

Urban Enactments

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トウバ:

都市的規範

アンドレ・ジャック

トウバ生訳



Image 1 / 図1

Almodovar vs. “The City”

The relational richness displayed in Almodovar’s 2006 *Volver* could never be explained as the result of the urban form of *Villacas*, the neighborhood on the outskirts of Madrid where its main character (Raimunda) lives. Raimunda’s urbanism overflows the limits of the city, expands into courtyards, kitchens, tupperwares, and cemeteries in *Granátula de Cabrera*, the tiny village where she was born. When seen in detail, Madrid’s urban life is not the result of its urban tissue, neither of the first intentions that fueled the production of its architectures. To talk of the urbanisms that make Madrid active, rich and exciting, another way to account for the city is needed. Basically one that avoids seeing the “city” as a fixed patch in the land.

Image 1 shows the architectural devices that constitute the environment inhabited by a Mouride family, whose members would refer to themselves as people “from Touba (Senegal)”. Whereas minors, females and elders, together with those of the group with disabilities, live in the family farm in Touba, where living cost can be minimized; the young males of the group live in a network of tiny shared apartments in Madrid, a city where they can maximize their income as fake Louise Vuitton bags and DVD street sellers. As part of a five years long project my office has developed to systematically study more than 100 cases of “ordinary urbanisms”, we had the opportunity to trace the relational extension of one of these tiny apartments in the Lavapiés neighborhood, precisely the one depicted on the upper right corner of Image 1.

Lavapiés, due to the combined effect of its largely fragmented ownership structure with the fast social transformations that the city experimented in the last decades, has ended up retaining fragments of its past societies mixed together with the ones that later arrived. Wholesale facilities, tourist-oriented boutique hotels, refurbished apartment buildings and a large number of downfallen dwellings and premises can now be found within a walking distance. The subway is the place where the police most easily seize undocumented migrants. Lavapiés delivers the possibility of bringing together purveyors and potential clients to a specialized group of citizens willing to avoid the risk of being arrested. The presence of African grocery stores and Senegalese restaurants is vital to empower the part of the group based in Madrid. When a young boy reaches the age at which he is ready to move to Madrid, the oldest woman in Touba’s farm house will make a phone call to one of the males living in Madrid. He will not answer his cell phone, he will instead head to a phone parlor, where better rates for international phone calls can be obtained, and he will then call the elder lady to be announced the next arrival. Months later, if the plan success, the new young

1. アルモドバルと「都市」

映画監督アルモドバルの2006年の作品、「ヴォルヴェール」の主人公(ライムンダ)は、マドリードの外れに住んでいる。映画の中で描かれる関係性の豊かさは、そのヴァリエカスの街の都市形態を見るだけでは捉えきれない。ライムンダ自身の都市性は、都市の境界を超え、彼女の出生地である小さな村、グラナトゥラ・デ・カラトラヴァの中庭、キッチン、タッパー容器、さらに墓地にまでも広がる。注意深く見ると、マドリードの都市生活は、その都市構成や建築物が建設された当時の思惑とは無関係であることがわかる。そこには、マドリードが活気づき、豊かで、かつエキサイティングな場となるうえでの何か別の理由があるはずなのだ。まず、「都市」をある土地に固定された場、として見ることを避けねばならない。図1には、マドリードに住むムーリディア派徒一家の生活環境を支える建築的要素が示されている。自分たちを「トウバ(セネガル)出身者」と呼ぶ彼らの故郷トウバでは、小さな農場に子供たちや女性、老人、身障者が最小限の生活費で暮らす。一方、一家の若い男性はマドリードの小さなアパートをシェアし、偽物のルイ・ヴィトンのバッグやDVDを路上で売ることによって最大限の収入を得る。我々の事務所は、5年にわたり100件以上の「普通の都市生活」を体系的に研究するなかで、マドリードのラバピエス地区における同様の小さなアパートにおける関係性の構造を探ることができた。その1例は図1の右上に示されている。

ラバピエスは、土地所有権が細分化されていることと、この数10年間に起きた大規模な社会的変化により、かつての社会構造の名残りと新たにもたらされた仕組みが混在する街である。そこでは、卸売業の建物、観光客向けのブティック・ホテル、改装されたアパート、廃墟となった住宅や店舗が徒歩圏内に共存している。警察が不法移民を最も簡単に検挙できる場所が地下鉄なのである。そのような状況下でラバピエスという街は、検挙される危険を避けたいと考える特定の社会グループにとって、物資などの提供者とその顧客や接触できる場となり得る。そこにあるアフリカ雑貨店やセネガル料理店の存在は、マドリードに住むグループの原動力となっている。家族の中の男子がマドリードに移住できる年齢に達すると、トウバの農家で最年長の女性がマドリードに住む男性の携帯電話に連絡する。男性は電話にはでずに電話パーラーに行き、そこでより安価に国際電話をかけ、到着の日時を聞くのだ。計画がうまくいけば1カ月ほどで新しいメンバーがアフリカ雑貨店か、セネガル料理店に赴き、そこで親類と連絡をとってくれる人物と落ち合うことになる。こうした彼らのつながりが保たれるうちは、このエリアの古いアパート内あるモーリディア教のモスクなどの建築物が果たす役割は大きい。毎週金曜日の礼拝では、膨大な数の建築的テクノロジー(礼拝用の絨毯、タペストリー、そして大音量のスピーカーなど)が相互に作用することにより、集団的な束縛と監視を生み出す。このことがグループを存続させ、モラルの覇権に晒すと同時に、社会の中の社会としての権限を授る。

2. 物的な異種混合性、パフォーマンスィヴィティ(遂行性)、その影響力の共有

アパート、モスク、トウバの農家、電話パーラー、アフリカ雑貨店、セネガル料

male will walk his way to either the African grocery store or the Senegalese restaurant where he will be able to find people that will put him in touch with his relatives. We could never understand what keeps the group together without considering the role played by architectures like the Mouride mosques placed in old apartments in the area. A vast number of architectural technologies (from rugs and tapestries, to loud speakers) interact during the Friday gatherings to produce a collective state of constrain and surveillance that holds the group together and exposed to a moral hegemony; at the same time that empowers them as a society within society.

2. Material Heterogeneity, Performativity, Shared Agency

In this urban constellation of built devices – such as the apartments, the mosque, the house in Touba or the phone parlors, the African grocery stores and the Senegales restaurants in Lavapiés – are active in the urban scene only as they interact with a number of diverse technologies such as cellular phones, rugs, speakers or money transfer services. This urbanism is not shaped by the city itself –neither by its grids nor by its building volumes and spaces-, but by an association of heterogeneous devices that all together produce an ecosystem out of the interaction of heterogeneous entities.

The second aspect of it is that they are definitively not a “fixed patch in the land”, as cities tend to be accounted, but fragmented compositions that are not enclosed in the limits of a city. Fragments of this urbanism are in Touba, others in Madrid, others in shared spaces constructed collectively in the minds and in the books of the Mouride believers. Transience between these fragments can only be achieved by interaction, by the performativity of the urban dynamics. Only if phone calls are performed, if money transferences are ordered and if the African grocery store’s clerk accepts to inform relatives of the new arrivals, the fragments gain continuity. It is not a fixed urbanism but a performative one, and it is not happening in a “patch in the land” but in a constellation of interacting agencies. This case challenges most of the notions of the way politics get embodied in architecture. In the last years, this issue has made a number of theorists and practitioners to align themselves in one of these two positions: either what we could call *techno-determinism* or *techno-neutrality*. Being *techno-determinist* those who think that it is the form of the city or its architectural conditions what make societies emerge in the ways they do; and the *techno-neutralist* who think that architecture is a neutral actor that could equally *contain* any social form. In cases like the one in Image 1, none of these two notions can be applied. In it, there is not a single architectural device that could produce this society by itself. The apartment could not produce this whole urbanism, not even the ordinary life that is performed in its interior. The production of this society is in the fragmented-but-interacting-urbanism that a vast range of devices collectively build up. But we could neither say that the design of the individual architectures has no agency, that it is politically neutral. The dimensions of the apartment or its position in the street make it appropriate to play the role it does in this particular urbanism. We can clearly understand this when considering the social evolution of individual architectures like the apartment that once was a domestic unit, and now works as a Mouride mosque. Its reprogramming was possible because it had conditions that could cater to its evolved state – for instance it is diaphanous and its entrance did not disturb the tranquility of the main room – but to actually become part of the Mouride urbanism it needed to be associated to new technologies – like the inscription of shared beliefs in books and minds – or to

be transformed having speakers or tapestries with images of the holly sites in Touba installed in it. There exist a political agency of architectural devices but it is a shared one. One is constructed when the potentialities and limitations each device activates, get to interact with those of many other entities

3. Madrid as a passing point of urban enactments and how studying it we could do the ESCARAVOX, the TUPPER HOMES or the House in Never Never Land

Many other cases found in Madrid account for what produces urban richness. Like the case depicted in Image 2. The urbanism that a single mother and her 10 years old son have produced placing their home in the outskirts of the city; in a rented apartment located in the same block where the mother’s parents live, so grandparents can take care of the boy while the mother works. In this case the relational scheme that shapes the way the mother emerge as a component of an urban life, including the use she does of social media like Match.com, the romantic relationships she develops there and the occasional use she does of an apartment her parents own in Madrid’s city center in which her online sex-relationships move on into offline sex-encounters. Or the one depicted in Image 3. In which a Hindu Krishna community have produced an urbanism by connecting the shared home they own in the central of Malasaña with a state in the countryside in Guadalajara that they inherited from a wealthy donor. There they grow the vegetables they eat and that they share with the neighbors in an informal restaurant they run in the ground floor of their Malasaña home. By eating vegetables they believe to gain access to a shared space of desire that happens to be present in the paintings and murals that decorate the home.

Madrid is not a city, but still has grown amazingly complex and rich, as an urban environment, in the last decades. This richness is not mainly the result of its urban layout, or of the excellence of its design, but of the effect of a great number of fast transformations that had fragmented its urbanisms, inserting new arrivals mixed with fragments of persisting past societies. Madrid is not a city but a rich passing point of what my office and myself have called Urban Enactments. A way of materially rendering society of which design has so much to learn, and of which we have extracted the relational strategies that we are testing in designs like the ESCARAVOX (See p. 100), the House in Never Never Land (*a+u* 13:08) or the TUPPER HOMES. Architectural urban enactments that we think very well could help Raimunda emerge as an urban actor in the realm of ordinary life.



Image 2 / 2