Understanding the City:
Henri Lefebvre and Urban Studies

Edited by

Gülçin Erdi-Lelandais

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CHAPTER SEVEN

PRODUCING THE SPACE, CONTESTING THE CITY: URBAN WILD SWIMMING

MACIEJ KOWALEWSKI

Introduction

Discussing the practical usefulness of Lefebvre's thoughts is very difficult, as his workings were read not only as important in terms of critical theory (Elden 2004; Merrifield 2006; Goonewardena et al. 2008; Marcuse 2009; Stanek 2011) but also as theoretical background for political struggle (Elden 2007; Harvey 2008). However discussion on research practices and operationalization of Lefebvre's theory is limited in sociology: referring the theoretical concept of *Space Producing*, *Right to the City* or *Rhythmanalysis* to the methodology of social sciences is much more difficult (Stanek 2011). "From a first sight" Lefebvre's theory is convenient for researchers, but adopting the perspective of the French theorist eventually brings more problems than easy solutions. According to Brenner and Elden (2009), Lefebvre is primarily a philosopher, or broadly, a critical thinker. Methodological work with Lefebvre's thoughts therefore requires a serious commitment, as shown in the work of Iain Borden (2001). The author of *Skateboarding, Space and the City: Architecture and the Body* starts from a critical analysis of Lefebvre to review his concepts and—what is most important—to make a theoretical frame for in-depth studies and ethnographic research of skateboarders. This is a perfect example of developing the main idea of Lefebvre, which is the relation between the rules of the economy of capitalism and spatial practices of urban everyday life.

Referring to Lefebvre's triad model (perceived, conceived and lived space (Lefebvre 1991, 33)) we could find how regular (routine) and unusual practices constitute spatial and societal order. As Lefebvre states,

"the spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction" (38). Space is reproduced through social practices (Lefebvre 1991), as even these are marginal and far beyond everyday life; they are a challenge to the mainstream principles of the city. An interesting example of producing space by questioning the rules of the city is urban wild swimming. A (half-) naked urban swimmer's body presented in the public space will cause a sensation, smiles or a scandal, but it will primarily make a comment about the urban social text. Their practices are similar to those presented in Iain Borden's (2001) study on skateboarding as a form of a performative critique of the city. Both, i.e. swimmers and skateboarders, can be viewed as city-contesters, as they "produce themselves bodily and socially, and they produce the city in terms of their own specific bodily encounter with it" (Borden 2001, 296). But practices of this kind may also mean a weakening of security control or a step toward crime. The example of urban swimming allows one to see serious matters in something that seems frivolous at first glance. The researched practices reveal the importance of the body, which can evade the rules of urban rationality: "This body is practical and flashy. Contemplating space with the whole body and all senses, not just with the eyes and intellect, allows more awareness of conflicts and so of the space that is Other" (Borden et al. 2002, 12).

The body produces space in daily routines as well in unusual practices; Lefebvre's concept stresses the importance of bodies changing the perceived, conceived, and lived space of the city. In this article I would like to refer to two different problems: one is the way in which the discourse of unconventional behaviour in public space is gaining the status of political action. The second is the problem of the theoretical analysis and unambiguous interpretation of practices such as urban wild swimming.

Is bathing in the urban river a deviation, alternative lifestyle, form of political protest or just trivial showing off? Leaving the cultural analysis behind allows us to go deeper into the principles of the city as one of the important points of Lefebvre's theory, which is to highlight the spatial practices by drawing attention to the importance of everyday activity in the city: "reading the city is to know the context, what is below the text to decipher (everyday life), immediate relations, the unconscious of the urban, what is little said and of which even less is written" (Lefebvre 1996, 108).

Even though we are talking about bringing Lefebvre back to urban sociology, we are accustomed to many of his ideas, like thinking about spatial practices that occur in a particular social context. But what does that actually mean? Is observation of spatial behaviour by a researcher

enough to discover the context and rules of space production? Is subject-interpretation of these rules reflexive? It is difficult to research practices that seem to go beyond what is "regular" and "common" in the city. Lefebvre and Situationists like Debord (1977) opened up the theoretical analysis of what is elusive, unpredictable and unusual in urban space. It is precisely this elusiveness on which may be found the fundamental principles of producing the space: forms of contestation of urban space tell the story about the object of contestation. Regardless of whether we define a city in terms of space, symbols, geography, politics, culture or economy, in all of these fields protest is possible and could be transformed from individual activity into a social movement. It is important however, whether the scattered forms and areas of protest can be seen as a whole, using common criteria. Can urban swimming be regarded as similar to such practices as a protest in a public space, alternative housing, art in public spaces, guerrilla gardening, graffiti, skateboarding, etc.? Protest appears in so many arenas that any collective and untypical behaviour can be easily read as a challenge to the authority, but it is the contesting practices that tell us much about the nature of urban life and the principles of space production. As "more and more the spaces of the modern city are being produced for us, rather than by us" (Mitchell 2003, 18), it is "still" important to analyse the performative nature of public space, as reconstructed by bodies of political nature.

The methods of visual sociology and visual discourse analysis were used for this study (Rose 2001; Banks 2007; Christmann 2008). As contemporary culture is becoming increasingly visual, visual studies methodologies are becoming an important strategy for the study of relation between society and the city (Hall 1997; Pink 2001). According to Karen Wells (2007, 136), "It is this quality of visual and material culture to condense at once the everyday, the monumental, and the spectacular that makes it such a powerful tool for analysing the power relations that structure city living."

Referring to this approach, photographs were used as a tool for documentation (photos of places and bathers) and as a source of data. In this case, photos were examined for hidden relations and meanings attributed to the urban wild swimming, assuming that the situations shown in the photographs and the actors are not random, but reflect the hidden social structures. The collected data were visual materials posted on the Internet by urban swimmers, bathers or viewers/passers-by; in some cases these were also press photos. The collected images and videos are both from identifiable (through a description of the users or characteristic points) and from unknown areas in the cities. It was not always possible to

identify the time of the events recorded in the visual materials. The study included seven European cities (Berlin, Cologne, Copenhagen, Krakow, Rome, Sofia, Szczecin), as a complementary method the content analysis of press and website articles that included reported cases of swimming in the city's rivers, docks, fire basins, etc. was used. Another source of data was an observation conducted in Szczecin, in July of 2011, near a fountain close to the building of the City Council. The object of observation was the behaviour of bathers in the fountain and the reactions of other space users. Most of the bathers were children, thus it was difficult to carry out photographic documentation (the children were not always accompanied by an adult so it was impossible to obtain consent to take a picture).

The very initial result of the research was that there is a clear difference between the examples of urban wild swimming in countries such as Germany, Denmark and Switzerland, and in the Polish cities. In Western-European countries, wild swimming is a form of entertainment, while in Poland or Bulgaria it is a form of *urban guerrilla* action. Significantly, using the fountain as a place of spontaneous entertainment (to "show off") was reported from all the cities. For this reason it is worth examining more closely how the discourse of irrationality is constructed. In the following sections the tension between regular and irregular principles of urban space usage will be discussed. I would like to consider how unusual practices redefine urban space and tend to be considered as a form of political protest.

Urban Wild Swimming as an Irrationality

Security is an obsession of a city's citizens, who want to feel safe, which leads not only to a change in the style of urban life, but also to a change in the way the city is governed by fear management. According to Engin Isin, innovation such as CCTV city monitoring is typical for new governmental projects of neoliberalism (Isin 2004). But sometimes they also go out of control: youths, children and adults use the city environment for swimming and taking a bath in urban ponds, fountains, city rivers and even in industrial areas (ports). All urban swimmers, i.e. those jumping from bridges, taking showers in fountains, practising urban sports or "urban Olympics",[1] and taking regular baths in industrial reservoirs are

[1] Urban Olympics means events of Olympic-like disciplines played in an urban landscape, like swimming or athletics. The place (arena) of urban Olympic games

also producing their own notion of non-commercial leisure space regardless of how dangerous or irrational it is (except for the situation of extreme heat, when the cooling fountain in the city is part of being rational and is supported by the municipalities that install special water curtains to prevent excessive overheating). It is, however, still romantic, like "regular" (non-urban) wild swimming, and defined by Daniel Start (2008, 2) as:

> "1. Swimming in natural waters such as rivers, lakes and waterfalls. Often associated with picnics and summer holidays. 2. Dipping or plunging in secret or hidden places, sometimes in wilderness areas. Associated with skinny-dipping or naked swimming, often with romantic connotations. 3. Action of swimming wildly such as jumping or diving from a height, using swings and slides, or riding the current of a river."

Urban swimming cannot be easily interpreted, as we could find different types of these practices, such as extreme sports, regular behaviours, and single events. It could be placed somewhere on the continuum between alternative sports and the practices of everyday life. Similarly, it is difficult to define urban running, however, the swimmers are less organized than *parkour* runners and much more unpredictable and inappropriate than *traceurs*. Certainly this kind of running and vaulting the obstacles in the urban space has become an acceptable part of the urban culture, also due to films such as *Yamakasi* or *Banlieu 13th*. It is not only a matter of popularity of urban swimming, but it is a matter of its symbolic dimension that is related to a deviation.

Is this a universal youth rebellion against the "old" values or, rather, a cultural transmission referring to the culture of the lower classes? Juvenile excesses, as described by Shaw and McKay (1942), allow us to situate urban wild swimming in the same category as car racing, skateboarding or spontaneous performances. Through these practices, middle-class status values (such as respect for property, rationality and wholesome recreation (Cohen 1955)) are contested.

Everything that is unexpected is a threat to the existing urban order, thus urban wild swimming is subject to regulations (e.g. prohibitions, municipal police intervention). Recurrent excess leads not only to

is important: for example, runners may contest on the tram tracks, stairs or along the promenade; swimming events are held in such places as a fountain, etc. The essence of urban Olympics is a *pastiche*.

criminalisation of certain behaviour, but also to defending the urban rationality as described by Simmel (1903) in his essay *The Metropolis and Mental Life*. As "forms of self repression or self limitation" (Bridge 2005, 41), urban rationality means being predictable: "goofing around" is something unexpected in a public space. The rules and manners, as we know from Goffman's works (1963), are a form of urban middle-class universal language.

As Lefebvre claims in *Everyday Life in the Modern World*,

> "the city can be defined [among other definitions] as the reading of social text, that is, as a representative miscellany of society and the heritage of past generations, each of which has added a page; it is also the place of speech doubling the reading of written matter, interpreting, commenting and questioning it." (Lefebvre 2002, 176).

The fountain is an interesting example of those re-interpretations because it is also a symbol of decoration, superficiality of the urban theatre, and usually a representative site. As a place of the tourist experience, it changes the "original" meaning through "risky" bodily practices such as bathing. Fountain baths usually have been criticized because of the problem of contamination. According to the most frequently press-quoted warnings of the state sanitary inspector, people bathing in fountains are at risk of gastrointestinal, skin and eye infections due to the multiplying microbes, bacteria, salmonella, fungi or zoonotic parasite eggs during warm days:

> "A new fountain in Szczepanski Square has become the biggest 'swimming pool' this year, but there are also those willing to splash about in the pond at Planty Street, Sławkowska and Basztowa. Many swimmers also like a fountain at Franciscan Street. Some Cracovians are appalled by the view of half-naked swimmers, others are angry that they are making the water dirty. Day after day, for the past week I have seen nudists bathing in the fountain in Szczepanski Square. The municipal police should do something about this, because the fountain is not for washing, said Janusz Kowalski." (Stuch 2010).

The penalty for fountain swimming is about 250 PLN (60€) and also appears in other countries, e.g. the tourists and residents of Rome receive fines for bathing in the di Trevi Fountain or the Fountain of Four Rivers at Piazza Navona. The reactions of the authorities, and the reactions of outraged passers-by, are an example of the opposition against the right of one's individual expression when compared to the rights of the community. It is easy to imagine a situation in which city residents express their opposition to the presence of half-naked bodies in the fountain, but it

is rather difficult to imagine that their protests would be called, by observers, a claim to the right to the city. Competing visions of the presence of bodies in urban spaces can be balanced by reference to the "common enemy" (which is capitalism); however, it does not abolish the problem of equivalence in the different ways of life and in the different concepts of the urban community.

In the analysed cases from Szczecin, we are dealing with re-reading and re-claiming of urban space. In a world ruled by the laws of urban rationality, excess is a luxury which only locals can afford (or a desperate stranger). The regular bathing of children and young people living in the inner city is also a demonstration of being a resident of a specific district: in the analysed cases from Polish cities, the only fountain swimmers were the locals. Occasional baths in port waters or rivers may be hazardous, and it is not just courage but a matter of the relationship with the place, a certificate of being "from here"; there is a strong relation between searching for forbidden excitement and local identity.

Public space is, however, an arena of unusual events, yet coming in the order of urban life, such as the rituals of a carnival. Inverting the social hierarchy during the feast of fools is (limited) consent to derogate from the principle of rationality. Urban wild swimming can be treated in a similar way, i.e. as an example of controlled transgression, the ritual of reversing the norms. The rules of rationality—including a bathing prohibition in certain places—is nothing permanent and non-negotiable. If excitement is more important than safety, swimming in the river is allowed. Public art uses similar consent, as in the Fashion Architecture Taste (FAT) project, where the traditional ways of using public space are reversed:

> "In Mod Cons familiar objects from the domestic realm are displaced around the city: shower equipment in the square, a welcome mat at the entrance to the shopping arcade, a bedside table in the bus stop. The municipal fountain is not so much an abstract symbol of civic pride as a nice place to take a bath." (FAT 2002, 346).

As Bridge states,

> "*Self-limitation in micro-spaces* is paralleled by the settings of different types of interaction in the city as a whole. At the street-scale interaction cues are given about the rules of interaction that can be expected. This relates to the overall socio-spatial segregation that characterizes many western cities. Expectations as to the types of participants in the interaction are given by the location in which that interaction is occurring. Certain types of people 'belong' or are expected in particular parts of the city." (Bridge 2005, 41).

In the urban pond also, only certain types of people are allowed. The naked woman swimming in the di Trevi Fountain in Rome in a *YouTube* film (Kaldami 2007, 1-13) is (besides being a film *cliché*) something the male audience wants to watch and something that satisfies the "male tourist gaze" (Pritchard and Morgan 2000). An important observation was found during my research conducted in Szczecin. One day a homeless man started washing himself in a fountain, which caused strong protests from several people sitting at a nearby cafe. These onlookers called the city police to remove the homeless man from the fountain because "he could be carrying a disease" (as one of the onlookers stated). Several hours later, and with a more numerous audience, two dogs were wading in the fountain without anyone's objection.

Using the rules of the space usage to exclude certain people is obvious; however it is worth considering the political potential of questioning these rules. In the next section the political significance of unusual practices will be discussed.

Urban Wild Swimming and the Right to the City

The right to the city as a moral claim, especially to those excluded from participating in the city, has become the slogan of urban social movements (Mayer 2009). Referring to the rights in urban political reality may be confusing, as Gilbert and Dikeç (2008, 250) states: "the inclusion of the catchphrase, without deliberate elaboration and careful consideration of larger structural issues, appeared unable to deliver on its promises". As a tool of narrating the urban reality, the concept of the right to the city is increasingly being abused, as there is a temptation to define any collective action as "political". In this perspective neither the motive nor the effect is important in being recognised by external observers (experts, scholars, political activists) as a form of opposition and demanding the right to the city. Expressing cultural diversity is defined as "political" more often if more unconventional actions manifest themselves in public spaces. City inhabitants are, in some sense, accustomed to unusual behaviour in a certain space and that is why unconventional protests can be manifested in the city with more understanding. According to Saskia Sassen, the "urban street" (defined in a broader sense to include squares, parks and other public open spaces which have become places of political action) gives the opportunity for political protest because of this openness to innovation and relatively low ritualised behaviour (Sassen 2011, 574). In this sense all unconventional behaviour (such as fountain swimming) can be used to attract observers. That is why more and more

attention is being paid to the carnivalisation of social protest, which means using popular forms of culture (such as music (Eyerman 2002) and costume (Sawer 2007)) to promote political ideas. It seems to be self-evident today, thus some scholars call a contemporary protest a "protestival" (John 2008). Carnivalisation of the protest is consciously used by social movements to attract the media in order to mobilise new members, but in the long-term perspective this spectacular form of action limits political significance and effectiveness. The unconventional protest which attracts media can become just another amusing event without political meaning.

Another problem with abuse of the concept of the right to the city is associated with the assumption that city inhabitants want to take responsibility for the place in which they live (see examples in Sugranyes and Mathivet 2010). The traditionally defined opponent of such claims, i.e. the capitalist system, may seem too abstract for those contending with the inconvenience of everyday life, such as having no places for leisure. Even if the logic of capitalism is behind all of this, people who want to solve problems "here and now" can ignore the political significance of their actions.

Even if the *Right to the City* is more of a slogan for urban researchers (although the reasons for its popularity should constitute a research topic of its own), it is also primarily a philosophical problem, i.e. how to reconcile the differing expectations of multicultural and diverse city inhabitants. In this sense, actions that are referred to as claiming the right to the city may be ambiguous. If we agree that the right to the city "is a superior form of rights: rights to freedom, to individualization in socialization, the habitat and to inhabit" (Lefebvre 1996, 173), we acknowledge that violation of the conventional behaviour is allowed since the right to freedom is more important than the prohibition of exposing and bathing in the fountain. The right to the city can be in these cases interpreted as abusing rights of others. Considering each urban wild swimming act as an expression of the struggle for the rights to the city is risky but allows a discussion about what is political in the everyday practices of an urban space.

Perhaps cooling oneself down after a hot day may not be so easily achieved, thus urban wild swimming is then a sublimation in the context of a lack of open public swimming pools, municipal baths or simply alternative ways of spending one's free time. This excess caused by being bored also has a context that is associated with the amount of entertainment places. On the one hand, we are dealing with the appropriation of public space or the affirmation of belonging; but on the

other hand it is evident in using the space as an instrument in the struggle for citizens' rights. If entertainment is an important value, then the right to the city means the right to recreation in a public space according to its own rules. It is not only a right in the form of institutionalized rules of democracy, but also the right to use a space however we want. Urban swimming is free and non-commercial, but does it question the rules of capitalism? Perhaps a deeper study conducted among swimmers could show if the most important profits are to the individual, such as strengthening one's personal identity ("me as a courageous person").

The space is an instrument for building the identity, a way of projecting uniqueness, of which Simmel wrote:

> "Finally, man is tempted to adopt the most tendentious peculiarities, that is, the specifically metropolitan extravagances of mannerism, caprice, and preciousness. Now, the meaning of these extravagances does not at all lie in the contents of such behavior, but rather in its form of being different of standing out in a striking manner and thereby attracting attention. For many character types, ultimately the only means of saving for themselves some modicum of self-esteem and the sense of filling a position is indirect, through the awareness of others." (Simmel 1903, 18).

Fishing, like swimming in the river, is part of the practice in which the river is something obvious and pre-modern at the same time. Using the river is something "natural" and does not constitute excess, but rather the daily rule. In pre-war Szczecin there were five sites (with the whole infrastructure of swimming lanes, towers for jumping into the water, beaches for team games, toilets, etc.) operating on the Oder river, but already by the 1930s some of them had to be closed due to pollution of the water by the passing ships (Łyskawa 1999). Nowadays urban rivers are extremely polluted and/or too dangerous, as they are used for transportation. A different case is Switzerland, in which urban wild river swimming is regarded as a "privilege", i.e. as an improvement of the quality of urban life:

> "I could only be in Geneva, the city urban swimming that gives a bit of chic. Not because it sits at the tip of one of Europe's largest lakes, but thanks to the Bains des Pâquis, the top spot for swimming in Geneva. [...] It's all about the view, both of the city and your fellow swimmers—this is prime see-and-be-seen territory for everyone, and entry is only about £1.50. This city is swimming with style." (Bewes 2011).

The urban regeneration idea of "bringing the city closer to the river" mostly means "creating a waterfront space" and not making the river more accessible for swimming. The desire to swim in the river still remains, for

which two small examples can be provided: the first one is a small pond on the waterfront of the Rhine in Cologne, where in the summer children take a bath (Fig. 7-2). The second are installations that allow people to swim "on the river". These pools floating on the Spree River in Berlin (Berlin's Arena Badeschiff) are advertised as "Europe's most extraordinary swimming pool and one of the coolest meeting points in town. Includes a pool floating on the river Spree, open air bar and beach-like sunbathing area and offers massages, sports classes, concerts and parties alike" (Kultur Arena 2011). If the space along the river is a place of leisure, it often occurs on an artificial beach: Berlin and Paris are the most known examples of those European urban beaches. However, as Elsa Devienne wrote,

> "the idea of a urban beach that would both inspire the city dweller to relax and enjoy the natural environment and allow for an important urban crowd to have access to, park its cars, eat and enjoy a day at the beach after the work week is not something new. Major cities endowed with long stretches of sandy beaches have struggled with this question since at least the early 20th century. Los Angeles is an especially interesting locale to look at these issues as it witnessed a tremendous demographic growth in the post-WWII years, was renowned for its scenic strands and beach lifestyle, and cruelly lacked public spaces dedicated to recreation." (Devienne 2011, 17).

The main problem presented in this article is interpretation of practices in the urban space which involve a challenge to the rules of contemporary city. The study of untypical behaviour as political claims can lead to misunderstandings or errors, especially such as in the case of urban wild swimming when, depending on the context, it can be interpreted in different ways. On the other hand, the abstract concept of space and the body—as we were warned by Lefebvre (1991)—is a part of dominant ideology. The multiplicity of meanings that can be attributed to urban wild swimming in the first place thus shows how careful we should be in trying to make a clear interpretation of the relationship of space and body. In this study, therefore, the following forms of urban wild swimming were researched:

Table 7-1. Urban wild swimming types.

Urban wild swimming as	Analysed examples/cities
Tourist attraction	Di Trevi Fountain Bath (Rome)
Show off (e.g., bathing after finishing the semester in the fountain or in fire basins)	All Cities
Part of everyday life. "Forced" (in the absence of free places to swim, hazardous due to bacteria)	Krakow (Poland)
Part of everyday life. "Chosen" ("natural" use of the river, cooling on a hot day in a water curtain, lake swimming as a "posh" lifestyle)	Cologne, Geneva, Copenhagen, Berlin
Offending (naked people in the fountain, bathing of the homeless, washing up animals)	Szczecin (Poland)

Conclusions

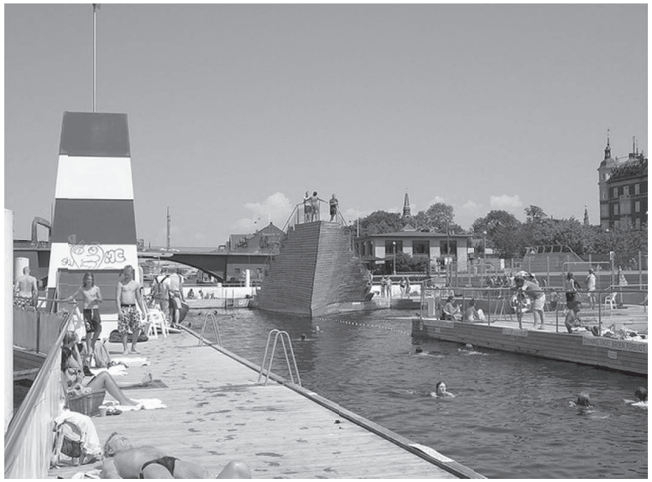
Lefebvre *explicitly* suggested exploring the contradictions, cracks, disjunctions of space (Lefebvre 1991, 293) rather than regularity. His idea presented in the chapter *Contradictory Space* of *Production of Space* was that unusual actions, which constitute a breach of an existing symbolic order, allow us to learn more of how the cultural patterns of space perception and performance are missed. Practices that go beyond "regular" and "common" in the city (de Certeau 1984; Stanley 1996; Borden 2001; Bridge 2005) probably tell us much more about how the city functions than the research of regular practices.

What is most interesting is that despite the difficulties of the theoretical analysis, irrational behaviours in the urban space are easily included in the repertoire of political action of social movements, since opposition to the dominant culture and the prevailing political order is an important motive for a performance art action. Street artists, through a variety of activities, pay attention to the problems of marginalised groups and protest against the economy of space, against the power of capital, etc. The Polish sociologist Rafał Drozdowski considers this as a kind of resistance culture with its ability to change the structure of reality (Drozdowski 2009). According to Drozdowski, cultural resistance as we see it now more often legitimizes the system by recognising its legitimacy and legality. The opposition is a kind of cultural costume, an additional reinforcing of the identity of individual differences and locating resistance in categories other than everyday life. In that sense "quiet passivity" and discreet resistance hit the system whose logic is activity, visibility and variability

with more force. Following this interpretation, excess in the form of a fountain bath cannot be treated as a serious discussion on how to use urban space and the right to the city. On the other hand, urban river swimming is a request for the returning of the state's use of water resources to other ways than commercial ones. For urban wild swimmers the water is more than just a transport channel or a source of profit.

Protests against depriving public open spaces and places of free recreation can take on many forms. Bathing in the city fountain is not an organised form of resistance, but it could be considered as an indication of the lack of affordable swimming pools. First of all, it is a part of the discussion concerning the global city in which non-commercial spaces are shrinking. Mark Purcell claims that Lefebvre's idea is a revolutionary challenge to the capitalist world order (Purcell 2003, 565), and questioning the economy of leisure space is a challenge to a capitalist economy. On the other hand, different forms of protest tend to be easily incorporated by the market. Beaches along urban rivers, places such as a swimming pool in the Copenhagen Harbour Bath or the Badeschiff Arena in Berlin, are not only new, global products referring to the spontaneity and extravagance of urban swimming, but also give a sense of security, so desired by neurotic citizens (Isin 2004).

Fig. 7-1. Plot's Islands Brygge Harbour Bath in Copenhagen, Denmark, 2007.



Author: milgrammer
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/milgram/542888102/sizes/o/in/photostream/
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Fig. 7-2. Cologne, Rhein embankment, 2010.

Author: Maciej Kowalewski.

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