



LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS
MODOS DE HABITAR

ABADA EDITORES

LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS MODOS DE HABITAR

II CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL CULTURA Y CIUDAD
GRANADA, 23-25 ENERO 2019



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La Casa. Espacios domésticos, modos de habitar
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¿Casas de quién? Entre el *hábitat* y el *habitar* en el pensamiento de Henri Lefebvre

Houses for Whom? Between the Habitat and the Inhabiting, on Henri Lefebvre's Quest

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Resumen

En la presente comunicación analizaremos las nociones de *hábitat* (que se deriva de una descripción morfológica) y *habitar* (una actividad, una situación), teniendo como principal referencia el pensamiento de Henri Lefebvre. Analizaremos a dos de los principales actores de este proceso: el arquitecto que construye un espacio y el individuo que en él vivirá. Para ello, oponemos uno de los conceptos clave del Movimiento Moderno –el concepto de función, que busca una racionalización casi total del espacio– a la idea de apropiación, noción clave en el enfoque del espacio de la sociología y la antropología.

Presentaremos algunos ejemplos de distintas formas de apropiación del espacio que reflejan dos niveles de análisis: la apropiación al nivel individual-familiar y la apropiación que se enmarca en una totalidad. Dichos ejemplos nos ayudan a pensar la dicotomía entre espacios-vividos y espacios-construidos, y a concienciarnos de la importancia de la arquitectura como mediadora de una sociedad instituida o como constructora de una nueva sociedad.

Palabras clave: hábitat, habitar, apropiación, Henri Lefebvre

Bloque temático: *La casa: mitos, arquetipos, modos de habitar*

Abstract

In this communication, we will analyse the concepts of habitat (which stems from a morphological description) and inhabiting (an activity, a situation), having as main reference the thinking of Henri Lefebvre. We will analyse two of the main actors of this process: the architect, who builds a space, and the individual who will live in it. For that, we oppose one of the main concepts from the Modern Movement –the concept of function, which aims for an almost total rationalization of space– to the idea of appropriation, a key notion in the approach of space from sociology and anthropology.

We will present some examples of different forms of space appropriation that reflect two levels of analysis: Appropriation at the individual-familiar level and Appropriation enclosed in a totality. These examples help us think about the dichotomy between lived-spaces and built-spaces, and to gain awareness of the importance of architecture as mediator of an established society or as creator of a new society.

Keywords: *habitat, inhabiting, appropriation, Henri Lefebvre*

Topic: *The house: myths, archetypes, forms of inhabitation*

1. *Habitat* versus *inhabiting*

In 1966 in the preface of the book *L'habitat pavillonnaire*,¹ Lefebvre² distinguished *habitat* from *inhabiting*. *Habitat*, a concept repurposed from botany and zoology, is used in urbanism associated to a very concrete problem: to have housing, «un certain espace pour organiser sa vie "privé", individuelle et familiale».³

Having a decent place to live is an individual need, which was always a problem among the poorest, but with the industrialization process and the quick expansion of cities in Europe has transformed itself into a social problem following the 1929 crisis and the second world war.

Bernard Huet⁴ has shown in a small article how Le Corbusier's thinking had the immediate answer that politics were searching for to solve the housing crisis of the first half of the 20th century. The proposed solution, defended in the Athens Charter, was very appealing for the Welfare State that was beginning to get organized in many European countries following the second world war. In it, the proposal was to build rapidly, using new construction techniques, a large number of working class and 'popular' housing. The brutal raise in built space that incurred from that would change the landscape and spread a certain type of urbanisation throughout the territory.

Le Corbusier had the clear notion that the social problem of housing was the biggest social problem to solve: «Trata-se de um problema de época. Mais ainda, do problema da época. O equilíbrio da sociedade é uma questão de construção. Concluímos com este dilema defensável: *arquitectura ou revolução*».⁵

There is a fascination in Le Corbusier for the machine, for new production processes that were emerging: just as objects, so must houses be serially produced. In order to solve the housing problem of the working class, housing must become a standardized object, equal to all. It was necessary to create «o estado de espírito de construir casas em série, o estado de espírito de residir em casas em série, o estado de espírito de conceber casas em série».⁶

An analogy between object production and space production was underlying in this model, reducing also the human being to an easy to produce 'object.' If object production was ever more made rational through new production processes and a new work organization, so did space production allow for a new rationalization, fragmenting it, cutting it, just as in the assembly chain in which objects were produced. The idea of function prevailed over form and over structure. Space was organized as a totality whose model was pre-defined:

Aujourd'hui, la pensée sociologique et la stratégie politique, comme la réflexion dite urbanistique, tendente à sauter du niveau de l'*habitat* et de l'habiter [...] au niveau général échele de

¹ This preface was later published in Henri Lefebvre's book *Du rural à l'urbain* (Paris: Anthropos, 2001 [1970]), 159-183, which is the version we use in the current article.

² To better understand the time in which Henri Lefebvre's books were written, we opted to add the first edition in square brackets.

³ [Translation of the author: a certain space to organize your "private" individual and family life.]. Lefebvre, *Du rural...*, 159.

⁴ Bernard Huet "A cidade como espaço habitável", *Arquitectura e Urbanismo*, dezembro-janeiro (1986-1987).

⁵ [Translation of the author: It is a period problem. More so, the period problem. The balance of society is a matter of construction. We conclude with this defendable dilemma: *architecture or revolution*.]. Le Corbusier, *Por uma arquitectura* (S. Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1981), 168.

⁶ [Translation of the author: the state of mind of building serial houses, the state of mind of residing in serial houses, the state of mind of conceiving serial houses]. Le Corbusier, *Arquitectura...*, 161.

l'aménagement du territoire, de la production industrielle planifiée, de l'urbanisation globale) en passant par-dessus la ville et l'urbain.⁷

It was, in fact, the functional model of the 'radiant city' from Le Corbusier that became the only official model for all constructions until the end of the 1960s.⁸ This model was deeply criticized in the 1960s by Henri Lefebvre, among other authors,⁹ exactly for its scientific appearance, when it had a clear underlying ideology – that of a capitalist society. Urban planners and planning specialists, either due to dishonesty or ignorance, hid the political dimension implicit in their proposals. We thus see the model of Le Corbusier being put in practice, which Bernard Huet characterized as «homogêneo, isotrópico e fragmentável, desprovido de direção; isento de qualquer valor simbólico cultural ou histórico».¹⁰

Le Corbusier's proposal stems from an abstract, clean, pure, empty space, that he transforms into the 'type' social space in which the main human functions – *inhabiting*, working, circulating, cultivating the body and the spirit – are assured. It is against this 'type' space, or this type of space, that Lefebvre rebels. It is in this abovementioned classical work¹¹ that Lefebvre pays compliment to the collective work of Henri Raymond et al., *L'Habitat Pavillonnaire*, in which the authors reflect about the complexity of the idea of *inhabiting*, in a way demystifying the simplicity of the idea of *habitat*, defending that *Inhabiting* holds an anthropological dimension, a human dimension. In each culture, in each social class, in each individual, we find different ways of *inhabiting*. Therefore, it is wrong to restrict the idea of *inhabiting* to the quality of the lodging, which was done by many architects and sociologists.¹²

As Lefebvre stated,¹³ it is not possible to consider the urban society with scientific and methodological instruments that we used to think the city in the 19th and 20th century. It is necessary to enter other domains where the instrumental rationality and scientific objectivity does not allow us to enter. It is necessary to enter the world of life, everyday life, but go further, through the critique of everyday life.

Bernard Huet,¹⁴ by criticizing the abstract terminology used by Le Corbusier, who with a technical dressing aimed to describe urban space, uncovered what was hidden and what ceased to be taken into account: by talking about pathway instead of street we lose all the symbolic and ambiguous character that the street holds, to think of the functions a pathway must have; by talking about a green space instead of a park or garden we think about hygienic aspects and in a pure environment, but we forget the people that utilize it; by thinking of lodging

⁷ [Translation of the author: Nowadays, sociological thinking and the political sphere, just as the so-called urbanistic reflexion, tend to jump from *habitat* and *inhabiting* [...] to the general level (the scale of spatial planning, of planned industrial production, of global urbanization), overriding the city and the urban.]. Henri Lefebvre. *Le droit à la ville suivi de Espace et politique* (Paris: Seuil, 1974 [1968]), 79-80.

⁸ Huet, "Cidade habitável", 82-87.

⁹ Sá, Teresa, "Urbanism and Urban Planning following the thought of Henri Lefebvre", *WIT Press*, n.º 217 (2018).

¹⁰ [Translation of the author: homogeneous, isotropic and fragmentable, direction's deprived: bare from any cultural, symbolic or historical value.]. Huet, "Cidade habitável", 82-83.

¹¹ Lefebvre, *Du Rural...*, 159-183.

¹² Thierry Paquot. "*Habitat*, habitation, habiter. Ce que parler veut dire...". *Informations sociales*, vol. 3, n.º 123 (2005): 48-54.

¹³ Lefebvre, *Du rural...*, 109-128.

¹⁴ Huet, "Cidade habitável".

instead of housing we think of habitation necessities of any individual, but we forget was is beyond those necessities.

1.1. The house: from *habitat* to *inhabiting*

Casa, a word that in Portuguese¹⁵ can mean both built space and «my house», the home, the lived space, helps us consider the difference between *habitat* and *inhabiting*.

The house (*casa*) is simultaneously an interior space and an exterior space. It is a private space concerning the outside (while it does have in its interior both private and public spaces); but it is also the landscape I see from the window, the sound I hear from the street, the noise from the stairs, the corner coffee place, the close by garden, etc.

Therry Paquot, referring to an important survey about *habitat* and lodging,¹⁶ showed the way in which *habitat* is not merely circumscribed around the building one lives in, but that it involves a wide surrounding territory: «la cage d'escalier et l'ascenseur, le hall d'entrée, le local à bicyclettes, les abords immédiats de l'immeuble, le cheminement qui mène à la rue, les rues voisines qui desservent la station de RER, l'école, la boulangerie...».¹⁷

Ever more so, the *habitat* contains not only the housing but «tous les itinéraires du quotidien urbain»¹⁸ that surround it.

But to inhabit is not merely reduced to the objects that surround me, nor to the way I use them – it is more than that. To inhabit implies a me-other-world relationship and comprises several levels: a familiar and individual, characterized in the house; another that is inscribed in a totality (unknown by the *Habitat*).¹⁹

If it is easy to show the simplicity and superficiality of the idea of *habitat*, without nevertheless forgetting the importance of the dwelling as a shelter, it is not so easy, as we have observed, to define *inhabiting*, and it is Lefebvre himself that recognizes it while posing the question: «Comment exprimer architecturalement et urbanistiquement cette situation de 'l'être humain', inachevé et plein de virtualités contradictoires?».²⁰

2. To inhabit, and the appropriation of space

Sociology, by distinguishing *habitat* (that stems from a morphological description) and *inhabiting* (an activity, a situation), adds a decisive notion to better understand to sense of *inhabiting* – the

¹⁵ In French, the expression *chez-soi* does not mean house in the sense of property but rather the way that the individual has appropriated the dwelling. In this case there is a de-territorialization in the animal sense, and re-territorialization in the human sense. Pascal Amphoux e Lorenza Moneda, "Le chez-soi dans tous les sens", *Architecture & Comportement*, vol. 5, n.° 2 (1989): 125-150. 139. In English, the words *house* and *home* allude to this difference.

¹⁶ Paquot, "*Habitat...*", 52

¹⁷ [Translation of the author: the stairwell and the lift, the hallway, the bike parking, the premises around the building, the path to the street, the neighbouring streets that serve the RER station, the school, the bakery,], Paquot, "*Habitat*". 53..

¹⁸ [Translation of the author: all the territories of the urban everyday life]. Paquot, "*Habitat...*", 52.

¹⁹ Lefebvre, *Du rural...*, 159-183.

²⁰ [Translation of the author: How can we express architecturally and urbanistically this situation of 'being human' that is unfinished and filled with contradicting virtualities?] Henri Lefebvre, *Revolution urbaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 116.

notion of appropriation, «habiter pour un individu, pour un groupe, c'est s'approprier quelque chose».²¹

Nevertheless, the appropriation of something is not the same as owning it, but rather a different thing. It is not a financial investment, but rather an affective investment, «il s'agit du processus par lequel un individu ou un groupe valorise un objet, y investit son énergie affective, ses capacités d'action, tente d'en faire quelque chose à son image, à son empreinte, tente d'en faire son oeuvre».²²

The appropriation is materialized by individuals in a certain space and time, it is related to a very close link between the urban and daily life. It is not something that is conquered, but something that is incrementally achieved, the appropriation of space implies temporality: duration and continuity.²³

This appropriation can be done at an individual-familiar level, characterizing itself in the house; and at a more difficult to define level, that is part of an individual-society relationship, in the street, in the neighbourhood, in the city.

2.1. Appropriation at the individual-familiar level

Lefebvre argued that in 'economy houses'²⁴ it is possible to have more appropriation of the space. The house/cottage with the small backyard/vegetable garden presents a certain plasticity, it allows for alterations. And its inhabitant, little by little, with his/her own taste, interests, time and economic capabilities increasingly transforms the house, increasingly appropriates it. While in a lesser manner, the '*pavillonnaire* house' offers, sometimes in a caricature way, an example of a 'poetry' of space and time.

2.2. Appropriation enclosed in a totality

Appropriation is a keyword to understand the distinction that Lefebvre proposed between social space and geometric space.²⁵ The social space is distinguished from the geometric space precisely because it allows for appropriation, and when this is not possible, the social space becomes geometric space.²⁶ The latter is one of the aspects that characterize an ever more rationalized and centralized space organization, through rational and technocratic planning, in which individuals continuously lose the power to interact in a space that is increasingly more regulated, organized, standardized, through an urbanistic legislation. The adopted laws are often filled with 'good intentions', seeking to avoid chaos and real estate speculation, but generally, they tend to avoid chaos and degradation of existing buildings through forms of real estate speculation such as 'gentrification' or similar. The space becomes a commodity where the exchange value prevails.

²¹ [Translation of the author: to inhabit for the individual, for the group, is to appropriate of something]. Lefebvre, *Du rural...*, 222.

²² [Translation of the author: It is a process through which an individual or a group values an object, invests in it their affective energy, their abilities to take action, aims to create something in their image, with their brand, tries to make it their own work]. Lefebvre, *Du rural...*, 198.

²³ Marion Segaud, *Anthropologie de l'espace* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2010).

²⁴ These are small houses, defining the '*habitat pavillonnaire*', built in Paris to house workers, or for social housing, that adopted a model inspired by rural housing. Here we translate *pavillons* with 'economy houses'. Lefebvre, *Du rural...*, 159-183.

²⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *Production de l'espace* (Paris: Anthropos, (2000 [1974])).

²⁶ Lefebvre, *Du rural...*, 180.

According to Lefebvre²⁷ there is an inverse relationship between the power of the technique and the appropriation of the space by individuals. The secret of appropriation, which Lefebvre finds in the medieval city of communes and in renaissance cities – like Venice or Florence – seems to have been lost.

3. Examples on space appropriation and their meanings

We present some examples of different forms of space appropriation that reflect the two levels of analysis abovementioned. The first refers to a homeless person's *habitat*; the second presents some examples in which *habitat* and *inhabiting* progressively mix; the third widens the *inhabiting* to the public space.

In these three examples we find three aspects that coexist in the relationship between individual and society: the conflicting blend of embarrassments and appropriations that every individual is subject to; the social imaginary that is associated with an everyday life that one has or aspires to have; the ideology fabricated by all sort of propaganda, which more or less gradually moulds us.²⁸

3.1. To inhabit without a *habitat*: The home of a homeless person

Machado Pais,²⁹ using a somewhat unorthodox sociological approach, aimed to uncover the daily living of homeless people in Lisbon. One of the approaches that he used was to offer a man named Mota, «um homem na casa dos 60 anos, afável e extrovertido»,³⁰ a disposable photographic camera and ask him to photograph his everyday life. After the photographs were developed, Mota steadily deciphered its contents. Let us focus here on his house, represented in photograph 1 (his bed), photograph 2 (his dining table) and photograph 3 (a park bench where he also has his meals).

Olhando para a fotografia da cama (foto 1), o Mota exclamou: «É a minha casa» Embora durma num pátio situado nas traseiras de um conjunto de edifícios, ele chama «casa» a esse espaço. Em sua «casa» há um colchão com cobertores, uma cadeira, uma mesa, onde por vezes toma refeições, e uma velha tapete junto a uma árvore. Os ramos da frondosa árvore servem-lhe de cabides onde pendura os seus haveres: uma sacola que o acompanha nas suas caminhadas e algumas peças de vestuário. A «caminha», como afectuosamente se lhe refere, é o centro da sua «casa».³¹

The home (in the sense of house) does not exist. But Mota invents it, imagines it, constructs it, and inhabits it. The home is the world, the home is his world.

²⁷ Lefebvre, *Du Rural...*, 159-181.

²⁸ Lefebvre, *Du rural...*, 197.

²⁹ José M. Pais, *Nos rastos da solidão deambulações sociológicas* (Porto: Ambar, 2006), 31-72

³⁰ [Translation of the author: 'a man in his 60s, affable and extroverted']. Pais, *Nos rastos...*, 59.

³¹ [Translation of the author: Looking at the photograph of the bed (photograph 1), Mota interjected: "It is my home". While he sleeps in a courtyard located at the back of a set of buildings, he calls that space "home". In his "home" there is a mattress with blankets, a chair, a table where he sometimes has his meals, and an old carpet near a tree. The branches of the dense tree serve him as hangers from which to hang his belongings: a satchel that accompanies him on his walks and some clothing items. His "little bed", as he lovingly calls it, is the centre of his "house"] Pais, *Nos rastos...*, 59.

3.2. How *habitat* and *inhabiting* get mixed together

3.2.1. A house of clandestine construction

Teresa C. Pinto³² reflected on clandestine houses, in the outskirts of Lisbon, of a social group with a trajectory of rural origin (low level of education and low professional integration).

Why does one opt for an house of illegal construction?

This option is only possible when there is the capacity, however slim, of saving. But the reasons that bring a family to opt for clandestine construction are several: deficient lodging conditions; growth of the family unit; goal of obtaining a space for the practice of a professional activity – a workshop; aspiration to partially recover the rural way of life, through the combination of house-garden-vegetable garden; worry about the insecurity regarding the future associated with low retirements; possibility of being able to help out the progeny in the future by leaving them a house.

The clandestine house was usually built by the owners themselves, with the help from family members and friends, them were themselves the architects and builders of their own houses.

3.3. The card game on the street³³

3.3.1. A group of retired men began playing cards in the park...

1st – In a garden bench. They would use a cardboard as a table;

2nd – Subsequently, on top of an electricity meter box, next to a kiosk;

3.3.2. Both locations were uncomfortable

3rd – They contacted the owner of a coffee with esplanade nearby, and they were able to get two tables and eight chairs. They moved the tables according to the weather: rain/sun;

4th – From then they began playing every afternoon. Only in the afternoon: «de manhã é para trabalhar»³⁴ (helping their wives shopping for groceries, taking care of bureaucratic matters, etc.);

5th – 'Spectators' started to show up and a significative group was formed;

As João Nunes mentioned, this situation allows for a first exchange of words between the passers-by, neighbours and others, and allows to show the difference between this public space created by the individuals in interaction, and the public space offered by managerial agents and public planners (Figure 1).

³² Teresa C. Pinto, "Modelos de *habitat*, modos de habitar: o caso da construção clandestina do *habita*", *Sociedade e Território*, n.º. 25/26 (1998): 32-45.

³³ João P. S. Nunes, "Cidades, centros comerciais e praças públicas", *Imprópria*, n.º 1 (2012): 21-38.

³⁴ [Translation of the author: mornings are for working]. Nunes, "Cidades...", 22.



Figure 1. The game card on the street.

Source: T.V. Sá

4. Some final questions around the theme *habitat / inhabiting*

We end this article by seeking to answer the question, taking as a starting point the thoughts of Thierry Paquot and Henri Lefebvre: how to create a dwelling that is not a mere *habitat*?³⁵ While both authors are close regarding the meaning of *inhabiting*, they have different stances about the possibility of the architect and urban planner to create it.

According to Paquot, architects and urban planners may create a pleasant *habitat*: «Un mobilier urbain amène, un Abribus confortable, une voirie qui privilégie le piéton et le vélo sur l'automobile, un éclairage rassurant, des façades variées, des boutiques en rez-de-chaussée, etc.».³⁶ All this makes life in a neighbourhood much more comfortable, it makes the everyday life easier for its inhabitants and visitors. But a *habitat* with good living conditions, not only at the level of housing but also in terms of its surrounding environment, is not a necessary nor a sufficient condition of *inhabiting*: «l' "habiter", dimension existentielle de la présence de l'homme sur terre, ne se satisfait pas d'un nombre de mètres carrés de logement ou de la qualité architecturale d'un immeuble».³⁷

³⁵ Lefebvre, *Revolution...*, 114.

³⁶ [Translation of the author: mild urban furniture, comfortable bus stops, pathways that favour the pedestrian and the bicycle in detriment of the car, soothing lighting, varied façades, shops at street level, etc.] Paquot, "*Habitat...*", 7.

³⁷ [Translation of the author: the *inhabiting*, an essential dimension of the presence of man on Earth, is not satisfied with a certain amount of square meters of lodging or with the architectural quality of a property]. Paquot, "*Habitat...*", 52.

Lefebvre is more demanding in regards to the role of architects and urban planners, sustaining that these can contribute to building a city that allows *inhabiting*, that is, that allows for the appropriation of space and time by its inhabitants.³⁸

It is necessary, according to Lefebvre, not just to prohibit, regulating what is or is not possible to build, but also to propose a new way to create the city. Instead of building at once the rationally specialist-planned space, Lefebvre proposed that the city's inhabitants may also continuously construct it. How? By letting certain social groups (young people, women, workers, retired people) take on the self-management of the space, allowing those groups to build the spaces in accordance to their desires, their needs, «qu'ils en fassent leur oeuvre comme autrefois les citoyens d'une grande cite façonnaient peu à peu les espaces, en faisaient leur bien: leur appropriation».³⁹

In contrast, Lefebvre⁴⁰ defended the importance of constructing ludic spaces that can articulate diverse spaces characterized by differences and contrasts. Such spaces would allow the creation of new social rhythms that aims to link that which is different. In this process «L'habiter retrouve sa place au-dessus de l'*habitat*».⁴¹

Our response comes close to Lefebvre's, starting from his optimism that holds an underlying idea of science with the necessary alliance between scientific knowledge and politics. This idea is evident when the author defended not an exhaustive analysis of daily life, but rather a critique of a daily life commanded by a capitalist society, or as he called it «société bureaucratique de consommation dirigée».⁴²

What is at stake is to consider new 'forms of living' that not only render daily life easier, but also where the idea of *inhabiting* is present.

The house, as the individual's and the family's address, should not close on itself but turn outwards: kindergartens, common rooms, libraries, gardens, cafes, and other locations where conviviality is possible should be conceived of, sketched, created. Beyond these sociability spaces, which currently have been *assimilated* by the capitalist system, it is necessary to think of democracy spaces,⁴³ spaces where the city inhabitants get together and become true citizens, to discuss political issues, about life on the street, in the neighbourhood, in the city, in the country, in the world.

The ideal of a rational urbanism from the Modern Movement must be replaced by another that we continuously construct without a defined model, as Sofia de Mello Breyner expressed so well in the verse: «Navegavam sem o mapa que faziam».⁴⁴ That is how we can find the lost

³⁸ Lefebvre, *Du rural...*, 197-207.

³⁹ [Translation of the author: that they may there make their work, as in the old days the inhabitants of a big city would shape the spaces little by little, making them their own: their appropriation.]. Lefebvre, *Du rural...*, 206.

⁴⁰ Lefebvre, *Droit...*, 134.

⁴¹ [Translation of the author: the *inhabiting* recuperates its place above the *habitat*]. Lefebvre, *Droit...*, 138.

⁴² [Translation of the author: bureaucratic consumption-driven society]. Henri Lefebvre, *Position. Contre les technocrates. En finir avec l'humanité-fiction* (Paris: Éditions Gonthier, 1967).

⁴³ Richard Sennett "Les espaces de la démocratie", *Présentaine*, n.º 16/17 (2003): 21-35.

⁴⁴ [Translation of the author: They navigated without the map they were making]. Sophia M. B. Andresen, *Obra poética* (Lisboa: Caminho, 2010), 676.

city.⁴⁵ Our compass is a collection of principles that we associate to an urban way of life and also to an active democratic citizenship: equality, heterogeneity, exchange locations, conviviality and discussion.

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⁴⁵ Marc Augé, *L'Antropologie et le monde global* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013).