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Editorial

Atmospheres and Mobility

An Introduction

Rainer Kazig, Damien Masson, Rachel Thomas

Atmospheres, Mobility: An Implicit Connexion to be Made Explicit

For at least the last fifteen years, research carried out in social science and focusing on movement of individuals and their physical, political, social and cultural dimensions, etc. have strongly contributed to renewing transport studies and to stabilizing the field of mobility. This field, which crosses disciplinary approaches, contributed to the widening of some restrictive perspectives to mobility that would primarily or solely consider displacement (as getting moved from A to B) on the one hand, or, on the other hand, a change of social status within society that would be determined by an environment (developed, social or professional). Mobility characterizes all that exists around displacement and physical movement, may that be infrastructure, relationship, power, spatiality, and so on. More broadly, mobility refers to what makes displacement possible and, reversely, to what displacement makes possible. In that sense, mobility encompasses culture, meaning, representations, bodies and their sensory issues. Meanwhile, the growing interest towards senses, affect and atmospheres in the humanities and social science also contributes to extending the investigations and thematic openings inherent to mobility studies.

Atmospheres refer to the physical qualities of sensory phenomena surrounding human bodies, as well as to the potential to seize them, while being immersed into them. As they also characterize the “pervading tone or mood of a place, situation” (Oxford Living Dictionaries English 2018), atmospheres carry out affect and meaning, and therefore describe not only a material, social or sensory situation, but also our relationship and representations to it. French and German Social Science and Humanities broadly approached atmospheres following two major distinct paths: phenomenological and aesthetical (Augoyard 1995, Griffero 2014, Böhme 2016, Schmitz 2016), ecological and praxeological (Amphoux 1998, Thibaud 2004). British geographers proposed the notion of “affective atmospheres” (McCormack 2008, Anderson 2009) which refer more directly to the tone of a situation that might, on the one hand, emerge from the presence of bodies, but, on the other hand, can also be linked to an idea (e.g. a *neoliberal atmosphere*) that might not necessarily be connected to specific sensory settings, or human presence at all.

We consider atmospheres as a comprehensive approach to situated practices as they articulate the problem of individual-specific ways of doing, perceiving and feeling with that of the sensory qualities of the environments in which they live, act, interact, play… and move. Therefore, mobility opens its scope and focus to issues of movement, motion and motricity, and considers issues of physical displacement as well as the required motor, sensory and cognitive abilities to perform such an activity. Taking into account these dimensions opens the question of the emotional states and of the modes of attention to the environment, and how these are affected by mobile practices. Atmosphere refers to a qualified space-time (Thibaud 2004), and has an effective power on motion and perception. Indeed, feeling and moving are co-constitutive, and motion is fundamental to feeling and perception, as our bodies sense differences (Gibson 1986, Straus 1992), and, reversely, motion could not happen without sensing. As they qualify the sensory background to any material and social situation, atmospheres contribute to putting individuals on the move – simply consider the moving effect of music on some of the listener's muscles, on the one hand, and the embodied intensity carried out through mobilized bodies dancing collectively in festive atmospheres, on the other hand. Another, and more subtle example, is the atmospheric power of flows of people, that gives a corporeal order to space, which has to do with rhythm and 'obvious quasi-choreography', with which bodies might – or not – attune to use as a resource to act (Goffman 1963, Ryave and Schenken 1975, Bordreuil 2004). Therefore, the subjectivity, corporeity, and positionality of these bodies all contribute to question their (un)ability to such an attunement. Atmospheres are therefore neither carried out through a simple signal, nor experienced using a single sense. Atmospheres are processual, they go along space and time, are characterized by lability, modulation, and relate to – socialized, culturalized, racialized, gendered, etc. – bodily presence. Any atmosphere results from an arrangement between the material, sensorial and social elements that constantly compose, recompose, modulate, or even transform themselves brutally. And mobility – in all its forms and at its different scales – shapes experiences, which are constantly modulated through affects, moods and to the sensory resources of the environment. Motion, and by extension, mobility is therefore a *sine qua non* condition of the atmosphere. Then, taking the environment and the very modes of attention and of relationship to it as a starting point makes the detour by the notion of atmosphere, nonetheless heuristic, but also useful. Indeed, the focus on the sensitive qualities of the environments in which individuals are immersed helps to widen the potential registers of understanding mobility. Moreover, this approach goes beyond an understanding of the environment as a (sensory) container of mobile activities as it necessarily stresses the interplay between sensory configurations and practices. To illustrate, it could be asked: how does the very nature of a pavement, the blinding effect of the morning sun, the void but still reverberant sonic quality of an empty underground station at night, and so on, contribute to the way one might move and experience space and place? Reversely, how does this perceiving and moving act continually reshape the sensory environment? And how does the sensory power of situated bodies and the multiple ways they act contribute to alter a situation? And how then, for example, do moving bodies radiate and affect their environment, might this one be composed and re-composed at the nexus of sensory, human and built dimensions? Therefore, the relationship enacted while moving might be considered as going back and forth between humans and non-human agents forging a constantly renewed environment and its atmospheric-scape.

Bridging Atmospheres & Mobility: Three Challenges

By exploring the overlap between atmospheres and mobility, this special issue of '*Mobile Culture Studies. The Journal (›mcsj›)*' asks how atmosphere(s) can contribute to research on mobility, and *vice versa*. Numerous studies in the field of mobility research point to the need for consideration of the sensual and experiential (Bissel 2010, Thomas 2010a and 2010b, Masson 2012, Hui 2014, Spinney 2015). Conversely and as indicated previously, research on atmospheres originates in the consideration of movement, both on the conceptual and methodological levels. Therefore, to develop this confrontation by aiming explicitly to use the concepts of mobility and atmosphere in intersection, we highlight the three following challenges.

I Atmospheres on the move

One of the most important interests of mobility studies revolves around their constant attention to meaning and values carried out by mobility, and therefore giving sense to mobile practices, representations, and experiences (Cresswell 2006, Sheller & Urry 2006, Urry 2007, Adey 2009). Among these, sensory experience of mobility has been first investigated and researched in terms of the renewal of the forms of experience in relation to the mobile carrier. Early work on perception shows that the very mode of transportation plays a crucial role on the experience of movement. Erwin Straus (1992) notably indicates how the train transfigured the experience of motion by introducing straight lines which connect distinct places. Straus proposes that this kind of connection catalyses a fundamental shift in the experience of space as it helps the passenger to consider his or her body in the space, not only from a self-centered perspective, but also from an allocentric one (Berthoz 1997). By doing so, the train helped the mundane traveller to experience not only the landscape surrounding the moving wagon, but also an abstract – almost cartographic – representation of the land, as the train follows a human-constructed path that existed in no such form before. In addition to that, Schivelbusch (2014) shows how far experience is shaped by the mode of transportation, when he indicates that the train builds a "mechanized perception", meaning that experiencing train journeys starts with the technical-scape of the train which consists of the geography of the rail path, the kind of engine of the locomotive, the shape of the wagons, of their windows, their insulation from the environment, and so on. By indicating that, we aim at highlighting that atmospheres of mobility are necessarily shaped by a scape-nexus encompassing environment, geography and technique. In addition to that, work on the experience of travel and of movement clearly showed the contribution of practices, human presence, and of the socio-cultural sensory shaping (i.e. lighting, sounding, etc.) in the production of atmospheres of mobility (Bissell 2010, Masson 2012, Spinney 2015). These works also contributed to designing new research methods, not only mobile, but also atmospheric, as they clearly address the issue of grasping and understanding sensory, felt and affective situations (see part 3 that develops further the issue of methods). Nevertheless, these works on the atmospheres of mobility do not directly address atmospheres as an analytic category and its specific interplay with mobility. Here lies one of the challenges of this encounter: if recent research in mobility studies contributes to show how atmospheres impact on, form and alter the experience of mobility, what is nevertheless the specific contribution of the concept of atmosphere to the analysis of the sensual and affective dimensions of mobility?

On the other hand, the question of the role of mobility in the emergence of atmospheres remains understudied. Works on atmosphere do not always look upon the mobile component of the considered situations, therefore the challenge arises to clarify how mobile practices, situations, and also places contribute to the formation of atmospheres. This is based on the assumption that the mobility of persons or objects alters the dynamic of the atmospheres of a situation or a place. Therefore, the question of the quality of mobility is asked, and it implies to engage with a micro scale of understanding. For example, while many studies consider on metropolitan, regional, national and transnational scales the harmful consequences of motorized movements, fewer works put into question their effects on the daily lives of pedestrians. In the same vein, we might ask how mobility-oriented development of urban territories influences inhabitants and passers-by perceptions, practices, and social relationships. And as multimodality and fluidity continue to be two of the most important agendas of urban and transport design, the question of the consequences of this model on everyday experience of place remains understudied. How are, for example, multiple logics of speed of flows managed in the same space-time? Here, the simple question of moving on foot, and its articulation to the kind of environment in which it happens, shows how space shaping has not only a direct play on atmospheres production, but also act on everyone's (in)ability to use their body. Through the question of the potential mobile uses of the body, atmospheres appear clearly to act at social and political levels.

Furthermore, mobility contributes to the urbanity of urban settings, as it consists of mixing anonymous individuals and testing their ability to live and act together; it is "a collective management of the risks of meeting others", as Bordreuil (2000) nicely puts it. What is then the contribution of atmospheres in this production of urbanity, and how do these, again, need to be understood as being political? To illustrate, spaces of mobility, and more generally the mobile-driven urban design, organize physical and social proximity, but also come with a risk when it sometimes makes passers-by vulnerable by exposure to others, which can create mismatch, and even collision. Yet, public order is only rarely threatened by these situations of vulnerability, and a certain number of behavioural and perceptive rituals ensures its maintenance by the organization of civil inattention (Goffman 1959, Joseph 1995). Mobility is therefore made possible thanks to a perceptive and social organization of the environment, but how is this organization constitutive of its atmospheres? And how do these atmospheres contribute – in feedback – to the maintenance of this order as they support motion? Recent works on the sensory enigmas related to the development of contemporary urban mobility have shown how diffuse processes of surveillance, security and policies of pacification of public urban spaces may incarnate themselves in multiple affective registers that alter the ways to move and share these environments with others (Thomas, Masson, Fiori & Sanchez, 2014). Precisely, they put us in some "body state" as a state of "effervescence", "disgust", "tension" or "attraction" (Thomas 2014). In this work, "body state" not only describes what is felt or experienced within oneself, but rather a shared conduct, resulting from the interaction between the body, the sensory qualities of the environment and others. These works also contribute to point out that public mobile order is also a moral order, which is notably carried out through the sensory environment. When motion comes as a social injunction, for example in spaces in which loitering is forbidden, or in spaces in which flowing is part of the "hidden transcripts" (Scott 1990), deviance becomes subtly inscribed within bodies, rhythms, speed, and so on. Therefore, the sensory and atmospheric dimensions of mobile space become active shapers of normativity, expected rhythms and choreographies that necessarily exclude certain bodies, and by extension categories of people that might become inappropriate to these specific branded, circulated, and implemented atmospheric orders. Moreover, how to perform bodily agency as the aforementioned processes are embodied, and consequently not necessarily conscious and defendable?

Finally, can atmospheres move? While the possibility of mobility of objects, persons or ideas has often been discussed, little consideration has been given to how atmospheres can be transferred from one place to another, or to how ideal, conceptual atmospheres can be set into place, and with which imaginaries going along. This problem includes the question of the professional conception of atmosphere and its transmission in a built situation. It also includes the question of the dissemination of conceptual models of urban space and of the desired atmospheres these entail. Lastly, at an individual level, it includes the topic of migration and of the mobility of atmospheres as part of the motion of cultures and identity. These objects remain understudied and offer the potential for further research at the intersection of mobility, atmospheres and culture.

II Mobility and atmospheres: a cultural matter

We want to focus in the following on the culturalisation of the research field at the intersection of the research on atmospheres and mobilities. It is slightly different from the challenges we discussed before because it proposes to link it further to a third field of research. With the concept of cultures of mobility, the culturalisation is well established in the research on transport and mobilities (Lanzendorf 2013, Aldred & Jungnickel 2014), whilst it is – besides of conceptual papers that plead for a further consideration of the cultural (Kazig 2013a, Kazig & Masson 2016) – hardly developed in the field of research on atmospheres. The fact that this issue is published in a journal that is associated to the field of cultural studies gives a perfect frame to highlight the interest for a further "culturalisation" of the research on atmospheres that until now did not find expression in empirical research. We want to stress here, first of all, three perspectives to take cultural concerns into consideration, at the intersection of research on mobilities and atmospheres.

Introducing a culturally informed understanding in this field can be useful in order to take into account differences in the experience of atmospheres on the move, a problem that is widely neglected in the existing research. Until now, the majority of empirically based papers are on the contrary oriented on shared experiences (Chelkoff & Thibaud 1997, Kazig 2008, Bissell 2010). However, different authors stress that biography, socialisation, and culture contribute to the development of differentiated sensual dispositions (Löw 2001, Werhahn 2011), with the consequence that atmospheres are not experienced by everyone in the same way. This insight is important for the discussion about the accessibility and the amenity value of public spaces that are, to an important degree, shaped by their atmospheric qualities (Thomas 2005). To focus on this topic does not only mean to advance the research on atmospheres. It also leads to a culturally differentiated understanding of the effects of urban design and urban development on the accessibility of urban spaces, and – by doing so – can contribute to critical urban research in the context of social and cultural diversity.

A second perspective focuses on the construction of identities. It is related to the understanding of mobility as a meaningful practice that contributes to the construction of place and identities. Jensen (2009) developed this research question by linking cultures of movement to the issue of identity formation. He suggests to think the process of identity formation not only with focus on sedentary practices, but also to consider everyday life mobilities. He also puts forward the political dimension of this perspective, but also stresses the role of experiences in this process. To associate atmospheres to this research question would be very helpful in the way that it allows to qualify as well the emotional dimension of these experiences as the sensual qualities of the environment and their relation. It would contribute to getting a differentiated understanding of the environmental qualities that are at stake in the emergence of mobility as emotional and meaningful practices in the process of the construction of identities. It might concern everydayness, or less ordinary mobilities like leisure mobilities, but also political movements or even ceremonies that very often imply mobile practices and that can all be supposed to contribute to the identity formation.

A further interesting challenge for the culturalisation of the research on atmospheres and mobility consists in linking it with the research on globalisation. A part of the research on cultural globalisation deals with the question of homogenisation of spaces and practices mostly in the urban world (Nederveen Pieterse 2015). The global success of fast-food restaurants is often used as an emblematic illustration of this trend. But it also includes spaces of mobility or mobile practices at different levels like the septicization or aestheticization of public spaces, the re-emergence of tramways and cycling as modes of urban transport or the celebration of international events such as Universal Exhibitions or Olympic Games. To introduce the concept of atmospheres to the research on cultural globalisation means to question its sensual and affective dimension and to get a better phenomenal understanding of this process. It would reveal if and how far the international or global spread of ideas and concepts of urban practices goes along with the emergence of similar sensual qualities and affective states at different places, and really means a process of homogenisation. The introduction of this concept could answer the question if place specific conditions and performances lead, at the phenomenal and experiential level, to the emergence of quite different spaces and practices that are only labelled with the same term. The concept of atmospheres could be useful to get a more humanistic understanding of the process of internationalisation and globalisation. And – to put it the other way round – the link of the research on atmospheres with concerns of globalisation raises, at a general level, the question of the possibilities of the mobility of atmospheres that we mentioned above.

III Mobile and atmospheric methodological engagements

Even if this issue does not focus explicitly on methodological issues, the development of the field of research at the crossroad of research on atmospheres and research on mobilities nevertheless goes along with important methodological challenges. Both fields of research have to deal with "researchable entities" (Büscher & Urry 2009: 99) that are – each in a specific manner – relatively new for social science and need the development of new methods and new research designs in order to establish them as fields of empirical research.

The challenge for the research on mobilities was to develop mobile methods that make it possible to grasp people, objects or information on the move. As mobility studies emerged in social science, they were since the beginning linked to methodological issues and systematically went along with methodological innovations (Büscher & Urry 2009, Büscher et al. 2011). In this context, a variety of methods like go-alongs (Kusenbach 2003), drive-alongs (Laurier 2004), mobile video ethnography (Frers 2007), autoethnographic methods (Wylie 2005) and multi-method research designs emerged and were discussed. All in all, the still ongoing methodological innovations contributed to the realisation of numerous empirical studies that helped to understand the (im)mobilities of people – that are mainly in the focus of this special issue – as embodied and embedded practices, but without addressing atmospheres and developing approaches that allow to grasp explicitly, and in a differentiated manner, the sensual qualities of the environment.

The research on atmospheres is faced with specific challenges. They are due to their ontological character that is already, at a theoretical level, difficult to describe. Böhme (2001) – drawing back on Schmitz – considers them as half-things [*Halbdinge*], Thibaud (2003) as a medium. The characterisation of atmospheres as medium is quite useful to discuss one important methodological challenge. It stresses the relational quality of atmospheres that consists in linking the sensual qualities of the environment with the individual state of an individual being in this environment. One major challenge for empirical research on atmospheres is thus to capture the state of individuals in relation to the sensual qualities of their environment and, based on this, to understand and to describe at a small scale level how this relation is established and how it changes in space and time. The existing empirical work on atmospheres meets this challenge only to a limited extent. Very often the relational quality of atmospheres is described only imprecisely.

This deficit in the advance of empirical approaches is, to a certain degree, linked to the history of the research on atmospheres. In the English- and German-speaking tradition, it was established initially in philosophy or in human geography and other social sciences in form of conceptual and theoretical writings. As a result, the interest to develop empirical approaches to atmospheres, and a related methodological discussion, was, in the beginning, absent in the research on atmospheres, and emerged only recently (Kazig 2007, Anderson & Ash 2015, McCormack 2015). As already discussed in scientific literature (Adey et al. 2013, Kazig & Masson 2015), the situation is different for the French research on architectural and urban ambiances. Established after all as multidisciplinary approach in the field of research on architecture and urban studies, it went, since the beginning, along with empirical studies and the development of specific atmospheric methods, notably making use of "situated experiments" (Atienza & Masson 2015), like the commented walks [*parcours commentés*] (Thibaud 2001) and their adaptations that were quite important for the development of the French-speaking empirical research on ambiances[1].

At a very general level, two approaches to capture atmospheres can be distinguished. The first one is built on an experimental research design that is established in order to capture the atmosphere in specific public spaces. The above cited commented walks represent this approach best. It is an *in situ* approach that consists, on the one hand, on a combination of methods that allow for capturing the changing state of an individual walking as well as the corresponding changing sensual qualities of its environment. On the other hand, it also develops a framework on how to analyse and to relate the different types of data. Due to this combination of different methods of data collection with a theoretically well-justified framework to relate and to analyse the data, it is possible to capture and to describe precisely atmospheres of public spaces at

1 For a complete view on many methods developed to investigate architectural and urban ambiances, see Grosjean and Thibaud (2001).

a small-scale level. Despite this important capability, commented walks have their limits. One of these limits is due to their experimental character that goes along with the deficit that it is not possible to grasp with these approaches the way atmospheres are "naturally" integrated in everyday life.

More classic research designs, like interviews (Kazig 2013b), observations or participant observations, on the other hand, make it possible to access atmospheres as part of everyday life. However, these approaches very often go along with the above-mentioned deficit to capture the relational character of atmospheres only imprecisely. The sensory qualities of the environment are often described in quite a general manner, and their link to the state of the individuals is not systematically analysed.

This short confrontation of two empirical approaches should serve to underline the necessity to establish a broader methodological discussion about atmospheric methods in order to foster the empirical branch of research on atmospheres. Although this special issue on atmospheres and mobilities does not have a methodological focus, its eight papers illustrate the variety of methods and empirical approaches that are used in this field and can contribute to feeding such as discussion.

The contributions

This issue brings together eight contributions with different linguistic (English, French and German), disciplinary (anthropology, architecture, geography, musicology, sound studies) and conceptual backgrounds. Far from being exhaustive, it illustrates nevertheless a wide variety of approaches and research questions at the intersection of mobility studies with research on atmospheres.

The issue follows a path in three movements. It starts with three contributions, grounded upon sensory anthropology backgrounds, and dealing with sonic atmospheres, soundscape and music. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork, **Birgit Abels**' paper focuses on musical atmospheres of an annual cultural festival – the *Regatta Lepa* festival – of the sea-nomadic Sama Dilaut community in Malaysia. The event is characterised by a specific gong music that is performed on board of the moving boats of the Sama Dilaut and that wraps the site of the festival in a thick cloud of sound. Abels illustrates with her paper – that is built on the conceptual background of the German approach of the New Phenomenology – the analytical strength of the concept of atmospheres to make tangible the interconnectedness of music, mobility and the holistic and inclusive experience of this place making musical event. Besides a detailed exploration of this dynamic process, the paper can be considered as a fundamental contribution for the understanding of music as a place-making practice.

Patricia Jäggi's article looks into the transmission of sonic atmospheres through international radio broadcasting, and its social, cultural and sensory roles. Constructed both on German-speaking and French-speaking bodies of research on atmospheres, this paper puts this concept in relation with the German concepts of *Anmutungsqualität* and of *Gefühlstönung,* that are common in history of radio research. This conceptual comparison shows the importance of using atmospheres to understand the aesthetic relationship to radio, as this concept allows to understand both aesthetics of production and of reception, which the others do not. Using a combination of methodologies involving sensory ethnography, Jäggi develops an approach to radio that shows how radio making and editing is not only a matter of signal and message creation and circulation, but also a question of atmospheres spreading. Moreover, she connects atmosphere making and perception with a cultural understanding of their power, as they contribute to identity building by showing how the radio programs sound 'Swiss'. In doing so, this paper finally indicates how radio might act as an atmospheric carrier that could enact cultural mobility using the circulation of identity through specific sounds, noises, prosody etc. and how such an identity carried through this sonic media is culturally meaningful as it works as the mediator of cosmopolitanism.

Agata Stanisz proposes the third contribution on sound. Also drawn on an anthropological background, this paper shifts from traditional sonic ethnography by being built upon a device that intersects heuristic and aesthetic stakes. Indeed, Stanisz gives a comprehensive depiction of what the life of transnational truck drivers in Europe is, especially in sensory terms. In so doing, she focuses on body uses and states, place and home-making, dwelling on the road, each of which goes along with specific noises: linked to the machine, to the goods, to the others, to the self, etc. This specific soundscape seems to be characteristic of this specific life-on-the-road, and Stanisz shows its social, cultural, and historical meanings. This research also shows the methodological benefits of surveying atmospheres using an anthropological methodology (worded by the author as combining 'thick description and deep listening') that is neither based on experiments or measurements, nor using interviews, but rather prefers immersion, length and participant observation, therefore allowing to show the interplay between atmospheres and dailyness. And, as the latter is understood within the multiple (social, cultural, economic, historical) contexts of the specific form of translocality known by the truck drivers she went with, this paper finally shows how atmosphere research that goes beyond the sole description of the sensory environment contributes to strengthening the sensory turn within social sciences.

The volume continues with two papers that both take into consideration the positionality of subjects, and its stakes when it comes to show that sensory and mobile encounters are socially differentiated, although with quite different research questions. The paper by **Samantha and Catherine Wilkinson** addresses mobilities of young people and their drinking habits in the context of their night-life activities. It takes into consideration the time they pass in means of transport, as well as the time they pass in bars and club spaces. Building on a qualitative multi-method research design, the authors work out how the atmospheres are a kind of resource that fosters their night-life activities in different ways. Whilst traveling and drinking in buses or taxis, they create shared enjoyable atmospheres that contribute to transform these moments of mobility into a constitutive part of their night-out. In the club spaces, the atmospheres created by light, music and their drunken bodies push the young people and make them dance and move.

The link of atmospheres with mobility is quite different in the paper by **Nora Scholtz and Anke Strüver,** and focuses on the mobility of homeless people and their experience of the *Reeperbahn*, the famous entertainment and red light district of Hamburg, which is, at the same time, an area of visible homelessness. Scholtz and Strüver show in their paper how the homeless people experience the *Reeperbahn* as a place that is differentiated in specific atmospheres which appear more or less inviting for them to move through, to stay and to sit down. The atmospheres are for the homeless people, to a large extent, existing qualities of the area that contribute to structure the space at the level of its experience and its amenity value. On the other hand, the authors also show in a smaller part of their paper how the homeless people contribute to the emergence of a specific atmosphere in the public space of the *Reeperbahn*. It is either an atmosphere of intimacy that helps them to create time-spaces for private activities within this public space of mobility, or a terrifying atmosphere in order to keep passers-by at distance. The specific contribution of this paper is to put explicitly forward the question of power in the discussion about atmospheres and mobilities.

The last three articles address urban policies and design that have a take on mobility, or on atmospheres, and interrogate the effects of their localised 'translations' on lived experience of place. **Patrick Naef** talks about setting up "encounter zones" in Western Switzerland, and more particularly on the role these "encounter zones" play in terms of social cohesion in the neighborhoods in which they are located. He shows how this device promotes greater ownership of spaces and neighborhoods by pedestrians, because it appeased the ambiances. Through an anthropological survey (combining observations of pedestrian practices, interviews with architects and users, analysis of planning documents) on two study areas – the "Versoix-center" area located in the old derelict area of the train station and the area of the lively "Alt" district of Freiburg – he shows that the success of these areas is less dependent on the degree of safety it provides for pedestrians than their ability to attract the public by offering a quality atmosphere. Thus, besides the design of the "encounter zones" or the existence of urban furniture like public benches, green spaces, fountains… it is the ability of the ambiances of these areas to create an impression of conviviality and fluidity that attracts the pedestrian and allows its anchoring.

The reflection of **Emmanuelle Lenel** is related, even if the scale of work differs. She is interested in the effects of the urban revitalization policy on the practices and the experiences of two neighborhoods in Brussels: the Heyvaert district and the Vieux Molenbeek district. The operations aim to improve the living environment and revolve around both the quality of public lighting and roads, the enhancement of the architectural heritage and the establishment of green spaces. But they also upset the spatial configuration of these neighborhoods, since it is now a matter of making them open neighborhoods, connected to central districts. What interests Emmanuel Lenel then is to grasp the way in which these physical and environmental upheavals experience, that is to say, transform positively or negatively, the mobility of the inhabitants. The term "felt mobility" is at the center of her analysis and its methodological apparatus. What it shows is that, ultimately, each ambiance shapes proven closure or opening, release or commitment, ease or discomfort, etc. But these experiences are not just personal or subjective feelings. As shared feelings, they are resources on which everyone relies to manage their relationship to their environment, its proximity to the other, its tolerance of behaviors, objects or devices considered inappropriate.

Marina Popovic's article comes from an architectural and engineering background, and questions the thermal experience of ordinary walking in cities, in this case under Madrid's heavy summer sun. Using an ethological approach, combined with multiple measurement devices, this paper explores the effect of specific climatic events – particularly linked to mist generators placed on footpaths – on pedestrians and the way they walk on streets. In that instance, mobility is addressed as walking routine, and is put into question at a sub-micro scale, called 'pico' by the author, in order to understand changes in motion, gesture, posture that even a bubble of mist could provoke. Here, Popovic shows not only that climate has an effect on motion, but also on encounters, as the climatic pockets she investigates act as surprises, that might be searched or avoided, and complexify displacements and interactions. Another contribution of this paper is linked to its ability not only to describe and understand the situations and devices it presents, but also to provide atmospherically-informed design strategies.

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Musical Atmospheres and Sea-Nomadic Movement Among the Sama Dilaut:

Sounding Out a Mobile World

Birgit Abels

Abstract During a traditional wedding parade of the sea-nomadic Sama Dilaut community in insular Southeast Asia, the bride's flotilla of brightly decorated boats sets out to greet the groom's flotilla as it approaches the moorage. On several boats among both parties, gong ensembles play independently, and their music coalesces into a thick, multi-part texture. While the couple ties the knot, all involved in the wedding literally move through the layers of the music, which becomes a sonic manifestation of the new multi-family network sealed in the ceremony. The annual Regatta Lepa, a cultural festival in Borneo (Malaysia) dubbed "a celebration of the Sama Dilaut," makes ample use of that same musical practice, sounding out what it might mean to be Sama Dilaut in the 21st century. Drawing on extensive ethnographic materials, I argue that, for the duration of the Regatta Lepa, the gong music is central to the emergence of a shared feeling that manifests as an atmosphere of Sama Dilautness. This atmosphere reverberates with an alternate, distinctly sea-nomadic and Sama Dilaut spatiality that is both intrinsically mobile and intrinsically sonic in nature. I explore the dynamics that transduce structured sound into an atmosphere, rendering this distinct sense of spatiality tangible. In this process of transduction, music, atmosphere, and movement form a relationship that is as triangular as it is circular and dynamic.

Keywords atmosphere, music, Sama Dilaut, sea-nomadic spatiality
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Introduction

Each year in April, the sleepy little town of Semporna on Borneo's eastern coast transforms into something else: the *Regatta Lepa* festival is taking place. For three consecutive days, the town's shoreline is lined with *lepas*, the traditional-style Sama Dilaut houseboats which give the festival its name. The Sama Dilaut, a community of boat-dwelling sea nomads, consider the *lepas* their traditional homes, built to be in motion constantly across the South China Sea, scouring the area for fish and other sea produce. Historically, there have been a number of boat-dwelling communities across insular Southeast Asia, and they continue to exist to this day. However, since roughly the mid-20th century, many of them have begun to adopt sedentary or semi-sedentary lifestyles, typically settling in elevated wooden stilt houses along the coasts of seaside towns. But for the Sama Dilaut and many other maritime communities, their primary cultural identification remains, regardless of their current type of dwelling, their eponym: the sea, *laut*.

The *Regatta Lepa* attracts roughly 15,000 visitors, mostly Malaysians, annually. The program is similar every year, with the official program spreading over two days. The day before the event's official opening ceremony, the *lepa* boats, each carrying a gong ensemble and usually dancers as well, pour into the moorage, one by one, to secure their spots. The next day, they will compete in the *Regatta Lepa's* central event, the selection of the "most beautiful" *lepa*. Together with the *lepa* boats, a significant number of *kumpit* boats – larger, engine-driven boats that have increasingly taken the place of the *lepa* in contemporary Sama Dilaut life in the course of the 20th century – gather at the moorage the afternoon before the festival's official starting day to participate in the celebration. For the duration of the festival, several gong ensembles play independently of one another on the boats, wrapping the small mooring area, its waters, and everyone within hearing range in a thick, dense cloud of sound. The constant motorboat noise and the sound of carnival barkers, kids playing around the pier, and people socializing all add to the emerging sonic complexity (see video 1). As the boats tied to the shore compete for the festival title of most beautiful *lepa,* for many Sama Dilaut, it is this complex sonic environment that makes the festival space distinctly Sama Dilaut. In ordinary life, by contrast, that same space is shared, however tension-ridden, by several communities – a co-existence with considerable compartmentalization, evident in many of the Sama Dilaut opting to occupy stilt houses along the shoreline and away from the festival site, rather than any concrete homes in town, where the various cultural groups mix more freely. "[The *Regatta Lepa*] is a celebration of the Sama Dilaut," said one of the people I worked with, raising his voice so that I'd be able to hear him in the midst of the complex soundscape and bustle as we were walking past the shoreline during *Regatta Lepa* 2010. "It's not in the details," said another, musing about the colorful *lepa* lineup at the shore and the musical repertoires playing on their boats as we walked past the jetty. "I don't know; it's the whole thing, really. It just gets to you."

Video 1: Excerpt from Regatta Lepa XVI, Semporna, Sabah/Borneo (Malaysia), 18 April 2009. Recorded by Birgit Abels.
https://vimeo.com/246125939

Everyone I spoke with[1] agreed that the gong music played on the boats, *tagunggu'*, is central to the festival (*cf.* Fernando 2002, 22). As for the festival itself, they described it as exuding an "atmosphere of [being] Sama Dilaut." Most were quick to add that this Sama Dilautness of the festival came about through the overall sonic experience, which consists of, among other things, all the gong music being played on all of the boats – not only the decorated *lepas* tied to the shore, but also a considerable number of other boats that keep roaming the festival area throughout the celebrations. Music during the *Regatta Lepa*, they suggested, is a deeply holistic and inclusive experience. To many Sama Dilaut, embracing the festival's overwhelming sonic complexity and allowing themselves to be swept away by it are what makes the experience so worthwhile. Clearly, this sonic "whole" that is so much more than the sum of its parts is what makes Semporna theirs, and at the same time makes them Semporna's Sama Dilaut – but only until the sound of the *Regatta Lepa* fades. Within the social fabric of Semporna, this fleeting instance of "nomadic aesthetics is [a] counterpart of the politics of peripheral resistance to new hegemonic formations" (Braidotti 1994, 16), a performative enactment of a cultural geography that is different from the dominant one: a counter-geography. Accordingly, each year, the moment the festival ends, the everyday social hierarchies relegating the Sama Dilaut to the lowest rank within the community that had been suspended for three days by the *Regatta Lepa* are restored.

Thus, to a significant extent, the Sama Dilaut's Semporna realm comes into existence merely through the sensual experience of *tagunggu'*, only to vanish when the music stops. For the other communities in the area, Semporna may be readily there on a map, but for the Sama Dilaut, traditionally, Semporna is neither a material place, nor an immaterial idea. During the *Regatta Lepa*, to the Sama Dilaut, Semporna is, instead, an experience in sound, one that will last for the duration of the sonic event. In the terminology of new phenomenologist Hermann Schmitz, the meaningfulness of the *Regatta Lepa* for the Sama Dilaut I worked with resides in the significant, shared situation (Schmitz, Müller & Slaby 2011, 244) brought about centrally through the thick sound envelope that wraps Semporna's shoreline in the sounds of *tagunggu'*. For the other shoreline communities in and around Semporna, Hetherington's definition of place may apply to Semporna perfectly: a place that forms an immaterial entity resulting from the placing, ordering, and representing of material objects (1997, 192). If to the sea-nomadic Sama Dilaut, by contrast, Semporna is mostly an experience, and if music-making is the primary means of evoking this experience, then music holds analytical potential *vis-à-vis* the community's alternative spatiality and, since theirs is a deeply nomadic spatiality, their alternative mobility. But at the same time, their alternative spatiality and mobility may provide important clues that lead to a deeper understanding of their music-making practices – clues that promise to be relevant beyond understanding the particularities of the experiential mobility node[2] that is the *Regatta Lepa*, the sleepy little town of Semporna, and the Sama Dilaut. In this article, I will follow these clues, trying to get closer to some of the meaningful dynamics arising between movement,

1 My research is based on field work in and around Semporna between 2007 and 2010.

2 By "mobility nodes", Sheller & Urry (2006, 213) mean the social spaces around which mobile forms of social life, full of multiple and dynamic connections, are orchestrated, often across long distances. They are (physical) spaces of intermittent movement. By "experiential mobility node", I mean a space with similar qualities. This space, however, is not so much a physical space as it enables, and comes about through, an encompassing sensory experience.

atmosphere, and music that make the *Regatta Lepa* such a treasured event for the Sama Dilaut. My analysis will show how all three – movement, atmosphere, and *tagunggu'* – constitute epistemic forms that enact each other. "There is nothing before movement; movement expresses how things are", says John Urry (2007, 33). The same applies to music. As I will show below, the mutual enactment of movement, atmosphere, and music renders the procedural knowledge inherent in all three experiential, intensifying the effect each of the three has as a dimension of being-in-the-world and allowing for something new to come about between them. That *something new* is a distinctly and exclusively Sama Dilaut space: Semporna during the *Regatta Lepa*.

The Sama Dilaut's experiential Semporna involves both the individual's physical body and the physical environment, comprising both sound itself and how it fills the space that is Semporna. The latter is not a matter of either outer materiality or inner perception. Rather, it involves both and emphasizes the relationship and continuum between the two. Music-making generally does this, as it does with any partaking of music: Sound is as much within the hearing/listening individual as it is materially "out there."[3] But with the sea-nomadic Sama Dilaut, their fundamentally mobile conception of space is heightened, even operated upon and made tangible, through the central role they ascribe to music making as a way of relating to their surroundings (*cf.* Fernando 2002, 27). I will elaborate on the processes behind this in greater detail below. In this way, music elicits an experience of their world as this world is coming into being, to paraphrase Ingold. Far from serving merely symbolic purposes, this experience in sound "gets to you," as my interlocutor put it – it gets to you as an atmosphere. It is this triangular relationship between an intrinsically mobile spatiality, music-making, and atmosphere that I seek to explore in this article.

Clearly, the mind-body dichotomy that continues to bear such a substantial imprint on the way human beings are imagined in the North Atlantic intellectual tradition is not analytically productive here. In this line of thinking, human beings are generally seen as subjects that form a "seat of awareness, bounded by the skin, and set over against the world" (Ingold [2000] 2011, 243). This, however, raises the fundamental problem of perception usually referred to as the "mind – body problem": How can anything "cross over" from the outside to the inside, from the presumably material world to the presumably immaterial mind (ibid.; Crane and Patterson 2000; Leys 2011)? Music washes over this and other ontological categories like wavelets in the sand, as the example of *tagunggu'* makes so abundantly clear. Here, a place is not conceived of as a set of material properties perceived by a subjective entity, but a fleeting sensation that is coming about in the act of making sense of the place musically. It becomes a part of ourselves, a realization of the sensation that "[w]e cannot define where a body begins and where external nature ends" (Whitehead 1968, 21). Resonating with both discursive and non-discursive frames, musicking (Small 1998) transcends the notions of inside and outside by way of its primarily corporeal experiential quality. At the same time, it relates to both. In the words of Lawrence

3 This notion of sound differs from both the widely accepted scientific view that defines sounds as waves that propagate through a medium such as air and philosophical definitions of sound that view music as essentially a human mental construct. Both (and other) stances have analytical merit. Here, however, I am interested in music as atmospheres in shared situations, which emphasizes the relational affordances of sound and their bearing on social worlds. For this, I need to take into account both the sonic materiality and the shared sensation of musical events.

Kramer, in musical experience, “presence of mind is potentiality of body, presence of body potentiality of mind, and both may exist at the same moment” (Kramer 2016, vxi). The space brought about by music-making, then, is where a specifically sonic and intrinsically musical form of human dwelling in the world is taking place.[4] Importantly, though, music-making as dwelling is not primarily a discovery of a world “out there.” To a significant extent, it is part of a dynamic formation of procedural knowledge that “rides on the cusp of the very movement of the world’s coming-into-being” (Ingold [2000] 2011, 245). This is because musical experience accentuates the intense relationship – indeed, the connectedness – between what is commonly referred to separately as mind or body. Both notions refer to parts of the same force that constantly imbricates us in Ingold’s world-coming-into-being.

Always already tossed into the immediate experience of engaging with music and leveraging affective, emotional, interpretative, and corporeal frames[5], musical experience, therefore, is as much a part of a world coming about as of humans relating to that world-coming-about. It also is a movement – acoustic wave forms traveling through physical space, resonating with the complexity of human interaction with the world. At the same time, this distinctly musical form of relating to the world is always one step ahead of the reflective language that seeks to capture its meaningfulness in full (*cf.* Kramer 2016, 23-64). It shouldn’t come as a surprise that similar things have been said about movement itself (e.g., Manning & Massumi 2014, 41f.). This, then, is also what has been described as the unsayable and ineffable in music, – that about music which touches you, yet you feel your are not able to describe it. It accounts for the overwhelming feeling of being at a loss for words my interlocutor had when he said, “I don’t know, it’s the whole thing, really. It just gets to you.”

In this article, framing this much-mystified capacity of music as atmosphere will enable me to recast a significant part of the presumably ineffable work that music does in terms of suggestions of movement as defined by Schmitz, on whose work on atmospheres my argument builds throughout the article. In the case of Sama Dilaut *tagunggu’* during the *Regatta Lepa,* these suggestions of movement manifest as a shared feeling of Sama Dilautness. But movement here also serves as a double analytic: Being sea-nomads, the Sama Dilaut make sense of their environment not so much by means of a well-ordered set of oppositions and map grids, as Cartesian space would suggest. Rather, the sites along their journey attain cultural significance only as the Sama Dilaut move through them. Even though many have become more sedentary in the course of the 20th and 21st centuries, the Sama Dilaut’s conception of space itself remains intrinsically mobile. Therefore, the analytical category of movement is central to understanding

4 Vadén and Torvinen (2014) consider this space an in-between space. I’d rather like to think of it as an alternative space.

5 All of these four adjectives refer to contentious and complex concepts that have been defined and used in many different ways. With affect, I here refer to Massumi’s understanding of Deleuze and Guattari’s notion of affect (Massumi in Deleuze and Guattari 1987) according to which affect is sheer intensity, presubjective, prelinguistic and preconscious (Massumi 2002, 24f.; also see Ott 2017, 10ff.). Interpretive discourse, in my usage here, accordingly has a taming effect on affect, “codifying its generative force” (Wetherell 2012, 19). Emotional frames are socially configured and interpretively qualified; corporeal ones involve both the body and the felt body. These are not mutually exclusive categories (for instance, Massumi’s affect has a considerable bodily component), and I follow Ruth Leys (2011) in contending that the clear distinction between them cannot be sustained. As a matter of fact, the concept of atmospheres, I believe, has the analytical potential to sound out important resonances *between* them. For a more detailed exploration of the relationship of atmospheres, affect and music, see Abels forthcoming.

both Sama Dilaut music-making and spatiality, as well as how they engender and reinforce each other through atmosphere. For this reason, I'm not "applying" theories of mobility and atmosphere to music here; this would not serve any purpose other than to confirm what we think we know about movement. Instead, I'm thinking through these theories through music because music enacts both movement and atmosphere, and it does so in a highly sensual and felt-bodily way. I will argue that Sama Dilaut music-making practices resonate with the community's alternative spatiality, and vice versa: that their sea-nomadic sense of both space and place is as much mobile as it is sonic, and hence, experiential. This is why *tagunggu'* (and its accompanying dances, which are beyond the scope of this article; *cf.* Santamaria 2012) plays such an important role in Sama Dilaut cultural life. It's a key strategy to facilitate the felt-bodily experience of movement, which is their preferred mode of dwelling – or, to refer to Ingold's phrasing again, which will become a recurrent theme in the course of the article, it is their prime strategy when it comes to riding "on the cusp of the very movement of the world's coming-into-being."

So movement in space and movement in sound are profoundly enmeshed experiences here, and they yield significant situations that affect people as atmospheres of Sama Dilautness (*cf.* Santamaria 2012, 82; Abels 2015, 3). This is because "[t]he orders of experience are incommensurable. There is always a residue, a holding itself in reserve, each in its own element. At the extreme, each order suspends itself in its own reserve potential […]. In the middle, they splay together in their difference. […] Modally incommensurable, they only relate outside anything in common – most especially outside the logical common of anything that can be attributed a core mental status" (Manning & Massumi 2014, 41). The notion of atmosphere, therefore, allows for an analytical exploration of that experiential entanglement of sound and space and its mobile dynamics: that "splaying together in their difference." Therefore, investigating *tagunggu'* as suggestions of movement contributing to an atmosphere of Sama Dilaut belonging also will point to perspectives on the underlying notions of a distinctly mobile spatiality.

I will continue this line of thinking by sharing some basic observations about Sama Dilaut notions about space, place, and music. Following that, I will proceed to analyze musical practices of the Sama Dilaut during the *Regatta Lepa* as suggestions of movement that enable people to relate to, and make sense of, their surroundings. Against this backdrop, I then will reflect on the experiential dynamics generated by the interplay of mobility and musicality, suggested by atmospheres. How do we carve out the processes that transform structured sound through movement into shared feelings? What does the musical experience of atmosphere tell us about movement and belonging that non-musical modes of attunement do not reveal? The article will close with some preliminary answers to these questions.

Sama Dilaut Spatiality

Belonging to the Austronesian-speaking Sama, the Sama Dilaut are one of the most geographically dispersed groups in Southeast Asia. But while most Sama groups identify with coastal settlements across the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia, for the Sama Dilaut, it is not so much a specific geographic position or a national boundary that marks their space, but the mobility between their various economic and social networks. In spite of the physical distance and national borders separating them, the Sama Dilaut communities in Borneo and the Philippines, for instance, are closely related. There's a constant coming and going between Semporna in Borneo and Sitangkai in the Philippine Sulu archipelago. While their geographical location is not irrelevant to them, it is incidental, a stop along the way (*cf.* Chou 2005). Their affiliation with a specific place is contingent upon mobility, i.e., upon the possibility of leaving that very locale at any time (often to escape systematic discrimination and violence that they face from land-based communities). Starting roughly in the 1950s, some Sama Dilaut began to trade in their mobile *lepa* homes for stilt houses and village dwellings and, more rarely, for engine-driven houseboats. However, the *lepa* has remained a potent cultural symbol, so much so that in the mid-1990s, politicians came up with the idea of a cultural event revolving around the boat as the emblem of a way of life. Hence, the *Regatta Lepa* was born, a "celebration of the Sama Dilaut," as several of my interlocutors called it.

So, as Chou notes, *Southeast Asia,* as a term of geographic reference, holds little meaning for the area's maritime communities. Instead, "the social space they recognize is constructed in terms of permanent mobility and whatever can be reached by sea – a region [consisting] of a network of social relations sharpened by the extent of a people's mobility" (2005, 236). This space is imagined as a timespace in that Sama Dilaut oral histories narrate their historical connections within the region and, in doing so, give historically and socially framed meaning to physical space and its landmarks. At the same time, Sama Dilaut perspectives on space reference both historical itineraries and how travel at sea engenders the organization of time (*cf.* Bottignolo 1998, 19, 63). Similarly, for the Sama Dilaut, traveling the sea is a cultural practice situating them in their very own historical and social world.

It is this life-world that is evoked by the *lepa* line-up during the *Regatta Lepa,* which is reminiscent of the historical practice of having small gong ensembles on board that would be played during rituals, such as wedding parades (Santamaria 2012, 82). The musical performances that come with it are quite literally a sounding out of the physical environment because sound, especially the sound of gongs, carries significantly further and resonates differently on water than on land. On calm water, the sound will be reflected on the water's surface in such a way that the sounds of the gongs appear to be amplified to listeners both on boats and on the shore. As a result, the music seems louder and richer in timbre, sometimes overwhelmingly so. A sound event in an enclosed space and its acoustic reflections give the listener clear psychoacoustic information on the properties of the room (Howard & Angus 1996, 233ff.). On the open ocean, by contrast, that same quality of sound produces an intense sonic effect of spatial vastness and openness. Making music, and at the same time traveling through the sonic space emerging from it during rituals such as the wedding parade, the Sama Dilaut travel through their physical environment, and at the same time, through its sonic avatar ('avatar' in the sense of a musical materialization). This, I argue, is a technique that renders space sensually tangible by increasing movement's impact on the individual's felt body by way of sound. As their bodies resonate with sound, the people who choose to envelop themselves with this sonic environment process this tangibility in a profoundly felt-bodily way (Abels 2015, 7). The resultant effect is one of feeling pushed and pulled into the surrounding space by sonic movement. One interlocutor described this effect of gong music on water as "in-between, like the beach." The beach lies in between the land and the sea, the site of a constant coming and going of high and low tides that blur the line between the land and sea. It is constantly pushed and pulled in one direction or the other – washing up, then washing away. This, then, is how the Sama Dilaut, enveloping themselves in gong music on the open sea, envision themselves when they are sensually exploring the space they consider theirs: like a strand between the ocean of sound and the land of fixed coordinates.

During the historical wedding parade – "historical" because it is no longer a common cultural practice among the Sama Dilaut – the flotillas of both the groom and bride slowly move toward each other. On several boats among both parties, gong ensembles would play independently, their music coalescing into a thick, multi-part texture. While the couple ties the knot, all involved in the wedding are pulled into the sonic space emerging from the layers of music. By entering and moving through that same sonic space for the duration of the wedding, the two families become one, affirming the in-law bond between both families. The sounds of gongs, the sonic environment they create, and the Sama Dilaut's cultural practice of sounding out that environment by moving brings about the space where Sama Dilaut connect with and reaffirm social relationships, as well as perform rituals – the space where they dwell as Sama Dilaut. This is a space not arbitrarily visited, but purposefully created.

New phenomenologist Hermann Schmitz distinguishes between spaces of geometric nature, in which there are coordinates and distances between objects, and "surfaceless spaces," in which there are none of those entities. Examples of the latter, for him, are the spaces of weather and silence. The Sama Dilaut space emerging during a wedding parade belongs in this category of spaces. Humans relate to surfaceless space in a decidedly immediate and felt-bodily way; however, "as soon as the surface comes into play, the felt body's estrangement from space begins"[6] (Schmitz 1998, 74). Schmitz counts music among the surfaceless phenomena, and, as such, partaking in music facilitates the temporary convergence (as opposed to estrangement) of space and time with the felt body. Therefore, it also allows for the temporary convergence of the felt body with its own spatiality, its own temporality.[7] This convergence comes about through the atmospheric suggestion of movement. People can encorporate such suggestions, according to Schmitz. Whenever several people encorporate music in a similar manner, the resultant "solidary encorporation" enables them to relate with each other via the resultant patterns of movement.[8] Solidary encorporation creates shared situations: A *we-Leib* (*Wir-Leib*) comes into being, and through movement, it unites all the *I-Leibe* (*Ich-Leib*) – the people who have encorporated the same music. A situational sense of belonging starts to manifest as an atmosphere. This atmosphere is procedural and felt-bodily, and, in the case of the wedding parade, it fills physical space with an atmosphere of Sama Dilautness.

6 "[M]it der Fläche beginnt die Entfremdung des Raums vom Leib" in the original German.

7 For a more in-depth exploration of Hermann Schmitz's theorizing of music and atmosphere and its implications, see Abels 2017.

8 Recent ethnomusicological work on entrainment addresses a related but different musical effect. While entrainment describes how two rhythmic processes "interact with each other in such a way that they adjust towards and eventually 'lock in' to a common phase and/or periodicity" (Clayton et al. 2004, 2), solidary encorporation occurs when a synchronization of felt-bodily attunement to specific suggestions of movement in a given situation has been reached among the individuals present. Entrainment therefore refers to a primarily cognitive process; encorporation describes a kind of corporeal communication that manifests as felt-bodily experience. See Schmitz et al. 2011; Abels 2017.

Tagunggu' Suggestions of Movement

So, how exactly does all this happen? Both during the wedding parade and the *Regatta Lepa*, *tagunggu'* plays a key role in the emergence of this space, my interlocutors emphasized. Schmitz's ruminations regarding the relationship between music's suggestions of movement and spatial alignment are of a general nature, and as such refer to any and all music. But they may be of particular relevance to Sama Dilaut music-making, I argue, because the Sama Dilaut's sea-nomadic spatiality accentuates this interdependence more immediately than most sedentary spatialities. This is because they conceive of music, as well as space, primarily as both movement and enabling movement. With this, movement becomes the primary means to explore both physical and sonic spaces, and since music is intrinsically in motion itself, music-making becomes a strategy to explore physical space for the Sama Dilaut. In *tagunggu'* performances, this double movement – physical movement through sonic space and sonic movement through physical space – is not only emphasized, but also transduced into a felt-bodily experience that enables the emergence of a shared feeling that is as sonic as it is mobile. In this case, the shared feeling is an atmosphere of Sama Dilautness. In this process, the sense of hearing becomes the transducing mediator; it involves sensory organs that perceive sound by transducing physical vibrations into nerve impulses, and the brain transforms these impulses into the subjective experience of hearing (Johnson-Laird et al. 2012, 19). What's critical for my analysis here is the latter part of the hearing process: the transformation of impulses into the individual experience of hearing, for it is here that structured sound leverages both felt-bodily and cultural frames: In making music, the felt body is being "tinged with mentality, in its own mode" (Manning & Massumi 2014, 45). Investigating this process, in the following section, I shall take a closer look at this transductive process by identifying specific musical suggestions of movement at work during the *Regatta Lepa*, carving out how structured sound as felt-bodily experience resonates with key aspects of Sama Dilaut spatiality and cultural frames, then finally explaining how these processes feed into the emergence of a meaningful atmosphere.

Sound example 1 is the audio track of video example 1, filmed during the *Regatta Lepa* 2009. I recorded it on a moving boat. Thus, the track resembles the listening position that someone on a boat during a wedding parade would have. Naturally, however, a recording cannot render the actual spatial experience of listening on the water's surface.

Sound File 1: Excerpt from the Regatta Lepa XVI, Semporna, Sabah/Borneo (Malaysia), 18 April 2009. Recorded by Birgit Abels.
https://soundcloud.com/user-655623594/sound-1-regatta-lepa-xvi-2009
Icon: CC BY Plainicon, Online unter www.flaticon.com

The track captures a brief excerpt of the sonic environment that characterizes Semporna's shoreline from early morning until sunset during the *Regatta Lepa*. The instruments on this recording include the traditional *kulintangan* ensemble (often referred to simply as *tagunggu'*), which typically consists of the *tambul* drum, the *agung* (hanging gongs), and the *kulintangan*, a row-gong instrument that gave the ensemble its name (see fig. 1). *Tagunggu'* players within each ensemble are usually members of the same family, and boats carry complete ensembles that are playing independently of the other ensembles within hearing range.

In sound example 1, several basic musical parameters suggest movement:[9]

(1) Rhythm. Like all *tagunggu'* repertoires (Fernando 2002, 24), all *tagunggu'* ensembles documented on this recording are playing in duple meter, with resultant rhythmic patterns of mostly four or eight beats. As can be heard on the recording, the gong instruments within an ensemble produce an interlocking rhythmic pattern. If Fernando notes that in Sama Dilaut *tagunggu'*, "pieces appear to generate a sonic atmosphere of high tension or dance" (Fernando 2002, 25), then this already indicates the presence of suggestions of movement in the performance: *Tagunggu'* invites entrainment. With several ensembles playing within hearing range of each other, the interlocking rhythmic structure becomes even more complex, as several rhythmic layers interact across ensembles. Adding to the suggestions of movement inherent in the rhythmic texture of individual pieces, further rhythmic motion emerges from in between the in itself interlocking structures of the individual ensembles, but also from in-between all instrumental parts that can be heard from any given position within earshot.

When you're partaking in the *Regatta Lepa* the way most participants do – on a moving boat, or strolling along the shoreline – your own physical movement continually changes your listening position, *vis-à-vis* the various sound sources, which are also moving. As orientation in space depends, to a significant degree, on the psycho-acoustic perception of the environment, this results in a profound sense of spatial disorientation experienced as a dynamic tension affecting the felt body. Entrainment pulls you into the sonic space, but the continuous re-positioning of sound sources keeps distorting your aural orientation within that space. The resultant felt-bodily sensation is one of being seized and pulled through space – along unpredictable trajectories.

(2) Melody. Generally speaking, melodies are movements through tonal space, which, in itself, suggests movement. If most of the Semporna Sama Dilaut's *tagunggu'* repertoire shares fundamental structural similarities (Fernando 2002, 24) and is based on repetitive phrase structures, as the recording confirms, then this has two primary implications for melodic suggestions of movement. Both can be observed on the recording. First, the individual parts of an ensemble resemble their counterparts recognizably across the boats. But since the ensembles are not playing in coordination with each other, i.e. the musicians are neither starting at the same time nor sharing the same tempo, similar melodic motifs reach the listeners' ears time-delayed and/or from changing sound sources that are moving around them. This may even have a displacing effect, as it makes the sonic space a continuously morphing one, e.g., a new boat entering the listener's hearing range, playing bits of repertoire that are structurally similar to the boats already within hearing range. Naturally, the boat and the sound of its *tagunggu'*

9 In consideration of the interdisciplinary readership of this journal, I limit analytical jargon to a minimum in this article. For a more technical analysis of musical suggestions of movement, see Abels forthcoming.

ensemble approach the listener from a different angle than the sound of all other boats. This increases the effect of being felt-bodily-dragged in alternating directions within a changing sonic space. Second, several *tagunggu'* ensembles may be playing similar melodic motifs at the same time, but the ensembles' tunings may vary. Therefore, similar melodic gestures may reach the listener's ear from different sound sources and at different times, but their inner tonal structure also may be internally inflected, e.g., a scale degree 3 may be just audibly lower coming from an ensemble on boat A than coming from an ensemble on boat B. The psychoacoustic effects of this are complex and vary from listener to listener, but what's important to the present analysis is that these microtonal scale inflections further contribute to the listener's disorientation in tonal space. This is because the listener's tonal frame of reference is based on one ensemble's scale structure at a certain time, but then it gets constantly jolted by the arrival of another ensemble (which may pass by just a few meters from the listener) and its own tuning.

Like with rhythm, the listener's own movement reinforces these effects considerably, as everything is continuously moving relative to each other: the listener, the sound sources, and the tonal structures. Because of this ongoing motion, the sonic space is fundamentally volatile – it keeps changing in unpredictable ways. The listener, therefore, must constantly realign with the space surrounding him or her, which keeps the felt body excited and active in the sense of Ingold: To keep riding "on the cusp of the very movement of the world's coming-into-being," listeners need to constantly sound out space and music by means of both.

(3) Loudness. Perceived loudness, the way in which the sense of hearing processes the intensity of auditory sensations, hinges on the distance between the sound source and the listener. Changes in loudness impact the listener's spatial orientation, yielding orientational confusion the moment both listener and sound source are in uncoordinated motion. With both the listener and the position of sound sources continuously moving, loudness is a constantly shifting parameter in the musical experience of the *Regatta Lepa*.

(4) Timbre. The acoustic behavior of gong instruments is complicated, especially with a view to timbre development as the sound evolves (Sethares 2013, 174). The reason for this is that the partials keep rising and falling as the sound lingers. Such "energy exchanges give the gong its characteristic, evolving timbre – as if the partials of the gong are smoothly sweeping up and down the […] scale" (*ibid.*). Naturally, this effect is less clearly discernible on a recording, but powerful within the acoustic environment in question. Psycho-acoustically, it yields an effect of rotating motion within the individual gong sounds themselves, the succession of which forms melodic units. If, as described above, the melodic work of *tagunggu'* unsettles the listener's spatial orientation, then the individual pitches that contribute to this effect themselves feature a spinning motion. This adds yet another dimension of unhinging spatial orientation.

The above set of analytical categories is far from exhaustive and allows for the exploration of suggestions of movement in any music, but, as shown above for all categories, they are particularly productive when music goes along with physical movement. This is because physical movement through ensounded spaces increases the spatial effect that the respective structural dynamics have on the felt-bodily experience. The felt body has to constantly re-familiarize itself with its (acoustic) surroundings. This heightened felt-bodily involvement (*Betroffenheit*, in the language of Schmitz) is the first step of the transductive process through which corporeal sensations manifest as shared feelings.

Returning to the work of Hermann Schmitz, for such musical suggestions on movement, as described above, to invoke a meaningful atmosphere of Sama Dilautness, they must modulate people's vital drive. The vital drive is characterized by a continuous oscillation between contraction and expansion that responds to a stimulus beyond affect and perception. Paraphrasing anthropologist Charles Hirschkind, suggestions of movement continuously stir up "latent tendencies of [...] response sedimented within the mnemonic regions of the flesh" (Hirschkind 2006, 82f). Here, the mnemonic regions of the felt body are enveloped by the sonic environment of the *Regatta Lepa* resonating with mobile notions of space that are specific to the Sama Dilaut within the ethnic fabric of their life-world. By modulating the felt body's rhythm of contraction and expansion, the suggestions of motion identified above cause the felt body's knowledge about the particularities of that spatiality to resonate in a diffuse way with the musical experience of *tagunggu'*.

Hirschkind's "latent tendencies [...] of response" are culturally formed. *Tagunggu'*, in the case of the *Regatta Lepa*, is both a model and an object of that cultural discourse. At the same time, it acts on this cultural disposition. To play *tagunggu'* during the *Regatta Lepa*, therefore, is to exercise Sama Dilaut spatial understanding. To embrace the shared feeling arising from that musical exercise is to continue and transform Sama Dilautness (*cf.* Kramer 2016, 16ff). This is one instance of a specifically Sama Dilaut way to ride "on the cusp of the very movement of the world's coming-into-being," again, as Ingold puts it.

The meaningfulness of the *Regatta Lepa's* atmosphere of Sama Dilautness, then, resonates in bodies that have encorporated the musical suggestions of movement. There, resonating in the body, it interacts with culturally framed discourses. The repertoire played is not specific to the *Regatta Lepa*, and melodic bits and pieces you're overhearing may belong to a specific, possibly holy place, thereby evoking the deity who owns the place in question. Certain rhythmic patterns may allude to a dance that carries a well-known narrative about the value of family. Such discursive dimensions add a *gestalt* to the emerging sense of belonging, to the sharing of a significant situation, and to an imagination of one's own shared history.

Crucial to the emergence of a meaningful atmosphere, the encorporation occurring through sequences of alternating movements of expansion and relaxation must be a solidary one. In this way, musically suggested movements act on a gathering of individual felt bodies at the same time, starting the process in which many "I's" become a "we," i.e., a social entity. In other words, the coming about of a solitary felt body experientially creates shared situations and, thus, an experiential sense of community. The boundaries separating people from their environments, including the people within these environments, become pervious. The sensation of how one's felt body merges with others in following sonically mediated suggestions of movement is precisely what lies behind the power of the *Regatta Lepa*. It's how Sama Dilautness comes about musically here – as an atmosphere, forever transforming as it keeps moving through space. Like sea-nomads.

Conclusion: Mobile Practice, Musical Practice – Atmospheres in Double Motion

The workings of musical atmospheres are unpredictable to a significant extent. Similar musical suggestions of movement may yield disparate effects on the felt body. This is in part because musical atmospheres cannot sensibly be analyzed while isolated from the cultural, historical, social, and affective frames they leverage.[10] This, however, may be precisely the analytical concept's forte, as the methodological implication of this is self-evident: It forces us to attend to the particular, rather than the abstract. "[B]oth the philosophy of music and musical aesthetics have faltered over this point" (Kramer 2016, 11), just as a great deal of mobilities theorizing has attempted to homogenize the contingent nature of social worlds of movement when attention to ethnographic details seems the only valid methodical choice to prevent us from missing the complexity of the phenomena under investigation (Vannini 2009, 8) and the nonfixity of boundaries (Braidotti 1994, 36). But "[t]here is no such thing as music. There is no phenomenon that corresponds to a single concept of music. Music is a prolific acoustic field of family resemblances. [… M]usic in the abstract can exemplify ideas, but not interrogate them" (Kramer 2016, 11). By contrast, bringing singular instances of music, such as the *Regatta Lepa,* into a conversation with concepts such as mobility and atmosphere *does* allow for a productive exploration of the particular interconnectedness of music, mobility, and atmosphere in this musical instance. I hope I have demonstrated that thinking mobility and atmosphere through music and music and atmosphere through mobility allow for a musical exploration of space that would not have been possible without the analytical affordances of atmosphere. Playing *tagunggu'* during the Regatta Lepa is an atmospheric practice of the rendering of both space and Sama Dilaut spatiality that's tangible through sound. Sound doesn't necessarily "have" place; ever-moving, it instead pervades space, fertilizing the matrix that envelops that which becomes meaningful in the process. It is not, therefore, the topology of sound that is of primary relevance when it comes to place-making. It is sound as movement. Hence, perhaps, the idiomatic expression "sounding out" a place.

Atmosphere is the missing link to understanding how place comes about: as a relationship within which a sensation of meaningfulness vis-à-vis the individual is becoming tangible as felt-bodily commotion, resonating with interpretive frames and cultural figurations, as I have shown above. In the case of the *Regatta Lepa,* the Sama Dilaut spatiality rendered tangible through *tagunggu'* is experientially affirmative of the Sama Dilaut's cultural framework, which, in turn, hinges on the idea of mobility. But if movement is the key factor here, then this does not mean that the findings of my analysis are only relevant for nomadic spatialities, even if they emerge particularly clearly in instances where music as movement finds repercussions in space as movement. In fact, one might even be tempted to argue with Isabel Stengers (1987) that mobility is one of the most "nomadic concepts" in postmodern epistemology, i.e. an epistemological position allowing for multiple interconnections and transmigrations of ideas (cf. Braidotti 1994, 23). Relating to space through music-making, music as a place-making practice is effective through the atmosphere that allows those partaking in the music to feel that place, both sensually and felt-bodily – whether their lifestyle is nomadic, sedentary, or something in-between. This means that Jensen's suggestion that movement, as an analytical category, forces us to re-frame "subjectivity […] in such a manner that it avoids the sedentary pitfall of inward looking, and thus static notions of meaning and identity" (Jensen 2009, xviii) needs significant expansion. Thinking with both movement and particular instances of musical atmospheres,

10 See Abels forthcoming for a more in-depth discussion of the interconnectedness of atmosphere, affect, and cultural frames.

which too are movements, we need to re-focus on the procedural relationship between those who dwell and the places that come about as they dwell. Musical atmospheres as movement stir up a place. The experience of a musical atmosphere, therefore, is the experience of the becoming of a place-as-it-relates-to-you – for the atmosphere that enables you to relate to that place is in continuous motion with your felt body.

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Cosmopolitan Noises

Atmospheres in Shortwave Radio Listening

Patricia Jäggi

Abstract

After World War II, radio as a borderless medium became more and more important as an international agent connecting people worldwide. To date, these transnational connections have been explored primarily in relation to their function as political propaganda during the Cold War. In contrast, the present study explores the link between radio listening and the atmospheres emitted by international radio. It includes research in the production archive as well as a reenactment of the listener's situation using historical radio sets. The article looks at the changes in media-cultural practices which were responsible for the valorisation of atmospheres, as well as at the value of the acoustic interferences of radio transmission. It traces how these auditory and bodily confrontations with noise(s) evolved into a resensing of cosmopolitan feelings. The study is a contribution to a history of mobility intertwined with a history of the senses and atmospheres.

Keywords: Sound studies, sensory ethnography, media archaeology, media practices, radio history, radio analysis, international communication, migration, Switzerland, Cold War

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Waves of emigration at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century produced numerous Swiss expat communities, especially in the Americas. For a country with 2.3 million inhabitants in 1850 and a just over 4 million in the 1930s, the half million Swiss that emigrated between 1845 and 1939 was a proportionately large number of people (Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer 1997, 259). The Swiss international radio started broadcasting in the 1930s, targeting Swiss emigrants and their descendants abroad. After the Second World War, the station widened its programme activities to reach foreign, Non-Swiss listeners as the main target group. In 1957 90% of the listener letters were from foreigners interested in the country.

Scholars such as Arjun Appadurai and Noel B. Salazar describe the connection of migration, mobility, and modern communication media as a crucial development since the late 20th century (Appadurai 2000, Salazar 2016). The growing mobility of people is mirrored in the growing importance of new information and communication media. Transcontinental migration of people produces an ever-higher circulation of information, images, sounds, and concepts or lifestyles across the planet. International radio was the first area-wide, globally acting, and nearly real-time medium of the 20th century and the cradle of global information and communication as we know it today. To date, international radio broadcasting has mainly been regarded in its political instrumentalisation as propaganda during the conflicts of the Cold War. An appreciation of its role as social, cultural, and sensory connector is still missing. This paper undertakes an auditory journey beyond the informational aspect of radio. Using listening as a methodological framework, the article reconstructs listening to international radio from a phenomenological point of view. Recounting the listeners' experiences, first in the archive of the Swiss Shortwave Service, and then in the radio ether from today, it follows the presence and making of atmosphere on the side of radio production and on the side of radio transmission and reception technology. These examples of background noises, soundscapes, and acoustic interferences in shortwave radio listening reveal the value of the human and non-human creation of sonic atmospheres for a sensory history and culture of the 20th century, and the resulting auditory experience of cosmopolitanism.

Historical background

In the following I will refer to the Swiss Shortwave Service that operated from 1938 to 2004. It offered radio broadcasts for expats and non-Swiss in three of the national languages, as well as programmes in English, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, and Esperanto. In comparison with the BBC Overseas Service, which offered 69 languages, the Swiss Broadcasting Corporation was a very small but quite popular broadcaster in the listeners' clubs' yearly ratings. In comparison to former colonial empires that used radio as an informative supporter of imperialistic power, the Swiss Shortwave Service mainly focused on Swiss expats in its early years. After World War II, radio became increasingly important as an international actor connecting people worldwide. Due to economic and political changes during the Cold War, foreigners became the leading target group for the Swiss (and other international broadcasters). Emigration was no longer a big issue, as Switzerland flourished through a growing industry and steadily developed into a wealthy state that dealt more with immigration than emigration. In short, the Swiss Shortwave Service evolved from a remedy for homesickness into a trigger for wanderlust and a cultivator of a positive image abroad.

The scholarly discourse about international broadcasting is influenced by the political duality of East and West and the problem of jamming. The Eastern Bloc countries in particular tried to stifle the free circulation of radio waves by using jammers (Spohrer 2010, 101), whereby a radio transmitter was set to the same or adjacent frequency as the broadcaster that would be disturbed in order to hinder the circulation of propagandistic information. The result was an absurd situation wherein, for example, listeners in the GDR were not even able to receive the only radio broadcast from the GDR itself (Classen 2013, 331-343). Through the lense of political conflict, radio historians focus on the official institutional agenda, which was largely influenced by ideological and political issues (Somerville 2012). Radio and Cold War historians mainly attribute political propaganda – in the sense of geopolitical aggression – to the medium. That is why other effects of these cultural diplomatic relations between countries, such as the enabling of new listening experiences, have not been given the attention they are due (Badenoch et al. 2013, 361-374).

The archives of the Swiss Shortwave Service, with its programmes, listener letters, strategy papers, and my personal listening experiences thus became alternative sources for experientially reconstructing radio listening. In the first phase of research I focused on some of the 700 extant recordings from the period of interest (1950 until 1975). However, during my work in the sound and paper archives of the Swiss international radio, some limits became apparent, prompting a second phase of my research, which took place in the ether. Using historical radio sets, I aimed at approaching the experience even closer.

Listening as research method

Radio scholar Golo Föllmer describes the lack of an inclusion of the affective side which is also the side of experience in the analysis of radio. He writes that until now radio analysis has only focused on content and structure such as the number of words, music and jingles, openers, and other elements of design. In doing so, the *Anmutungsqualität* – the 'quality of impression' – was left aside. Föllmer also uses the term *Gefühlstönung*, which could be translated as 'emotional tinge'. According to Föllmer, Anmutung is part of the stylebook and design of radio. The quality of speakers' voices and their way of speaking play a role, as well as the technical production and layout of the sound material, such as the recording practices, sound editing, and mixing. Föllmer positions the Anmutungsqualität on the side of editorial and production practices in radio and somehow excludes the listener (Föllmer 2013).

The concepts of Anmutung and Gefühlstönung overlap strongly with concepts of atmosphere. The aesthetic practices in radio design that Föllmer discusses relate strongly to Gernot Böhme's discussion of the 'making of atmospheres'. Föllmer's argument places Anmutung only on the side of production (of the object), whereas Böhme sees atmospheres as a phenomenon that transcends the subject-object dichotomy (Böhme 2017, 16). Atmospheres, in his view, come into existence not only through being produced, but also through being perceived: an atmosphere is sensed and becomes a reality in the perceivers; simultaneously, the objects of perception radiate atmospheres and are sometimes explicitly designed to do so (Böhme 2017, 20). By looking at both the production and the reception side of the experience I tried to capture the Anmutung of radio broadcasts. My research fields thus were the production archive of the Swiss Shortwave Service and the Shortwave ether itself.

To follow the sensory-atmospheric traces of shortwave radio broadcasting, I interviewed people about their auditory experiences, and also undertook my own listenings. In the following, I mainly refer to my own listening experiences, which also served as a basis for the listening experiments performed with groups of people. Overall, my methodology was inspired by 'sensory ethnography', an anthropological approach that not only looks at the role of the senses in everyday social and cultural practices, but also tries to redefine the role of the researcher according to his/her bodily presence and sensory experience (Arantes 2014, Pink 2009). Taking my case as an example, I tried to use my physical-sensory capabilities in the research field to reconstruct past listening experiences. Here, physical-sensory refers to the neurobiological interaction between the senses, by which they function, to some extent, synesthetically. Listening to something can trigger various parts of the brain such as vision, memory, or emotions, recalling the German saying that *Radio ist Kino im Kopf* (radio is cinema in the head). In addition my fine motor skills were challenged when turning the knobs of the various old radio sets on which I tried to find the right frequencies. Ultimately, through my research, my aural and sensory skills have somehow grown in their sensitivity to details and contexts, underscoring the sensory ethnographic research premise that not only the reflecting mind, but also the senses and body learn and adapt through challenges in the field.

My first field was the sound archive of the Swiss Shortwave Service and I was methodically challenged to capture my auditory impressions. But when I started my research with archived radio sounds I found myself irritated and disappointed. The digitised programmes from the Swiss Shortwave Service were lengthy, sounded raw, and made me quickly feel bored; it was nothing like today's radio production, in which several soundtracks with music, text, and other sounds are mixed together to create a complex and rapidly-changing sound experience. This irritation suggests that my listening habits as person in the 21st century are very different from radio listeners from the 1950s to the 1970s – the period I was focusing on. My listening habits hindered my understanding of what I actually wanted to find out.

The method I started to use, and which allowed me to widen my auditory horizons, is inspired by techniques of *écriture automatique* (Breton 2012 [1924]). In automatic writing, one writes down everything that comes to mind. What I practiced was a form of focused automatic writing: I concentrated on hearing and wrote down everything I was able to perceive. After that experience, I realised that I needed to listen in a more structured manner. I therefore first transcribed the oral parts – in the words of Michel Chion this mode of listening is called *semantic listening* (Chion 1994, 28). In the next listenings of the same programme I started to write down 'the rest' of what I was able to perceive. Here, the reconstruction of the source of the heard sounds, such as a squeaking sledge in the snow, became the next important mode of listening, which Chion calls *causal listening* (Chion 1994, 25-28). But sometimes, especially with noisier sounds, the sounds' source remained vague. Continuing to use automatic writing, homologies with other auditory or other sensory impressions came up naturally in my descriptions of what I perceived: something which sounded like a slithering blade, sounded harsh, or made me feel giddy. In other cases memory played a role, noises which reminded me of distorted e-guitars or of an event in my childhood. When imaginations were triggered I called it *associating listening*. Descriptions which came close to Chion's notion of *reduced listening* could also be found. In reduced listening the ear focuses on the "traits of the sound itself" (Chion 1994, 29). For example when the voice and its prosodic elements were focused the descriptions approached reduced listening: "louder voice, the voice springs up, nearly somersaults, sounds extremely excited as he forgets to breathe." This was the voice of a reporter who, with three other men, went down an icy bob sled run.

Through the relistenings of the same sounds and in the manner of a palimpsest, I crafted so-called *Wahrnehmungsprotokolle* (WP, listings of perception). The only difference to a palimpsest is that you leave everything you have written down before and weave the new impressions in-between the former ones. These WPs not only served as a basis to analyse the archival materials in depth, but they also provided a sensitisation training.

It was interesting to observe that when my descriptions left the safety of the semantic and causal area, they tended to grasp moods that were generated by spoken words, music, and also different noises. The initially boring archival findings suddenly acquired their own appeal, and their atmospheric qualities attracted my perception. Following some extraordinary findings, I would like to show how the programmes were also 'made' to attract and provide unique atmospheres (Böhme 2017), and how the Swiss Shortwave Service tried to make a Swiss atmosphere.

In the sound archive: Making atmospheres Swiss

The Swiss Shortwave Service wished for Switzerland to be seen as a modern, industrially and technically advanced country, while also celebrating its unique local aspects. The Swiss Shortwave Service positioned itself as 'the voice of Switzerland', aiming to attract listeners internationally, inform them about Switzerland, and spread a positive image of the country. According to their strategy, the Swiss international radio favoured traditional Swiss folk music to represent the country sonically (Padel 1957, 44-46). Thus, making the atmosphere sound Swiss was an important part of programme design. Local sounds served to differentiate the broadcaster in an international listeners' market from competitors such as the British, the US-American, the Canadian, Dutch or Australian international radio broadcasters.

One day I realised that more elaborate programmes that often portrayed Switzerland as an alpine nation repeatedly included outdoor recordings. The Swiss international radio also experimented with other local tunes for their programmes than claimed in the official strategy. In addition to these reportage-like feature programmes, I found *bruitages*, collections of field recordings which were used as sound effects. Both give evidence of the Swiss Shortwave Service's experimentation with using the local soundscape of Switzerland to make sonic atmospheres Swiss.

The archive of the Swiss Shortwave Service holds pictures documenting how such outdoor recordings were made. The first picture shows an interview taking place in front of an archaeological site in 1956. Here a car was still needed as battery power. The second picture is an example of a reporter recording a goat bleating during a folklore event taking place in the late 1960s. His portable audio recorder is still quite big compared to the 1980s version of a cassette recorder carried by the reporter in the third picture, who was looking for Swiss emigrants in the Brazilian rainforest.

Image 1: A reporter in front of an archaeological site in Switzerland. The car battery's power is necessary for this recording from the field. (Credit: Schweizer Radiozeitung 28, 1956, 5)

Image 2: A reporter from the Swiss Shortwave Service with a portable audio recorder (Credit: swissinfo.ch, undated)

Image 3: The reporter Jaime Ortega from the Spanish service in the Amazon carrying a comparatively light cassette audio recorder (Credit: swissinfo.ch, 1983)

In one reportage-style broadcast, the reporter himself tries out different kinds of dangerous mountain sports, such as bob sledding, delta flying, and trick skiing. With a sound recorder in his pocket he recorded all his adventurous trials. These recordings were later assembled to create a fun programme for young listeners with easy commentary and pop music (Dickson 1975). This interest in documenting and broadcasting Swissness through alpine sensations started no later than 1950. In a record-breaking broadcast directly from the Matterhorn, the Swiss fascinated many listeners by making a double transmission: one from the summit to the valley by an ultra shortwave transmitter; the second a live international shortwave broadcast of the talks between Switzerland and overseas (Adank 1950). Reporters from France, England, and the United States were in Zermatt to talk with the guides and technicians on top. Only one recording was made in Zermatt, which shows a somehow particularly difficult reception quality. This programme from the Matterhorn received hundreds of letters and was the subject of numerous newspaper articles. It can be seen as the beginning of the inclusion of outdoor sounds for the making of Swiss atmospheres, a trend that can be traced until the mentioned touristic feature programme from 1975.

Programmes that included not only 'clean' studio recordings, but also a huge amount of 'dirty', noisy, or otherwise imperfect recordings received other, more atmospheric descriptions in my WPs. In the following example of my notes on the beginning of the above-mentioned feature programme about Swiss mountain sports, even the recording process became hearable (*Transcribed words are in italic*; the rest is in regular font) (Dickson 1975):

> Drumming, played by a keyboard
> *Now the Swiss Broadcasting Corporation invites you to* – a swinging piano,
> *Don't just stay here* – percussive piano,
> *do something* – the Bass starts and
> a mouth organ, it reminds me of cowboys,
> The noises of wind on the microphone become louder, the music is fading out,
> *So off we go!*
> *a quick look at the watch – it's thirty-one minutes past one on a very sunny and bright February afternoon*
> squeking of snow,
> *we are bobsledding from Preda to Bergün*
> *5 kilometres*
> *welcome aboard!*
> *heeeyh*
> blades squeaking,
> sliding over snow,
> kids that laugh, laugh at somebody?
> something bangs, slips and stops
> clothing that chafes on a microphone,
> breathing out
> *and*
> breathing in
> breathing out
> *that was the first fall*
> *achha*-laughing, nothing serious happened, such a fun.
> *straight in the boards of the first bend*
> cut
> we are in the studio
> *And that was Chris Cooper at the start of the* [...]

In audio recording the sound of the equipment is usually made inaudible as far as possible. But here it belongs to the sporty, adventurous, and wintry atmosphere of the experiences presented in the feature. This is similar to today's imperfect YouTube adventure videos, where crazy sports events are presented with wiggly and blurred filmography. That the producers left these noises in the feature can thus be explained as part of a strategy of authenticity, the authenticity of the imperfect sound or picture with which we are very familiar today.

Besides reportages, another more general practice needs to be mentioned in the context of atmospheres in radio production. It can be described along the archival finding of *bruitages*.

The term bruitages comes from the French 'bruit' which means (unwanted) noise or sound. But in the context of its usage in radio production it can be translated as atmosphere. In the archive of the Swiss Shortwave Service I found bruitage recordings from the train station in Berne, from mountain trains or a mountain hut with people yodelling, from a cow fight event, and from an airplane landing on a glacier. Sound technicians and reporters recorded so-called bruitages for their use in post-production. They were used as sound effects to 'atmospherise' the 'clean' studio recordings which lacked any atmospheres. The recording of such sound effects by the radio stations stopped in the 1970s when vinyl recordings with libraries of pre-recorded 'atmospheres' could be bought on the market.

These examples show how the recording of local sounds became an important technique used for Switzerland's self-representation abroad. Making the atmosphere Swiss was accomplished not only by choosing Swiss music and topics, but also by bringing Switzerland itself as close as possible to the listener. My listenings showed that noisy (*geräuschhafte*) programmes with outdoor recordings were not only perceived as more atmospheric, but also, thanks to their imperfections, as more authentic. This was an important issue in the larger context of Cold War propaganda, because propaganda was seen as deception and thus a malicious form of inauthenticity. Using on-the-spot recordings enabled radio producers to make atmospheres Swiss and authentic.

Beyond the political aims of the broadcaster, an aesthetic interest in 'Swiss' soundscapes was part of a general interest in sound recording and experimentation which flourished during the Cold War. The development of affordable and lighter recording and production technologies generated a huge creative potential for music and radio production. One of the historically important examples in experimentation with prerecorded sounds is the *musique concrète*. Not only musical instruments and the human voice but also elements of the acoustic environment were recorded and used for musical compositions. One of the best-known examples of sound experiments in radio is the BBC's radiophonic workshop, which started in 1958 to produce sound effects and radiophonic (experimental) music for BBC productions. The recording and creative usage of tape sound was not limited to avant-garde composers. A community of hobbyists grew during the Cold War. As sound hunters they competed in international sound hunting gatherings with their tape sound productions (Bijsterveld 2004). There were even guidebooks for beginners in *musique concrète* (Dwyer 1976). Sound effects were on everyone's lips.

With regard to an auditory-sensory history, there emerged a heightened awareness of what, over the course of the Cold War, became scientifically described as a soundscape (Schafer 1994 [1977]), and a strong valorisation of elements of the soundscape as a creatively usable and makeable sonic atmosphere.

In my second listening adventure, I left the archive and the making of atmospheres by humans and entered the ether and with it also the making of atmospheres by the non-human agents of communication technology.

Into the ether: reenacting former listening experiences

International radio stations depended highly on listener reactions. In the early years of shortwave broadcasting, even the feedback on reception quality was imperative. The listeners were asked to send QSL-cards, a standardised way through which they confirmed their reception.

Technical improvement of transmission and reception gear continued to be an important issue during the Cold War era, but by then the listener reactions in the thousands of letters they sent every year served primarily as a mirror for the editorial office and their programming. Two questions arise from considering these feedback communications. First, why did so many people write letters, become pen pals with the radio station, or even visit the Swiss international radio during their holidays in Switzerland? Second, the insistence on noise as an issue in the letters and other written documents of the Swiss Shortwave Service suggests that the everyday experience of shortwave listening has something to do with noise. As mentioned above, in the historical literature about Cold War broadcasting, jamming is a big issue, and jamming, the distortion of a signal, produces experiences of noise. The listener reactions that could be found in the archive reveal that 'noise' was an omnipresent phenomenon.

While the archival sound documents were able to represent the good production quality of the signals, they contained no information on the reception quality or interactive practice with such a radio set. Growing up in the 1980s/90s I remember some noisy radio reception, especially when driving in the car with my parents, but besides that memory, the noise of the analogue epoch was mostly unknown to me.

Following the advice of a media archaeologist, I bought a Grundig Satellit 2000, which is a very good consumer radio from the 1970s. My first experience with shortwave radio listening on my secondhand *Weltempfänger* (world receiver) was disappointing: I only received noises and was not able to receive any shortwave signals at all. I first tried in the early afternoon. As I had planned to record the sounds coming out of the loudspeakers I was located in a sound studio with thick walls around it. Shortwave can only be well transmitted during darkness when the D-layer of the ionosphere, with its disturbing effects on signal reflection, disappears. Shortwaves are skywaves that need the ionosphere and, in a multi-hop transmission, also the ground as a reflector. Natural circumstances such as the changing intensity of the sun during a day, a year, or a decade, and the composition of the ground have an effect on the signal transmission (Klawitter 2008, 16-19). Furthermore the electromagnetic waves of other technical apparatuses interfere with reception. Heavy metals used for the construction of the walls in a building are also interrupters. In my case, time and location were probably both not ideal.

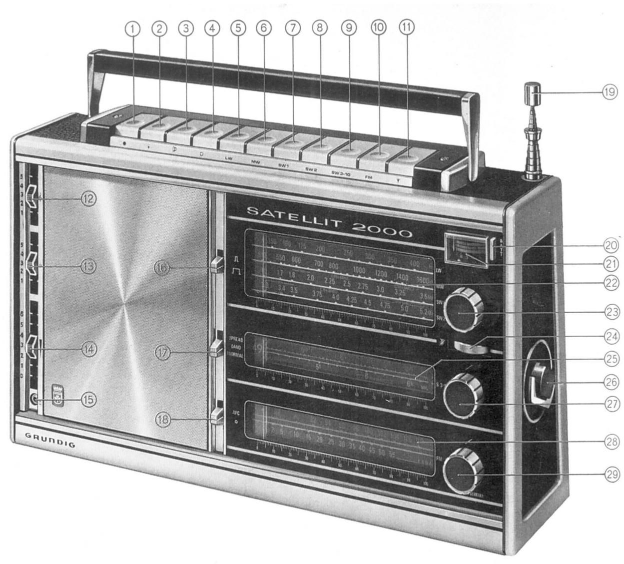

Image 4: Grundig Satellit 2000 was a modern shortwave receiver with a technical design from the 1970s (Credit: Grundig Satellit 2000: Operations instructions, undated)

After changing location and choosing nighttime for listening I was able to acquire the technical skills for the functioning of the knobs on my radio set, and I was finally able to receive shortwave signals. After this initial training, the reenactment, a demonstration experiment could start.

One week in May 2016 I spend my evenings in the media archaeological fundus of Humboldt University, Berlin. There is a professional shortwave receiver, which originated from the German military. This apparatus, which has no loudspeakers and needs headphones, should enable even better reception and listening. To document my experience, I recorded all the sounds of the radio set I listened to and made, while listening, detailed listings of my impressions.

Image 5: Telefunken E 863 KW/2 from the 1970s – a standard model in the German Navy. (Credit: bw-schmitti.de)

The listing below (table 1) documents 42 minutes of my experience as a channel hopper and traveller in the ether. My hands were often on the knobs while my ears concentrated on finding sounds that might contain semantic entities such as language or music. Sometimes I could stop on a frequency which came in well, I listened to the voices or music for two minutes, then continued my search. Sometimes I slowly lost a quite clear and seemingly stable signal. Sometimes there would be an unpredicted change in volume, making the voices so gentle that they became incomprehensible because of the whirring of the radio set. There were also interferences of neighbouring signals that produced strange distortions and spontaneous jumps between broadcasters. Sometimes there was only noise and I started to listen to the materiality of the sounds themselves – what can be described as reduced listening (Chion 1994, 25-33).

Besides searching for signals, I was imbued with the need for a constant dialogue with my radio set. I had to regularly readjust the frequency and volume for good reception. The incoming shortwaves felt like ocean waves. Interestingly, I started to like the challenge of finding and receiving the signals between walls of noise – the signals being like inhabited islands during a noisy sea voyage. The WP below represents my brief participation in an Arabic music programme. At other times I was part of a Chinese language course in German and I received a documentary about a Swiss-French composer who was giving a show in Beijing. Both broadcasts were made by Radio China International. I also listened to some Muslim prayers from Bangladesh and heard a late night techno party with an enthusiastic Italian speaking commentator. It was astonishing to me how the interaction with the radio set and the found

Apparatus: Telefunken Empfänger E 863 KW/2 (Fundus HU)								
bandwidth: 0.75								
operating mode: A2/A3								
	Time		recording		Choice	Display		Listening
Date	**Start**	**End**	**Nr**	**Filename**	**Area**	**Start**	**End**	**Description**
10.05.16	13:40		1	SUD__ T469_1	3.48-7.49 MHz	73159	74861	Noise with sometimes nice crackling
		13:50			1.50-3.48 MHz	34817	34866	interesting oscillating state at min 9/10/ ending
10.05.16	13:52		2	SUD__ T470_1	7.49-15.50 MHz	154953		
					3.48-7.49 MHz	34817		Noise with voice (horror-like), then Arabic music
					7.49-15.50 MHz	154300		Min 3:20-06:20 interesting noises with overtones and crackling, interferences
					7.49-15.50 MHz	154337		06:20-07:20 the same but lower pitch
					7.49-15.50 MHz	153826		08:00-09:40 Arabic singing with disturbing noise
		14:03			7.49-15.50 MHz		154956	
10.05.16	14:04	14:06	4	SUD__ T472_1	7.49-15.50 MHz	154956		
10.05.16	14:08		5	SUD__ T473_1	15.50-30 MHz	315129		
					15.50-30 MHz	314952		00:10-02:10: like machine noises
					15.50-30 MHz	315128		02:30-06:30 interesting crackling
					15.50-30 MHz	314957		06:50-08:40 like machine noises or horror film soundtrack
					15.50-30 MHz			08:40-10:00 transformations of rustling and brawling
					15.50-30 MHz	314850		ca. 10:00-12:00 chirring noise with brawling, roaring becomes like machine noise
					15.50-30 MHz	314911		12:40-13:40 high pitched hissing, bright uproar
		14:22			15.50-30 MHz		31512	

Table 1: Listing of shortwave listenings; recordings at: **https://soundcloud.com/user-976228230**

signals produced something which attracted me. Through listening I was able to imagine other peoples who lived far away. There was a sense of participation and connectedness, despite the felt distance. Listening produced a cosmopolitan feeling that I was initially not able to name. After the reenactment of the listening experience, I started to select what I felt were the most interesting sounds I had recorded. From the six hours of recording, I produced a 9-minute demo-track that would give others an impression of my journey through the shortwave ether. Furthermore, I used the demo-track for a listening experiment with media and music scholars, in which they were asked to describe the eleven snippets on the Demo-Track (Soundfile 1: Demo-Track: https://soundcloud.com/user-976228230/sets/demo-track). In their descriptions of the sounds they often referred to contemporary musical effects such as distorted e-guitars, vocoder effects on voices, or compositions of electronic noise music such as those of Merzbow. In the discussion after the experiment, one scholar highlighted his astonishment about the heterogeneity of the sounds generated by the medium itself ("Eigenklang", Papenburg 2011, 14). Some participants seemed to be as fascinated as I had been during my recording and listening sessions.

Noise as an atmosphere of cosmopolitanism

This second experience was able to show me that the non-human noises of the shortwave transmission process added a value to the listening experience of international radio. Usually, in the context of media communication, noise is seen as unwanted interruption. According to Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver, noise is an external source that disturbs the transmission process and changes the informational content in an undesirable way. Noise is unwanted information because the sent message should ideally be the same as the received message (which is measured in the signal-to-noise ratio; Shannon/Weaver 1964). Through a technical lense, noise is a problem. Through the sensory perspective I applied, there was much more to that noise.

Jacques Attali is one of the early figures who started to reconfigure noise. As an economist, he adds value to 'noise'. Similarly to Shannon/Weaver, he argues that noise carries 'new information'. But noise, for Attali, is also able to become meaningful (Attali 2006 [1977], 33):

> [...] noise does in fact create a meaning: first, the interruption of a message signifies the interdiction of the transmitted meaning, signifies censorship and rarity: and second, because the very absence of meaning in pure noise or in the meaningless repetition of a message, by unchanneling auditory sensations, frees the listener's imagination.

The repeated verb 'signify' here actually refers to 'spreading an atmosphere' as it is not an indexical relation like the linguistic one between the word tree that signifies a tree. The interruption of a message which is perceived in noise radiates an atmosphere of interdiction, censorship, and rarity. Not only the gap that is produced by the loss of the message, but also the interrupting noise may be a factor in freeing the listener's imagination. Building upon Attali's valorisation of noise and thinking back to Böhme's concept of atmosphere, noises and noise in the context of my study could be described as a human and non-human 'atmospherisation' of everyday experiences. Finally, looking at the connection between noise and atmosphere frees noise from its role and negative image as unwanted sound.

This can be explained in comparison with the near absence of noise in the media channels of today's digital era. Perceiving noise that is generated by the shortwave transmission and reception process offered me a sensory experience of distance that is missing in today's borderless communication. I also never felt cosmopolitan when youtubing or soundclouding the world. Using an analogue transmission technology like shortwave, one is able to perceive the distance: one hears that the signal had to travel long-distance because it sounds used. It is neither easy to receive nor to keep up the connection with a signal. This is experienced in the constant need for interacting with the apparatus guided by the perceived noises. A polyphony of the squeaking snow from Switzerland and the noises of the radio transmission creates the perceived cosmopolitan atmosphere. An understanding of cosmopolitanism as a "sense of universal worldliness" (Acharya 2016, 36) is mirrored in a desire for transnational interconnectedness which was expressed in the listeners' letters. According to the Swiss Shortwave Service they received 21'000 letters per year (Padel 1957, 46). The regular listeners of shortwave radio lived mostly in the countryside. Besides having fewer entertainment possibilities, these listeners may also have had a bigger need to feel connected with people from other countries than people living in the already multicultural and cosmopolitan cities. International radio, with its new listening experiences, allowed listeners to be mobile, to travel worldwide by ear. It is an imaginary mobility which was able to produce real experiences of cosmopolitanism. Including the presence and materiality of noise opens up the possibility of including it as a historical and cultural entity in a history and culture of the senses, atmospheres and cosmopolitanisms.

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Tractor Unit Acoustemology

Sounds of a Dwelling on the Road

Agata Stanisz

Abstract

In this article I provide an alternative ethnographic "description" of daily life of long-haul drivers. It is based on the assumption of acoustemology and field recording method. Data was gathered during research within truck drivers working for Western European freight companies and who inhabit cabs of their tractors units. Research corresponds with a current trend of anthropology of sound that consider audio-representations as a counterfactual way of production of anthropological knowledge. On the methodological level the main goal of my study was to transgress academic visuality. To accomplish this purpose I have decided to experience an ethnographic fieldwork through sound.

Keywords acoustemology, ambiance, anthropology of sound, audioethnography, dwelling, mobility, movement, road studies

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Researching cultures on the way

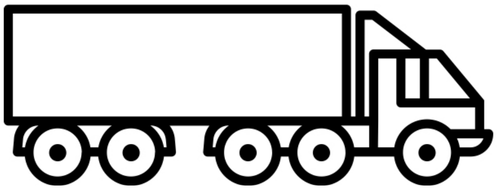
I have been studying sound from the anthropological perspective since 2006, when I introduced into my research and educational activities the method of field recording[1]. I linked audio recording with practicing sensitivity indispensable for conducting ethnographic research in the area of anthropology at home (Peirano 1998, 105-128), especially in the context of urbanized and infrastructural day-to-day reality, where we encounter obvious and domesticated phenomena, which usually makes them semantically transparent for us (Atkinson 2007, 1905-1917; 2011, 12–26). Since I became interested in sound, I focus on the methodological aspect of applying the very basic assumption of anthropology of sound (or more broadly – anthropology of senses) that scientific democratization of senses and devisualization of field knowledge is not only possible but also epistemically prospective (Howes 1991, 3-23; 2005; Stoller 1997; Paterson 2009, 766-788). Generally, sound (its production, distribution and all types of auditory practices) significantly influences the way we experience reality. This influence is, in my opinion, especially pronounced in the urban, or widely speaking industrial, environment, which tend to be particularly sounded.

My first project where I consistently applied the ideas of anthropology of sound was created as late as in 2011. This is when I started doing ethnographic mobile studies among tractor unit drivers working for international forwarding companies and dealing with transport of goods in western Europe[2].

In the summer 2011, I got into the cab of a tractor unit for the first time. It was on the Danish-German border. The tractor unit with a semitrailer belonged to an international forwarding company employing about 200 drivers, mostly from Poland and Romania. This was when I set off on a three-week-long journey with my key informer – a professional driver with 30 years of experience.

1 See the author's Internet projects: *Sound Map*: alternative sound map of the city of Poznań created on the basis of field research conducted during classes in the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at AMU in Poznań, http://www.soundsmap.amu.edu.pl [accessed 2017-04-11]; *Sound City*: ethnographic sound notes and city audiosphere studies, http://miastodzwiekow.blogspot.com [accessed 2017-04-11]; *Antropofon*: the first anthropological podcast with ethnographic features, http://antropofon.blogspot.com [accessed 2017-04-11]; as part of *Sounds of Europe*, http://www.soundsofeurope.eu/eblog/field-recordings-trucks-and-an-anthropologist [accessed 2017-04-11]; collections of field recordings on the Freesound, http://www.freesound.org/people/miastodzwiekow [accessed 2017-04-11] and Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/@sound_city_project [accessed 2017-04-11].

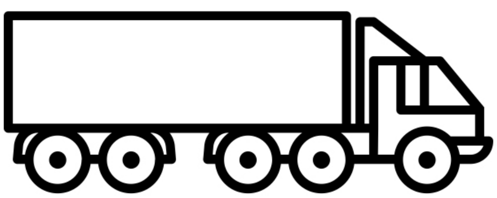
2 This article most of all reflects upon my first journey in a mobile field when I gathered the most impressive collection of field recordings and presented the research process as an audiovisual blog entitled *Transportodrone,* http://transportodrone.tumblr.com/ [accessed 2017-04-11]. The project is located in between cultural anthropology, ethnography and the free culture movement, and should be associated with a postulate of sharing and democratizing both fieldwork and scientific knowledge. Also I have carried out the following projects to date: *Mobile modernizations. The influence of A2 motorway on the local cultural landscapes* (2013-2017) – a project financed by the National Science Centre, *Mobility industry: between the regime of logistics and performance* (2015), *Transnationality on the road. Studies of long-haul tractor unit drivers in Western Europe* (2012), *Culture on the road: Translocality and mobility of long-haul tractor unit drivers* (2011) – projects financed from the research grants as part of Young Staff Development program at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at AMU in Poznań.



Audio file 1: Hooking up a trailer. Padborg, Denmark, 2011-08-01.
https://app.box.com/embed/preview/lmylculld8y2yo3n3vit?theme=dark

Throughout the entire journey, I shared with him a three-square-meter cab of the tractor unit and for the first time experienced a situation in which it was impossible to suspend my ethnographic research for some time. I could not hide anything and I was completely dependent on the subject of my study. I started this journey with a certain idea of what experiences I would have on the road. I only had a roughly defined conceptual line, so making a decision to travel by a tractor unit was rather connected with searching for new ethnographic fascinations motivated more by aesthetics than by science. Finally, I wanted to find out whether it was possible to apply in practice the ideas of sound anthropology, acoustemology in particular. I was especially interested in the ways of dwelling in the conditions created by constant movement and flow, which meant domesticating both the cab spaces and the spaces where the drivers usually park, such as parking lots, industrial zones and forwarding company bases, or simply roadsides. In order to understand and adequately describe them, I decided to use a multisensory observation method with a particular emphasis on deep and participant listening (Oliveros 2005; Forsey 2010, 558-572). My basic research technique was field recording.

I assumed that I would be faced with the very heart of mobility and road culture, that I would be pacing constantly for thousands of kilometers and during breaks I would intensively integrate with drivers of various ethnic origins and nationalities. I was mistaken: I was on the road rather rarely, and the travelling spaces I had an opportunity to visit were mainly dominated by Poles. Mobility was replaced by immobility and stillness. During my first trip, I had an opportunity to take part in shuttle transportation, which is carried out between a few specifically defined locations. Additionally, this was also seasonal transport in Denmark and Germany, conditioned by the weather. Since my driver and I transported fruits, we circulated among farms, wholesale warehouses and processing plants located in specialized industrial zones. The mentioned weather conditions turned out to be rather significant as they were not



Audio file 2: The Elbe and rainy crossing.
Elbfähre Glückstadt Wischhafen, Germany, 2011-08-04.
https://app.box.com/embed/preview/zu60c71cy2c67onnm41b?theme=dark

very favorable at the time and partially or completely blocked the transit process. Rain and gales destroyed its continuity: fruits could not be picked so transporting them did not make sense.

In this situation, the daily life of a tractor unit driver (and mine) mainly consisted of pausing, waiting for further instructions, loading, unloading, documents, the end of a pause and the end of the rain. It was about waiting in specific places characterized by specific visual and acoustic, cultural and social features: parking lots, bushes, the middle of fields, industrial zones, ramps, queues, ferries or harbor customs borders. At the same time, the route I had taken was very clearly characterized by locality. A tractor unit cab is literally a home or a place where and through which drivers manifest and preserve their cultural identity. I was simultaneously mobile and immobile, whereas my research became translocal and unpredictable. Most of the time, I had a very confusing feeling that I was at the same time not moving from the place I was in and being in a place that was on the move. The moments when I was moving were rare and inevitably, specifically localized.

Although I had not set off with a specific theoretical project on my mind, except for a plan of checking whether it was actually possible to practically apply the anthropology of sound, it was still very important for me from the very beginning to systemize my research activities, which I decided to carry out on three levels: classical one – fieldnotes and field diary, visual one – photography, and audioethnographic one – field recordings. I had not planned to conduct any interviews and I was rather leaning towards multisensory experience and ethnographic immersion (Helmreich 2007, 621-641; 2010, 10; Thibaud 2011) consisting in hearing, feeling, tasting, smelling and observing. I also assumed my material would be “depersonalized”, excluding subjective perspective of the drivers. I thought that collecting their stories would result in merely a set of anecdotes, impressions and fragmented narrations. The specific nature of my field was not conducive to ethnography in its classical understanding.

The chosen documentation method emerging from fieldwork knowledge is consistent with the empirical data published in *Transportodrone* blog, which is a chronological, multilayered record of my first 21-day journey. Each day is presented in a form of field notes, photographs, a description of collected sounds and audio files, together with maps of places, where the recordings were made. This multi-layer nature of the data simultaneously reflects three ways in which I experienced the field. For three weeks, I lived on about three square meters with my driver. We were constantly in each other’s company because of the places where we paused and weather conditions (pouring rain, tornadoes, low temperatures). This is why I got immersed in the field very quickly. Tractor unit driver’s routine, including its acoustic dimension, became my routine and my daily life.

I was exclusively in male company of drivers, workers from factories, processing plants and wholesale warehouses where we loaded and unloaded the carried goods. I observed men. I went for walks or shopping with them. I cooked, ate and drank whiskey with them. I exchanged CDs and talked about some silly things with them. Sometimes I photographed them. I observed how they were working, pausing, what they were wearing, how they were managing their time, communicating with their families, I checked what type of (if any) community they were forming. I also experienced all sorts of treatment: as a sexual object, quasi-daughter, colleague, a person who should be pitied because of her unidentified occupation of an anthropologist and also, by mistake, as another professional driver.

Masculinity and male work ethos were the two elements that I had expected to be the most pronounced. However, they had a different quality. My expectations and ideas were imbued with stereotypes concerning tractor unit drivers. What actually turned out to be most significant in this context was the link between masculinity (especially male body) and machines (especially tractor units) in ambivalent conditions: simultaneous mobility and immobility, mutilisitedness and locality, internationality and nationalism. These seemingly mutually exclusive oppositions existed side by side in the context of, firstly, a specific type of dwelling, secondly, a specific sound space full of industrial and roadside noises, buzzes and bourdons co-creating the ambiance of tractor unit drivers' everyday reality.

Acoustemology of tractor unit and dwelling on the road

Acoustemology is a theory that verges between anthropology and ethnomusicology and deals with acoustic reality. It concerns the cognitive potential of sound and its audibility, which allows for understanding their sense and meanings. This approach emphasizes auditory practices, both the present and the historic ones, as well as collective and individual ones. It offers an alternative for the visual paradigm, which has dominated the western concept of knowledge and human perception since Renaissance. Ethnomusicologist Steven Feld (2015) was the one who initiated acoustemological approach as an alternative to the anthropology of music, already well-established in the 1960s (Merriam 1964). This scholar demonstrated an impressive potential of sound and listening with reference to the system of cultural meanings and social situations where they can be found. His approach should be interpreted as rejection of the traditional, acoustic and musicological sound interpretation, which defined it as a physical phenomenon that can undergo scientific objectification.

Acoustemology is actually a sounded variant of epistemology, where cognitive processes are shaped on the basis of experience, valuation and use. It allows for asking a question about what is already discovered and discoverable through sound and hearing, and how sound influences the social; how and in which contexts the social and the cultural are decisive about some groups of people, phenomena, or identity manifestations etc. being audible or not. The concept of acoustemology does not imply epistemology in the formal sense. As its creator Steven Feld claims, it is not about metaphysical and transcendental proposition pertaining to the notion of truth. It is more about relationality of knowledge production processes, which John Dewey calls contextual and experimental cognition (Dewey, Bantley 1949). Steven Feld introduced acoustemology in 1992 in order to locate in the social studies his research on the cultural dimension of sound (Feld 2015, 12-21). This dimension is nothing else than sounded relations between people, non-human reality (things, animals, plants), the environment and technology. Thus, the anthropology of sound studies relations in activities, whose creation is closely linked to the acoustic aspects of everyday life understood as an intrinsic element of the habitus. The scientific discovery through relations makes us aware of the fact that we never acquire knowledge in a simple way, because this process always includes interaction, communication and it is conditioned by the processes of participation and reflection (Feld 2015, 12-21).

Acoustemology is also a notion connected to anthropology of sound, which was developed also by Steven Feld as a critical answer to the limitations of anthropology of music, especially the paradigm of "music in culture" by Alan Merriam (1964) and "human only organized sounds" by John Blacking (1973). Anthropology of sound supports the idea of taking into consideration variety of sounds and widening the notion of music by including e.g. language, poetry, voice, natural sounds and sounds produced by other species than human beings, machines, and environment acoustics. It is also crucial not to ignore the technological mediation of sound and the ways sound circulates in a given socio-cultural context. Therefore, sound reproduction and distribution should always be taken into consideration.

At the same time, it should be noted that acoustemology rejects the most important legacy of acoustic ecology, i.e. soundscape (Schafer 1977). This is caused by the fact that the landscape analogy is inadequate as it evokes physical distance to the already mentioned relationality, agency and perception. Acoustemology is not supposed to serve yet another essentialization and its application does not result in substituting a visualistic ocularcentrism with sonocentrism (see also Helmreich 2010, 10; Ingold 2007, 10-13). From the anthropological point of view, when we take into consideration the acoustic dimension of social life, listening should be located in its center and engaged in a specific time-space context.

Thus, tractor unit acoustemology, which is the subject of this article, would be founded on a rather unoriginal idea that everyday life of tractor unit drivers is shared with various Others and based on real, virtual and imagined relations and co-activities. This relationality is the basic condition of dwelling on the road, a product of conscious or unconscious ways of multisensual participation in the world, conditioned by, e.g. listening to its auditory: verbal and non-verbal, human and non-human, musical and non-musical, aspects.

Sound should be studied in such situations where the subject who is listening is mentally and physically involved. Avoiding the acoustic in anthropological practices, especially among communities living in acoustically rich environments, is an unfair privilege awarded to visuality. What is sonic in a given culture is also socially situated and manifested to the people experiencing it, if we assume that sound is something that influences and resonates in them. The ability to assimilate, express and reflect sounds is one of the basic tools that allows people to orientate themselves in the reality surrounding them. It becomes an element of various cosmologies and a medium for communication and expression. However, applying sound anthropology in studies conducted among tractor unit drivers, so in a context filled with intensive buzz and noisy acoustics, turned out to be difficult and not so obvious, especially due to methodological reasons.

Sound anthropology is a rather narrow specialization characterized by interdisciplinarity, often entering scientific discourses which are not always very useful in the context of the reflections on the urban and western European audiosphere. It is not a simple task to keep these reflections in the anthropological paradigm, considering this interdisciplinarity, which is a blend of philosophical, musical reflection and acoustic ecology. Moreover, most of the publications on this subject which can be called anthropological refer to studies located outside Europe and describing small communities (Feld 1990; Roseman 1991; Yamada 1997) where the auditory reality with all its literal and cultural distinctness makes it very difficult for the anthropological reflection on a complex, urbanized and postindustrial community to defend itself. It is not a simple task to look outside the fenomenoligizing, aesthetizing, ecologizing sonic experience of roadside, parking or factory spaces.

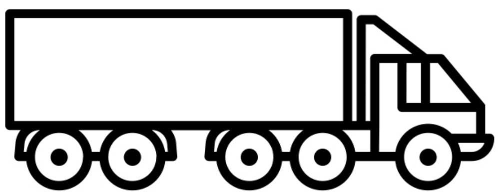
In the case of my studies, doing ethnographic research through sound means listening, recording, editing registered sounds and, with their help, developing acoustic representations of not so much the drivers' community, but rather their activities, events which they co-created and took part in. Since my goal was to make an attempt to describe with sound the daily life of this occupational group, every sound that I heard and decided to register could turn out to be important. This audioethnography of a kind was actually my conscious, and thus selective, active and in-depth listening, sensitive to the presence and significance of sound. Therefore, I did not restrict myself to registering composed sounds (music), speech and narration, but I rather focused on general acoustic environment, even if it contained tractor unit engines roaring monotonously, the motorway humming, boiling water bubbling or the belts fastened on the loads creaking. Ethnography should study the sounds that people hear every day because this is one of the ways they discover, experience and exist in the world. According to Steven Feld, a place is created the moment sounds are produced and present (Feld 2004, 465). Regardless whether sound is particularly appreciated in a given culture or not, including it in the notion of habitus widens the perspective applied by anthropology to look closer at certain phenomena and cultural activities.

A tractor unit is a three-square-meter space, which becomes a place carrying a certain value and significance owing to certain appropriating activities, both symbolic and material. A tractor unit cab is often interpreted as an extension of the driver's body (Laurier 2007; Laurier et al. 2008, 1-23; Merriman 2007, 1-23; Sheller 2003) it is not only a tool intended for mobility (Cresswell, Merriman 2011, 7-9; Normark 2006, 8-10) or a workplace, but also a recurrent dwelling. Drivers themselves call their cars homes on wheels. Moreover, these moving houses constitute specific points where strategies characteristic for transnational relations are put in practice. Drivers are constantly in touch with their families and friends, calling or contacting them on the Internet, and their cabs which they appropriate, are filled with material manifestations of the homes which they have left their roots in. The mentioned cyclical nature of this appropriation stems from the fact that, in the case of the company whose tractor units I was travelling in, setting off on a new journey (which takes three to four weeks with a one-week break) equals entering a different three-meter space from the previous one as each time the drivers are assigned a new tractor unit. The company which my drivers work for owns 130 tractor units and about 200 semitrailers. The semitrailers are sometimes pulled by tractor units that do not belong to the company, but are leased by the drivers. This means that every few weeks the drivers have to recreate their workspace and dwelling. In practice, this reproduction always follows a certain pattern where an identical set of accessories is used. Drivers domesticate these spaces with a local set of objects, such as spotted, striped or flowery sheets, small rugs, cushions of different shapes, stuffed toys (sometimes with regional symbols or shapes), family photographs, plastic bowls where they wash themselves, fragrant gadgets, laptops with wallpapers always presenting their homes or the local landscape. They do not enter the cab in shoes, but in slippers, they drink from mugs presenting their children, eat from plates that are a part of the tableware left at home. The interiors of their cars are cleaned every single day: they beat dust out of the rugs, clean it from the furniture and sweep out the cabs.

It happens very rarely in Europe that a driver is at the same time the owner of a tractor unit, which excludes the possibility of personalizing the unit on the outside. In contrast to the well-known in the pop culture American trucks, the European ones do not have any individual character: they are neither painted in an original way nor ornamented with additional lighting, decorative grille, chrome elements, pennants or iconographic symbols. They also do not display the names of the drivers. They are simply cars of a certain make having a certain reputation concerning the amount of space provided, ergonomics, sustainability and of course frequency of failure. It is also difficult to find analogies between the culture of American and European tractor unit drivers. In Europe, this occupation is not so well-reputed and socially respected as in the USA, and it bears no connection with the mythologized idea of freedom and nomadic journey (see DePillo, Poduch 2005; Hamilton 2008; Ouellet 1994).

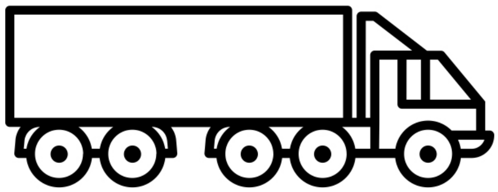
European tractor units are not only places for everyday interactions with the closest ones, but also spaces allowing to express family bonds as well as ethnic and national identity. This is where multisensual representations of locality are developed with the use of all the senses: sight, hearing, smell and taste. These mobile places travel through mobility channels (motorways, bridges, ferries and trains), park in non-places (Augé 1995, 75-115), characterized by standardization and anonymity, and their access to zones has very defined limits. Simultaneously, they are also private and intimate places, sealed and shielded from the outside world in spite of the simultaneous, constant, panoptical even access to the outside (Laurier 2007; Laurier, Lorimier et al. 2008, 1-23). Temporary locations in the mentioned non-places blur the definiteness of this category by often taking a repetitive and sometimes routinized form. All types of parking lots, roadsides, transport centers, gas stations, forwarding company bases, industrial zones where the localnesses situated on three square meters, go outside and create a mutual, often nationalized relation.

So what does dwelling on the road sound like? What can be scientifically achieved through registration and then analysis and interpretation of field recordings? As mentioned before, drivers are constantly in Augéan non-places: driving along them and pausing, waiting, being still, spending hours in front of computer screens, smartphone and GPS interfaces, which contradicts the common image of mobility.



Audio file 3: Parking for trucks at night. Near of Kolding, Denmark, 2011-08-02.
https://app.box.com/embed/preview/bt8us2ixsbduq69ghdm0?theme=dark

Being in those spaces, or even temporarily living in them, results in the feeling of being suspended in time and space and being at the same time everywhere and nowhere, in an ambivalent environment (full of noisy sounds, strong smells, variety of tensions and stimuli or sensually depraving, boring to the breaking point). I locate the experience of tractor unit cab between stimulus and deprivation. The fieldwork among the drivers was ambivalent because, on the one hand, it was very intensive and vibrant (sensually intensive, full of stimuli and stressors), and on the other hand, it was extremely homogenous (noises, stinks, the same tastes all the time, the same routine, the never-ending waiting). The main sources of stimuli were bodies, internal and external spaces, cargos, machines, objects, nature, actions, interactions and so on. In most cases they were manifested, generated and perceptible with the sense of hearing. Dwelling ambience on the road is only seemingly marked by monotony and homogeneity. Although it is mainly characterized by what people usually call noise, this noise is nuanced.



Audio file 4: Whirr of battery recharging. Somewhere in Denmark, 2011-08-06.
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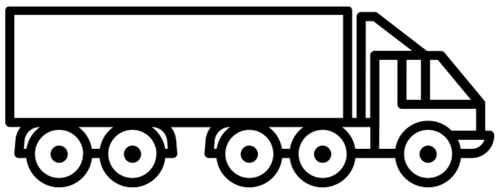


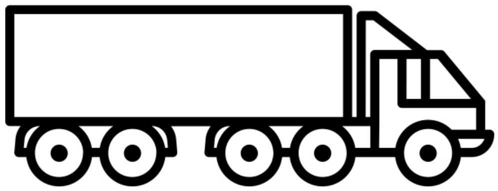
Audio file 5: Heating the truck. Oure, Denmark, 2011-08-10.
https://app.box.com/embed/preview/321zdxo3hs8kmysm9un7?theme=dark

In order to make the specific nature of the auditory dimension of the drivers' daily life clearer it is worth mentioning once more that a tractor unit cab is always a space of co-presence. Consequently, it is characterized by: constant mess (too many objects, doubled in number, objects out of place, overproduction of rubbish); no physical distance, no personal space, being literally at an arm's length – nothing can be hidden, neither work nor physical or psychological indispositions; embarrassing situations connected with physiological needs, but also all types of bodily rituals, for example, grooming (brushing teeth, cutting nails, brushing hair, squeezing pimples, shaving, cleaning ears etc.) which are neutralized; doing everything together (walking, working, cooking, watching movies, socializing with other drivers, going to toilet).

Bodily sounds are mostly those sounds which are audible inside the cab, connected with physiology and metabolism and also with the specific feeling of sensory deprivation caused by routine, boredom and constant waiting. These sounds become most pronounced when there is a standstill, or when drivers work in pairs and the sounds gain importance due to the presence of a second person. These are moaning, puffing, farting, hiccups, stomach gurgling, eructation, burping, loud swallowing of saliva, saliva squirting, scratching, snoring, throat clearing, clicking, slight coughing, hissing, sighing and nose blowing.

Then, especially if minutes and hours go by while waiting for instructions, loading or unloading, there is tapping fingers on the cockpit, finger snapping, button pushing, feet shuffling, teeth grinding, clicking phalanges, whistling and murmuring.

Then there are the sounds connected with eating, such as slurping, swallowing, crunching, chewing, eating noisily, blowing on hot food, smelling and all the non-verbalized sounds coming out of the body after consuming too much alcohol (e.g. vomiting).



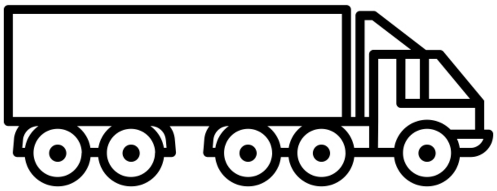
Audio file 6: Waiting, pausing, crunching. Neuenkirchen, Germany, 2011-08-11.
https://app.box.com/embed/preview/dulhmlrqil456e18ppfj?theme=dark

This sound dimension remains significant in the context of my research methodology. It is, thus, important to me as a researcher and it should be analyzed with reference to autoethnographic approach (Okely 1992, 1-28). My permanent presence activated the importance of the above sounds. The studies I was conducting equaled cohabitation, cooperation and co-presence. Therefore, the field was instantly materialized, while the concept of participant observation gained a different meaning and I started treating this method with some suspicion. Three square meters of the cab were of course a part of the field, but this part which I was present in all the time. The participation and the said observation were so intensive that the traditional meaning of this study technique was insufficient. The notion describing this specific 24/7 situation was, in my opinion, total intimacy: bodily, emotional, intellectual, ritualized and daily, especially at the level of activities and reactions connected with the context of work.

In anthropology, the idea of intimacy is associated with the concept of Michael Herzfeld (as cultural intimacy), which I have borrowed from him due to a few reasons (Herzfeld 2004). Firstly, cultural intimacy seems to be a crucial element of the relations between the drivers who I had an opportunity to meet and observe. Those relations are surely characterized by community cordiality (expressed by not hiding bodily sounds, but for example, rather burping together, or lack of any reservations when farting in the company of others), which I could also identify with to some extent, especially with reference to my nationality. Secondly, this very intimacy and familiarity which took a total, even radical form, describes this research field and its intimate acoustics the best. The acoustic experiencing of three square meters was verging on embarrassment caused by the lack of privacy and the inevitable closeness, including the emotional closeness whether it was desired or not. Emotions are often manifested with the body: the way of speaking, reactions, gestures and other incontrollable bodily behaviors connected to metabolism or physiology. Personal, individual privacy was impossible to achieve. Privacy existed only in the arrangement of me and him, my driver, which we could perhaps protect from undesired interference from the outside of our tractor unit's cab, but this type of privacy was usually impossible to achieve as well (Stanisz 2016, 47-68).

This rather small, in terms of measurements, mobile field located on the road or always waiting next to the road, enabled me to gather almost the same experiences as those of the drivers: their daily professional life taking place, as most people think, solely in the conditions of mobility and multisitedness. These experiences were perceptively intense because of the acuteness of multisensory stimuli, which were impossible to avoid. This unavoidable existence in the center of reality which I wanted to become my new research field made it possible for me to observe, or rather feel, and hear, everything very closely, in a most awkward and embarrassing, sometimes even unbearable, way.

Drivers never cease to be on the road, even if they are on their one- or two-week breaks at home. They constantly talk about what happened to them, where they were, what they saw and who they met.



Audio file 7: Trucker tales or pause and boredom. Oure, Denmark, 2011-08-05.
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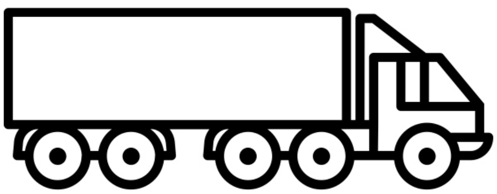
The dividing line between the place where they have their roots and their mobile homes is blurred. One or two weeks of a break is a time for preparing to the next cycle connected with recreating and preserving their mobile dwelling so that the driver could feel there at home. Hence, it must look, smell, sound properly and enable the driver to undertake daily, ideologically localized activities, such as watching favorite TV shows, listening to Polish music, the radio or even watching Polish TV.



Audio file 8: Watching movie. Oure, Denmark, 2011-08-11.
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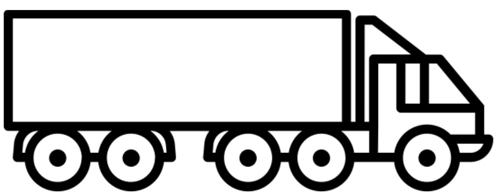

Audio file 9: Ambiance with Polish music. Oure, Denmark, 2011-08-06.
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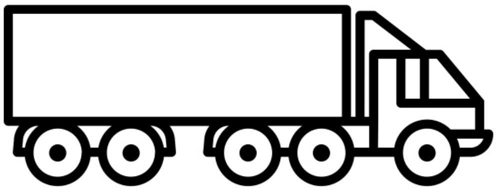
The drivers also read Polish newspapers whenever they have access to the Internet, they communicate with their Polish friends on social networking sites. This is the reason why the category that describes such a way of life is multilocalness, which scholars such as Vincent Kaufmann (2005, 119-135) or Johanna Rolshoven (2008, 17-25) interpret as a strategy necessary to contextualize the activities undertaken by mobile actors. The practice of locating themselves in mobile places makes those drivers become creators of localness in numerous localizations in the conditions of flow and mobility.

National identification of tractor unit drivers in the spaces of mobility takes place, as mentioned before, in a multisensory way. Mutual recognition does not only depend on visuality because European drivers wear similar clothes, and the cars and semitrailers assigned to them are registered in different European countries. In the international and multilingual working conditions experienced by the drivers, even language loses its quality to identify somebody in a definite way. You can recognize your people by the smell of the food they are heating, the type of beer they are drinking or the music they are listening to. Cultural intimacy comes to light not only during pauses and while waiting, but also when the drivers are fulfilling their responsibilities. They are not just passive machine operators whose task is to transport about 40 tons of all types of goods. They are also responsible for taking care of the load: placing it safely in the semitrailer, securing it against movement and then making sure it is safely unloaded. They also need to pay attention to whether the distribution of the goods is properly documented, they often have to negotiate with forwarding offices or on customs borders. Nationality is the key element in those negotiations. Polish drivers use a specific language, a type of jargon created on the basis of the vocabulary connected with forwarding, logistics and physical work. This jargon is a blend of the official languages spoken in the countries where the drivers travel with their goods. In the case of the company whose cars I was travelling in, these countries were Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland and Norway. The vocabulary acquired by the Polish drivers oftentimes turns out to be insufficient when bureaucracy comes into play. This is when office employees who are Poles, have Polish, or at least Russian or Ukrainian, origin (linguistic similarities), become the key personae, and such people can be encountered in the most surprising places. This type of intimacy significantly facilitates not only the work of the Polish drivers, but also the speed of the flow of goods in Europe if we take into consideration that most drivers working in Europe are Poles. Owing to this intimacy, some strict rules governing many forwarding companies, factories, wholesale warehouses or processing plants, are broken, for example, working hours, times when goods can be received into the warehouse, lunch break hours.

In the context of the drivers' everyday work, the machine sounds are the most intensive, inevitable and permanent. There are fluctuating whirring of the engine depending on the engine revs, suppressed sounds from the inside of the cab and the semitrailer, sounds of un(loading), blinking of the turn-signal, sounds of forklifts, passing cars, trains, humming and hissing of factories, steel plants, the noise of ferries, turbines, airplanes, the buzzing of the truck fridge, factory coolers, clumping, rumbling, clomping, whistling, whooshing, whizzing, zipping, knocking, pattering, cracking, crunching, horning, tooting, beeping, recharging batteries, sound of the air-conditioning, cranes or pile drivers.



Audio file 10: Waiting for cargo. A turn-signal sound. Hilden, Germany, 2011-08-16.
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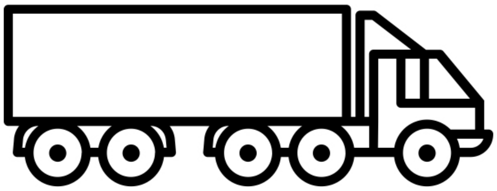

Audio file 11: Pile driver in a river port. Randers, Germany, 2011-08-17.
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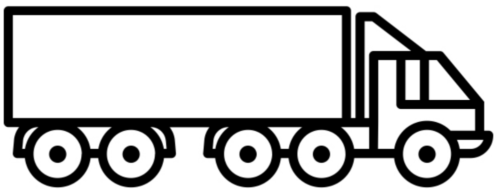
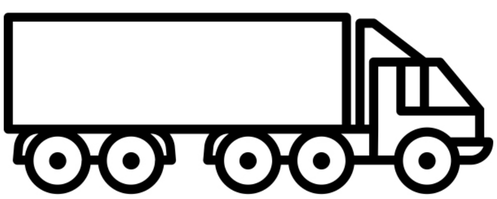


Audio file 12: Noise of fruit processing plant, Neuenkirchen, Germany, 2011-08-02.
http://transportodrone.tumblr.com/post/11574815847

Moreover, there are the sounds of accelerating and slowing down depending on the type of load, the sound of parking, opening and closing the ramps and gantries. Many of them are generated with the work of muscles: moving the tarpaulin, securing the load, with belts creaking when pulled with carabiners.

These are also the sounds produced by the carried loads: gurgling, creaking, squeaking, metallic tapping, knocking, rumbling. Additionally, there are the sounds connected with fueling up, passing through the gates on motorways, humming of the traffic (also during traffic jams), the noises generated by roadworks and repairs on the way, e.g. wheels being changed or tarpaulins being patched.



Audio file 13: Tires swap. Pagborg, Denmark, 2011-08-10.
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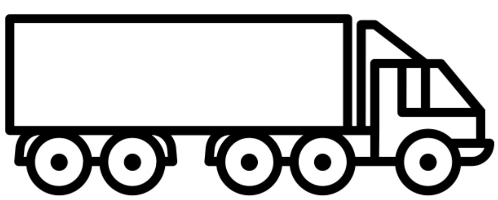
Finally, some acoustic changes in tunnels, on bridges, under flyovers, on ferries, platforms, pastures, large parking lots, inside foundries or steelmaking plants.

To make it simpler, what constitutes this ambience are noises and buzzes, popularly and ecologically deemed as undesired, polluting the acoustic environment, the symptom of a lo-fi soundscape (Schefer 1977). But this is exactly the factor decisive about the immersion in the field.

Each space has an acoustic dimension which co-creates its specific nature. However, the atmosphere of a given space or place is not created by sound itself. In order to feel the atmosphere and then understand it, one needs a multisensual experience and know the social, cultural and historical meanings inherent to it. The feeling, immersion and experiencing are not sufficient for a researcher. One cannot exist without the other: cultural mechanisms cannot be adequately described and explained without being experienced with many senses. On the other hand, such multisensual experience cannot be interpreted without the knowledge of its context. Applying the method of immersive ethnography in the case of my studies, whose direction was mainly established with this noise characteristic for this context, would not be complete without taking into consideration light, colors, smells, bodily experiences, movement, vibration, ways of moving, talking and communicating. All of this constituted the data which, firstly, co-create fieldwork knowledge, and secondly and consequently, co-create scientific/anthropological knowledge. Ambiences always produce a blend of synesthesia proprioception, a complex mixture of perception, impressions and emotions. They are always closely linked to the connection between sensations and socially and culturally conditioned expression.

Ambiance can be defined as a time-space form of a sensory point of view. It is related to feeling a place. Every ambiance produces a specific way of manifesting and expressing meanings and values in a material/physical presence of certain things, embodied in types of behavior, coexistence in a defined space and undertaking there certain activities. Thus, ambiance is at the same time subjective and objective: it includes the experiences of people, but also creates a context for their lives, daily activities, temporary or permanent situations (Thibaud 2011).

The acoustics of drivers' mobile workplaces is co-created by physical non-human elements such as electronic devices of any kind. Their sonorousness is comprised of sound alarms of cellphones, voices and beeping of GPSs, sounds of tachographs, seat belt alarms, screeches, hums from laptops, tablets, communication systems and pagers, beeping of all types of identifiers, debit or loyalty cards, various indicator lights or cruise controls.



Audio file 14: GPS crash. Hamburg, Germany, 2011-08-19.
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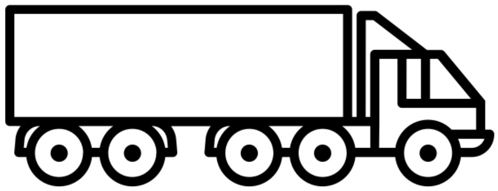

Audio file 15: Buzz of voltage Inverter. Spjald, Denmark, 2011-08-18.
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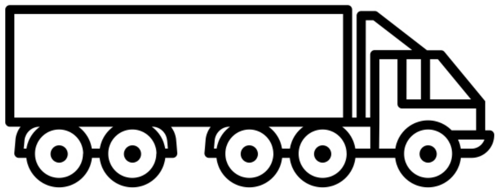

Audio file 16: Playing stupid computer games. Oure, Denmark, 2011-08-13.
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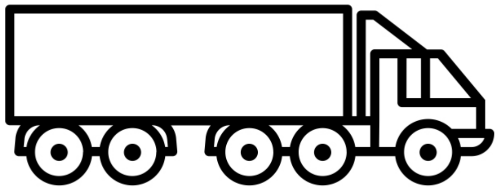
The most interesting ones include Global Positioning System (GPS) navigation devices. Such systems usually have female verbal representations: drivers believe that a woman's voice is more pleasant to listen to that of a man, and that it gives them a sense of security. Drivers enter into verbal interaction with their GPS systems: they talk to them, ask them questions, lace into them and curse them. The information provided by GPS is also verified on the basis of the knowledge and experience of drivers, who learn the routes as time goes by. The purpose of the navigation system is to provide its users with data on their geographical location and facilitate navigating through an unknown territory. It allows drivers to determine geographic coordinates, record their track "to the point" and "on the route", return to the starting point "on the same route", measure the distance, determine the surface and even calculate sunrise and sunset times and the phases of the moon. As a result, mobile workplaces are always precisely localized. Drivers constantly monitor their locations and the movement of their tractor units. The information provided by GPS tends to be out-of-date. Therefore, other ways of finding, for example, loading or unloading locations are devised. In the situations where drivers cannot find the right way or a certain address, their family members come to their aid. Drivers call their wives or adult children, so they look up the desired locations on the Internet and afterwards navigate the tractor units using mobile phones. The loading and unloading locations (industrial zones, villages, often fields, metropolis centers and suburbs) are always situated in spaces inhabited by people who could potentially help the drivers find the right way. Local populations may sometimes provide drivers with incorrect or misleading information, as a result of which the transit acquires a free-floating nature and the drivers get lost. However, situations when people organize guides for the drivers who have got lost are equally frequent, especially in small towns and villages. In practice, either a person familiar with the area occupies the passenger seat in the cab or there is a car driving in front of the tractor unit that navigates it right to the point the driver would otherwise not be able to find.



Audio file 17: Road-mender as guide. Humburg, Germany, 2011-08-19.
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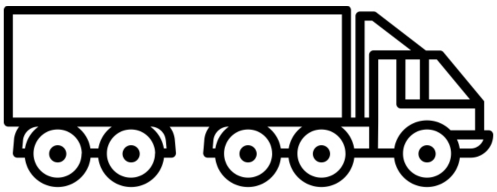
Cybermobility supported by the software of GPS navigation and communication systems overlaps with human situational agency. Physical movement, the ability to use mobile Internet, mobile phones and satellite navigation systems, create a new form of communication on the road, new forms of coordination of both human and mechanical motion and, in the case of long-haul tractor unit drivers, lead to the blurring of lines between homes and workplaces, and between private and public matters. According to Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller and John Urry, what we face here is convergence between transport and communication as well as the process of co-presence mobilization (Hannam, Sheller, Urry 2006, 4-6).

Taking into consideration the aural dimension of communication via mobile phones or the Internet, which constitute significant components of tractor unit drivers' work, effectively debunks and nullifies the favoring of ocularcentrism rooted not only in experiencing, but also in the scientific understanding of the modern media. This creates an opportunity to rethink the phenomenology of screen media and interfaces. Sounds produced by mobile devices co-create the daily ambience of working and dwelling on the road. Michael Bull (2004, 173-190) defines this phenomenon as the auditory privatization of public space. This is accompanied by audible telepresence – the embodiment of co-presence, proximity and intimacy – through sounds, not through vision (Richardson 2009). For this reason, my research constitute an expression of resistance to the visual paradigm. Vision is simply insufficient. This paradigm most often refers to the hegemony of the eye and marginalization of other senses. This is reflected in the concept of knowledge described in terms of either illumination or enlightenment as a process of acquiring knowledge using one's eyesight. The juxtaposition of vision – light and knowledge is deeply rooted and we still tend to forget that reality is multi-sensual.

Radio, singing, satellite television, whistling tunes – music inside and outside the cabs – at petrol stations, parking lots, bars and restaurants, car washes, in toilets and public showers, shops and at some parties the drivers pass by.

They are an example of manifesting one's national and ethnic identity through music. These are the means used for creating and organizing space, setting the time, defining identity, for example, through rituals which are to assure the community that it occupies a certain place in the world and that there is a political project for the future (Smith 1997, 502-529). Therefore, tractor unit drivers use music and other musical sounds to emphasize their background and identity. And so they listen to disco polo (Polish disco music) or, less frequently, Polish rock and pop music while driving or, more often, while resting at a parking lot. Most tractor unit drivers take satellite dishes, which enable them to listen to Polish radio stations, football matches commented on by Polish footballers, or to Sunday's masses. For Polish drivers, this constitutes an important demonstration of their national origin. They constantly travel on standardized roads, park at almost identical parking lots next to other tractor units whose drivers cannot be easily identified at first sight. This is the reason why listening to loud music is crucial: it allows drivers of a given nationality to identify one another. Listening to local radio stations also constitutes a response to the identity of the infrastructure for mobility and the policy of freedom of movement within the Schengen Area: the changes of the language in which the news is broadcast or songs that are sung tend to be the only sign that a driver has arrived in another country. The radio creates the atmosphere of being in Germany, the Czech Republic, France, Denmark or the Netherlands (see Bull 2003, 185-202; 2004, 243-259; Stockfelt 1994, 19-38).

Listening to music in cabs is also related to creating an acoustic cocoon in order to achieve serenity (Bijsterveld 2010, 189-211). Music drowns out the noise of the tractor unit and it blocks other sounds out. At parking lots, this is additionally accompanied by visual isolation after closing the curtains tightly, which intensifies the sense of intimacy and privacy. More often than not, it is related to the rationing the access to the cab and a sense of control over the acoustic environment.



Audio file 18: Listening Polish electro-pop. Padborg, Denmark, 2011-08-14.
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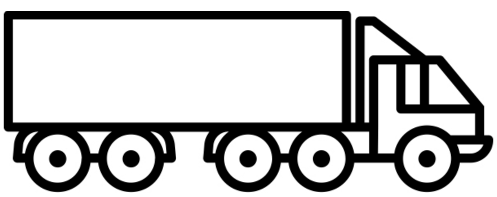
According to Irwin Altman, a psychologist, it is not about the isolation level of, for example, sound and vision, but about the level of control as to who shall have access to the cab (Altman 1976, 7-29). Michael Bull (2003, 185-202) points out that listening to the radio or music in a car provides drivers with a sense of being in charge, managing the journey. In the case of tractor unit drivers, this is a false sense of power as it is not them who decide on the directions and the course of their routes. They are fully dependent on forwarding agents, their working time and driving time regime, employees at various levels of hierarchy at loading and unloading locations, and on various incidents (road accidents, traffic jams, weather conditions, breakdowns of tractor units).

The food consumed by the drivers: its smell, preparation and consumption, constitutes the most expressive demonstration of their national origin. Food preparation also entails characteristic sounds: boiling water heated for coffee, potatoes being fried, meat sauces gurgling, vegetables being cut, the hissing sound from gas bottles, the faint hum of a fridge.



Audio file 19: Frying Polish potatos. Oure, Denmark, 2011-08-13.
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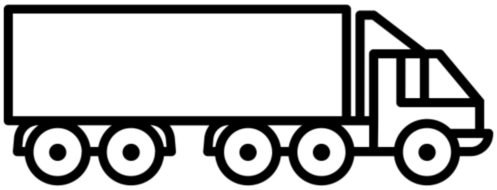

Audio file 20: Cooking Polish frikadellers. Langenfeld, Germany, 2011-08-16.
https://app.box.com/embed/preview/4qkio3dlrel3z69rjk4f?theme=dark

Not only Polish drivers of long-haul tractor units, but also the Hungarian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian or Russian ones consume home-made food prepared earlier in the form of bottled jars containing the most stereotypical national dishes (see Hammer 2002, 80-126; Seabra Real Sampaio da Nóvoa 2014). Those jars carried by the Polish drivers contain bigos, stuffed cabbage, pork chops and frikadellers, stew, soups, croquettes, pancakes, salads, fried fish. Apart from jars, the drivers are always equipped with home-made cakes and biscuits, white wheat bread or rolls, Polish beer and vodka. During their 48-hour weekend pauses, drivers sometimes prepare common meals which constitute a mixture of simple ethnic dishes. Carrying one's own food and not eating at the restaurants or bars at parking lots is, of course, motivated by financial reasons. The attachment to national tastes and smells – not only the ones of dinners, but also of bread, vegetables or alcohol – can be, however, interpreted as a form of resistance to the mobile, unpredictable pace of life in mobile homes.

Anthropology of sound and ambiances of mobility

What can be offered by the acoustemological approach and audioethnography in the context of the presence and use of sound in the culture of tractor unit drivers? Knowledge about the world is mainly associated with vision but this does not change the fact that the reality on and by the road is experienced through various sounds produced by human activity (those accompanying interactions, life of various professional groups related to freight transport and production, those accompanying nomadism and tourism or roadside entertainment), mechanical sounds (all sorts of drones: from the sounds of traffic through those of construction machinery to household appliances), reproduced composed sounds (music ubiquitous at petrol stations, in shops, restaurants, shared or privatized with from MP3 players, iPods, mobile phones or laptops) as well as natural sounds (wind, water, animals). In spite of the fact that everyday life of tractor unit drivers comprises a whole spectrum of multi-sensual experiences and particular senses should actually not be separated from one another in an artificial manner, it seems, though, that it is worth making an effort to consider how the examination of a given socio-cultural context can contribute to scientific knowledge by being listened to. According to Jean-Paul Thibaud, the fact that sound can be studied in an effective way, as it can be recorded, measured and described, constitutes one of the arguments in favor of taking cognizance of it. In the face of that, it has become possible to elaborate on the sound paradigm in social science, design, architecture, ecology or geography (Thibaud 2011).

Furthermore, sound or, in particular, ambiance facilitate scientific immersion. This is due to the fact that sound has specific physical properties – it is omnidirectional and literally permeates our bodies. We are surrounded by sounds which propagate all around us and come from far and wide all at the same time. In other words, sounds set us in the very centre of the world (Ong 1981). Additionally, sound resonates, which is particularly relevant in the context of my studies. Resonating is the key phenomenon for the acoustic environment experienced by tractor unit drivers. It is also recognized as the basis for broadly defined sensorial experience. Sensation is not possible without vibrations and resonance, regardless of whether we talk about sound, light or texture (Deleuze 2003). Elisabeth Grosz makes the following comment on the topic: sensation is nothing else than vibrations which resonate inside our bodies – in our internal organs and the nervous system (Grosz 2008, 62). In this very sense, moving around in tractor units is organic, physical and strongly linked to sound as movement in these vehicles is sonic and vibrant at the same time; every activity has a sonic dimension and the produced sounds are droning, intense and noisy in nature.

Sound also reveals the context and facilitates documenting and describing the dynamics of ambiance owing to its aforementioned physical properties. Therefore, field recording constitutes an effective method of ethnography of senses. It is crucial to understand that one cannot experience sound without time which it is constitutive for. Sound embodies the meaning of time: when we record or listen, we inevitably feel its passing, its rhythm. According to Henri Lefebvre (1984), it is impossible to understand the atmosphere of a given place without its rhythm. Research practice reflected in anthropology of sound actually mirrors the lifestyle of drivers whose activities, work and everyday lives are concealed in the periodic mobility.

While listening to ambiance, we primarily hear how it is generated as it is in a constant process of formation and transformation owing to various social practices. Therefore, it is not just a space and it does not exist without human activity. In the face of that, ambiance is always collective and reflects certain parts of social life. Thus, the acoustic dimension of a single tractor unit cab constitutes one of many possible atmospheres of this space. It is an example of how the context of drivers' everyday life can sound, and how the multilocalness in mobility can sound.

Exploring the world through sound is different from exploring it with one's eyes. The prevalence of the latter in the western culture often means that experiencing through other senses is filtered by vision. It is no coincidence, though, that I have supplied the collection of ambiences in the Transportodrone project with descriptions, extracts from field notes, satellite maps and pictures of particular places which had a certain sonic value at a given moment. Understanding sounds which are taken out of the spatial and situational context is impossible, especially with reference to the industrial audiosphere whose overall acoustics is largely homogeneous and not easily assimilated by its recipients, mainly due to its pejoratively evaluated noisiness. There is no possibility for recognizing the nature of acoustemological processes without visual clues. The sound itself does not work. Of course, limiting knowledge to visuality sets limits to our ability to understand the meanings of certain places, events and behaviors. Sound itself does not work. However, in the case of large infrastructures of mobility such as motorways, highways or cargo ports, which are spectacular and sonic at the same time, there are no grounds for secluding vision from hearing. Moreover, these places also smell and are physically experienced, so experiencing them will always be a kind of sensual semiosis. Joachim-Ernst Berendt proposed the idea of democracy of senses, where no sense shall have priority over the other ones (Berendt 1985, 32). It is not about replacing the visual perspective but about emphasizing the significance of the sonic or olfactory one. The visually established epistemology is insufficient and often misleading in its description and interpretation of social worlds. Based on anthropology, especially with reference to its key method of participant observation, democratization of senses undermines the authoritarianism of an anthropologist, who has been, has seen, has taken notes and has interpreted. Sonic representations of cultures facilitate a more direct access to reality which earlier could only be described by an anthropologist. In this way, deep listening (Schafer 1977) can be treated as analogous to Geertz's thick description (Geertz 1973, 3-30). The listening is neither easy nor obvious since it requires attuning one's ears to listening to numerous layers of meanings ascribed to sounds and is related to the practice of dialogue. In the industrial and infrastructural contexts, this is like breaking through stereotypical listening: the not completely obvious hums and relativity of noise. Sound forces us to rethink the meanings of the social experiencing of the world and affords us an opportunity to have an insight into the relationality of experiences, into how we enter into relationships with other people and the spaces we inhabit.

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Night-Life and Young People's Atmospheric Mobilities

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Abstract

This paper makes an explicit connection between atmospheres, youth drinking cultures, and mobility. The authors draw on data from long-standing and innovative qualitative methods (including interviews, participant observation, peer-interviews, and drawing-elicitation interviews), conducted with young people, aged 15-24, living in the suburban case study locations of Wythenshawe and Chorlton, Manchester, UK. We analyse young people's alcohol-related vehicular im/mobilities, and also their bodily im/mobilities in commercial drinking spaces. We argue that consuming alcohol on transport, more than being economically beneficial, is emotionally important; young people create enjoyable affective atmospheres in taxis and buses to share with friends. Taxis and buses are not solely a means to get to nights out, they are *fun*damental constituents of young people's nights out. Further, this paper shows how atmospheres in club-spaces, comprised of music, lighting, and drunken bodies, can propel young people's bodies into action, transforming static bodies into mobile ones. This paper is novel in presenting an insight into the means through which atmospheres impact, and alter, young people's alcohol-related experiences of both transport and bar/club spaces.

Keywords Alcohol; Atmospheres; Dancing; Drinking; Mobilities; Young People
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Introduction

Spaces and places of young people's alcohol consumption practices and experiences have typically been conceptualised as bounded arenas, and as passive backdrops (Jayne *et al*. 2012). This is problematic because it gives an artificial insight into young people's night-life, bound up with the consumption of alcohol, downplaying that it is often dynamic, unpredictable, and always in flux (Bøhling 2015). Drawing on mixed-methods qualitative research 'with' young people, aged 15-24, living in the suburban case study locations of Chorlton and Wythenshawe, Manchester, UK, our findings show that young people do not stay in one place to consume alcohol; young people's nights out are characterised by movement in, through, and beyond, drinking spaces. Additionally, young people's discussions about their drinking spaces highlight that where they drink is not inconsequential, it clearly matters; young people recognise that their spaces of drinking are multi-sensory, and have a role to play in shaping their drinking activities. Appreciating drinking spaces as relational may assist the alcohol studies literature in moving away from its current preoccupation with alcohol as a city centre issue (Holloway et al. 2008), typified by a large body of work on the night-time economy (e.g. Chatterton and Hollands 2002; Hollands 2002; Roberts 2006).

Rather than treating mobilities and atmospheres separately, as is often the case, this paper joins a small body of literature (e.g. Duff and Moore 2015; Shaw 2014; Wilkinson, S. 2015) in working at the intersection of the more-than-representational tools of atmospheres and im/mobilities; we argue that the meshing of these theoretical perspectives can provide an analytical means of shifting the focus from city-centre drinking, to engaging with a diversity of drinking spaces, including often over-looked spaces of young people's drinking, such as taxis and buses. This paper demonstrates that engaging with mobile atmospheres can enhance understandings of drinking spaces as 'active agents'; that is, moving away from a conceptualisation of drinking spaces as passive backdrops to understand how spaces of drinking can shape drinking practices and experiences. More than this, a mobile atmospheres' perspective can enhance understanding of drinking spaces as 'porous terrains'; this recognises that drinking spaces are not bounded, rather they are relational.

This paper thus contributes to existing scholarship on mobilities and atmospheres by analysing the way that atmospheres, comprised of music, lighting, and people, influence young people's experiences of alcohol-related mobilities. This paper argues that atmospheres of fun, 'buzzy' (cf. Bøhling 2015), yet also safe, alcohol-related mobilities described by young people, are somewhat at odds with the heavily regulated spaces preferred by planners and authorities. Importantly, young people themselves use the term 'atmospheres' when discussing their drinking practices and experiences; with this in mind, the paper concludes with recommendations for policymakers and planners, as to how they can communicate with young people in culturally legible ways regarding alcohol consumption. We now contextualise this discussion by outlining the case study locations.

Case Study Locations

The focus of the paper is two suburban areas in Greater Manchester. Suburban areas were chosen as the focus because, over the past two decades, a good deal of the research into alcohol consumption has been written in the context of the expanding night-time economy, which itself tends to focus on urban inner-city areas (e.g. Chatterton and Hollands 2002; Hollands 2002; Lovatt and O'Connor 1995). While research has been undertaken into rural drinking geographies (e.g. Leyshon 2008; Valentine et al. 2008), and holiday destinations (Bellis, et al. 2000; Briggs et al. 2011), very little has been said about drinking practices in suburbia (see Wilkinson, S., forthcoming). Wythenshawe and Chorlton were selected as the case study locations due to their differing socio-economic status (Wythenshawe performing poorly on many markers of socio-economic status, in comparison to Chorlton), and the varying drinking micro-geographies of the wards (e.g. Wythenshawe has a nightclub, yet numerous pubs have shut down in recent years, whereas Chorlton has no nightclub, yet has a very vibrant bar / pub scene).

Wythenshawe was created in the 1920s as a Garden City in an attempt to resolve Manchester's overpopulation and depravation in its inner-city slums. It continued to develop up to the 1970s, however the 1980s and 1990s saw a steady decline, high unemployment, decaying infrastructure, crime, and problems with drug misuse (Atherton *et al.*, 2005). Wythenshawe is eight miles south of Manchester city centre, and faced with relatively poor transportation links (Lucas *et al.*, 2009). Data from the Wythenshawe and Sale East constituency show that in the constituency, as a place of work – 18.7% of all employee jobs paid below the Living Wage in 2014 (£7.65 per hour). This compares to 23.6% regionally and 21.7% nationally (Northern Housing Consortium, 2015). Moreover, the proportion of minority ethnic residents living in Wythenshawe is below Manchester's average (8%, whereas Manchester's average is 23.1%) (Manchester City Council 2011). There are distinct neighbourhoods within Wythenshawe, along with a town centre with various shops, supermarkets, hairdressers, pubs and a club. Whilst a number of pubs have shut their doors permanently, in existing pubs, CCTV is in abundance (Pubs of Manchester, 2012). Wythenshawe was the outdoor filming location for the Channel 4 series *Shameless,* which included shots of the local tower-blocks, and housing estates.

Chorlton, on the other hand, is a residential area approximately four miles from Manchester city centre. It is a cosmopolitan neighbourhood with traditional family areas alongside younger, vibrant communities. The area has good road and bus access to, and from, the city centre, and it is situated within easy access to the motorway network. In 2011, the percentage of pupils achieving five GCSE's A*-C was 69.5% in Chorlton, compared to 57% for Manchester's average (Manchester City Council, 2012). Drawing on Manchester City Council's (2012) data, Chorlton has a higher proportion of minority ethnic residents in comparison to Wythenshawe, and compared to the national average (19.1%, compared to the national average of 11.3%). As of November 2011, private residential property in Chorlton accounted for 90.3% of all property in the ward, much higher than the city average of 68.7%. Chorlton is renowned for having more of a bohemian feel than other parts of Manchester; it has a large number of independent bars and pubs, yet no club (Manchester Bars, 2017). The drinking venues are popular with both students and young professionals, and include a mix of traditional pubs, and modern bars (Manchester Bars, 2017). Bars often have some form of music, and are considered to have a relaxed door policy (Manchester Bars, 2017).

Having detailed the case study locations, we now review literature on young people's im/mobiities. This is followed by a review of a small body of literature that considers the approaches of atmospheres and mobilities as mutually intertwined, when bound up with alcohol consumption. After this, we outline the study's methodology. Before concluding, we present data surrounding two main themes: alcohol-related vehicular mobilities, and atmospheres of club space.

Young People's Im/Mobilities

Recent work within the 'mobile turn' makes clear that young urbanites are of an age where mobility is crucial in order to take advantage of the resources, recreation and sociality offered by urbanscapes (Skelton 2013). Skelton and Gough (2013) proclaim that this is an important aspect of 'growing up' and identity formation. When alcohol-related mobilities have been considered in the literature, often the 'immaterial' embodied and sensory aspects have been marginalised. For instance, Gannon et al. (2014) focuses on drink walking; that is, walking in a public place whilst intoxicated. According to the authors, it is commonplace for young people to have consumed alcohol in bars and clubs, and to walk to their next destination – or, to pre-drink at home and walk to a bar/club/pub or party to continue consuming alcohol. Gannon et al. (2014) utilise the theory of planned behaviour, based on the premise that people make rational decisions to perform a behaviour that is within their control. This theoretical framework predicts that a person would have stronger intentions to drink walk, and ultimately s/he would be more likely to drink walk if: s/he has positive attitudes towards drink walking; perceives approval/support from important others for drink walking; and believes drink walking is a behaviour that is easy to perform. However, as Spinney (2009, 821) questions: "what about the intangible and ephemeral, the meanings that accrue in the context of the journey itself?"

There is a rich literature on the embodied experiences of vehicular travel, which opens up possibilities for the study of young people's alcohol-related mobilities. For instance, Bissell (2014) draws on not-so-representational understandings of bodies to explore how stress has an ambivalent and complex constitution through the ways in which everyday practices of commuting are implicated in processes of bodily transformation. Additionally, car travel has been explored as an embodied and emotional experience. Sheller (2004) documents the wide range of feelings elicited from cars; these include: the pleasurable experience of driving, the outburst of 'road rage', the exhilaration of speed, and the security engendered by driving a 'safe car'. Consequently, Sheller (2004, 221) coins the term "automotive emotions" to refer to the "embodied disposition of car-users and the visceral and other feelings associated with car use". This coincides with Sheller and Urry's (2006) contention that means of travel is not only a way of getting as quickly as possible from 'A to B'; each means provides different experiences, performances and affordances.

Researchers have also begun to pay attention to the emotional and embodied experiences of dancing mobilities (Boyd, 2014). For instance, Merriman (2010) argues that dance is a processual, embodied movement practice that brings about transformations in movement space. Further, Jones (2005, 814) labels dancing "physically intense and emotionally charged". By taking into consideration the embodied, emotional and affective dimensions of dance, Thrift (1997) argues that one can move away from a negative understanding, whereby the body only has the capacity to be elusive. That is, it can avoid compliance with social controls, to an understanding of the body as a body-subject, with the capacity to jointly configure numerous different realms of experience. According to Thrift (1997), the elusive expressive power of the body, achieved through the playful nature of dance, can provide a resource for resistance against powerful networks. As such, dancing in the urban nightscape may be productively conceived as an attempt by young people to carve out a space for themselves in the public realm.

Young people are subject to manifold micro-politics of mobility and immobility that differentiate their experiences of urban spaces from the experiences of adults (McAuliffe 2013). Mobilities research then, should not only pay attention to physical movement, but also potential movement, blocked movement and immobilisation (Sheller 2011). This point was made earlier by Urry (2003), who argues for the significance of moorings that are solid, static and immobile. Further, Skelton (2013) contributes here, proclaiming that how, and where, young people can/cannot move with speed or slowly, with freedom or constraint, are important to consider in order to enhance understandings of the complex relationality of im/mobility and its connection with identity formation. However, as Bissell and Fuller (2009) note, a focus on the dialectic of stasis and movement neglects other registers and modalities that are not necessarily reducible to this. With this in mind, Bissell (2007) thinks through the event of waiting from the perspective of embodied corporeal experience. Events of corporeal stillness, such as waiting, sleeping, and boredom, then, should not be conceptualised as dead periods of stasis; rather, as Bissell (2007) writes, each of these processes have the potential to be active and mobile. This paper now turns to review a small body of literature working at the intersection of atmospheres and mobilities, which has alcohol consumption as a focus.

Towards Young People's Atmospheric Drinking Im/Mobilities

Atmospheres foreground the role of more-than-human elements to young people's alcohol consumption practices and experiences. As Bohme (2013, no pagination) puts it, atmosphere is a "floating in-between", something between 'things' and the perceiving subjects. Bohme (2013, no pagination) goes on to state that, "the character of an atmosphere is the way in which it communicates a feeling to us as participating subjects". People can stage atmospheres in order to lay the ground for the sensuous, emotional feel of spaces (Bille *et al.* 2015). In order to get to grips with atmosphere, Bille *et al.* (2015) note that one must actively engage with colours, lighting, sound, odour, and the textures of things – an atmosphere's approach is thus inherently multisensory.

According to Anderson (2009), atmospheres are 'affective' qualities that emanate from bodies, but also exceed the assembling of bodies. Whatmore (2006, 604) contends that 'affect' refers to: "the force of intensive relationality – intensities that are felt but not personal; visceral but not confined to an individuated body". Meanwhile, emotions are considered to "belong to an individual agent" (Horton and Kraftl, 2006, 79); that is, emotions are personally experienced. However, whilst emotions and affects are sometimes set apart in the existing literature, we follow Anderson (2009) in contending that atmospheres do not fit neatly into any distinctions between affect and emotion; this is because they are both impersonal, as they belong to collective situations, and yet can be felt as intensely personal. An atmosphere perspective thus has potential to tease out the spatial, emotional, embodied, and affective experiences bound up with young people's alcohol consumption practices.

The concept of 'atmosphere' is developed by Shaw (2014) in an 'assemblage urban' approach, as a means of reconceptualising how the night-time city is understood. Shaw (2014) argues that certain assemblages emerge from multiple practices which collaborate and gather together to control a time and place, producing particular 'affective atmospheres', of which the sale, regulation, and governance of alcohol is just one part. To provide an example, Shaw (2014) notes how taxis have a fundamental role in bringing people and objects into a particular area. Taxis enable people to make their way to the city centre late at night or in the early hours of the morning, having consumed alcohol elsewhere. Consequently, these practices contribute to the emergence of a bustling, flexible atmosphere, intensified within a small time-space. Taxis, then, assemble the bodies required to generate an atmosphere. An affective atmosphere is best understood as a form of "placed assemblage" (Shaw 2014, 87). Whilst Shaw's (2014) paper does not move beyond the night-time city centre, the author recognises that there is a need for more studies of places and spaces, which are not the city centre streets or the bars that surround them. The research upon which our paper is based engages with this, through a focus on suburban drinking mobilities.

With a focus on the alcohol-related mobilities and experiences of young backpackers, Jayne *et al.*'s (2012) research goes some way towards redressing a lack of engagement with the embodied, emotional and sensory aspects of mobilities, bound up with alcohol consumption. The authors provide an in-depth consideration of the embodied aspects of alcohol-related walking, contending that alcohol can help to soften a variety of (un)comfortable embodied and emotional materialities linked with budget travel; act as an aid to 'passing the time' and 'being able to do nothing'; and heighten senses of belonging with other travellers and 'locals'. For instance, some participants in Jayne *et al.*'s (2012) study describe alcohol as allowing them to generate memorable moments of backpacking travel, through behaving badly with the locals, whilst others discuss alcohol as a means of erasing tensions with fellow travellers. Engaging with mobilities theory thus holds potential for an understanding of the *lived experiences* of young people's alcohol-related geographies, recognising that mobile engagements with space provide different experiences, performances and affordances (Sheller and Urry 2006).

Moreover, Duff and Moore (2015) explore vehicular atmospheric mobilities in Melbourne's night-time economy. According to the authors, inner-city participants, who take trams, walk, or cycle to nearby venues, described 'fun', 'comfortable' journeys. Meanwhile, participants from periurban communities (communities immediately adjoining an urban area) spoke of 'boring', 'unpleasant' journeys on trains, buses, or taxis when travelling to, and from, venues in the city. These divergent affective atmospheres 'prime' young people to act in particular ways, having direct and indirect impacts on alcohol-related problems in the night-time economy (Duff and Moore 2015). To elaborate, the more congenial atmospheres described by inner-city young people appeared to mitigate the likelihood of problems; whereas the atmospheres of boredom and unpleasantness described by periurban young people appeared to increase the potential for harm. Duff and Moore (2015) point out that there is a need to pay closer attention to the ways affective atmospheres are enacted and transformed in encounters in, and through, spaces of mobility; something this paper seeks to address.

Further, in the context of an electronic music venue in Copenhagen, Denmark, Bøhling (2014) takes into account the emotional, bodily and spatial dimensions of alcohol and drug use spaces. The author examines how alcohol and drug practices and experiences are affectively cultivated by masses of people in spaces. Bøhling (2014) also recognises the role of sensorial impressions of club space, such as the role of music. The author asserts that the atmospheric surroundings of clubs can open up certain possibilities of inhabiting, experiencing and coproducing the space, for instance dancing, that work particularly well with certain drugs. Elsewhere Bøhling (2015) utilises an assemblages approach in his exploration of young people's drinking practices in the night-time economy of Copenhagen. The author contends that, in his study, participants recognised that the atmosphere was a crucial element of drinking. Bøhling (2015) argues that people's capacities to initiate and sustain various social, musical, and sexual relationships are altered by the consumption of alcohol, the atmosphere, and by a set of socio-spatial objects and technologies.

Elsewhere, the first author of this paper pays attention to atmospheres of darkness and lightness (Wilkinson, S. 2017), to show how drinkscapes are active constituents of young people's drinking occasions, rather than passive backdrops. She illustrates how young people transform dark and light drinkscapes, thereby shaping the drinking practices of themselves and others. Through looking at the interplay between the curating of an atmosphere, and the experiences of that atmosphere when bodies, and practices, are inserted into it, the paper offers a different take on the 'drinking at home is bad, drinking in public spaces is good' argument, with original policy suggestions. Having reviewed literature working at the intersection of atmospheres and mobilities, this paper now elucidates the methodology.

Methodology

The first author recruited 40 young people, aged 15-24, for multi-stage qualitative research. In some respects, the sampling strategy was purposive, as the first author aimed to recruit 20 young people from each case study location, and aimed for an equal gender distribution. She recruited the majority of participants through gatekeepers at local schools, community organisations, youth clubs, and universities. She also: distributed flyers and business cards to houses and businesses in both case study locations; posted on online discussion forums concerning both areas; used Twitter and Facebook to promote the study to locals; and arranged to be interviewed by the host of a local radio station: Wythenshawe FM 97.2. In addition, opportunistic and snowball sampling was important. The sample predominantly consists of white participants, and all participants are able-bodied; this is important to note, as later discussions of im/mobilities may have been differently experienced by those of different abilities or ethnicities.

The first author presented a palette of methods for participants to '*opt into*' (Leyshon 2002, 182, emphasis in original), enabling participants to communicate with the researcher in whatever way(s) they felt most comfortable with (see Wilkinson, S. and Wilkinson, C. *forthcoming*). The methods we draw from in this paper include individual and friendship group interviews, peer-interviews, drawing elicitation interviews, and participant observation. Hitchings (2012) argues against the idea that researching everyday practices may require alternative methods to the interview, contending that interviews provide an effective medium through which people can articulate their embodied practices. Along similar lines, Fox and Alldred (2015) contend that qualitative interviewing can identify affective bodily capacities. Our experience of using both individual and friendship group interviews lends agreement to this notion. In addition, the method of peer-interviews provided young people with an opportunity to discuss their drinking stories with a friend; young people perhaps felt more able to be 'open' about their drinking practices and experiences when discussing them with a friend, of their own age, in comparison to with a researcher (see Wilkinson, C. and Wilkinson, S. 2017). The drawing-elicitation interview was particularly useful in gaining insight into young people's alcohol-related micro-geographies; whilst the first author expected the maps to provide a static snapshot of drinking spaces, she was surprised how much young people's mobilities came through in the drawings (e.g. indicated by arrows), and also in the accompanying oral discussions. The first author found that participant observation, in which she travelled with people and things, participating in their continual shift through time, places and relations with others (Watts and Urry 2008), was beneficial in seeing and *feeling* young people's atmospheric im/mobilities. The first author's positionality, as a young, fashionable, female, who struck up friendships with participants (see Wilkinson, C. 2016), meant that she was able to blend into various night-life spaces, without causing young people to modify their drinking practices.

Concerning data analysis, the first author transcribed, verbatim, interview material, and field notes. When analysing drawings, she placed emphasis on the narratives of participants accompanying their pictures, in the form of drawing elicitation interviews. This chimes with Barker and Smith's (2001) contention that the interpretation of images should be undertaken with participants to ensure that their intended meanings are explored, rather than interpretive meanings imposed by the researcher. The manual method of coding by pen and paper was adopted for all transcribed data, perceiving that computer-assisted qualitative data analysis distances researchers from the data (Davis and Meyer 2009). Initially, following Miles and Huberman's (1994) three-stage model, the first author exercised a process of data reduction, whereby she organised the mass of data and attempted to meaningfully reduce this. Second, she undertook a process of data display in the form of a table. Third, she undertook a process of conclusion drawing and verification. Participants feature in this paper through pseudonyms, as do names of bars/pubs and roads, to conceal participants' identities. Yet, in order to contextualise quotations, participant ages and case study locations are given. Having discussed the methods underpinning the study, we now explore young people's vehicular im/mobilities.

Alcohol-Related Vehicular Im/mobilities

Some young people in the study, particularly those from Chorlton, enjoyed consuming alcohol in their local area, due to the slower rhythms, and a more relaxed alcohol consumption experience, in comparison to consuming alcohol in Manchester's city centre. However, there were occasions where young people desired to go "out out" (Rex, 24, Chorlton, interview); that is, to go on a 'big' night out in Manchester city centre. In such instances, young people from Chorlton and Wythenshawe employed the affordances of transport to break away from the place temporalities typical of their suburban locales (see Vannini 2012 on the affordances of ferries to break away from the temporalities of city life). See Figure 1:

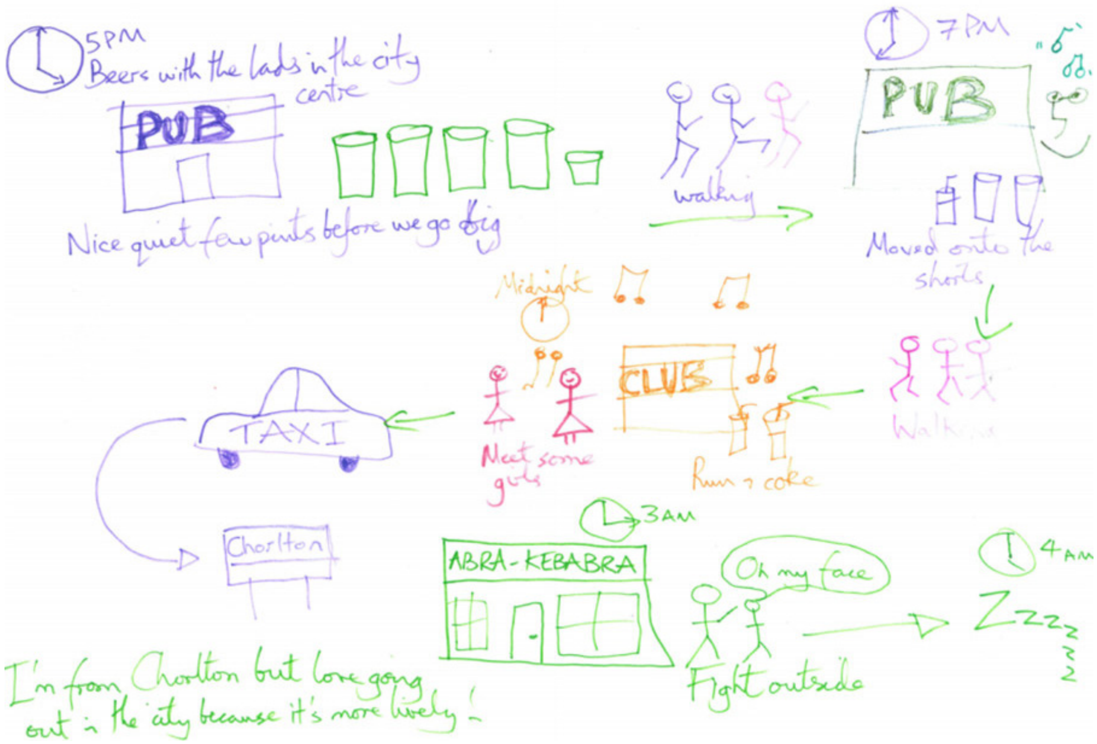

Fig.1.: Tim's Night Out (Tim, 19, Chorlton)

Tim describes starting the night in a quiet pub with a few pints, before 'going big'. He would then walk to another pub where he would move on to shorts (e.g. gin and tonic). Subsequently, Tim would go to a nightclub, where he may "meet some girls". After this, Tim would use a taxi to get back to Chorlton, where he would order a takeaway, prior to going to bed. Here, one can see the map is useful for providing a spatio-temporal account of Tim's night out. Tim articulates that, despite living in Chorlton, he prefers consuming alcohol in Manchester's city centre because it is "more lively". Tim works in Manchester, and so a typical night out would start in the city following work. Figure 1 demonstrates that Tim's primary mode of transport between his drinkingscapes is walking. However, Tim draws a taxi on the map noting that he uses this form of transport to get back to Chorlton. Transport then, can be seen to "weave distinct place temporalities" (Vannini 2012, 241).

Despite young people's occasional desires to escape the temporalities associated with their suburban locations – in order to access commercial drinking premises elsewhere – many young people in the study vehemently oppose the idea of driving when under the influence of alcohol. Nonetheless, numerous young people in the study admitted consuming alcohol on the move as a passenger on various forms of transport. Some young people, from both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, spoke of consuming alcohol in mobile spaces as a means of using 'travel time' productively (see Lyons and Urry 2005), as the following quotations illustrate:

> SW: Why do you drink on the bus on the way to the city centre?
> Kelly: Because then you don't have to buy more drinks when you're there and spend more money.
> Jenny: Cos then you go there say if you're pissed already then a few more drinks will just do it.
> Julia: Say if you're going out with £30, you can come back with a tenner if you drink a bottle of vodka on the way there cos you just like pacing your drinks
> (Kelly, 17, Jenny, 16, and Julia, 17, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

> I often drink in taxis and maybe on the bus or on the tram or something. If you're like pre-drinking and then you have to leave and you haven't quite finished, I always fill a bottle with whatever I have left, and usually it's just like one more drink or something, it just means you can carry on pre-drinking til the moment you get to the next place, so you're not in danger of sobering up I guess
> (Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

According to Kelly, Jenny and Julia, consuming alcohol on the bus on the way to the city centre is cost-effective. That is, it is cheaper to consume alcohol purchased from non-commercial premises whilst on the move, than it is to purchase drinks in bars, pubs and clubs at the final drinking destination. Further, Evie admits to drinking on a range of transport types, recognising that drinking on the move leads to less wastage of drinks that have been purchased for home drinking. As Chorlton is approximately four miles away from Manchester city centre and Wythenshawe is roughly eight miles away from Manchester city centre, bus, tram, or taxi journeys into Manchester city centre can take time. Consequently, consuming alcohol on the move means that one is not "in danger of sobering up". From Evie's perspective, not consuming alcohol in the journey space is illogical; it risks diminishing the embodied states of drunkenness young people have obtained during home drinking. Extending home drinking beyond the sphere of the home then, means that this embodied feeling of drunkenness is sustained throughout the evening, with minimal further spending on alcohol – a process akin to Hadfield's (2011, 64) concept of "alcohol banking". This suggests that travel time is not "unproductive, wasted time in-between 'real' activities" (Lyons and Urry 2005, 257). Rather, travel time can be used productively as activity time (Lyons and Urry 2005), revealing that young people's journeys on nights out are, as Bissell and Overend (2014) would argue, far from passive.

Desires for consuming alcohol, when on the move, extend beyond the cost benefits; for some young people in the study, mobile spaces are emotionally important. This can be seen through the quotations below:

> If I'm pre-drinking now I'll have a couple at home, let's say I buy four cans to start drinking before I get out. I might have two at home while I'm getting ready, and the other two I'll have on the bus. It takes 45 minutes for me to get into Manchester [city centre], so plenty of time there to have the remaining two on the bus. I suppose it does save money, but it's nice to sort of get out and be in the mood a little bit already, rather than having to start from scratch, especially when, if I've been working and people have started drinking earlier than me, I don't have to play catch up
> (Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, follow up interview)

> The best one's drinking when you're on the way to somewhere and you get there and then you're already like half way there [to the desired drunken state]
> (Teresa, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

> I like drinking on the bus, it's fun
> (Joe, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

For Collin, Teresa, and Joe, mobilities bound up with the consumption of alcohol are pleasurable; they get you "in the mood"; are "the best"; and "fun". This positive affective atmosphere associated with drunken mobilities can be seen through the following account from the first author's field diary:

> As soon as we were in the taxi, Louisa and Sophie requested music to be played. The taxi man said that this was not possible, but that it was okay to play music from our mobile phones, so we did this. It made the journey more enjoyable, and enabled a reasonably seamless transition between the home drinking realm where music was consumed, to the club, where music was also consumed
> (Field diary, 19/04/2014, night out with Louisa, 22, and friends, Chorlton, in the city centre)

Playing music from mobile phones can be seen as a "place-making device" (Berry and Hamilton 2010, 114), transforming the taxi into a micro-nightclub, enabling one to dwell within mobilities (Lyons and Urry 2005). During participant observations, mobile phones enabled young people to manage moods, and orientations to space, enabling greater control over experiences (Wilson 2011). This enables young people to override the negative effects of boredom they may have otherwise encountered. The taxi ride to the city centre bars, pubs, and clubs is thus not only journey space for the young people, but also spaces of friendship, alcohol consumption, and play with technologies. The journey to the city centre then, is used as a "technical and social assemblage" to 'keep everyone going' (see Jensen *et al*. 2015, 370). The journey then is not simply a means of getting to the night out, it is a *fun*damental constituent of young people's nights out.

As Peters *et al*. (2010) contend, mobility is also about arriving at the right place, often at the same time as relevant others. Buses, trams and trains "shape local temporalities, producing repetitive experiences, embedding their schedules in the life course of individuals and in the histories of communities" (as Vannini, 2012, 257 said of ferry schedules). Through this embedding, individual routines become synchronised and young people get "in time" with one another (Vannini 2012, 257). Geographically dispersed young people in the study often wished to be co-present in the same place (Peters *et al*. 2010). However, as a consequence of problems with mobility infrastructures, time-space synchronisation for the group of friends was not always possible (see Jain 2006):

> Trams, trams are like, I cannot even tell you, like when they shut down, if I'm going out for a house party, and sometimes they're out of service it just blows my mind because I'm like "how can you expect me to get around?"
> (Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)

> The other night we went to Maverick's [nightclub], in the city centre, it was raining, it was Friday night, it was raining. It was my mate's 21st I felt dead sorry for her, because it was just a disaster. Her mates from uni were meant to be coming down, but three of them are from Durham, and the train got cancelled, and they got stuck in Leeds, so they couldn't get here, because the weather was terrible
> (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

Here, it can be seen that train and tram disruptions yield negative affective atmospheres of frustration (see Duff and Moore 2015); they can heighten sensitivities, reducing one's capacity to tolerate other affects (Wilson, 2011). In the event of a disruption, it can be seen that "the comfort associated with anticipated...sequences of events are brutally scrambled" (Bissell 2010, 275). Tram and train schedules then are, what Vannini (2012, 257) would term, "influential performers of polyrhythmic attunement". Yet, equally, such schedules are also "the key protagonists behind instances of 'arrhythmia'" (Vannini 2012, 257). In addition to scheduling issues, David highlights the significance of weather conditions, contending that the embodied rhythms of this night out was perturbed by the arrhythmic events of "rain", and the consequent disruption to train services. Having discussed how young people have both the capacity to affect, and be affected by, the atmospheres of vehicular mobilities, this paper now turns to discuss the atmospheres of bar / club spaces.

Commercial Drinking Spaces and Atmospheric Mobilities

Participant observations undertaken by the first author lend credence to understandings that drunkenness is not about alcohol alone (see Jayne *et al.* 2010). The music, lighting, non-alcoholic drinks, glasses, and other bodies were all materials acting on the researcher, influencing her corporeal experiences of space, and making a difference to the social experiences of alcohol consumption (see Duff 2012). The can be illustrated through the following passage from the first author's field diary:

> Despite only having one vodka and coke, I felt drunk. Normally, I require a certain number of drinks in order to have the confidence to dance. However, tonight, being surrounded by other mobile drunken bodies, the darkness of the club, and the thump of the upbeat music, increased my ability to dance uninhibited… I even found myself participating in the Gangnam Style dance without feeling self-conscious!
> (Field diary, 21/12/2013, night out with Maisy, 18, and friends, Wythenshawe)

From the above extract, one can see that the first author experienced a transformation, her body 'became' drunk, through its practices and encounters in assemblages with other drunken bodies, the sonic environment, and lighting in the affectively charged space (see Waitt and Stanes 2015). This notion is also evident in Peter's map of his drinking spaces (see Figure 2):

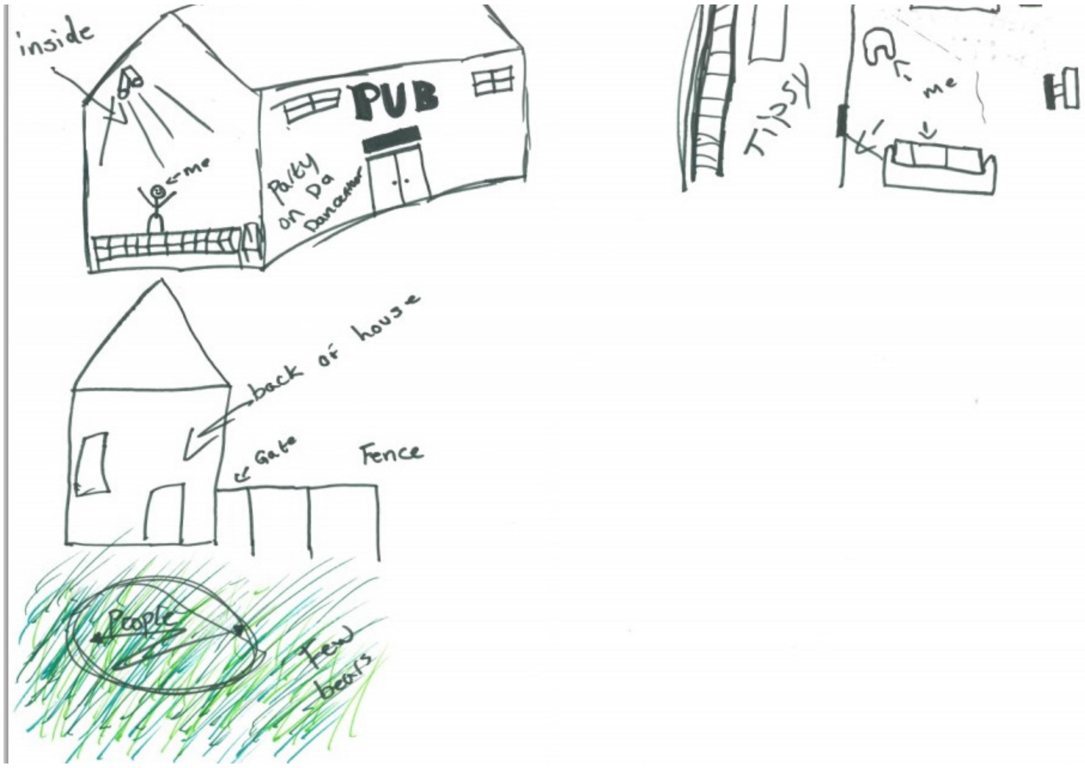

Figure 2: Peter's Night Out (Peter, 15, Wythenshawe)

When explaining his map, Peter spoke about his drinking practices taking place in homes, gardens, and a pub. Peter notes that he enjoys the music played inside the pub, which motivates him to dance and have a "party on da dancefloor". Peter says that alcohol, lighting and 'good' music in the pub are important for enhancing his dancing mobilities, and enabling him to transition from his usual shy and reserved self to someone who is outgoing. That is, the affective atmosphere of human and more-than-human actants prime him to act in a particular way (see Bissell 2010), temporally managing his moods and movements (Forsyth 2009). The notion that the atmospheres in commercial premises can alter young people's embodied feelings can be further gleaned through the following exchange from a friendship interview:

> Kelly: I think I get more drunk with the atmosphere because if it's just, if you're sat drinking…
> Jenny: …If you're normal like if you're in a dead quiet old man's club then you're just like [pulls sad, bored face], but like when you're in a busy club like in town or whatever you feel more drunk
> (Kelly, and Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

Here, Kelly explicitly contends that the "atmosphere" helps her to get "more drunk". This is elaborated on by Jenny, who contrasts the feelings of drunkenness when sitting (being relatively immobile) in a "dead quiet old man's club", where she would be bored and sad, with being in a "busy club" in town, where she would *feel* "more drunk". Here, Jenny's words illustrate a contention made by Tutenges (2015). The author argues that proximity intensifies the interaction between bodies. In the context of bar crawls, the author states that, to be amongst a large group of people, is an experience not incomparable to the effects of consuming drugs (Tutenges 2015). Here Tutenges (2015) is alluding to the way in which a group of people can transform the atmosphere of a pub / club space.

As previously indicated, through participant observations, the researcher became attuned to the affective components of spaces (see Shaw 2014). More than this though, the researcher's embodied experiences taught her that different assemblages had different outcomes. For instance, brighter lighting and unfamiliar music were not conducive to dancing mobilities, thereby producing different rhythms. This is explored in an excerpt from the first author's field diary:

> Whilst low-lighting and up-beat popular music primed me and others to dance, I noticed that the dance floor became scarce when lighting was brighter, and when less popular music was being played, leading some people to use this as a cue to go to the bar and get another drink
> (Field diary, 24/05/2014, night out with Evie, 24, and friends, from Chorlton, in city centre)

As the above illustrates, rhythms of the clubspace are continuously open to change. Forsyth (2009) explores the role of music in the night-time economy, suggesting that it can alter moods and behaviour. According to Forsyth (2009), an emotional response elicited by hearing a familiar song may encourage increased spending at the bar on that occasion. However, participant observations show that young people are unlikely to leave the dance floor when familiar songs are being played. Rather, they use moments when unfamiliar, or unpopular, songs are being played to purchase drinks; less popular songs generate a different atmosphere, which are unsuitable for dancing mobilities. Nonetheless, it can be seen that the atmosphere of club space, partially generated by music, has a key role to play in alcohol consumption at the micro-level.

Some participants' stories offer a counterpoint to other participant's, and the researcher's own embodied experiences, described previously, and to many of the findings in existing literature, which contend that the affective atmospheres of pubs, bars and clubs have the ability to create a sense of "collective effervescence" (Tutenges 2015, 289). As Edensor and Sumartojo (2015) contend, atmospheres can be experienced in many different ways. This can be gleaned through Charlie's comment below:

> In first and second year of uni I would be nervous sort of throughout the whole night, and like "maybe I need to drink more to get like the rest, to get like everybody else", and it never really happened. I would like throw up in the morning, because I obviously had a lot [to drink], and would have a hangover, but I never really felt like I was in that zone, the same enjoyment that everyone else, my friends seemed to have
> (Charlie, 23, Chorlton, follow up interview)

Whilst the literature has begun to grasp how bodies are affected by the atmospheres of clubspaces (Tan 2013), it has virtually ignored those for whom there is a discordance between their subjective feelings and the atmospheres. Charlie contends that, despite consuming large quantities of alcohol, to the extent that he experienced the unpleasant effects of vomiting the following morning, and hangovers, he was not enveloped by the enjoyable atmosphere he saw his friends and other club-goers experiencing. Contrary to Jayne and Valentine's (2016, 74) findings, whilst consuming alcohol, Charlie did not "feel-at-home" in this commercial venue. This relates to Edensor's (2015) contention that certain constituents that shape atmospheres may pre-exist a person's entrance into the space. A person's response to atmospheres is also shaped by their current mood and prior experiences, and this has the potential to feed back into the on-going production of atmosphere. The example from Charlie illustrates that his feeling of nervousness was a powerful actant in his drinking assemblage, overpowering the positive effects of alcohol and the affective atmosphere of the club-space, preventing him from getting in the "zone". This example stresses the importance of considering how sensual atmospheres do not seduce all people; as Taylor and Falconer (2015) recognise, whilst they can affectively pull some young people into place – those who experience disconnection – in terms of their embodied drunkenness and the space they find themselves in (MacLean and Moore 2014), are, in effect, pushed out of space. There are of course other aspects that can prevent young people from getting involved in, and hinder, positive drinking atmospheres, which warrant further attention. For instance, age (being too young, or feeling too old), the type of alcohol consumed, and food intake may preclude some people from accessing particular drinking atmospheres.

Conclusions

This paper has analysed the ways that atmospheres impact on, form, and alter experiences of mobility, with a focus on vehicular mobilities, and suburban commercial drinking spaces. This paper has demonstrated that the enmeshed theoretical lenses of atmospheres and mobilities can enable an appreciation that drinking spaces are relative and are not solely valued on their own merit, but also how they are part of a larger (sub)urban tissue (Cele 2013). Through exposing a variety of drinking spaces (e.g. taxis and buses), this paper goes some way towards departing from the alcohol studies literature's preoccupation with alcohol as a city centre issue (Holloway *et al*. 2008), typified by a large body of work on the night-time economy (e.g. Chatterton and Hollands 2002; Hollands 2002; Roberts 2006).

Findings in this paper show that, for young people from Chorlton and Wythenshawe, transport enables them to break away from the place temporalities typical of their suburban locales. Young people often consume alcohol when on the move, in order to sustain their embodied feelings of drunkenness, with minimal further spending on alcohol. Thus, on young people's alcohol-related nights out, travel time is not "wasted time in-between 'real' activities" (Lyons and Urry 2005, 257). Rather, young people use travel time productively as activity time (Lyons and Urry 2005). Consuming alcohol on the move is not only economically beneficial, it is also emotionally important – young people create enjoyable affective atmospheres in taxis and buses to share with friends. This paper thus shows that vehicular mobilities are not only a means to get to nights out; they are *fun*damental constituents of nights out.

This paper has also shown how music, lighting, and other bodies were all materials acting on young people, influencing their corporeal experiences of space, and making a difference to the social experiences of alcohol consumption (Duff 2012). For instance, 'good' music and appropriate lighting can propel young people's bodies into movement, facilitating dancing mobilities. Equally, in opposition to findings in the existing literature (e.g. Forsyth 2009), this paper has shown how young people use moments when unfamiliar, or unpopular, songs are being played to purchase drinks; less popular songs generate a different atmosphere, which are unsuitable for dancing mobilities. Importantly, this paper has illustrated, through the account of Charlie, that not all young people are enveloped by enjoyable atmospheres in drinking spaces; this warrants further attention.

To date, when young people's alcohol-related mobilities have been considered in the literature, it has typically been conceptualised in a reductive manner, which theorises mobility as a "product of rationally weighed decisions" (Spinney 2009, 820). This paper has contributed to a small body of work (e.g. Duff and Moore 2015; Shaw 2014; Wilkinson, S. 2015), in highlighting the emotional, embodied and affective aspects of alcohol-related mobilities, including vehicular mobilities, and mobilities in commercial drinking spaces, and has thus gone some way towards exposing the *lived experiences* of young people's drinking geographies. Such fun, and 'buzzy', yet also safe, alcohol-related mobilities described by young people are, however, somewhat at odds with the heavily regulated spaces preferred by planners and authorities. As this paper makes clear, young people themselves use the term 'atmosphere' when discussing their drinking stories; this paper thus argues that it is culturally credible for policymakers and planners to communicate with young people in their own language, regarding how to craft enjoyable, inclusive, and safe drinking atmospheres to share with friends. With this, there should be a move away from imposing, in a top-down manner, rules and regulations regarding where young people can, and cannot, consume alcohol (e.g. banning open space drinking); this approach completely downplays the relational, dynamic, and processual aspects of young people's night-life.

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Zum Auf-Spüren und Er-Leben von Atmosphären durch Obdachlose auf der Hamburger Reeperbahn

Nora Scholtz und Anke Strüver

Abstract For more than 200 years, the Reeperbahn in Hamburg's famous entertainment district St. Pauli has been a place of social, cultural and spatial heterogeneities. It is a place where various socioeconomic activities exist simultaneously and spatially adjacent; where people with highly differing backgrounds and lifestyles either crash into or simply push past each other. This contribution concentrates on these (non-)encounters taking the perspective of homeless people as point of departure: Based on mobile interviews and accompanying sketch maps, we focus on their emotional attachments and spatial perceptions in order to address atmospheres as both influencing local mobilities and being mobile themselves.

Keywords Homeless people, mobile interviews, mobile atmospheres, Hamburg-St. Pauli

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Zum Auf-Spüren und Er-Leben von Atmosphären durch Obdachlose auf der Hamburger Reeperbahn

> „Daß dies die Straße der tollsten Gegensätze ist, daß hier das bürgerliche Restaurant neben der Kaschemme, das elegante Nachtlokal neben dem vulgären Hippodrom steht – das ist nichts Neues und doch immer wieder erregend im Wechsel der Atmosphäre, an dem Ausgleich aller sozialen Gegensätze." (Marcus 1929, 6)

Einleitung

Auch knapp neunzig Jahre nach dieser Feststellung ist die Reeperbahn in Hamburg-St. Pauli weiterhin eine Straße der sozialen, kulturellen und räumlichen Gegensätze, auf der unterschiedlichste Menschen unablässig aufeinander treffen, sich aneinander vorbei schieben – und auf der im Zusammenwirken von räumlichen Artefakten, Menschen und Praktiken wechselnde Atmosphären entstehen und spürbar sind. In diesem Beitrag beschäftigen wir uns mit dem Auf-Spüren und Er-Leben von Atmosphären auf der Mikroebene, der Wahrnehmung der Touristen- und Partymeile Reeperbahn in Hamburg-St. Pauli. Anders als im obigen Zitat angedeutet tun wir dies allerdings nicht aus Sicht der Besucher*innen, sondern aus der Perspektive von Obdach- und Wohnungslosen. Aufbauend auf mobilen Interviews (narrative *Go-along*- bzw. *Walking*-Interviews) mit Obdachlosen innerhalb St. Paulis rücken wir das emotionale und affektive Erleben von einzelnen Raumausschnitten in den Mittelpunkt. Durch die Bewegungen im Raum während der Interviews können die erlebten bzw. entstehenden Atmosphären vor Ort adressiert und reflektiert werden. Zugleich handelt es sich bei den Interviewten um Menschen, deren Alltagsleben grundsätzlich durch dauerhafte lokale Mobilität gekennzeichnet ist und deren Präsenz und Mobilität im öffentlichen Raum die atmosphärische Situation eines Ortes durchdringt – die aber in der dominanten gesellschaftlichen und wissenschaftlichen Konzentration auf Tourist*innen, Polizei, Gewerbe und/oder Anwohner*innen der Reeperbahn in der Regel unsichtbar bleibt.

Im nächsten Abschnitt stellen wir zunächst kurz den „Ort Reeperbahn" sowie unseren Fokus auf Wohnungs- und Obdachlose vor. Zur theoretischen wie methodischen Einbettung der empirischen Untersuchung des Hauptteils (Abschnitt 5) reflektieren wir dem vorangehend grundsätzliche Überlegungen zum Erleben und Erforschen von Atmosphären und binden diese abschließend im Hinblick auf den Zusammenhang von Mobilität und Atmosphären, aber auch auf die mobilen Interviews als Teil der Untersuchung von Atmosphären zurück.

Obdachlosigkeit und die Reeperbahn in St. Pauli

St. Pauli, der Stadtteil, den die Reeperbahn als vierspurige Straßenachse von Ost nach West durchzieht und dabei in Nord und Süd trennt, ist primär Wohnstandort und galt bis weit in die 1990er Jahre als soziokulturell besonders heterogenes und sozioökonomisch stark benachteiligtes Viertel, in dem Prostitution, Bandenkriminalität und Gewalt seit Jahrzehnten verankert waren (exempl. Dombrowski 2004). Kennzeichnend für den Stadtteil sind allerdings auch – traditionell wie aktuell – große spontane Hilfsbereitschaft, ein äußerst heterogenes Nebeneinander im öffentlichen Raum und damit hohe Toleranz und Solidarität sowie stadtteilpolitisches Engagement (Best und Strüver 2005; Wischmann 2016). Zugleich ist es aber auch Hamburgs, vielleicht sogar Deutschlands, bekanntestes Vergnügungsviertel, das touristenfreundlich gleichermaßen hafen- und innenstadtnah gelegen ist und das in all diesen Funktionen (Touristenattraktion, Vergnügungszentrum, Wohn- und zunehmend auch wieder Gewerbe-, Luxushotel- und Bürostandort) als aufstrebend gilt. Die dort erwirtschafteten Erträge kommen dem Stadtteil allerdings nur wenig zugute (Goritz 2004; Wischmann 2016). Teil des Aufstrebens bzw. der gezielten Aufwertung ist seit gut zehn Jahren insbesondere die Umgestaltung der Reeperbahn vom Ort des sexualisierten verruchten Vergnügens („Rotlichtmilieu") hin zu einem allgemein attraktiven Aufenthalts- und Besuchsort, der vielerlei kulturelle und kulinarische Angebote macht. Dieser Prozess zieht wiederum auch die Aufwertung als Wohn- und Bürostandort sowie eine erhöhte Polizeipräsenz nach sich.

Bislang sind gleichwohl auch die erwähnte Heterogenität und die Toleranz der lokalen Bevölkerung noch Kennzeichen des Stadtteils bzw. des Miteinanders entlang der Reeperbahn, so dass dort vielfache alternative Lebensformen und unterschiedlichste Überlebensstrategien praktiziert werden (u.a. von Drogenkonsumierenden, Wohnungs- und Obdachlosen), überdurchschnittlich präsent sind und auch weitgehend akzeptiert werden. So lässt sich stark verkürzt ein Straßen- und Stadtteilleben beschreiben, in dem Armut und Toleranz der alteingesessenen bzw. traditionell anwesenden Bevölkerungsgruppen dem zunehmenden „Glitzerdiskurs" der Büro- und Hotelneubauten sowie der „Touristification" gegenüberstehen (Wischmann 2016: 324f). Hier treffen Obdachlose auf Gewerbetreibende der dominanten Branchen der Gastronomie und des sexualisierten Vergnügens sowie auf Tourist*innen und Anwohner*innen.

Seit Beginn der Aufwertung des Stadtteils um die Jahrtausendwende erleben obdachlose Personen häufiger subtile wie gezielte Vertreibungen von der Reeperbahn und den umliegenden Gebieten in kurz- und langfristiger Art. Diese werden zwar teilweise in der medialen Berichterstattung sowie von lokalen Initiativen kritisiert (Brück und Lasarzik 2014, Schneider 2011), dabei wird allerdings Obdachlosigkeit auf Probleme wie Armut, Krankheit oder den generellen Wohnungsmangel reduziert. Nicht thematisiert wird hingegen die Perspektive der Wohnungs- und Obdachlosen selbst. Deutschsprachige Veröffentlichungen zum Thema Obdachlosigkeit transportieren häufig schon im Titel eine Elendskonnotation: Beispielhaft genannt seien hier „Obdachlos, weil arm: Gesellschaftliche Reaktionen auf die Armut" (Christiansen 1977) sowie „Arm – obdachlos – krank: Eine Untersuchung der sozialen und medizinischen Angebote des Hamburger Caritasverbandes für wohnungslose Menschen" (Schaak 2003). Englischsprachige Ansätze haben häufig eine andere Herangehensweise an Obdachlosigkeit als Forschungsgegenstand und beschäftigen sich beispielsweise mit regionalem sozialpolitischen Umgang mit Obdachlosigkeit (Deverteuil u.a. 2009; Laurenson und Collins 2006, 2007) oder untersuchen obdachlose Personen als Akteure und in ihren alltäglichen Ritualen und Abläufen (Snow und Anderson 1987; Ruddick 1990; Snow und Mulcahy 2001). Auch das variierende Konzept eines „Zuhause" und des „sich zu Hause fühlen" wird thematisiert (Sheehan 2010). Die meisten dieser Beiträge durchzieht die Forderung, dass obdachlosen Personen die „Fähigkeit zum Wohnen" beigebracht werden müsse (Marquardt 2016).

Vielfältig übersehen wird dabei, dass es auch Menschen gibt, die den Schritt in die Obdachlosigkeit nach eigener Aussage bewusst und freiwillig gehen. Für sie ist es ein gewählter Lebensstil, der Freiheit, Ungebundenheit und Verpflichtungslosigkeit bedeuten kann. Es müssen nicht alle Aspekte dieses Lebensstils positiv sein, um von ihnen dennoch wertgeschätzt zu werden, eher wird Obdachlosigkeit als ambivalent empfunden. So sagte Hermes, einer unserer Interviewten: „Das Straßenleben ist wunderschön, aber es macht einen kaputt". Diese Menschen sind genauso wie diejenigen, die aus Armut, Krankheit oder einem mangelnden sozialen Netz auf der Straße leben, Teilgruppen von Obdachlosen, die nicht als repräsentativ für die Gesamtheit gelten können. Gemeinsam haben sie lediglich, dass sie alle als außerhalb der Gesellschaft stehend betrachtet und stigmatisiert werden. So stellt ein ehemaliger Obdachloser, der seiner Erfahrungen veröffentlicht hat, fest: „In der Arbeit zu diesem Manuskript habe ich eine Menge Bücher und Artikel über Obdachlose gelesen. Besonders spannend war für mich, dass alle gewissermaßen auch von mir zu sprechen vorgaben. Und fast ausnahmslos sagten sie mir letztlich gar nichts. Sie strotzten vor ernsten Zahlen und hölzerner Redlichkeit, und von sich wissenschaftlich oder betroffen gebenden Erläuterungen und Schlussfolgerungen" (Sanatanas 2016: 11).

Dementsprechend sollte Obdachlosigkeit nicht nur auf sozioökonomische und wohnungsbaupolitische Faktoren reduziert werden. Obdachlosen Personen wird damit der Wunsch (und die Fähigkeit) nach der Ausgestaltung des Lebens nach eigenen Präferenzen und Vorstellungen abgesprochen. Eine Ursache dieser Reduktion mag sein, dass dieser Lebensstil nicht den gesellschaftlich normierten Darstellungen von dauerhafter Unterbringung, festem Arbeitsverhältnis und „geregeltem Leben" entspricht. Sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzungen können hier einen Beitrag leisten, indem sie Obdachlose nicht nur als marginalisierte Untersuchungsgruppe im Kontext des „Elends der Welt" (Bourdieu 1997) betrachten, sondern die Perspektive der Obdachlosen gezielt *lebendig* werden lassen und sie im gleichen Maße als teilhabeberechtigte Einwohner*innen der Stadt betrachten, wie Menschen regulärer Wohnformen betrachtet werden. Daher möchten wir im Folgenden die Obdachlosen selbst erzählen lassen, wie sie Raum wahrnehmen und mit ihm interagieren. Um dem Kontext der lebendigen Perspektive gerecht zu werden, haben wir mithilfe von *Go-along*-Interviews die Atmosphären auf der Reeperbahn untersucht.

Theoretische Überlegungen zum Er-Leben von Atmosphären

Die durchgeführte Untersuchung zum Erleben von sozialräumlichen Ordnungsprinzipien durch Obdachlose auf der Hamburger Reeperbahn basiert in ihren theoretischen Grundzügen zum einen auf phänomenologischen Überlegungen, die – nicht zuletzt durch die aktuellen Diskussionen um Raumwahrnehmungen und -gefühle sowie die affektiven Dimensionen räumlicher Praktiken – erneute Aufmerksamkeit erfahren (siehe v.a. Bondi u.a. 2005; Thrift 2008; Pile 2010). Zum anderen nehmen wir genau diese Diskussionen zum Anlass für einen stärker praxistheoretisch ausgerichteten Zugang zur Raumwahrnehmung.

In den Grundzügen der Phänomenologie nach Husserl (1952) wird an die Forschenden appelliert, die Welt so zu begreifen, wie die Beforschten sie erleben und somit ihre Lebenswelt(en) zum Forschungsgegenstand zu machen. Dahinter steht ein Begriff von erlebter Wirklichkeit, die im „Tun" entsteht, und die im Alltags-Tun gestalt- und veränderbar ist: „Der Alltag ist jener Bereich der Wirklichkeit, in dem uns natürliche und gesellschaftliche Gegebenheiten als die Bedingung unseres Lebens unmittelbar begegnen, als Vorgegebenheiten, mit denen wir fertig zu werden versuchen müssen. Wir müssen in der Lebenswelt des Alltags handeln, wenn wir uns am Leben erhalten wollen" (Schütz und Luckmann 1984: 11). In der Erweiterung durch Schmitz' Neophänomenologie der leiblichen Wahrnehmung (1998; 2003; 2012) stehen vor allem leibliches Empfinden und Wahrnehmen, z.B. von Räumen sowie von „Gefühlen als räumlich ergossene Atmosphären" (2012: 39) im Mittelpunkt.

Mit unserer ethnographisch angelegten Untersuchung zielen wir auf die Rekonstruktion der Wirklichkeit(en) auf der Reeperbahn aus Sicht der Obdachlosen ab, und damit der *Vollzugs*wirklichkeiten im Sinne eines praktischen Tuns. Dementsprechend bedarf es hier einer kurzen Auseinandersetzung mit den oben bereits angedeuteten aktuellen Weiterentwicklungen, um das emotionale und affektive Erleben von Raumausschnitten zu rahmen und als Atmosphären zu adressieren. In der Konzentration auf sinnliches Raumerleben nehmen wir hier zunächst eine konzeptionelle Einengung von „Raumwahrnehmung" dahingehend vor, als dass wir uns im vorliegenden Kontext nicht auf die Wahrnehmungen von Räumen anhand von Repräsentationen und/oder Imaginationen beziehen (siehe bspw. Gregory 1998). Vielmehr geht es hier um tatsächliches Raum-er-leben, um die Wahrnehmungen der (emotionalen) Qualität von Räumen (Bondi u.a. 2005) und damit auch um die körperliche und leibliche Dimension.

Im deutschsprachigen geographischen Kontext hat dies v.a. Jürgen Hasse (1999; 2010) durch seine Studien zum subjektiven Raumerleben bzw. zur leiblichen Wahrnehmung städtischer Atmosphären vorangetrieben – und dabei auch die Vernachlässigung von Gefühlen in der Humangeographie kritisiert. Gerade in anglophonen Debatten hat gleichwohl genau diese Dimension im Kontext der Kontroversen um emotionale, affektive und nicht-repräsentationale Geographien bzw. um emotionale und affektive Praktiken jenseits textueller und visueller Repräsentationen enorm an Bedeutung gewonnen (siehe bspw. Thien 2005; Tolia-Kelly 2006; zusammenfassend Schurr und Strüver 2016; Hasse 2017). Forschungspraktisch halten wir jedoch zunächst an der (umstrittenen) Unterscheidung in Affekte als prä-kognitive, überindividuelle und außersoziale Kräfte und Emotionen als sinnliche und leibliche Wahrnehmungen fest und binden letztere an neophänomenologische und praxistheoretische Überlegungen zum Leib als Ort des subjektiven Erlebens und Empfindens und als subjektive Tatsache zurück. Denn in sozial- bzw. kulturtheoretischer Erweiterung der phänomenologischen Tradition stellt sich die Frage, inwiefern gesellschaftliche Machtstrukturen jenseits des leiblichen Erlebens als Teil der Subjektkonstitution gedacht werden können bzw. müssen: Der Leib ist Ort des subjektiven Erlebens, des Fühlens – doch wird das subjektive Erleben leiblicher Gefühle sowie sich daraus ergebender Praktiken auch durch soziokulturelle Prozesse konstituiert (vgl. Villa 2013; Strüver 2014; Gammerl und Herrn 2015). Zugleich darf durch die Berücksichtigung des gesellschaftlich produzierten Körpers die Aufmerksamkeit für den spürend-spürbaren Leib als Ort des subjektiven Erlebens nicht vergessen werden. So wird in der Leibphänomenologie Lindemanns (2011) der Leib als durch die Mit- und Umwelt geformter analysiert: Der Leib stellt dann den Umweltbezug des Selbst dar, so dass erstens der sicht- und tastbare Körper und der spürbare Leib in Wechselbeziehung stehen. Zweitens beeinflusst das Wissen über den eigenen Körper (z.B. als obdachloser Körper) das leibliche Erleben und Spüren der Mitwelt – ohne auf soziokulturelle Konstruktionsprozesse dieses Erlebens reduziert zu sein (für eine ausführliche Kritik an der einseitigen Betrachtung gesellschaftliche Konstruktionsprozesse von Räumen sowie von Raumerleben, siehe Hasse 2017).

Beide Perspektiven explizit berücksichtigend verwenden wir nachfolgend Reckwitz‘ Praxistheorie als Rahmen zur Erforschung räumlicher Atmosphären. Darin wird in direkter Anlehnung an Schmitz (1998) das Subjekt „affiziert durch die jeweilige Atmosphäre eines Raumes, die sich aus der relationalen Situierung von Artefakten – im Übrigen auch von anderen Subjekten, Gruppen oder Praktiken – ergibt. Die Erfahrung, also die Wahrnehmung der Atmosphäre eines Raumes ist freilich selbst eine Praktik, die die Inkorporierung entsprechender kultureller Schemata und sinnlicher Sensibilitäten auf Seiten des Subjekts zur Voraussetzung hat“ (Reckwitz 2015: 43; siehe auch Reckwitz 2003 sowie Kazig und Popp 2011 und Michels 2015 für empirische Anwendungen). Dem zugrunde liegt also auch eine Definition von Atmosphären in Anlehnung an Schmitz (2005: 106) als Gefühle, die nicht nur isoliert im Inneren gespürt werden, sondern die die subjektive Qualität eines Ortes prägen und teils auch von Dritten gespürt werden können. Wir erweitern diese Definition um die explizit städtische Dimension: „der Begriff der Atmosphären [muss] so gefasst werden, dass er auch für die städtische Umgebung im Ganzen mit allen ihren Elementen passend ist, wie Straßenpflaster, Bäume, Reklameschilder, Geschäftsauslagen usw., wenn wir es mit Plätzen oder Straßenzügen zu tun haben. Die Erfahrung der Atmosphäre eines städtischen Ortes wird durch die Erfahrung der konkreten Dinge [und Menschen] beeinflusst und stimuliert“ (Paetzold 2012: 243). Diese städtische Dimension ist nach Paetzold (2012: 231, in Bezug auf Hasse 2008) nicht gleichzusetzen mit der Stimmung eines Ortes: „Der gestimmte Raum […] ist ohne Thema, Orientierung und Adressat. […] Die Atmosphäre dagegen ist auf eine bestimmte Person, ein bestimmtes Objekt, ein bestimmtes Ereignis oder eine Gruppe von Ereignissen bezogen.“ Somit gelten Subjekte, Praktiken und Artefakte als Elemente, die die Entstehung einer Atmosphäre bewirken können.

Die Betonung des Vollzugs von Praktiken und die explizite Berücksichtigung der im Tun entstehenden bzw. veränderbaren Wirklichkeit bedeutet für das Raumerleben sowie das Erleben (und Erforschen) räumlicher Atmosphären, dass sich im Raum verfestigte gesellschaftliche Machtstrukturen als Teil des Erlebens und des subjektiven Sinns erschließen lassen. Darauf aufbauend lässt sich mit Gammerl und Herrn (2015: 8) fragen „wie besondere gesellschaftliche Machtverhältnisse raum- oder ortsspezifische Gefühle prägen und wie sich umgekehrt Gefühle auf die soziale Produktion von Räumen auswirken“.

Inwiefern nun der lebensweltliche soziale Alltag sowie die Raumwahrnehmungen von Obdachlosen in einem äußerst öffentlichen, von diversen Machtstrukturen durchzogenen Raum wie der Reeperbahn, von Atmosphären geprägt ist, wie sich ihr Raumerleben vollzieht, werden wir anschließend detailliert diskutieren.

Untersuchungsdesign: Machtsensible Atmosphärenforschung mit obdachlosen Personen

Das Ziel unserer Untersuchung war das Sammeln und Analysieren von ortsgebundenen Narrationen mithilfe von mobilen Interviews, die das Erleben von Atmosphären auf der Reeperbahn durch Obdachlose offenlegen. So kann ein unmittelbarer Bezug zu subjektiv empfundenen räumlichen Qualitäten hergestellt werden. Konkret bedeutet das herauszufinden, wie obdachlose Personen einzelne Abschnitte der Straße wahrnehmen und welche Atmosphären erlebt werden bzw. im Erleben der Reeperbahn entstehen.

Eine gute Voraussetzung für die Wahrnehmung wechselnder sinnlicher Eindrücke im Raum ist Bewegung. Das Bild der Umwelt, dass das Auge erreicht, ist zweidimensional. Erst durch Fortbewegung im Raum wird die dritte Dimension des Raums erfahrbar, es wird „die Umwelt, die man kennt, erst durch Bewegungen im Raum konstituiert" (Flade 2013: 32 in Bezug auf Kruse 1990). Die Umwelt als etwas das Subjekt Umgebendes ist nur dann erkundbar, wenn Standort und Perspektive häufig gewechselt werden. Nur durch die Bewegung auf der Reeperbahn selbst kann der Wechsel vom zweidimensionalen Abbild (z.B. der Ansicht einer Postkarte von der Reeperbahn) zu einer dreidimensionalen, multisensorisch erfahrenen räumlichen Umwelt erfahren werden. Körperliche Bewegung erleichtert und bereichert die sinnliche Wahrnehmung von vielfältigen Informationen.

Forschungspraktisch bedeutet dies, dass für die diesem Artikel zugrundeliegende Forschung eine bewegte Erhebung stattfand, die einen direkt greifbaren räumlichen Bezug innehat und Atmosphären in situ thematisieren kann. Durch das Bewegen im Raum werden die multisensorischen Einflüsse intensiver, bewusster und können einen wichtigen Bestandteil des Besprochenen ausmachen (Carpiano 2009; Evans und Jones 2011). Bei der gewählten Unterform der bewegten Interviews, dem narrativ-explorativen *Go along*, begleitet der/die Interviewer*in die alltäglichen Wege der Teilnehmenden. Neben intrinsischen Narrationsmotiven und -impulsen sind auch gezielte Fragen möglich, z.B. um „räumliche Praktiken, soziale Architektur und soziale Reiche" gezielter einzubeziehen (ebd., 850; Übersetzung NS/AS). Die durch die Interviewten gewählte Route bildet bestenfalls ihre alltägliche räumliche Umwelt und soziale wie räumliche Handlungskontexte ab. Da sie zum (räumlich wie inhaltlich) führenden Teil des Interviews werden, kann dem einer Interviewsituation in der Regel inhärenten Machtgefälle leichter entgegengewirkt und eine natürliche Kommunikationssituation begünstigt werden: Der/die Interviewte hat die tiefergehende Kenntnis des Ortes, kann auswählen, was gezeigt wird und gewährt dem/der Forscher*in einen Blick in den Alltag und das gesammelte räumliche und soziale Wissen. Somit verändert sich die Rolle des/der Forscher*in vom übergeordneten Außenstehenden hin zu einem/einer „Mitläufer*in".

Um die konkreten Ortsangaben des *Affiziert-Werdens* der beteiligten Obdachlosen in Zusammenhang zueinander setzen zu können, wurde ein so genanntes *Sketch-mapping* als Teil der Interviews durchgeführt. Dieses Verfahren entzieht sich zwar der Leiblichkeit als Kernaspekt des Erlebens von Atmosphären, soll aber in dieser Untersuchung der zusätzlichen Lokalisierung von potentiellen Atmosphären dienen. *Sketch-mapping* ist ein Verfahren, bei dem die Teilnehmenden ihre persönliche kognitive Karte eines festgelegten Ortes frei Hand skizzieren und anschließend die für das Forschungsinteresse relevanten Bereiche und/oder emotionalen Bewertungen in der Karte verorten können (Scheiner 2000). Der Begriff der kognitiven Karte bezeichnet das polydimensionale und -sensorische mentale Abbild der Wege und Routen der das Subjekt umgebenden Umwelt (vgl. Scheiner 2000: 56 in Bezug auf Downs und Stea 1977). Sie entsteht durch Bewegung im Raum und ist das Resultat von Aufnahme, Kodierung, Speicherung und Interpretation der Umwelt (Flade 2013: 47), weshalb sie einen notwendigen Bestandteil des menschlichen Alltags bildet. Kognitive Karten beinhalten nie alle Elemente der Umwelt, sondern nur die, die bewusst oder unbewusst als relevant eingestuft wurden, oder die mit besonderen Emotionen, Ereignissen oder Sinneseindrücken verknüpft sind. Somit sind diese mentalen Karten unvollständig, verzerrt und vereinfacht und außerdem höchst dynamisch, auch da sie ständig durch neue Erfahrungen ergänzt und verändert werden (Ziervogel

2011: 197). Nicht zuletzt fallen durch die subjektiven Wahrnehmungen und emotionalen Verknüpfungen von Orten kognitive Karten von unterschiedlichen Subjekten in der Regel höchst unterschiedlich aus. Genau aus diesem Grund, dem vielfältigen, subjektiven und hochgradig emotionalem Charakter der Karten, sind sie als machtsensible Forschungsmethode aus der Perspektive der Obdachlosen so interessant. Für die Untersuchung lassen wir die erkenntnistheoretischen Ausgangspunkte des Verfahrens unberücksichtigt, da wir nur den Aspekt der an einen konkreten Ort geknüpften emotionalen Erlebnisse und Bewertungen einbeziehen möchten, um intersubjektiv erspürte Atmosphären identifizieren zu können.

Um nun die von obdachlosen Personen wahrgenommenen Atmosphären der Reeperbahn angemessen zu untersuchen, konnten wir bestehende Bekanntschaften zu einigen Schlüsselpersonen der lokalen Szene nutzen. Von großem Vorteil war dabei die Nebenbeschäftigung einer der Autorinnen in einem Szenetreffpunkt von Obdachlosen auf der Reeperbahn, in der Kneipe „Der Clochard". Dadurch entstanden bereits im Vorfeld verlässliche Kontakte zu diversen obdachlosen Personen sowie ein freundlicher und vertrauter Umgang miteinander auf Augenhöhe. Auch gegenüber nicht persönlich bekannten Angehörigen der Zielgruppe konnte über die Nennung des Namens dieser Kneipe zügig eine positive Grundstimmung gegenüber unserer Untersuchung hergestellt werden.

Für die Untersuchung im Sommer 2016 wurden in Vorgesprächen die Personen ausgewählt, die nach ihrem eigenen Verständnis obdachlos sind oder bis vor kurzem waren und sich regelmäßig direkt auf der Reeperbahn aufhalten. Die hier präsentierten Teilergebnisse basieren auf jeweils mehrstündigen *Go-along*-Interviews mit sechs Personen (zwei weiblichen und vier männlichen im Alter zwischen 17 und 51 Jahren), die danach auch die *Sketch-maps* der Reeperbahn für uns erstellt haben.

Erspüren und Erleben der Reeperbahn

Im Folgenden stellen wir einige ausgewählte Ergebnisse vor und beschreiben, wie die Obdachlosen die soziale und atmosphärische räumliche Gliederung der Reeperbahn erleben. Im Anschluss geben wir Beispiele für Atmosphären, deren Entstehung von den Interviewten beeinflusst wird.

Die Obdachlosen auf der Reeperbahn teilen sich in drei Gruppen auf: Die Punks, die Junkies, und die Berber (ältere Personen, häufig verwahrlost und schwer alkoholkrank). Diese Gruppen haben relativ wenig Kontakt untereinander, vor allem die Junkies werden häufig von den anderen gemieden. Es gibt einzelne Obdachlose, die sich keiner Gruppe zuordnen und die mit allen in Kontakt stehen; dabei handelt es sich aber um Ausnahmen. Alle Teilnehmenden der Untersuchung gehören zur Gruppe der Punks oder stehen ihr nah. Es wurde versucht, auch Angehörige anderer Gruppen für Interviews zu gewinnen, dies ließ sich bislang aber nicht umsetzen. Die stark ausgeprägte Suchtsymptomatik der angetroffenen Junkies sowie die körperliche Versehrtheit der Berber sind mit einem auf mehrstündige Gespräche und körperliche Bewegungen ausgelegten Forschungsdesign nur schwer zu vereinbaren.

Um Einsichten in die gefühlten Qualitäten einzelner Raumausschnitte bzw. Atmosphären entlang der Reeperbahn zu erhalten, wurden die Teilnehmenden des *Sketch-mappings* gebeten, „gute Orte" und „schlechte Orte" sowie „gute Menschen" und „schlechte Menschen" zu identifizieren und zu erläutern. In allen Abbildungen stehen grüne Kreuze für „gute Menschen", grüne Linien oder Kreise für „gute Orte", in rot sind die „schlechten Menschen und Orte" festgehalten. Bei jeder Verortung wurde erfragt, wodurch sie sich begründet, ob sie temporär oder ständig Bestand hat, wie es sich vor Ort für die Interviewten anfühlt und wie sie darauf reagieren.

Dabei fiel auf, dass sämtliche genannten räumlichen Präferenzen symbolischen oder sozialen Charakter haben, der sich auf die dort anzutreffenden Menschen bzw. ihrer Abwesenheit bezieht. Somit kann festgehalten werden, dass keinerlei Hinweise auf die Relevanz atmosphärenbedingender permanent anwesender Artefakte wie Architektur, Beleuchtung oder Begrünung gefunden wurden, sondern nur Menschen, Praktiken und Symbole die Teilnehmenden in einem ausreichenden Maße affizieren, als dass es ihnen erwähnenswert schien.

Diese Präferenzen beziehen sich bspw. auf Erfahrungen mit dem Personal und den Inhaber*innen der jeweiligen Geschäfte an diesem Ort. Manche von ihnen pflegen ein freundschaftliches Verhältnis mit einzelnen Angehörigen der Obdachlosenszene, das sich beispielsweise in regelmäßigen Tierfutterspenden, Rabatten oder der Einräumung kleiner Sonderrechte äußert, wie der widerrechtlichen Herausgabe von Glasflaschen am Wochenende oder der Toilettenbenutzung. Diese positiven Zuschreibungen waren nur in seltenen Fällen intersubjektiv und scheinen daher durch den persönlichen Charakter der einzelnen Obdachlosen bedingt zu sein. Prinzipiell gilt zwischen Gewerbetreibenden und Interviewten die inoffizielle Regel, die besagt, dass die Obdachlosen sich nicht während der Öffnungszeiten eines Geschäftes direkt davor niederlassen dürfen, sondern sich auf die der Straße zugewandten Seite des Bürgersteigs setzen müssen. Nachts dürfen sie im Schutz der Ladenzeile schlafen, wenn sie ihren Platz sauber halten und dreißig Minuten vor Ladenöffnung verlassen haben. Nach Geschäftsschluss statten die Obdachlosen diese Orte mit ihrem Gepäck, Schlafmatten und Dekorationsartikeln aus. Durch die Praxis des sich Einrichtens und durch die Anordnung persönlicher Gegenstände entsteht eine heimelige Atmosphäre für die Dauer der Nacht, die die Interviewten insofern affiziert, als dass sie sich wohl fühlen und ruhen können.

Einige Inhaber*innen möchten dies aber generell nicht zulassen, weshalb es zu Konflikten kommt. So erzählt Makke, ein 38-Jähriger Punk, der seit 25 Jahren auf der Straße lebt, von folgender Schikanierung: Im vorigen Sommer begannen die Inhaber*innen einiger Geschäfte, vor denen sich seine Gruppe aufgehalten hat, unangekündigt Wassereimer auszuleeren, um angeblich den Bürgersteig zu reinigen. Die Durchnässung war dabei zum einen im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes am eigenen Leib spürbar. Zudem müssen in so einer Situation die Lager schnell geräumt werden, da es sehr schwer ist, Decken und Rucksäcke zu trocknen. Seiner Meinung nach geschah dies nur, um die Obdachlosen dauerhaft von diesem Ort zu vertreiben. Zum anderen entstand durch dieses Vorgehen eine feindliche Atmosphäre, die von genannten temporär auftretenden Vertreibungspraktiken abhängig ist. Die Interviewten empfinden sie allerdings nicht als einschüchternd genug, um sich dauerhaft von ihr abschrecken zu lassen. Sie kehren zurück, sobald die Gehwege getrocknet sind. Hier beeinflusst die Atmosphäre also konkret die Mobilität der Obdachlosen, die ihr Lager vor Durchnässung schützen und den Ort verlassen.

Bei der Auswertung der *Sketch maps* fiel auf, dass zwei Teilnehmer*innen ganze Straßenzüge als gut oder schlecht charakterisiert haben, während die anderen emotionale Bewertungen nur punktuell vergeben haben: Diese pauschalen Bewertungen fallen vor allem auf bei Stoney, 31 Jahre alt und seit 20 Jahren regelmäßig auf der Reeperbahn (Abb. 1), sowie bei Burger, 51 Jahre alt, seit ca. 35 Jahren regelmäßig dort (Abb. 2). Im Gegensatz dazu finden sich die punktuellen emotionalen Bewertungen bei den Teilnehmenden, die deutlich weniger Zeit auf der Reeperbahn verbringen, wie beispielsweise Hermes, der seit zweieinhalb Jahren auf Hamburgs

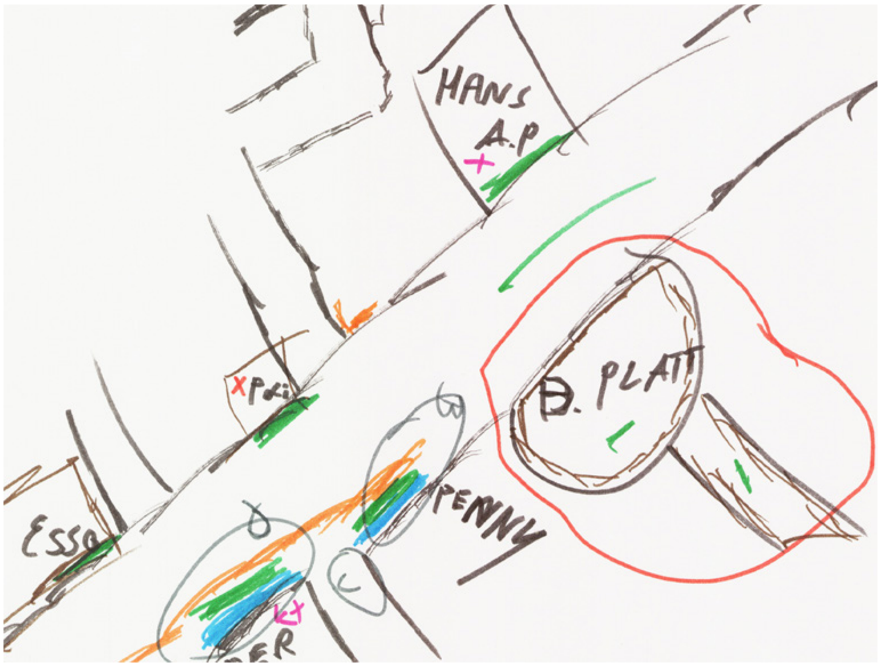

Abb. 1: Ausschnitt aus der Mental Map von Stoney, (CC) Nora Scholtz

Abb. 2: Ausschnitt aus der Mental Map von Burger, (CC) Nora Scholtz

Straßen schläft (Abb. 3). Eine denkbare Erklärung ist, dass durch den jahrzehntelangen Aufenthalt die von ihnen wahrgenommen Atmosphären den Raum so stark durchdrungen haben, dass sie in der Wahrnehmung der beiden dauerhaft präsent sind und flüchtige Atmosphären überdecken, also dass sie den Raum trotz ihrer eigenen Flüchtigkeit mit der Zeit in der Wahrnehmung der beiden eingefärbt haben.

Abb. 3: Ausschnitt aus der Mental Map von Hermes, (CC) Nora Scholtz

Während der mobilen Interviews stellte sich heraus, dass die Reeperbahn als sozial und atmosphärisch deutlich gegliedert wahrgenommen wird. Die Interviewten und ihre Gruppe halten sich quasi nur auf der nördlichen Straßenseite auf. Diese Seite ist Aufenthaltsort aller erwähnten Teilgruppen von Obdachlosen, während mit einer punktuellen Ausnahme die südliche Straßenseite gemieden wird. Dafür gibt es unterschiedliche Gründe: Die dortigen Geschäfte eignen sich nicht als ‚Schnorrplätze'; vor allem der Bereich rund um das Operettenhaus wird als „Bereich der ‚feinen Leute'" beschrieben. Zu den alltäglichen Soireen tummeln sich hier v.a. die etwas besser betuchten Tourist*innen und Einheimische. Es herrscht ansatzweise eine elegante Atmosphäre, die durch rote Teppiche und Pagen in den Eingängen bedingt wird. Hier möchten sich die Teilnehmenden nicht aufhalten. Schmitz (2005: 105) spricht von der „Konkurrenz zweier Atmosphären", die auftreten kann, wenn Subjekte sich in einer ganzheitlichen leiblichen Regung befinden, die nicht mit einer „ganzheitlich in den Raum gegossene[n] Atmosphäre" (ebd.: 106) vereinbar ist. Schmerzen oder Müdigkeit sind nur einige der regelmäßigen leiblichen Regungen, die die Interviewten empfinden und die nicht mit der festlichen, eleganten Atmosphäre dieses Bereichs vereinbar sind, der deshalb einfach gemieden wird. In Bezug auf Lindemann (2011) kann außerdem festgehalten werden, dass das Wissen über den eigenen (obdachlosen) Körper das leibliche Erleben und Spüren der Mitwelt beeinflusst. Sie empfinden sich selbst in diesem Gebiet als fehl am Platz, als nicht-zugehörig, weshalb sie die dortigen Atmosphären eher als Außenstehende betrachten und nicht in sie eintauchen (wollen oder können).

Auf dem östlichen Teil der südlichen Straßenseite halten sich viele Sexarbeiter*innen und Zuhälter auf, deren Stammplätze die Teilnehmenden meiden. Sexuelles Verlangen ist an sich nicht als leibliche Regung mit großer Reichweite zu betrachten. In den Gebieten entlang der Reeperbahn, in denen sich dutzende Prostituierte aufhalten und um Kunden werben, kann diese Reichweite allerdings als quantitativ wie qualitativ massiv gesteigert betrachtet werden. Nichtinteressierte Passant*innen eilen meist an diesen Orten vorbei und halten Abstand, um dem aggressiven Werben zu entgehen. Wer stehenbleibt, um sich zu orientieren oder zu warten, tut dies mit einigen Metern Abstand. Die Szenerie wirkt bizarr und zuweilen trostlos, viele Passant*innen möchten sich bewusst nicht von dieser für sie unangenehmen Atmosphäre vereinnahmen lassen und wenden sich ab, eilen weiter oder meiden diese Orte völlig, wie es auch die Interviewten tun. In den Interviews wie in den *Sketch maps* wurden diese Bereiche teils sogar als Grenze des eigenen Aktions- und Wahrnehmungsraumes benannt.

Daher kann die nördliche Straßenseite als primärer Aktionsraum der Obdachlosen gelten, wie auch an der Überzahl von emotionalen Bewertungen auf dieser Seite erkennbar ist, die in den kognitiven Karten festgehalten wurden. So lässt sich beispielsweise deutlich in der Karte von Hermes erkennen, dass er auf der südlichen Straßenseite auf Höhe des Spielbudenplatzes (siehe Abb. 3; hier im oberen Teil der Abbildung) gar keine emotionalen Verortungen macht, während sein täglicher Aktionsbereich voller Markierungen ist. Dieser Unterschied in der Häufigkeit der Bewertungen je nach Straßenseite zeigt sich in allen *Sketch maps*. Ebenfalls auffällig ist, dass mit einer Ausnahme alle kognitiven Karten auf dem Kopf stehen: Die nördliche Straßenseite wurde stets im unteren, „südlichen" Teil verortet. Hierbei handelt es sich um einen Hinweis auf das leibliche Erleben der Interviewten. Da sie ihre Wirklichkeit im Tun erfahren, also z.B. indem sie von ´ihrer` Straßenseite aus die Straße überblicken, interpretieren sie diese als den unteren Rand ihrer kognitiven Karte. Solange ihre Füße im Norden stehen, steht ihre Karte auf dem Kopf.

Stoney, der an wechselnden Orten im öffentlichen Raum von St. Pauli und Hamburg-Mitte zeltet, möchte sich an einigen Stellen der Reeperbahn nicht aufhalten, da ihm die Menschen, die er dort antrifft, zu „asozial" sind. Das betrifft vor allem das Gebiet um die Kneipen Elbschlosskeller und Goldener Handschuh bzw. das typische Publikum dieser Kneipen (Schwerstalkoholiker*innen bzw. Konsumierende von Partydrogen) sowie die Menschen, die in diesem Gebiet auf der Straße schlafen (hauptsächlich Junkies). Durch deren hygienische Verwahrlosung und Drogenkonsum entsteht eine unwohlige Atmosphäre, die bei ihm ein betretenes Gefühl auslöst. Den Bereich der „Großen Freiheit" samt Beatles-Platz meidet er, da ihm dort die Tourist*innen und die Türsteher zu aggressiv erscheinen. Hier halten sich meist Gruppen betrunkener Männer auf, häufig gibt es Provokationen und Schlägereien. Burger und Ganja halten beide Straßenabschnitte aus den gleichen Gründen für schlecht. Die drei Männer haben gemeinsam, dass sie schon deutlich länger auf der Reeperbahn sind als die anderen Teilnehmer*innen des *Sketch-mappings*. Für die anderen Interviewten war das Publikum der Großen Freiheit nicht erwähnenswert, sie wurde häufig nicht einmal in den *Sketch maps* verzeichnet.

Die Polizeidienststelle „Davidwache" wird hingegen von fast allen Teilnehmenden als schlechter Ort empfunden, der eine starke emotionale Reaktion hervorruft. Das Label des „schlechten Ortes" wurde hier häufig mit mehr Nachdruck gezeichnet, unterstrichen, mit Ausrufezeichen oder sogar mit dem Slogan „ACAB" („All Cops Are Bastards") versehen (siehe Abb. 4 und 5, hier in der oberen Mitte erkennbar). Das mag einmal der szenetypischen institutionellen Abneigung gegenüber der Polizei geschuldet sein, zusätzlich haben fast alle Interviewten aber auch vielfache Vertreibungen und als Schikane empfundene Maßnahmen durch die Polizei erlebt. So berichtet Stoney beispielsweise, dass bis vor einer Weile regelmäßig die Polizei die ‚Schnorrbecher´ samt Inhalt beschlagnahmt hat, wenn direkt auf der Reeperbahn aktiv um Geld gebettelt wurde. Im Anschluss an Gammerl und Herrn (2015: 8) lässt sich daher feststellen, dass auch „gesellschaftliche Machtverhältnisse raum- oder ortsspezifische Gefühle prägen und (…) sich umgekehrt Gefühle auf die soziale Produktion von Räumen auswirken": Die Davidwache ist als symbolisches Bauwerk ein Artefakt, welches die Wahrnehmung der Teilnehmenden aufgrund ihrer Erfahrungen von Menschen und Praktiken beeinflusst. Somit

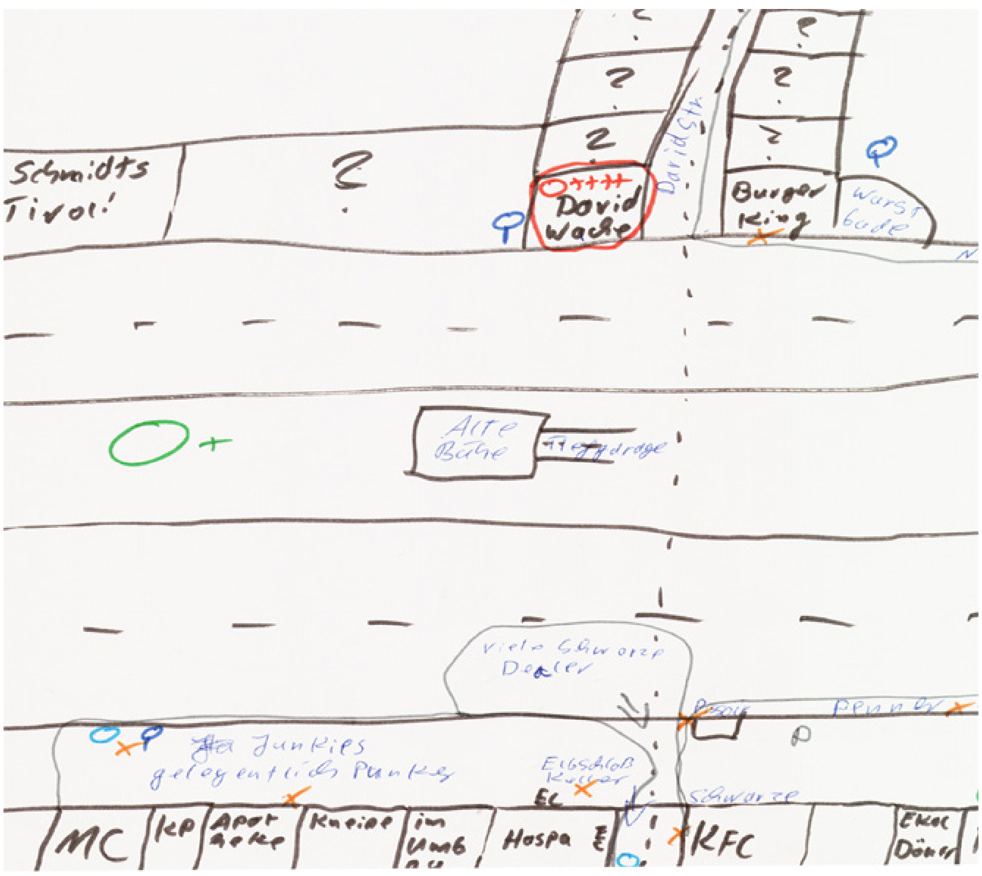

Abb. 4: Ausschnitt Bereich Davidwache aus der Mental Map von Hermes, (CC) Nora Scholtz

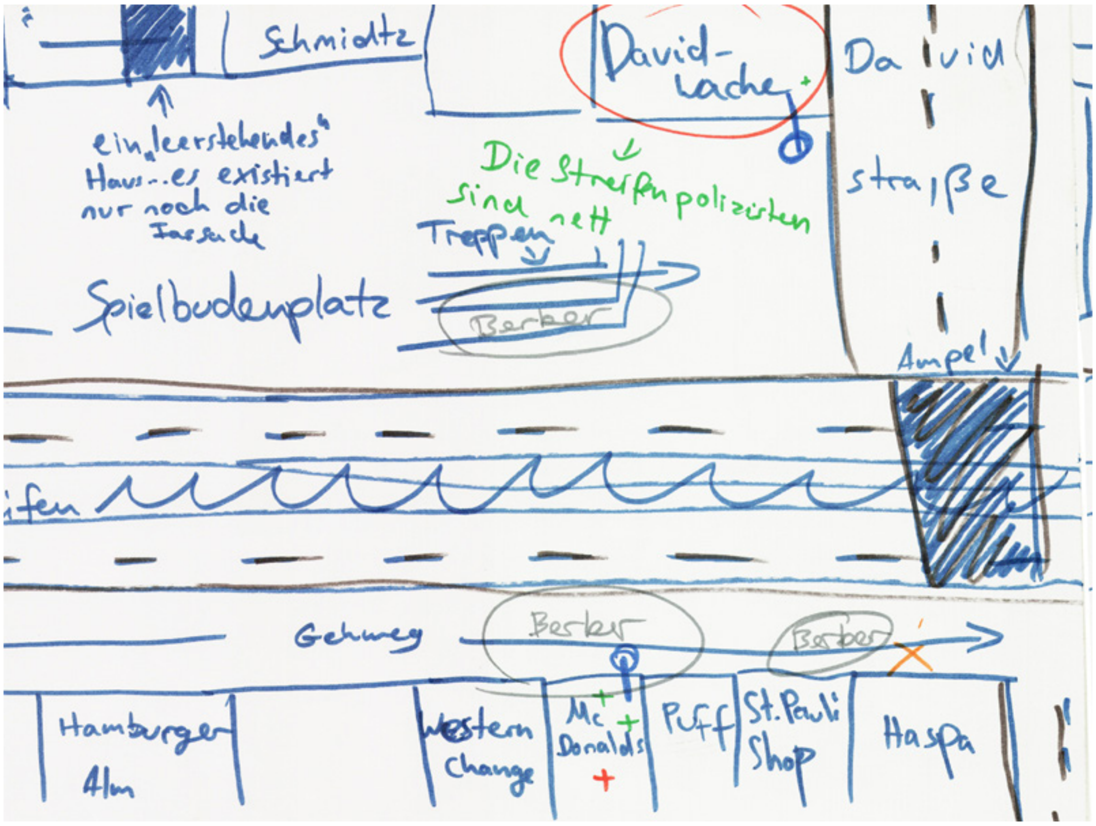

Abb. 5: Ausschnitt Bereich Davidwache aus der Mental Map von Lea, (CC) Nora Scholtz

wird kollektiv unter ihnen eine Regung des Zorns, der Wut und der Ohnmacht empfunden, was eine Anpassung der räumlichen Praktiken mit dem Ziel der Vermeidung bewirkt. So sagte Burger über die Davidwache: „Ich geh da doch nicht lang bei den Bullen, da geh ich lieber über die andere Seite vom Spielbudenplatz, damit ich die Bullen nicht sehen muss!“ Er beschreibt so besonders deutlich, wie die wahrgenommene Qualität dieses Ortes ihn affiziert und seine Mobilität beeinflusst und wie die dort vorherrschende Atmosphäre das Erleben und seine räumlichen Praktiken prägen.

Die emotionalen Bewertungen der konkreten Raumabschnitte entlang der Reeperbahn bilden sowohl subjektiv empfunden affektive Reize als auch kollektiv erspürte Atmosphären ab, die in einigen Fällen ganz konkretes räumliches bzw. mobiles Handeln bewirken, wie z.B. vor welchem Geschäft oder an welchem Ort sich die Obdachlosen auf dem Gehweg niederlassen möchten und wo nicht. Daran lässt sich ablesen, inwiefern dominante Machtverhältnisse ortsspezifische Atmosphären über die Relationen zwischen Personen, Institutionen, räumlichen Artefakten und Praktiken prägen (bspw. die Davidwache und die Große Freiheit als schlechte Orte mit schlechten Menschen) und dass eben diese Gefühle eine Einschränkung der Mobilität bewirken können. Die Davidwache als das Symbol für institutionalisierte (Staats-) Macht bildet hier ein ideales Beispiel dafür, wie ein Ort mit emotionaler Bedeutung aufgeladen wird und wie diese Bedeutung den Ort konstituiert.

Vollzug des Raumerlebens

Die obdachlosen Personen nehmen die Atmosphären auf der Reeperbahn nicht nur wahr und bewegen sich dementsprechend, sie beeinflussen natürlich selbst auch bewusst und unbewusst Atmosphären schon durch ihre bloße Anwesenheit als sichtbar obdachlose Menschen. Die Ausstattung ihres direkten Umfelds durch Einrichtungsgegenstände und andere Artefakte sowie diverse Praktiken sorgen dafür, dass sie ihren Alltag im öffentlichen Raum selbstbestimmt bedürfnisorientiert erleben. Um dies zu illustrieren wurden im Rahmen der Interviews Situationen festgehalten, in denen Obdachlose sich auf der Reeperbahn derartig inszenieren, dass der Raum atmosphärisch umgeprägt, von ihnen dadurch anderweitig nutzbar, und von Fremden dahingehend anerkannt wird. Der Schnorrplatz von Makke kann hier als anschauliches Beispiel herangezogen werden (Abb. 6): Im Schutz einer Werbetafel und eines Stromkastens hat er sein Lager auf dem Gehweg der nördlichen Straßenseite der Reeperbahn aufgeschlagen. Hier finden all seine Habseligkeiten Platz, wenn er tagsüber zum Schnorren auf den Kiez kommt. Durch die Decke ist sein Gebiet klar räumlich abgegrenzt und zugleich begrenzt. Die vorbeilaufenden Passanten achten diese Grenze und passen ihren Weg an, um nicht auf die Decke zu treten. Auch seine Bekannten und Freunde fragen zuerst, ob sie sich in diesen abgegrenzten Bereich setzen dürfen. Dies ändert sich nicht, wenn der Schnorrplatz für kurze Zeit unbesetzt ist. Durch die Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums mit privaten Artefakten wird hier also Eindruck von „beanspruchtem Platz" vermittelt, der intersubjektiv und ohne Vorwissen durch Dritte wahrgenommen und anerkannt wird.

Abb. 6: Makkes Schnorrplatz, (CC) Nora Scholtz

Nach Reckwitz (2015: 43) sind „[i]m Falle räumlicher Atmosphären […] nicht so sehr die einzelnen Dinge von Bedeutung als vielmehr ihre relationale Situierung in einem dreidimensionalen Raum. Dieser Raum wiederum wird von den Subjekten nicht einfach >benutzt<, sondern sie treten in ihn ein und erfahren ihn auf eine bestimmte Weise." Durch die Nutzung des zu zwei Seiten abschirmenden Straßenmobiliars sowie der Positionierung von persönlichen Gegenständen, die für ihn eine heimelige Atmosphäre haben (wie Decke, Kissen und Geschirr), kann Makke diese räumliche Atmosphäre der Heimeligkeit entstehen lassen und sich von ihr durchdringen lassen. Für obdachlose Menschen, die nur selten auf private Räume

Zugriff haben, ist die Schaffung von Privatheit inmitten der Öffentlichkeit notwendig. Sie wird benötigt zur mentalen Entlastung und Entspannung. Auf den ersten Blick scheint dies inmitten des turbulenten Publikumsverkehrs auf der Reeperbahn unmöglich zu sein. Makke erzählt, wie er durch eine simple Handlung dennoch für sich selbst eine Privatsphäre schaffen kann:

> „Das ist in dem Moment, wenn ich einfach mal ´ne halbe Stunde mit dem Rücken zu den Leuten sitze, das ist wie, als wäre ich mal kurz vom Arbeitsplatz ins Wohnzimmer. Ich hab´ gerade Mittagspause oder so. Ich klinke mich dann voll aus, krieg dann auch die ganzen Leute auf der Straße, die Stimmen, die Geräuschkulisse nicht mit, das ist dann erstmal weg."

Er sagt explizit, dass er sich in diesen Momenten freier und privater fühlen kann. Die Tätigkeiten, die er dann ausführt, sind beispielsweise Wundversorgung, Körperpflege oder das Wechseln der Kleidung: „Was andere in der Wohnung machen, mach ich eben in dem Moment da. Dass die Leute mich dabei beobachten, das… da stumpft man irgendwann ab. Das blendet man irgendwann einfach aus." Er ist also durch die Praktik des bewussten „den Rücken Zukehrens" in der Lage, sich mental so sehr von seiner Umwelt bzw. den ihn umgebenden Menschen zu entfernen, dass der ihn unmittelbar umgebende öffentliche Raum völlig von der ruhigen und beruhigenden Atmosphäre seines privaten Rückzugsorts durchzogen ist. Durch die Abwendung von den Menschen reduziert sich seine erfahrene Wirklichkeit auf seinen Leib.

Eine weitere Praktik, mit der Atmosphären durch die Beteiligten erlebt und beeinflusst werden, ist die des „schlechten Benehmens" durch plakativ sichtbaren Alkoholkonsum, laute Musik, latent aggressive Äußerungen und ähnlichem szenetypischen Verhalten. So erzählt Baal, ein siebzehnjähriger Punk, dass seine Gruppe davon ausgeht, dass Passant*innen sich schon durch ihr optisches Erscheinungsbild vor ihnen fürchten. Zusätzlich dazu benehmen sie sich manchmal absichtlich unangenehm, um sich diejenigen fernzuhalten, mit denen sie nichts zu tun haben wollen:

> „[…] also nicht, weil sie [die Passant*innen] körperlich irgendwas befürchten, sondern weil wir manchmal einfach wirklich stressig sind. So von wegen zulabern, um dich herumtanzen, Leute belästigen. Ich mach das auch absichtlich. Leute belästigen ist schon Zeitvertreib, ein bisschen. Weil es gibt echt viele Leute, die scheiße sind, da ist es schon okay, sie zu belästigen."

Diese Praktik dient gleich mehreren Motiven: Dem Zeitvertreib bei Langeweile, der Herabsetzung von als negativ empfundenen Menschen sowie dem auf Distanz-Halten von Passant*innen. Durch die bewusste Zurschaustellung von gesellschaftlich abgelehntem Verhalten wird ein Ort im öffentlichen Raum zur informellen Halböffentlichkeit umgestaltet; Baals Einschätzung nach wirkt die entstandene Atmosphäre auf unbeteiligte Passanten abschreckend, unangenehm und vielleicht sogar furchteinflößend, weshalb sie eine größere räumliche Distanz wahren. Hier wird also die Mobilität Dritter beeinflusst, indem sie einen „Bogen um die Gruppe machen".

Ausblick

Unsere Auseinandersetzung mit der atmosphärischen Gliederung entlang der Hamburger Reeperbahn hat sich auf der Mikroebene mit dem Auf-Spüren und Er-Leben von Atmosphären beschäftigt. „Auf-Spüren“ bezieht sich dabei sowohl auf das mobile Forschungsinstrument der explorativen *Go-along*-Interviews als auch auf die leibliche Dimension des Erlebens. „Er-Leben“ verweist darüber hinaus zum einen auf die Wahrnehmungen von sozialen wie räumlichen Atmosphären bzw. auf den eingangs zitierten „erregenden Wechsel von Atmosphären“, auf ihre Inkorporierung oder auch Vermeidung durch unterschiedlichste Menschen, die auf der Straße aufeinander treffen. Zum anderen umschreiben wir damit die Beeinflussung von Atmosphären, im Falle der hier erfolgten Forschung durch Obdachlose, die aufgrund ihrer lokalen Mobilität räumlich wie auch zeitlich besonders dynamisch sein können. In unserer Rekonstruktion des subjektiven Sinns der Obdachlosen bzw. der emotionalen Dimensionen des Raumerlebens (affiziert-werden, inklusive sozialräumlicher Machtstrukturen) wie auch des praktischen Tuns der Raumaneignung (affizieren) wurde der Fokus auf die Atmosphären durch die mobilen Interviews stark begünstigt oder überhaupt erst ermöglicht: durch das gemeinsame (Auf-) Spüren von lokalen Atmosphären im Erhebungsprozess, d.h. durch die Bewegungen im Raum. Dieses (Auf-)Spüren wiederum konnte durch die bzw. auf den kognitiven Karten konkreter lokalisiert, aber auch stärker emotionalisiert werden.

Der lebensweltliche soziale Alltag sowie die Wahrnehmungen des Ortes „Reeperbahn“ durch die beteiligten Obdachlosen basieren auf wechselnden Atmosphären, die durch unterschiedlichste Beteiligte und Praktiken sowie ihre Relationen zu symbolischen Artefakten entstehen. Dazu gehören praktisch wie symbolisch wirkmächtige Institutionen („die Polizei“, „die Polizeiwache“), aber auch flüchtige Interaktionen, z.B. mit vorbeiziehenden Passant*innen. Der Alltag innerhalb dieses Sozialgefüges verlangt allerdings nach flexiblen wie mobilen Bewältigungsstrategien, mit denen auf Atmosphären reagiert werden kann. Diese Strategien bestehen aus Mobilität, sowohl in Form der Neuplatzierung beweglicher Gegenstände (wie Decken und Rucksäcken), der temporären (oder vollständigen) Meidung eines Ortes durch die Teilnehmenden, als auch der Entwicklung von Praktiken, die die Mobilität von Passant*innen beeinflusst.

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Homeless People in Hamburg's Entertainment District St. Pauli:

Their Perceptions and Experiences of Atmospheres

Nora Scholtz, Anke Strüver

Academic research on homeless people in Germany often revolves around demographic or socioeconomic aspects of homelessness (see for example Schaak 2003), while the inside perspective of their everyday lives as well as their views on urban encounters and local developments affecting them as urban citizens are being neglected. We intend to bring their lives to life, focusing on their perceptions of atmospheres along the street "Reeperbahn". The Reeperbahn in Hamburg (Germany) is the epicenter of the cities´ most famous entertainment district St. Pauli and comprises nightclubs, bars, theaters, casinos and restaurants to fit any budget, as well as red light venues, street prostitution, drug trafficking, visible homelessness and a strong police presence. However, the street and its surrounding residential areas have also been gentrified for almost two decades, increasing the number of tourists, who crowd St. Pauli every day and night (Goritz 2004; Wischmann 2016).

How do homeless people perceive the emotional qualities of sites in this heterogeneous environment? Do governmental and social power structures shape site specific emotions among the homeless and in what way does their corporeality and their individual knowledge about their own homeless body influence these emotions? In which ways exactly do atmospheres influence their local mobility?

In this contribution, we approach these questions relying on ethnographic fieldwork and concentrate on homeless people's perspectives on encounters, atmospheres and mobilities along the Reeperbahn. Based on narrative and mobile *go-along* interviews and accompanying *sketch maps* as power sensitive research methods, we focus on homeless people's emotional attachments and (socio-) spatial perceptions in order to address atmospheres in general and, in particular, to explore the ways in which they trigger local mobilities.

The research design rests on everyday practices of homeless people, relying on a neo-phenomenological background and, specifically, on Hermann Schmitz´ conception of atmospheres as emotions (1998; 2003; 2005; 2012). This is combined with the theory of social practices proposed by Andreas Reckwitz (2012; 2015), in which he suggests 1) that people are affected by relational settings of artefacts, people and/or practices and 2) that 'affects and space share the quality of a materiality that seems to exceed the normative, the rational and the cultural-semiotic' (Reckwitz 2012: 242). Against this background, we develop a (working) definition of atmospheres as the potentially interpersonally perceptible emotions shaping a site. These emotions can be evoked by subjects, practices and artefacts like street furniture, buildings, urban vegetation or personal belongings.

The methods that were applied were more than ever beneficial for our research design: In the *go-along* interviews the participants talk about their daily social and spatial practices as well as about their emotions in situ, whereas *sketch mapping* provides visualized insights into the participants' social and spatial (and "atmospheric") perceptions. Combining both methods enabled us to portray subjective and highly emotional results of immense diversity. Moreover, they are explicitly suitable for power sensitive research situations.

This contribution intends to broaden the empirical research perspective on urban atmospheres with its focus on homeless people whose situation has rarely been addressed in urban studies and/or research dealing with urban atmospheres. Our empirical material consists of go-along interviews and accompanying sketch maps with six homeless persons aged between 17 and 51, two women and four men, who were willing to participate. With their help, we were able to identify particular practices, social groups and the power structures imposed by the local police department as transmitters of atmospheres and as influencing homeless people's mobilities. Furthermore, their narrations open up insights into the local social structures and the local complex of changing atmospheres along the Reeperbahn; special emphasis is put on the participants' status as homeless people, which has turned out to be highly relevant for experiencing atmospheres. In addition, we have discovered actual practices developed by our participants as coping mechanisms for everyday street life that help them to avoid the incorporation of unwanted atmospheres – which they nonetheless have to encounter as they do not have any private place such as a home.

We have discovered that all of our participants' spatial preferences are linked to either social or symbolic aspects, which refer to the presence or absence of particular people and their practices. At the same time, there have hardly been indications on the relevance of architectural artefacts, street lighting or urban vegetation for the construction and perception of atmospheres. Yet, the presence of specific practices such as prostitution or the red-carpet-like parades of "the noble people" in front of theaters do create atmospheres. These are atmospheres our interviewees are not willing to encounter: they emphasize the ways the feel misplaced because of their own bodies and how their corporeal sensations are incommensurable with the dominant atmospheres at these places. This incommensurability even influences their mobilities since their activity radius at times is narrowed down by avoiding the theaters along the southern part of the Reeperbahn. In addition, the local police station is situated next to the theaters. Homeless people strictly avoid this place as it is a symbol of state power, triggering several strongly negative emotions in them.

What is more, some homeless people have developed everyday coping practices through which they can perform power along the Reeperbahn themselves: for example when they behave in vulgar manners in public places (being drunk, playing extremely loud music or shouting at and thus offending tourists passing their spot). These practices are able to evoke unpleasant, even terrifying atmospheres along the Reeperbahn, especially for tourists. But they represent the mechanisms used by our participants to keep unwanted persons at a distance and to perform power themselves.

Our investigation of the perceptions and experiences of atmospheres in Hamburg's entertainment district St. Pauli by homeless people has disclosed power structures and structures of feeling on the micro level. 'Feeling', however, in this research context also comprises tracking down atmospheres by mobile interviews on the one hand and being sensitive for local social and symbolic power constellations on the other.

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Using Mobility and Urban Planning to Implement Atmosphere:

The Example of 'Encounter Zones' in Western Switzerland

Patrick Naef

Abstract

This contribution aims to explore how 'atmosphere' can be disseminated in urban settings in Switzerland, through the development of what is referred to as 'encounter zones` (*'zones de rencontre'* in French and *'Begegnungszonen'* in German). This urban planning tool dedicated to regulating traffic and allowing different users (pedestrians, cars, bicycles, etc.) to cohabit in a non-segregated space has been introduced all over the country since its official integration into the national legislation in 2002. The main objective is to determine how these areas can become appropriate settings for the development of a desirable atmosphere, conceived here as a quality of place where social encounters and space sharing can happen. In other words, the purpose is to determine if these areas can become more than just a traffic regulation tool, and contribute to social cohesion and the development of lively neighbourhoods. This paper is based on anthropological empirical findings collected in a larger study on encounter zones in Western Switzerland.

Keywords: Encounter zone, pedestrian, mobility, shared space, urban development, planning, Switzerland

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The main objective of this article is to determine if a traffic regulation tool can also help create a specific atmosphere in a place. Building on this polysemous notion of 'atmosphere', I will observe its professional conception and diffusion in a built environment. Although the concept of 'atmosphere' is increasingly present in urban development planner narratives – especially when associated with other notions like 'quality of place' or 'wellbeing' – its cultural dimension is still largely ignored. The development of 'encounter zones' in Switzerland will thus serve as an appropriate case study for analysing the implementation of a model of territorial development whose main aim is to manage traffic, but which also seeks to produce an atmosphere based on conviviality and a lively environment; a setting suitable for 'encounters' according to its designation[1].

A broader objective is to demonstrate the challenges involved in the planning and management of public spaces. If the improvement of security is certainly one of the main goals of planners in this context, there is no consensus on how to achieve it. Between the will on one hand to segregate users of public space (e.g. pedestrians and vehicles) and the desire on the other to promote 'shared space' (Baillie-Hamilton 2008); between dynamics associated with the planning of specific street furniture[2] and design versus the will to promote 'naked streets', the streetscape can contain significant contrasts and can thus have an important influence on the various atmospheres associated with it. In this contribution, it is stated that 'atmosphere engineering' (Trigg 2016, Adey 2014, McCormack 2008) implies a reflexive process, allowing corrections, flexibility, modifications, criticisms and participation; a step by step, continuously reinvented development leading to what Trigg (2016, 770) conceives as a 'perfectly engineered atmosphere, one that appears spontaneous'.

Finally, while academia has taken an extensive interest since the seventies in topics related to 'shared space' (Baillie-Hamilton 2008, Moody & Melia 2014, Karndacharuk & al. 2014) and 'traffic calming' (Pharaoh & Ruseel 1989, 1991, Elvik 2001, Kjemtrup 1992), including specific studies on 'residential areas' (Tolley 1990) and 'woonerfs'[3] (Ben-Joseph 2007, Grotenhuis 1979), case studies focusing on the development of 'encounter zones' are still lacking in the fields of mobility and urban planning research. This analysis aims to fill the gap through an anthropological approach to the practices of stakeholders involved in the planning and management of such places in Switzerland. In this context, the notion of 'atmosphere' will help to explore the role of affect in the development of sites associated with ideas such as walkability, security and conviviality. Building on the seminal work of Rachel Thomas (2004, 2008, 2012, 2012a) and Jean-Paul Thibaud (1992, 2013) on atmosphere and urban public space, the main question underlining this reflection is to determine how atmospheres can be introduced and diffused in contemporary public spaces and everyday life.

This contribution is based on the results of a wider ongoing research project being conducted for the Transport and Environment Association, the chief organisation involved in soft mo-

1 In Switzerland, the label '*zone de rencontre*' is used in French and '*Begegnungszone*' in German, both translated here as: 'encounter zone'.

2 'street furniture' is used here to describe equipment installed along streets and roads, such as benches, bollards, streetlamps, fountains, waste receptacles, flower pots, etc.

3 literally translated as 'living yard', a woonerf is an area in the Nederland's, where motorized traffic is limited to walking pace.

bility promotion in Switzerland. The objective of this study is to evaluate the social acceptance of encounter zones and the appropriation of new codes of mobility by inhabitants and users in western Switzerland, the French-speaking part of the country. In the present article, I will focus on two medium-size towns, Fribourg and Versoix, and will explore the ways encounter zones can provide appropriate settings for a desirable atmosphere for pedestrians, one that will contribute to place sharing and social encounters. Two case studies have been selected in each town because they both constitute new encounter zones, making it possible to observe the evolution of these places since their transformation. One of the sites under study was inaugurated in 2016 in Versoix, in the canton of Geneva, and the other – in Fribourg – was created in 2014. The two cases represent relatively large and central encounter zones, and both are now significantly used by pedestrians.

As we examine the notion of 'atmosphere' in these two spots, one important difference should be mentioned. In Fribourg, the encounter zone was set up in the neighborhood of 'Alt', described by its inhabitants as a lively area, even before it was transformed into an encounter zone, due to the presence of several schools and the dynamism of its neighborhood association, 'Quartier d'Alt'. In Versoix, on the other hand, the encounter zone was part of a larger urban transformation undertaking aiming at creating a new city-centre in a space that was mainly a wasteland before the project began. These contrasted settings, one previously inhabited, the other deserted, influence the atmosphere associated with these new encounter zones. These two case studies thus provide good opportunities for observing how urban planners and public authorities can create, or restore, an atmosphere, helping to attract pedestrians and above all to make them want to linger.

The results highlighted below have been collected primarily using anthropological methods. First, the areas in focus were thoroughly observed for several days and micro-interviews were conducted with passer-by. Special attention was given to the practices and behaviours of users, mainly pedestrians. The purpose was to examine their itineraries and their occupation of these newly designed spaces (e.g. whether pedestrians would spread across the whole roadway or on the contrary stick to the sides), as well as their interactions with other users (e.g. motorized vehicles). Semi-directive interviews were then conducted with different users and stakeholders. So far, twenty-five interviews have been realized with architects, urban planners, town magistrates and staff, as well as shopkeepers, restaurant managers and inhabitants. Focus groups are now being organized with inhabitants and users of these specific encounter zones; the next step will be to conduct a similar process, but one that will include stakeholders. Finally, a detailed content analysis has been undertaken, essentially based on administrative and legal documentation, as well as on the media and architectural or urban planning project reports.

Atmospheres and the built environment

The notion of 'atmosphere' is used in many fields, such as climate, music, plastic art, poetry or advertising. It has also permeated the social sciences, cultural geography and anthropology, and the term frequently appears in the domains of architecture, urban planning or interior design. 'Atmosphere' is often conceived as a liminal and fuzzy concept (Trigg 2016). For Gernot Böhme (1993, 113) its vague use derives from its multiple usages in everyday speech, 'it is applied to persons, spaces and to nature.' He states that 'atmospheres' are the basis for a theory of perception, stressing that they are primary 'objects' of perception: 'What is first and immediately perceived is neither sensations, nor shapes or objects or their constellations.' (1993, 125). In addition to these elements of definition, atmosphere is considered here as a confluence between senses, emotions and symbolic meaning (Philippopoulos-Miahalopoulos, as cited in Trigg 2016). Moreover, it is also fundamental to mention, as does Adey (2014) relying on Böhme's theories, that atmospheres are created by things, persons or their constellations. Taking this idea further and considering it as a security mechanism, Adey suggests that atmospheres can be engineered. This reflection will focus precisely on these processes of atmosphere making or engineering. Atmospheres will also generally be considered in plural form; diverse atmospheres can be associated with a place, depending on the contexts and people's various perceptions. Furthermore, different people, whether stakeholders, inhabitants or users, contribute to 'model' different atmospheres, considered by Michels (2015, 259) as the 'affective capacities of material components': 'These processes comprise the professional work of designers and artists as much as everyday practices.'

Jean-Paul Thibaud (2013), using the French word *'ambiance'*, which captures the notion of 'atmosphere' (Duarte, 2013), presents it as an increasingly important issue in urban transformations. He also acknowledges the importance of the inhabitants and everyday practices in what he qualifies as '*mise en ambiance*' (literally 'atmosphere setting'): 'One should not underestimate the continuous and ordinary production of urban atmosphere by city-dwellers. Indeed, one of the lessons that 'atmosphere' can teach us, is that a lived-in space is by no means the simple result of the reception of conceived spaces.' (Thibaud 2013, 15). For Thibaud, the progressive integration of atmospheres in architecture and urban planning goes beyond a mere effect of postmodern sentimentalism; focusing on the processes, conditions and modalities of its production could prefigure a 'political ecology of atmosphere', thus deconstructing the role of aesthetics in public spaces. Following this approach, Thomas (2012, 47) proposes a sensitive criticism of urban space that brings into question what she refers to as an 'ideology of sharing' institutionalized by what she considers as the 'pacified city' or the 'sanitized city': 'well-ordered, monitored, securitized, the pacified city would then insure the tranquillity of city-dwellers and the protection of the common good. More than objectives in terms of "environmental health" or conviviality, it would tend to put "under protection" contemporary urban society.' Soulier (2012) talks about the 'sterilization' of the streets when he reviews the excess of signage and protection in the public space in France. He shares in part Thomas's vision of urban sanitization, both scholars seeing new forms of hygienism in urban development in recent decades.

In this context, an approach that includes atmospheres in the consideration of public space promotes a critical perspective, 'an apprehension of the urban world as always perfectible, a constant way of questioning "what exists" and "what should happen"'. (Thomas 2012, 50) Therefore, the notion of 'atmosphere' used in this analysis enables us to empirically evaluate how urban planners and public authorities may challenge what is conceived of as the 'sterilization' or the 'sanitization' of public space. Viewing place-making through the lens of 'atmosphere' can bring new insights into these dynamics. The process of 'atmosphere making' can indeed offer novel perspectives on the use and the appropriation of public space by city dwellers. First, it is important to bear in mind that 'atmosphere making' proceeds from the interactions between users and planners and, secondly, that diverse atmospheres may be uncovered, depending on how public space is experienced, and by whom. Furthermore, building on the concept of 'shared space', 'atmosphere making' can clearly contribute to creating new elements of reflection on the idea of 'walkable places'.

Mobility and atmospheres in public space

As demonstrated by Middleton (2009) in the case of pedestrians' behaviours in London, speed and efficiency are not always the main priorities that transport policy suggests. Mobility cannot be reduced to its strict physical dimension; it implies displacement, but also encounters and co-presence (Thomas 2013). In his celebrated book, 'Cities for people', the Danish architect and urban designer Jan Gehl (2010, 30) confirms this statement, adding that walking favours a direct contact with the collectively: 'It is a particular form of communication between people sharing a public space like a forum and a living environment.' From Thomas's (2014) viewpoint on atmospheres, it is a way of engaging the passer-by with public space. Mobility is indeed rarely experienced alone and Duarte (2003, 25) considers atmosphere in the public space as a link between the diverse sensations of the users of this space: 'It is a subjective interpretation of the collective experience, of the awareness of belonging to an urban place, where sensations carry significations shared by users.' The French notion put forward by Thibaud (2013), '*l'être-ensemble'* (the 'being together'), seems thus indispensable when considering atmosphere and mobility in public space. For people to occupy, walk, stay, linger or stroll in a specific place, they need to adequately share this environment.

The promotion of pedestrian mobility is hence generally seen as a means to achieve a shared use of public space and initiatives such as pedestrian and encounter zones are often presented as efficient tools to reach this goal. Thomas (2011) postulates that there exists an operational link between walking and atmosphere. Yet she observes a 'fading of pedestrian atmospheres', due to the development of antiseptic environments where the pedestrian feels alienated. Paradoxically for Thomas, conditions seen as ideal for walking – smooth surfaces, agreeable lighting and adequate signposting – can also negatively affect the pedestrian and make him feel out of place. With the establishment of stricter public space regulations and the production of public spaces aiming to promote walkability, new codes of urbanity are being shaped. In this context, the sensitive dimension of a public space – its atmosphere – can also contribute to regulate circulation flows and to organize co-presences (Thibaud 1992, Thomas 2011). The challenge for urban planners thus relies on their ability to develop walkable places, while bearing in mind these dynamics of 'sterilization' (Soulier 2012) and 'pedestrian atmosphere fading' (Thomas 2011). Architectural and design elements, signage and street marking, authorizations and prohibitions, are all components that need to be carefully studied in order to achieve such an objective. The notion of 'atmosphere' therefore offers an innovative way to approach urban planning, especially when this practice aims to promote what Thibaud designates as 'vivre ensemble'.

Traffic calming and shared space

Hans Monderman's concept of 'shared space' is often referred to when the development of encounter zones or pedestrian areas is under discussion (Karndacharuk et al. 2013). If Monderman did not produce any noteworthy scientific work on the concept, some scholars (Baillie-Hamilton 2008, Moody & Melia 2014, Karndacharuk & al. 2014) were more productive. Karndacharuk et al. (2014, 215) define shared space as 'a public local street or intersection that is intended and designed to be used by pedestrians and vehicles in a consistently low-speed environment with no obvious physical segregation between the various road users in order to create a sense of place, and facilitate multi-functions.' If it did not define how to achieve this on a practical level, the so-called 'Buchanan Report' in the UK laid the base for the development of 'environmental areas' to face the hegemony of motorized traffic in the sixties, and proposed how a street could be adapted for mixed use by vehicles and other users (Karndacharuk et al. 2014). As mentioned in the definition above, if traffic signs and regulations are to be replaced by social rules, a 'sense of place' has to be created to encourage cooperative and sharing behaviour between users. For Soulier (2012), shared space philosophy can teach us the differences between 'road' and 'street' management. The modal use of the street is different from that of the road; we are moving from the idea of 'dividing' to one of 'sharing' (both translated in French by the same verb *'partager'*): 'As much the modal logic of the road *(*to divide) is easy to grasp and to apply, the modal logic of the street (to share) is delicate and subtle.' Atmosphere has thus an active role to play in the management of the *street*. With its capacity to 'bring people together' (Bissel 2010, 278), it can enhance place sharing and contribute to organizing flows and co-presence, without reverting to an over-signalization process that leads to what Soulier maintains is a 'sterilized' streetscape.

While the use of vehicles is still increasing, several initiatives have contributed to what is often defined as 'traffic calming'. As stated by Thomas, after the industrial development, the 21st century, 'largely embedded in environmental preoccupations and in a search for generalized accessibility – gets pacified.' (2013, 2) After years of car hegemony, one can observe in Europe a multiplication of concrete actions in favour of soft mobility: the general resurgence of the tramway, the development of bicycle-sharing systems and the creation of 'encounter zones' (Thomas, 2012). For Thomas (2012, 47), encounter zones respond to a 'philosophy of slowness', contributing to a transit toward new models of urbanity. Encounter zones seem even more important in this process, if we consider Gehl's observations which show that a specific site can influence the whole city life: 'Just as cities can invite city life, there are many examples of how the renovation of a single space or even change in furniture and details can invite people to a totally new pattern of use.' (2010, 16)

Since the seventies, traffic calming has been materialised in contrasted, but somehow similar ways, and some cities throughout Europe have acquired a status of model. Delft in The Netherlands was one of the first cities to consider giving priority to pedestrians in some areas of town, after reclaiming the concept of 'woonerf' initially developed in the locality of Emmerhout. In France, the city of Chambery also became a pioneer in the eighties in terms of traffic calming, after implementing a priority for pedestrians in many streets, including sections with heavy traffic. These areas then constituted the basis for the realisation of what will be officially labelled as 'encounter zones' in 2008 in French legislation. In Switzerland, the concept of the 'encounter zone' was officially incorporated into legislation in 2002, after the principle was tested in the municipalities of Burgdorf and Saint-Blaise. In the Swiss case, as in the French and Dutch examples, these areas are characterized by a priority for pedestrians and a low speed limit for motorised vehicles (20 km/h in Switzerland). Regarding the notion of shared space defined above, a significant difference can already be noticed. The principle of the encounter zone in Switzerland clearly designates a priority for pedestrians; in contrast, the philosophy of shared space does not imply a clear priority for a single user.

A case study of 'encounter zones' in Switzerland

In December 2016, a celebratory gathering brought together local authorities and soft mobility supporters in Burgdorf, a small locality in central Switzerland, to mark the 20th anniversary of a process that led to the creation of the first encounter zone in Switzerland. Under the designation of '*flanierzone*', this initiative, launched in 1996 by the municipality, the Federal Office of Energy and national activist groups such as the Transport and Environment Association, aimed to promote the city of Burgdorf as a pedestrian model. Beyond the objective of securing the town-centre, there was a determination to introduce a specific atmosphere, illustrated by the German term '*flanieren*' – 'strolling' or 'wandering'. These designations already demonstrate that walking is considered here as much more than a mere means of moving from one place to another. As the slogan of the campaign – 'slowly, amiably and securely' – indicates, the aim was to create an environment – a public space – which city-dwellers could appropriate and that would produce a desire to linger there. Andreas Wirth, who was at the time the head of the city department for construction, states that a new indicator was defined: *'The speed of pace! The slower the pedestrian walks, the more time he spends in the encounter zone, which can attest to the success of this development.'* (Personal communication from Lanci-Montant, March 2017)

From 1996 to the end of the millennium, the project remained at an experimental stage. It was only in 2002 that the Swiss Parliament introduced the concept of 'encounter zone' into the legislation. During this period, workshops were organized to generate original ideas on how to implement what would be the first encounter zone in the country. Some workshops were specifically planned for women to allow them to formulate their wishes freely and generally to enhance participation. Moreover, a philosopher – Hans Saner – was involved in the process of formulating a 'city philosophy': *'a holistic living space, imagined for people of all ages, all cultures, without omitting animals and plants.'* (Personal communication from Lanci-Montant, March 2017) In this context, an interdisciplinary approach, bringing together urban planners, public bodies, a philosopher and specific groups of the local population encouraged the implementation of a particular atmosphere associated with notions like 'slowness', 'conviviality' and 'sharing'.

Exploring the development of 'encounter zones' in Switzerland these last two decades, plus the process in which some stakeholders promote and attempt to engineer desirable atmospheres for these places, can bring new insights into the opportunities and perspectives of shared space theories and traffic calming. The following analysis of new encounter zones in Switzerland takes a close look at the process leading to their implementation in two different Swiss towns. How is the notion of 'atmosphere' mobilized in the narratives of stakeholders involved in their development? In what ways does street furniture contribute to or restrain the diffusion of atmospheres suited for the development of walkable areas and the enhancement of place sharing? Are there sites more favourable to such atmospheres? What are the role of pedestrians and motorists in this process?

For Claude Morzier, a Swiss traffic engineer specialised in the planning of encounter zones, these developments represent much more than road projects, they are urban planning projects:

'*It does not limit itself to speed limit regulation, it aims to improve the quality of life, the social quality of the place. An encounter zone should be planned where there are encounters, not in mere transit areas. For instance, in squares, historical centres, residential areas. It is also important to consider the surroundings.*' (Personal communication, 8 May 2017) Indeed, the first Swiss encounter zones were realised in places such as historical areas, residential and school surroundings, and are now spreading to other types of places like railway stations and commercial areas. This holistic view on the role of encounter zones can also be found in France. The CEREMA, a public body gathering expertise in the fields of environment, mobility and territorial planning states that 'considering and prioritising the pedestrian is not only an improvement of a transit mode, but an improvement of living conditions. By liberating the space previously monopolised by cars, reducing speed, offering sites for rest and security, bringing vegetation into towns, the encounter zone conceives and designs a different street, enjoyable for all.' (Cerema, 2014) 'Rest', 'vegetation', 'security' and 'enjoyment', all represent elements which can be associated with specific atmospheres, and help enhance the appropriation of public space by users and dwellers.

In an unpublished review of the situation of encounter zones in the city of Geneva, the municipality defined some recommendations for future planning. Streets are no longer considered as 'car pipes' and public spaces need to be upgraded. The '*Leschot*' street is held up as a model of success, based on its lively atmosphere: '[the street] is particularly frequented due to the numerous cafés-restaurants and boutiques in its buildings. […] The revalorisation of this public space gave renewed life to this street.'[4] This specific encounter zone is compared to the '*Flèche-Marroniers-Chapelle*' area, another encounter zone considered as less successful: 'There are fewer cafés and shop keepers. Furthermore, a bank occupies a building without any window onto the street. A real dynamic of public space use is thus lacking'. For the Municipality of Geneva, this raises the question of whether 'encounter zones' should only be introduced in lively and busy streets. As these observations and the previous ones demonstrate, encounter zones are often proposed because of their ability to revitalise places by contributing to their lively atmosphere. The functions of these developments can thus be considered beyond their primary role of traffic regulation; encounter zones are often seen as tools that also help improve the conviviality of streets.

Versoix: from a wasteland to an 'encounter zone'

To examine whether or not future encounter zones should only be developed in streets already defined as places with 'atmosphere', the example of the new encounter zone in Versoix, a town by Lake Geneva, is enlightening. The area adjoining the railway station has been a wasteland for years. As part of larger urban transformations of more than 20'000 square meters, an encounter zone and a pedestrian zone were inaugurated in 2016 after four years of construction. This development aims to create a new centre in a town increasingly considered as a bedroom community, many of whose inhabitants commute to work in the nearby cities of Geneva and Nyon. In the light of the efforts to bring new life to a previously neglected site, this encounter zone can reveal its potential to help build a desirable atmosphere in a place imagined as a new town-centre. The multitude of activities linked to the site – commercial, residential, religious

4 Ville de Genève. (unknown date). 'Zones de rencontre : Synthèse générale, pistes et recommandations.'

– led the public authorities to name this area 'Versoix-centre' and to encourage the population to appropriate this rehabilitated public space. As Cédric Lambert, the mayor of Versoix, points out: *'We wanted to create a lively centre where people could gather around commercial activities, the plaza, restaurants, cafés.'* (personal communication, 15 September 2016).

In addition to the diversity of its activities, the area is also multiform, composed of a variety of subspaces, as described by Marcellin Barthassat, the chief architect of the project: *'What would connect all these subspaces? […] And there was also this small sentence in the specification of the architectural design competition about "shadow". But we know that today it's a problem. How to create atmosphere?'* (Personal communication, 8 March 2017) From the start, the architects recognised the importance of adapting the project to the various types of space that characterized the site, and also to the different 'atmospheres'. In the description of their methodology, conceptualized as 'vegetal urban development', they present a vine intended to bring shade and a sense of centrality to this heterogeneous place: 'It's an alley connecting the different atmospheres, the different spaces, the different points of view. Under the vine we can meet, exchange, contemplate, play, discuss, read or walk as we wish.'[5] In the words of Barthassat, architects are seen as 'atmosphere scenographers' and public space is considered as a 'vector connecting diverse spaces, while preserving their individual identity'.

Furthermore, contrary to the German-speaking part of the country, where encounter zones are often the result of popular demand, we are looking here at a process managed by the public authorities. As the municipality's chief of urban planning states: *'We are not in the heart of a village where habitants ask for traffic moderation. Here it is the result of an urban plan. We want a new city-centre and we think an encounter zone is useful.'* (personal communication, 15 September 2016). The process that leads to this kind of urban development, either a top-down procedure initiated by the public authorities or a bottom-up dynamic involving the local population, will without any doubt influence its future use and the various atmospheres associated with it. Local knowledge is primordial to producing adequate atmospheres, raising the question of the inclusion of the inhabitants in the decision process. The architects were aware of this problematic, relying on the authorities to get a feeling of the local population's expectations. Describing the development of the central plaza in the encounter zone, Barthassat insists on the importance of grasping the inhabitants' needs: *'The municipality told us that they did not want a luxurious plaza. […] They added that there was a need for water. […] It was the first time that we discussed the status of this plaza. We needed to be very attentive to what the public authorities perceived as the views of the local population, whom they know. They were pointing to a problem that we perhaps could not see.'* (Personal communication, 8 March 2017)

Such communication between planners and architects meant the project could be reoriented towards a more appropriate atmosphere, in a place known to be very hot in summer. The main idea was to feature the aquatic characteristics of Versoix, nestled on the Lake Geneva shore. Some fountains were planned and artificial giant pebbles were brought from Germany to recall the lake's ecosystem. This plaza and its vine now form the central zone of this urban development. A farmer's market is organized every Saturday, children play around the fountains in summer and cafes are starting to put their tables outside. (fig. 1) Moreover, a set of steps was installed instead of simple stairs, contributing to the presence of pedestrians, who sit there in

5 Extract from the presentation of the project to the public authorities. (6 October 2009)

summer. In the context of this traffic regulation, the development of an encounter zone, small details *a priori* disconnected from mobility – fountains, steps, pebbles, etc. – help create a specific atmosphere leading to pedestrian installation and conviviality.

Fig. 1: Photo by Frank Lavanchy

Fribourg: tensions and pedestrian appropriation in an encounter zone

In Fribourg, an encounter zone was developed in 2014 on the Joseph-Piller street in the 'Alt' neighbourhood, a lively area already well frequented by pedestrians, including many schoolchildren from local schools and students using the university library. As in the case of Versoix, this new development was related to another, larger project. The objective was to anticipate and adequately manage the transfer of traffic produced by the construction of the Poya bridge in October 2014. This encounter zone is characterized by two specific types of urban layout: a large, straight boulevard (fig. 2) and a plaza connected to side streets. On the plaza, a new brown floor-covering and the installation of street furniture such as benches, tables and bike racks are intended to encourage motor vehicles to slow down. On the boulevard, the sidewalk has been made level with the roadway – in order to limit the segregation between the street users – and some street furniture has also been added.

The president of the 'Association Quartier Alt insists that if a development like this one is to succeed the appropriation of the area by pedestrians is a key factor: '*It is important that we talk about an "encounter" zone and not just a "20 km/h" zone. This gives the impression that pedestrians are "at home"*'. (personal communication, 10 May 2017) Of course other street users, especially motorists, need to understand this process and this can lead to tensions. When I first started my fieldwork in the area, I exercised my right as a pedestrian to stand in the middle of the boulevard included in the encounter zone to take a picture. I was quickly honked at by a motorist

Fig. 2: Photo by Patrick Naef

in a hurry. Nevertheless, Julien Thirion, engineer in the Mobility Department of the City of Fribourg, insists that priority be given to pedestrians: *'That the aim is for pedestrians to appropriate this space for themselves, provided they do not unnecessarily interfere with the traffic.'* (Personal communication, 18 August 2017) We face here an interpretive and relative appreciation of what is considered as 'pedestrians unnecessarily interfering' with other users, such as motorists. These ambiguities in the management of traffic moderation, illustrated here by the occupation of this straight main road, are a central concern for the inhabitants and pedestrian users of the area: *'There is no space to walk on the side if we are more than two. If we walk in the middle, we'll be either insulted or honked at. […] Even youngsters, when they are in large groups and should have priority, gather on the sides.'* (personal communication, 10 May 2017)

Installing street furniture mainly along the sides of this straight axis, and not in the middle, recreated the effect of a road, where pedestrians are pushed to the edges and vehicles wander freely in the centre. As stated by another habitant: *'The problem is that it is a boulevard! Cars in the centre and pedestrians cornered on the sides.'* The straight configuration of the road section is also seen as a cause for the non-respect of the 20 km/h speed limit; some point out that in such a context it is hard to respect this rule even when riding a bicycle. The non-respect of the speed limit thus impacts on the atmosphere of the place, as an inhabitant confirmed: *'Because it is a transit road, it is not here that one will find a "neighbourhood life" ["vie de quartier" in French]. The problem, if you want to get a sense of "living together", is that you have motorists who are commuting and do not have social links with the neighbourhood.'* (Personal communication, 9 May 2017) The fact that many users are disconnected from the neighbourhood is thus considered a reason for their lack of respect toward the inhabitants, and an increase in tensions.

The success of the Joseph-Piller Encounter zone is called into question by city stakeholders themselves, like this official of the Fribourg road construction office: *'It does not work in an optimal way. I think the process was kind of politically driven. We would have been more in favor of* *designating the right side [the rectilinear zone] of the encounter zone as a 30 Km/h area and keeping only the plaza as an encounter zone. It would have been easier for us to appreciate this area as an encounter zone'* (Personal communication, 18 September 2017) On the political level, Thierry Steiert, communal counsellor for the city of Fribourg, states that there are different types of encounter zones; he compares the Joseph-Piller encounter zone to more residential ones where a 'neighbourhood life' could more adequately take place: 'In a neighbourhood street, you have children playing on the street: it is totally natural. The fact that children consider this area as a playground is also a driving force for speed regulation. It is not the idea here.' However, in a similar vein to certain officials in Fribourg urban planning sections, some inhabitants of the area consider that developing an encounter zone in a transit area is nonsense: *'We are using pedestrians to slow down cars! There is a transit section and there are cul-de-sacs. That is where they should have realized the encounter zone.'* (Personal communication, 9 May 2017) For another former inhabitant of the neighbourhood, there is a paradox resulting from contradictory viewpoints between the city and the canton: *'On one side you have the city which is aiming at developing a pleasant town for the inhabitants and on the other side you have the canton which is trying to promote smooth transit in the city.'* (Personal communication, 9 May 2017)

Further, in the encounter zone the plaza is conceived as a place where social gathering can happen. Another inhabitant living on the plaza praises for instance the installation of three high tables that she now uses to organize public suppers for the neighbours:

> This place became my centre… A lot more than other central places in Fribourg. This is clearly due to this new development; now people are more eager to stay. We started to organize collective suppers for the inhabitants, even though this implied a little concertation with the police. These tables were initially set up for decoration more than anything else, but we decided to use them. (Personal communication, 9 May 2017)

Around the plaza, following the development of the encounter zone, inhabitants started to organize participative events and to propose street furniture, such as chairs and tables for the passers-by. The plaza thus demonstrates a process of appropriation by the inhabitants, enhancing pedestrian installation, in contrast to the other part of the encounter zone, where pedestrians are excluded and experience tensions with motorist users.

This case study constitutes a good example of the appropriation or rejection of different aspects of an encounter zone. While the plaza certainly contributes to building an atmosphere of place-sharing, the adjacent boulevard, also part of the encounter zone, is seen by many users as a failure. It demonstrates that the success of an encounter zone, considered through the lens of atmosphere and place sharing, is highly contextual. First, the layout – between square plazas and rectilinear boulevards – significantly influences the behaviour of users motivated by conflicting dynamics. Secondly, as stated by many interviewees in Fribourg, for such a public space to be appropriated by pedestrians, it has to be an area they previously used. As pointed out by the collaborator of the Fribourg road construction office quoted above: *'It is hard to change the DNA of these places. As for pedestrian crossings, we need to develop encounter zones in places already used by pedestrians. A radical change of function can be counterproductive.'* (Personal communication, 18 September 2017) Moreover, as a study conducted by the city of Fribourg demonstrated, the speed limit is respected in the plaza area, but not in the rectilinear area. Thus, beyond matters related to atmosphere and place sharing, it is the overall functioning of the encounter zone which is determined by factors like the ones listed above. Complementary measures are now being introduced, essentially in the rectilinear zone, where round benches will be installed on the road, to reduce speed and favour pedestrian appropriation. (fig. 3)

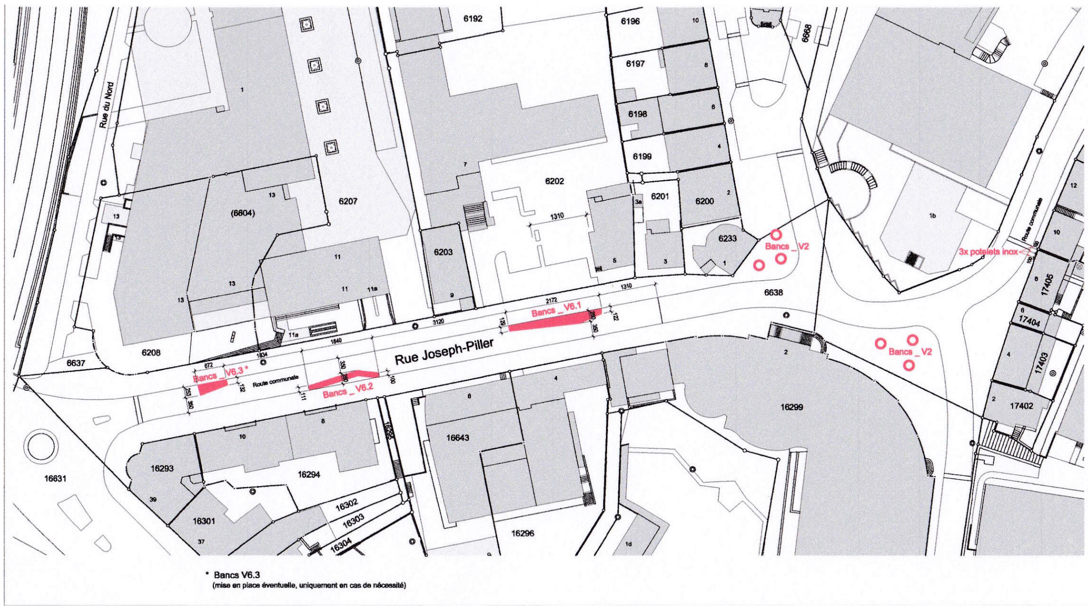

Fig. 3: Source: Ville de Fribourg

Shared space and atmosphere in encounter zones

There are different approaches in the world, and also within Switzerland, to the relevance of installing street furniture and developing specific street design in encounter zones. Of course, these diverse position statements have an influence on the atmosphere of the place. The Touring Club Suisse (TCS), the main car lobby in Switzerland, agrees that no signage should be set up in an encounter zone, but the organization insists on the importance of developing a specific layout for such places: 'An *[encounter]* zone is nothing more than an alibi when it is reduced to a sign at its entry without any of the necessary developments preventing high-speed traffic.' (Touring Club Suisse, 2008) Different actions are proposed: levelling the pavement and the road, developing street furniture favouring pedestrian use, introducing vegetal elements and installing bollards, provided they do not recreate segregation between users.[6]

In the case of Versoix, the authorities and the architects had a shared vision of the necessary minimum when it came to street design and furniture. For the chief of urban planning in the municipality, *'if we can do without it, we would rather aim to develop a sober aesthetic. We did not add much; it is pretty simple. There is a vine, there is a canal, but these elements aside, we are not seeking to add overwrought effects... We are not in a baroque language'* (personal communication, 15 September 2016) Nevertheless, some adaptations had to be made to this minimalist conception

6 Idem

in the place layout. The suppression of pedestrian crossings, as well as the levelling of the pavement and the road, made some of the population uneasy. The municipality had to install a different type of street furniture, not initially foreseen, as a remedy. Some bollards were set up near residential front doors to create a demarcation between the buildings and the road. Other types of street furniture, like flower pots or bike racks, were also installed on straight streets to force motorized vehicles to slow down. Moreover, after the suppression of a pavement in front of its main storefront, a bank asked for a solution to prevent potential ram raid attacks. A concrete bench was installed to ward off such an eventuality. (fig. 4) In Versoix again, urban planners and the authorities faced other, more unexpected, situations. A Thai restaurant owner noticed that a tree planted as part of this new development formed an angle with the layout of her restaurant. The owner complained that this sharp angle was preventing an optimal circulation of the *Chi,* thus negatively impacting the *Feng Shui* of the place.[7] Although the tree was not removed, the authorities changed the installation of the stakes, increasing their number from three to four, in order to remove the shape of a triangle and obtain a square. As we can see, the appreciation of appropriate place atmospheres also depends on cultural contexts. A new urban development can highlight cultural differences related to what is considered as a desirable atmosphere.

A city is composed of micro-cultures, creating zones of contact and friction between people and spaces. (Duarte, 2013) Like urban planners and public authorities, city-dwellers also participate to configure the diverse atmospheres of a place; they demonstrate specific know-how and express micro-resistances to restrictive and inhospitable space-times. (Thibaud, 2013). As in the case of Versoix, the suppression of pedestrian crossings and signage in the *'Alt'* neighbourhood in Fribourg also created a feeling of unease among inhabitants and users. The local authorities

Fig. 4: Photo by Patrick Naef

7 To be *Feng Shui,* an installation is supposed to avoid sharp angles and obscure corners.

are now planning the installation of new street furniture to address this situation. Here is a paradox which is doubtless not specific to Versoix and Fribourg. Signage, pavements and pedestrian crossings are removed to reduce the segregation between users – mainly pedestrians and motorized vehicles – but new elements must be set up that recreate this segregation. An important tool in this context is to provide appropriate information to the population, so that they accept these new mobility codes. Moreover, the adoption of new practices cannot be achieved in a day. Public authorities must remain flexible with regard to the development of encounter zones if they are to respond adequately to the diverse and sometimes rival expectations of users. It is, in the end, a clear understanding of these new mobility codes that will bring about a serene appropriation of this public space, and transform an encounter zone into a place of conviviality.

In the French context, Thomas (2003) notes that pedestrian areas are often subjected to a process of 'over-signalization' that neutralizes urban life. For her, the main regulatory texts in force promote development principles of the pedestrian city that contribute to its levelling and homogenization, impacting on what she sees as the 'anchorage of the body': 'The flattening and levelling of the city surfaces, like the primacy given to flows over the anchorage of bodies, favours another implication of the haptic and proprioceptive perception. […] Compartmentalized in atmospheres where no asperities retain the foot – but where no "grip" offers a stability point – the pedestrian slides more than he walks.' (Thomas, 2003 4) The example of Versoix partly confirms this interpretation, according to a statement of its mayor in 2016: *'There is a lot more street furniture in the pedestrian zone than in the encounter zone. The encounter zone is an area where cars can still circulate at moderate speed, along with pedestrians who have priority, but it is not a space for walking… It is more a liaison space'* (personal communication, 15 September 2016) His colleague, the chief of urban planning, has a more nuanced view: *'There is now a water play area and steps on the plaza; it is not rare to see people using the steps to sit down. It is starting to function and it can only function if people accept to reduce their speed towards 20 km/h.'* (personal communication, 15 September 2016) The installation of a weekly farmer's market, giant pebbles and water games has also been unanimously welcomed by the local population. It needs to become bigger, but it certainly contributes to the 'anchorage of the bodies' and to the conviviality of the area. Additionally, more informal initiatives can also strongly participate to the anchorage of pedestrians. The collective suppers organized in the *'Alt'* neighbourhood in Fribourg constitutes without doubts a concrete illustration. The organizer also proposed other informal events: offering chairs to passers-by to invite them to linger in the plaza (fig. 5) or disseminating radio devices during the last soccer World Cup. She is now victim of the success of these collective happenings: *'I have now people knocking at my door to ask if I can assist them with the organization of similar events. Lately it was a teacher who wanted to propose literary café.'* (Personal communication, 9 May 2017)

As Gehl (2010) emphasizes, the vitality of a place is not determined by the number of people who use it, but by the time they spend in it. He adds that urban life is a process that feeds on itself: 'People go where there are people." (2010, 93) Furthermore, one needs to allow time to pass, in order for a place to attract people and favour pedestrian 'anchorage', as Thomas describes it. Criticisms of an over-signalization of the public space, like the ones addressed by Thomas, naturally bring us back to the concept of 'shared space' presented above. As Karndacharuk et al. (2016, 206) note, 'what is evident about the shared space concept is the shift towards

Fig. 5: Photo by Tina Odermatt

recognizing a street as a destination'. Concurring with Thomas's reflection on the primacy of flows of movement over the anchorage of bodies, Karndacharuk et al. underline the ambiguity of recognising a street as a destination:

> While the term "place making" within a public space, including streets, is widely used in the fields of architecture and urban design, appropriately recognising and operating a street as a place is not a straightforward process. […] If one compares a street to a corridor in a building, it is certainly difficult for an interior designer to justify creating a place of gathering along and within the corridor. (2016, 206)

This remark seems pertinent in the context of encounter zones development, where the aim is often to promote a gathering place. Encounter zones are precise illustrations of a process of 'place making' applied to a street. The examples of Versoix and Fribourg showed however that the suppression of street signage and pedestrian crossings increased a feeling of insecurity among certain users, forcing the authorities to add unplanned elements like street furniture. It seems thus important to find a middle path between a bare street and over-signalization, in order to manage an appropriate process of place making, turning a street into a 'destination' without jeopardizing the feeling of security of users, especially the most vulnerable. In this context, focusing more on the idea of 'atmosphere' in urban planning seems to offer interesting insights into the way to achieve such a balance.

For the supporters of shared space, the behaviour of a driver should be influenced more by the environment than by prohibitions: 'the sight of a school with children playing will have a far stronger impact on the behaviour and the speed of a motorist than a sign indicating a passage for children.' (Keuning Institute, as cited in Gerlach et al., 2008 5) The assumption here is that when road users do not feel safe they will act more carefully: 'risk reduction in shared spaces is thus achieved through the creation of anxiety or 'unease' among drivers and pedestrians.' (Moody and Melia, 2014, 7) In other words, creating an atmosphere of insecurity could favour more cautious behaviour. To explain this dynamic, Clarke highlights an interesting analogy, proposed by the geographer John Adams, between shared space and car brakes: 'You fit a car with better brakes, people don't drive the same way as before and enjoy an extra feeling of safety, they drive faster and start braking later. The potential safety benefit of better brakes in fact becomes a performance benefit.' (Clarke, 2006 291) Beyond traffic calming, Nicolas Soulier adopts a similar perspective towards urban planning in general. His approach is based on the British operational guidelines 'Living-with-risk-briefing' (CABE 2007), which proposes to use risks in a creative way. For Soulier (2012, 112), processes of 'over-protecting' or 'over-designing' help to sterilize public space: 'Step by step, they secure traffic, secure housing, even if it means blocking the vital process it was intended to protect.'

In Versoix, the architect Marcellin Barthassat and his colleagues are also in favour of a minimalist conception of street furniture: *'We think that chicanes and road humps are definitely effective, but it is a coercive effectiveness, to the detriment of public space.'* (Personal communication, 8 March 2017) The architect goes even further by illustrating how some street furniture in an encounter zone developed a few years ago in Geneva was seen as a potential source of insecurity by some parents. They were afraid that when children played at hide-and-seek behind these elements, which were mainly flower pots, there was a danger they might rush out into the street. Ensuring security without sterilizing urban life, enabling 'place making' and the development of a lively atmosphere to happen, is a challenging process, highly dependent on the perceptions of the various users: parents, children, seniors, motorists, cyclists and others. The inclusion of these different and sometimes competing perceptions should be integrated into the decision-making process as early as possible. Furthermore, planners and magistrates should be ready to react and be prepared to reorient their choices after experiencing them *in situ.*

Whereas an overuse of street furniture and signage is often criticized, the integration of natural elements into the streetscape is usually viewed positively, especially when they help create an attractive atmosphere. Indeed, the promotion of slowness in the city changes urban practices; it takes shape in a particular designed atmosphere that favours the inclusion of natural elements (Thomas, 2012). This was particularly the case in Versoix, where the architects, through what they called 'vegetal urbanism', sought to emphasize elements such as water and vegetation. However, the potential to plant trees was limited by a large underground parking lot and it is the vine mentioned earlier that now constitutes the main vegetal ornament. Some trees were finally planted, but the objective was more related to regulating the traffic than to encouraging pedestrian anchorage. A line of trees now reduces the width of the road, forcing motorized vehicles to reduce their speed. Nevertheless, vegetal elements can certainly play a role in the place appropriation by the local population. Some localities, like Neuchâtel or Bern, propose specific sites in encounter zones where the population can engage in gardening tasks and so take part in the development of the place. In Geneva and Fribourg, several inhabitants wanted to collaborate with the city in the planting and maintenance of flowerbeds in some encounter zones. In order to maintain a uniform approach to the landscape, the authorities generally refuse cooperation or personal inputs from inhabitants. Yet, the unpublished report mentioned above highlights the example of Bern, where the authorities provide empty planting trays for the population, who take care of planting and maintenance. As stated in this document: 'In neighbourhood encounter zones it is a pity to reject habitants' proposals and to refuse their help. Their active collaboration would allow a better appropriation of public space and would stimulate natural respect, as well as social control, within the neighbourhood.'[8] The municipality of Bern also encourages local participation by proposing blank signage posts where the inhabitants themselves can choose the colours and designs. In Basel, public authorities went even further, with the publication in 2014 of a handbook for the development of children games to be developed specifically in encounter zones. (Kinderbüro Basel, 2014) Once again this illustrates the diversity of cultures and practices when it comes to urban planning in a multi-lingual country like Switzerland, where different levels of participation take place.

Developing Encounter Zones: A continuously reinvented process

If the main purpose of encounter zones is to regulate flows and improve security, they nevertheless constitute ideal opportunities to develop public space with atmospheres, enhancing walkability and pedestrian anchorage. By contributing to the appropriation of space by pedestrians, they can bring life to places and become, as stated in their label, 'sites of encounter'. A tool intended to regulate traffic can thus also participate to the lively attributes of a place. To manage such a process, urban planners and public authorities should handle it within a holistic conception, based mainly on security, fluidity and conviviality. This is even more the case, now that 'encounter zones' are being developed in increasingly central and heavily frequented areas, revealing the difficulties of designing public space. In effect, developing public space cannot be confined to a project managed by technical engineers alone. As the architect Barthassat makes clear, when he describes the challenges of including both aesthetical and technical components in a project, stakeholders are like musicians: *'After the functional elements are settled, you face the technical domain. You must listen without getting caught up in their logic. Finally, you need to function like an orchestra, where musicians play differently, but at the end it must form an opera or a symphony.'* (Personal communication, 16 March 2017) Moreover, public action also involves the subject – the inhabitants and users of a place – influencing projects to different degrees. In other words, the music sheet is co-created by the audience, adding a level of complexity to its making.

For Thibaud (2013 19), atmosphere impacts on the role of inhabitants in the composition of territories, and places them at the heart of urban debates: 'it also helps to demonstrate that city-dwellers contribute to shaping their living environment through their everyday actions. It contributes both to embodiment and empowerment, making the "sensitive" a place of expression of dwelling and the inhabitant an ordinary expert of his living environment.' Buser (2014) states that affective atmosphere can provide a framework which might lead research to adopt a greater sensitivity to place experience. He calls for a planning practice that take risks, based on experimentation and creativity: 'This includes a wider consideration of the way bodies (human and non-human) interact and the ways these interactions produce and transform space and

8 Ville de Genève. (unknown date). 'Zones de rencontre : Synthèse générale, pistes et recommandations.'

social worlds.' (Buser 2014, 239) A sensitive approach to public space, including inhabitant perspectives, cannot be entirely planned in an engineer's office. Ground-level experience is thus fundamental to identifying successes and failures, and making the necessary corrections. When he presents the two concurrent approaches mentioned above, 'to divide' or, in opposition, 'to share', Soulier (2010, 252) underlines the complexity of the second one: 'the first one is functionalist, normative and simplistic. It coincides with the division of power and funding, with the private grounds and flower beds of one and the other; the second one implies experiments, confusions, compromises, taking risks.'

The examples presented in this analysis confirm the importance of this reflexive process, drawing on evaluations and corrections, which will help the population to appropriate these new urban developments. Based on the results collected so far, a bridge period ranging from six months to one year seems necessary for the population to grasp these new mobility codes. Even after this transitory period, encounter zones should not be frozen in time, but open to future changes in parallel with the evolution of urban societies. As the mayor of Versoix states: *'In general we need at least six months of adaptation. I had a colleague who wanted to regulate everything once and for all. But it is important to wait for things to happen… For people to learn to share this space.'* (personal communication, 15 September 2016). His colleague, the chief of urbanism supports this statement: *'We need to stop, to look at what is going on, and if corrections are needed we intervene.* (personal communication, 15 September 2016). In Versoix and Fribourg, a period of inertia, as some of the stakeholders describe it, lead for instance some shop keepers to take these changes on board or the planners to add street furniture to a specific site. Finding a solution that suits everyone – inhabitants and users, business owners of all types, architects, designers, magistrates – is challenging and complaints will often arise. Thus, a process that leaves room for participation, criticisms and corrections, can certainly contribute to a more optimal development. The mobilization of atmospheres in urban planning can pave the way to a more integrative conception of public space.

Conclusion

This analysis sought to examine whether encounter zones in Switzerland could contribute to disseminating atmospheres favouring the appropriation of the street by pedestrians. Case studies featured in this study were two medium-sized urban localities providing interesting insights into possible ways of revitalizing a public place. It has been demonstrated that encounter zones could indeed act as a tool that has a greater effect than that of simply regulating the traffic. Indeed, if well managed, such developments could represent opportunities for implementing atmospheres associated with conviviality and contributing to what Rachel Thomas conceptualizes as the 'anchorage' of pedestrians.

To achieve this result, stakeholders should reflect on their practice and be ready to make modifications and corrections if necessary. This can already be illustrated by an institutional protocol in the whole country based on the evaluation of encounter zones one year after their inauguration. In both cases – Versoix and Fribourg – new measures had to be put in place. It has also been shown that the success of encounter zones – in terms of atmosphere as well as speed regulation – is contextual. Encounter zones should be installed in places already used by pedestrians and a thorough reflection should be conducted on the layout of areas seen as potential encounter zones. Finally, it is stated here that in contrast to the very technical issues of urban planning, a debate on atmospheres – considered as intrinsically dynamic and ever-changing – can help to integrate the inhabitants and users into the decision-making process.

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Quartier ouvert, quartier fermé

La mobilité éprouvée comme ressource de co-existence

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Résumé La politique de revitalisation urbaine transforme la spatialité des quartiers anciens centraux bruxellois et y inscrit de nouvelles conventions de mobilité. Cet article étudie le rôle de ces transformations matérielles et symboliques dans les rapports entre ambiances et expériences de mobilité dans ces quartiers. Sur la base de deux études de cas, il montre comment ces transformations affectent la « mobilité éprouvée » d'anciens et de nouveaux propriétaires, et contribuent à donner au second du « jeu » pour ne pas se laisser absorber dans des espaces-temps contraignants. Le concept d'ambiance permet d'abord d'interroger leurs effets sur les grandeurs « intensives » (Thibaud, 2002) des quartiers concernés – le sens donné aux limites, à la densité et aux connecteurs spatiaux – à partir de données collectées lors d'entretiens et de parcours commentés. Ces analyses permettent ensuite d'étayer l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'éprouvé de mobilité constitue une ressource inégalement distribuée pour la gestion de la proximité à l'autre, et de souligner la contribution non seulement du milieu mais aussi des rapports sociaux à la mobilité dans l'octroi de marges de manœuvre différentielles pour s'extraire, physiquement et psychiquement, de la co-existence.

Mots-clés Mobilité éprouvée, revitalisation urbaine, espaces publics, propriétaires, co-existence

Abstract Urban regeneration policy transforms spatiality and implies new norms of mobility in old central neighbourhoods of Brussels. This paper highlights the impact of these transformations on the relations between atmospheres and mobility experiences in these neighbourhoods. Based on two case studies, it shows how it affects "felt mobility" for old and new owners, and how these feelings allow new owners not to be absorbed in constraints of copresence. Firstly, the concept of atmospheres is used to question the impacts of these transformations on perceived spatiality (Thibaud, 2002) in these neighbourhoods – meanings of boundaries, density and spatial connectors. This data was collected during interviews and commented itineraries (parcours commentés). Secondly, the paper argues that "felt mobility" is an unequal resource to manage the proximity to others in these neighbourhood, and emphasises the role of social dispositions to mobility in this managment.

Keywords felt mobility, urban regeneration, public space, property and owners, co-existence

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Introduction

La politique de revitalisation urbaine (ou de régénération urbaine) transforme partout en Europe de l'Ouest la spatialité des quartiers anciens centraux. A Bruxelles, elle cible particulièrement les quartiers de l'ancien bassin industriel autour du canal, situé au cœur de la ville et doté d'un important potentiel commercial et/ou touristique. La reconfiguration des espaces publics et des frontières spatiales dans ces quartiers doit les rendre plus attractifs et y soutenir le développement de nouvelles pratiques répondant mieux aux idéaux contemporains de mobilité. Cet article est une contribution à la réflexion sur la façon dont les ambiances émergeant dans ces quartiers façonnent l'expérience de la mobilité dans ses dimensions pratiques et vécues. La principale question posée est la suivante : comment les transformations matérielles et les nouvelles conventions de mobilité inscrites dans ces quartiers affectent la mobilité éprouvée, c'est-à-dire la façon dont les habitants *se sentent* plus ou moins *pris* dans leur épaisseur ? Cette question s'inscrit dans une approche écologique qui prend en considération la dimension sensible de l'espace urbain et envisage sa matérialité autrement que comme un ensemble de « cadres » ou de signes (Gofmman, 1973) : elle est aussi la condition sensible des individus dans les échanges sociaux avec leur environnement et dans leurs activités sociales (Pecqueux, 2012). Le quartier offre des prises à la perception et à l'action (Joseph, 2007), mais aussi à un « vécu épais » qui lui donne une « consistance spécifique » pouvant mettre en relief certaines présences (Stavo-Debauge, 2003). La quantité de ces présences, l'impression de pouvoir ou non les mettre à distance, les formes qu'elles prennent (obstacle, barrière, pont…) et finalement le sentiment de se mouvoir avec aise ou malaise est ce que nous appelons « mobilité éprouvée ».

C'est donc le lien entre des volontés institutionnelles d'ouvrir des quartiers et d'infléchir des pratiques de mobilité (résidentielle et physique) et la mobilité éprouvée qui est au centre de l'article, et ce lien est abordé au travers de la notion d'ambiance. Nous verrons dans la première partie quelles sont les raisons et les façons dont les idéaux contemporains de mobilité sont traduits dans le projet de reconfiguration du territoire du canal. Ensuite, la notion d'ambiance, comme émergence sensible ancrée dans la matérialité du quartier, les représentations qui lui sont accolées et les évènements qui s'y produisent (Chelkoff, 2004), est prise comme analyseur d'une part de quartiers vécus caractérisés par l'ouverture ou la fermeture, et d'autre part de leurs liens avec la politique de revitalisation urbaine. Cette idée fait notamment l'objet de la troisième partie, qui souligne la dimension collective de l'ambiance. Bien qu'elle se définisse dans l'instantanéité de l'expérience subjective, elle « n'a pas qu'une dimension individuelle et passagère, [mais] peut être mise en relation avec des éléments objectifs et mesurables du cadre de vie ou des comportements collectifs » (Dumain *et al.*, 2006, cité par Chadoin, 2010, 153). Nous verrons ainsi comment l'ambiance d'ouverture ou de fermeture du quartier est aussi liée aux dispositions sociales à la mobilité. Cette analyse servira enfin à interroger l'impact de l'ambiance émergeante sur un aspect *pratique* de l'expérience de mobilité : tenir l'autre à la « bonne distance ».

Deux études de cas, extraites d'une recherche qui portait sur les effets sociaux de la programmation de la mixité sociale dans ce territoire, serviront à étayer ces réflexions. Ces études de cas concernent le quartier Heyvaert et le quartier du Vieux Molenbeek. Elles ont été réalisées entre 2012 et 2014 selon un dispositif d'enquête associant la méthode des parcours commentés (Thibaud, 2001) aux méthodes classiques de l'enquête de terrain, qui ont permis de récolter un important matériau empirique sur les dimensions sensibles, symboliques et sociales des rapports de différents propriétaires à leurs quartiers. La raison de ce ciblage sur les propriétaires[1] est d'abord empirique : les premiers postes d'observations (qui ont aussi servi de lieu de recrutement) étaient des espaces institutionnels de rencontre, comme les assemblées participatives, où se rencontrent principalement des propriétaires. Mais ce ciblage relève également d'un choix : mettre en lumière une diversité d'expériences de mobilité au sein d'une catégorie de résidents particulièrement ciblée par la politique de revitalisation urbaine. On verra ainsi comment des anciens et des nouveaux propriétaires éprouvent la mobilité dans leur quartier. L'ancienneté prise en considération est celle du groupe social dans le quartier, plutôt que l'ancienneté résidentielle personnelle, parce qu'elle constitue un indicateur du clivage entre deux ensembles de comportements collectifs et d'expériences très contrastés.

La mobilité dans la politique bruxelloise de revitalisation urbaine

Comme dans d'autres villes, la politique de revitalisation urbaine menée à Bruxelles vise à revaloriser matériellement, socialement et économiquement ses quartiers centraux populaires et dégradés. Le premier et principal instrument de cette politique est lancé en 1994 : il s'agit des contrats de quartier (CdQ), rebaptisés depuis contrats de quartier durable. Ce dispositif public régional doit permettre de réhabiliter le « cadre de vie » des habitants des quartiers ciblés, en menant parallèlement des opérations sur le logement, le développement économique, l'insertion socio-professionnelle, la cohésion sociale, les infrastructures de proximité et les espaces publics. Comme indiqué plus haut, le territoire ciblé est celui du canal, qui est un territoire clé pour le développement régional et international de Bruxelles.

Le territoire du canal est l'une des « *dix zones stratégiques pour l'avenir de Bruxelles* » (Feuille de route du Plan de Développement International (PDI)) et les investissements y sont conséquents : pour les opérations sur le « cadre de vie » des habitants, mais aussi pour d'autres opérations comme la mise en valeur du patrimoine architectural, l'organisation d'évènements ou l'installation d'œuvre d'art qui visent plus particulièrement à attirer de nouveaux habitants, des congressistes ou encore des touristes (Van Criekingen et Decroly, 2009; Lenel, 2013). Les autorités ne cachent d'ailleurs pas que les opérations menées en nombre croissant depuis le début des années 2000 sur l'éclairage public, les voiries, le mobilier urbain, les places, les espaces verts, etc., sont aussi traversées par des enjeux d'attractivité résidentielle et économique. Le city marketing est un « *axe qui traverse l'ensemble des thèmes du PDI* », comme l'indique sa Feuille de route, et même fait partie « d'une campagne de communication autour d'une *image de marque de Bruxelles*» (Van Criekingen et Decroly, 2009, 8-9). De même, les actions prises ces dernières années par la Région au niveau de l'offre de logements dans ce territoire ciblent tout particulièrement les « classes moyennes ». Ces actions consistent en majorité à développer l'offre de nouveaux logements moyens en accession à la propriété dans le cadre de contrats de partenariat public-privé passés par Citydev, un organisme régional, avec des sociétés de promotion immobilière. Citydev doit ainsi initier une émulation d'investissements privés via une subvention octroyée aux investisseurs, leur permettant de commercialiser leurs logements à un prix 30 %

1 Un petit nombre de locataires ont également été rencontrés dans le cadre de cette recherche doctorale, mais ils ne sont pas pris en considération dans cet article.

inférieur au prix du marché. C'est une politique qui fonctionne bien : plus de 3000 logements ont été vendus depuis le lancement de l'instrument, alors que dans le même temps le volume de production de nouveaux logements sociaux diminue et ne permet pas de répondre à la demande sociale (Van Criekingen, 2013). De plus, si le plafond de revenu permet effectivement aux ménages de la classe moyenne bruxelloise d'accéder à cette offre, il le permet aussi à certains ménages de la classe supérieure (Romainville, 2010 ; Verdonck *et al.*, 2011). L'instrument Citydev est d'ailleurs présenté explicitement comme un levier pour « *rehausser la qualité* » de ce territoire selon le Ministre du logement (Ecolo) en 2010 (cité par Van Criekingen, 2013).

Pour autant, la gentrification n'est pas véritablement attestée dans ce territoire, à l'exception du quartier Dansaert-Saint Géry (Van Criekingen, 1996), même si des marques y sont de plus en plus tangibles (Van Criekingen, 2009) notamment dans le Vieux Molenbeek. Mais dans le quartier Heyvaert, on « ne trouve pas ou peu de marqueurs traditionnels de la gentrification résidentielle ou commerciale en quartier ancien : absence d'adresses commerciales parée d'une aura 'branchée', peu de logements rénovés à destination d'un public nanti… » (Rosenfeld et Van Criekingen, 2015, 27).

Ces quartiers connaissent néanmoins de profonds bouleversements, notamment sur le plan spatial. La reconfiguration d'ensemble du territoire du canal à laquelle on assiste a d'ailleurs été entérinée dans le Plan Canal de 2014, qui vise à restructurer un territoire marqué par des « *ruptures urbaines dures* » en une zone plus homogène, « *cohérente* » et mieux insérée dans la ville. Cette volonté publique correspond à une vision normative dominante de la ville, selon laquelle les flux de circulation des personnes doivent être augmentés et élargis. Cette vision renvoie aux idéaux du « nouvel esprit du capitalisme » (Boltanski et Chiapello, 1999) qui a porté la mobilité des individus, leur capacité à se déplacer de façon autonome dans l'espace géographique, entre les personnes et entre les idées, à un rang élevé dans la hiérarchie des valeurs de notre société. Comme on va le voir, ils sont traduits dans de nouvelles formes d'espaces publics. Selon une vision spatialiste, ces nouveaux espaces et leurs atmosphères sont supposés influer sur les pratiques de mobilité notamment pour « désenclaver » les quartiers de ce territoire : attirer des visiteurs internationaux ou nationaux, faire sortir des résidents qui y seraient trop enracinés, faciliter l'accès aux centres d'activité et aux nœuds modaux du centre historique, inciter à adopter davantage les modes de déplacement piéton et cycliste, et bien entendu favoriser l'installation résidentielle de nouveaux ménages.

L'ambiance du quartier : un analyseur de la mobilité éprouvée

Cet article ne s'intéresse pas tant aux impacts réels de ces transformations matérielles et symboliques sur les pratiques de mobilité des habitants, qu'à leurs effets sur la mobilité éprouvée. La notion d'ambiance permet d'opérer ce déplacement analytique – se dégager des attendus spatialistes pour s'intéresser aux effets produits, éventuellement non attendus – parce qu'elle éclaire des grandeurs non pas extensives (propriétés des espaces physiques) mais bien « intensives » (propriétés des espaces vécus), comme l'indique Jean-Paul Thibaud (2002). En effet, la théorie des ambiances est une tentative à la fois conceptuelle et méthodologique pour appréhender les interrelations entre espace vécu, perçu et représenté. Thibaud (2004) définit l'ambiance comme la synthèse des dimensions physiques, perceptuelles et représentationnelles qui constituent un lieu. Toujours provisoire, cette synthèse dépend des éléments physiques rendus saillants à la perception, à un moment donné et selon des conditions physiques ou sociales données. Ainsi, saisir l'ambiance émergeante permet d'identifier les éléments sensibles, les conventions inscrites dans l'environnement et les évènements physiques ou sociaux qui contribuent à façonner différents éprouvés d'ouverture/fermeture et de dégagement/engagement dans l'épaisseur du quartier.

La notion d'ambiance invite aussi à placer sur un plan analytique horizontal les espaces physiques et les comportements sociaux, et à passer de la question de l'accès aux espaces publics rénovés à celle de leur accessibilité ou de leur hospitalité. La première, posée dans les théories de la ville mobilisées par la politique de revitalisation urbaine, envisage que l'accès aux espaces publics peut être augmenté par des opérations spécifiques. La seconde suppose à l'inverse que l'ambiance plus ou moins accueillante d'un lieu (invitant à le fréquenter) n'est pas une qualité formelle, mais bien une qualité pratique et dynamique. Adopter cet angle de vue permet dès lors d'interroger ce qui fait prise pour les individus dans le quartier, ce qui rend les espaces fréquentés plus ou moins intelligibles et permet de s'y mouvoir avec plus ou moins d'aise. Cela permet aussi de questionner les conditions dans lesquelles émergent ces prises : les conditions locales (celles de l'environnement) autant que les conditions sociales plus globales (les dispositions à la mobilité et les systèmes de perceptions et de représentations) qui équipent les individus. Cet article porte l'ambition de montrer l'intérêt d'une approche en termes d'ambiance de la problématique de la requalification urbaine et des rapports des résidents aux quartiers anciens en rénovation par rapport à d'autres approches plus « classiques » de ces thématiques, en particulier celles en termes de gentrification qui constituent une part importante de la littérature critique sur les centres urbains en rénovation (par exemple Bidou-Zachariasen, 2003 ; Clerval, 2011). Ces approches éclairent bien l'impact des structures sociales sur les rapports des résidents à ces quartiers. Mais elles ne s'intéressent généralement pas aux relations *entre* production et réception des formes spatiales, et ne permettent donc pas d'éclairer les médiations de l'espace (Remy, 2015) sur les rapports au quartier. La notion d'ambiance est selon nous un outil intéressant pour ce faire.

Dispositif d'enquête

Dans chaque quartier étudié, le dispositif d'enquête ethnographique a associé les méthodes de l'entretien approfondi, de l'observation directe et de la récolte documentaire à la méthode des parcours commentés. Cette dernière méthode s'inscrit en effet dans la perspective de la théorie des ambiances, comme un effort méthodologique et épistémologique pour saisir l'« entre deux » ou ce qui se joue entre les individus et leur environnement. En cumulant les intérêts de l'entretien et de l'observation directe et en dépassant certaines de leurs limites, liées respectivement à la discursivité et à l'extériorité de l'enquêteur (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003), elle se donne pour ambition d'accéder à des dimensions de l'expérience qui se situent notamment au niveau du corps et des rapports actifs à l'environnement. Concrètement, cette méthode consiste à réaliser des parcours libres d'une vingtaine de minutes avec des informateurs dans un espace urbain défini, en leur demandant de commenter les éléments de l'environnement au fur et à mesure qu'ils les perçoivent et a posteriori. Cette « description engagée » doit permettre de saisir les ambiances émergeantes, au travers des perceptions remarquables décrites et susceptibles d'avoir un impact sur leurs conduites, et ainsi d'« élucider l'efficace de l'environnement construit dans l'ordonnancement des interactions sociales » (Thibaud, 2001, 80).

Dans chaque quartier étudié, une petite dizaine de parcours ont été réalisés avec des anciens et des nouveaux propriétaires (majoritaires), avec pour consigne de montrer leur quartier selon leurs habitudes d'usage et de déplacement, et d'en commenter les ambiances. Ces parcours commentés ont permis de collecter des données sur ce qui dans leur environnement fait prise, pour eux, à la mobilité éprouvée : le sens donné aux limites et aux connecteurs spatiaux, la densité vécue du quartier et des sous-espaces parcourus, les clôtures et les ouvertures de l'environnement, les obstacles et les balises des cheminements habituels, etc. Aucun périmètre n'a été donné aux informateurs, de façon à recueillir également des informations sur l'étendue de « leur » quartier.

Toutefois, pour saisir les liens entre la reconfiguration spatiale de ces quartiers et les prises plus collectives à la mobilité éprouvée, il fallait pouvoir dépasser le recueil de récits impressionnistes sur les espaces parcourus. Les données discursives recueillies au cours d'une vingtaine d'entretiens approfondis dans chaque quartier ont permis d'accèder aux systèmes collectifs de perception et de représentations de ces anciens et nouveaux propriétaires, ainsi que de receuillir des données sur leurs capitaux de mobilité. Ils ont ainsi permis de rapporter les commentaires engagés des informateurs « aux conditions sociales et historiques de la perception » (Chadoin, 2010) et des représentations mêlées, ou de resituer les quartiers vécus dans un système social, condition à laquelle devient possible de comparer des expériences situées pour éviter de renvoyer « chaque situation à une irréductible singularité » (Pecqueux, 2012, 29).

Transformations et atmosphères du quartier Heyvaert

Le quartier Heyvaert est un ancien quartier ouvrier situé sur la rive droite du canal. Il n'est séparé du centre historique de Bruxelles que par un large boulevard, mais il se trouve cependant coincé entre ce boulevard, le canal, les abattoirs d'Anderlecht et la Porte de Ninove. Situé « à cheval » sur les communes d'Anderlecht et de Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, ces grands marqueurs urbaines scindent aussi le quartier du reste de ces territoires communaux. Cette portion de territoire au statut particulier est très densément bâtie : on n'y compte qu'un seul espace vert ; les arbres et les placettes sont rares ; les logements anciens (des maisons unifamiliales mais surtout des immeubles à appartements qui présentent souvent d'importantes carences au niveau du confort de base) sont situés en rangs serrés en front de rue. Le montant des loyers y est ainsi en moyenne 20% plus bas qu'ailleurs à Bruxelles. La densité démographique est également assez élevée. Terre d'accueil dans les années 1960 et 1970 pour les vagues successives d'immigration de travailleurs italiens, espagnols et marocains, le quartier est resté le point d'arrivée de nombreux étrangers à faibles revenus. Il accueille aujourd'hui en particulier une population de travailleurs précaires issus d'Afrique subsaharienne, en lien avec l'activité économique prédominante du commerce transnational de voitures d'occasion qui s'y est implanté depuis les années 1990 (Rosenfeld, 2009). Cette composante de population constitue actuellement la seconde en ordre d'importance (9 %) après la composante marocaine (11 %). Le taux de chômage y est de 39% (contre 22% en Région bruxelloise)[2].

2 Ces chiffres proviennent du Monitoring des quartiers et concernent le quartier administratif Cureghem Rosée, auquel correspond le quartier dit Heyvaert.

« Après avoir été au cœur des ambitions industrielles de Bruxelles, [le quartier Heyvaert] est devenu un lieu de relégation, mais aussi de mobilités et d'ancrages » (Van Criekingen et Rosenfeld, 2015, 1). Ce quartier offre en effet des ressources d'ancrage pour les classes populaires, notamment grâce au grand marché des abattoirs, aux nombreux garages et commerces locaux (épiceries africaines, boucheries hallal…) et aux lieux de culte (Chabrol et Rozenholc, 2015). Ces classes sociales présentent ainsi des résistances aux grands projets d'urbanisme qui s'y multiplient depuis quelques décennies. Pour certains observateurs, ce sont ces résistances populaires et le commerce des voitures qui expliquent que jusqu'ici, la dynamique de gentrification classiquement à l'œuvre dans ce genre de quartier n'a pas dépassé un stade embryonnaire (Rosenfeld et Van Criekingen, 2015).

Un quartier à intégrer dans la ville

Les grands projets d'urbanisme dans le quartier ont d'abord été justifiés par l'importante baisse de la population résidente au cours des deux dernières décennies du 20e siècle. Selon les autorités communales, ce recul est dû aux nuisances environnementales, à l'exploitation commerciale extensive des îlots et à la dégradation générale du bâti liés à l'activité prédominante du commerce de voitures d'occasion. Au début des années 2000 – c'est-à-dire au moment où l'image de marque du canal commence à être promue par la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale – les autorités pointent ce dépeuplement et la dégradation matérielle du quartier comme des problèmes à résoudre. Quatre CdQ et une vaste opération immobilière menée par Citydev vont alors cibler le quartier pour le repeupler d'habitants (Lenel, 2015).

Ainsi, en 2009, une nouvelle population de propriétaires appartenant aux classes moyennes et supérieures s'installe dans les appartements du complexe résidentiel Les Terrasses de l'Ecluse produit par Citydev en bordure de canal, à l'extrême est du quartier, juste à côté de la Porte de Ninove (cf. carte 1). Le profil socio-économique de cette population de 200 personnes est bien plus élevé que celui de la population en place : les acquéreurs possèdent en majorité un diplôme universitaire ; ils sont jeunes (36 ans en moyenne), généralement sans enfants et plutôt bien dotés économiquement (22% d'entre eux se placent juste en dessous du plafond de revenus). La part des personnes de nationalité étrangère (11%) est également faible au regard du quartier[3]. Les raisons du succès de cette opération immobilière sont bien sûr liées aux conditions d'achat très attractives, mais elles tiennent aussi à la localisation du complexe dans un espace du quartier bien connecté à l'extérieur – le bâtiment fait pour une large part face à l'eau –, et surtout à sa proximité géographique avec le centre historique de Bruxelles et le quartier animé Dansaert en particulier, fortement apprécié par ces nouveaux propriétaires.

Parallèlement, une maison de quartier et un hall de sports attenants aux Terrasses de l'Ecluse ont été créés pour « *redonner un peu d'espaces publics* » aux habitants dans « *un quartier complètement morcelé [et] bouffé par les entrepôts* », selon l'architecte en charge de leur conception. Ces infrastructures collectives au style architectural très contemporain (les façades présentent des volumes, des matériaux comme le béton brut et des formes géométriques contrastant avec le bâti existant) sont bien visibles depuis la Porte de Ninove : elles devaient aussi témoigner à l'extérieur de la dynamique de rénovation en cours dans le quartier. Ce travail d'ouverture et sur l'image

3 Ces chiffres ont été fournis par Citydev.

Carte 1. Les Terrasses de l'Ecluse dans le quartier Heyvaert (auteur : E. Lenel, réalisé avec Brussels UrbBIS)

du quartier a été largement poursuivi par la création, quelques années plus tard, de la petite place de Liverpool en bordure du canal, par la fermeture de la rue du même nom. Au départ de l'objectif fonctionnel d'empêcher l'accès au quartier via cette rue étroite pour les camions de livraison et de chargement des voitures, cette petite place au bord de l'eau doit aussi attirer les promeneurs (notamment via son bar à soupes). De même que les autres nouveaux espaces du quartier, cette placette est « tournée » vers l'eau : elle n'est séparée du quai de l'Industrie que par quelques éléments bas de mobilier (bancs maçonnés à partir de chutes de pierre bleu, tables-échiquiers, podiums et pièces de barrière en métal) pensés comme rempart de protection par rapport au trafic routier, mais qui donnent accès physiquement et visuellement à l'eau ; tandis que de l'autre côté (rue de Liverpool) des bancs du même type mais plus longs ferment partiellement la place. L'ensemble de ces nouveaux espaces forme ainsi une sorte de front bâti partiellement rénové « tournant le dos » au quartier historique et constituant un espace un peu « à part » : une zone matériellement différenciée, dotée d'une ambiance plus contemporaine et relié symboliquement aux quartiers du centre historique par les rives du canal, et à laquelle on peut accéder sans devoir pénétrer le quartier lui-même. La reconfiguration de cette limite aquatique du quartier comme une zone d'ouverture vers la ville globale a des effets très contrastés sur les ambiances décrites par les nouveaux et les anciens propriétaires.

Un quartier oppressant

Les anciens propriétaires issus de l'immigration marocaine des années 1960 et 1970 qui résident dans les maisons anciennes des ruelles intérieures du quartier où elles voisinent avec les garages, décrivent tous une ambiance caractérisée par des traits forts de fermeture : ils disent étouffer dans un quartier dans lequel ils subissent fortement les « *nuisances* » liées au commerce des voitures (Lenel, 2015), et même être envahi par son ambiance singulière. Trois éléments caractérisent en particulier cette ambiance.

« Leur » quartier est tout d'abord marqué par des *bornes*, des limites fortes qui marquent la différence dedans/dehors et même isolent le quartier du reste de la ville. Comme on peut le voir sur les vignettes H06 et H18 ci-dessous, les informateurs de ce groupe ont parcouru le quartier en respectant ses limites historiques (le canal et la Porte de Ninove), et à aucun moment ils n'ont commenter des zones d'ouverture. Au contraire, ce sont bien des limites qu'ils remarquent et commentent comme le contour d'un quartier « *perdu* », « *oublié* » des autorités et où il ne fait pas bon vivre. La principale limite commentée est celle du canal. En parcourant cette zone-limite, ils ne mentionnent pas les bâtiments neufs et les rénovations, mais bien les *« voitures qui foncent »*, le bruit d'un klaxon, un transporteur garé sur le trottoir et qui bloque les piétons, des pavés cassés, des potelets et des barrières endommagés *« qui restent là »* parce que les autorités *« s'en foutent »* du sort des habitants… Certains notent la présence de barrières qui ne protègent pas suffisamment les enfants des dangers de l'eau ; d'autres évoquent l'ambiance « *sauvage* » de l'endroit et racontent des faits divers ou des rumeurs sordides de meurtres, de suicides et d'accidents qui s'y seraient passés. Dans cette partie du parcours, le pas de Mouftar (H06), 58 ans, est franc, décidé, sa vigilance aux obstacles est permanente : « *Vous voyez, là ? Et là encore ! Faut faire gaffe ici, les voitures roulent à toute allure !* » Sur la piste cyclable qui longe le canal, il se remémore en s'énervant un peu l'accident de vélo qu'il a eu quelques mois auparavant, à cause d'une tache d'huile sur un rail glissant : « *Moi je ne fais plus de vélo maintenant. C'est fini.* » Et puis il emprunte la passerelle qui surmonte le canal comme pour mieux saisir, en la balayant entièrement du regard depuis l'autre rive, cette zone-limite dans laquelle on circule mais sans s'attarder, et pour commenter un « *quartier abandonné au trafic des bagnoles et au délabrement* ». Pour lui comme pour les autres anciens propriétaires rencontrés, cette zone n'est pas hors du quartier, elle n'est pas non plus un lieu que l'on évite. Certains ont même l'habitude d'emprunter cet axe de circulation avant de bifurquer vers l'intérieur du quartier par l'une des ruelles perpendiculaires. Mais le trajet est inconfortable : ils s'y sentent en danger et y trouvent mal leur place comme habitant. De plus, cette zone en bordure du quartier marque une différence nette avec l'extérieur. Ainsi Laïla (H18), 20 ans, note un effet de « coupure sonore » (Augoyard, 2004) en y accédant depuis le hall des sports : « *Voilà, tu vois, celui-là [un camion] il était collé à la maison de quartier, on n'entendait rien du tout et là maintenant…* »

Dans les ruelles intérieures, ces informateurs décrivent des sensations *d'étouffement*. Ces résidents qui ont généralement des sphères d'activités peu nombreuses et très locales sortent peu du quartier, en particulier les femmes qui ne travaillent. Celles-ci surtout évoquent une ambiance de marché, de « *marché à la crierie (sic)* » ou de « *marché aux poissons* » pour décrire l'animation humaine et sonore intense, un peu chaotique et qui se poursuit toute la journée. Ils et elles décrivent le bruit des transporteurs, des pots d'échappement et des marchandages, les rues encombrées et même obstruées par les voitures, les déchets qui jonchent le sol, les objets abandonnés comme des matelas ou du matériel électroménager et par les travailleurs informels surtout qui effectuent leurs activités à même la rue (réparation, marchandage, installation aux « carrefours de guet » (Ronzefeld, 2009) dans l'attente d'une opportunité commerciale). Cette atmosphère est oppressante : elle pénètre leur logement, empiète leur espace intime jusque dans le sommeil, et elle pousse un certain nombre d'entre eux à rester confinés à la maison. Un informateur refusera ainsi de parcourir le quartier : « *Il y a trop de monde aujourd'hui. De toute façon, c'est toujours comme ça, impossible de marcher* ».

Enfin, le quartier des anciens propriétaires est marqué par un *imaginaire insulaire* hérité de l'histoire du quartier, fondé sur une parcelle délimitée par deux cours d'eau : le canal d'un côté et la Petite Senne de l'autre. Le tracé de cette rivière a défini la limite administrative entre les communes d'Anderlecht et de Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, mais le quartier lui-même s'est développé sur les deux communes après son recouvrement, avec les conséquences que l'on a vues sur le relatif isolement par rapport au reste de ces deux territoires communaux. Cette situation territoriale particulière et cette imaginaire insulaire contribue à l'ambiance d'enclavement qu'ils décrivent : ils disent souvent vivre sur « *une île* » coupée du reste de la ville, jusqu'à laquelle n'arrive pas toujours le courrier et à laquelle on oublie de faire parvenir les informations communales.

Un autre élément de leurs conditions sociales permet de comprendre cette atmosphère d'enfermement émergeant pour les anciens propriétaires : ils n'ont pas les moyens économiques de s'en échapper. Car ils souhaitent tous aller vivre ailleurs, quitter ce « *ghetto de bagnoles et de clandestins* », cette « *prison* » ou encore cette « *poubelle de l'Afrique* », ce quartier dans lequel ils ont le sentiment parfois insupportable d'être littéralement coincés : « *on est emprisonné* » (Danielle, 50 ans). Les maisons dans lesquelles ils ont investi toutes leurs économies ont très peu de valeur sur le marché immobilier bruxellois. Ils n'ont ainsi aucune perspective de mobilité résidentielle, et cette situation les force tout autant à subir les « nuisances » du commerce des voitures qu'à une cohabitation contrainte avec d'autres immigrés plus précarisés qu'eux. Cette situation symbolise d'une certaine façon leur déclassement et cet effet de trajectoire commande des représentations à la fois très pessimistes et très essentialistes de l'espace socio-culturel local (Bourdieu, 1979) : c'est la mixité ethnique, et non pas la mixité sociale liée à l'arrivée des propriétaires des Terrasses de l'Ecluse qui monopolise l'attention de ces informateurs. Elle marque l'ambiance du quartier, comme on a pu le voir, et fait aussi l'objet d'une critique acerbe dans le registre des « cultures » inconciliables :

> « On dirait que c'est le tiers-monde, on n'est pas dans la capitale européenne, désolée. J'essaye d'expliquer aux invités qui viennent chez moi : Bruxelles, c'est la capitale de l'Europe... [...] C'est comme l'Afrique ! Avec des enfants mal habillés et tout. Comme tu dirais que tu fais un reportage sur la pauvreté, sur l'eau aussi, et bien c'est Heyvaert » (Alima, 48 ans).

Un non-quartier, un « point de départ »

A l'inverse, l'ambiance du quartier décrit par les nouveaux propriétaires rencontrés est marquée par l'ouverture. Leurs parcours commentés ont plusieurs fois dépassé la limite historique du canal, et ils ont systématiquement été orientés vers la Porte de Ninove plutôt que vers le quartier lui-même, comme on peut le voir sur les vignettes H07, H08, H09 et H12 ci-dessous. Ces choix

Image 1. Parcours commentés réalisés par des anciens propriétaires (en haut, cadre pointillé) et des nouveaux propriétaires (en bas, cadre plein) du quartier Heyvaert (auteur : Ch. van Uytvank, réalisé avec Brussels UrbIS).

de parcours sont déjà l'indice d'un quartier vécu qui s'étend bien au-delà des limites historiques du quartier Heyvaert, tandis que celui-ci constitue pour eux un territoire non habité. Juste devant l'entrée de son immeuble, à l'entame d'un parcours qui la conduira vers une librairie du quartier voisin où elle a l'habitude d'acheter le journal, Miek (H08), 37 ans, commente : « *Je ne le considère pas vraiment comme un quartier. Pas encore. En tous cas, je ne l'utilise pas comme… dans le sens classique du quartier. Je suis quand même orientée vers ce côté-là [elle montre la Porte de Ninove].* » Pour elle comme pour les autres nouveaux propriétaires dotés de forts capitaux économiques et symboliques de mobilité et de fortes dispositions à la mobilité métropolitaine, le quartier ne constitue qu'« *un point de départ vers des quartiers connexes* » dans lesquels ils ont leurs habitudes commerciales, où ils fréquentent des lieux de loisir (un bar de prédilection, une salle de sport, un théâtre, un parc…), dans lesquels ils mettent leurs jeunes enfants à la crèche ou à l'école, et dont ils se sentent proches géographiquement. Mais leur impression de vivre dans un quartier ouvert sur l'extérieur tient aussi à des éléments matériels et sensibles.

Cette impression est liée, tout d'abord, à *la jonction* établie par le petit parc du Triangle qui jouxte leur complexe résidentiel entre le lieu où ils logent et la ville globale. Alors que cet espace était une sorte de terrain vague à leur arrivée, certains d'entre eux y ont fait des plantations, aménagés des sentiers, abaissés les hais de clôture, installé un « jardin-mobile » et des bacs de plantes, notamment grâce à des subsides communaux. Bref, ils l'ont aménagé en lieu de vie. Tous ces informateurs ont parcouru et commenté de façon détaillée ce petit parc. Ainsi en est-il de Laure (H09), 34 ans. Elle entame son parcours réalisé dans un périmètre extrêmement circonscrit dans le garage souterrain des Terrasses de l'Ecluse. Juste avant de sortir, elle baisse la voix, son visage montre des signes de tension et elle explique avoir l'habitude de tomber à cet endroit sur des groupes de travailleurs africains qui bloquent l'entrée. A la vue d'un homme urinant dans le parc, elle ajoute très énervée : « *Vous voyez ? Ça, c'est aussi… il y en a qui prenne ce parc pour des toilettes publiques !* » En passant la porte, Laure croise sans regarder le petit groupe d'africains installés sur le trottoir, traverse la rue et se dirige vers le centre du petit parc. Elle marque un premier temps d'arrêt à cet endroit où elle note les rosiers plantés et les jeux d'enfants, mais surtout les détritus qui jonchent le sol. En traversant ensuite le parc en direction de l'Ecluse devant laquelle elle marquera un second temps d'arrêt, elle parle des petites habitudes qu'elle avait prises avec ses enfants au retour de l'école, avant que le parc ne devienne un « *dépotoir* » : ramasser des feuilles, jouer un peu, regarder les canards… Elle effectue encore quelques pas vers le coin ouest du parc, le plus proche des Terrasses de l'Ecluse, où elle s'arrête pour noter la présence d'un bac de fleur, d'une « *corde de pendu* » et la vue « *affreuse* » du car-wash délabré en arrière-plan. Laure longe ensuite le canal et se dirige vers la Porte de Ninove. Elle marque son dernier temps d'arrêt face à la Porte, pour commenter les difficultés de circulation piétonne et cycliste à cet endroit, le trottoir détérioré et les problèmes de débordement des égouts par temps de pluie.

Ce parcours commenté est exemplatif des usages et des perceptions du parc du Triangle par les nouveaux propriétaires. Les longues pauses qu'ils y ont effectués leur ont permis de commenter un espace de transition, dans lequel ils se sentent à la fois dans le quartier et en dehors : c'est pour eux un espace de « *passage obligé* » pour se rendre à leurs activités disséminées dans la ville ; mais ils décrivent aussi les éléments qui lui donnent « un potentiel de vrai parc » (les jeux, la verdure, les arbres…) où l'on peut rencontrer ses voisins, ceux qui vivent dans le même immeuble et les gens du quartier ; enfin, les éléments décrits sont autant ceux qui rappellent l'ambiance du quartier Heyvaert (la présence des travailleurs africains, la saleté, le délabrement) que ceux qui les connectent à la ville, en particulier la vue sur le canal et sur les quartiers centraux au loin, de l'autre côté de la Porte de Ninove.

C'est ensuite la matérialité des Terrasses de l'Ecluse qui induit ces impressions d'ouverture *vers un ailleurs*. D'une part, le bâtiment établit une barrière perceptive, sonore et visuelle, avec l'animation du quartier – comme le notait également Laïla. Depuis les terrasses de leurs appartements, ils peuvent voir le canal, la ville ou l'intérieur d'îlot très fermé ; certains y remarquent le bruit et l'agitation caractéristique du quartier Heyvaert (un bruit de moteur ou un klaxon par exemple) comme une atmosphère lointaine. Elle paraît être seulement un arrière-fond, qui ne les englobe pas, mais leur laisse une « disponibilité perceptive » pour remarquer d'autres choses : le calme de l'îlot intérieur, un vol de canards, une péniche sur l'eau… D'autre part, le canal lui-même leur offre une opportunité d'évasion : il constitue pour ces individus disposant de ressources culturelles liées au registre de la Nature et de la mobilité un « pont » au sens de Simmel (1988 [1907]), reliant leur logement à la vaste Nature. C'est notamment ce qu'indiquent leurs temps d'arrêts prolongés devant l'eau et leurs regards se perdant à l'horizon, ainsi que les commentaires sur les vertus respiratoires du bord de l'eau :

> « Je trouve que c'est unique un peu cette idée d'ouverture. […] On n'a pas d'espace de repos dans le quartier, alors ici c'est le seul endroit où tu peux respirer un peu » (Quinten, H07, 30 ans).

> « Ça donne de la nature. Ça, j'apprécie beaucoup. C'est quand même une énorme joie d'avoir la vue sur le canal ; on entend les oiseaux, il y a les bateaux qui passent, le bruit de l'eau. L'ambiance du canal, j'aime bien. C'est une ouverture quand même » (Miek, H08, 37 ans).

Enfin, le réaménagement des rives du canal est à la base de sensations de *continuité* chez ces individus. Il leur permet non seulement de relier physiquement leur espace résidentiel aux quartiers appréciés du centre-ville, par la piste cyclable en particulier, mais aussi d'établir un « pont » qui « surmonte l'écartement de ses aplombs en même temps qu'il les rend perceptibles et mesurables » (Simmel, 1988 [1907], 162). Ce réaménagement offre des sentiments agréables de beauté, de propreté, de confort et de proximité avec les quartiers plus centraux qui semblent faire de ce trajet un moment plein et qui relie au niveau vécu leur logement à ces quartiers.

Transformations et atmosphères du Vieux Molenbeek

Le second cas d'étude concerne le quartier du Vieux Molenbeek situé sur la rive gauche du canal, qui correspond au cœur historique de la commune de Molenbeek-Saint-Jean. Cet ancien village flamand développé au 14^{e} siècle est toujours composé d'un tissu urbain serré et organique. Le quartier est structuré autour de deux grandes places (la place Saint-Jean-Baptise et la place communale) d'où rayonnent des petites ruelles et quelques plus grands axes. Ce quartier est bien inséré dans la trame urbaine : on y trouve notamment deux stations de métros, tandis que ses seules limites marquées sont le canal au sud, qui le sépare directement du quartier Dansaert dans le centre historique, et un boulevard de la « petite ceinture » de Bruxelles à l'est. Dans la période d'après Deuxième Guerre Mondiale, ce quartier était un petit centre urbain à l'activité commerciale intense et réputée. Il a ensuite connu le sort de déclin des quartiers industriels du territoire du canal. Mais ici, la détérioration du tissu bâti est aussi imputable aux politiques de démolition massive des années 1960 et 1970, ainsi qu'à la percée du métro depuis la surface, en plein cœur du quartier. La démolition de nombreux immeubles d'habitation a soutenu l'exode des résidents les plus favorisés vers la périphérie ; tandis que sont restés seulement les plus démunis, installés dans les anciennes maisons de brique typiquement bruxelloises et les quelques tours de logements sociaux du quartier.

Le quartier concentre aujourd'hui une population multiculturelle très paupérisée : le taux de chômage s'élève à 42% et la densité démographique y est quatre fois supérieure à la moyenne bruxelloise, ce qui s'explique principalement par un solde migratoire international nettement positif lié à une longue histoire de terre d'accueil, depuis l'arrivée des francophones au début du 20e siècle jusqu'à celle de populations de l'Europe de l'Est ces dernières années, en passant par les vagues d'immigration ouvrières venues d'Italie, d'Espagne, de Grèce, du Maroc, de Turquie et d'Afrique Subsaharienne. Dans ce quartier au plus de cent nationalités, la composante maghrébine est largement dominante. Elle totalise 12,8% des habitants selon les chiffres officiels (qui invisibilisent toutefois l'essentiel des deuxième et troisième générations de résidents issus du Maghreb mais de nationalités belge)[4]. Cette population à laquelle sont accolées des images culturelles globalisantes est perçue comme refermée sur elle-même. En fait le quartier tout entier souffre des stigmates d'un supposé « repli communautariste », en particulier depuis le traitement médiatique des attentats terroristes de Paris en novembre 2015. De nombreux clichés ont circulé à propos de ce quartier dont une partie du commando était issue : « ghetto », « base arrière du djihadisme international », population « islamiste » supposée échapper à l'ordre public et au contrôle policier… Si certaines formes de repli identitaire religieux sont indéniables et même de plus en plus visibles (les jeunes femmes sont par exemple plus nombreuses qu'auparavant à porter le voile), le Vieux Molenbeek est un quartier populaire pas plus dangereux qu'un autre (Laumonier, 2015) et dans lequel s'aventurent même certains touristes, promeneurs d'un jour et nouveaux résidents.

Un quartier à « urbaniser »

Ce que l'on dit moins, c'est que les autorités molenbeekoises développent dans ce quartier un projet volontariste pour lui rendre sa « convivialité » et retisser tant le tissu urbain défait que le tissu social supposé délité. Après 20 ans de rénovations, le quartier est aujourd'hui dans une phase de transition où voisinent des traces fortes du passé et les prémisses visibles du changement planifié dans une ambivalence prégnante au niveau des ambiances. Citydev a aussi fortement contribué à ces transformations en reconstruisant la cicatrice du métro comme une sorte de « couloir résidentiel » dans lequel 220 ménages des classes moyennes et supérieures sont installés. Ces logements sont toutefois concentrés dans deux espaces : la place Voltaire et la rue Sainte-Marie (cf. carte 2).

Les premiers habitants de la place Voltaire, notamment des « pionniers » (Bidou, 1984) qui tentent l'aventure des quartiers populaires délaissés par les pouvoirs publics, s'y installent dès

4 Ces chiffres proviennent du Monitoring des quartiers et concernent le quartier administratif Molenbeek historique.

Carte 2: Logements Citydev sur la dalle du métro dans le Vieux Molenbeek (auteur : E. Lenel, réalisé avec Brussels UrbIS)

1994. Les deux autres fronts de la place sont construits au milieu des années 2000 et accueillent pour une part des jeunes familles appartenant aux nouvelles classes moyennes désireuses de s'ancrer dans ce quartier proche du centre-ville, et pour une autre part d'anciens habitants d'origine marocaine en ascension sociale attachés à leur quartier. Le second ensemble de logements Citydev a été bâti entre 1995 et 2006 autour de la rue Sainte-Marie, à côté du canal. Les acquéreurs de ces appartements et petites maisons unifamiliales représentent globalement les mêmes groupes sociaux qu'à la place Voltaire et s'y sont installés pour les mêmes raisons. Un bon tiers d'entre eux dispose d'un revenu annuel supérieur au revenu moyen bruxellois et, pour une large majorité, ils sont arrivés seuls et sans enfant[5].

Ce « couloir résidentiel » a aussi été marqué par d'autres opérations visant notamment à en faire un territoire de type centre-ville (Remy, 1990). La largeur donnée au piétonnier central en particulier traduit la volonté politique d'en faire un axe privilégié de circulation piétonne et cycliste entre l'intérieur et l'extérieur du quartier. La plus forte contribution à cet égard vient toutefois de l'aménagement d'un axe de « mobilité douce » au début des années 2010 qui suit le tracé de ce « couloir ». En effet, cet axe a permis de relier la place voltaire au canal et au-delà. Il est aussi supposé contribuer au rééquilibrage interne des modes de déplacement en faveur

5 Selon les statistiques fournies par Citydev pour le projet Rive Gauche-Les quais.

des modes « doux » et atténuer la « *césure très importante entre deux territoires* », le quartier et le centre-ville, en favorisant les traversées vers le centre-ville via une future passerelle. Les aménagements réalisés sur cet axe visaient enfin à marquer davantage cette rue comme espace de civilité, hospitalier pour les non-résidents : un des objectifs du bureau d'urbanisme en charge du projet était de donner une meilleure lisibilité à cet espace par une « *hiérarchisation de l'espace public plus nette, entre sphère privée et espace public* ». Ainsi, des signes de circulation ont été inscrits dans la matérialité de la rue (peinture de traces de pas, plans du quartier, station de vélos partagés *Villo*…), l'espace central a été largement dégagé et un mobilier urbain de séjour à l'esthétique contemporaine a été placé en bordure du piétonnier.

Ces constructions et ces rénovations ont fortement redessiné la spatialité du Vieux Molenbeek, par un effet de séparation entre, d'un côté, des nouveaux espaces unifiés et reliés à l'extérieur, et de l'autre, des espaces intérieurs anciens, dégradés et fragmentés. Surtout, ces opérations ont contribué à mettre en valeur un quartier plus urbain, davantage tourné vers la ville globale. Ce projet constitue d'ailleurs le point de convergence d'ambitions pour le quartier situées à différents niveaux de pouvoir. Au niveau régional, le quartier est ciblé pour devenir un des lieus emblématiques et attractifs d'un centre-ville élargi au-delà de sa limite historique constituée par le canal. Son inclusion dans une « zone levier » traduit également une ambition d'attractivité internationale, perceptible par exemple dans l'installation récente de la chaîne hôtelière allemande *Meininger* dans le quartier. Ces ambitions ont aussi convergé dans le réaménagement de la place communale, lieu historique du grand marché hebdomadaire rayonnant auprès des populations issues de l'immigration bien au-delà du quartier. Cette opération a été portée, au niveau communal, par une volonté claire de rupture avec le passé : elle devait contribuer à redéfinir la centralité du quartier autour d'une place « *pour tous les molenbeekois* », selon le chef de projet du CdQ, offrant non seulement un espace de rencontre « désencombré », mais aussi de nouveaux commerces, des opportunités festives et une esthétique dans laquelle les nouveaux venus pourraient se retrouver. Cette seconde ambition rencontrait ainsi particulièrement bien le projet régional et fédéral de développement du canal, ce qui a permis d'étendre le périmètre de l'opération jusqu'à la « bouche » de métro de la rue Sainte-Marie située à une dizaine de mètres, pour « *venir chercher les gens* » et « *faire le trait d'union* » avec le centre-ville, comme l'indiquait l'architecte du projet. Selon ce qui est saisi de ces promesses d'avenir, des réminiscences du passé ou des hésitations du présent, le quartier des anciens propriétaires et celui des nouveaux propriétaires du Vieux Molenbeek s'inscrivent dans des « trames de fond » (Thibaud et Thomas, 2004) non contemporaines l'une à l'autre.

Un village perdu

Quand les anciens propriétaires issus de l'immigration marocaine des années 1960-1970 et installés parfois depuis plusieurs décennies parlent de « leur » quartier, ils évoquent l'histoire du quartier d'antan qui valorise leur propre réussite sociale. Ces personnes qui ont pu accéder à la propriété dans le quartier constituent une fraction des classes moyennes dont la réussite du projet migratoire contraste avec le déclin social qui a touché une autre partie de la population du quartier issue d'une vague plus récente de l'immigration marocaine. Ces anciens propriétaires décrivent ainsi autant le quartier du temps présent que celui qui se perd : un « *beau village* » agréable aux petites rues tranquilles où Belges et Marocains cohabitaient harmonieusement, et dans lequel ils se sont fortement ancrés. Mais comme pour ne pas être assimilés à son déclin, il différencie nettement ce village d'antan du quartier actuel où s'installent ces nouvelles générations d'immigrés bien plus précaires : un quartier sale, bruyant, encombré, dégradé, conflictuel, « *dure à vivre* ». Ainsi, le quartier vécu des anciens propriétaires rencontrés est caractérisé principalement par une ambiance de déclin.

Fadila (H30), 58 ans, parcoure et commente le quartier en bonne partie au travers de ses souvenirs, les bons souvenirs comme ceux de ce qui s'est perdu. En eux-mêmes, le choix et le rythme de son parcours témoignent d'un rapport serré au quartier, vécu densément, marqué par une attention à une foule de détails. Comme si le quartier était tout entier organisé autour d'une seule grande place, le Parvis Saint-Jean-Baptiste, le parcours est assez court, enserré dans la structure villageoise du quartier et n'intègre pas le canal (cf. image 2). Il est aussi marqué par des arrêts très fréquents pour raconter des situations vécues et des anecdotes de la vie locale. Le premier arrêt intervient une dizaine de mètres seulement après avoir franchi le seuil de sa maison, dans sa rue, où elle commente une vue quotidienne entachée par la construction récente d'un immeuble « *moche* » de logements sociaux, qui contraste avec l'architecture ancienne « *tellement belle* » de la rue. En se dirigeant ensuite vers le Parvis, elle commente certains désagréments qu'elle rencontre dans ses déplacements quotidiens : un ancien dépôt clandestin, un café fréquenté uniquement par des hommes maghrébins source pour elle d'énervement et même de disputes, une maison brûlée qui n'a jamais été rénovée… Puis elle s'arrête sur le parvis qui constitue pour elle le « *cœur* » du quartier, où « *il y a toujours quelque chose qui se passe* » mais où on ne voit malheureusement plus de Belges. Pour atteindre la destination finale de sa visite, l'entrée de la rue Sainte-Marie, Fadila traverse ensuite le trafic automobile et le flot de piétons autour de la place. Elle emprunte la rue Comte de Flandre qui n'est « *plus comme avant* » : elle note un à un les commerces qui sont restés et ceux qui sont parti (la poste, les « *petites boutiques* »…), et le monopole des commerçants Maghrébins qui multiplient épiceries et boucheries : « *[en riant] La fleuriste c'est encore la seule Belge qui reste* ». En arrivant rue Sainte-Marie, elle s'arrête comme devant un point de vue pour contempler le paysage qui s'étale jusqu'au canal et qui constitue pour elle une « lisière » (Remy, 2015) du quartier – mais sans franchir sa limite :

> [*En montrant un nouveau bâtiment] « Là, c'est pas mal, […] plus discret, moins haut et puis ce n'est pas dans une rue très restreinte […]. Vous avez vu comme il est beau le quartier par là ? C'est superbe ! Et les petites rues par là… C'est très agréable, très calme, très propre… Franchement, je me dis pourquoi ce n'est pas notre rue aussi qui est comme ça ?* »

Comme l'indique ce commentaire, les anciens propriétaires rencontrés perçoivent généralement une limite forte à cet endroit, une véritable cassure entre les espaces anciens dégradés et les espaces rénovés. Cette fracture matérielle et sociale marque aussi une atmosphère étriquée dans les ruelles du quartier. Dans les premiers espaces que les anciens propriétaires arpentent au quotidien, où « *le soleil n'entre pratiquement jamais* » (Malika, 42 ans), circuler est relativement éprouvant, même s'ils y ont beaucoup de repères : il faut contourner des obstacles (déchets, rassemblements d'hommes), être vigilant à la circulation routière intense, gérer des tensions psychiques liées au bruit, aux interactions, au paysage dégradé… Les seconds espaces, bien plus larges et dégagés, sont beaucoup plus agréables à regarder et à parcourir, mais ils ne font, pour eux, pas totalement partie du quartier.

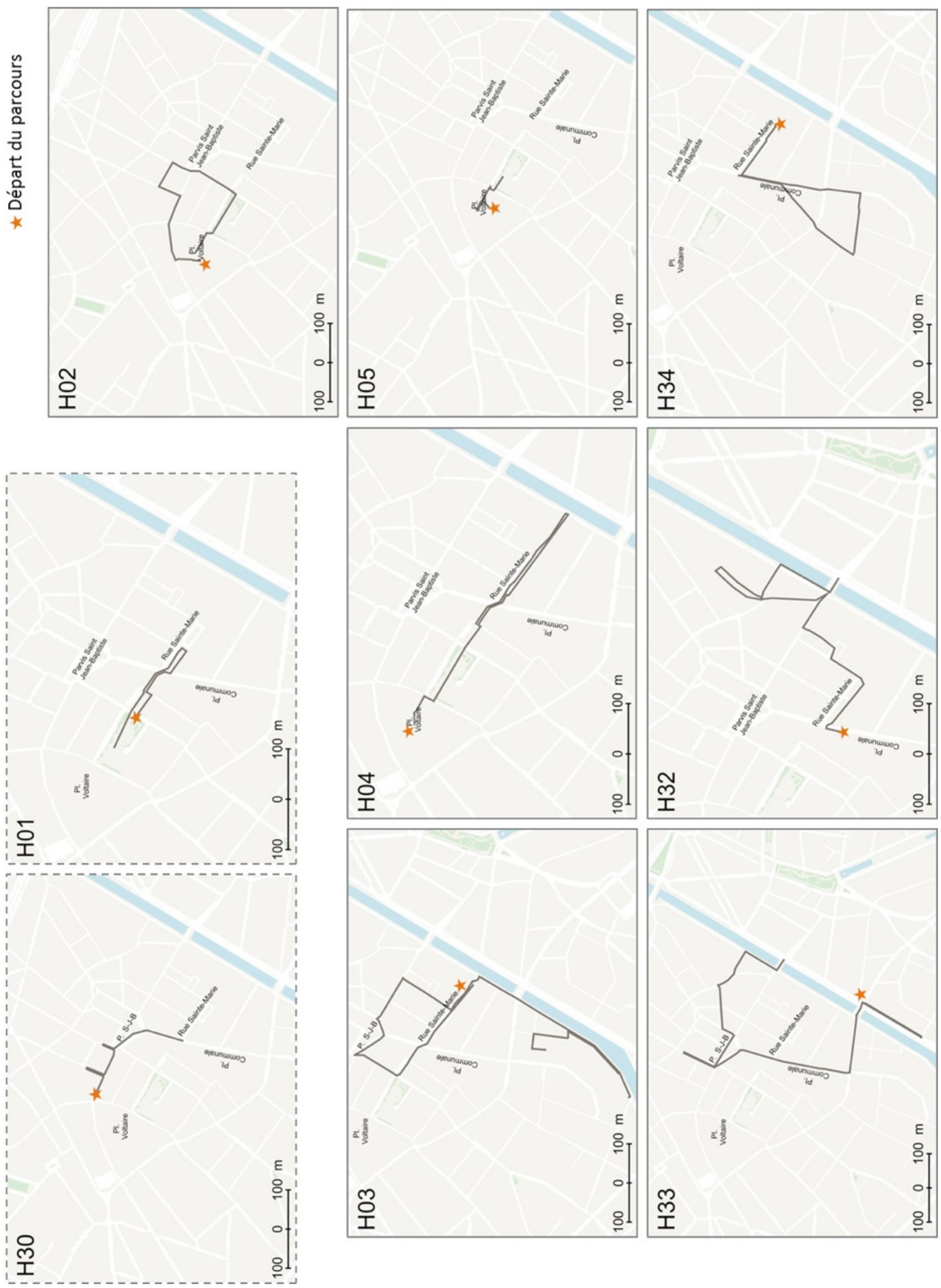

Image 2. Parcours commentés d'anciens propriétaires (en haut, cadre pointillé) et de nouveaux propriétaires (en bas, cadre plein) du Vieux Molenbeek (auteur : Ch. van Uytvank, réalisé avec Brussels UrbIS).

Un quartier-décor

A l'inverse, le quartier vécu des nouveaux propriétaires du quartier déborde largement les limites historiques du Vieux Molenbeek, comme l'indique les périmètres très variables de leurs parcours commentés (cf. image 2.). La plupart de ces informateurs ont traversé le quartier d'un pas rapide, pour se diriger plutôt vers le canal. Certains parcours (H03, H32, H33) commercent assez longuement avec cette zone, pour en montrer les attraits (la piste cyclable, des façades anciennes, une association locale, la vue qui s'ouvre sur l'horizon...), parfois pour aller de l'autre côté, mais surtout pour commenter les transformations d'un espace en devenir qui fait partie intégrante de « leur » quartier, comme Fabrice (H33), 41 ans :

> « On va le long du canal pour voir un peu la rénovation. Ça, c'est l'hôtel Meininger, ancienne Brasserie Bellevue. Ils ont fait un café là, c'est un lieu de convivialité dans le quartier [...] Juste à côté, on voit le projet haut standing d'un immobilier privé, de grands lofts. »

Dans le quartier lui-même, ce sont surtout les prises aux cheminements quotidiens vers leurs lieux de vie au-delà du canal qui sont remarquées : le métro, la « *dalle de béton [du métro] grise et informe* », la piste cyclable, l'endroit de la future passerelle… Certains notent aussi des barrières à l'entrée des commerces, comme des enseignes en arabe décourageant l'entrée ou les terrasses de salon de thé obstruant le trottoir. Le « couloir résidentiel » a systématiquement été emprunté dans ce groupe, et commenté comme un *espace de passage* vers le centre-ville, un espace « *ouvert* », « *tout droit* », « *vide* », un « *corridor* ». Mélanie (H04), 37 ans, parcourt le quartier de nuit. Elle effectue une première étape sur la place Voltaire où elle réside, pour commenter son ambiance feutrée qui la différencie positivement du quartier. Comme d'autres, elle prend le temps d'y décrire une atmosphère protectrice : une impression de calme, un « éclairage jaunâtre, pas trop fort » apprécié, et un effet de coupure sonore et visuelle marquant nettement la limite avec le quartier populaire agité et bruyant. Elle raconte aussi ses habitudes sur la place : « *c'est l'endroit qu'on investit le plus [...]. C'est un espace agréable, où aussi on discute beaucoup parce qu'il y a beaucoup de parents à regarder nos enfants faire du vélo. Donc c'est un lieu aussi de convivialité.* » Elle part ensuite en ligne directe vers le canal. En traversant la rue Sainte-Marie par sa partie centrale piétonne, Mélanie commente un éclairage froid et anguleux, un manque d'attrait, des contours mal définis :

> « C'est plus des lieux de passage. Ce n'est pas des endroits où je reste. Par exemple, je ne vais pas avec mes enfants jouer dans cet espace énorme parce que c'est... [...]. Je ne sais pas très bien. Peut-être que c'est parce que cet espace est entouré de bagnoles. Je trouve cet endroit très particulier, pas très chaleureux, j'ai l'impression que c'est un peu un creux au milieu de... mais je l'emprunte souvent parce qu'on va souvent au centre-ville. Et quand même le but, c'est aussi le canal. »

Comme elle, lorsque les nouveaux propriétaires commentent l'ambiance du Vieux Molenbeek, c'est surtout en spectateur d'un « petit théâtre de la vie » (Bidou, 1984) auquel il ne participe pas vraiment ; il décrivent plutôt le *décor* de leurs cheminements vers l'extérieur, un paysage urbain convivial et multiculturel, voire exotique, saisi à partir de prises de visibilité : les couleurs chatoyantes d'une étale de légumes, des éléments graphiques comme une *« écriture arabe »*, des images amusantes comme celle de « *mamys voilées qui font de la muscu'* » sur les éléments de fitness du parc Bonnevie, la mosquée… Cette ambiance forte mais qui ne les capture pas vraiment leur permet de traverser le quartier sans se sentir pris dans son épaisseur, sa densité et ses épreuves (bruit, saleté). Et cette ambiance de décor amusant, surprenant, parfois désagréable, mais ouvert sur le monde extérieur contraste avec l'ambiance protectrice et enveloppante de l'espace résidentiel, en particulier à la place Voltaire.

La mobilité éprouvée comme ressource de co-existence

Dans ces deux quartiers, la mobilité éprouvée par les anciens et les nouveaux propriétaires a des effets variables sur les modes d'attention et les affects aux autres, à celui qui dérange en particulier. Plus encore, elle est une ressource utilisée dans la gestion ordinaire de la co-existence. On a vu que le quartier Heyvaert constitue un milieu de vie d'une extrême densité pour les anciens propriétaires, dans lequel ils sont résidentiellement coincés mais aussi, à un niveau vécu, empêtrés, et avec lequel ils se débattent – au prix parfois de leurs ressorts les plus personnels d'action comme le repos et la santé : l'anticipation des évènements désagréables (mauvaise rencontre, obstacle sur le chemin, saleté, bruit) y est permanente et écrase tout autre forme d'expérience possible. Ils sont véritablement envahis par leur environnement résidentiel. Pour mettre à l'écart ces nuisances ressenties ils se replient, voire se retranchent dans l'espace privé et rejettent les acteurs du commerce des voitures (les travailleurs informels en particulier) qu'ils tiennent pour responsables de leur malaise. Tandis que les nouveaux propriétaires disposent de ressources matérielles (emplacement et qualités physiques de leur logement, rive rénové du canal), sociales (dispositions à la mobilité) et symboliques (capacités ancrées d'évasion) pour élaborer ce que l'on peut appeler un « tampon perceptif » qui atténue les rapports à ce qui dérange (Lenel, 2015).

Le Vieux Molenbeek est un milieu de vie caractérisé également pas sa densité, tant pour les anciens que pour les nouveaux propriétaires, mais aussi par la coprésence de traces fortes du passé et de prémisses sensibles d'un avenir différent. Cependant, ce milieu offre aux anciens et aux nouveaux propriétaires des prises très variables pour échapper au présent : un quotidien qui peut être dur dans ce quartier bondé de personnes et de choses. Pour les premiers, la limite perçue entre espaces nouveaux en progrès et espaces anciens en déclin est nette et elle les « tient » enserré dans les espaces en déclin où ils vivent une bonne partie de leurs temps et où l'autre est ressenti comme trop proche de soi. La perception du quartier par les seconds est davantage articulée autour de son devenir, qui correspond bien à leurs pratiques urbaines géographiquement éclatées. Les caractéristiques matérielles et symboliques d'ouverture des nouveaux espaces publics qu'ils fréquentent mais aussi celles de protection de leurs espaces résidentiels leur permettent globalement de ne vivre « que » dans ce quartier en devenir. Leurs espaces résidentiels offrent aussi une bonne correspondance avec leurs pratiques d'ouverture des frontières privé/public, à travers l'investissement de l'espace du voisinage (Bidou, 1984), et de mobilité métropolitaine. Cela autorise une insertion locale « en bulle » (Butler, 2003) où l'altérité est un constituant valorisé, mais relativement « fondu » dans le quartier-décor qu'ils traversent quotidiennement.

Ainsi, les nouveaux propriétaires rencontrés dans ces quartiers ont des capacités d'aise (Thévenot, 1994) plus importantes pour s'y mouvoir. Ces capacités sont distribuées, d'une part, sur les spatialités ouvertes des nouveaux espaces publics, mais aussi sur certaines clôtures avec les espaces anciens du quartier, et d'autre part, sur les conventions de mobilité « douce » et métropolitaine inscrites dans leur matérialité et qui répondent à des structures de perceptions collectives qu'ils partagent. Ils ont dès lors une familiarité avec ces espaces, qui leur permet de se saisir de leurs opportunités matérielles et symboliques de mobilité pour s'extraire de la pesanteur du quartier lorsqu'elle se fait sentir. Tandis que les anciens propriétaires circulant et séjournant d'avantage dans les espaces anciens sont souvent « pris » dans leurs ambiances oppressantes. Mais ces différences ne relèvent pas que du vécu ; elles concernent aussi la manière d'être confronté à l'autre dans la proximité et de gérer pratiquement la « bonne distance », celle qui n'affecte ni trop ni trop peu. La mobilité collectivement éprouvée par les nouveaux propriétaires leur octroie du « jeu » pour ne pas se laisser enfermer dans des limites spatiales trop marquées ni se laisser absorber dans un espace-temps de coprésence contraignant. Elle favorise la projection de soi dans d'autres espaces urbains ou non urbains, répondant mieux à leur mode de vie. Elle permet aussi à nombre d'entre eux d'actualiser des dispositions intellectualistes à la tolérance (Simmel, 2004 [1993]). Tandis que les anciens propriétaires trouvent dans leur environnement bien moins d'opportunités de mise à distance de celui qui dérange, et vivent des rapports plus affectionnés (négativement) à lui.

Conclusion

Les constats qui viennent d'être présentés suggèrent que les rapports sociaux à la mobilité octroient des marges de manœuvre différentes aux anciens et aux nouveaux propriétaires des quartiers bruxellois du canal ciblés par la politique de revitalisation urbaine pour y gérer les rapports à l'autre dans la proximité. Mais ces dispositions sociales à la mobilité, favorables aux nouveaux propriétaires, sont actualisées dans des conditions sensibles en partie produites par cette politique. La vision normative de la ville qu'elle promeut, faisant la part belle à une mobilité déterritorialisée, et les types d'espaces auxquels elle donne lieu contribuent à façonner, pour eux, une ambiance d'ouverture dans laquelle s'ancre des capacités pragmatiques d'échappement à l'espace-temps du quartier et à ce qui les dérange dans le quartier. Tandis que pour les anciens propriétaires le référentiel spatial semble ne pas avoir bougé et constitue un élément de l'ambiance de fermeture du quartier qui dispose plutôt à la fermeture à celui qui gêne.

Cela montre que l'ambiance du quartier est bien une « trame de fond organisant des manières d'être, de percevoir et d'agir » (Thibaud/Thomas, 2004) qui émergent dans la rencontre entre un cadre et des dispositions. Saisir la mobilité vécue à travers l'ambiance permet ainsi de montrer des effets de la politique de revitalisation urbaine sur les rapports au quartier difficilement appréhendables par les approches « classiques » de la requalification urbaine qui prennent surtout en compte les dimensions collectives du cadre. Mais les résultats de cette enquête suggèrent aussi que l'analyse des relations entre ambiance et expérience de la mobilité dans les quartiers concernés gagne à élargir la perspective phénoméno-pragmatique de la théorie des ambiances pour prendre en compte le « jeu des échelles » (Lepetit, 1996). Il nous semble que l'étude des conditions concrètes et sensibles (cadre local) dans lesquelles émergent les éprouvés de mobilité et les manières de gérer la « bonne distance » à l'autre peut être enrichie par la prise en compte des dispositions à la mobilité (cadre social global). La notion pragmatiste de contexte d'action élargie au vécu épais de l'espace urbain, prenant en considération l'équipement des individus en « capacités perceptuelles spécifiques » (Stavo-Debauge, 2003), peut notamment aider à appréhender la retraduction des rapports sociaux à la mobilité dans les ambiances émergentes. Il nous semble qu'une telle approche permet de dépasser l'étude constative et descriptive d'enjeux de co-existence et d'expériences de mobilité situés, en portant un regard critique sur le rôle d'une politique dans ces éprouvés. La description des capacités perceptuelles des anciens et des nouveaux propriétaires, et ce qu'elles doivent non seulement aux conditions concrètes et sensibles de leur environnement, mais également à la proximité ou à l'éloignement de leur groupe social par rapport à la vision de ville promue par la politique revitalisation urbaine permet d'esquisser un schéma explicatif élargissant le champ de pertinence des descriptions vécues et perçues (Chadoin, 2010) permises par la seule notion d'ambiance. C'est ce que cet article a tenté de montrer.

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Open Neighbourhood, Closed Neighbourhood: The 'Felt Mobility' as a Resource for Coexistence

Extended abstract

Emmanuelle Lenel

Urban regeneration policy is developing all over Europe. In Brussels, it has deeply been transforming spatiality of old neighbourhoods of the canal territory since the mid 1990s and has implied new norms of mobility. This paper first highlights the impact of these material and symbolical transformations on the relations between atmospheres and mobility experiences. Secondly, it shows how these transformations affect «felt mobility», *ie* the feeling of moving with ease or discomfort within the neighbourhood. This main question takes place within an ecological approach to the city that takes into account the sensitive dimension of the urban space and conceives its materiality not only as a set of signs (Goffman, 1973), but also as the sensitive condition into which individuals have social activities and social exchanges with their environment (Stavo-Debauge, 2003; Pecqueux 2012).

In the first part, the paper questions the reasons why and the way in which urban regeneration policy conducted in the canal territory translates the contemporary ideals of mobility. The Canal Plan (2014) aims to restructure this central and strategic territory for the Brussels Region, marked by «*hard urban breaks*», into a more homogenous area. At a local level, the neighbourhood contract device gives rise to new forms of public spaces characterised by material «emptiness», transparency and interconnection. These new public spaces and their atmospheres are supposed to influence mobility practices (by encouraging pedestrian and cycling traffic, encouraging social exchanges, bringing out residents considered as too rooted, bringing in visitors and new residents…) and to make this territory more attractive.

Then the atmosphere concept (Thibaud, 2002 ; 2004 ; Chelkoff, 2004) is used as an analyser of, on the one hand, the interrelations between the material, symbolic and sensitive qualities of new public spaces and, on the other hand, the different feelings of openness or closeness about these spaces and the neighbourhood. The analysis is developed through two case studies (the *Heyvaert* neighbourhood and the *Vieux Molenbeek* neighbourhood). The data was collected during *in situ* observations, in-depth interviews and commented itineraries (*parcours commentés*) (Thibaud, 2001) carried out with old and new owners – distinguished by the age of their social group in the neighbourhood rather than by their personal residential trajectory. This methodological device has been framed to point out the role of the sensitive environment in the relationships to the neighbourhood, usually neglected in the «classical» studies of the regenerated neighbourhoods in terms of gentrification. Indeed, the commented itineraries gave access to dimensions of the mobility experience when it comes to the body. While the discursive data collected during interviews allowed to report the embodied experience «to the social and historical conditions of perception» (Chadoin, 2010), i.e. to situate this experience and the perceived neighbourhood within a social system in order to underline the collective dimension of the emerging atmospheres. So the paper argues that the atmosphere of openness or closeness emerging in these neighbourhoods is linked to an unequal capital of mobility.

In the *Heyvaert* neighbourhoud, the emerging atmosphere for the old owners belonging to the Moroccan immigration is characterised by oppression. They live in the old houses close to the car trade activities established in the neighbourhood since the 1990s, and they strongly experience its pollutions (Lenel, 2015) as an invasion in their privacy. Furthermore they do not have the economic means (no prospect of residential mobility) to escape from this «lost neighbourhood». They so suffer these pollutions as well as the proximity with other immigrants more precarious than them. Conversely, the emerging atmosphere for the new owners is characterised by the feeling to live in a neighbourhood connected to the oustide: this metropolitan population live in a new building facing the canal at one end of the neighbourhood, where these pollutions are less perceived and where they can more easily access their activities, scattered in the city.

The *Vieux Molenbeek* is a neighbourhood in transition, combining strong traces of its floriscent industrial past, material degradation and its future as a part of the expanded city center. According to what is seized of these promises of future, reminiscences of the past or hesitations of the present, the emerging atmospheres for old or new owners are not contemporary to each other. For the old owners also belonging to the Moroccan immigration, installed in the neighbourhood sometimes for several decades, the emerging atmosphere is the one of a «beautiful village» getting lost, reminiscent of their social success as immigrated workers. But this village is limited to the old degraded spaces marked by a narrow atmosphere, where traveling is uncomfortable. While the atmosphere commented by the new owners, living in the renovated spaces of the neighbourhood, is the one of a «small theater of life» (Bidou, 1984), a convivial and cosmopolitan urban landscape to which they do not really participate. This strong atmosphere but that does not capture them allows them to cross the neighbourhood to get the city center without feeling caught in its density and presencies (noise, dirt, individuals).

Finally, these analyses support an hypothesis: the «felt mobility» is an unequally distributed resource for the management of proximity to the other in the targeted neighbourhoods that are urbanistically and demographically dense. The «felt mobility» for old and new owners has indeed very contrasted effects on the modes of attention and the affects to the other, the disturbing one in particular that is more or less easily held at a «good distance». The feelings of being able to be elsewhere that *there* give the new owners the necessary game so as not to be absorbed in a time-space of constrained copresence, and allows to update «intellectualist» dispositions to tolerance (Simmel, 2004[1993]). While the old owners more involved in the thickness (*vécu épais*) of «their» neighbourhood find fewer opportunities to distance the disturbing one, and feel more negative affects to him. The paper questions the contribution of urban revitalisation policy in this respect.

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A la rencontre des événements climatiques urbains

Marina Popovic

Résumé

Les études sur le confort thermique piétonnier basées sur l'approche adaptative mettent en avant l'influence des nouvelles expériences court-terme sur l'expérience long-terme du climat. Les états thermiques transitoires ont un potentiel pour améliorer la capacité d'adaptation thermique du piéton, pour « éveiller les sens » et pour procurer le plaisir thermique. Peu d'études ont abordé la régulation comportementale au regard de conditions thermiques transitoires dans un contexte d'inconfort thermique estival dans l'espace public urbain. Les adaptations comportementales, observées in situ dans la ville de Madrid en été 2016 sont retenues comme un indice des appréciations et du ressenti thermique des piétons face à un micro « îlot de fraîcheur » urbain. Les modifications des trajectoires et des aptitudes du corps des passants sont mises en relation avec la dynamique des effets aérauliques, brumeux et rayonnants pour mettre en évidence la révélation des transformations atmosphériques par le corps en mouvement.

Mots-clés: confort thermique piétonnier, invite d'événement, alliesthésie, accessibilité des indices, adaptation comportementale, climat urbain

Abstract

Studies based on adaptive thermal comfort approach put forward the influence of short-term climatic experience on long-term experience regarding climate. Transient thermal states can foster pedestrian's ability to thermally adapt, awaken the senses and provide thermal pleasure or delight. It is commonly well-accepted that the behavioral adaptation enables people to restore their thermal comfort status. However, few studies have addressed the issue of behavioral regulation in regard to transient thermal states in urban public space during excessive summertime heat conditions. The present study retains behavioral adaptations observed in the city of Madrid in the summer of 2016 as an indicator of appreciation and of thermal feel of the pedestrians encountering an "Urban Cool Island". Changes in pedestrian paths and body dispositions are put in relation with solar radiation, humidity and air flows in order to shed light on the dynamic interrelations established among individuals and environmental features.

Keywords: pedestrian thermal comfort, event affordance, alliesthesia, information accessibility, behavioral adaptation, urban climate

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Introduction

Dans cet article, on s'intéresse à l'expérience de situations climatiques transitoires, anticipées ou fortuites, et à leur potentiel d'attirer le piéton au quotidien lors d'un parcours dans la ville. Dans un premier temps nous allons présenter la notion d'*alliesthésie* et d'*invites d'événements climatiques* à l'échelle du corps puis interroger leur pertinence et enfin aborder le confort thermique à travers un exemple d'étude observé dans l'environnement construit.

Expérience des situations climatiques transitoires

Les travaux scientifiques issus de l'approche adaptative du confort attribuent une importance particulière à l'histoire thermique du piéton. Le ressenti thermique est perpétuellement influencé par l'expérience passée, par l'anticipation des conditions à venir et par les conditions climatiques et états affectifs actuels. L'histoire thermique sur le long-terme se réfère aux effets de l'expérience des saisons au cours d'une ou de plusieurs années sur le ressenti actuel. L'histoire thermique sur le court-terme se réfère quant à elle aux expériences climatiques quotidiennes, et à des périodes temporelles de l'ordre de plusieurs semaines, plusieurs jours, heures ou secondes.

Les études mettent en avant l'influence des nouvelles expériences court-terme sur l'expérience long-terme du climat et il est démontré que les états thermiques transitoires court-terme de l'ordre de quelques secondes ou minutes ont un potentiel pour améliorer la capacité d'adaptation thermique du piéton (Vargas Palma et Stevenson, 2014). Ainsi, l'influence de l'expérience passée sur le ressenti actuel devrait être pondérée en fonction de la distance temporelle, l'expérience la plus récente étant la plus importante (Nicol et al., 2012).

Les expériences court-terme du climat impliquent les états thermiques transitoires qui émergent soudainement ou progressivement et qui procurent également un ressenti de plaisir lorsqu'ils mènent vers la normalisation de la température interne et de la restauration du confort (Chatonnet et Cabanac, 1965; Parkinson et al., 2012). L'alliesthésie ('esthesia' – sensation et 'allios' – autre/changé) est le phénomène physiologique mis en évidence par le physiologue Michel Cabanac dans les années 1970, qui désigne l'interdépendance du plaisir et du déplaisir thermique de l'état interne du corps. Le ressenti du plaisir est une réponse liée à l'activité dynamique des thermorécepteurs dans les situations transitoires. L' « alliesthésie temporelle » survient lors du passage du corps entre des milieux caractérisés par différentes conditions climatiques. L' « alliesthésie spatiale » correspond au plaisir ressenti lors d'une distribution non uniforme des températures ressenties par la surface de la peau. Ceci peut être illustré par une brise sur le visage pendant une journée chaude estivale, ou par des dispositifs localisés sur une partie du corps, par exemple, des fauteuils chauffants, des ventilateurs (Brager et al., 2015). Ainsi l'asymétrie et les états transitoires considérés auparavant comme une source de gêne et d'inconfort sont perçus comme des potentielles sources de plaisir procurant la « texture » à l'expérience du climat et du confort (Arens et al., 2006 ; de Dear, 2014).

C'est dans ce cadre que l'on s'intéresse à l'expérience piétonnière des situations climatiques transitoires à une très petite échelle dénommée « pico », orientée sur le corps et l'espace avoisinant le piéton dans un temps court de quelques minutes ou secondes. L'échelle « pico » est ici proposée pour décrire à la fois les conditions physiques objectivement mesurables relatives au piéton et son ressenti subjectif face aux ambiances climatiques assurées par les dispositifs de l'aménagement urbain.

Invites des événements climatiques à très petite échelle

L'échelle « pico » et la perception du climat urbain, du point de vue du piéton, sont abordés à travers l'approche écologique de la perception, développée par le psychologue américain James J. Gibson dans les années 1960-1970. Le concept central des « invites » (en anglais *affordances*) met en avant la complémentarité entre l'organisme agissant et l'environnement et souligne l'importance de l'exploration de la dynamique des interactions entre les deux. L'homme est considéré comme un « agent adaptatif » qui veille et actualise en continu son environnement en état de flux, en réalisant les ajustements de manière sélective, intégrant les invites en fonction de ses propres objectifs et intérêts (Heft, 2001).

En raison du caractère instable et éphémère des phénomènes climatiques, les flux procurant le plaisir et contribuant au ressenti du confort peuvent être désignés *invites des événements*.

Gibson (2014, 368) définit un événement par « tout changement d'une substance, d'un lieu ou d'un objet, qu'il soit chimique, mécanique ou biophysique. Le changement peut être lent ou rapide, réversible ou irréversible, répété ou non. Les événements caractérisent ce qui advient aux objets en général, ainsi ce que les objets animés *font* advenir. » Les événements climatiques représentent également des « invites » en raison de leur potentiel pour attirer et focaliser l'attention : « Nous sommes plus aptes à remarquer quelque chose qui n'est pas opérationnel en permanence ; nous percevons le sens réel de sa présence lorsqu'elle est de temps à autre absente » (Heschong, 1981, 57).

Ainsi, la capacité d'une invite de l'événement climatique à attirer le piéton est fonction de la disponibilité de l'information perceptible sur sa présence et son fonctionnement en congruence avec la mobilité, les intentions et le niveau d'attention du piéton.

Si les événements prévus sont à priori appréciés et cherchés par une focalisation attentive, les événements inattendus nous renvoient au concept des valences proposé par le psychologue Kurt Lewin, selon lequel les événements imprévus, ou situations surprenantes impliquent un changement soudain du comportement (face à la surprise). Cela peut être suivi par une émotion qui peut avoir une valence positive, impliquant une attraction, ou négative, impliquant la répulsion du sujet percevant. La valence attribuée et le comportement correspondant dépendent principalement de la perception et des motifs de chacun.

L'adaptation comportementale comme outil de contrôle de l'état du confort

D'après l'hypothèse fondamentale de l'approche adaptative, lorsque les conditions climatiques provoquent de l'inconfort, l'homme entreprend des actions visant à rétablir le confort (Humphreys, 1997). Les actions entreprises représentent les mécanismes thermorégulatoires qui peuvent être volontaires ou inconscients et qui se réalisent sur un plan physiologique, psychologique et comportemental (Nikolopoulou et Steemers, 2003 ; Liu et al., 2012). En effet, l'état de confort est plus souvent établi par un ensemble d'adaptations « mineures » et distinctes qui s'inscrivent dans un ou plusieurs plans et qui se complètent (Nicol et al., 2012).

Les actions comportementales sont adoptées selon la situation et les moyens disponibles et elles sont convoquées d'une manière plus importante dans l'espace extérieur caractérisé par la variabilité des conditions climatiques que dans l'espace intérieur (Musy, 2008).

Comme le note Gibson (2014), la locomotion est guidée par la perception, et les déplacements sont une condition pour pouvoir percevoir. La marche laisse les mains libres pour saisir et atteindre les objets du monde extérieur. Pour un piéton en mouvement, la mise en marche et l'arrêt, l'approche et l'éloignement ainsi que les gestes effectués par les mains représentent un premier outil de contrôle de l'état du confort.

Partant du postulat que les adaptations comportementales représentent une manifestation des appréciations et du ressenti thermique, et sont un premier instrument de régulation du confort du piéton, cette recherche explore l'impact des invites des événements climatiques sur les modalités adaptatives comportementales.

Du fait du caractère éphémère et événementiel des éléments climatiques, le facteur essentiel désignant l'accessibilité des indices repose sur la dynamique de diffusion et de propagation des flux climatiques en relation avec les mouvements des sujets percevant dans l'espace. Dans les études sur le confort, cette relation reste peu explorée. La plupart des travaux concerne le contrôle perçu déclaré in situ et in vitro, tandis que l'ajustement comportemental reste abordé principalement dans l'espace intérieur avec une attention particulière portée sur le contrôle individuel centré sur l'individu. Dans le contexte de l'espace public urbain, les adaptations comportementales sont identifiées mais leurs déclinaisons ne sont pas décrites ni expliquées précisément. On s'intéresse alors à l'influence de l'accessibilité des indices sur l'adaptation comportementale dont le mode opératoire est toujours mal connu.

Présentation du cas d'étude – Dispositif de rafraîchissement par l'introduction d'ombre et par la diffusion de nuages d'eau pulvérisée

Le terrain étudié in situ en août 2016 dans le centre-ville de Madrid est une partie de la rue de la Cruz qui est abritée par des stores bannes et humidifiée par des brumisateurs. Cette partie de la rue ombragée et humidifiée peut être désignée comme un micro « îlot de fraîcheur » urbain qui permet d'atténuer les deux éléments climatiques les plus inconfortables du climat estival madrilène – une forte radiation solaire et un faible taux d'humidité.

À titre indicatif, les valeurs extrêmes des paramètres climatiques prélevés sur le site le 22 août 2016 à 15h30 ont été : 48°C pour la température de rayonnement, 40.2°C pour la température de l'air et 23.7% pour l'humidité relative. Les écarts prélevés dans la zone ombragée par les stores bannes ont été de l'ordre de 17.1°C pour la température de rayonnement et 8.7°C pour la température de l'air. Le taux de l'humidité dans l'espace brumisé par le dispositif varie considérablement entre 30% et 70%, en fonction des cycles de diffusion de la brume et des courants d'air.

La rue de la Cruz se trouve au croisement des principaux itinéraires touristiques, à proximité des arrêts d'autobus et des stations métro. Par conséquent, les afflux piétonniers y sont importants tout au long de la journée, notamment à partir de 17 heures.

Le dispositif est installé par les commerçants des bars-brasseries. Les stores bannes sont dépliés et les brumisateurs sont mis en marche manuellement, par le personnel des bars-brasseries, dans l'après-midi, d'environ 14-15h jusqu'à 20-21h, selon leur appréciation des conditions climatiques extérieures.

L'ambiance climatique dans la partie de la rue de la Cruz est rythmée par la distribution et le déplacement des zones ombragées (Figure 1), par les turbulences aérauliques et par les cycles de diffusion des nuages d'eau pulvérisée.

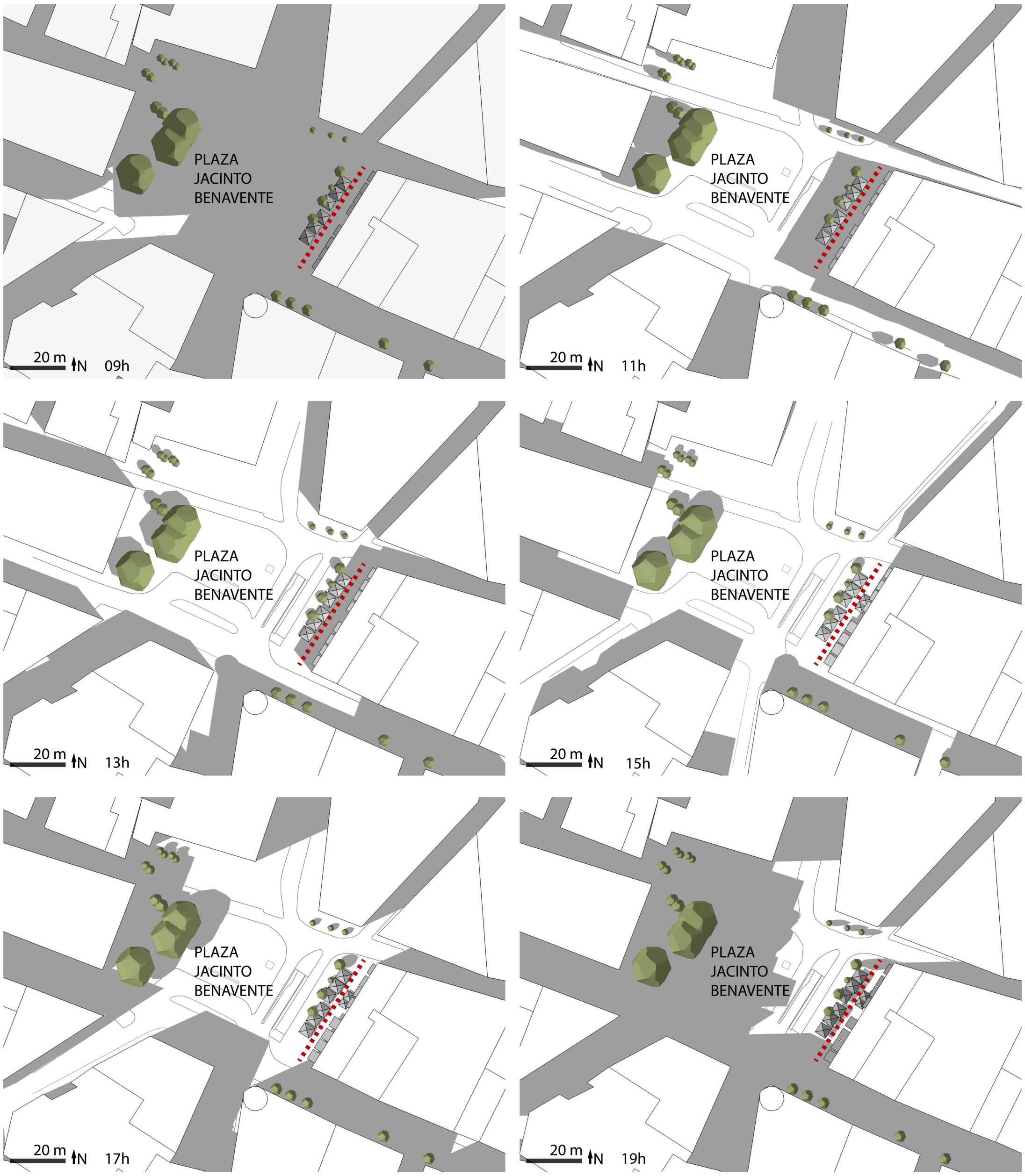

Figure 1: Plan des masses et dynamique des ombres projetées par le bâti entourant le site d'étude. Projection des ombres du 14 août au fuseau horaire UTC+2h. De gauche à droite et de haut en bas, les simulations pour 09h, 11h, 13h, 15h, 17h et 19h. La rue de la Cruz est marquée en ligne rouge pointillée. Les auvents et les brumisateurs sont mis en place dans l'après-midi.

La largeur du passage sur le trottoir non-abrité par les stores bannes mesure environ 3.2 mètres. Cet espace dénommé « passage 1 » est caractérisé par le rayonnement solaire direct et par l'air sec. Les stores bannes positionnés devant les entrées et devant les vitrines des bars-restaurants recouvrent le trottoir sur une largeur d'environ 2.4 mètres. Cet espace ombragé et humidifié est dénommé « passage 2 » (Figure 2). Cependant, en raison de l'orientation de la rue, les ombres projetées par les stores bannes sont plus étroites que l'espace abrité, recouvrant principalement la partie supérieure du corps des passants. De même, la brume diffusée au-dessus des têtes touche essentiellement la tête et les membres supérieurs du corps.

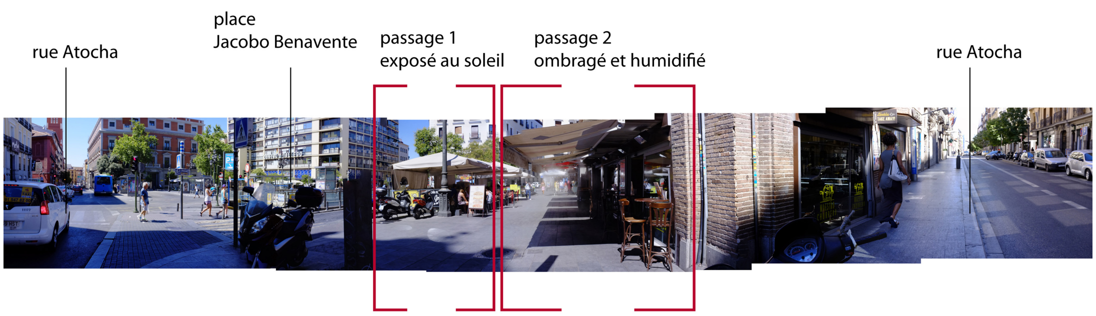

Figure 2: Vue panoramique – photo prises en face des deux passages dans la rue de la Cruz et dans le croisement avec la rue Atocha le 18/08/2016 vers 16h.

La dynamique du fonctionnement des brumisateurs alterne un cycle de diffusion de la brume durant 20 secondes et un cycle "muet" sans diffusion, durant 7-8 secondes. Dans un premier temps, pendant 20 secondes, l'ambiance est marquée par le son des diffuseurs et par le visuel du nuage d'eau pulvérisée diffusé depuis une hauteur d'environ 2 mètres en direction du sol. Par la suite, pendant 7 à 8 secondes, le dispositif est silencieux, le nuage se dissipe, l'indice visuel présent encore quelques secondes après l'arrêt de la diffusion, et se déplace selon les courants d'air.

La présence du vent sur le site complexifie et augmente la dynamique de l'ambiance climatique, notamment en déplaçant les nuages d'eau pulvérisée vers les zones non-abritées par les stores bannes.

D'après les indices perceptibles in situ et sur les enregistrements photo/vidéo, les nuages d'eau pulvérisée sont plus souvent déplacés vers le coin avec la rue Atocha attenante. Ce sens des flux aérauliques à l'échelle « pico » coïncide avec les vents dominant provenant du nord au mois d'août (Figure 3). Les nuages ont été aussi, dans une moindre mesure, portés vers l'intérieur du passage brumisé et vers le passage exposé au soleil.

Dans la partie nord de la rue de la Cruz se trouvent également deux parasols avec deux diffuseurs d'eau pulvérisée attachés sur une console, qui mouillent le tissu du parasol, et les gouttelettes coulent en créant des flaques d'eau sur le sol. Les parasols sont sortis sur le trottoir et ouverts pour une période courte de quelques heures dans l'après-midi seulement, et ils sont évités par les passants.

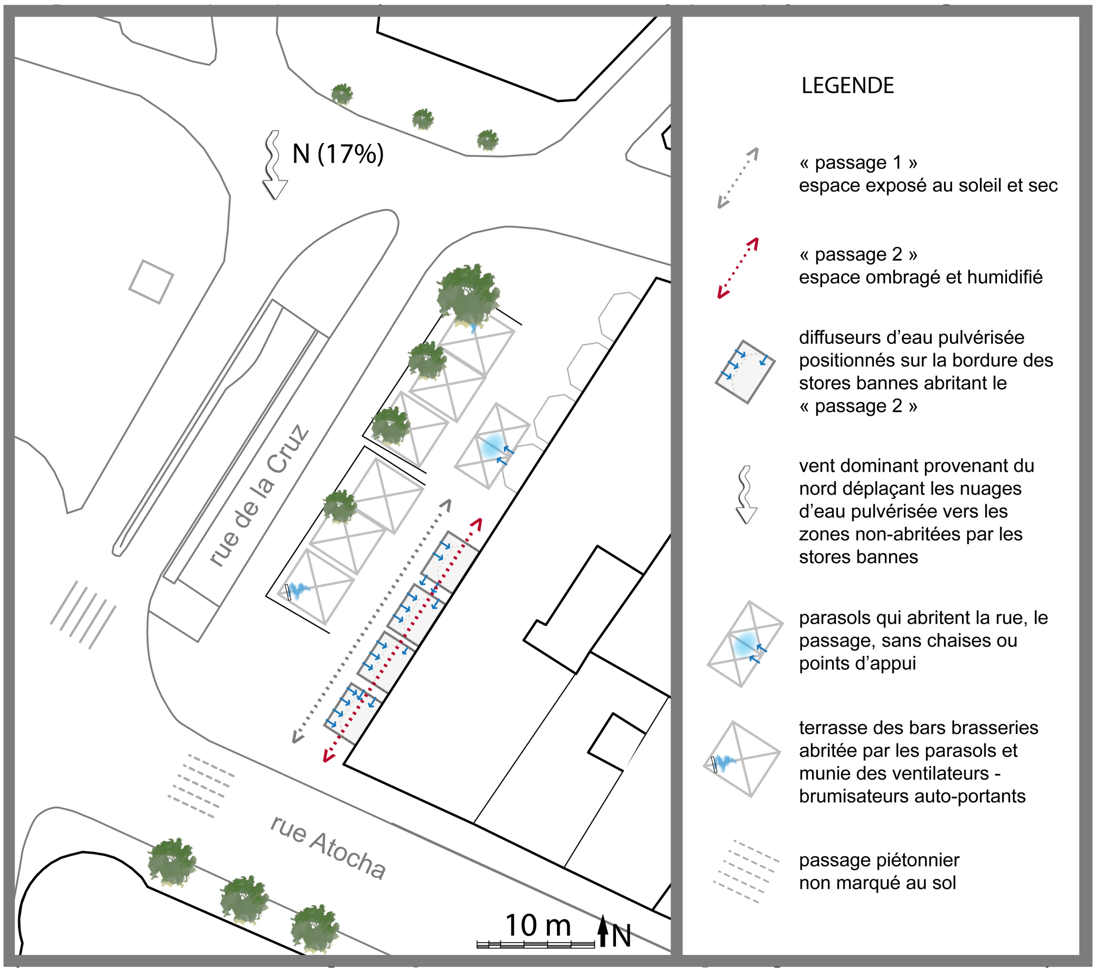

Figure 3: Plan de situation des dispositifs étudiés dans leur contexte immédiat.

Recueil des données et méthode d'analyse

La méthode de l'étude de terrain comprend la prise de notes, des enregistrements vidéo et photographiques et le prélèvement de mesures climatiques afin de pouvoir mettre en perspective les usages avec les conditions thermiques et spatiales du lieu. Le site a été observé sept jours (le 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23 et 27 août 2016), principalement dans l'après-midi (14-20h), période caractérisée par les plus fortes chaleurs, par la présence et le fonctionnement des dispositifs et par les afflux piétonniers les plus importants. Durant la période d'observation, le site d'étude a été pleinement exposé au soleil (ciel clair) avec des ombres projetées par les immeubles, les parasols et les auvents (dispositif).

En tant qu'observatrice, je me suis mise dans une posture d'observation discrète afin d'influer a minima les usages et les comportements naturels par ma présence. Toutefois sur le site d'étude j'étais occasionnellement remarquée par les passants et approchée par les commerçants des bars brasseries.

Les équipements techniques utilisés pour la prise des enregistrements (photo/vidéo caméras Fujifilm Finepix X100 (23mm) et GoPro Hero 4 (59mm)) et pour le prélèvement des mesures climatiques (thermomètre *PCE-WB 20SD*) ont été posés sur le trépied et sur des supports trouvés sur site (table ou chaise haute, motocycle stationné, rambarde), sauf lors du surgissement d'un événement inattendu, sur le vif d'une situation, ou d'un comportement remarquable.

La méthode d'analyse des données récoltées sur les sites d'étude comprend la consultation des enregistrements vidéo en temps réel et en dilatant l'échelle temporelle pour explorer et identifier les points précis des ajustements comportementaux vis-à-vis des effets climatiques.

L'observation directe du comportement des habitants est une méthode non invasive assurant un aperçu des appréciations manifestées par les ajustements comportementaux perceptibles à distance. Selon l'approche écologique de la perception, les invites sont liées en premier lieu à l'action motrice, à la locomotion et aux comportements manuels tels que l'atteinte et la saisie. En même temps, la méthode déployée ne permet pas à saisir l'influence des invites non liées au climat, l'histoire thermique long-terme et motivations des passants.

Observations, analyse et discussion des résultats

Les nuages diffusés représentent une « invite » par leur effet rafraîchissant, mais aussi par leur valeur esthétique et ludique. Parfois, ces trois aspects agissent ensemble pour attirer et polariser l'attention des passants. Le caractère perceptible de cette « invite » potentielle, qui est le nuage d'eau pulvérisée, dépend principalement de la distance qui le sépare du corps, de la lumière ambiante, du moment précis dans les cycles de diffusion/propagation et de l'attention du passant. Tous ces facteurs ayant leur propre dynamique, il s'agit bien d'une invite de l'événement climatique.

L'accessibilité des indices sur la présence et la propagation des nuages d'eau pulvérisée est corrélée avec des adaptations comportementales dont la réalisation peut être déclinée en trois étapes ou actes : (1) la préparation plus ou moins courte de déviation de la trajectoire et/ou d'adoption d'une posture particulière précédant ou coïncidant avec l'entrée dans l'air humidifié, (2) une localisation conservée et une posture adoptée vis-à-vis de la source de diffusion ou l'exploration et l'improvisation en vue d'en trouver de nouvelles et (3) une fin anticipée de la sortie. Cette succession d'étapes est en partie impliquée par le caractère 'progressif' de l'ambiance instaurée par le dispositif et elle varie en fonction des itinéraires initiaux de chaque passant. Ci-dessous est présenté le tableau résumant les comportements observés au sein de chaque étape, dont certains seront détaillées par la suite.

Le nuage diffusé au-dessous du coin du store banne « A », identifié comme le « nuage critique » rassemble une plus grande diversité d'adaptations comportementales, majoritairement anticipées par les passants qui se dirigent vers la rue Atocha (ralentissement, arrêt, étirement pour s'exposer au mieux avant de partir) et majoritairement instantanées dû au caractère fortuit (car sans effet d'annonce, ni visible, ni audible, ni repérable ou identifiable) pour les passants qui arrivent depuis la rue Atocha (éloignement, protection du corps avec des épaules et des bras recroquevillés au niveau du ventre). Le « nuage critique » représente le point d'entrée et de sortie et relie les étapes 1) et 3) des ajustements comportementaux. De plus, étant plus accessible aux piétons qui se déplacent uniquement entre côté est et ouest de la rue Atocha, ce nuage représente une « invite » principale et exclusivement investie. Les piétons s'exposent aux flux d'eau pulvérisée pour un temps plus ou moins long, en réalisant un arrêt comme un « interlude atmosphérique » ou « jeu d'exploration » des nuages d'eau pulvérisée sans jamais traverser la rue de la Cruz (Figure 4).

VALENCE POSITIVE (Attraction)		
1 - Préparation	2 - Rencontre	3 - Départ
- Observer le dispositif à distance - Dévier la trajectoire pour s'approcher du dispositif - S'arrêter ou « s'aligner » - laisser les autres passants plus proches du dispositif passer pour s'approcher - Ralentir le pas, s'arrêter - Courir vers le dispositif, puis une fois arrivé, s'arrêter soudainement ou sauter - Approcher le dispositif lentement, en hésitant - Approcher le dispositif 'spontanément', sans changer la vitesse de déplacement - Adopter une posture particulière avant l'arrivée dans l'espace affecté par le dispositif, par exemple, lever le bras	(En mouvement) - Longer par extérieur l'espace brumisé du « passage 2 » en exposant uniquement la main - Faire le « tour des diffuseurs » (longer la bordure des stores bannes) - Rencontrer l'air frais au lieu des flux d'eau pulvérisée (Arrêt) - Se mettre debout au-dessous des diffuseurs dans un mode « indifférent » à la propagation des flux (en parlant, observant les alentours, consultant le plan de la ville) - Rester immobile debout - Devenir un « tournesol » (tourner autour de soi-même) pour s'exposer au mieux au flux d'eau pulvérisée - Piétiner pour viser le flux - Pencher la tête en arrière (orienter le visage face au flux), pencher la tête en avant - Changer le point d'appui ou l'inclinaison du corps - Tendre les bras latéralement, verticalement - Se dresser à la pointe des pieds - « Boire » le nuage (ouvrir la bouche dans la direction de flux)	- S'éloigner en courant - Partir sans changer la vitesse du déplacement - S'arrêter après la traversée de l'espace brumisé et l'observer à distance - Habiter les deux climats en même temps (le corps orienté devant, le bras tendu derrière en marchant, ou regarder en arrière vers les nuages en s'éloignant) - Partir en gardant la posture adoptée lors de l'interaction avec les flux

VALENCE NÉGATIVE (Répulsion)		
1 - Préparation	2 - Rencontre	3 - Départ
- La non-préparation	- L'inclinaison de la tête en avant correspondant au temps d'exposition (protection du visage) - L'orientation de la tête et du corps dans le sens opposé à la brume, - Accroupissement, penchement de la partie supérieure du corps - Ralentissement - Piétinement - Arrêt - Déviation de la trajectoire pour sortir de l'espace brumisé - Soudaine modification de la trajectoire en empruntant toujours le passage brumisé mais au plus loin des nuages diffusés au-dessous des arrêts des stores bannes	- Retour à la posture initiale (tête orientée droite, la remise debout) - Passage des mains sur les cheveux, l'observation de la paume, échange des commentaires dans le groupe - Déviation de la trajectoire pour sortir (contourner) l'espace affecté par le dispositif avec la vitesse de déplacement constante - Continuer en empruntant le passage à côté sur la trajectoire modifiée (en longeant l'espace brumisé) avec la vitesse du déplacement constante

Pour notre étude sur les événements climatiques à l'échelle « pico », le plus intéressants sont les comportements et les interactions manifestant l'appréciation, et cela sous forme d'une exposition ponctuelle à l'air frais dans le temps (« alliesthésie temporelle ») et dans l'espace (« alliesthésie spatiale »). Ces deux types des adaptations comportementales se réalisent le plus souvent dans l'espace non abrité par les stores bannes (Figure 5).

Alliesthésie temporelle

L'exposition ponctuelle dans le temps se révèle par la traversée d'un seul nuage et par une exposition courte, d'environ quelques secondes seulement, malgré une diffusion continue, accessible et inoccupée.

La Figure 5 montre le passant qui dévie légèrement sa trajectoire pour traverser le nuage, puis continue son parcours sans manifester aucun intérêt pour le passage humidifié et ombragé à

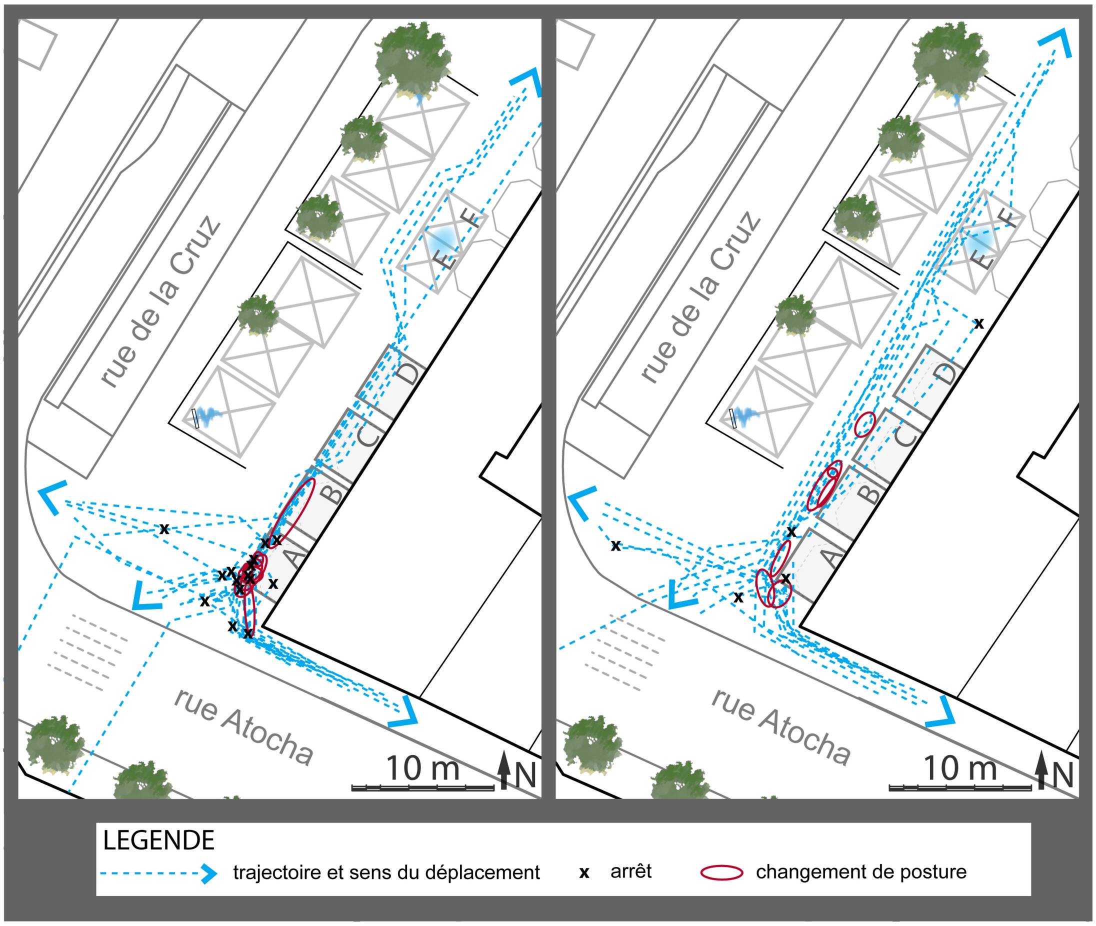

Figure 4: A gauche : Schéma illustrant les adaptations posturales et les arrêts les plus nombreux autour du 'nuage critique' qui est le premier et/ou le dernier nuage d'eau pulvérisée rencontré par le passant dans son parcours et peut être occasionnellement celui au milieu du passage brumisé. A droite : Schéma montrant les adaptations comportementales qui ont eu lieu dans l'espace non-abrité par les stores bannes. Les comportements sont du type 1) évitement – contournement du passage brumisé, 2) jeu d'exploration ou traversée du nuage déplacé par les courants d'air, 3) exposition « pico » dans l'espace – passage dans l'espace ensoleillé avec la main tendue vers la brume.

côté. Le nuage d'eau pulvérisée est porté par les courants d'air dans l'espace non-abrité par les stores bannes avoisinant sa trajectoire initiale et l'adaptation comportementale comprend les mécanismes anticipatoires permettant de passer "au bon endroit au bon moment". Les indices visuels signalant la présence de nuages à distance sont favorisés par les courants d'air provenant du nord et par la durée de diffusion des nuages d'eau pulvérisée vis-à-vis du déplacement du piéton. Le son est accessible dans une moindre mesure à cause de la circulation routière dans le milieu immédiat de la rue Atocha. Le passant a pu anticiper la rencontre et l'ajustement comportemental à adopter.

Figure 5: Le passant modifie sa trajectoire pour viser et traverser le nuage. L'adaptation comportementale suggère une préférence pour une exposition « pico » dans le temps. Photos prises le 19/08/2016 vers 18h.

La Figure 6 est similaire au cas illustré précédemment du fait que le nuage porté par le vent avoisine l'itinéraire initial des passants. Cette fois-ci les passants font un retour au son des diffuseurs et reviennent pour traverser le nuage « critique » l'une après l'autre.

Figure 6: Deux passantes se dirigent depuis côté est vers le côté ouest de la rue Atocha. À leur passage les brumisateurs s'annoncent. Elles reviennent quelques pas l'une après l'autre se greffer au nuage le plus proche, qui est le nuage « critique ». Elles ont toutes les deux un sac à dos, et une fille porte une bouteille d'eau et un éventail dans ses mains. La femme assise sur la table haute du bar brasserie à côté les regarde en souriant.

Les piétons qui s'arrêtent, le plus souvent au-dessous du point « critique », perturbent les flux des passants qui arrivent derrière. Les enfants qui courent dans un jeu de va-et-vient au-dessous de la bordure des stores bannes perturbent les flux des passants et des serveurs du bar-brasserie. Étant donné que le dispositif abrite et conditionne le climat d'une partie du trottoir qui est un lieu de passage public, les nuages d'eau pulvérisée en tant qu'invite peuvent représenter des turbulences dans les flux piétonniers, perturbés par l'arrêt et l'exposition longue d'habitants 'invités'.

Alliesthésie spatiale

Les passants observés sur le site manifestent une préférence pour une exposition ponctuelle dans l'espace par le toucher à distance, en longeant le dispositif par l'extérieur toujours ensoleillé dans l'après-midi, en exposant uniquement leur main aux effets rafraîchissant de la brume, bien qu'il soit possible de déplacer tout son corps dans le passage brumisé. Cette adaptation comportementale suggère une préférence pour un climat localisé sur une partie du corps ou par des effets climatiques distincts et opposés, expérimentés simultanément, et peut être expliquée par le concept d' « alliesthésie spatiale». Ce type de comportement peut être également expliqué par un manque de temps pour s'arrêter ou dévier de son itinéraire (pour traverser ou habiter pleinement l'espace brumisé), par une préférence pour l'exposition d'un membre corporel particulier (la main plutôt que la tête ou la partie supérieure du corps), par la dimension ludique de toucher la brume en passant, par le respect des flux piétonniers préexistant dans le milieu immédiat et par le respect du calme des visiteurs de la terrasse des cafés.

Les Figures 7 et 8 illustrent ce type de comportement avec les piétons qui exposent exclusivement la main en empruntant le passage ensoleillé. Cette adaptation comportementale a été observée dans les deux sens de déplacement (sans regard au sens de déplacement et à l'heure précise de l'après-midi).

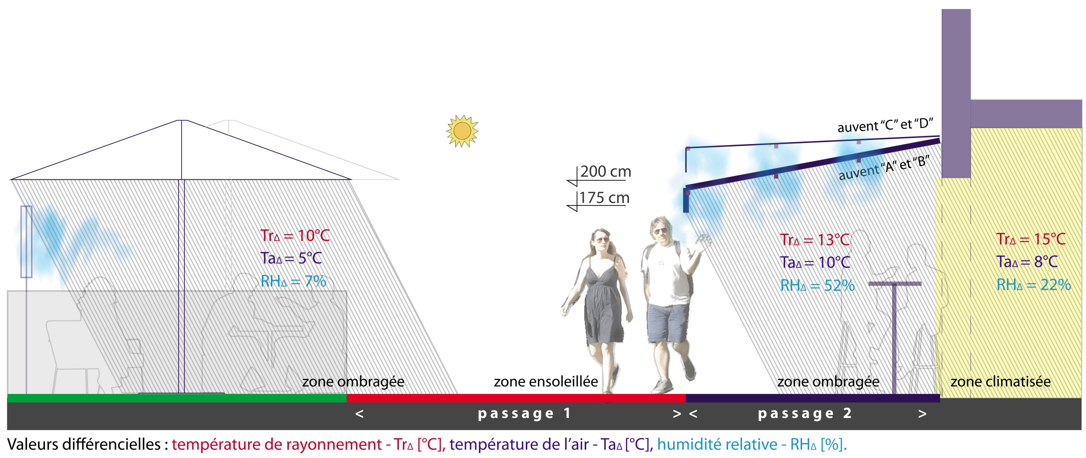

Figure 7: Le passant à côté du store banne A lève la main uniquement au moment où il passe à côté du 'nuage critique' sans rentrer dans l'espace abrité par le store banne et sans modifier sa trajectoire. De plus, par la suite il ne réalise pas un raccourci au-dessous du store banne mais contourne l'espace brumisé et abrité par le store banne pour tourner à sa gauche dans la rue Atocha. Le schéma montre l'ombre projetée par les stores bannes et parasols à 17h. Les valeurs des paramètres climatiques sont prélevées le 19/08/16 vers 17h. La zone ensoleillée est ici comprise comme un point de référence.

Accessibilité des indices

Une relation clairement marquée entre l'événement fortuit et l'évitement est manifestée par un nombre de passants. Le caractère inattendu ou surprenant repose souvent sur l'inaccessibilité des indices signalant la présence des nuages d'eau pulvérisée qui viennent s'imposer à la ligne de parcours. Du point de vue d'un piéton, les nuages d'eau pulvérisée sont diffusés pour la

Figure 8: Le passant s'arrête brièvement et modifie la trajectoire pour longer les stores bannes par l'extérieur. Une préférence pour une exposition « pico » dans l'espace est manifestée par l'exposition exclusivement du bras, du cou et de l'épaule à la brume, en traversant l'espace ensoleillé et sec. Photos prises le 14/08/2016 vers 16h.

première fois lorsqu'il se trouve au-dessous ou tout près de sources de diffusion. D'autres fois, malgré l'accessibilité des indices visuels et sonores (à distance), le piéton peut manifester un comportement suggérant qu'il était surpris par l'apparition de l'événement climatique et/ou par le ressenti qu'il lui procurait. Ainsi parfois même si les indices sont présents, ils restent inaperçus pour des raisons probablement liées à l'inattention du passant. Son attention peut être davantage captée par les invites non liées au climat.

Les évitements sont quasiment toujours liés à une modification comportementale soudaine précédée par la rencontre (in)attendue avec les nuages d'eau pulvérisée. Ils se manifestent le plus souvent par une modification de la trajectoire, assurant l'éloignement et le contournement de l'espace brumisé et ombragé et par la protection de la partie supérieure du corps et du visage (avec la posture accroupie, tête penchée ou orientée dans le sens opposé à la brume).

La corrélation de ce type de comportement avec le sens du déplacement et l'histoire thermique court-terme n'est pas observée. Les passants venant de la zone ombragée aussi bien qu'ensoleillée manifestent ce type du comportement. Aussi, les entrées et sorties de la zone où l'air est brumisé ne sont pas corrélées avec les conditions régnant dans l'espace qui sera investi comme une fuite. Les passants sortent des nuages d'eau pulvérisée pour rencontrer l'ombre aussi bien que le soleil ou l'air chaud et sec.

La Figure 9 illustre une passante qui se dirige vers le passage humidifié, puis une fois au milieu des nuages d'eau pulvérisée elle baisse la tête et sort dès qu'elle n'est plus contrainte par la présence d'autres passants.

On remarque l'influence de la présence d'autres passants sur la modification de la trajectoire. La modification de la trajectoire semble être le résultat d'une négociation entre l'objectif de sortie du passage brumisé (ou l'éloignement des sources de diffusion de la brume), la réalisation d'un raccourci (par rapport au point d'arrivé et itinéraire/parcours initial) et la préservation des distances sociales avec autrui en mouvement.

L'événement climatique expérimenté de façon immédiate dans le « passage 2 » peut être également corrélé avec un geste minime d'évitement. Le geste adopté sur la Figure 10 favorise la protection du visage par l'inclinaison de la tête en avant. Cette action est liée exclusivement au temps de la diffusion des nuages d'eau pulvérisée. L'évitement est suivi par la sortie du passage brumisé avant la fin du passage et par l'entrée dans la zone ombragée.

Figure 9: Une femme arrive depuis le côté nord de la rue de la Cruz. En marchant, elle regarde les vitrines sur son côté gauche, les approche, puis s'éloigne, puis s'approche d'un homme debout à côté du store banne D qui la renseigne sur son itinéraire en gesticulant. Les diffuseurs se déclenchent pendant qu'ils parlent. Elle continue à marcher vers la rue Atocha en empruntant le « passage 2 » brumisé. Elle se trouve au milieu des nuages avec la tête baissée et entourée par un groupe de quatre piétons qui passent sur sa droite et un piéton sur sa gauche. Elle sort de l'espace brumisé dès qu'il n'y a plus de passants sur son côté droit. En raison de sa hauteur elle doit baisser la tête et pencher le cou pour passer au-dessous du store banne. Au moment de sa sortie, la diffusion est terminée, mais elle a toujours la tête légèrement baissée et avec la tête dans les épaules elle contourne largement le store banne A (le passage au-dessous est un raccourci) pour rentrer dans la rue Atocha.

Figure 10: Pendant que l'homme observe les vitrines de son côté gauche, les diffuseurs se déclenchent. La présence des nuages d'eau pulvérisée est signalée par l'indice sonore et visuel. L'homme tourne la tête à droite, aperçoit le nuage sur sa trajectoire et immédiatement penche la tête en avant. Dans un espace-temps étroit entre les diffuseurs/nuages, il lève la tête légèrement et regarde tout droit, puis penche la tête à nouveau face aux nouveaux nuages qui se trouvent devant.

Conclusion

L'objectif principal de cet article a consisté à mettre en relation les adaptations comportementales des piétons face à un « îlot de fraîcheur » urbain et aux invites d'événements climatiques à l'échelle « pico » ainsi qu'à démontrer leur pertinence au regard des problématiques du confort thermique piétonnier. Lorsqu'on se focalise sur le ressenti et la perception thermique du point de vue du piéton, les nuances et changements de l'ordre des gouttelettes et de la seconde sont associés à une différence de comportement remarquable. En fonction des préférences individuelles et de l'espace-temps dont le piéton dispose pour développer une stratégie d'anticipation (précédant la rencontre avec le climat), les flux brumeux et aérauliques peuvent inciter les piétons à se rapprocher et à interagir avec le climat, ou au contraire, peuvent représenter un obstacle à contourner et à franchir, au même titre que les objets matériels de l'architecture et de l'aménagement urbain.

En conclusion, on va soulever deux points reliant la dynamique des flux climatiques et piétonniers. Le premier point concerne la disposition spatio-temporelle de l'ambiance climatique et l'accessibilité des indices à distance. Le deuxième point concerne la zone d'influence d'un élément de l'aménagement de l'espace public urbain procurant rafraîchissement, révélée par les usages et les ajustements comportementaux des passants.

Point 1. Disposition spatio-temporelle des flux climatiques

Les adaptations comportementales suggérant une dépréciation des effets climatiques procurés par les dispositifs lorsqu'ils sont inattendus ou subis montrent que l'accessibilité des indices conviendra à un nombre plus important d'habitants pour se repérer dans l'espace et pour pouvoir réguler leur état du confort par la modification du rythme de leur trajectoire. Les comportements de type 'évitement' suggèrent que l'émergence temporelle inattendue et l'apparition soudaine d'un événement climatique peut être troublante comme une dissonance entre les attentes de l'habitant et la disposition spatio-temporelle de l'ambiance. Il s'ensuit que pour qu'un dispositif soit accepté par le plus grand nombre d'habitants, des indices manifestant sa présence et son fonctionnement doivent être accessibles à distance.

Point 2. Zone d'influence du dispositif de modification d'ambiance climatique

À partir du schéma illustrant les trajectoires piétonnières associées aux flux climatiques (Figure 4 à droite) on peut remarquer que l'espace 'occupé' par le dispositif se propage au-delà du volume de sa structure physique et cela dans les situations suivantes : 1) du fait du caractère volatile d'eau pulvérisée, les nuages sont déplacés et le dispositif modifie le climat au-delà de l'espace abrité par les stores bannes, 2) du à la dépréciation (évitement) des nuages, le passant s'éloigne et détourne l'espace affecté par le dispositif, 3) le passant est attiré à distance et court vers le dispositif, 4) le passant longe par l'extérieur l'espace humidifié, et manifeste une appréciation en exposant uniquement la main en passant.

Par leur gestuelle et par les trajectoires modifiées, les passants animent l'ambiance urbaine d'une manière qui peut être liée exclusivement au dispositif ici étudié, procurant de l'ombre et de l'air humidifié, et qui se distingue considérablement des usages d'un autre dispositif de modification d'ambiance climatique. Les adaptations comportementales associées à la dynamique des flux climatiques qui se répandent au-delà de la structure physique des dispositifs (stores bannes) demandent que l'on considère le milieu environnant comme partie intégrale du projet.

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Meeting Urban Climate Events

Extended abstract

Marina Popovic

Studies based on adaptive thermal comfort approach put forward the influence of short-term climatic experience on long-term experience regarding climate. Transient thermal states can foster pedestrian's ability to thermally adapt, awaken the senses, and provide thermal pleasure or delight. It is commonly well-accepted that the behavioral adaptation enables people to restore their thermal comfort status. However, few studies have addressed the issue of behavioral regulation in regard to transient thermal states in urban public space during excessive summertime heat conditions.

The present study retains behavioral adaptations observed in the city of Madrid in the summer of 2016 as an indicator of appreciation and of thermal feel of the pedestrians encountering an "Urban Cool Island". The cold inducing structure is consisted of awnings and misters positioned in front of the bars/restaurants providing shade and humidity to one part of the sidewalk. The methodology of direct observation in situ involved simultaneous environmental and human monitoring. Climatic fluctuations in temperature, humidity, and solar radiation are regularly measured by a portable thermometer-hygrometer in the sunlit/dry and shaded/humid areas. Behavioral changes in regard to climatic ambiance during pedestrian's walking activity are monitored through unobtrusive observation and video recording. The fieldwork was carried out during seven days in the month of August in 2016, mainly in the afternoon, which is the period characterized by the excessive summertime heat and consequently by the climate regulating structure put in place by the staff of the bars/restaurants.

Thermal comfort is here addressed on a very small scale which is denominated "pico" and which refers to the space occupied by the body and its immediate surroundings over a short span of several minutes or seconds. On the one hand, the passers-by observed in situ manifested preference for short-term exposures to shaded and humid environment. This preference is revealed by the passage of a single cloud of mist and by a short exposure of only a few seconds, despite the neighboring area being continuously moistened and shaded, accessible and unoccupied at the time of passage. This behavior can be explained by the physiologic phenomenon of "temporal alliesthesia", or the pleasure provided by transient thermal states enabling people to restore their thermal comfort status. On the other hand, the passers-by manifested preference for non-uniform thermal conditions, by occupying the sunlit and dry space with their bodies while exposing only one part of the body (hand) to cooling effects of mist clouds and shade. This behavioral adaptation suggests a preference for cooling climate effects localized exclusively on one part of the body or a preference for simultaneous exposure to distinct climatic conditions and can be explained by the phenomenon of "spatial alliesthesia". These two types of behavioral adaptations realized accordingly to temporal and spatial alliesthesia take place most frequently in the space surrounding the climate regulating physical structure.

Furthermore, behavioral opportunities and the articulation of immediate experience are addressed within the framework of affordances developed by James J. Gibson and his pioneering work in ecological psychology in the 1970s. Due to the unstable and ephemeral nature of climatic phenomena, flows that provide thermal pleasure or delight and contribute to perceived comfort can be referred to as event affordances. The potential of climate event affordances to engage the pedestrian depends on the availability of perceptible information relative to its presence and its functioning in line with the pedestrian's mobility, intentions, and level of attention. Therefore, changes in pedestrian paths and body dispositions are put in relation with the emanation of sunlit/shaded areas, humidity and air flows in order to shed light on the dynamic interrelations established among individuals and environmental features. By adopting the relational focus and the action-in-context perspective the present article demonstrates the importance of thermal expectation (or anticipation) and the ways the bodies on the move reveal and shape urban climatic ambiances to varying degrees.

In conclusion, two main findings are emphasized. The first one is related to the temporal dynamic and predictability of the humidified air flow propagation. It is shown that the unexpected encounter with humidified air flows can entail behaviors suggesting depreciation and avoidance. This implies that in order to be appreciated by a greater number of passers-by, the information on environmental conditions has to be available and detectable at distance, thus allowing the process of anticipation.

The second finding is related to the spatial zone of influence of the urban apparatus modifying climate. Due to the volatile nature of humidity and air flows, the physical structure is modifying climate in the space 'contained' by the structure as well as in its immediate surroundings. Accordingly, the behavioral adaptations take place in these two types of spaces, the one that is 'inside' or sheltered by the structure and the other that is in its immediate surroundings. Additionally, pedestrians engage with climate in order to avoid it or to experience it by exposing solely the hand to humidity, while occupying neighboring hot and dry environment with their bodies. These types of behavioral adaptations take place in the space surrounding the physical structure modifying the climate.

These findings suggest that the design of urban features modifying climate, and in particular inducing cold by introducing shade and mist clouds, requires consideration of the surrounding environment as an integral part of the project.

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Rezension

Weert Canzler, *Automobil und moderne Gesellschaft. Beiträge zur sozialwissenschaftlichen Mobilitätsforschung* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2016).

Jan Lange

Das Auto ist das bis heute unangefochten dominante Verkehrsmittel auf den Straßen der fortgeschrittenen Industriegesellschaften. Ein Blick auf die funktional entflochtenen Siedlungskörper und die sie verbindenden Straßennetze genügt um aufzuzeigen, wie tiefgreifend der Automobilismus die räumliche Organisation der Gesellschaft seit Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts mitgestaltet hat. Dem Auto wurde in diesem Prozess nicht zuletzt die Rolle eines wichtigen Demokratisierungselements zugeschrieben, das die kapitalistische Dynamik von Massenproduktion und -konsum forcieren würde und daher eine zentrale Rolle im Modernisierungsprozess spielen sollte. Dass sich dieses Bild in den letzten Jahren stark gewandelt hat, wird etwa am Beispiel der jüngeren Verkehrskonzepte verschiedener Städte deutlich. Die Straße wird in diesen nicht länger als exklusiver Ort des Autos ausgelegt, sondern es werden Alternativen zum Pkw bis hin zu sogenannten „Begegnungszonen" (gleiche Rechte für alle Mobilitätsformen) anvisiert (vgl. Manderscheid 2014).

Mit diesen Verschiebungen ist wiederholt die Hoffnung artikuliert worden, in unbestimmter Zukunft einen Verkehr ohne Automobile realisieren zu können. Dagegen spricht, dass alle politischen Maßnahmen wie die Nachbesserung im öffentlichen Nahverkehr, Schadstoffplaketten, Umweltzonen, Reduktion und Konzentration von Parkflächen in den Städten, Pkw- und Lkw-Maut usw. bislang nicht zur Demontage des Automobilismus geführt haben.

Dieser Umstand wirft eine Reihe an Fragen auf, die Weert Canzler in seinem Buch „Automobil und moderne Gesellschaft" in zwei große Blöcke unterteilt: Wie ist es zu verstehen, dass das Automobil eine scheinbar durch keine Krise aufzulösende Symbiose mit der modernen Gesellschaft eingegangen ist? Und wie könnten Antriebstechnik und Nutzungsformen des Automobils vor dem Hintergrund ökologischer und ökonomischer Veränderungen künftig aussehen? Der Mehrwert von Canzlers Arbeit ist insbesondere darin zu sehen, dass er die Antworten auf die gestellten Fragen jenseits der üblichen Absatzmarktorientierung in dem Verhältnis von Strategien der Autoindustrie und den Verhaltensweisen und Deutungen von Fahrzeugnutzer_innen sucht. Grundannahme ist dabei, dass die Bedeutung des Autos über die reine Nützlichkeit als technisches Artefakt oder symbolisch aufgeladenes Konsumobjekt hinaus geht und in seiner sozialen Position liegt. Es ist aus der von Canzler angelegten und sich insbesondere aus der Politikwissenschaft, Soziologie und Industrieökonomie speisenden sozialwissenschaftlichen Perspektive „ein zusätzlicher Treiber für soziale Individualisierung und Differenzierung und zugleich ein Hilfsmittel sozialer Integration" (Canzler 2016, 2).

Das Buch selbst bündelt in überarbeiteter Form bereits publizierte Beiträge zum Thema (etwa Canzler 2012) und stellt die Habilitationsschrift des Autors dar. Zusammengehalten werden die auf empirischen Material fußenden Kapitel des Mittelteils (2,3,4) von einem an den Anfang gestellten Theoriekapitel (1) sowie einem Ausblick auf künftige Entwicklungspfade des Automobils (5). Die im Mittelteil des Buches herangezogenen Fallstudien wurden unabhängig voneinander durchgeführt, weshalb auch die Kapitel mit ihren unterschiedlichen Fokussierungen für sich alleinstehend zu betrachten sind. Da sie jedoch auf der selben begrifflichen und theoretischen Grundlage basieren und vom Autor in den Textteilen auch stets an diese rückgebunden werden, sind sie gut miteinander in Beziehung zu setzen. Ein methodologischer Wermutstropfen ist an dieser Stelle die leider nur selektiv erfolgende Darstellung der Forschungsmethoden, der Quellenselektion und des jeweiligen Samples. Während diese in Kapitel drei vorliegt, finden sich in Kapitel zwei und vier lediglich Hinweise. Am forschungspraktischen Vorgehen Interessierte müssen an dieser Stelle wohl früher erschienene Publikationen zu Rate ziehen.

Theoretisch geht es Canzler zunächst um die Integration des Automobilismus in die übergeordnete Erzählung der Entwicklung der modernen Gesellschaft. Hierzu spannt er ein breites reflexives Feld auf, in dem er Referenzen zur Theorie des Neoinstitutionalismus, Konzepten von Fordismus und Postfordismus, raum- und mobilitätstheoretischen Überlegungen, Forschung zu Lebensstilen und -lagen, Giddens Theorie der Strukturierung u.a.m. zieht. Zum einen ist dieses große Spektrum durchaus sinnvoll um sich der Komplexität des Automobilismus nähern zu können. Zum anderen werden durch die unterzubringende Fülle vertiefte Überlegungen zum Phänomen randständig und manche der konzeptionellen Darstellungen ohne ihre Anschlüsse produzierenden, bzw. konflikthaften Qualitäten referiert. Um etwa den Siegeszug des Automobilismus in den Sphären der alltäglichen Erfahrungswelt, Ökonomie und Politik im globalen Maßstab herzuleiten, greift Canzler auf den Neoinstitutionalismus und dessen Idee der Isomorphie westlicher Strukturen und Prinzipien zurück. Da dieser Ansatz den Automobilismus bislang noch nicht zum Untersuchungsgegenstand gemacht hat, muss Canzler hier „Analogien ziehen: das Auto ist zwar kein universeller Wert an sich, aber es ermöglicht und erleichtert es, diese zu verfolgen" (Canzler 2016, 33). Der Rückschluss auf die Ebene der individuellen Relevanz des Autos hat so jedoch wenig Bodenhaftung. Die Setzung des Autos als Institution lässt analytisch wenig Raum, um nach den Modi der Aneignung des Automobilismus durch die Subjekte zu fragen und mag in erster Linie eine Hilfestellung dafür sein, die Expansion des Autos zu greifen.

Um sich der individuellen Erfahrbarkeit von Mobilität zu nähern, entwickelt Canzler das heuristische Konzept des „Möglichkeitsraums". Mit diesem werden die individuellen Optionen möglicher Mobilitätsbewegungen und etwaige Widerstände adressiert. Neben einer räumlichen und physischen Dimension besitzt der Möglichkeitsraum auch eine soziale Dimension, worunter hier vor allem die Positionierung im sozialen Feld inklusive des jeweiligen Zugriffs auf gesellschaftliche Ressourcen verstanden wird. „Mobilität erfolgt also in einem Möglichkeitsraum, der mit infrastrukturellen bzw. technischen und zugleich mit sozialen Ungleichheiten und Ungleichzeitigkeiten verbunden ist. Relevant ist vor allem die Schnittstelle von horizontaler und vertikaler Mobilität, sie macht eine eigene Topografie aus und markiert zugleich die Chancen gesellschaftlicher Teilhabe“ (Canzler 2016, 44). In dieser Konzeption wird die Raumaneignung der Subjekte fassbar, ohne dass ihre Verflechtungen mit strukturellen Kategorien aus dem Blick geraten. Zudem bietet sie mit ihrer Anerkennung des Raumes als umkämpftes Terrain und ihren Fragen, wer in der Gesellschaft wie mobil ist und dies für sich nutzbar machen kann, Anschluss an die raumbezogene Ungleichheitsforschung (etwa Dangschat/Segert 2011).

Der gesellschaftlichen Wahrnehmung des Autos nähert sich Canzler über den Nachvollzug der Etablierung des Automobilismus seit Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts und der diesem stets am Kotflügel haftenden Kritik.

Der erste Strang verfolgt insbesondere die Karriere des Autos vom (Luxus-)Nischenprodukt zum breiten Konsumgut, die verkehrsplanerischen Projekte zur Schaffung autogerechter Räume sowie die politische Förderung der Branche seit der Nachkriegszeit. Im Bestreben, die Geschichte des Automobils als Geschichte seiner Kritik zu fassen, identifiziert Canzler drei Phasen. Angefangen beim „antistädtische[n] und antimodernistische[n] Reflex des Dorfes gegen das neue *stinkende Gefährt*“ (Canzler 2016, 67, Hervorhebung im Original) zu Beginn des letzten Jahrhunderts, sieht er in den Vorwürfen der Naturzerstörung und verstopften Städte in den 1970er- und 1980er-Jahren eine zweite Welle der Kritik.

Dass sich diese über die Zeit zu einer breiten Debatte innerhalb der intellektuellen Linken ausdifferenzierte, die das Auto als Treiber der fehlgeleiteten kapitalistischen Vergesellschaftung deutete (etwa Krämer-Badoni et al. 1971) und nicht unerheblichen Einfluss auf die später erfolgende Abkehr der Planung vom Leitbild der autogerechten Stadt hatte, wird von Canzler leider nur am Rande angeschnitten.

Eine dritte Phase der Kritik macht er in der gegenwärtigen Diskussion um ein postfossiles Auto aus. Entgegen der weitgehenden Nichtreaktion der Autoindustrie auf die zweite Phase der Kritik begreift diese die jüngste Welle der Kritik als eine Chance. Sie reagiert auf die jüngeren Vorwürfe mit der verstärkten Optimierung verschiedener Autoteile (etwa Katalysator und sauberer Kraftstoff) und betreibt Maßnahmen zur Imageverbesserung (etwa Recyclingquoten). Die Wandlungsfähigkeit der Autoindustrie sowie ihre politische Macht führen Canzler zu der Einschätzung, dass die Zukunft des Verkehrs aus realpolitischer Warte nicht gegen, sondern allein mit dem Automobilismus zu gestalten sei.

Die konkrete Autonutzung rückt im Buch mit der Frage nach dem „kulturellen Wandel“ der Verkehrsteilnehmenden in den Vordergrund. Leitend ist dabei die Annahme, dass das Auto immer weniger als Statusobjekt, sondern zunehmend unter dem nüchternen Gesichtspunkt der Effizienz wahrgenommen wird. Dem entsprechenden Kapitel liegt dabei die am Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung in Berlin Ende der 1990er-Jahre durchgeführte Studie „Nutzen statt besitzen?“ zu Grunde. Das Projekt fragt nach einer sich wandelnden Bewertung des Autos und untersucht diese anhand der Einstellungen von Kund_innen eines Carsharing-Projektes in Hamburg und Wien. Carsharing ist eine Variante der kollektiven Autonutzung, welche die Abstimmung der Nutzenden, nicht aber den zwangsläufigen Kauf zur Voraussetzung hat. Das Forschungsprojekt zeigt die räumliche Schlagseite der Hypothese der gesellschaftlichen Endstandardisierung auf und illustriert den Zusammenhang von individuellem Lebensstil und Mobilität. Die Art der Erwerbsarbeit, Beziehungsform, Haushaltsführung und

Freizeitbedürfnisse präformieren demnach ein spezifisch zeiträumliches Bewertungssystem bei der Verkehrswahl. Dabei ist gerade die junge Mittelschicht der innerstädtischen Bereiche als die gesellschaftliche Gruppe anzusehen, die gemäß der flexiblen Strukturierung von Arbeits- und Lebenszeit zum Träger einer multimodalen bzw. vom Privateigentum entkoppelten Mobilität werden könnte.

Schicht- und milieuübergreifend weist Canzler gegen das Szenario einer breiten gesellschaftlichen Emanzipation vom Automobilismus auf das „Auto im Kopf" hin: „Das Auto prägt seine Nutzer in ihrem Lebensalltag und vor allem in ihrem habituellen Verhalten mehr als sie selbst annehmen", es sorgt „für einen, mehr oder weniger, reibungslosen Ablauf eines zeitlich und räumlich eng gestaffelten Alltags. Vor allem entlastet es von einem Entscheidungsdruck, der mit der Auswahl und Kombination verschiedener Verkehrsmittel verbunden ist" (Canzler 2016, 109).

Als sozialwissenschaftliche Arbeit jenseits disziplinärer Jargons und Grenzen ist Weert Canzlers Buch äußerst lesenswert, weil es uns zu verstehen hilft, wie der Automobilismus im Zusammenspiel von ökonomisch getriebenen modernen Mobilitätserfordernissen, politisch gestalteten Verkehrsräumen und den Bedarfslagen der Autonutzer_innen konstituiert wird. Die vielfältigen Bezüge zu Gegenstanddiskussionen verschiedener Fächer ergeben eine gute Übersicht und helfen bei der Positionierung des eigenen thematischen Zugriffs. Obwohl die analytischen Dimensionen in den empirischen Kapiteln nicht in Gänze Entsprechung finden, zeichnet Canzlers Argumentation doch ein schlüssiges Gesamtbild. Das Auto besitzt nach wie vor eine hohe Popularität, weil es wie kein anderes Verkehrsmittel Flexibilität und die Ausdehnung des Mobilitätsradius ermöglicht und somit die Zeitsouveränität der Menschen fördert. Entsprechend steigert die Verfügbarkeit eines Autos die Chance auf gesellschaftliche Teilhabe und reduziert die Komplexität der Alltagsorganisation. Im letzten Kapitel unternimmt Canzler den Versuch, Entwicklungstrends des Autos und des Automobilismus zu skizzieren. Während das Ende des fossilen Automobilismus für ihn gesetzt ist, beurteilt er die Zukunft des auf E-Mobilität basierenden Automobilismus und der intermodalen Verkehrsdienstleistungen zurückhaltend. Seine Skepsis rührt daher, dass die Durchsetzung solcher neuen Pfade neben technischen und ökonomischen Transformationen direkt von einer umfassenden Neuorientierung der Nutzer_innen (ihren Vorstellungen von Leistung, Effizienz, Stil) abhängig ist. „Robuster scheint hingegen die Prognose, dass die (Auto)Mobilität – wieder – zur sozialen Frage wird, bezogen auf Zugänge und Verfügbarkeit" (Canzler 2016, 154). Insbesondere hier sind die Sozialwissenschaften aufgerufen, die Entwicklung des Automobilismus der Zukunft unter Verweis auf Nachhaltigkeit und breite gesellschaftliche Teilhabe kritisch zu begleiten.

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