

Surrealism, situationists, city and Great Acceleration

Towards a psychogeography of the “right there” [ahi] in the era of ecological crisis¹

Emilio Santiago Muíño

University of Zaragoza / emilio.santiago.muino@gmail.com

Translated by Emilio Santiago Muíño and Nicholas Callaway

Abstract

Psychogeography and other poetic games with urban space, which the surrealists and situationists understood as weapons of revolutionary change, must be analyzed in their specific socio-ecological and historical contexts. Thus, the canonical period of psychogeography must be understood within the framework of the metabolic reality of the Great Acceleration and its effect on the city, with the transition from coal to oil as the center of our energy matrix. This article analyzes these connections and investigates the new socio-ecological realities that a 21st-century psychogeography must take as its starting point: the consummation of the neoliberal city and the ecological crisis of industrial civilization.

Keywords

psychogeography of “right there”; situationism; surrealism; Great Acceleration; ecological crisis.

Psychogeography, political economy and cultural ecology

Over the course of the twentieth century, the surrealists and situationists set out to poetically investigate everyday urban space, which is lived on a subjective scale, through various procedures that lent revolutionary meaning to the conventional practice of walking (Ivain, 2001; Debord 2001a, Debord 2001b, Aragon 2016, Breton 1996, Breton 1997, Breton 2000). For the sake of concision, I will call this whole cloud of poetic and political practices “psychogeography,” even though this is a rather crude metonym, since the surrealists practiced psychogeography before the term even existed, and were never comfortable with the term once it had been coined. This generalization will also overlook the substantial differences between the two proposals, which both groups expressed in polemics around issues such as the role of reason, imagination and the unconscious, the influence of chance and determination, or the use of various methods for recording poetic experience. For the reflection intended here, this diverse and complex galaxy will be interrogated more in terms of what the two have in common than in terms of what sets them apart. And what united the two proposals was their attempt to invest the urban street with

experimental and liberating behavior that was to fuse poetry and daily life, and would also be a prefiguration of a new cultural construction at the height of communism's promises of a classless society.

In this task, the surrealists and situationists championed an intellectual movement that followed in the footsteps of Walter Benjamin's criticism and praise of nineteenth-century *flânerie*. But unlike Benjamin, they emphasized the emancipatory dimensions of the *flâneur* in the face of the more repressive ones, adapting the free walk to the circumstances of their time and, above all, to its revolutionary latencies. If we had to characterize it in just a few words, this period might best be called the launching pad for the Great Acceleration, to use the concept of the ecologist Steffen (2015). The energy transition from coal to oil, which began in the inter-war period and culminated in the mid-1960s, marked the beginning of the vertical take-off of the multiple impact curve of our metabolism versus the planet's limited resources. This period, which partly overlaps with the Keynesian-Fordist era, was the time of canonical psychogeography.

The beginning of the Great Acceleration left its mark on psychogeographical practice. In the first place, psychogeography cannot be understood without the apparent confirmation that the hypothesis of material abundance as a result of dominion over nature, which had fed the western myth of Progress since Bacon, had been fulfilled. From 1945 onwards, as Galbraith Jr. points out (Galbraith, 2018), cheap oil laid the foundations for a pattern of constant growth that made plausible the horizon of a post-economic social order, such as those imagined by Marx and Keynes from different sides of the class war. If the *flâneur* was an adaptation to a still fragile mercantile order (Lesmes 2011), a century later the surrealists, and especially the situationists, were facing a mature mercantile order, where phenomena such as the access of the Western masses to conspicuous consumption began to emerge.

For this reason, after the Second World War, leisure or free time came to occupy a central space in emancipatory speculation. But unlike the nineteenth-century idleness of the *flâneur*, which remained a restrictive privilege for the urban middle classes, the high rates of energy return of cheap oil, coupled with progress in the class struggle, democratized access to leisure time in developed countries on a much larger scale (Debord 1967). In addition, the need for the capitalist system to extract a second moment of indispensable economic collaboration from workers – now in the form of consumers – opened up an enormous political battleground over how best to occupy this new territory. Situationist psychogeography conceived of itself as a kind of anti-advertising, fighting for the control of human behavior, within a program whose aim was to introduce new desires that would lay waste to the bourgeois paradigm of happiness.

The glut of cheap oil flooding every last cell of the socioeconomic metabolism also began to show its effects in everyday space through a radical mutation of the theater of operations of psychogeography: the city. Thus began the autocracy of the automobile, a latter-day, ruthless Baron Haussmann who set about dictatorially reconstructing all the cities of the world in the image of circulatory rationality and the consequent administration of its own ills (traffic jams, pollution). Its destructive desire was especially vicious for cities' historical centers (Mumford, 2012).

The extension of the daily practicable distances allowed the city to break into the rural hinterland that had always contained it (and off of which it still fed to a large degree), fanning out across the land in the form of residential suburbs for the rich and commuter towns for the poor, in the first manifestations of what Naredo has called "urbanistic melanoma" (Naredo and Montiel, 2011). In a perfect vicious circle, the diesel engines of the agricultural machinery emptied out the fields, both at home and in the former colonies, offering a newly proletarian labor force to fill up working-class housing blocks.

The charter flight, another offshoot of cheap oil, ushered in the democratization of tourism. The cities of the capitalist world were challenged by a new regime of competition that forced them to represent themselves in an unprecedented way: to be attractive not for their inhabitants so much as for their visitors, and thus attract flows of travelers with their corresponding figures of average expenditure, which stimulated investments with high returns.

All this concentration of social tensions, with their correlating spatial tensions, opened up one of the most lucrative fields of state-market collaboration in modern capitalism: gentrification, that "change in the population of the users of the territory such that the new ones have a higher socioeconomic status than the previous ones, together with an associated change in the built environment through reinvestment in fixed capital" (Clarck, quoted in Sorando and Ardura, 2016: 21). Supported by a good dose of low-intensity institutional violence, the selective abandonment of entire neighborhoods for subsequent reconstruction and revaluation at astronomical prices, was imposed as the privileged road map to urban prosperity. This was not a new process; Paris had already experienced it in the Second Empire with Haussmann, the opening of the great boulevards and its counterpart, the creation of Belleville. Neoliberalism, likewise, undoubtedly ushered in the golden age of gentrification. But it was during the postwar period that the conceptual foundations of the formula were laid, theorized and put into practice by Robert Moses in New York, thanks to the expanded sphere of action offered by the car-friendly city.

It should be noted that canonical psychogeography developed at a very specific moment: the onset of this process of destruction of the historical city by oil capitalism. The devastation wreaked by the car, or the expulsion of the poor from the urban centers, were perceived as threats, but were still as of yet territories in political dispute. Moreover, psychogeography was born in Paris, a city with the type of natural defenses born of volcanic social terrain, whereby each of the frequent eruptions of popular resistance lays down a new igneous layer of conquests for the lower classes. Specifically, one such layer was the effective regulation of the rental market, which took many years to dismantle (Sorando and Ardura, op. cit.). However, Paris has not been alien to this global process either. For example, in Debord's work, one can trace a melancholy decline that runs parallel to the confirmation of the victory of capitalism over the situationists in the battle to define the human geography of Paris.

From the neoliberal destruction of the city to the ecological devastation of the planet

However, the circumstances imposed by the 21st century are radically different. Syncing psychogeography up with our times implies a two-fold adjustment: taking stock of the strata of the neoliberal city, and anticipating the modern period's impending ecological bankruptcy, which is already underway. Moreover, we must accept that, although this process of ecological ruin unfolds in slow motion, it will mark like nothing else the entire course of this century.

The first thing we can confirm is that the ravages of time have not been kind to the proposals of the surrealists and situationists. In the second decade of the 21st century, the playful civilization that the situationists fantasized about has attained a sinister form of fulfilment via the video game industry. If the situationists were wary of the capitalist use of cinema as a factory of simulated situations, which allowed them offer an audiovisual substitute to compensate for the experiential poverty of daily life, the video game has fully consummated this substitution. More effective and invasive due to its participative character, and the semblance of community now offered by online gaming, today we can all engage in virtual play in thousands of different constructed situations that have grown more and more impressive and realistic.

The reference to the video game is not merely anecdotal, and it gives us keys to understanding one of the great solutions of continuity imposed by the neoliberal city: the digital revolution molded to serve the accumulation of capital and the resulting need for social regulation. The consequences of

this are multiple. But what has perhaps had the most adverse effect on the possibility of a poetic experience of the city with fertile emancipatory tensions, is what Santiago Alba Rico has called the “technological deterritorialization of perception” (Alba Rico, 2017: 223). The loop of social acceleration ideally tends towards a city without bodies (physical and biological). That is, towards the frictionless city, which with its coarse material instantiation in the laws of thermodynamics (the erosion of a building, the old age or the illness of a person) slows down the accelerating pace required by the pyramid scheme of expansive monetary benefits. When the whole world is translated into a layer of digital information that can be instantly emitted and received from any point, the ubiquity of presence haunts place in the same way that permanent social exposure vampirizes the human body and its personality, subjected to endless identity work that must be projected onto the networks as a condition of social survival.

This conversion of the person into an entrepreneur of him or herself (Moruno 2015) cannot be separated from the post-Fordist transformations of a labor market that looks more and more like a lifeboat gradually deflating in the midst of a shipwreck, but which keeps taking on more and more passengers. Nor can the bulldozer be disconnected from digitalization, which removes the obstacle of distance – and with it the spatial and cultural differences of our cities – from the path of the free circulation of capital as a condition of profitability in over-saturated investment markets. The digital, when it serves the social physics that imposes the black hole that is the self-valorization of value, entails a movement of etherealization that works in the opposite way to that upheld by Lewis Mumford as a symptom of a civilization’s maturity. In order not to succumb to gigantism, every social order faces, at a given moment in its development, the problem of quantity, which in turn forces it to make its internal dynamics ethereal, and to sublimate “physical mass into psychic energy” (Mumford, 2012: 888). But the combination of capitalism and digital technologies has offered an alternative response: to take advantage of digital etherealization as a new, potentially infinite frontier through which the process of conventional expansion can continue. The illusory nature of neoliberal dematerialization is demonstrated by IT’s high energy and material impact, as studied by environmental economics (Bellver, 2018).

The deterritorialization of social life, put at the service of permanent economic mobilization, has had obvious urbanistic and sociological impacts. In Spain, the best representation of this logic is the novel “Urban Action Programs” or PAUs. These residential neighborhoods, designed as sealed-off city blocks, represent the coagulation of the neoliberal discourse in the deep anthropological strata that are only ever acted upon through long-lived public policy. In these neighborhoods, housing blocks open up inwardly onto

a private central courtyard, without external squares or commercial spaces, and therefore without neighborhood stores and with hardly any street space for social interaction. The logic of the capsule, which is embedded in the inertia of our technical system, and the logic of secession from society that neoliberalism promotes among the economically privileged social strata, merge into an architecture of self-induced physical confinement that is counterbalanced by three escape routes. The first is that of the digital noosphere, which is flown over from the cell phone-cum-drone. The second is that of the automobile, which makes it possible to reach the two fundamental social agoras of the 21st century: the mall, and that other more sophisticated market which is the historical city center, gentrified under the regime of what Zukin (1982) has called "the pact between culture and capital." The third is the airport, from which each person may access all the global tourist destinations available to their purchasing power.

Standardized tourism as a mass right introduces a third discontinuity that the psychogeography of the 21st century cannot ignore, and which is connected to another important anthropological transformation of neoliberalism: its anti-puritanism. The mass hedonism that shook Pasolini because of its power to dominate has now taken center stage in our cultural rites. Obligatory pleasure and the prohibition of boredom are the two faces of the same dogma: what was said before about video games could also be said of sports, of the compulsive consumption of culture in the form of music, cinema, TV series or gastronomy, or of the total deregulation of the codes of sex life brought about by phenomena like Tinder. Of all this abundance of pleasure-oriented experiences, tourism stands out above the rest. It does so, among other reasons, because of its high profitability within another neoliberal imposition: the construction of the personal brand. The vitalist pornography that Facebook, Twitter or Instagram feed on, and which is functional for survival in the prevailing conditions of economic precariousness (although these do not exhaust the phenomenon, they help to explain it), finds its climax, its moment of culmination, in travel. The urge to brag is the basic psychological motivation that governs the use of these digital spaces of promiscuous voyeurism, and there are few better things to brag about than a trip to some exotic paradise.

Globally, the turn of the century saw the number of tourists reach 678 million, involving 11% of the world's population. In the year 2019, 1.4 billion people engaged in some form of tourism, which amounts to 18% of humanity (UNWTO, 2019). This recent explosion of touristic pressure is a metabolic tsunami that intensifies all the forces that have been shaping the neoliberal city over the last decades. The problems to which we contribute as tourists in other parts of the world, we in turn suffer as inhabitants of our own cities. Rent hikes and forced displacement to ever more distant peripheries. Congestion. And the immaterial extractive industry (Marina

Garcés, 2017) that is tourism itself, which, just as soy plantations deplete the fertility of the land, consists of commercial exploitation that depletes towns' and cities' preserved anthropological richness, all in order to satisfy a short-term urge for easy profit. The unique objects of this exploitation – architecture, landscape, customs, music scenes, festivals, gastronomy – cannot simply be replicated worldwide like mere franchises.

Technological and urban de-territorialization, gentrification, touristification or mass hedonism are consolidated realities in the neoliberal city that any revision of psychogeography would have to incorporate into its map of conflicts. But it is also necessary to deal with two immense historical consternations that the surrealists and situationists never had to face. The first is the failure of the socialist revolutionary cycle, and with it the mythological devaluation of the idea of revolution. The second is the ecological overreach of industrial society as confirmed by modern science from the 1980s onwards.

To impugn the Thatcherite “there is no alternative” is a political task that today we must face with the humility of one who stands amid a vast orphanage of ideals. The transcendent narrative, without which the historical force of the socialist movement could not be explained, has failed. Social emancipation has yet to emerge from the trauma of discovering that the winds of history do not blow in our favor. Or that all our achievements and victories can no longer be thought of as contingent on a great, rapid and definitive social explosion, before the advent of which no sacrifice must be spared, and the inevitability of which conditions all calculations. The surrealists and situationists were the children of this outlook, which today has been refuted by the facts. They were, therefore, little inclined to find pragmatic mediations, possibilistic articulations and tactical pacts of coexistence with established norms. These appeared before their eyes as delays of an irreversible dialectical movement that, despite any immediate negative effects, was always on an upward path toward a superior unity. In the twenty-first century, reproducing the profoundly aristocratic and avant-garde style that this conception of historical change imposes on poetic and political practice has become a snobbish luxury that psychogeography must reject.

As for ecological overshoot, this has placed us at an unprecedented evolutionary crossroads that is bound to upset all the parameters of our civilization. For the first time in the history of the species, humanity will have to shift to an energy matrix with poorer yields (from fossil fuels to renewables), and do so in a world that, in ecological terms, is at full capacity. The implications of this are staggering, both on a technical level (to live again off the sun), and on a socio-economic level (to organize a stationary state economy based on cooperative parameters that precisely

distribute the ecological space), as well as on the level of imagination (to desire austerity, to accept interdependence and finitude, to abandon anthropocentric arrogance).

These times of ecological crisis have forever altered humanity's designs, including that of a liberating cultural revolution. Whereas Marx said amid the early capitalism of 1848 that "all that is solid melts into air," in the capitalist societies of 2020, which are already on the verge of environmental collapse, everything that was once in the air is now crashing down to the ground. This has undermined the situationist program in one of its fundamental assumptions: technical optimism based on an overabundance of energy. From the abolition of labor to the construction of situations, the plan required us to take great swigs from the brimming glass of material abundance which, as a trophy of human victory in the conquest of nature, we could obtain after removing from ourselves, through revolutionary therapy, the social sleepwalking imposed by the class divide and the commodity. But the shortage of minerals (for renewable energies, robotic infrastructure and the internet of things) is an insurmountable bottleneck for the Fourth Industrial Revolution to become universal (Santiago Muñio 2018). Its advances will be partial, and directly proportional to the geopolitical privilege that imperial actors of the world system may impose at the expense of the rest. Thus, as any materialistic intelligence knows, the unitary urbanism conceived by Gilles Ivain, who called on us to build La Hacienda (prefigured by Constant's scale models of a "New Babylon"), can now safely be filed away in the historical catalog of utopian delusions of grandeur. Psychogeography, understood as a research methodology at the service of these playful cities, has become the task of future historians of ideas on the lookout for astonishing curiosities. However, this is not the psychogeography we need in order to wake ourselves from the nightmare of the Anthropocene.

The psychogeography of "right there" [ahí] versus post-tourism

By most accounts, tourism accounts for 2% of global greenhouse gas emissions. However, a recent paper published in Nature Climate Change has refined this figure: if we factor in the emissions associated with the over-consumption stemming from the tourist industry, it rises to 8% (Lenzen et al. 2018). This puts tourism on par with the big players in the current climate catastrophe, such as intensive cattle farming or cars. In the last year for which we have reliable data, Spain, a world superpower in the sector, received 60 million tourists, with the industry accounting for a full 10.6% of the country's ecological footprint (Cadarsó et al. 2015). In 2018 Spain received more than 80 million tourists. Spain is already in ecological debt, meaning it can only live by "importing" planetary space (or

dispossessing others); and this hoarding of resources beyond the country's own territorial possibilities is only intensifying with the increase in its tourist population.

In recent years the term "post-tourism" has become popular. The neologism, coined by marketing agencies, and which would correspond to an intensification of what scholars have referred to as "post-Fordist tourism," refers to a new turn of the screw in the tourism industry's quest for ever-more specialized market segmentation. The intention is to target millennial consumers with a disruptive product algorithmically adapted to their preferences, replacing the prefabricated flavor of the conventional tour package with the intangible mystique of the *experience*. For example, Spanish daily *La Vanguardia's* report on the emergence of post-tourism opens with the following quote from the director of a niche travel company: "We no longer want to do tourism, now we want to have experiences" (Molins, 2017).

And yet, post-tourism can only reinforce and accelerate the ongoing climate disaster. To this end, as we have seen, it is even capable of taking historical psychogeography – duly purged of all its political facets – as a source of inspiration when prefabricating new "authentic" travel formats. The Lonely Planet Guide to Experimental Travel has opened a gap that will only grow. In this new battle for desire, the body of practice we have been referring to as psychogeography can once again play an emancipatory role if we adjust its conceptual framework to the characteristics of the political struggle amid a neoliberal paradigm headed for ecological collapse. This task has yet to be undertaken, but its best contribution would be to help short-circuit our thirst for distant exoticism, without which the tourist industry would not function, by rendering the nearby exotic. Instead of the far-off "over there" indicated by the Spanish language's distal *allí* and *allá*, we might turn to the closer "right there" indicated by the more proximate *ahí*. Mix Gilles Ivain's New Urbanism Form with the poetic work of Jorge Riechmann. The latter defends that "paradise is really right there [*ahí*], at the other end of the street, just around the corner, if one knows how to see it, smell it, embrace it" (Riechmann, 2013: 37). Further on he continues with this idea, in lines that are worth keeping in mind:

We admire the deed or doings of a traveler about whom we have had few reports: he went off to Tibet, Japan, Paraguay, to this or that fabled city, to this or that remote island; over there [*allí*] he lives outside of time and searches for himself. But legend is a burden. There is no need to tire out distant geographies. Anything one might find out there [*allá*] can also be found close by: in Torrejón de Ardoz, in Tarazona, or in Vélez Málaga (Ibid: 50).

A cocktail combining the proposals of Ivain and Riechmann would give rise to something like a *psycho geography of "right there"* [ahí].

In Plaza del Pradillo, in the working-class commuter city of Móstoles, located in greater Madrid, very close to the exit of the Metro station, there is an abandoned administrative kiosk. For a time it served as the headquarters of the tourist information office. It was a welcome desk that offered newly arrived visitors a menu of the city's heritage, both architectural and immaterial.

Among the objectives of the Strategic Plan designed during the conservative administrations of the Popular Party (PP) was the idea of turning Móstoles into a tourist destination, even if it could only every aspire to be a third-tier one. Taking advantage of the commemoration of the bicentenary of the nation-wide uprising against the French occupation, sparked by the publication of an insurrectionary proclamation by the mayor of Móstoles, the PP presented a model of city that was, at the same time, an identity experiment: the great date would serve to symbolize that Móstoles had turned the page on its stigma as a dormitory city and ghetto ("Bronxtoles"). *Dignifying the city* was the slogan that summed up this political operation. With this narrative package as a backdrop, "redirecting Móstoles's potential as a tourist destination and heritage site" was established as one of the objectives of this new socioeconomic model. Although the plan itself admitted that Móstoles does not stand out for its cultural heritage, it was argued that it nevertheless offered opportunities "to increase its economic and visual wealth" if its institutions devoted efforts to the training and professionalization of the sector.

The dream of tourism in Móstoles was anything but original, and is explained by a historical context in which the Spanish public administrations are constantly driven to promote all kinds of nonsense schemes. In tertiarized and financialized neoliberal economies, the rites of commodity fetishism attain an especially brutal expression. Increasingly savage, but also increasingly baroque, new forms of human sacrifice (territorial, generational) are proliferating everywhere in order to appease the anger of the free circulation of capital, as if it were even possible to secure its approval. Trying to attract money from tourists is one of the most recurrent refrains of this modern rain dance. As Sergio del Molino (2016) states, in this context many places that have been cut off from global value chains have no choice: their past is one of the few things that they can still make profitable. And no city hall can afford to escape the curse of trying to dress its town up as "the stuff of legend." Móstoles could not be unaware of this national affliction. La Mancha tries it with Don Quixote, Extremadura with the conquistadors. Asturias musealizes the mining industry. Móstoles, with less to draw on, resorts to the uprising against the French.

Móstoles's tourism enterprise flopped. The office still exists, but it has been tucked away inside the sparsely frequented City Museum. It was an exercise in social construction that was too voluntary, too one-sided. However much its charms are contorted and adulterated, Móstoles lacks – and will forever lack – the sort of things that attract the attention of the average tourist.

To dignify life in Móstoles (and in the thousands of towns like it that populate the world's urban peripheries) but in exactly the opposite way as the PP's intended model of city and human: this could be the most worthwhile contribution of a psychogeography of "right there." Which of course, if Riechmann's theses are correct, can and should also work in a place like Móstoles, despite its reputation as the ugly city par excellence, with layouts of the terrain that many sensibilities would find objectively depressing.

Of course, in the psychogeographical re-enchantment of places like Móstoles, the subjective side of the equation is important, since psychogeography can only be understood in association with an intentionally different gaze. But this is not enough. The truly subversive and novel potential of a psychogeography of "right there" is the premise that the objective conditions of the wonderful – to employ a category beloved by Surrealism and sadly removed from the current debate – are actually very well distributed geographically. We find these conditions everywhere. Even in what appear to be the most unfavorable of places.

My experience of walking and wandering through Móstoles, which I hope to shape and systematize soon into a small book, confirms that the central hypothesis of a psychogeography of "right there" is correct. Walking around Móstoles with psychogeographical intent is a game that consistently yields fascinating rewards. Of course, in Móstoles beauty is very easy to come by if one walks through its numerous parks, or its surroundings marked by agricultural decline, under the influence of certain changes in the light. Or if one pays attention to the parade of color as one season marches into the next, or reclaims the streets, after one of so many summer rainstorms, when the water covers the street like the scales of a fish, or like debris fallen from a broken sky.

But Móstoles harbors still more specific beauties of place and of situation, which overwhelm the universal sensory gratification (indispensable in its own right) that can be obtained in any situation that lingers along the borderline between the human and the natural, defined as that which reproduces independently of our acts, even if they are anthropogenically intervened processes (the cosmic, the geological, the ecosystemic or the

atmospheric). For example, the particular disorientation caused by its chaotic urban layout, full of alleys, inner courtyards, passages, dead-end streets, intermittent place names, broken lines and surprises, since Móstoles is a city that its own urban planners describe as “unreadable,” the product of a wild and compulsive urbanization process. In the apparent uniformity of its architectural language, Móstoles presents a wide variety of dialects and accents, disconcerting ornaments, conventional buildings with evocative and suggestive finishes – details that nobody tends to notice.

Móstoles is also fertile for stimulating symbolic interpretations, and copious in what the Surrealist Group of Madrid calls “concrete irrationalities,” small and beautiful moments of suspension of meaning by the juxtaposition of impossible elements. And of course, if you also happen to live in Móstoles (and exploring the known is the backbone of a psychogeography of “right there”), a whole series of very attractive psychogeographical possibilities open up. First of all, Móstoles has been and continues to be the scene of both important social struggles (the longest-standing squatted social center in Spain is in Móstoles, La Casika) and interesting aesthetic and counter-cultural rebelliousness (with a strong tradition of graffiti and various underground music scenes) that continue to reverberate throughout the city map. Secondly, any walk through Móstoles is a lottery of encounters that can change the course of the day, since Móstoles preserves much of what we associate with the imaginary of a neighborhood: dense bonds, extensive social circles and abundant street life. A place, in short, with the body of a city and the soul of a town. This mixture that combines the variability and innovation of the city, and the communitarian and welcoming quality of a town, makes for an anthropological landscape in which it is always worthwhile to repeat small daily adventures.

This brief list of the possibilities of a psychogeography of “right there” applied to the specific case of Móstoles, which are the empirical fruit of an ongoing exercise that I hope to systematize soon, serves to illustrate the transformative potential of this synapse between Ivain’s and Riechmann’s approaches. The result is something that can assist us in minimizing the environmental impacts of our model of happiness, which in turn contributes to a reterritorialization of perception. It might help us reconquer that old custom that, as writer Santiago Alba Rico always laments, we lost with the destruction of the anthropological package of the Neolithic: inhabiting. And therefore having a place, in a community, which is the only way to exercise our right to the world without destroying it.

Bibliography

- Alba Rico S. (2017) *Ser o no ser (un cuerpo)*, Barcelona, Seix Barral.
- Aragon, L. ([1926] 2016), *El aldeano de París*, Madrid, Errata naturae.
- Bellver J. (2018) "La Cuarta Revolución Industrial ante la crisis ecológica" in VVAA, *La Cuarta Revolución Industrial desde una mirada ecosocial*, Clave Intelectual, Madrid.
- Benjamin W. ([1982] 2007), *El libro de los pasajes*, Akal, Madrid.
- Breton, A. ([1950] 1996), "Pont Neuf," in *Vuelta*, nº232, marzo 1996.
- Breton, A. ([1927] 1997), *Nadja*, Cátedra, Madrid.
- Breton, A. ([1937] 2000), *El amor loco*, Alianza, Madrid.
- Cadarso M.A. et al. (2015), Quantifying Spanish tourism's carbon footprint: the contributions of residents and visitors. A longitudinal study, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, DOI:10.1080/09669582.2015.1008497
- Debord, G. ([1955] 2001a), "Introducción a una crítica de la geografía urbana," in Internacional Letrista, *Potlatch*, Madrid, Literatura Gris.
- Debord, G. ([1958] 2001b), "Teoría de la deriva," in Internacional Situacionista, *Internationale Situationniste #1-6 vol.1 La realización del arte*, Madrid, Literatura Gris.
- Debord, G. (1967), *La sociedad del espectáculo*, in Archivo Situacionista Hispano, Web page: <http://www.sindominio.net/ash/espect.htm>
- Galbraith, J.K. ([2015] 2018), *El fin de la normalidad. La gran crisis y el futuro del crecimiento*, Madrid, Traficantes de sueños.
- Garcés, Marina (2017) "Desmarcar Barcelona" –lecture–. In: <https://www.cccb.org/es/multimedia/videos/desmarcar-barcelona/210419>
- Ivain, G. ([1953] 2001) "Formulario para un nuevo urbanismo," in Internacional Situacionista, *Internationale Situationniste #1-6 vol.1 La realización del arte*, Madrid, Literatura Gris.
- Lenzen M. et al. (2018), "The Carbon Footprint of Global Tourism," in *Nature Climate Change*, 8, pp. 522–528.
- Lesmes, D. (2011), "El flâneur, errancia y verdad en Walter Benjamin," in *Paralelaje*, 6, Web page: <http://www.paralaje.cl/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/6-2-LESMES-DOSSIER-173-556-1-PB.pdf>

Del Molino, S. (2016), *La España vacía. Viaje por un país que nunca fue*, Madrid, Turner.

Molins A. (2017), "La era del post-turismo," *La Vanguardia*, 4-06-2017- Web page: <https://www.lavanguardia.com/vida/20170604/423174493925/edad-post-turismo-millennials-busqueda-experiencias.html>

Moruno, J. (2015), *La fábrica del emprendedor. Trabajo y política en la empresa mundo*, Madrid, Akal.

Mumford, L. ([1961] 2012), *La ciudad en la historia*, Logroño, Pepitas de calabaza.

Naredo J.M. and Montiel A. (2011), *El modelo inmobiliario español y su culminación en el caso valenciano*, Icaria, Barcelona.

OMT (2019) Data table. Web page: <https://www.unwto.org/es/unwto-tourism-dashboard>

Riechmann, J. (2013) *Ahí es nada. Nueve ensayos sobre el mundo, la poesía y el mundo*, Bilbao, El Gallo de Oro.

Santiago Muño, E. (2018), "Los frutos podridos de la economía política. Notas por un posmarxismo ecológicamente fundamentado," in Riechmann et al. *Ecosocialismo descalzo: tentativas*, Barcelona, Icaria.

Sorando D. and Ardura A. (2016). *First we take Manhattan. La destrucción creativa de las ciudades*, Madrid, Catarata.

Steffen W. et al. (2015), "The trajectory of the Anthropocene: The Great Acceleration," in *Anthropocene Review*, 2(1), 81–98.

Zukin, S. (1982), *Loft Living. Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press.

Notes

¹ This article is part of the R+D+i project *Ecological Humanities and Eco-social Transitions. Ethical, Aesthetic and Pedagogical Proposals for the Anthropocene* (PID2019-107757RB-I00.2020-2022), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation in the call for *Challenges 2019*.