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38 1. Anthropology of recycling between the bare life and life made bare
 Recycling and recycling oneself are terms by means of which we do not exclusively refer to the reuse of goods, architectural buildings or urban spaces, but to people and to ourselves as well. If we were to use the terms of Foucaultian biopolitics, we could say that thanks to the post-Fordist era we have learned to metabolize the art of personal recycling as the self-discipline of the body and the intellect, if this separation has ever made any sense. The implementation of the "bare life," with its emotional, cognitive and cultural components, acting as fuel for the productive and reproductive processes (another less and less significant conceptual separation), and of its complement "life made bare," consisting in human vulnerability reduced to its primary necessities of food and shelter, make me think of how the capacity to recycle, that is, to rejoin a productive and meaningful circuit, is increasingly put down to the single individual, rather than being generated from institutional structures and systems. Recycling is therefore both a cognitive and emotional competence that each of us has to learn and exert upon him or herself. From this point of view it is no more than an anthropological form by means of which the hegemonic individualism of our era is expressed. When I refer to the figure of the "personal capitalist," I intend to refer to the introjection of the 20th Century capital/labour dialectic into a person's intimate life, called upon to manage opposing demands and desires in his or her inner sphere. Of course, by this I do not mean to imply a scenario of extreme atomization: interpersonal relations continue to be significant, networks continue to work as elements in the reduction of risks (psychological, social, economic, political), but in practice such networks reflect weak modes of relations, temporary ones, and chiefly defensive ones, that is, aimed at dealing with threats to a very fragile *status quo*, just as the intimate equilibrium that we are called upon each day to plan is fragile, also by way of the art of recycling. When the social ambient becomes less unpredictable, then we call it "sustainable." Except that such sustainability can no longer be pre-established and planned, given the growing complexity of the living environments and the erosion of the

What would a society that's capable of recycling all the products it consumes be like? Can you imagine a recyclable clock, car, outfit or house? What would a city be like where all the elements are conceived and made so that one day they'll vanish without leaving either a visible trace or invisible poisons? What would happen to human history if the development of the present could erase the past? For a gardener, total recycling is a concrete possibility. The experience of the École Normale in the heart of Lyon, whose 5-hectare garden is managed by Michel Salmeron, has shown how ecological

management conceived to reduce energy costs to a minimum is viable. Thanks to the traditional compost used in an integrative vegetable garden, as well as to the RCW (ramial chipped wood) produced on site and, lastly, 5 Soay sheep grazing on the lawn, Michel Salmeron won't let any organic substance cross the threshold of the garden: everything is reused on the same soil. Moreover, the model can be implemented anywhere and at any scale. By extension, within the picture of a localized productive and distributive economy, a society that decides to give back to the

environment the energy that it takes from it is imaginable. Hence, it is a matter of a political project founded on the principles of ecological management that determines a new economic model whose premises, up until now, have only been embraced by the no-global supporters, and, more recently, by "dismayed economists." The image of a tree that reuses its own waste as a source of energy (the leaves that fall to the ground) provides an idea of the re-balancing of a complex system capable of lasting without modifying the elements that help it to survive.



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social protection systems (broadly understood), but must be entrusted to experience and self-reflexivity, both personal and social. From this point of view, the cumulative reuse of the experience and the knowledge generated by it (perhaps supported by powerful technological means) allows for the environmental turbulences to be stabilized. A kind of "rapid prototyping" applied to social relations that produces new forms of social vulnerability. Given the crisis of the turn-of-the-Century providential-State, we have seen the resurfacing of the Victorian thinking of misery as being some people's natural fate. A thought that does, however, re-emerge in a social situation that is evidently very different from the 19th-Century one, as today we carry within ourselves the desert of the sense of misery. And as the relational devices for metabolizing its risks are scarce, we tend to remove them from our conscience. We don't want to think we are vulnerable, we don't want to see the vulnerability. And if the vulnerability comes to seek us out and imposes itself upon our attention, then we loathe it. Whether it is our own vulnerability, our own slice of misery that we would like to amputate because it is useless and unworthy, or whether it is the intrusive one of others towards whom we react with resentment, as if the others, with their misery, wanted to sabotage the heroic and solitary struggle that we lead against ourselves for the removal of our inner fragility, as doubts creep in and unveil our certainties for what they are: terrifying masks for the exorcism of the word. In these lands of resentment towards ourselves and towards others, the seeds of sad passions find fertile terrain. The city produces collective vulnerabilities but does not recognize the character of collectivity in vulnerability, in the same way that it tends to remove subjectivity from individual suffering actually offering answers that produce de-subjectivism.

2. Cultural apocalypse between unhappiness with yearning and unhappiness without yearning
 The present time is marked by a deep fracture in the long drift. It is epochal. Our

time is marked, as Ernesto De Martino put it, by the anthropological cultural apocalypse. It affects us each time we no longer recognize what was customary for us. Hence, the fear-stricken society. The fear of losing the shadow that we project inside ourselves and the fear of not knowing where we are going.

We were used to normal salaried work. We did it feeling a little bit alienated and without possessing the means of the great public and private structures. Writing timid biographies of working life with a few certainties concerning the ends: improving, changing. Now they tell us that we are the means. Our thinking, our feeling, our brain and our soul. We must connect ourselves in work by communicating and giving our soul in order to be flexible entrepreneurs of ourselves, outside and inside the walls of the productive organizations. Accustomed to the consumer society, we had criticized it and dissected it. And then a mad cow is enough, and not just that, to make us nurture doubts as to what we are eating. We were accustomed to being accompanied from "the cradle to the grave" by a welfare state. Nurseries, schools, hospitals, pensions we had shouted for and repeated as the key words of our rights. Now community welfare reappears, the irony of history. When we are lucky. The form of the State is less and less social. It provides little for one's needs but "ethically" it tells you how to eat, it gives you marks for either driving well or badly, it tells you the size of your trouser belt. Let's hope it will stop there. We would not like to use the need for community to subtract ourselves from Big Brother. It is biopolitics. Knowledge and technology are its progressive and implosive face, one of liberation and control. From a poetics of manufactured nature we have moved on to nature simulated and generated in the laboratory. The abundance of the means is matched by and challenged by the uncertainty of the means. We had grown accustomed to handling the lightest and heaviest goods around: money. To saving in government-issued bonds. To dialoguing with the banks that accompanied the territorial economies. In a few years we have become the "cattle market" of the global stock markets, traders in the new economy. The banks, in the *Monopoly* of the assets being bought and sold, in order to become big and enter the world, have raised themselves from the territory. The cultural apocalypse has many facets, but it can be explained with just one word: globalization. Today's multitude has rebelled by shouting out that another world is possible. The long drifts of history, the traces of community are placed alongside Utopia, the heterotope of remembering the future. A tremendous oxymoron, as we know that the future is dreamed of and is not remembered.

Like then, at the start of the century, perhaps it is worth telling how the multitude of today builds, designs, forms communities of the *diaspora*. In our search for community, the circuit of the *unhappiness with yearning* of young people who commit suicide, overturning the adage of Peter Handke's mother who does it for an *unhappiness without yearning*, already shows us two social polarities where the cultural apocalypse acts. In those who should devour the future, the apocalypse takes over when we no longer recognize ourselves as the subject of the possible, in our self-realization, in the spreading of ungraspable opportunities. In our research, young people under 30 are those who denote the least trust in people. In the others, when they no longer recognize themselves in what was customary for us, the mourning process does not produce a conscious nostalgia but a despairing depression. Recomposing, in social syncretism, the differences of background and opportunity, we might say class, between a first world in which we feel and yearn everything without ever managing to obtain it, and another world where the problem is surviving, is a big issue. The same one that today must be recomposed inside ourselves, achieving that inner balance between yearning and thinking, bare life and biological bare life.

3. From social decomposition to the decomposition of the Self

The theme of madness, psychic malaise, mental illness, whatever we wish to call it depending on the institutional-disciplinary code we adopt, has been declined within the story dedicated to the *society of fear*, that is of a society that has delegated the more or less sweet treatment of mental "dysfunction" to specific apparatus and bureaucracies, losing at the same time that capacity to tacitly practice the community inclusion of the lunatic, whose degenerate child has often been portrayed, a shame to be concealed, the interpreter of the collective unconscious, etc.. Moreover, the original community, in its most extreme phenomenology, and always enclosed and self-referential, has been the breeding ground of madness, and not just in its manifestations of endogamy. Actually, in the village fool, beyond any romantic vision, that element was manifested, perhaps by means of a crude poetic, an element that could never be reduced to conformism, of the irreconcilable human diversity of those who live or feel with "too much" intensity, sensations, emotions and for this reason are fragile, excessive, restless and unstable. So the original community has been the first subject, above all when it is perceived more as "subject" than as



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"relation," to try to discipline madness, struggling in an ontological contradiction from which it has never, fortunately, emerged. In any case, madness has always exploded as social fear when the community touches the two extremes, that is, both when it exceeds in conformism in respect to community values, and when these values are dissolved in anomy, that is, the incapacity to elaborate a code of shared social norms. From the *society of fears* we have thus passed on to the *dust of community/community dust* to arrive at madness in relation to that dimension of the body in the era of biopolitics, because it was no accident that the term is indeed born with reference to the earliest attempt to radically regulate the *bios* of bare life transformed into the subject of political decision. But before reaching this era, we need to introduce the other social tradition of approaching madness, the one represented by the great codes inscribed in the institutions. The long community drifts have been historically interwoven with the institutional elaboration of the treatment of madness, the one admirably reconstructed by Foucault's applied biopolitics in the *History of Madness*, which had its utmost deployment in the Fordist era, a "concentrationist" one *par excellence*, starting with the French revolution, with the great disciplinary codes (law, medicine, etc.) and with Goffman's total institutions: the prison and the asylum, as a response to the phenomenon of the social madness-dysfunction. If madness has to do with the forms of social production and reproduction, there is no doubt that the unfolding of what I call *personal capitalism* seems to me a metaphor capable of grasping some elements that have to do with the subjects' mental discipline. It has been said that the personal capitalist is the person who by now carries inside him or her those contradictions that once were socially mediated by intermediate bodies, socially organized to provide answers to the uncertainties produced by the forms of Fordist capitalism. The personal capitalists are those who, in undertaking their own activity, see possibilities for subjective affirmation, self-promotion; not the plain emancipation of a typical state of need but the possibility to affirm a project, an idea, one's own realization design. In this the people's subjectivity is inevitably put into play, their interests as well as their tastes, preferences and even affections and passions. In this sense, the human terminals of the networks subject to work must be relatively autonomous, capable of perceiving, encoding, decoding and articulating more or less complex languages. This means that there must be processes of social distribution for these resources so that the subjects can function as issuers and receptors of the information and knowledge flows. Within this context the value of the information resource grows when those components of the system represented by the individuals, with their intellectual faculties, their motivations, their sentiments,

The garden of Seguin Island prefigures the future central garden of its urban renewal. This prefiguration garden is a kind of foundation that will evolve gradually, according to the coming development. The layout of the garden plays with the memory of the place. Seguin Island is mostly artificial and it was partly built as a massive concrete pedestal for the Renault factory. Mineral surfaces of the garden reveal part of these tracks: simple

rectangles of concrete and stabilized sand organizing the spatial sequence on different levels with lawns and pioneer plantations. The temporary vegetation will be replaced later by perennial plants adapted to the new urban environment. This prefiguration garden is the privileged observatory of both the building site of the island and, at a larger scale, the mutation of Boulogne territory in the context of the Greater Paris,

the urban renewal plan for the French capital and its suburbs. It serves to boost the changing surrounding area and already behaves as an activity hub.

Michel Desvigne Île Seguin prefiguration garden



are capable of supporting themselves in a relatively autonomous way and recognizing such an autonomy. Moreover, these very same highly differentiated systems, which introduce resources in order to broaden the individuals' autonomy, must also hone more stringent forms of biosocial control to avoid the dangers of excessive fragmentation. Here perhaps lies the ambiguity of the term autonomy, at a time when the social system tends to distribute more resources than it used to for the identification of the subjects; it also tends to consolidate the forms of control, which are not so much addressed to the visible behaviours of the subjects, but to its internal sources, involving the spaces in which its very own identity is formed (the bare life). This process of entrepreneurization of lives to work therefore corresponds to an enhancement of the risks that do not exclusively affect the economic sphere, hence, those possibly connected to a state of material poverty, but rather encompasses the whole person, exposing to risks of disintegration a personality that must individually elaborate, without a context of relationship and decanting of the experiences. This change is matched by another one on the level in the treatment of madness, which in the new context becomes more widespread, low-voltage, perhaps intermittent in the biography of each one of us, but in any case our companion on a journey that we increasingly risk undertaking in solitude. But modernity, which cannot allow itself to invest in the intelligence of the subjects, to then run the risk of burning it uselessly in an excessive number, offers no shortage of devices to mitigate the risks connected to this condition. It is mostly a question of complex devices that tend to reinstate the performance conditions of that subtle mechanism of re-equilibrium between capitalism and person that each one of us has learned, more or less effectively, to achieve within him or herself. These are devices that derive from the by now total appropriation of the *bios* by the processes of medicalization in an individual form (e.g. psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, psychiatry, pharmacology, etc., but also several spiritual practices), which require, however, great time and money availability, two resources that are hardly secondary for some subjects that, in the meantime, can count less and less on fields and chances for empathy and sharing of these issues or, alternatively, on a system of public welfare capable of providing flexible answers, apart from significant ones, to these matters.

4. From class to multitude

Historically the model of the *company town* and industrial metropolis present above all in Northwestern Italy and in the few cities affected by the flows of the great public industry, was flanked by the fabric of the so-called *average towns*

with strong civic traditions, strong social cohesion, organized within a dense fabric, well-connected between one another and capable of distributing across the territory city functions at the level of city-region. These two models of urban society were both characterized, apart from by the substantial weight of the working class and the white collar and technical classes produced by the Fordist factory and by the public apparatus, by a vast traditional middle class formed by small entrepreneurs, craftsmen and dealers. Also from the point of view of the economic *élites*, the territory has played an important role. If indeed the great groups have operated above an ocean of small business, dominant outside the industrial triangle, this has meant that with the exception of a few metropolitan families, that close-knit society narrated by Leopardi, the Italian bourgeoisie has been configured as the outcome of a proliferation of a broader society, provincial and hardly inclined to large-scale scenarios. This model is in transition, challenged from above and below by processes that are transforming the compact, large and small cities, into infinite and sprawling ones. From the point of view of the urban functions, the big issue in Italy is the construction of the city-region, that is, the precipitating of traditional urban forms, the *company town* and the average city, into a model capable of realizing the connection between metropolis and productive platforms. In other words, in our terms, between manufacturing capitalism and the networks. But these processes in which the expansion of the city tends to overwhelm every ancient persistence to its borders, do not just connote urban forms and functions, but change its social composition deeply as well. So, it is legitimate to wonder, for instance, what remains of the Leopardian dilemma when the city becomes infinite and loses the clarity of its boundaries. The very physicality of the city changes. And it is precisely by means of the literary notion of the *city-body* and its *transformations* that we can grasp the two fundamental dimensions that are transforming the social morphology of the metropolis. Is there an "invisible

match" made up of processes, growths, crises, that act invisibly in respect to the institutions and the formalisms of the regulation agencies that are formal and cannot be compressed within it? In order to understand this we must start off from the idea that inside the metropolitan dimension the transition towards a mode of production that increasingly absorbs within the developmental process the same *bios* of the individual put to work is very strong. This growing co-penetration between the concrete demands of the individuals and the economy tends to *polarize the social composition* of the city towards the two extremes of the *bare life* and the *life made bare*. On the one hand, in the dimension of the *life made bare* put to work, it is man's "intellectual" existence that is subsumed in the economic process. The capacity extension of man's memory thanks to the application of the new microelectronic technologies, the impact of biotechnologies on the body's reproductive capacity, the development of our own feeling and thinking, these are just some possible examples of an economy of communication and knowledge that in the metropolitan dimension has found its ideal location. Thus grows the new social composition made of high tertiary *élites* rooted in the intellectual professions, which constitutes the *general intellect* that manages the circuits of interconnection in the economic system. A strand of workers without whom the system would collapse. On the other hand, alongside this life made bare life and functionally bound to it, inside the dimension of the metropolitan body, grows the dimension of the *bare life*, that is, the dimension of those for whom the problem is still eating, living, dressing and surviving. It is the dimension of those who put at stake their own body to satisfy needs more directly linked to material life. It is, on the level of work, the dimension of the poor tertiary which has burst forth in Milan as in all the large global metropolises. That of the *multitude* probably appears to be the category most suited to trying to represent this movement; but within a meaning cleansed of any metaphysical superstructure. As multitude, here, does not



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indicate the emergence of a new conscious subjectivity, as much as the occurrence of a twofold process: on the one hand, the stretching of the urban society upwards and downwards along the social scale, but also the fragmentation of the subjects that populate the new upper levels, just like the cellars, of the metropolitan condominium. A multitude then are the invisible people who inhabit the city of the informal economies and the servile tasks, but also the new *élites* that ride the flows of globalization detached from the city and from its institutions, or else the new tribes of the creative tertiary.

5. The three communities: resentment, care, productiveness

But who should deal, who should take on the responsibility, for the interweaving of society and economy in view of the new economic community that joins passions and interests, having as its goal the overcoming of fear and social envy? One might well say that it is everyone's task, but in order to narrow the field down to those that should be the tasks of a management class that intends to pose itself this problem of *civilization* in the terms practiced in the Fordist era in Adriano Olivetti's Ivrea, here is the reassertion of the issue of what I call neo-bourgeoisie. By this term I mean all the social figures that act as language switches: that of the flows and of the places. These are subjects such as the entrepreneurs of the *Made in Italy* brand, the managing directors of the large banking groups, the managers of competitive territorial assets (mobility nodes and infrastructures, universities, technology parks, etc.), of the highest layers

of the creative class, in short, all of those who in the first fifteen years of deployed globalization were placed in a sphere of interest whose soul lays in the connection between local and global. And it was in this space that the historical task of this nascent neo-bourgeoisie appeared to be taking shape: displacing the sense of responsibility of the 20th Century bourgeoisie in the accompaniment of the country within an overall repositioning inside the new global scenario. Today, among the many outcomes induced by the crisis, we can also list the erosion of trust vis-à-vis these filaments of neo-bourgeoisie; actually I would say that they are taking on the typical role of the scapegoat. A social figure, the latter, capable of ensuring, especially in times of crisis, a spectacular success in the media gallows.

But apart from those risks that are connected to the public dimension and to the social status of the individuals, the fact remains that most of that fragile neo-bourgeoisie that moved ahead completely was wrong-footed by the emerging tide of inhabitants of the places (mayors, small businesses, representatives of local interests, etc.) overrun by the financial and moral collapse of the economy of the flows. So today the leaders of this neo-bourgeoisie are often identified as apprentice sorcerers or as reckless guides towards a new world rich in chimeras and broken promises, although concretely they are the ones who were the first to pay for the effects of a misplaced trust in the global financial engine. Although the neo-bourgeoisie that was being formed has not hitherto been able to elaborate a shared vision to emerge from the crisis,



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although against the background of a *green economy* that is the candidate to let the productive machine start off again, I believe it is important at the system level not only to safeguard the precious function of interconnection performed by this segment of social composition, but also to continue to accompany the claims to the economic community leadership. What connects the fate of the community of care with that of the neo-bourgeoisie of the territory today, grabbed by the scruff of the neck by the local-good, global-bad Manichaeism? They are united by the aptitude of thinking to one's own identity in terms of relations connected to their activity in the first case out of passion, in the second out of interest. But they are also united by a deficit of self-representation that puts them easily in the position of scapegoat. It might be the case that the former should take on more the logic of the interests applied to care, the latter that of passion applied to leadership. To make it clearer, the "party" of care should, in my opinion, take on the challenge of extending its own attitude of relations to those economic actors (businesses, banks, business associations, etc.) recognizing in the social bond an element that is not accessory to competitiveness, stripping itself of some excessive prejudice as to the strictly selfish nature of their action and re-assessing the inclusive potential of a subject such as the business company. A neo-bourgeoisie that aspires to leadership necessarily has to task of taking on responsibilities that override the walls of the company, without for this reason falling into pure paternalism, but aiming at making available to society the instruments and competencies needed to accompany the structuring of a system of care at the service of social well-being. Dealing with the transformations of the city, the change in its social make-up, the great impact of the migrants' flow, training at all levels, research applied to *Made in Italy*; in brief, there is no shortage of spheres for those who want to weave relations that hold together passion and interests in view of a forward exit from the crisis and not one directed towards regressive scenarios.



Can you build a hotel in 24 days? In 2005, feld72 was invited to address questions of identity, territory, social space and landscape in the Matese regional park by means of an art project with the participation of the local population. They were required to live locally for one month, work together with the local population and draw all materials used from the local villages to stimulate the micro economy of the region. As a whole, Prata Sannita is a large, scattered hotel that still has rooms available. The latter become cells in a larger entity and the area is perceived

as a single action space. The first adaptation of 3 spatial units to form "hotel rooms" is a start to making the spaces usable once again. Through the impressive involvement of up to 40 volunteers in the village it was possible to implement the *Million Donkey Hotel* despite the very tight time framework and budget and the use of only the simplest means. The work continued the following summers and the *Million Donkey Hotel* is now organized by a small group who was involved in building it.



feld72 Million Donkey Hotel