as Charles Baudelaire, Honoré de Balzac, Louis Huart, Franz Hessel and Walter Benjamin, must be considered a method of discovery and observation employed in a sensory approach to ambiances.

In fact, the sociologist-flaneur is a position adopted, a perspective from which to determine what the city can provide in sensory terms and then render the experiences encountered perceptually, through images, smells, noises, sounds, and surfaces touched, all of which contribute to a carnal relationship being created with the urban space that is both mediated and unmediated (in the sense of the mediums employed). The urban spaces are discovered sensorially by walking through as a flaneur, allowing for the real and imaginary urban setting to be perceived through sensory experiences.

In adopting Maurice Merleau-Ponty's (1964) theory of the phenomenology of perception, it becomes clear that all the senses are employed in any act of perception and that in a spatial immersion conducted through wandering, the various sensory dynamics of the city can be felt and experienced through the very act of deciphering them in order to build a vision of what is being perceived. The flaneur's approach is directly related to this

decipherment with a poetic sensitivity (once again, as is Sansot's 1973 approach). It allows the city to be perceived through a process that collects ordinary details (Kracauer, 2006) and fragments (Benjamin, 1939/1986) to construct a narration of this text — the city as the object/subject of observation — from the angle of its moods. In wandering to seek, thus, with a purpose, a kind of "impressionistic" sensibility can be built to shape concepts, as in the theory of Georg Simmel (1903/2013). Perceptual impressions, which are the object of the construction of a vision of urban reality — which is no longer totalising, rather focussed on everyday microscopy, emphasising the multiple sensory fragments encountered (smells, sounds, images, movements…) — will, on the whole, form a significant structure through which urban ambiances can be interpreted. This wandering approach as a method establishes a phenomenological circumstance of sensitive apprehension of space considering, according to the analysis of Raymond Ledrut (1973), that the city is the signifier and the signified and that it expresses and is expressed, it is sign and meaning. Therefore, our impressions through the attitude of immersion by wandering will provide a meaning of the urban experience by highlighting the tonal characteristics, which are forms and expressions of an ontology of the city. Grasping meanings and senses is the objective of spatial immersion, where the researcher, as a flaneur, employs sensory observation to identify expressive situations and give the city a voice. Subjective wandering, in this case, also calls for subjectivity in the description provided, still echoing the approach of Sansot (1973), by building an "ordinary knowledge" (Maffesoli, 1985) of the city and its ambiances, which expresses the idea that the urban environment can no longer be confined to a purely functional construction. On the other hand, the emphasis must be placed on space's narration fuelled by the imaginary layered over everyday structures. Here, the researcher-flaneur brings out the sensory impressions of an approach to ambiances as both a form and expression of the urban imaginary. Urban space, moreover, "is not a pre-established and self-evident object of research" (Grosjean & Thibaud, 2001, p. 7). Therefore, various approaches develop forms of understanding adapted to the theoretical perspective. Capturing ambiances is thus the approach selected; the purpose of a researcher-flaneur who, looking through sociological glasses, acts as a detective, unveiling the urban experience through these layers of meaning with which the city is endowed. This sociological wandering seeks to enable a sensory reading of the city, perceiving it as multiple sensory experiences. Walter Benjamin's (1939/1986) specific analysis determined that the figure of the flaneur moves sensitively through the labyrinth of the city in order to restore an overarching meaning, and therefore to conduct

the sociological task of bringing its details to life. This procedure is about feeling while wandering. It allows the pages of this open book, the city is, to be read and the meanings of each sensory element generated by each ambiances to be deciphered. In essence, this philosophical metropolitan wandering employed, with purpose, and as a method through which to conduct research, aims to explore and decipher urban environments, the researcher being placed as an observer as a means to render urban forms legible.

Expressions

Maintaining a perspective of sensitive dynamism while exploring an urban environment means, to some extent, situating oneself in what is defined, according to an expression coined by Michel Maffesoli (2010), as "geosociology": that is, a form of an ingrained social bond. As we see it, this rooting is nourished by constructing a particular type of societal geography anchored in the feelings, emotions and experiences that give meaning to places and their production of ambiances. It is a construction of a "surface hermeneutics", specific to the sensory theory in Kracauer, Simmel and Benjamin (Füzesséry & Simay, 2008), which can be interpreted as a particular physiognomy of the gaze on the social to deepen the dimension of ambiances in the mosaic that is urban reality. This action takes us, as a detective, to penetrate through a careful look aiming at discovering new sensibilities to understand this "magma of everyday life" (Kracauer, 2006) and its ambient components.

Within this ambiance of everyday urban life, "pieces of life" in Simmel's (1981) words are detected, coming together to form a significant unit of social places, spaces of emotions, and even sensitive spaces. This spatial sensitivity is thus condensed into the "flesh of the world" (Merleau-Ponty, 1964). It allows us to bring out all the energy that dynamises the space through sensory transmissions, such as sound and the societal practices of spatial immersion like skateboarding, parkour acrobatics and other cultural dynamics that merge the human body with the flesh of the city in a tactile manner. This flesh opens up in the location where the body is immersed, in a spatiality that can be defined as "topographical" in the sense of a sensitive being's environment being where socio-spatial relationships are forged. This type of sensitivity, inspired by the theory of perception of Merleau-Ponty (1964), points towards a spatial configuration from within, a "flesh" being that must then be penetrated by devoting itself to a space. That, in turn, points to the preponderance of a lifeworld, or *Lebenswelt,* in phenomenology, a world that can be experienced first-hand, a living world

where feelings of "I am my body" predominate, also illustrating, simultaneously, the idea of "I am my space".

The focus is a perception of the urban world to which meaning and value are conferred, made up of the collective inhabited space where humans must find a sense of harmony between the landscape and themselves. This harmonisation is formed by the various sensory actions taken as part of the relationship between humans and spaces and the generated perceptions of spaces through images, sounds, smells and noises. It is how such an organic relationship is formulated, taking place through the action of walking, wandering through these places. In carrying out this action, our senses are called upon, working together to sketch out a map of sensory stimuli, incorporating moods into the application of ambiances. That also demonstrates a reliance of individuals who remain in urban spaces on said spaces, one conditioned by the various ambient imperatives. In their daily lives, individuals consummate their existence by immersing themselves in the various sensory spaces and places of a metropolis. This action, in turn, works to add value to architecture and existentialism through "energy ethics" (Joron, 2010, p. 17) and the intensification of the will to live. One could even illustrate this as a vibrant and creative will expressing exaltation, and a Dionysian joy encountered in urban life in the multiple ways of experiencing space and constructing tonal effects, thus giving a particular mood to a place through the expression of experience. There is a conception of the multiplication of urban situations, where energy and vitality express observable social life. One example is sound and festive street productions, and an energetic reading represents a way of understanding the city in motion — an expressive method of setting the ambiance of a space.

Under the banner of "ontology of the street" (La Rocca, 2016), we can see the festive spirit's typicity and the sound environment that makes many locations in Naples, London, Rio de Janeiro so particular. There the mood (though reliant on the music) is an expression of the lived experience, the land itself acquires a specific intensity, a "mood-inducing power" (Thibaud, 2013) expressed by the transformation of the "street into a party" (Sanmartin et al., 2019). It is to be understood as one of the sensory methods specific to creating ambiance. A festive atmosphere generated using sound is also ephemeral, where space is pure external perception, from a Kantian perspective; that is to say, it is to be thought of as a condition in which an experience becomes possible. From this perspective, by focusing on sound if the space is always "already there", we can bring out the sensory characteristics of such a space and the organic nature and perceptible

ways of fusion between individuals and space street music has. As such, the often-spontaneous intensity of these opportunities to dance and party (very characteristic of Brazilian streets, for example, particularly the energy in Rio and expressiveness in São Paulo) will mark a territory, transforming it into an expressive lived experience that contributes to aestheticising the atmospheric quality of the socio-spatial environment.

Moreover, inhabiting space here signifies a strategic way to think about and describe the transformations concerning society's real complexity, our perceptions and how we feel (Di Felice, 2010, p. 17). The city, in this sense, must be thought of as a medium formed by an assortment of existential places where collective practices lend strength and vigour to the urban imagination, which is structured by its sensory qualities, moods and ambiances.

Mood Ambiances

When spatial essences and societal energies are captured by combining these atmospheric feelings and expressive moods, they become a method of feeling based on mood ambiances. In employing a sensitive thought process, it is common practice to reflect on the notions of atmosphere, mood and ambiance as an aesthetic whole, which, in turn, forms a way to feel spaces. The idea of the atmosphere, which has been around for many years, particularly in German philosophy thanks to the invaluable initiatory contribution made by Gernot Böhme, operates with more and more specificity when conducting phenomenological analyses of urban spaces. It has been the result of it being combined with ambiance theory, therefore aiming to put into perspective the qualities of the affective moods manifested in spaces. An urban atmosphere in which we immerse ourselves could therefore be said to result from this existing aesthetic relationship with space: the *aisthetik*, to use the word coined by Böhme (2001/2020), of spatial immersions accounting for how space affects us and how we affect it in our way, by experiencing and creating situations. The result is an "aesthetic of sensory experience", still following the theoretical perspective of Böhme (2001/2020), illustrating the quality of aesthetics as feeling and experiencing, and therefore of a connection with the *Stimmung* into which individuals plunge themselves, and within which individuals and spaces are also mobile. In this dimension, what can be perceived as an atmosphere is, in fact, the knowledge provided by the senses, felt as a result of having harmonised with the expression of a *Stimmung*. Martin Heidegger (1927/1986) explained this understanding as "affective mood" within a *Dasein* structure and, therefore, as the foundation

of experience. Within Heidegger's perspective, the human being is then positioned in the world through an affective principle that specifies their act of being in the world, the fact that we exist in the world at all. Moreover, Bruce Bégout's (2021) analysis on the concept of ambiance shows how Heidegger's approach to this "access to the world" contradicted a type of philosophy that did not take into account this type of experience, therefore relegating the *Stimmung* "to the realm of everyday things with no value" (Bégout, 2021, p. 58). However, moods do indeed represent an "ontic" everyday experience, which is therefore made up of the same qualities of everyday life, of living in and through urban space being the circumstances applied.

Though Heidegger is often referenced with this notion, there is also a psychological perspective of the term originated from Johann Georg Sulzer in 1771, the latter having focussed on emotional experiences according to musical metaphors. In 1790, Kant provided a philosophical definition of the *Stimmung* as a harmonious agreement between imagination and understanding in the process of knowledge in his *Kritik des Urteilskraft* (Critique of Judgement). This notion contains a semantic richness that refers to its definitions as affective moods, ambiance and even atmosphere. It is how space resonates with its "affective" nature. Affective here is used in the dual sense of a space that affects the individuals within it, and also of an affection (in the sense of feeling) able to produce an emotional space. The result is an "affectology", an idea expressed through Alain Mons' (2013) analyses in which the atmospheric qualities of urban spaces are expressed in the production of sensitive, or "affectological" areas, individualising a city in the way in which it influences the senses and its moods. The idea of Böhme (2001/2020) about conceptualising the atmosphere as a sensitive experience can now be better understood: that is, the atmosphere being that something that "affects us emotionally".

Consonance can be found between the notions of *Stimmung* and atmosphere, in which a disposition of being sensitive to the atmospheres emanated by a certain place under certain circumstances can be developed. There is this predisposition to urban intonation where individuals are contaminated taken by and into atmospheres in a kind of flotation, as expressed by Böhme (2001/2020), where a spatial mood is considered to be suspended in the air.

While the philosophical discussion surrounding the meanings of atmosphere and *Stimmung* is, of course, too broad to be discussed in this paper, the importance of these sensitive qualities of space are put into perspective

here in order to illustrate the importance of ambiances in gaining an under-standing of urban realities, and therefore of the mood properties of socio-aesthetic situations perceived through observations and feelings.

On returning to Merleau-Ponty (1964) phenomenology, a carnal aptitude for atmospheric moods can be considered, which resonates with the affective forms generated in how space is experienced. It is also worth noting that ambiance can never be separated from these practices, which means that ambiance takes place and is felt and, above all, as clearly indicated by Thibaud (2015, p. 17), the specificity of the atmosphere is linked to the affective dimension.

Temporary Affective Zone

This specificity demonstrates the importance of this disposition being affected in urban spaces. In his definition of *Dasein*, Heidegger already demonstrated how openness to the world presupposes a *Stimmung*; therefore, an affection defined in Heideggerian (1927/1986) lexicon as *Befindlichkeit* – the ability to feel a situation from an ontological perspec-tive. Circumstances are faced in which the immersive capacity of our bodies must be considered, which, by merging with space, feels (and consequently produces) various moods. When contrasted with the important contribution made by psychoanalyst Ludwig Binswanger (between 1930-1960), who, in the wake of Heidegger's phenomenological theory, in addition to that put forward by Husserl, proposed a *Daseinsanalysis* (a comprehensive existen-tial analysis), his analysis of "thymic space" (*Der gestimmte Raum*), qualified by mood and "being-attuned", is therefore put into perspective, particularly regarding the reflections made herein. Beyond the deep therapeutic roots of this approach, Binswanger's theory seems relevant because it correlates beings with spatiality, and therefore a thymic emotional disposition could be understood as being affected. That originates in sensory qualities, or "directions of meaning", in the theory of Binswanger's (1933/1989) thym-ic spaces, where beings find themselves in spaces loaded with meaning via corporeality, which feeds their various sensory receptors. While ambi-ances form part of the multiplicity of lived everyday experiences, a sensory narration of urban environments can be sought in sensory areas that can be qualified as "temporary affective zones" (using the well-known name, "temporary autonomous zone", coined by Hakim Bey in 1991). Temporary affective zones are expressions of ambiances and moods that express feel-ings; emotions that emanate into the populated space and resonate from the perceived space in which an ephemeral experience is had. In urban

aesthetics, and therefore the expression of moods, these temporary autono-
mous zones can be understood through the concept of "atmospherology",
introduced by Italian philosopher Tonino Griffero (2010). It highlights the
feelings within an ambiant environment and the influence of the perception
that characterises the relationship between humans and spaces. This idea
can be applied to urban situations where a focus is placed on emotional
intensities. The emotional, atmospheric imperative represents an attraction
within these areas, condensing the energetic relationship created with the
urban atmosphere. Again, urban sounds can be taken as an example, as they
condense the idea of an affective and emotional zone where such a place
is modified and everything within it. Considering an observation of a festive
moment, for example, it is made unique by the kinaesthetic attraction felt
and seen. The music, the ambient sonority resonates in space and creates a
specific atmosphere due to the senses stimulated and vibrations in unison,
which are characteristic of musical situations in emotional areas of Rio de
Janeiro, in particular, where a fusion of emotional or cognitive sensations,
or even resonances, are established between the human body and the ur-
ban body through the development of a way in which to identify with one
another. Identifying a certain method emotional states can be activated,
with empathy characterising the vibrant atmosphere in these "zones of af-
fective autonomy" built between bodies, sounds, architecture, lights and
other sensory components. A sensory mood is ultimately characterised by
the qualities of the sensations felt in a space, enveloped by these surround-
ings, denoting stimulation of the senses. Many relationships exist between
the emotions – and affects –, the sound and the ambiance of sound en-
vironments, illustrated by various cognitive, psychological and aesthetic
studies. Here, however, the connection with spatiality predominates, that
is, how music played in one street in Rio, for example, settles and creates
a vibrant atmosphere that transforms spatiality into an area of emotional
intensity, consequently creating a particular affectology. Regarding sounds,
the rhythm of everyday life in these areas and their lived temporality can
also be cited. An interesting example of this could be the famous Avenida
Paulista in São Paulo, an area of attraction which in its daily nature, is a
pure trigger of a *nervenleben*, to quote Simmel (1903/2013), with its noises,
its sounds, its visual reflections of the overhanging architecture and the
swift impressions made by movements. The avenue can denaturalise itself
so that it may be re-enchanted at the weekend, when it transforms into a
pedestrian area, the space opening up to be occupied by the bodies of city
dwellers. It is transformed into a place of shared sensory experience. The
resulting festivities make up a period of vibrant intensity when the street
becomes a stage, open to countless possibilities spanning music, theatre,

games, sports, acrobatics and street food, to name but a few. An intensity of emotions is subjectively experienced as individuals immerse themselves in this atmosphere, in an area open to expressiveness transformed into shared, collective emotion in a feeling of togetherness that changes the vision of this space and its architecture.

The emotions perceived here, which have been transmuted from the street's functional nature (a traffic-filled avenue lined with commerce, tourism, etc.), match emotions experienced in situations encountered. As a result, two concepts can be gained from the aestheticisation of reality, one which focuses on the relationships of individuals in spaces, and the other of individuals with others, accentuating the sensitive qualities that determine any lived experience and expressions of the affective moods of various urban situations connoting mediated and unmediated experiences. "Mood"-based experiences can also be demonstrated via areas of olfactory intensity, in the districts of Seoul, for example, thanks to its characteristic street food. That is particularly true at night, in Myeong-Dong, where twinkling lights and smells of culinary specialities intoxicate the crowd in an atmosphere where true harmony is achieved using Eugène Minkowski's (1995) terminology understood as "vibrating in unison" with the ambiance. In Seoul, this vibration is created by a phenomenology of taste and smell, which, here, represent a "tuning into an ambiance", as Hubertus Tellenbach would say (1985; also encompassing *Daseinsanalysis*). In his book, *Goût et Atmosphère* (Taste and atmosphere), Tellenbach (1968/1985) also demonstrates the importance of atmosphere and how the senses of smell and taste should be thought of as means through which "the subject merges with the world" (p. 25).

Thus, the force of immersion in the atmospheric specificities of these "zones" can be understood through several examples, as can the way in which beings are affected by a certain "atmospheric aura" (Tellenbach, 1985, p. 44) in which they are enveloped, which also particularises the mood felt and experienced in each of these multiple expressive situations. As a result, any atmosphere is characterised by the situation experienced and the intensity of its mood, forming a kind of emotional emanation that conditions individuals and the existential environments within the urban fabric.

An Urban Aura

Urban environments thus become an expression of a process of atmospheric filtering. As a result, humankind's conception is strictly related to their situational experience of any space. Particular places, spaces and territories in

a city become expressive to beings who wish to inhabit a social dimension, through their actions and presence, affectivity and attachment to situational "zones" of urban complexity, via a multiplicity of forms, attitudes and aesthetic rituals that place our senses at the centre, attributing meaning to the fact that a city exists in all its spatial sensory peculiarities. The presence and visibility of individuals within the architectural and spatial planning of cities helps attribute meaning environments, consecrating them as "lococentric". The importance of a place, of a street, is predisposed. Each is a scene within which individuals will exist and from life will emerge through expressive moods. This idea also stems from a perception of mood radiating through locations by creating a sort of auratic process in which each place, each situation, with its specific atmospheres and moods, has an aura. Tellenbach (1985) had already introduced the concept of "aura" in his psychological approach to atmospheres, and Böhme's (2001/2020) proposal of the aesthetics of atmospheres should be understood as a change in the perception of places influenced by moods. An "urban aura", one might say, in conjunction with the theory of Walter Benjamin (1939/1986), exists in the dimension of an "immediacy of sensory presence" that can be felt when present in a space. According to Böhme (2001/2020), corresponding with the aesthetics of atmospheres could be considered to generate an affective, emotional provision that must be associated with the fusional relationship between a being and a space. An effective and affective aura can be triggered in urban wanderings where, to cite Benjamin (1923/1979), who gained inspiration from Baudelaire: "to feel the aura of a thing is to confer upon it the power to look up" (p. 200). Thus, beings look up at their surroundings in order to feel and experience the modal qualities of the environment within which they find themselves, immersing themselves in a dimension of aesthetic perception where the disposition "to feel" is connected to smells, noises, sounds and surrounding images which, under determined circumstances, can also make up a synesthetic urban landscape. From a perspective of Benjaminian reflection, this would be somewhat like a dreamlike landscape, a dream world.

Within this system employed to interpret the auratic urban space, a relation of "mediance" (Berque, 2000) can also be detected, conceived as an individual's particular relation to the environment. This relationship can be regarded through how humans inhabit the world and how our physical bodies participate in absorbing the expressive tones of space. It is understood here that this auratic capacity of the sensitive space of cities is proposed as a factor of sensitive transmutation and, therefore, of aesthetic perception. It could be suggested that to feel a space is to modify perceptions encountered upon immersion in multiple urban situations: a mood — an affective, emotional bath.

Therefore the city is conceived as a platform of singular expressions and scenographies, denoting ways to experience a space. The urban space is built up like a fragmented matrix of heterogeneous tectonic plates generating and mixing multiple atmospheres. Aesthetic actions then strive to establish contact with the environment while creating opportunities for shared experiences, testifying to a social presence and visibility and a way of existing in an affective, emotional location. With a focus on existence *ex sistere* – according to its etymology – presence, or *Dasein,* is, therefore, to be outside oneself, clearly indicating a projection. Beings project themselves into space, creating their existence in this immersion. Drawing on Heidegger's (1927/1986) theory, we are confronted with a double ontology: the ontology of man and that of space. Thus, beyond its existence, space as such, created and modelled from an urbanistic and functional point of view, is the medium through which it gives life to collective energy through practices, appropriations and the multiple symbolic forms of social presence. According to Böhme's (2001/2020) vision here, atmospheres must be considered as spaces tinged by the presence of things and people, or "environmental constellations imbued with their ecstasies" (p. 167). Besides, if space has an ecstatic structure that relates strictly to Heidegger's (1927/1986) idea of *Dasein,* it can be believed to arise similarly from an ecstatic structure in so far as a being is thrown into the world and given a mood (*Gestimmt*). Space is present and important, providing the possibility of being filled with "meaning" by the multiple practices of everyday life. A qualitative, auratic or creative spatiality is one of the essences attributed to urban space. It is qualitative and creative in its ability to be open to all possibilities of being edified by practices and transformed by moods expressed and already there. It is auratic in that it is a dimension of a spatial atmosphere and a mood that can be felt. Therefore, assonance can be established between a being able to perceive, with its capacity for sentience (perceiving through the senses in Latin) and space. Thus, a tangible reality can be established between this perceiving being and a space, their symbolic union contributing to establishing an atmosphere. In short, – and also in agreement with the ideas of Böhme (2001/2020) on aura/atmosphere relations – the concept of a space being auratic is specific to an envelopment in meaning. It is a trans-immersion into specific situations experienced in spaces through *Stimmung* as a tuning mechanism, and if Heidegger's (1927/1986) perspective is maintained, reciprocity between the being and the situation within which it is present. As such, they become one in what is called an emotional experience of space, with a unitary shaping of perceptual and affective qualities in urban moods. To some extent, this idea is also present in the reflection of Simmel (1912/1988) on *Landscape Philosophy*, where he

indicates the qualities of *Stimmung*. On the other hand, attention must also be drawn to the fact that, as the analysis of François Laplantine (2018) illustrates, the atmosphere is common in a scene in which we find ourselves and therefore presupposes a sharing of the senses (p. 59).

Throughout daily metropolitan life, one has to immerse oneself in the urban interstices to scrutinise, observe and assess the great variety of sensory qualities available and ways of being in space. Relative beings, resulting from the intense communications between spaces and individuals, a person's essence will be born from their gestures and attitudes towards sharing multifaceted emotional spaces that produce atmospheres – aesthetic situations. Upon returning to Simmelian ideals, a *Lebensphilosophy* of the world of space is encountered, in which space is conferred with meaning, values and meanings by the various collective aesthetic actions.

For example, in this conception, one can imagine how sounds, lights and music represent atmospheric codifiers, revealing a kind of magic relating to the sensory experience of a lived, *intoned* space. The creation of sound captures devices, sound installations and playing with lights in urban locations can be regarded as properties attributed so that these spaces can be felt – ways to release their ecstatic energy by creating sensory paths that allow us to live in, to touch the space. A sensory imaginary is then created, generating a connective, affective, emotional participation in a situation of intimacy with a place, in particular spatial locations.

It is clear that this set of reflections deeply question existential spatiality in the various registers within which they are appropriated. From the perspective of imaginary reliance, a vitalist impulse can work in urban spatiality, where various existential expressions create an atmospheric setting that provides information about the climatological imaginary of our cities. These atmospheres and situations are qualities specific to urban life and the construction of an energetic spirit felt in the affective emotions of spatial atmospheres. In a climatological analysis proposed of the contemporary sensitive city, urban effervescence and tonal expressions replace concepts that determine urban life, the atmosphere representing the quality of a sensitive world or leading to the sensory existence, as Emanuele Coccia (2010) says. A city represents a continuous process of experiences felt, from which space provides multiple possible conditions and openings through which to express lived experiences.

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Acknowledgements

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Everyday Urban Life: Genealogy and Journal of Actors' Body in the Viral City

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Abstract

This text aims to understand how the COVID-19 pandemic influences contemporary society, particularly in its most basic configurations, the daily urban life of social agents and their urban bodies, within the global city and, more recently, inside the viral city. To this purpose, a synthesis of part of an ongoing project is presented here, in two dimensions of everyday life: daily times in conjunction with everyday spaces. In the diachronic and historical axis of reality, transformed today into a viral society, it is possible to distinguish the following daily life configurations: cyclical everyday, routine everyday, exceptional every day and dialogical every day. In the synchronic axis, and particularly in contemporaneity, 10 sociological theses are proposed here to try to decipher some of the main processes where the impact of COVID-19 on the coeval urban fabric and the body of its actors is most felt. Finally, the author suggests some possible alternative strategies to the pandemic in the context of today's viral daily life. However, these are only very general lines of sociological reflection, intended only to help define future courses of action for practical solutions, which are still unclear. That may be done within the framework of reconstruction of a healthier and more creative urban daily life for all citizens of the planet.

Keywords

COVID-19, daily urban life, viral city, viral everyday, viral society

Introduction

The Socio-City in the Viral Society and the Viral City

This text essentially presents some theoretical reflections carried out within the ongoing urban sociology project on the contemporary city, particularly the urban fabric confined and transformed by the COVID-19 pandemic. The respective fieldwork is only indicated here through some photographs taken in 2020, after the COVID-19 outbreak. Such direct observation images are intended to raise awareness of the coronavirus pandemic's ubiquity in the social fabric, witnessing some of its manifestations and effects in daily life, within the context of the economic and cultural spheres, or in terms of citizenship regarding confinement. Therefore, it is not the presentation of the ongoing fieldwork which will be exposed on another occasion. Differently, these illustrations work only in terms of "paratext", as Gérard Genette (2010) puts it. In other words, such images work as an introduction, an "aperitif" or a "business card" for a clearer and more sensitive reading of the central theme of the text, that is, everyday urban life, which signifies an intermediate dimension: the daily living that synthesises the spheres mentioned above, or others.

The city has been the subject of varied sociological problematisation since the beginning of sociology. Nevertheless, the debate about the effects of the coronavirus on urban life is naturally still in its infancy, given the unprecedented nature of such a social process. For this discussion, it is necessary to contextualise the city in its economic and sanitary, corporal and cultural, geopolitical and diplomatic, ecological and regional aspects, and so forth. Therefore, this sociological study aims to dialogue with different sensitivities inside scientific, technological and artistic communities.

The stupefaction in what regards COVID-19 appears immediately in the unprecedented nature of the current pandemic, which has transformed all spheres of our individual or societal life and bodies. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt a posture of deep sociological imagination to understand such a novelty from new sociological concepts that can translate this original social texture scientifically and from a citizen's point of view.

The first and most general emerging phenomenon that appears to arise is a kind of viral society, which includes, among other processes, a viral city and viral bodies of social actors. Such a virulent society constitutes a social paradigm founded on recent changes in the social sectoral spheres. For

Figure 1 The viral economy in the transport and catering sector: usage of masks at Braga train station and bar.
Credits. Pedro Andrade

example, viral economies and technologies, based on fragilities and global economic crises of capitalism and the world economy, are motivated by computer viruses and, increasingly, by biological viruses. Among the sectors affected are transport, restaurants, public health, the tourism and hotel industries, or the cultural industry of book publishing.

Some illustrations of this socioeconomic situation's impact on the daily life of public spaces in cities are expressed by the usage of masks, for example,

Figure 2 The viral economy in the transport and catering sector: health warning at Braga train station entrance.
Credits. Pedro Andrade

Figure 3 The viral economy in public health: masks and drinks vending machine, in Lisbon.
Credits. Pedro Andrade

Figure 4 The viral economy in commercial advertising within restaurants, on COVID-19 awareness, Lisbon.
Credits. Pedro Andrade

at the Braga train station and the bar (Figure 1), or the health warning at its entrance, on September 5, 2020 (Figure 2).

Other daily manifestations in this sphere of the viral economy of public health are the mask and beverage purchase machines, at Lisbon, December 16, 2020 (Figure 3), as well as commercial advertising in restaurants about COVID-19 awareness, here patent on October 3, 2020, Lisbon (Figure 4).

In the tourism sector, observe the sanitary control during trips on *moliceiro* boats, Aveiro, on August 9, 2020 (see Figure 5), or, in the hotel industry, prevention regarding confinement in the lobby of a hotel, at Caldas da Rainha, October 3, 2020 (Figure 6).

Figure 5 The viral economy in the tourism sector: health control during trips on moliceiro boats, Aveiro.
Credits. Pedro Andrade

Figure 6 The viral economy in the hotel industry: confinement in a hotel lobby, Caldas da Rainha.
Credits. Pedro Andrade

Figure 7 Viral cultural economy in the publishing sector: mask usage at the Lisbon book fair. Credits. Pedro Andrade

Likewise, the effects of the crisis were felt in the viral cultural economy within the publishing sector: the access to the reading public was conditioned by mask usage, at the Lisbon Book Fair, on August 30, 2020 (Figure 7).

For its part, viral policies mean the possibility that certain States, institutions, organisations, associations, and other social agents belonging to institutional powers or counterpowers either warn of the dangers of pandemics in the collective space to raise awareness of citizens for responsible social behaviours or exercise social criticism of health policies. In turn, viral politicians use different viruses as weapons of local or global threat, aggression or surveillance.

Particularly, within the social field of viral citizenship, inside the various waves of the pandemic, several strategies have emerged from multiple social and institutional actors, for example, in terms of awareness campaigns, the public health risks by the State (National Health Service, National Health Service–General Directorate of Health, etc.). The everyday public space witnesses some of these initiatives, through placards with warning

Figure 8 Viral policy in the awareness campaign by the State and National Health Service and the General Directorate of Health, for Citizenship in Public Health, in Lisbon.
Credits. Pedro Andrade

Figure 9 Viral policies through social legitimation of public health heroes, by the National Health Service and the General Directorate of Health, in Lisbon.
Credits. Pedro Andrade

messages about the consequences of negligence in the use of masks, in Lisbon, on December 25, 2020 (Figure 8); or honouring "pandemic heroes", such as doctors and nurses, in Lisbon, on December 25, 2020 (Figure 9), just before the third wave in January 2021.

As for viral cultures and cults, they connote the modalities of exercising science and the arts, or other knowledge and leisure, through virulent strategies, as in the case of certain digital social networks. That is, some of its users subscribe to the following cultural cult: the more followers and/or friends (or, in certain cases, the more enemies) they articulate or branch with a given social subject, individual or collective, the more cultural and cult value this subject accumulates and/or distributes across the social fabric. Some critical social actors deconstruct these cultural cults, such as teachers and researchers, visual arts artists, or other cultural professionals. For example, the use of a mask at congresses or other cultural events, as in

Figure 10 Viral culture and education through the use of a mask at a congress, Faro.
Credits. Pedro Andrade

Faro, November 21, 2020 (Figure 10), radically changes the communication process of scientific research.

This pandemic situation of viral culture was also the object of economic and political criticism, through a work of art made by the author of the present text, in the form of an interactive ebook and app, and using disinfectant for its manipulation. This work was shown to the public at the exhibition "Sem Limites" (translation in English: "Without Limits"), curated by the association SOS Arte PT, and held at Fórum da Maia in Porto, on September 25, 2020 (Figure 11).

Figure 11 Viral culture in the exhibition "Sem Limites" curated by SOS Arte PT, visible through the use of disinfectant for the manipulation of an interactive work of art at Fórum da Maia, Porto. Credits. Pedro Andrade

Sociological Problematization

Under this social situation never seen before, to foster a sociological debate based on daily urban life in accelerated metamorphosis, it is essential to base ourselves on the following theoretical and empirical pillars, among others. Within the scope of the study shown here, a previous, current and synthetic discussion about the main theories on the city can be found in Andrade (2018c). In particular, among the urban spaces and times of the global city (Sassen, 2001), places of leisure or of "free time", apparently

secondary, are unveiled after all as central loci of democratic citizenship and practices of knowledge, such as the places of public drinking (Andrade, 1991, 2018a). In addition, the city proves to be a major territory of emergency and convergence among public art, tourist activities and intercultural practices (Andrade, 2020b, 2020d, 2020e). In the last decades, within the network society, the notion of the city has changed even more, and its meaning unfolds today in multiple typologies, such as the creative city, the smart city, the city 3.0 and, even more recently, the viral city. The notion of city 3.0 underlying digital social networks, articulated with culture and tourism, can be consulted in Andrade (2018b, p. 226). Other definitions of such a current urban terminology are found in the writings cited in this text, and a brief synthesis of these concepts is visible in the Appendix.

Concerning the viral city, which will be the type of city discussed here in more detail, this concept means, among other connotations, the following: an urban fabric configuration, conditioned by the viral society, where several viruses contaminate its territories, in particular, and currently, COVID-19. Within this urban model, the bodies of social agents are confined to restricted space-times, such as the house.

The causes of such emerging society and city paradigms and the respective social impacts are, for the moment, ambiguous. However, to clarify these phenomena, it is possible now to reflect on a temporal configuration of the viral society that is revealed in the short term, closer and more immediate, that is, the present daily urban life, as announced above. In other words, the text exposed here consists of the outline of a systematic reflection, a possible essay to unveil the singularity of this pandemic. Therefore, it is not a report, partial or total, of a completed research project, but it is still in the preliminary stages of a work in progress.

In such a posture, some preliminary sociological questions are raised, regarding the nature of everyday urban life in the COVID-19 era, mainly in the current conjuncture of multiple mutations of the virus and possible future outbreaks in the global city, which is being transformed, more and more, into a viral city. In particular, critical sociological surveillance of the misunderstandings and even mystifications surrounding this social phenomenon is necessary, given the circumscription of daily life as a mediating reality and concept and a differential instance of the urban subjects and their bodies lives in the city. Indeed, in the same way as leisure at the city, although on a smaller scale, everyday urban life and other configurations of social spatialities and temporalities have been considered "secondary"

or "residual" problems within some sociological communities. In this way, their social relevance and sociological urgency have been delegitimised. However, this position shows the discomfort of such reflection and the need for a renewed political-scientific resistance to reverse such neglected and stigmatised intelligence and esteem. The present essay seeks to contribute to this sense, undertaking a set of discussions, based on the opinions of several authors, who intend to circumscribe the singularity of the nature of daily urban life, especially in what causes more confusion in some socio-logical writings that are pronounced, sometimes in an irresponsible way, about the daily life of the city. In fact, it is essentially the complexity of the multiple and nomadic nature of everyday urban life that baffles some au-thors who are less accustomed to the conflict inherent in this plurality and in the elusive character that underlies daily city and citizenship processes.

In such societal contexts and sociological perspective, the specific objec-tives of this text are to reflect on two of the conditions and manifestations of sociability within daily urban life: the long-term epochal daily space-times (the *longue durée*, in the words of Fernand Braudel, 1967); the day-to-day space confinements and setbacks caused by COVID-19, in terms of today's viral society and everyday urban viral life.

Methods and Techniques

The project includes data collection techniques such as interviews and a survey, which are being carried out. Only a few examples of images are presented here, selected from the corpus of sources obtained by direct ob-servation, through photographs and videos, to witness the most relevant facets, especially those that are more concrete and in real-time, related to the viral city. Many of the photos and videos were recorded in the pandemic months corresponding to the first confinement of Portuguese society, since March and April 2020, at Lisbon and at other Portuguese cities or tourist locations, as well as at other countries. These iconic documents and video documentaries are some of the pillars of an iconographic and video col-lection/archive, compiled by the author for several decades. Such sources portray diverse social and cultural, poetic and aesthetic aspects of histori-cal city realities and more recent scenes of the viral city, inserted in their contemporary social context, the viral society.

Some images and videos of the considered corpus were included in other articles, ebooks and apps manufactured by the author in 2020. For example, an ebook hybridised with an app called *Viral Cultural Tourism Via Mobile*

Devices was published as part of this project (Andrade, 2020f). Another ebook hybridised with an app (Andrade, 2020c) includes the "Poem to the Corona Virus: We are all Anti-Virus Viruses", written on April 7, 2020, and using an intermediate methodology called "Pessoa effect", which uses digital heteronyms. These interactive works can be consulted on Mac and Windows platforms or read in epub format. It is possible to download these two ebooks/apps for free, in open access, on the respective sites indicated in the References section.

Several provisional materials corresponding to the project's current and future work in progress are hosted on the following website, whose title is Viral & Intercultural Cultural City (https://www.sites.google.com/view/viral-tourism-city).

In addition to this initiative, other manifestations of citizen and cultural resistance to the pandemic at the urban and virtual spaces in the viral city have been organised since March 2020 by various urban and cultural social movements in Lisbon, such as SOS Arte PT, the Museu da Quarentena (Quarantine Museum), the Iminente Festival, the "Efeito Pessoa" (Person Effect) movement, and so forth. It is possible to refer to a collection of sociological analyses on these initiatives and actions founded or co-founded by the author in Andrade (2020a).

The following pages seek to synthesise a historical, sociological and critical reflection on this new viral social reality focused on everyday urban life within the perspective outlined above. The development of debates and case studies on aspects related to the present problem is included in several writings of the author, residing essentially in the University of Minho repository (https://repositorium.sdum.uminho.pt/).

Everyday Urban Life in the History's Longue Durée

Firstly, consider the main historical diachronic configurations of everyday urban life. The current structured day-to-day life is not similar to the relatively unstructured daily lives in societies prior to the emergence of capitalism and modernity, such as the medieval ones. So, it is convenient to relate daily life to its main historical forms, which is accomplished below (Table 1).

Table 1 Socio-historical everyday configurations.

Society regimes	Everyday configurations
Pre-capitalist societies (primitive communism/community/artisanal/slavish/medieval/ Asian regimes: prehistory, antiquity and middle ages, until the mid-15th century)	Cyclical everyday
Capitalist and modern societies (stages: competitive-liberal capitalism, since the middle of the 15th century, corresponding to the emergence of the world economy; organised capitalism, in two phases: monopolist capitalism, which started sensibly in 1870 economic crises, and monopolist state capitalism, since the crisis of 1929)	Routine everyday
Capitalist and modern societies (stage of disorganised capitalism and post-Fordism, since the mid-70s)	Exceptional everyday
Post-capitalist societies (socialist/statist/utopian)	Dialogical everyday

Cyclic Everyday

In pre-capitalist societal regimes, daily temporalities present themselves in the basic configuration of cyclical every day, although other forms of day-to-day life coexist, less or more deeply. The cyclical daily life is defined as a social time having the following tendency characteristics, which, being partial, are not mutually exclusive: (a) the working day differs little from the daily consumption; (b) the daily life is shown, first of all, like a daily life full of cyclical temporalities, and little associated with leisure, especially that leisure which takes place in spaces and times different from the places and measures regulated by the Gregorian calendar, a model for organising annual Christian festivities, that later served, in part, for the organisation of capitalism production and consumption temporalities; (c) everyday life focuses on the domestic, family and private sphere; and (d) everyday urban life is not markedly different from rural life, except in some major commercial cities, and even so only partially.

Routine Everyday

The transformations parallel to the rise of capitalism institute a new type of day-to-day life, where the regulation of production and consumption requires parallel control over their daily space-times. Such a rationalisation of life rhythms takes the form of a routine every day that causes widespread alienation and the desire to search for space-time alternatives.

From the 18th century onwards, this new configuration of the everyday emerges, which Fernand Braudel (1967) and other historians have located

even earlier, partly already in the 16th century. Such a figure is mainly based on the progressive autonomy of social spatialities and temporalities.

In terms of city-country relations, rural locations are gradually being used by the urban bourgeoisie as a resting place instead of work, which is increasingly connected to the urban environment. Secondary residences attest to this new reality, contributing to the sedimentation of holidays as a legitimate activity. A definition of "bodily exercise" in Diderot's Encyclopedia reveals this process: bodily exercise

> precisely reflects the emergence of a new opposition between work and non-work: "the meaning of exercise in general is restricted to express the action of the body to which we dedicate ourselves freely and without absolute need, to distinguish it from work". (Barbier, 1981, p. 114)

In a second phase, organised and monopoly capitalism, daily life practices are developed in different social and discursive contexts.

Inside the domestic space, the surfaces increase and rationalise, affecting the rooms of the house to specific uses: in addition to the generalisation of the corridor, which facilitates internal circulation, the compartments specialise, on the one hand, as production and workplaces (e.g., the kitchen), or as privacy places (the bathroom and the bedroom); on the other hand, the house partitions are separated and reorganised spatially and timely, in terms of territories of consumption, leisure, and semi-advertising, such as the dining room and the lounge. Furniture, lighting or blinds add a note of comfort to these semi-privacy configurations.

Within the urban space, more and more specialised places appear within the great divide "workspaces"/"leisure spaces" mentioned above. On the one hand, these localities are directed to a more "active" or playful leisure, such as the places of consumption of beverages, the academies where people play, the reading societies, the clubs and lounges where the conversation is practised. On the other hand, places of "recreation" emerge, with more passive leisure, such as the avenues for public sidewalks and the public gardens. At the same time, the territories more confined to classical culture are intensifying, such as certain painting halls and theatres.

In the field of ideologies and knowledge, new health rules proliferate, such as those related to hygiene, diet and physical education of the body, a more

and more individual body that influences the social body of the city, and vice versa.

Finally, in the stage of state capitalism, new forms of social segregation are developed, in the background of spaces and daily times: (a) in capitalist societies, in particular, those planned according to economic policies of "creative destruction", a concept popularised by Schumpeter (1994, pp.82-83), which is inspired, albeit somewhat differently, by Marx's previous conceptualisation on capitalist crises; or, (b) partially, in some socialist societies in the initial periods of its implantation. Social classes experience new strategies of distinction in daily life, exhibiting the following characteristics. In pre-capitalist society regimes, there was a kind of private promiscuity, that is, the workplace often coincided with the home, which housed both the family of the possessor of means of production, for example, the artisan, and his employees. In this context, the manifestation of social differentiation was carried out, with more notoriety, in public spaces, through means such as clothing. In modern societies, the opposite happens to some extent: the distinction occurs, in some way, through private spaces, and class promiscuity often becomes public, as in the street, in the square and other collective places of city sociability.

There is a progressive separation between the bourgeois family and their domestic staff in the domestic scene. The latter is gradually located in the production spaces of the house, such as the kitchen, while the head of the family's relatives is restricted to the dining rooms and lounges, which function as places for everyday family free time. The use of the bell to call the servants is an indicator of this social division of space and time. Families that often live under the same roof are being separated territorially through a greater segmentation of the buildings into floors or through the construction of a staircase serving each dwelling resisting as a single common space of the building. Such spatial isolation, contemporary to the social isolation of the different classes, will constitute one of the new forms of alienation of the capitalist city.

Urban housing areas are structured in the dichotomy between a centre and the social periphery. In medieval society, the geographical location was rooted in the profession, and the modern city differentiates its space-times among social classes. In Paris, the wealthy bourgeois and the opulent nobles moved, at the end of the 18th century, to the new neighbourhoods bordering the city, or the north and west. The medieval part of this agglomeration proved to be couture of the nobility, and the eastern part and the

medieval neighbourhoods in the centre, became bastions of the popular classes, a socio-spatial distribution that is still partially visible today.

In urban public places of social reproduction, there is a notorious proliferation of new places of daily leisure, where strategies of exclusion and social stigmatisation are also manifested. The bourgeoisie abandons corporate parties and taverns and regroup in cafes, restaurants, and generally in spaces more and more private. In some public gardens, access is restricted to the upper classes.

Exceptional Everyday

In the stage of advanced and post-Fordist capitalism, David Harvey (1990) refers to the compression of social space and times in the last decades of the 20th century. This relationship between temporalities and social spatialities derives, in large part, from the impact of new technologies, which, in the economic sphere, increase production cycles and enable the opening of new markets globally, as happened recently with China. For example, new communication and information technologies, such as the internet or new technologies applied to the tourism industry and services, allow for much more profound profitability of the travel sale and thus greatly reduce the capital's rotation time in that sector.

In this period, the desire to release the constraints of daily routines started in the preceding phase of modern societies progresses through the search for an exceptional every day. In particular, the tourist industry is experiencing significant development, and tourist travel is increasingly spreading to multiple strata of the population. The inhabitants of the central countries gradually become compulsive travellers. Moreover, the natives of the peripheral countries are also transformed into travellers, but essentially as migrants or forced refugees. All these new nomads circulate in spaces where the departure society places overlaps and mixes, more and more, with the places of arrival. The travel time itself hybridises the daily life of the place of origin to the day-to-day of the place of destination. The result is an extraordinary daily life that, in itself and contradictorily, increasingly becomes a routine or a habit, particularly in the daily bodies of urban agents.

Dialogic Daily Life

As for utopian societal regimes, different interpretations of everyday life, sometimes irreconcilable, may be glimpsed.

In the case of socialist countries where state regulation prevailed or is maintained, daily life has become instrumental. In other words, the daily rhythms constituted the basis of regulations characteristic of the rational-legal authority, isolated by Max Weber, and that the bureaucracy is the most representative institution. It is the type of authority where administrative and technical procedures replace all other norms, constituting the only form of social legitimation.

However, other less bureaucratic utopian society projects invest in a dialogical daily life, where the day-to-day temporalities are more dialogical but more conflicting, as, by definition, there is no consensus where there is no conflict. One of these dialectics opposes the heterogeneity of everyday life to the homogeneity of broader and more abstract social activities. Georg Lukács (2016) speaks in a kind of daily praxis, the *primum*, that is, the set of daily behaviours — practical but also theoretical, as the praxis in general — without which neither the construction nor the understanding of human societies is possible. According to Agnès Heller (1970/1977), who is inspired by this author from the Hungarian Marxist school, the characteristic heterogeneity of everyday life also acquires a founding meaning. In fact, day-to-day life provides the necessary experiences for the development of genericity, which means the general, homogeneous and common character that identifies the social activities that structure societies, such as work, science or art. The deliberate use of the *primum* within daily life contributes to constructing more emancipated social formations, which may be more emancipatory of the individual.

Daily Urban Confinements and Setbacks in the COVID-19 Era

In today's socio-historical conjuncture, it is urgent to ask the following: what is the nature and what characteristics does everyday urban life have, in the current scene of what seems to emerge as a viral society and, particularly, as a viral everyday urban life?

To answer this question, considering the novelty and uniqueness of such virulent social phenomena, it is necessary to initially formulate general hypotheses from some basic and seminal social dimensions, to test the progressive definition of what can be understood as a viral society. Thus, the present reflection focuses on the spatial-temporal dimensions of the viral society, those that produce and reproduce their daily urban life. In this perspective, the viral everyday acts as an instance of daily mediation

between two societal dimensions: on the one hand, the social agents that circulate in the city through their bodies or virtually on the internet; and, on the other hand, a set of territories that have also become virulent and that define a viral public sphere, in particular the confined space-times, whether urban or rural.

The precedent circumstance leads to some of the main conditions of urban sociability within these virulent spaces and times. Such daily sociability in the fabric of the city is defined and allowed by state or public health authorities, which function as mediating and regulatory bodies between (a) the social structures of Portuguese society (industries, services, companies, businesses, public health and justice, knowledge, culture, etc.) included in a global world; and (b) the urban social agents, through their bodies and practices in daily life. These agents present concrete social profiles, which, in urban and rural contexts, condition both effectiveness and frequency of confinement/isolation and deflection/displacement practices between the public and private spheres of sociability and socialisation.

Everyday Urban Life Within the Viral Society: 10 Theses

It is worth noting that there must be an encounter/meeting, with a given possibility and probability, inside a given daily space-time to have urban sociability in everyday life. Alberoni (1990) shows that, in daily life, meaning is produced in encounters, through a continuous movement of differentiation of social actors in their usual space-times:

> why is the encounter so important? Because it is a moment of authenticity, because it is the appearance of a meaning. It is the ordering of the multiple, of the disorderly. Small steps are differentiations. We differentiate ourselves internally, just as society objectively differentiates itself with scientific-technical-economic development. (p. 21)

For his part, Pierre Bourdieu (1980) claims that our daily urban life of relationships is made up of incessant appropriations of social capital, that is, the construction of a set of friendships and contacts that we collect in our daily life and that allow us to conquer or to maintain power in a given social field:

> social capital is the set of current or potential resources that are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relations of inter-knowledge and inter-recognition or,

> in other words, to the bonding of a group, as a group of agents that not only are they endowed with common properties (which can be perceived by the observer, by others or by themselves), but they are also united by permanent and useful connections. (...) Exchange transforms things exchanged into signs of recognition. (p. 2)

This daily exchange is carried out in specific places, in institutions that, in their space-time, constitute contexts for welcoming and encouraging sociability practices:

> that is why the reproduction of social capital is dependent, on the one hand, on institutions seeking to promote legitimate exchanges and exclude illegitimate ones. They produce events (rallies, cruises, hunts, soirees, receptions, etc.), venues (posh neighbourhoods, elite schools, clubs, etc.) or activities (trendy sports, board games, cultural ceremonies, etc.) which bring together, in a seemingly random way, individuals who are as homogeneous as possible in all respects relevant to the group's existence and persistence. On the other hand, the reproduction of social capital also depends on sociability. That is a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is continually affirmed and reaffirmed and assumes a specific skill (knowledge of genealogical relations, real connections and art of using them, etc.) and an acquired willingness to obtain and maintain that skill, an expenditure of time and efforts (which have their equivalent in economic capital and also, very often, of economic capital). (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 3)

These and other contemporary authors may help to understand, more profoundly, the social and theoretical field of daily life in the contemporary conjuncture of the coronavirus pandemic, through the following ten theses, among other reflections (Figure 12).

Thesis 1

Therefore, it is possible to affirm the first following thesis: in the socio-historical moment of viral aggression by COVID-19, daily urban encounters (Alberoni, 1990) occur essentially in terms of confinement in domestic space-times, which constitute the more symbolic everyday urban life within viral society, in its seminal phase, but not necessarily within the following stages. In this way, the family institution and its most legitimate societal territory, the respective house-home, reproduce themselves socially as
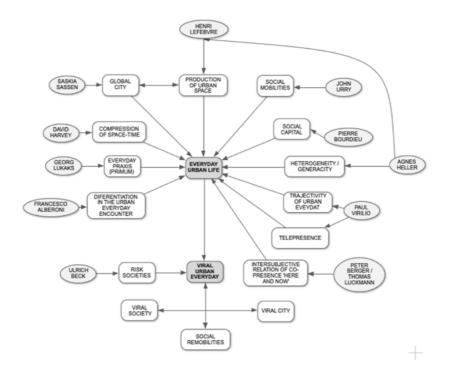
Figure 12 The social and theoretical field of everyday life in the viral society and viral city. Credits. Pedro Andrade

being the context where the different forms of capital (economic, social, cultural, symbolic) allow more significant power games if we apply these concepts from Bourdieu (1980). For example, domestic violence can acquire new intensities in a viral society to perpetuate male power over the female body. This form of power is reinforced by the greater economic capital held by men in a significant number of Portuguese families. Such a condition generates internal inequalities within the space-time of everyday and domestic urban life, and a woman's dependence on her husband or partner, since the woman has to stay even more at home every day, and now for even more hours with her potential abuser.

As for Paul Virilio (1996/2000), he understands our life in the city as a set of journeys/paths, with "trajectivity" being one of the most important everyday properties:

> inscribe the path between the object and the subject and invent the "trajective" neologism to join the "subjective" and "objective" (…) the city is the place of paths and trajectivity. It is the place of closeness between men, of the organisation of contact. Citizenship is the organisation of routes among groups, among men, among sects, etc. (pp. 43–44)

Today, according to Virilio, telepresence completely changes our notions of the space-times of everyday life, of the "here and now" that some subscribers of sociological phenomenologies, such as Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1968), mention. Virilio states (1996/2000): "the question of telepresence relocates the position, the situation of the body. The problem with virtual reality is essentially to deny *hic et nunc* 'here' for the benefit of 'now'" (p. 48).

Thesis 2

Effectively, such a trajectory seems to be one of the most pertinent features of everyday urban life within viral society. Citizens, before the COVID-19 pandemic, chose certain paths, from their home or work, certainly according to certain macrosocial characteristics, such as the structures incorporated in the bodies of these social subjects (age, gender, urban health, etc.), but also based on microsocial traits, for example, their subjective intentions and daily actions. In addition, the path depends on mediating instances, such as the city and the map of its streets, the location of the usual urban places (home, work, leisure, etc.), or their intrinsic attributes. As a result, a sort of viral telepresence, forced by COVID-19, has dramatically changed citizens' daily lives. In fact, today, COVID-19 has drastically reduced this dialectic between private and public space, contracting the body of social actors to a single and almost exclusive and inclusive space-time, the private house, as noted above. It is worth noting that some of the current "collective houses", or "totalitarian institutions" in the words of Erving Goffman (1961), such as prisons, asylums or homes for the elderly, are not places of salvation from the pandemic but places of serious contamination risk. The hospital itself receives an ambiguous nature. From a healing place, it can easily become a space-time of increased risk for the bodies of urban agents.

Thesis 3

Daily viral life has a transversal character. It is not confined to a single social sphere but crosses the societal spheres entirely. Thus, there is economic day-to-day of work and leisure, the daily life of politics and powers, or the daily cultural and discursive life. All of them were contaminated by

COVID-19, whose impact is not limited to the bodies of economic agents but also affects the corporeality of political or cultural actors.

Thesis 4

In this dimension of social spheres of interest, everyday viral life is different from social reproduction or viral consumption. Agnès Heller (1970/1977), mentioned above, had, for years, opportunely observed, within the Marxist-inspired sociology of everyday life, the distinction between those three concepts, in the criticisms, she addressed to her colleague Henri Lefebvre. Like other societal phenomena, the city's daily life, partly based on the production process, presents its own configurations directly related to work. For example, Taylor production chains were alienating, not only because they expressed class domination at the social structural level (the macro social), but also because they reproduced that domination daily, in the repetitive and tedious cycles of the concrete and micro social acts of the labour process over the body of workers. In this way, social reproduction in daily life derives but does not coincide with day-to-day production. The same author also stresses that everyday life should not be reduced to the domestic sphere, where privacy and femininity would prevail, but that it covers both private and public arenas of social life and concerns all social agents. These considerations seem relevant to everyday life in times of coronavirus. Here multiple types of times of production, social reproduction and consumption emerge. New rhythms of teleworking, the unprecedented measures of online consumption, and the new relationships between production and social reproduction in cyberspace allied to cyber time, all of which have somehow prevailed over the physical world of interaction, at least in the first phase of the pandemic.

Thesis 5

Viral everyday life is constituted, in essence, by social space-times that introduce an intersubjective relationship of co-presence between the social actors in confinement. They correspond to a "here and now", in the words of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1968). New co-presences emerge in the viral society. For example, a "viral here and now", that is, a being in co-presence (temporal dimension) within a face-to-face relationship (spatial relationship) where the participants do not see the face of this new other due to his mask. In other words, the relationship between masked people during COVID-19 establishes a relationship of identity concealment, which was previously seen as delegitimising and dangerous, restricted to outlaws, or as a connection established and legitimised by religion, such as the burka.

Thesis 6

In terms of societal levels' dimension, viral everyday life is not confined to the concrete intersubjective relationships developed by the bodies of social agents in their daily lives. In addition to this micro every day, there is a macro every day and a mediating every day, the latter visible within institutions, organisations, associations and groups that mediate the bodies of social agents with social structures (Andrade, 1991). Today, we are witnessing innovative forms of viral mediating every day, a configuration of daily life that connects two levels of daily life day. On the one hand, the daily practices of the social agents' bodies, in the context of the viral micro every day. For example, the circulation of masked urban bodies, the inter-body social distance, the other body perceived as an aggressor or daily enemy. On the other hand, the viral macro every day is illustrated by industries and services downfall, the liquidation of businesses, or the indefinite and infinite suspension of culture and the arts. Some of the configurations of the viral mediating every day are, in the public space, the streets with areas reserved for circulation; and, in semi-public spaces-times, commercial establishments with waiting times for the assistance of clients and their sociability bodies, a practice sanctioned by the physical barrier at the door, be it a table, a glass or a simple rope.

Thesis 7

In the context of temporal or diachronic social life, it is simplistic to assume that the viral day-to-day coincides with the routine or is reduced to a cyclical form of existence, experience or consciousness. On the contrary, there are fundamental and historical differences between the everyday routine and the exceptional every day. Moreover, this later day-to-day social form has some similarities with certain types of leisure. In short, within a viral society, the exceptional everyday confinement has become, in some way, an everyday routine.

Thesis 8

The viral every day is not to be confused, from a temporal/diachronic point of view, with the present. In fact, there is a day-to-day existence in the past and different from the present, as several historians of new history have confirmed. In contemporary viral society, COVID-19 is linked to a past, to other pandemics in history, and a future, the possible COVID-20, COVID-21.

Thesis 9

Everyday viral life does not necessarily coincide with the local dimension of urban or rural space-times. In other words, new relations are being established between the local and the global in the era of viral society. For example, in the case of tourists, business people or political leaders, global circulation has been restricted, in part, to multiple local confinements of their societal bodies.

It should also be noted that advanced, disorganised and post-Fordist capitalism engenders what can be understood as a global every day beyond the localised daily life. The collapse of Fordist production caused major changes in the working and consumption models. In addition, this process also influences the production systems of leisure or the production systems of everyday life, especially those more deeply intervening in contemporary societies. Within work activities, post-Fordism caused increased job insecurity, largely due to the advent of new technologies and the consequent need for greater qualification and continuous training. As for daily life and its temporalities, precarious jobs provoke a more irregular organisation of the daily times of working bodies. They become more exposed to overlapping with other temporalities, namely times of leisure. These are made even more indispensable precisely due to the stress caused by the somewhat chaotic nature of the new production rhythms of the latest stage of capitalism or to companies (de)relocation that generates more unemployment.

Such a global/local nature of everyday space-times in recent years means a daily life that is less fragmented by countless places and moments and dependent not only on the spatial accessibility of the means of transport but also on their schedules. This fragmentation was more characteristic of the Fordist period and was caused by a rampant specialisation of activities, parallel to the dispersion of their implantation places and agendas. The phenomenon was quite visible in the places of consumption and leisure where the bodies of urban agents had daily access.

Thesis 10

Everyday viral life produces and reproduces new individual and social risks in the contemporary city, the viral city. In fact, the current pandemic gives rise to unprecedented uncertainty and risk circumstances, which are much more profound than the times of threats characteristic of the pre-corona virus period. As Ulrich Beck (2013) clarifies, social agents lose their usual

references to stable orientation points in daily territories and even beyond them within risk societies. In such a context, the personality of social actors is in danger of degrading even more inexorably. The Fordist period was based on social roles of much rigidity that restricted or limited the choice and intervention possibilities and produced, especially in urban metropolises, a kind of alienation founded on loneliness. Apparently, the post-Fordist society allows a wider range of choices.

However, these increased options do not necessarily translate into greater freedom, as the lack of widely agreed criteria for these selections produces, in my view, a situation of continuous doubt and debt about the relevant decisions to be taken. The outcome is an increased individualism, a scattered culture, the omission of truly relevant information and the dismissal of citizenship projects, whether about preserving the past or proposing a dialogue about the future. In short, post-Fordist societies, in addition to other insecurity phenomena, engender even greater and more multiform daily risks.

Thus, a new type of danger, both biological and bodily, economic and social, seems to be emerging, the COVID risk. On the one hand, the coronavirus causes individual health risks in the circulating bodies within the viral city, risks that, for some persons, were less evident at the beginning of the pandemic. However, in the following stages, the pandemic showed the fragility of public health systems more tragically, and in what regards the advances in private health, in the form of private hospitals and pharmaceutical companies founded on unbridled profit, that the competition and runaway to the miraculous anti-COVID vaccine have elicited.

Conclusions

In such a situation of a viral social pandemic, here are some possible suggestions for alternative practical solutions, among others, to debate and apply within the everyday lives of social actors, aiming the social decontamination of their bodies, in addition to the respective decontamination in terms of collective public health:

- to articulate more deeply the daily space-times of the human bodies activities, among other strategies through the new everyday temporalities inherent to the private spaces of the house, in close connection with the public space-times of work and leisure inside the city,

- develop communication among the paradigmatic contemporary social agents, such as citizens, tourists and migrants, within the urban public space, for example, through mobile locative devices (Andrade, 2020e), and

- for this purpose, it is also necessary that sociology, like other knowledge, reinvent itself via new research and teaching methodologies, such as sociological cartoons and video papers (Andrade, 2020b).

Such concrete and microscopic everyday tactics can be contextualised inside the global/local networked society in terms of two unprecedented central processes.

The first emerging phenomenon is the viral society, which includes, among other processes, the viral city and the viral bodies of social actors. The detection of their main characteristics in daily urban life was discussed above. Nevertheless, what to do in what regards this seemingly endless pandemic?

The second rising process seeks to overcome the viral society through the "social remobility" strategy. It is understood as a posture to combat societal pandemics, aiming at the alternative recreation of social mobility processes amid contemporary social and communicative processes, such as communication among citizens, tourists and migrants, within their daily urban life. In effect, inside viral society, a social demobility occurs as well. In other words, the mobile society, in which "everything is on the move", as John Urry (2007) referred, has been transformed, in part, into a motionless society. Therefore, it is necessary to de-move it from its i-mobility, through social remobility, among other strategies. Some examples of these social remobilisation processes are urban public arts articulated with mobile cultures, as in the cases of tourist's and digital social networks' cultures. Today, such sociocultural phenomena are founded and merged in virtual-viral communities circulating in cyberspace and cyber time. Moreover, these virtual space-times are understood as conflicting digital public spheres where, at present, pre-viral societies gradually are being deconstructed and rebuilt into post-viral societies.

Translation: Pedro Andrade

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Appendix

Brief Glossary on Everyday Life Within the Viral City

Body of social actors: the bodies of the actors involved in daily urban life in the pre-covid-19 era circulated freely inside the urban landscape. Today, these bodies have been transformed, from mediating experience and awareness of the city by social actors to pandemic targets and vehicles for the general contamination of society.

City 3.0 or semantic-social city: globalised locality and configured in an urban socio-geographic network that includes digital social networks and semantic networks characteristics of web 3.0 or semantic web. These social and semantic networks, in addition to information (which constitutes the most frequent type of content on the social networks of web 2.0, e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram), privilege as well knowledge, that is, the explanation or interpretation of information. A typical web 3.0 site is Wikipedia, where non-expert users can share "common concepts" defined by themselves in that area of knowledge (user-generated content).

Creative city: a paradigm of urban space that articulates the city's culture, creativity and transformation. Such a stance highlights, among other processes and practices: interculturalism in the urban fabric, the psychology of the city, creative bureaucracies, and the measurement of creativity inside cities.

Everyday urban life: daily life results from the dialectic between social spatialities and temporalities, which have been transformed throughout history and which condition the present day-to-day. Since the renaissance, the intensification of urban activities has constituted one of the central processes of the epistemological rupture operated by modernity and inaugurated a new articulation between the everyday routine and the everyday exceptional.

Smart City: is a city model that favours planning, monitoring and digital technologies, for greater predictability in urban restructuring, for example, greater mobility and security within the public sphere. However, this ubiquitous visualisation of the city and the citizen carries risks, such as intrusion in his private life, disrespect for human rights, or the naturalisation and uncritical acceptance of widespread panopticism.

Social remobility: it is understood as a posture to fight the viral society, aiming to overcome it and develop alternative recreations of social mobility

processes amid contemporary social and communicative phenomena, such as communication among citizens, tourists and migrants.

Urban public space: is a paradigm of urban space, where the public dimension of social life acquires relevance and autonomy that differs from private life. This separation and conflict between the public and the private are associated, in economic terms, with the consolidation of commercial and industrial capitalism, coincides politically with the emergence of a democratic society, and is culturally articulated with modernity.

Viral city: is a model of the urban fabric, conditioned by the viral society, where viruses, particularly the current coronavirus, contaminate its territories. In this city genre, the social agents' bodies are confined to restricted space-times, such as the house.

Viral society: is a paradigm based on unprecedented societal processes, e.g., viral economies and technologies, viral politics and politicians, viral cultures and cults. One of the processes that seek to overcome the viral society is social remobility.

The City of Guinga is Biographical

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Abstract

Moved by the Brazilian musician Guinga composition "Meu Pai" (my father), we established a symbiotic relationship between the concepts of life (biography), place (city of Rio de Janeiro) and music. The analysis of "Meu Pai" is a synthesis and a pretext for reflecting on what art does to an artist and those who absorb it. In our theoretical framework, we rely primarily on James Carey (2009) and Gaston Bachelard (1957/1996). As a guide for this journey, we chose Guinga. He leads the journey. His circumstance takes us in an essay that has movement as its axis.

Keywords

biography, city, movement, music, place

We will seek, in this article, to roam around three propositions: life (body that inhabits a specific and finite time and space), city (the polis with which life dialogues) and music (an aesthetic expression that suggests the conversation between the first two). The port of departure is the composition "Meu Pai" by the Brazilian musician Guinga.

The body is a movement fixed in gestures, form, substance, immateriality and emotion. The city is the streets, houses, monuments, sounds, flows and the lives that are sheltered in it or that it vomits. The city acquires meaning because its buildings (like fossils) keep information about the 1,000 lives that dwell in it. As a dialoguing being, the city knows and preserves. As a "memory of itself, the city offers itself to be penetrated and penetrates the memory of those who cross it, depositing a discontinuous thread of flows therein" (Bailly, 2013, pp. 74−75). When everything is already reduced to dust, the city's streets (like art), even if disfigured, retain reserves of memory in the stone and ground that make them. In music, both language and communication fit. Music is the time fixed in space, feeling and sublimating the unspeakable (beyond what is said). It is, says Cohen (1995), particularly effective in "stimulating a sense of identity, in the conservation and transmission of cultural memory and the sensual production of a place" (p. 435).

Jean Charnaux fuses music and city in the characterisation of Guinga (Grupo Sintonize, 2019). The musician confesses himself in the abyss because of the difficulty of musically theorising Rio's composer. Escaping the analytical explanations, he exemplifies the artist's genius with an experience of life witnessed in the city. He describes a moment in the middle of Rio de Janeiro, next to the Rio Sul underground runway, one of the busiest roads in the city, where Guinga decided to cross. "His eyes were on the right moment of the explosion between the milliseconds that separated life from death" (Grupo Sintonize, 2019, 00:25:21). Charnaux makes an association between the "insanity" of the act and the genius of Guinga, an artist who is not always understood, whose "melodic sequences disentangled themselves from the conventional pattern of normal composers of his time" (Grupo Sintonize, 2019, 00:26:58). He goes on, saying:

> it was like a miracle worker who used music as a tool for a much greater transformation in human beings. It was perfection marked by the aesthetics of repetition of his own musical habits (…) for the normal human beings he was the mere insane that was walking in the opposite direction of life, as in that moment when crossing the busy street. (Grupo Sintonize, 2019, 00:27:20)

We cannot always identify the exact moment when a reading, a song, a painting or a film change their status from something unknown to something essential. In Guinga, a musician from Rio de Janeiro, it is difficult to specify the detonator that made him indispensable. Appropriation has a bit of cannibalism. We do not know who that person is, we are not able to detail what he tries to say with his music, nor does that seem relevant at first glance. At this point, it is almost inevitable that we associate this (non) perception with the defence of the author by Foucault (1971/2002), extensively analysed by Agamben (2005/2007). That is, the absence of the author is, in fact, the first place in the discourse (Foucault, 1971/2002). However, what is important to underline is that we take Guinga work in our ears, in our brain and our feelings, appropriating the melody, the harmony and the words, that is, transforming the experience of hearing into our life experience or into a type of sensory experience that we savour for the first time. Bachelard (1957/1996) attributes this connection to poetry. Dewey (1934/2008) speaks of "vital" or "integral" experience, which is also a process of communication:

> because communication does not consist of announcing things (…) but is a process that creates participation that makes what was isolated and singular common; and part of the miracle it performs is that, when communicated, the transmission of meaning gives body and definition to the experience, both of those who express it and of those who listen. (p. 275)

As Dewey (1934/2008) tells us, the work of art should not be confused with the product, a song, a painting. The work of art "takes place when the human being cooperates with the product so that its result is a pleasant experience because of its liberating and ordered properties" (Dewey, 1934/2008, p. 241).

What Does the First Version of This Song Tell Us, When We Hear it Without Any Kind of Context?

The composition "Meu Pai" appears on the album *Canção da Impermanência* (2017; see Pedrosa, 2017) as this project's first track. The author is Guinga, who dedicates it to his father. In this first approach, there is still no lyrics but only vocal singing exercises. On a second album (*Avenida Atlântica*, also from 2017), "Meu Pai" opens the work again, this time with lyrics (see Selo Sesc, 2017). What does the first version of this song tell us when we hear it without any kind of context? The music of Guinga wanders elegantly

through insomnia territories. Even without knowing about his relationship with the city of Rio de Janeiro or how biographical his art is, this sentimental wandering attracts us through streets and alleys, which may be physical or emotional. Or both, in an indistinct whole. There is a lot of rail in the compositions, which we hear randomly. In "Meu Pai", there is a sense of a journey, which is intuitive and repeated. Vocalisation accentuates how much one feels and how little words can hold. However, in gaining lyrics and texture, in *Avenida Atlântica*, "Meu Pai" does not lose. As he says, in letters of his authorship, "the words dissolve in the mouth" (Ayer, 2020, 01:07:43). What was hidden comes to the surface with a touch of enchantment. For a foreigner of Guinga's music, life history or carioca geography, what seduces is the musicality of the words: *Itaoca*, *Itararé, Inhaúma*, *Macaúba*. Even without giving meaning to the words, better said, especially if we do not associate words and meanings, what attracts are these sounds, the exoticism of the words that resonate in a voice. It will take time to reach meaning. The idea of the path, which has a crossroads, is accentuated. After several hearing cycles, the lyric bares the being so much that we are amazed. After all, it is a simple story of someone who speaks of childhood memories associated with the father figure. For now, let us be admired. What other sensations does "Meu Pai" convey? Yes, a route that surrounds the city, to places that we do not know, but that we visualise mentally as clearly as childhood is, built-in fragments (a child does not have the perception of the whole, retains intermittently what she or he has fixed as a significant experience): at each curve a geographic and sentimental reference, from the church of São Roque to the corner of Baronesa. We do not know any of these spaces, but we have already experienced some sense of place, guided by the Guinga's musical atmosphere. Curious is this wandering if we think that there is no city without movement, that the body itself is movement (even if at rest) and that music is also characterised by movement. And what is life for Guinga? "Life is movement. While we are here talking, our whole body is working, the mitochondria are doing a thousand biochemical adventures" (Composição Escola de Música da UFRJ, 2020, 00:21:35).

What Does a Song About a Vulgar Story Do to Its Listener?

Canção da Impermanência is a kind of nonconformist acknowledgement. If "impermanence is the opposite of life" (tvBrasil, 2018b, 00:16:31), art is an attempt to resist finitude: art and affective ties. For the musician, "the feeling must go to some niche, there must be some deposit of feeling, of affection, of sensitivity, to fight against the impermanence of everything"

(Composição Escola de Música da UFRJ, 2020, 00:22:15). The home-place may function as a sentimental and, in some way, a metaphysical reposi-tory. Home is, after all, the starting point, but also that the point of eternal return, in a kaleidoscopic mental becoming. If movement is necessary to return to it, the rest provides a point of permanence in time and space (Bennett, 2005). It is a sense of belonging, even if imagined or ethereal. It is the "communication place" of James Carey (2009).

As we mentioned above, the work opens with an allusion to a childhood figure, attesting to the weight and importance of the personal side in the artist's work. As Anna Paes (2019) says, "in her *modus faciendi*, the inspira-tion to compose comes not only from technical knowledge or the ability to listen but also from the ability to be moved by the events of life" (p. 43). To objectify in music and words what is lived is to fix memories. James Carey (2009) highlighted time (the place of memory) in ritual communication, making room for transmissive communication. The rituals (the memories shared by a community) build the identity, make us belong to a place, and help us say who we are. In "Meu Pai", nothing about Guinga's personal his-tory seems relevant in the community or historical or social terms. It is the story of a soldier, of the places he travelled, of night surveillance to a water tank, preventing the liquid from being poisoned, a life that has nothing exceptional. However, when apprehended by a poet's sensitivity, a trivial case captures the immateriality of the communicative act. For Guinga, this story has meaning because it was told to him by his father. What he does is to give back that learning through a song attempting to make ties remain. Guinga was, for most of his artistic life, the author of his songs (and also of instrumental ones, although in a smaller number), leaving the lyrics for names as Paulo César Pinheiro and Aldir Blanc both highly regarded in the popular Brazilian music scene. *Canção da Impermanência* (see Pedrosa, 2017) is an almost exclusively a solo signature album, except "Doido de Deus" (see Pedrosa, 2017, track 17), which he shares with Thiago Amud. Guinga does not see himself as a poet and summarises:

> I wrote a small letter, a tribute to my father, talking about things that only my family, me or them, would know. (...) I expressed a feeling for my father. A guy can say, "it doesn't have the least poetic value", f ... I did it for my father. (Ayer, 2020, 01:08:00)

That might be the meaning that Bailly (1992, as cited in Sheringham, 2017) had in mind when referring to the micro-stories that the city collects as a deposit of memories.

How this emotion is expressed through art makes what is beyond language tangible, transforming, who knows, the lived experience, into something permanent, that is, in a work that does not leave anyone indifferent, incorporating new sensations to the initial experience that was intended to be shared. Isn't this where James Carey (2009) tries to touch when referring to communication and culture? What does a vulgar story do to its listener? Bachelard (1957/1996) says: "the image becomes a new being in our language, it expresses us by doing what it expresses, that is, it is both a becoming of expression and a becoming of our being" (p. 6).

When the Space Becomes a Place

Returning to our three initial propositions (life, city, music), we want now to detail the importance of place in Guinga's work, who claims to have Rio "mapped in the heart" (Vianna, 2018, 00:22:53). "Meu Pai" condenses a physical (geographic) map and a sentimental one, at the same time, which blend. For Guinga, "the landscape is inside, the landscape is not outside. You can see the most beautiful place in the world, but if you are depressed, it will not remind you of Eden. It will remind you of the descent into hell" (Zuppo, 2017,00:21:08). Ingold (1993) rejects the division between the inner and outer world, proposing, in turn, a relational dynamic between subjects and places. That is, after all, what arises from "Meu Pai": a musical landscape generated in movement and interaction. We can naturally point out the geographical coordinates enunciated by Guinga and recognise the emotions, stories and feelings with which both (the landscape and the musician) nourished themselves. For this reason, Jacarepaguá is not just a point on a topographic map in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro. It is the origin of life. Born in the north zone of Rio de Janeiro, in Madureira, Guinga lived in Jacarepaguá. Suburban origins are always highlighted in the interviews he grants as part of his personal matrix. Other compositions reflect the importance of place. *Suíte Leopoldina* (1999; see Gravadora Galeão, 2016) is a title dedicated to the mother, originally from this area of Rio de Janeiro. We can also name *Dialetto Carioca* (2007; see Brownlee, 2011) or *Casa de Villa* (2007; see Nóbrega, 2016) — double meaning of the childhood home and the influence of the composer Heitor Villa-Lobos — or *Noturno Copacabana* (2003; see Recovering Music Addict, 2011). This latest album reflects the composer's relocation from the north to the south of Rio de Janeiro in the 70s. It is a work that expresses the impact of a new urban geography on the author, who explains: "it is a tribute to angels and demons that inhabit this place" (Guinga, 2017, as cited in Paes, 2019, p. 47).

Tuan (1977) guides us in the feeling we have for space, making it a place. If, as Bachelard (1957/1996) says, we know each other in time (the thread of the narrative), we objectify memory through space. "In its thousand alveoli, space retains compressed time. The space is for that" (Bachelard, 1957/1996, p. 19). The centrality of space dominates "Meu Pai", intending to overcome time. "Meu Pai" is an incessant search for the father figure (from shared experiences) in the concrete of the city: the Church of São Roque, wandering around. The song is a search and a reunion, the proof that what we live, does not exist only through imagination, nor is it lost over the years. The repetition in "Meu Pai" is expressed in the rhythm, melody and word, underlining the dichotomy between movement and fixation. With Julian Johnson (2015), we see that repetition ritualises the movement of place (place and space are a continuous process, which is never finished). The ritualisation then emerges from the experience gained in the relationship with space, which "Meu Pai" also echoes. After all, as Tuan (1975) states, "the place is a centre of meaning built by experience" (p. 152). Getting to know it takes time.

"A Certain Beauty of Slow Music"

We digress, along these lines, through the body, life and place as an organic and symbolic whole, based on a composition by the musician from Rio de Janeiro, Guinga. Another element is missing: the music. According to Johnson (2015), modernity in music stems from the city, "since this is the physical centre where music happens and where the network of relationships that music reproduces, updates and reshapes" is established (p. 129). Being an art structured in time, it aspires to materialise in space. We present the concept of musical architecture or even the music partiture (physical configuration of the music) as an argument for this assumption. "What sensory organs and experiences make human beings able of having strong feelings for space and spatial qualities?" Tuan (1977, p. 23) asks. And about hearing, he says: "the sound itself can evoke spatial impressions (…) musicians refer to the 'musical space'" (Tuan, 1977, p. 25).

Thiago Amud describes characteristics of spatiality in Guinga's music: "the guitar sometimes looks like the bell of a cathedral, it looks like it is in a catacomb, it resonates with a metaphysical depth" (Delírio Carioca, 2020, 00:30:14). Let us say that music is another form of language which transcends what the conventional linguistic code can achieve. "It is not that music refers to something unspoken but rather to the unspeakable" (Johnson,

2015, p. 256). We look for Guinga's words: "music is beyond what you can define, any art is much beyond the palpable, in reality, the true art is in the impalpable" (Composição Escola de Música da UFRJ, 2020, 00:14:32). Like any code, music is made up of symbols and will require mastery of that language. However, formal learning is not a prerequisite for an artist to be an artist.

By associating discourse with sound and music, van Leeuwen (1999) distances himself from the functionalist view to arrive at meaning through social contexts. Therefore, music (like language) will be much more than the mastery of a code, to let itself be contaminated by life. "In other words, musical time can reflect the way time is lived in the world where music is made, as well as people's affective relationship to that time, whether they welcome it or fight it" (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 57).

The family environment (what was heard on the radio, parents' musical taste, living with an uncle who played the guitar) is pointed out by Guinga as a determining factor in the education of the ear. When he was young (between 11 and 13), he started to compose, very influenced by bossa nova, which was emerging. Personal relationships (family and neighbourhood) were the ones that most deeply marked the musician. As a teenager, he met guitarist Hélio Delmiro listened to Garoto's compositions, and these influences seem to have been fundamental. In this cultural environment, there was an incursion into formal learning of music, which he did not continue. Guinga does not know how to read or write music. His creations arise from a physical relationship with the guitar — *Roendopinho* (2014; see Pedrosa, 2015) is the suggestive name of one of his works — and a spiritual one with the musical entity itself. Orality is, therefore, the author's primary resource. In other words, he listened to music and translated it on the guitar. "This listening involves the transposition to the guitar of sounds that are sometimes orchestral and pianistic, generating particular ways of building chords" (Paes, 2019, p. 44). That matches extraordinarily with James Carey's (2009) approach to the conversation as the core of the whole communicative act and our foundation as social beings. Carey draws on Ancient Greece (the small conversation groups who discussed the life of the *polis*) to define ritual communication (whose symbols crystallise and renew in the community). Here, with Guinga, the artist dialogues with the city and, through it, with his memories, using orality as a basis and the body as the tool at his disposal. And what dialogue is this? "A certain beauty of slow music" (Saraiva, 2014, p. 202), Guinga explains to Chico Saraiva. He elaborates: "also, at the speed of a Ferrari, you don't see the landscape, you take Niemeyer, and you don't see Rio de Janeiro. With a slow car, you can enjoy the landscape more" (Saraiva, 2014, p. 198).

Interesting in Guinga's interview with Chico Saraiva (part of a master's dissertation, in written and multimedia format) is the way the composer describes the path that he follows from thought to guitar (Saraiva, 2020). In the conversation, he tries successively to play a song, finding himself invariably dissatisfied with what he manages to achieve. There seems to be an impossibility between what one feels (the music in someone's head) and what one can perform, that is, the way it reaches the guitar. That is another obsessive search, with a desire for reunion and fixation.

Because Guinga is a musician who composes with the guitar in his hands, there is clear physical incorporation between thought, emotion, body and object. The guitar language is a theme that cuts across musical literature, and Guinga has not escaped this approach. It has to do with the mechanical component of the instrument, which lends itself to composition. Chico Saraiva, relying on ethnomusicology, refers, simultaneously, to a cultural idiom, that is, to the different characteristics that the same instrument acquires, in different socio-cultural contexts. Let us listen to Guinga: "the guitar is in the hands, but the head belongs to the popular composer. It is his feeling, his sadness and his joys" (Saraiva, 2014, p. 158).

Guinga seems to be above this ethnicity, as he absorbs elements from various popular Brazilian musical influences (*baião*, *frevo*, *modinha*), combining their different musicality with currents of European classical music (Debussy), Brazilian music (Villa-Lobos) and even traditional American jazz music:

> His intention seems to be to integrate the rhythmic stimuli — which from its most fertile birthplace, the African, offers the world its own poetry — to the melodic-harmonic stimuli — forged throughout the history of European music — which in the eyes of the popular musician is associated with the "poetic". (Saraiva, 2014, p. 198)

And the Author? What Does His or Her Life Matter to the Work of Art?

Having presented our initial concepts, let us add "Meu Pai" to this pie. It is a totally autobiographical song, which translates the songwriter, unveils how these songs are created (the vocal singing exercises that accompany the guitar), is part of a biographical album of someone on a solitary journey, wandering through childhood memories, interpellating the city. Does the

fact that the first published version of "Meu Pai" has no lyrics make it a song? The title alone allows us to perceive "Meu Pai" as a story attached to the melody even without the words. van Leeuwen (1999) sets the scene in these terms: "in speech and song, words and melody can both express similar or different meanings" (p. 79). As Chico Saraiva (2014) explains, "the song composer uses his voice, in different degrees of interaction with the instrument, to outline a *musical* gesture that fits voice and instrument in the search for a melody with a sense of song" (p. 90).

Moreover, what does "Meu Pai" suggest to a listener unaware of these considerations? The call of Guinga' s voice in "Meu Pai" is profound. We would dare to affirm that the poetic reach of this song arises from a symbiosis between voice, guitar and interpretation, like an old song that wanders through time immemorial, with no past, no future. The project *Canção da Impermanência* has a lonely and intimate beauty as if it were an inner voice or a voice heard in the distance. *Avenida Atlântica* works as a revelation: that of the word. And in the version of the Tom Jobim Orchestra (see EMESP Tom Jobim, 2020), it is an exuberance. The city is offered those words. Everything is opened and announced, like a celebration. Guinga's interpretation is no longer confessional but an announcement.

The Guinguian delirium is so untied with formulas that it is safe to say: "Guinga had a song. I wrote *Variação* first. Then Guinga made 'Meu Pai'. A crooked musical duo is like this: it starts with the after, it ends with the before" (Amud, 2019b). *Variação* was the lyrics made by Thiago Amud for the melody of Guinga, who only later titled it "Meu Pai" and filled it with words, as we know. The duo presented both versions at Guinga's 50-year-old concert (tvBrasil, 2018a), establishing a disconcerting dialogue between both. If two different stories are told formally, the melody carries such a lonely identity that we are almost led to believe it is a monologue. Guinga talks to the city, his father and childhood memories. Thiago Amud fills the melody with an interpellation to the origin, creating a dichotomy between emptiness and life, confusing it with the craft of creation or, as he wrote in *Variação*, "the lyrics of the song that lay under the pulse" (Amud, 2019a, 00:02:49). We can guess a conversation with his own gift of composing and the visit of music in his life story, which he sees as a kind of big bang, the beginning of everything. There is a movement of wings, atoms, and sea in these lyrics, which generate clairvoyance. There is a return to an initial and transforming place in both, attempting to integrate it and make it permanent.

Having reached this point, we cannot avoid the question that has haunted us (albeit subliminally) throughout the entire essay: what about the author? What does his life matter to the work of art? What does it put out of his experience in the poem? If the biography (life story) is as central as we believe, how does it participate in the work? What contribution can it provide to understand the work of art?

There is No Communication and Culture Without a Biographical Subject

At the beginning of this text, we wrote that we rely on theoretical references but that, essentially, we are guided by Guinga. "Meu Pai"'s analysis and the realisation of the conversation between its lyrics and the *Variação* of Amud necessarily send us back to James Carey (2009), our initial reference. The dialogue between the two musicians is a condition of their life experiences, in a relationship where the self and the surrounding community enter. For Guinga, there is a fusion between the city and childhood memories. In Thiago Amud, the external stimulus is Guinga's melody, which he materialises in something new, another discourse. We cannot ignore Agamben's (2005/2007) theory either, in how he interprets the death of the author by Foucault. The impulse towards creation can be so intense that the author throws himself into his own communicational act. In doing so, he dies a little, and he disappears to the point of giving rise to other discourses. But his absence is what makes him remain in the work.

Like Foucault (1971/2002), we reiterate the author's absence in the sense that he will have to disappear for the work to be born. However, we do not stop in the functionalism of language, to the point of transforming it into something aseptic. There is a place (that of discourse, we believe) of mediation between the individual and the context surrounding him or her, which creates reality. No, it is not a representation of reality but the world built by the symbolic exchanges of discourse. And, yes, we return to the starting point: ritual communication, established by conversation. "Meu Pai" and *Variação* arise from this convergence (and confrontation) between the place of the subjective, the social context and the interpretations that are played in the exchange of artistic experiences between two authors. We can argue that starting from the same melodic basis, the two went through different paths, and what is valid is what each one presents (and represents) through a semiotic resource. Or, in a deeper sense, we can also choose the relational side of communication, which is also, and

ultimately, what builds a life. It may be that it is as postulated by Agamben (2005/2007) when he affirms that "a subjectivity is produced where the living being, when finding a language and putting it into play without reservation in a gesture exhibits its own irreducibility to it" (p. 57).

As culture is an object of study in communication, how can we ignore the importance of biography within this area of knowledge? For this reason, we bring Guinga's life (the tribute to his father) to the field of communication, not only because of the work he produced but because that work is the person. Here, we are not referring to the factual sequence of the lived, but to the discourse that gives it meaning:

> deeper than biography, hermeneutics must determine the centres of destiny, detaching the history of its connective temporal tissue without action on our destiny. More urgent than determining the dates is, for the knowledge of intimacy, the location in the spaces of our intimacy. (Bachelard, 1957/1996, p. 19)

"Who Am I in the City?"

Taking the relationship between the artist's experience and its correspondence to the work of art for granted seems so obvious that it may not be worth thinking about it. It is precisely in this evidence that the biography stands. Like the body we inhabit in this world, the city is built. Roads are arteries; urban centres are brains, horizontality, verticality and spatial orientation (Tuan, 1977). Everything is done by analogy to our body. The city (life) is tattooed by the communicative acts that cross it and multiply it in successive versions of itself. It is as full of wonder and horrors as the human being is beautiful and imperfect. We (and the cities we populate) are the product of these communicational relationships, of the discourses that create the world (Carey, 2009). In this complex whirlwind, the artist seeks who it is, not what it is (Kristeva & Collins, 2001). The poet acts on the *polis*; his work is always a way of doing something, expressing what cannot be contained. As such, it is imbued with an aesthetic sense. This drive is a way of constructing its own identity, based on its position before its surroundings, either by difference or identification. In the end, the objective (albeit implicit) will always be a matter of belonging (or not) to a place. With the place, we mean the house, an aesthetic current, the look of someone you love, its subliminal existence on the cobblestones. Identity (or a sense of belonging) only exists vis-a-vis the other.

The approach of the city as an identity space is an achievement of modernity. "The city streets become the stage for a meeting between the self and the other, individual conscience and figures who look at their confines and perplexities" (Sheringham, 2017, p. 3). According to Sheringham (2017; and so it is with "Meu Pai"), the city will be for the poet the place where the question "who am I in the city?" reverberates in art. From a space segmented by streets, locations, geographic landmarks, the city acquires, with these poetic invocations, the status of an organic whole, which is the same as saying a body, another body with which one dialogues.

For the artist, life does not fit within itself. That is why the work is born. Guinga expresses this truth as follows: "I make music because if I didn't, I would be a little dead, I would feel sick" (Canelas, 2011, 00:19:05). It will not matter that much if it makes him think of an audience, but rather because it establishes an inevitable bridge between individual thought and public space. It turns out that this encounter of the self with the worlds (his lived experience and that of others), putting himself into play through an aesthetic language (music, poetry…), proves that there is no communication and culture without a biographical subject.

Translation: Zara Pinto-Coelho

Acknowledgements

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Urban Drummers: The Experience of Playing, Being and Feeling in Community

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Abstract

Marching percussion groups are recurrent elements in urban festivities in Brazil and Portugal. Associated with a diversity of traditions, the groups mobilise dozens of players and modify the soundscape of the cities. This article proposes a theoretical discussion about this type of practice, focusing on the meanings its participants give to this musical. Aligned with the perspective of cultural studies, from a bibliographic review and a mapping of

percussion groups activity in the cities of Fortaleza and Braga, we discuss some definitions related to the group's practice and organisation. Some of the topics discussed include the appeal to the notion of community (Amit, 2002; Anderson, 1983/2008; Hall, 1993; Mocellim, 2010) and traditional practices in contemporary times (Giddens, 1990/1996); the informal teaching model based on musical practice and classified under the concept of "community music" (Higgins, 2012; McKay & Higham, 2012; Veblen, 2008); and issues related to sociality (Bauman, 2000/2001; Fernandes, 2005; Maffesoli, 1988/1998), identity (Hall, 1992/2006) and performance (Schechner, 2013) in postmodernity. Focused on the percussion groups, we defined a form of organisation — as a group of teaching and collective musical practice, with a master, a reference in tradition and a strong appeal to the sense of community. We also defined a practice — as hybrid performances, which articulates sacred and secular ritual elements with leisure activities, artistic expressions and the cultural industry.

Keywords

drums, festival, identity, popular music, sociality

Introduction

Popular festivities include musical performances as an indispensable element of animation. They are present in a programmed and well-defined way, on the stages set up by the municipalities, where hired artists are presented, or in improvised spaces for the commemorative parades and street group performances. But also, in a less controlled way, music occupies squares, streets and sidewalks, as street artists at improvised concerts or marching bands, which snaps their *batucadas* or metal orchestras on random routes. In different ways, music occupies and transforms public space.

In contemporary times, as part of annual calendars in large and small cities, popular festivals have a strong appeal to local identities, guided by traditions — although often created or revived recently — but also by appealing to novelty, adding new elements, or transforming ancient forms and practices.

The percussion groups, aimed in this article, have become popular in different contexts, mobilising many musicians (professionals and, especially, amateurs) who started to include the musical practice as an element of their daily lives — by learning how to play the instrument, rehearsing and

performing. Groups also play an important role in establishing social networks, promoting new ways of occupying and experiencing the city and shaping different ways of being and showing themselves.

Based on a bibliographic review and a preliminary mapping of groups working in the cities of Fortaleza (Brazil) and Braga (Portugal), we propose in this article to discuss concepts and approaches for the understanding of the meanings attached to these cultural activities — the marching percussion groups — in contemporary cities and festivals.

Our goal is to problematise the experience in these groups from the participants' perspective. As laid out in this opening, to animate is just a small issue among the debate around musical practices and listening to popular festivals. In a short period of days, the daily lives of cities are modified in such a way that changes the uses and meanings we give to the different spaces, the routines of those who frequent them, the forms of perception, and the experience the daily life. Music acts in these transformations.

This work integrates a doctoral research project, inscribed in the perspective of cultural studies, witch stress issues related to identity, sociality and performance of percussion practitioners in marching percussion bands in Fortaleza and Braga.

The investigation also fits into the activities of *Passeio – Platform for Urban Art and Culture* (http://www.passeio.pt/), a project developed within the scope of the Communication and Society Research Centre (CECS) of the University of Minho. Passeio is an intervention platform in communication sciences, which adopt an interdisciplinary approach to urban culture through the collection, organisation, and dissemination of collective memories, artistic expressions, and cultural activities of everyday life (Correia & Pires, 2018; Correia et al., 2017).

Performance and Ritual

Throughout the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, Western societies have undergone several changes in the way of being, living, and socialising, including industrialisation, technological advances, and the growth of cities as a backdrop.

There was an intense mediatisation of consumption in the musical field, formatting music as a product, establishing a transnational phonographic

industry, radio and TV broadcasts, and, more recently, the diffusion of digital formats via the internet. In a parallel process, music also takes shape in the streets, with the establishment of a live music market consolidated in commercial concerts and festivals, public parties, or informal performances, such as music circles between friends. For Janotti and Pires (2011), media consumption and live music complement. They are connected as elements of the same cultural network (Janotti & Pires, 2011, p. 9).

By focusing on street musical performances and percussion groups, we can distinguish different structures of groups and meanings associated with their practices. It is the case with music as entertainment/art, in which its actors are essentially positioned as artists/musicians, and they consider compositions or its playing as the product of their activity. It is markedly an expression with the author's signature or the group. Another possibility is to conceive music as a traditional cultural manifestation, considered a symbolic/ritual performance. It is to say music materialises a collective expression, perceived more as a symbol and aesthetic expression of a collectivity than an artistic composition.

Guilds such as samba schools or *bombos* groups are, as a rule, associated with collective and traditional festivities. Although they can play commercial songs composed by well-known authors and part of a cultural industry, their performance is strongly linked to collective practice, rites, dances, and sounds that have become cultural symbols of certain groups over time.

The very origin of studies of popular festivals by the social sciences highlights this collective and symbolic character when folklore — dances and music — was extolled as an aesthetic expression of the essential values of isolated communities, which would materialise their identity, practices, and traditions. In other words, their culture (Storey, 2003).

What is the role of these cultural manifestations in contemporary societies? What are the meanings and uses of a *maracatu* or *bombos* performance in the contexts and dynamics of present cities and societies? Is there a real distinction between what is symbolic/collective ritual and what is just entertainment/art? How do these elements come together? Before moving on in this direction, let us discuss the concept of performance itself and its articulating elements.

Performance studies consider that the basis of any performance is ritual and that it invariably lies between utility and entertainment. For Schechner (2013), the meanings of rituals are varied and, at times, contradictory:

> performance originates in the need to make things happen and to entertain; to get results and to fool around; to show the way things are and to pass the time; to be transformed into another and to enjoy being oneself; to disappear and to show off; to embody a transcendent other and to be "just me" here and now; to be in trance and to be in control; to focus on one's own group and to broadcast to the largest possible audience; to play in order to satisfy a deep personal, social, or religious need; and to play only under contract for cash. (p. 81)

Whether in the arts, sports, or everyday life, any performance consists of ritualised gestures and sounds embedded with meaning and repeated even when someone improvises. "Even when we think we're being spontaneous and original, most of what we do and utter has been done and said before – by us even" (Schechner, 2013, p. 52). Understanding the nature of rituals, therefore, is important for our debate.

Drawing a parallel with Saussure's linguistic metaphor, music, like language, does not constitute an individual's original expression, but a way to activate the "vast range of meanings which are already embedded in our language and cultural systems" (Hall, 2006, p. 40).

In short, rituals are a defined and stylised way of acting, embedded with meanings, and able to communicate something and be an event itself (Rappaport, 1979, as cited in Schechner, 2013, p. 53).

Schechner (2013) divides rituals into two broad categories: the secular, associated with ordinary acts, social events, the arts, sports and daily life; and the sacred, related to spirituality or religious beliefs.

Most of the rituals, Schechner (2013) reinforces, mix elements from both categories. Although they are distinct, they can hardly be isolated from each other. Victor Turner (1969, as cited in Schechner, 2013) uses the concept of "liminal" to define this hybrid characteristic (p. 66).

The author also proposes a new possibility of hybridism that rises in contemporary times. He called it "liminoid". In addition to the two liminal combinations (sacred and secular), the liminoid rituals add elements from the arts (positioning themselves as artistic activities), the entertainment industry and fun and leisure performances. "Generally, liminoid activities are voluntary, while liminal rites are obligatory" (Schechner, 2013, p. 67).

Focusing on the groups we intend to study, it is possible to say that they are ritualised collective practices, full of symbolism, with elements of the sacred, as the case of *maracatu*, and festive ones, such as the *bombo* groups and samba schools.

In this way, we point some possible manners to understand the meanings of these groups in contemporary cities: as liminoid rituals, they articulate ritual functions, with secular and/or sacred nature (liminal), entertainment goals, recreation, and even elements of popular music as art.

Music Education and Community

Before moving on to the debate on the meanings of these practices in contemporary times, we may discuss the general structure of a street percussion group. In the mapping carried out in the cities of Braga and Fortaleza, 31 groups and six different manifestations were identified. The Brazilian city has seven active groups of *maracatu*, and part of them have existed for decades, as Maracatu Az de Ouro (since 1936); and others, created in the 21st century, such as Maracatu Solar and Maracatu Nação Fortaleza. *Maracatu* is one of the main references in traditional musical performances in the city.

Several groups not recognised as traditional were further included in the mapping, as part of the range of carnival guilds: the *afoxés*, with four groups; the samba schools, with seven groups; and the *baterias* and general percussion groups, with three bands.

In Braga, music is part of popular traditional performances such as folkloric ranches and toccatas, which parade in festivities such as the Holy Week and São João (Saint John's Eve). Both groups' places percussions as part of their musical instrumentation, but with a secondary role. However, the percussive practice is marked in the *bombos* (bass drum groups), also called "Zés Pereiras" – considered a genuine Portuguese traditional folk band.

There are 10 active *bombo* bands just in Braga. Part of them are linked to secondary schools or scout groups, such as Tim Ca Bombo; or neighbourhood associations, such as the Grupo de Bombos e Cabeçudos da Rusga de S. Vicente group; and university associations, as Bomboémia and iPUM (University Percussion of Minho). A national mapping carried out by the Toca a Rufar (www.tocarufar.com) project identified 350 groups spread across 30 districts in Portugal and six other European countries.

Among the common characteristics shared by groups from both cities besides the percussion as an instrumental base, we can highlight the great formations (with more than 20 instrumentalists) and the joint musical practice that has in public performance a primary element. They also share issues such as hierarchical ordering, which provides for the intervention of a master or teacher, the active participation of group members in the various stages of music-making, and the appeal to the idea of community.

We can also point out the liminoid character of these activities as common traits and the link between performances and popular parties. It is necessary, as well, to discuss two other possible characteristics: (a) they mobilise amateur musicians, therefore excluding professional groups that work properly in the artistic market, in major concerts and music festivals (we will problematise this characteristic shortly); (b) they organise themselves as a kind of community for cultural practice.

On the first topic, we run into a complexity that is characteristic of the present times: these two categories, amateurs and professionals, are confused or mixed in the practice of the group. There is no such clear separation. Even if we consider the way the percussionists themselves recognise each other, we realise that the groups aggregate from beginning practitioners, who have barely started to learn an instrument, to other amateurs with some experience and self-called professional musicians.

In principle, how the groups are structured as communities for cultural practice is also notably hybrid. They act in popular celebrations, moved by a community sense, as representatives of traditions, as cultural producers, inserted in a local artistic and cultural circuit, financed by public notices, and so forth. It is recurrent for the same group to participate in street communitarian performances and formal stage concerts, whether at private or public parties, festivals; or to record discs, sell items with the group's brand, and so forth.

To discuss the measurement of success attributed to professional musicians, Becker (1991/2008) lists a series of parameters, including the spaces where they play, their remuneration, hours of work, and the community's recognition. Perhaps all these elements, to some extent, are also a reference for street percussion groups.

In an attempt to better characterise the form of organisation and performance of these groups, we chose to use the concept of "community music"

(Higgins, 2012; McKay & Higham, 2012; Veblen, 2008). With relevant works published in English-speaking countries, especially since the 2000s, the concept has paved the way for a field of research linked to music education.

Although some authors recognise the difficulties of a single definition of what CM is, due to the diverse use and multiple issues it involves and the initiatives thus framed, names like Veblen (2008) seek to systematise it from a specific music teaching practice.

For Veblen (2008), based on the premise that everyone can create and play music, the groups share some characteristics: they involve a program of active participation at different levels, to create, to perform, to improvise; they are integrated in cultural activities (festivities, ceremonies, concerts); they encourage music as a socially relevant activity, for example, acting to bring people together and contribute to the constitution of their individual and collective identities; they have proposals that are comprehensive enough to encompass diverse objectives (such as social inclusion, integration of immigrants, cultural preservation, religious practice, etc.); bring together people with voluntary participation and the possibility of diverse activities (such as observers, participants, creators or leaders); they appeal to a sense of community in its various possibilities, for instance "geographically situated, culturally based, artistically concerned, recreated, virtual, imagined or otherwise" (p. 8).

To overcome broad descriptions, as in Veblen (2008), and exclude similar activities from what is conceived as CM, Higgins (2012) systematises three possibilities of current uses of the term: "(1) music of a community, (2) communal music-making, and (3) an active intervention between a music leader or facilitator and participants" (p. 3).

Higgins (2012) considers the uses quite generic and centred on an idea of the local community, which shares identity, traditions, aspirations and social interactions. Music of a community refers to music recognised as belonging to a community, culturally located. It is the result of a given local culture. The second point — communal music-making — deals with participation (as a practitioner or audience) in activities aimed at this community's music, whether within the community itself or not, as would be the case of meetings in migrant groups to play their traditional genres. The last possibility pointed out by Higgins (2012) refers to the definition that the author intends to adopt as CM:

> the third perspective suggests that community music may be under-
> stood as an approach to active music making and musical knowing
> outside of formal teaching and learning situations. By formal, I mean
> music that is delivered by professionals in schools, colleges, and
> other statutory organizations through formalized curricula. From this
> third perspective, community music is an intentional intervention,
> involving skilled music leaders, who facilitate group music-making
> experiences in environments that do not have set curricula. (p. 4)

Through this educational bias, we, therefore, have three main points that
typify this practice: informal group teaching, active participation of mem-
bers in making music (which implies the participants themselves decide to
be part of the group and each one is responsible for being there, learning,
playing) and the intervention of a facilitator (in this case, the figure of the
percussion master, more experienced musician or coordinator).

Even so, there is a range of possibilities sheltered by the CM's hat. Addo
(2002, as cited in McKay & Higham, 2012, p. 4) lists possibilities such as mu-
sic groups in community centres, retirement homes, prisons, extra-curricular
projects with children and youth, choirs, orchestras, community bands, mar-
tial bands. We are, therefore, looking for a cut within this universe, approach-
ing the percussion groups linked to traditions and popular festivals.

In an attempt to narrow this focus, we added to the concept of CM, by Higgins
(2012), elements such as street performance; the preponderance of percus-
sion — thus excluding martial marching bands, fanfare, choral singing — and
the strong association of the group with one or more cultural manifestations.

It is possible to find common elements between CM and the so-called com-
munities of practice. In short, both share the idea of learning supported by
the appeal to the sense of community. The difference, however, is that the
communities of practice have a more horizontal dynamic, without the need
for a master or teacher, and have as a binding element the intention to
learn through the sharing of information and joint practice.

The purpose of using the bibliography on CM is not to reduce cultural
events to musical teaching projects or to necessarily group them under
a single model of organisation, but to identify common points that bring
groups together and allow us to compare various kinds of popular manifes-
tations in search of common meanings.

In addition to the musical dynamic itself, another key issue for understanding these groups is the notion of community (and what follows from it). Although there is no single definition adopted for the concept of community in the social sciences, some elements are recurrent in the attempt to conceptualise it: to establishes a community, a collectivity is needed, where values and world views are shared, social relationships, emotional bonds, moral commitment are established, and there is a certain stability of these relationships in time and space (Mocellim, 2010, p. 106). In this sense, the American sociologist Robert Nisbet (1967, as cited in Mocellim, 2010) defines community as a traditional way of life in opposition to the rationalism and individualism of modernity:

> community is a fusion of feelings and thoughts, of tradition and commitment, of adherence and volition. (…) Its archetype, both historically and symbolically, is the family, and in almost every type of true community, the nomenclature of the family is important. (p. 107)

Similarly, for Weber (1922/1987, as cited in Mocellim, 2010, p. 110), the community is a social relationship based on solidarity resulting from emotional or traditional bonds between its members. Tönnies (1995, as cited in Mocellim, 2010, p. 110) opposes the community to the idea of society. While society admits fragmentation and even opposition between groups, the community refers to something more cohesive and positive (Mocellim, 2010).

The metropolis is an expression of individualism, although it comprises many people and groups. In modernity, rationality and novelty gain ground at the expense of the idea of tradition — which refers to permanence, to the repetition of practices shared by the group, to emotional ties that unify a collectivity.

Paradoxically, it is precisely by accentuating the process of urbanisation and multiplication of metropolises in complex societies that the notion of community gains relevance. As highlighted by Vered Amit (2002), unlike societies called "primitive", unitary and isolated, in the contemporary world, the community resonate "as a limited subunit, inextricably but also problematically embedded in wider social and cultural contexts" (p. 2).

Amit (2002) advocates displacing the notion of community as a well-defined social form, dependent on physical limits or long-term relationships, to conceive it as an "idea or quality of sociality" (p. 3). In this sense, we arrive at the notion of community proposed by Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams.

We assume the centrality of communication by adopting a concept of culture as a process linked to the meaning of the world, actions, relationships, experiences — of giving and apprehending meanings. Through communication, meanings are shared, creating a sense of community. Based on Raymond Williams' texts, Hall (1993) thinks of the notion of community as something dynamic, forged in a constant process, inseparable from communication and the notion of culture itself. For Williams (1961, as cited in Hall, 1993):

> human community grows by the discovery of common meanings and common means of communication (...). Thus our descriptions of our experience come to compose a network of relationships, and all our communication systems, including the arts, are literally parts of our social organisation. The selection and interpretation involved in our descriptions embody our attitudes, needs and interests, which we seek to validate by making them clear to others. At the same time the descriptions we receive from others embody their attitudes, needs and interests, and the long process of comparison and interaction is our vital associative life. (p. 352)

To Hall (1993), the sense of community depends more on a constant renewal of ties, values, memories, interaction — whether face-to-face or not — than cohesion and permanence. In this sense, Benedict Anderson's (1983/2008) notion of imaginary communities provides an enormous contribution.

For Anderson (1983/2008), the greater circulation of information, stories, common references, driven by the media, allowed people to share identities and lifestyles. Even if they lived in distant places and did not have the same social nuclei or even knew each other, they shared a common feeling of connection, of belonging to the same community. For Anderson (1983/2008), the clearest example is the idea of a nation, classified as a large, imagined community. The sense of community would therefore go beyond the immediate relationship.

However, Amit (2002) points out that Benedict's work becomes even more potent when associated with Michael Herzfeld's concept of "cultural intimacy". Amit (2002) argues that the author demonstrates how imagined feelings of belonging gain strength in everyday life. We conceive veracity to this feeling of belonging (Amit, 2002, p. 8) from everyday life and face-to-face relationships. Although not all elements of a given community are known, and even if they are spread out, the feeling of belonging materialises in the coexistence between parties who imagine themselves to be members of a community. At this point, as we will see later, we

approximate the idea of community, of music in the community, of what Maffesoli (1988/1998) called "tribe".

From Music Groups to Tribes

Hitherto, we have defined some essential points to understand musical percussion groups, their practices and general contexts: in form, constituted as more or less formalised groups, guided by a teacher, linked to a popular tradition; and in practice, centred on learning, public performing, and appealing for community action, anchored in aesthetic and emotional sharing.

Henceforth, we can discuss the meanings of these group practices and their links to traditions and popular festivals in contemporary times.

As Giddens argues (1990/1996),

> in traditional societies, the past is honoured and symbols are valued because they contain and perpetuate the experience of generations. Tradition is a means of handling time and space, which inserts any particular activity or experience within the continuity of past, present and future, these in turn being structured by recurrent social practices. (p. 37)

Modern societies, however, are marked by constant and rapid change, calling into question the permanence of traditional knowledge, practices and values. National cultures are increasingly hybridised, entangled and interconnected (Welsch, 1999), accentuating this process in postmodernity. There is a growing acceleration in the flow of information, consumer goods and people around the globe, in what Harvey (1989/2008) called the compression of space and time.

For theorists like Bauman (2000/2001), this postmodernity is liquid, marked by the impermanence of things, weakening institutions, superficiality and individualism. The logic of consumption guides social relations (Bauman, 2000/2001).

What would be the role of collective performative activities in traditional practices in this new context? How do practices forged in past community rituals remain current (gaining prominence and mobilising more and more people in contemporary cities)? Who are these subjects who participate in this type of activity, and what meanings are attributed to it?

We start by highlighting two distinct, albeit interconnected, issues: being together (sociality) and showing the self (identity). Maffesoli (1988/1998) makes a counterpoint to thinkers like Bauman, rejecting the idea of a tendency towards individualism. In response to individualism and the so-called crisis of values, or the great narratives, the author proposes a propensity for association in small groups, which he calls "tribes", alluding to the sharing of beliefs, values, identity references and utopias.

On the opposite to the idea of the tribe as isolated, well-defined and long-lasting societies, postmodern urban tribes are ephemeral, appear and fall apart, are fluid, constantly changing, and have blurred boundaries.

The individualism and the logic of consumption guiding social relations, argued by Bauman (2000/2001), are combined with a gregarious need, a search for recognition and achievement of the individual in the collective.

As cities grow larger and larger, housing more and more people from different parts, with a multiplicity of cultural references, tribes bring together groups and foster the idea of being part of a community. Postmodern tribes share affections, memories, sensitivities.

For Maffesoli (1988/1998), studying everyday life involves identifying solidarity networks forged in the face-to-face relationship, the sharing bounds, the collective experiences and memories, which can form true affective nebulae and culminate, in some situations, with an emotional fusion of individuals. Schutz (1951, as cited in Maffesoli, 1988/1998) refers to making music together as an activator of this fusion, as an epiphany in which the collective feeling, the presence of "we", stands out (p. 103).

The common experiences, the shared feelings, the affections cement the relationships built and reinforced in the ephemeral of everyday experience. Maffesoli (1988/1998) suggests a kind of "civil religion", in which the individual starts to make sense for the collective. It is in the collective that he finds his strength.

The percussion groups as a context of sociality, in this sense, would be an agent of sharing, with a strong gregarious appeal, fostering experiences in the urban space. When linked to celebrations and popular performative activities, whether from a local tradition or not, the practices in the groups appeal to the idea of sharing affinities and community belonging. They serve as expressions of localisation of the group and the tribes amid a complex and fragmented society.

The articulation between groups linked to the same cultural expression and other groups and musical practices (and other artistic languages), in each context, leads us to problematise not only the dynamics of the group in the social environment but its connections with other groups, the local context in which the cultural practice takes place, and its integration into the urban space. How do they occupy and transform the city spaces? Understanding the universe of percussion practitioners, therefore, involves the notion of musical/cultural scene (Bennett, 2004; Janotti, 2013; Silver & Clark, 2016; Straw, 1991, 2015).

Shortly, as proposed by Will Straw (1991, 2015), the scenes are contexts in which cultural activities become visible and decipherable, "by rendering it public, taking it from acts of private production and consumption into public contexts of sociability, conviviality and interaction" (Straw, 2015, p. 483).

The study of music scenes is closely linked to the notion of subcultures and tribes, relating cultural practice to space. The "scene", as a concept, guides the study of contexts in which a common cultural practice is established, inscribed in a territory where several other groups and practices can cohabit (Janotti, 2013).

It is worth mentioning here the contribution of Andy Bennett (2004), who points out the possibility of these practices having strictly local expressions, restricted to a city, neighbourhood, and so forth, but also — and in a very systematic way — trans-local, interconnected with other urban spaces, with the circulation of artists, public, and so forth; and virtual, with a strong presence and interactions on the internet.

The notion of "scene" articulated with the dynamics of socialisation in the groups leads us to another topic: identity performances. Unlike isolated or stable and atomised societies, in postmodern tribes, these associations are not dictated by cultural origin or by geography. They are part of complex processes of identity formation in which the subject chooses which ties to strengthen which groups to join.

Identities, previously fixed and coherent, anchored in broad and stable categories such as social class, nationality or race, are now in crisis, displacing the subject's social place. The latter no longer has a fixed and unified identity, becoming fragmented, partial, and capable of articulating different, sometimes contradictory, identity references (Hall, 2006, p.23).

Ultimately, traditions serve as a plot and aesthetic forms of construction, legitimation and expression of identities. They are part of identity processes, as an expression of what defines the subjects, although often mystified, "legendarily narrated, as simple archaic procedures", as Canclini (1984, as cited in Martín-Barbero, 1997, p. 30) points about national cultures.

Articulating identity and sociality, Fernandes (2005) proposes the concept of "aesthetic-communicative power", according to which these associations, this desire to be together, is not only rationalisable but sensitive, driven by an aesthetic power. For the author, it is aesthetics

> that brings together and communicates the different communities within the globality, in which communication, by whatever means, is the guarantee of the most primary being-together, regardless of social contracts and deliberative actions. (Fernandes, 2005, p. 78)

The subject with a "de-centred" identity of late modernity, as summarised by Stuart Hall (1992/2006), creates strategies for stabilising and anchoring his identity. Conscious or not, he seeks in the collective — in the tribes, as Maffesoli (1988/1998) tells us — social legitimation. He activates the feeling of belonging in the group and adheres to collective values and practices, which coincide with an identity that he claims for himself.

However, this identity claimed by the group is also malleable and can change according to this subject's interests or situation. It is not an attempt to return to a past situation of a stable identity but a search for stability aligned whit the subject's present wishes. It is therefore susceptible to the volatility of time.

Batuqueiro's Enunciation: Attempting a Conclusion

It is important to problematise the public character of their presentations to understand musical practices in percussion groups. Musical performance as an expression of identity goes through individual bias as a form of public representation of the self (Goffman, 1975/2002). We can investigate the expressions of that self in the daily relations of the group, the characters that take place in the different moments of conviviality, in the rehearsal meetings, percussions classes, and during the performances, when the public joins the scene. Beyond this, part of this dynamics occurs in post-presentation, at socialising situations, as group parties, bars meetings: "when an individual appears before others, there is, in general, some reason that

leads him to act in a given way in order to give the kind of impression he intents" (Goffman, 1975/2002, p. 13). The shared experience of a performance in the percussion group and music is a practice of showing yourself, an act of projecting yourself to others.

The group is not just a way to learn music and get to know different popular cultures, nor meet people and live with them. It is a gateway to a cultural scene in a city, to feel integrated into a community, legitimise the subject as an actor in these contexts and publicise its experience.

If, on the one hand, there is massification and standardisation of experience by consumption, the "tribes" complexify the meanings and relationships in postmodernity, appropriating the massive and transforming it. The performances in percussion groups are consolidated as liminoid rituals, with voluntary adherence and articulating diverse logics, such as community performance, the arts and selling music as a product. Participation in these groups is desired/offered and bought/sold.

In this article, we move forward to define a type of musical practice that belongs to different urban contexts and is associated with different cultural expressions. Focused on percussion groups, we define a form/structure — organised as a group of collective musical learning and performing, including a master or musical leader, anchored in a popular tradition and appealing to the sense of community; and a practice — as hybrid performances, which articulate sacred and secular ritual elements with the logic of leisure activities, artistic expressions and commercial activities.

We point out possible ways to understand these practices in contemporary cities, in which the consumption of popular music occurs through musical practice itself. The boundaries between production and consumption are blurred. We can place these drummers in the category of so-called "prosumers" (Canclini et al., 2012, as cited in Herschmann & Pegoraro, 2017, p. 83).

Whether on their repertoire, the places they perform, or the discourse they evoke on traditional practices, they are linked. The percussion groups add a strong symbolic charge to the musical practice. Group practice is conceived in the appeal to these symbolisms, drumming, and public and collective performances. From articulating these multiple elements, identity and gregarious appeal of affective sharing occur.

Percussion groups — and the cultural scenes in which they are consolidated — works as sources of multiple mediations, as proposed by Martín-Barbero

(1997) and Orozco Gómez (2005). They are spaces for the mediation of community/commercial logics, ritual/artistic/commercial, between past/present times, between the culture of the others/ours.

Instead of analysing only the musical dynamics and symbolic contents evoked by these performances, we propose to understand these practices from everyday life, investigating their meanings in the daily lives of percussionists.

Translation: Fábio Marques

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The Tourist Era in the City of Porto: Enchantment, Suspension and (Un)Sustainability

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Abstract

This text explores some angles of touristic time in Porto and how it affects the passage of time in the city and the time experienced by its residents. This short journey back in time through Porto, an attempt is made to describe and reflect upon three main eras: that of a city enchanted by tourism, a time marked by fantasy, growth, and wonder; the decline of the city brought about by a drastic decrease in the number of tourists due

to constraints imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic; and the city on hold, waiting for the pandemic to blow over and desperately awaiting the return of the hustle and bustle of tourism. The text discusses some of the implications of touristic time and how it can be less favourable to time experienced by people and employed by social and economic projects aiming for rapid tourist conversions. This conclusion is a common thread through studies conducted in tourism, leading to discussions about the (un)sustainability of voracious tourism, made even more pressing by the pandemic and the resulting future starting to materialise in terms of experiential tourism mobility and interaction.

Keywords

Introduction

The city is a space-time filled with history, memory and projections of the future. Built-up over time, time also accumulates in the folds of a city, visible in its ability to produce expectations, structure and steer the lives of both people and things (Fortuna, 1999, 2009). This article is an observational analysis carried out to explore some of the implications and challenges of the touristification process of the city of Porto. A particular focus is placed on the erasure of living memories from locations that have been reconfigured and transformed and the intense historical "accident" caused by the capitalist overexploitation of times and places within the city, particularly from 2000 onwards. By the turn of the century, Porto, like many other cities, had established itself as having enormous touristic potential. Tourism became a significant focus, overlapping with the city's development as a transnational business centre and the land of cosmopolitan consumption. With tourism-related activities growing to industrial levels, recent years have seen an intense demand for infrastructures and locations to provide accommodation, restaurants, transport, recreational activities and cultural events (Costa, 2018).

What happened, in effect, was that Porto became an attractive tourist city thanks to its natural and cultural characteristics, in addition to its historical and geographical features (put simply, proximity to the airport and a port). An enchanting location thanks to the capacity of places and times to be enjoyed in endless combinations between pleasure and profit, the city has

been stunned over the last few years by passengers, tourists and fortuitous consumers who have not been inclined to stay. An unforeseen event then came to alter this timeline of the city's overexploitation, the COVID-19 pandemic. These places became void of tourists, consumers of everything and/or nothing — a magical source of diverse profitability, and Porto Dot (Porto.)[1] would wake up day after day to face the nightmare that was the pandemic. The erosion of interactions, exchanges and reciprocities upon which tourism feeds began to empty the city of its touristic charm. Since then, the depressed city has become a "Porto morto" (dead Porto), the most dystopian imagery painted by inhabitants and long-term residents who witnessed the flash of linear, overwhelming, totalising tourism activity in the city. This paper also aims to scrutinise tourist operations (un)sustainability based on capitalistic models of over-exploitation by investing in geographic mobility tourism. The analyses carried out and conclusions reached shall be based on records of observations made at various times over the past few years, at the most significant spatio-temporal reconfigurations encountered. By acknowledging space and time as phenomena produced by culture and society (Araújo, 2020) and using ethnographic information and photographic material produced on this itinerary, a brief journey through the city takes place in an attempt to retrieve various levels of time — from historical, social and subjective to experiential — and its effects on urban and tourist dynamics.

The City, Tourism And Time

An extraordinary aspect to consider when thinking about the time-tourism dyad is how tourism is defined by the ephemeral character of the experience it enables. Bauman (1998/1999, 2006/2007, 2007/2008) classified tourism as charmingly liquid, attractive; extraordinary activities are undertaken in ordinary everyday life. For him, along with other authors (Cohen, 1984; Urry, 1994, 2002, 2011), tourism has this compelling characteristic of cutting through banal time, allowing for different times and spaces to be enjoyed, deepening memory, culture and reflection, whether historically loaded or not. However, according to Harvey (2001, 2013, 2016), tourism has become even more central to modern societies because it provides a time and space to exorcise the tension continuously imposed by daily life. Tourism and the wide range of possibilities it provides throughout the year, in any number of places or spaces, is the space-time in which to savour the

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1 Reference to the logo adopted by the municipality, as can be seen in Aires (2017).

extraordinary, to press pause on routine and find an instant escape from the rhythm that petrifies our day to day lives.

Fluidity, variation and constant change are provided to tourists continuously, whereas they are merely passing features of ordinary societal life (Bauman, 2003/2006, 1995/2007). Cities followed this movement, particularly those whose "natural" qualities highlight the benefits of their consumption to even greater extents. These cities — and Porto is no exception — were consumed due to their instantaneous nature. They offered themselves up, all their times and spaces, in an ephemeral yet continuous way. With their commercial view trained on short-term results, cities were targeted with interventions and renovations based on an "urban entrepreneurship" logic. These changes were marked by the ennoblement and enhancement of the once degraded historic centres of cities on the one hand (Harvey, 2001, 2008), but which also threw cities into a deep, multileveled, multitemporal identity crisis on the other, in which times and spaces were manipulated, displaced, invented and fictionalised. Widespread interventions created a physical landscape and distinctive and aestheticised historical geography through speculative construction founded in the highly speculative relationship between public and private, all boiling down to "improving" a city's image, to the detriment of improving its living conditions (ways of life, schools, health services, security, etc.; Harvey, 2001, 2003, 2008). Many of these innovations and investments have been reproduced in numerous other European cities (Harvey, 2001), resulting in a "uniformity of the scenery, visible in the modernisation of old streets, applying colours and shapes to objects (goods) to make them attractive" (Lefebvre, 1970/2003, p. 30). As such, and as a result of strategies employed over the past 2 decades to appropriate and reappropriate space (Lefebvre, 1970/2003), cities have been *Disneyfied* (Harvey, 2001) and used as space-times of fleeting consumption.

Theoretical approaches converge on the idea of transforming historic cities into centres of consumption and entertainment, of sampling the intangible. They, therefore, become space-times of experiential hyper-consumption (Lipovetsky & Charles, 2004; Zukin, 1995) overloaded with signs and images that increasingly transform elements within a city into mere objects of interest to the "tourist gaze" (Featherstone, 2007; Urry, 2002). In effect, what is being suggested is that tourism, the great metaphor for postmodernity (Bauman, 1998/1999), has appropriated and capitalised on the uniqueness, identity, memory and authenticity of space and time — the historical, the social, lived experience and life experienced.

Some authors believe that historic cities and their environments have changed, never to return to what they once were (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). As a result of losing the essence of spaces and times carried throughout history, cities fall into an identity limbo. In this limbo, a city no longer belongs to residents, who do not recognise their city or themselves within it, but also fails to be transferred to the tourists who consume it, experience and inhabit it at speed, whether more or less intensely. A manifestation of this limbo is the conversion of historic buildings, local commerce, and residents' dwellings into spaces designed to respond exclusively to the needs of tourists (Baptista & Pujadas, 2000; Baptista et al., 2018; Boavida-Portugal & Kastenholz, 2017; Law, 1992; Lipovetsky & Charles, 2004; Pavel, 2017), therefore forcing residents to become clients and/or spectators of the city.

Perfectly aligned with the principles of capitalist exploitation of a city's space and time, the symbols of its identity — its emblems, memories, stories and heritage — are then placed on the market through tourist marketing, which is nothing more than an attempt to sell the city itself, in which visitors are promised experiences that cannibalise the city's identity and the ways of life within it. The critical view provided by several authors (Bruner, 1991; Jacques, 2003; Peixoto, 2003; Santos, 2007) emphasises the fact that culture thus becomes a strategy through which a brand image is designed. As part of this strategy, culture gains a highly competitive and communicational value, with a *folklorisation* of cultural practices and goods taking place and communities' social practices and traditions being staged to provide creations and exhibitions desired by tourists. According to some authors, this process corresponds to a staging of material and immaterial traces, which can be converted into virtual performances (Silva, 2000). As a result, places are going on to be considered "stages of performed sociability on which daily life is staged" (Peixoto, 2003, p. 221), transforming communities into a kind of theme park or tourist attraction (Collins, 2018; Hoffman, 2003).

The movement is all-encompassing, complete, libidinal because, as MacCannell (2020) suggests, "the causal forces at the heart of the tourism economy are entirely imaginary and symbolic" (p. 21). They objectify the city, personify and personalise it, filling it with humanity, and, at the same time, make it a (non)place of travel, of disconnection, ignorance and mystery. In this sense, the city takes on characteristics that make it ideal for tourism, as it becomes a place of pleasure, danger, occasion and threat that "fuels excitement and tiredness, handing around snacks on a tray" (Bauman, 1995/2007, p. 144). The instantaneous (Harvey, 2013) dominates the dialogue of the deaf taking place between those from the city and those not

from it, like a powder that dissolves continuously in intoxicating fluids, even if harshly, or brutally, real for those whose daily lives are lived within the city as residents. The former sees the city as a *Lebenswelt* (lifeworld) aware of the depths of its history and memory. At the same time, the latter consumes the city at speed, in circumstances when tradition no longer calls for repetition, loyalty and the revival of what is done and has become "a product of nostalgic or folk consumption, a glimpse into the past, an *object-trend* (…) of which the value limits itself to being purely aesthetic, emotional and playful" (Lipovetsky & Charles, 2004, p. 94).

Extensive literature by Simmel (1997), Bachelard (1958/2005), Lefebvre (1986), Certeau (1994) and others (Fortuna, 1999, 2009; Pais, 2010) has shown the value of experiences undertaken by social subjects in appropriating a city's space-time, and space and time in general. A city open to the "tourist era" is open to tourists in an equally chronological, subjective and experiential sense. The amount of time a tourist spends in this space-time leaves its mark on the city's landscape, as does their perception and appreciation of time and space. From this perspective, the city, though invisibly, fragments into narratives made up of the memories, desires, frustrations, and illusions in the minds of the tourists themselves, who, in turn, have diverse sociodemographic profiles, trajectories, and social statutes, each of which impact on the way they experience time and place in a city (Cohen, 1984; Urry & Crawshaw, 1995). Far from being an amorphous mass, tourists encompass a universe of experiences and choices made about the city: those that come back to a city, several times a year or year after year; those who come across it mid-trip to somewhere else; and those who make their way through the city in passing, only to return one day in the future, in a different phase of their own life (Cohen, 2001; Marujo, 2016; Urry, 1994, 1990/1996). As stated by Amir et al. (2014), tourists are attracted to a location for multiple reasons, from the cuisine to its landscapes, to the draw of visiting family and/or acquaintances and going in search of excitement (Elias & Dunning, 1985/1992). What draws them to the city is a crucial factor to consider, as it is critical to determining the length of their stay. In effect, "everything a tourist observes and experiences in a destination can be considered an experience, be it of a behavioural nature, of perception, expressed or implied" (Marujo, 2016, p. 11). As such, a city that opens itself up to tourism opens itself to competitions aiming to increase the duration of tourist "stays" for the longer they stay, the higher the probability of consumption.

Methodology

Several alternative methodologies could be employed to attempt to approach a city and time experienced within it in order to understand what Helena Pires (2014) calls "past-past (irreversible) times, but also memory (which does not take us back to past events rather, updates them), and the present-past-times of change and those that are long-lasting (qualitative time)" (p. 104). In effect, a city is made up of multiple, overlapping times, which are sometimes in tune with each other, sometimes at odds. It means that several epistemological and methodological decisions have been stumbled upon while studying the phenomenon of tourism in a city. These are especially applicable here, as this paper aims to assess how the city changes over time, reconfiguring itself in a different space-time — one that is potentially alien to some and familiar to others, resulting in diverse dynamics, among which are relationships of power and exploitation.

Specific methods of looking at the city and documenting its passage through time must be employed to apprehend the dynamics of the passage of historical time in multiple physical spaces, which is also, to some extent, the passage through the time of a *voyeur* or flaneur (as described by Simmel, 1997). Among others, and as explained by Agar (1985), participatory and direct observation presents itself as a particularly adequate methodology, as it allows for authors to experience places for themselves, gaining sensory views of space and time. After all, Pires (2008) states:

> concrete spaces underpin urban landscapes, which are endowed with specific functions that are permanently being reconfigured due to social, political, economic and cultural transformations. In this perspective, to perceive a landscape is, therefore, to recognise the dominant paradigms that produce this viewable scenario, an image that should be observed as a form of symbolic domination, with a mediated gaze. (p. 761)

By employing this methodology, which positions the gaze employed as being from within the city's own space and time — that of its residents and their identities — it becomes possible to follow and register the construction and deconstruction processes that take place over time. A dynamic perspective is developed from photography and other records that leave their mark on the passing and changing of time. Still citing Pires (2014),

> observing the city's streets for a long time is a practice to which only tourists dedicate themselves, or those who, for a particular reason, decide to break with their daily routine to fix their gaze on details most often diluted amid an indistinguishable mass of signs. (p. 104)

Sure, this is a qualitative methodology (Flick, 2002), but it encompasses the intrinsic nature of a city lived experience, registered through photography. In fact, an increase in interest in visual methods has been registered in recent years (Heng, 2017). Particularly applicable to space studies, photography as a data collection technique is essential to understanding the changes in cities (Ferro, 2005). As an instrument of social investigation (Torre & Ferro, 2016), photography can be understood as text that uses visual elements to communicate rather than words, transmitting information about a particular aspect of society (Smith, 2017).

The direct observation technique employed resulted in creating a repository of 1,261 photographs taken between May 2017 and October 2019, depicting gazes over the same places, multiplied over a timeframe of 3 years — 2017, 2018 and 2019. In 2020, the pandemic led to the need for further investigation, leading researchers back out into the field. The result made it possible to compare and record the transformations that have taken place in the territory over the years, once again fixing the camera's gaze on the same space-time, which includes streets and buildings. The gaze here is trained on the landscape, marked by a register established with a basis on previously outlined criteria, while also affected by impulses felt as a result of observations made.

The information gained through conversations, contact with residents, specifically in cafés, at demonstrations run by residents and at residents' meetings was brought together and presented alongside the photographs. Nine semi-structured interviews were conducted, guided by a script and audio-recorded, having gained the consent necessary to do so. Some excerpts from answers given to open questions provided in response to a questionnaire issued more recently are also used in this analysis.

The following text is an account of the time-travelling expedition embarked on by the authors, revisiting the places where time passes and erodes memory in multiple ways. These memories have been retrieved and recorded by the camera with two aims. The first is to reveal the contradictions and tensions brought to the city by the growth of tourism and its residents' resulting pain. The second is to point to Porto's potential as a city that, following

the complete lack of tourism faced as a result of the pandemic, recognises the need for a long-term, sustainable plan for tourism to be drawn up in place of the short-term exploitation and extraction seen up until that point.

Thus, and as a result of the theoretical framework presented, the text that follows shall make three main stops in time: (a) the enchanted city, (b) the accelerated city, and (c) the waiting city. The first two are related to the researchers' and residents' view of the city that multiplied the spaces and times dedicated to tourism and tourists. The last refers to the city lying in wait for the pandemic to blow over, desperate for the movement and frenzy of the instantaneous nature of tourism, starting to come apart at the seams.

The Enchanted City

A process of urban renewal has been deployed in Porto over the last 2 decades, stimulated by the tourism development in the city. This renovation has resulted in tradition and authenticity mixing with modernity and innovation in what some authors consider a positive revival (Pereira, 2016), while others believe it has merely repeated the processes of *folklorisation* and *Disneyfication* of the city (Fernandes, 2011a, 2011b).

The tendency (and temptation) of framing it as enchanted by tourism is widespread throughout the city. Like so many others in Europe, it has been honed and transformed to meet the tourists and tourism alike needs. The photograph in Figure 1 expressively documents how tourism has donned the instantaneous city.

It has done so in passing but made sure it is "enchanted", providing "gifts" and the "Porto dot" logo painted in blue, like a heavenly metaphor of the city that (does not) exist. The first photograph (Figure 1) used to document this journey through time in the city has been entitled "towards the enchanted city".

Figure 1 Towards the enchanted city (Christmas, 2018, on Rua dos Clérigos).
Credits. Márcia Silva.

This photographic record contains arrows pointing to the city of fruition and consumption, allowing for chronological time to be confronted continuously. Porto, this city that undresses and dresses back up for tourism, was explored several times. Therefore, markers of the passing time were rendered into memory using photography; old buildings, formerly shops, now converted into modern restaurants, bars, shops and temporary accommodation (Ramires et al., 2016).

In 2018, sun-bleached sheets of paper glued to the windows of Talho dos Clérigos butchers shop were peeling away, the tape struggling to hold them up, it too having been worn away by rays of sunlight. The information "closed for construction" (Figure 2) dictated the end of the butcher's, at least as it had been up until then.

By 2019, time had taken away the independent local shop, replacing it with the international chain Starbucks (Figure 3), a carbon copy found replicated in many other locations around our globalised world.

Figure 2 Towards decline (2018).
Credits. Márcia Silva

Figure 3 Standardisation (2019).
Credits. Márcia Silva

Along with the photographs taken and experiences gained in transit through the city, the residents' voices also speak of when their neighbourhood stores were taken and the city's traditional commerce handed over to tourism companies. According to its residents, the process "mischaracterises the city, making us just one more among so many others throughout Europe", a "hollow city". As a result, some respondents admitted that they avoid certain parts of the city because of the "obvious lack of characterisation of the streets and establishments", the "complete conversion of commerce, which is now entirely directed towards tourism", filled with "trinket shops for tourists".

The next photo tells the story of Casa Oriental, an old grocer's (Figure 4) that gave way to a cannery, "a conserveira do Porto" (the Porto cannery; Figure 5).

"The residents' voices also speak of when their neighbourhood stores were taken"

Márcia Silva, Rita Ribeiro and Emília Araújo

Figure 4 A Casa Oriental Shop (2009).
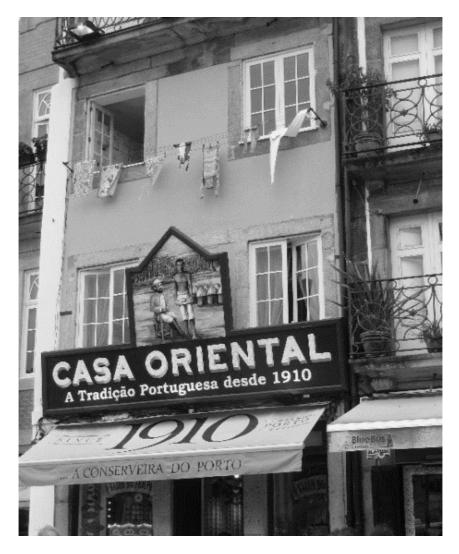Source. Google Maps © 2009 Google.

Figure 5 A Casa Oriental Shop (2019).
Credits. Márcia Silva.

In 2009, the shop's facade was marked by a sheet hung out of the window on a washing line and a shop sign stating, "Casa Oriental – Tea, coffee and chocolate", depicting the first products sold at the grocer's, in 1910.

The grocers would lose its fight against time in 2016 when it finally closed down. One of the people approached as part of the study described trying

to rescue the memory of Casa Oriental before it was converted, expressing how difficult it is for the residents to bear witness to their city's memories being erased like that. Laura (face-to-face interview, May 31 2018), who lives in the city's historic centre, spoke nostalgically about the day the grocer's closed down. She remembers its last day being around Christmas time, and she went there to pick up the "last cod they had": "I went there for my Christmas cod to remember what it was like, to have one last memory", because "now it's just tourism. Things are very expensive, it's just for tourists".

In 2019, the experience of walking through the city was taken over, monopolised by its live performance. Instead of a sheet, the washing line bore smaller pieces of clothing, placed there on purpose as intentional decorations on the building's facade in an attempt at "typicality" and "genuineness". The message on the sign had lived on, but the lexicon and grammar were different: now the words served to invoke the tradition built at the Casa Oriental, the shop's opening year stated to mark the passing of time, exoticising it to some extent. Inside, it is entirely unrecognisable: the tea, coffee, chocolate and cod have disappeared, replaced with racing time encapsulated in cans, the same ones that can be found sold in every tourist city across the country.

"Residents distance themselves from the Disneylandification of the city"

Márcia Silva, Rita Ribeiro and Emília Araújo

Figure 6 Clotheslines as performance pieces (2018).
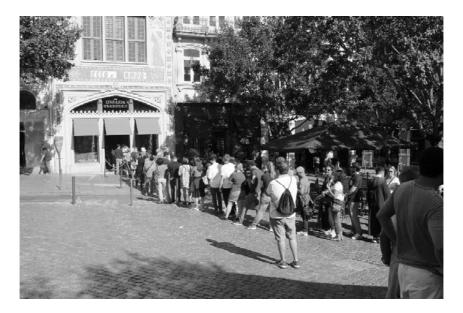Credits. Márcia Silva.

Figure 7 Lello Bookshop (2019).
Credits. Márcia Silva.

By delving further and further into the tourist city through observation, photographs or direct contact with its residents, the existence of a strange city marked by "spaces of representation" (Richards & Wilson, 2006) is intensified. It stimulates performances, ready to create the illusion of time spent in the fleeting time remaining as a result of a growing "symbolic economy" in a simulated universe where everything seems real and where nostalgia continually revives meaning and myth, as described by Baudrillard (1981/1991).

Residents distance themselves from the *Disneylandification* of the city because "[they] run the risk of becoming a circus. Things are created and experienced in an attempt to maintain a tradition for the mere purpose of proving that we have tradition" (Tiago, face-to-face interview, February 11 2020; Figure 6).

In this sense, new spaces, especially their facades, are designed to produce feelings; enchantment, amazement and admiration, mirroring the aim of conditioning how traditions are experienced and feed fantasies. According to Foucault (1967/1984), who defines them as spaces of illusion and fruition, heterotopies are proposed and nurtured. Lello Bookshop (Figure 7) is

another example of capitalising on "another" time — staged like a museum and presenting itself as a tourist attraction.

To get into the shop, both residents and tourists have to pay for a ticket and wait in the long line that stands as persistent proof of its popularity, the model tourist attraction.

Dead Porto. A City Faster Than Time

While tourism, in general, is linked to the positive effects produced by a dynamic economy and urban rehabilitation, the perception residents have of the phenomenon presents with innumerable contradictions and het-erogeneities, as noted in previous studies (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010; Remoaldo et al., 2015; Tatoglu et al., 2002; Tichaawa & Moyo, 2019). The tourist era means a whirlwind of city "clean-ups" of its evils and diversions, such as drugs, prostitution and the like, which look bad to tourists, as well as any buildings not yet touched by renovation. Vacant spaces are resurrect-ed, and the city itself is forced to fight time itself. However, in its speediness, tourism diverts the city from its timeline, neutralising essences and life

"Images that oppose the "Porto." brand can be seen throughout the city"

Márcia Silva, Rita Ribeiro and Emília Araújo

Figure 8 Morto. (2019).
Credits. Márcia Silva.

Figure 9 Is Porto dead? (2019).
Credits. Márcia Silva.

itself; it kills all of it by employing the sped-up time experienced by people who move about without stopping, making contact or coexisting. Margarida (face-to-face interview, November 5 2019) says there may be many people in the city now, but its life is gone because people wander, but they do not walk, they have no purpose, no urgency making them run to catch the bus. Instead, every person is conditioned, equal, standardised, experiencing the repetitive reflex of tourist routes through the city. The city sees its original frenzy die, and it has all changed a lot for Margarida.

Images that oppose the "Porto." brand, rhyming the name of the city with "Morto." (dead.), can be seen throughout the city, on walls, pavements and facades (Figure 8).

In demonstrations, residents are seen clutching posters reiterating the rhyme (Figure 9).

Although crowds now populate the city's streets, the "permanent" urban space has given way to one that is "temporary", the speed of daily life in

the city having been altered, converted into a transitional space people only experience in passing, at breakneck speed. Fernando Matos Rodrigues (2021) expressed this idea in an article published in the newspaper *Sol*, "how was it possible to destroy a city in such a short space of time? These last few years have been of hammering, bringing down houses, memories, people, families, economies dating back centuries" (para. 8). Because of how tourism and tourists dominate time, residents create new routines, employing other times and spaces in which to have their own experiences of a city they do not want to consume, but "live in", even if it means avoiding the centre at night, walking through it in the morning instead.

The Fracturing: A City on Hold

Information collected before the COVID-19 pandemic pointed to a particular concern felt among residents as to the city's future. Residents confided that they feared the "streets would become ghost-streets" (Luísa, interview, May 17 2018) and that there is a "lack of sustainability of the model used (too much is invested in tourism thinking about its implications and consequences in the medium and long term)". As a result, "people are moving away from the centre", and the "essence of Porto" is lost. After all, as stated by Margarida (face-to-face interview, November 5 2019):

> these people [the residents] disappeared, they moved to other places, other locations, and now the concern is what will happen when this tourism boom really disappears, what will happen to the areas now occupied by them [tourists], reserved for tourist accommodation. The former residents have changed their ways, and they won't go back to where they started.

The pandemic has intensified and clarified perceptions of tourism in Porto, leaving deep marks on the city and communities, whose times and lives have changed due to the influence of tourism's own time. In this sense, the expression "Porto is dead" gains a new perspective regarding the COVID-19 pandemic. Tourist numbers have decreased, and even in periods when lockdown has been lifted, the city has been empty, as if forecasting the post-tourism "ghost town" to come.

That can be seen on Avenida D. Afonso Henriques, which leads up to Porto Cathedral and the Ribeira neighbourhood, where tour buses would often park (Figure 10), leading to thousands of people, primarily tourists, converging here.

Figure 10 The city "inhabited" by tourism (2018).
Credits. Márcia Silva.

Figure 11 The city uninhabited by tourism (2020).
Credits. Márcia Silva.

Figure 12 Ribeira on hold (2020).
Credits. Márcia Silva.

During the pandemic in October 2020 (Figure 11), there were no buses here, and as a result, no tourists.

Along with a dramatic reduction in the number of tourists, the streets are empty, the cafés and restaurants with outdoor seating areas dotted around the city closing down or barely surviving on the few tourists and residents left. One of the cases observed is down by the river itself, a once-bustling location with outdoor seating areas filled to the brim with people vying for a view over the Douro River. In the picture (Figure 12), the seating areas are closed, umbrellas are folded, and chairs lie in wait.

The pandemic paused the city: the flow of people, residents and visitors, cultural activities, and economic prosperity. However, the tourist era has not come to an end just yet; we have reached the interval, with events placed on hold, waiting expectantly for normality to return. The city has been put in neutral. Cities are now revealing the effect of an absence of people, the very same people they had given themselves up to in previous years, like never before. The visible effects felt are corroborated by numbers[2] (Instituto

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2 A comparison between the first half of 2019 and the first half of 2020 shows a reduction of 1,357,295 overnight stays in the city of Porto.

Nacional de Estatística, 2020), the pandemic highlighting the fragile nature of tourist attractions based on the capitalistic over-exploitation of spaces (European Commission, 2018) when faced with a catastrophe (such as this one) that affects mobility and personal interactions (Gámez et al. 2012; Pforr & Hosie, 2008).

Papers written on tourism and the pandemic have grown exponentially in the last year (Foo et al., 2020; Karabulut et al., 2020; Korinth & Ranasinghe, 2020; Qiu et al., 2020; Uğur & Akbıyık, 2020), converging towards revealing the vulnerability brought to places and populations when they become over-reliant on jobs and an economy linked to tourism (Benjamin et al., 2020). Having pressed pause on geographical mobility, the effects of the catastrophe have spread to all kinds of operations built around short-term profits in cities with vast cultural wealth. The outlook is bleak for airlines, hotels (Foo et al., 2020) and local accommodation. Like other cities, from San Francisco to Toronto, Porto's empty streets and hotels await a severe crash of the market built around the tourist era (Schaal, 2020).

Concluding Note

This text has briefly assessed the tourist era in Porto and its effects on things, spaces and the experienced time of the city and its inhabitants.

Harvey (2008, 2013) explains that capital-driven cities easily condemn their time to the short-term goals of surplus-value. They throw residents out, dress themselves up attractively and are purposely modernised for outsiders and foreigners — whether traders, business people or tourists. This city is eager to meet their immediate needs, providing an escape from routines and intense but fleeting sensory experiences. Much remains to be studied about how cities, their inhabitants, and policymakers conceive, interpret and value the collective time within a city and the heritage accumulated and reproduced within it in the form of "experiences" (Koselleck, 2014).

Therefore, two main concepts were demonstrated on this short journey through Porto, particularly since 2017, when this photographic repository of the city began. On the one hand, structural ideas were conveyed through the comprehensive nature of sociology, especially those inherited from Simmel and Lefebvre. They see everyday space and time as dynamic "structures" of meaning, experience and constant relocation of subjects at various levels of time. On the other, this journey has demonstrated how the experience of an observer, equipped with solid proof in the shape of photography

and narratives, can lead from case to case and street to street, in an observation of how tourism and tourist times can be less favourable to time experienced by people and that employed by social and economic projects aiming at rapid tourist conversions. This conclusion is a common thread through studies in tourism, leading to discussions about (un)sustainability. However, the pandemic has made the matter ever more pressing, and the resulting future is starting to materialise in terms of experiential tourism, mobility and interaction.

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Urban-oriented sensory analysis has a long tradition within the social sciences. However, in communication and cultural studies research, the sensorial orientation is still incipient. This publication is part of an ongoing call by Passeio, the platform for the study of art and urban culture of the Communication and Society Research Centre, for an organicist vision of the city, underlining the need to re-signify the role of the senses in the experience of everyday contemporary urban life. This book includes theoretical and/or empirical contributions from researchers in sociology, communication and cultural studies, who explore three fundamental questions: (a) the effects of the tourist era under the COVID-19 pandemic, (b) the role of music in the production of places and socialities; and (c) the importance of ambiances in the constitution of a carnal relationship with the city.

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