Queer cosmopolitanism and changing cities

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Queer spaces within the geographies of the 'insurgent city'. A study in Florence, Italy

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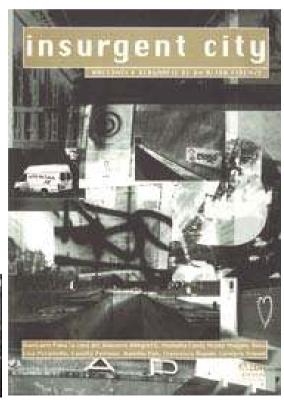


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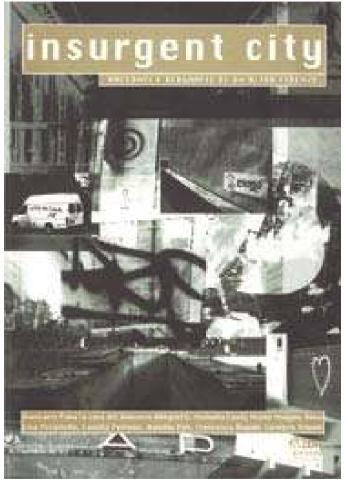
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"INSURGENT CITY: geographies of another Florence"

Which visible outcomes?



A book in italian, 2 chapters in other books (The Contested Metropolis and Cittadinanza Attiva), a special issue of the alterglobalist magazine "CARTA" that was distributed during the European Social Forum in Florence, autumn 2002.

Similar researches started in Rome and Milan, one year later, mapping urban conflicts and insurgent practices...



A 2 YEAR RESEARCH, IN ORDER TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEBATE ON **"INSURGENT PRACTICES" AND "RADICAL PLANNING" — HOW TO CLARIFY** THE TERMS ? — STARTING POINT: THE ISSUE N° 2 OF "PLURIMONDI" MAGAZINE, EDITED BY LEONIE SANDERCOCK (UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA — VANCOUVER). THE CONTEXT: A NETWORK SOCIETY WITHIN A GLOBALISED WORLD WHERE NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS ALMOST EVERYWHERE ARE IN RETREAT, FISICALLY STRESSED, AND OUTMANOUVRED BY THE TRANSNATIONAL INVESTORS, WHILE LOCAL INSTITUTIONS SUFFER OF "ASYMMETRIC SUBSIDIARITY" AND ARE OBSESSED BY COMPETITION **BETWEEN TERRITORIES. A BOTTOM-UP STYLE OF PLANNING WHICH COULD BE CALLED INSURGENT BECAUSE HAPPENS IN THE INTERSTICES, AND EVEN IN** THE FACE OF POWER, NOT ONLY OPERATING IN THE PROFESSIONAL DOMAIN THAT CONSTITUTES THE FIELD OF CITY- BUILDING, BUT THROUGH **COLLECTIVE ACTIONS THAT WE MIGHT CALLCOMMUNITY-BUILDING** GATHER PRACTICES THAT COULD BE CONSIDERED AS THIS DEFINITION "PUBLIC POLICIES", WHICH (EVEN NOT PROMOTED BY THE STATE) DEAL WITH PUBLIC SPACES AND THE DEFENSE OF WEAKER GROUPS SURVIVAL...

Which kind of research?

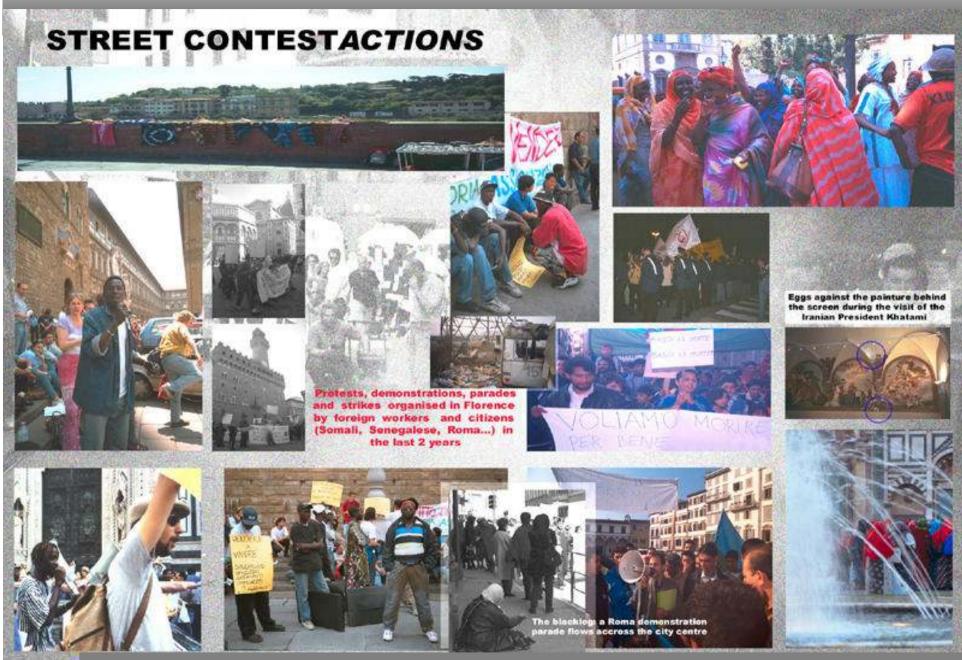
A PARTIAL, MILITANT AND PLURAL RESEARCH — THE IMAGES AND THE STORIES OF OUR REASERCH WERE BORN OF COMPELLING - INTENSE PARTICIPATORY DIALOGUE-INTERVIEWS WITH A HIGH DEGREE OF SUBJECTIVE INTERACTION-INTERPRETATION; PARTICIPATORY **OBSERVATION, COMPLICATED BY A HIGH DEGREE OF PERSONAL** INVOLVEMENT. IN MANY CASES THE 16 RESEARCHERS WERE PART OF THE SITUATIONS DESCRIBED OR THEY HAVE BECOME SO. AT TIMES, PARTS OF THE REPORT ASSUME A FORM OF SELF-DESCRIPTION. THE POINT OF VIEW EXPRESSED IS NEVER NEUTRAL: RATHER **IVARIABLY INFLUENCED BY A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SUBJECTS OF** THE RESEARCH. THE RESERACHERS INVOLVED HOLD DIVERSE OPINIONS, SOME HAVE A POINT OF VIEW COMING FROM WITHIN MOVEMENTS, ALMOST CONSPIRATORIAL; OTHERS HAVE A MORE **DETACHED, NOT FULLY CONVINCED POINT OF VIEW...**

FLORENCE, A DISNEYLAND OF RENAISSENCE, A DOUBLE-FACED, FRIGID CITY MADE STERILE AND DULL BY A FOSSILIZED CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT, WHERE THE EXPLOITATION OF THE ANCIENT CULTURE AND THE CRISIS OF THE CONTEMPORARY ONE LEAVE NO PLACE FOR COURAGE TO EXPERIMENT...

STARTING WITH A VISION OF THE CITY, ADAPTING TO FLORENCE THE THOMAS BERNHARD'S INVECTIVE ON SALZBURG:

"ANYONE WHO IS FAMILIAR WITH THE CITY KNOWS IT TO BE A CEMETERY OF FANTASY AND DESIRE, BEAUTIFUL ON THE SURFACE BUT HORRIFYING UNDERNEATH. WHOEVER GOES THERE TO LEARN AND TO STUDY [...] SOON DISCOVERS THAT THIS CITY, RENOWNED THE WORLD OVER FOR BEAUTY AND EDIFICATION [...] IS IN TRUTH NOTHING BUT A CHILL MUSEUM OF DEATH, A PERVERSE BEAUTY MACHINE, A SQUALID DEVICE FOR MAKING MONEY AND YET MORE MONEY OUT OF THE EXPLOITATION OF BEAUTY..."

WHICH STARTING HYPOTESIS? That an insurgent city exists



WHAT IS INSURGENT?

JAMES HOLSTON (1999) DESIGNATED AS "SPACES OF INSURGNT CITIZENSHIP" THOSE AREAS SUBORDINATED TO THE PLANNED, MODERN DOMINATION OF THE CITY INSECTION OF THE TERRITORIES OF THE HOMELESS, THE NETWORKS OF THE MIGRANTS, THE NEIGHBOURHOODS OF GAY, COMMUNITIES, THE SELF-BUILT SUBURBIAS...GANGLANDS, NORTIFIED CONDOS, PLACES OF SELF-PRODUCTION, SQUATTERS SETTLEMENT, SWEATSHOPS AND THE SO-COLLED AREAS OF NEW RACISM". OVERSTRETCHING THE TERM, HE CONSIDERED INSURGENT ALL SPACES HOSTING PRACTICES "DISTURBING THE MODERN CITY'S ESTABLISHED HISTORY" LUMPING TOGETHER PLACES OF CREATIVE OPPOSITION WITH NEW EXPLOITATION AND DECAY

WHAT IS INSURGENT FOR US?

WE PREFERRED THE SANDERCOCK'S DEFINITION, PAINTING AS "INSURGENT PLANNING PRACTICES" ALL THE INITIATIVES ME PLANNING AND RESISTANCE OPPOSING THE EXISTING QUESTIONING ITS ORGANISATIONAL AND POWER STRUCTURE, AND BUILDING THE FIRST POSITIVE DEVICES OF AN ALTERNATIVE, TRU DIFFERENT CITY (1999). APPRO

JOHN FRIEDMAN (1999) LINKS THESE ACTIVITIES TO THE DYNAMICS OF EXPANDING CITIZENSHIP, TO A PROGRESSIVE WIDENING OF DEMOCRATIC SPACES.

AN HISTORIC THICKNESS....

IT RESCUES GEDDES/MUMFORD (1959) OLDER RESONANCES, CONSIDERING "INSURGENCE" BOTH INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE PRACTICES, THAT ARE BIOLOGICAL AND EXISTENTIAL, BEFORE BEING POLITICAL.

THE BASIC EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT TO LIVE AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY ON THE PART OF ITS POOREST AND MORE DEPRIVED INHABITANTS

THE VERY MOLECULAR MOVEMENT OF BODIES WITHIN THE CITY: THE TRAJECTORIES OF BODIES IN THE CITY'S PUBLIC SCENE, IN PURSUIT OF LIFE AND HAPPINESS, THE INTERACTION OF BODIES THAT ARE MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE [...] ORGANIZED NETWORKS OF RESISTANCE AND ACTION, THE ROOTING OF NEW COMMUNITIES WITHIN THE SPACE, THE PROCESS OF BUILDING, TRANSFORMING AND RE-INTERPRETATE PLACES AND SETTLEMENTS

INSURGENT LIVING PRACTICES

WE BELIEVE THAT MANY SMALL ACTIONS REPEATED CAN HAVE GREATER EFFECT ON URBAN SPACE THAN A SINGLE LARGE ORGANIZED INITIATIVE TO HIDE, TO DISSIMULATE, NOT COOPERATE, TO DESOBEY, TO FEGN IGNORANCE...THERE ARE 1000 MANNERS TO OPPOSE THE THREATENING PROFILE OF THE GATED CITY, THAT DISCRIMINATES AND PUSH TO THE EDGE WITH ITS PARANOID, SECURITY-OBSESSED VISIO OPPOSING THE VERY

SUBSTANCE OF THE IDEA OF CITY.

... "POTENTIALLY THE LIST OF ACTS OF RESISTANCE IS ENDLESS — EVERYTHING FROM SIT-INS TO OUTING [...] FROM PINK AIR TO PINK TRIANGLES, FROM LOUD MUSIC TO LOUD T-SHIRTS [...] — AND THE REASON FOR THIS SEEMS TO BE THAT DEFINITIONS OF RESISTANCE HAVE BECOME BOUND UP WITH THE WAYS THAT PEOPLE ARE UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE CAPACITIES TO CHANGE THINGS, THROUGH GIVING THEIR OWN (RESISTANT) MEANINGS TO THINGS...." (S. PILE & M. KEITH, EDS. "GEOGRAPHIES OF RESISTANCE", ROUTLEDGE, 1997) WHICH OBJECT? Third, interstitial, in-between spaces (Homi Bhabha, '94)

BUILDING AN ATLAS OF FLORENCE'S NEW SOCIAL MORPHOLOGY.

- NOT FIXING THE "TERRA COGNITA", THE UNITY AND STABILITY OF AN UNEQUIVOCAL POINT OF VIEW, IN A LINEAR CORRESPONDANCE BETWEEN THE LANGUAGE OF GRAPHIC SYMBOLS AND THE UNIVERSE OF 'REAL' PHENOMENA.

- BUT AN ATLAS THAT COLLECTS 'MAPS' AND NARRATIVES, ICONOGRAPHIC AND TOPOGRAPHIC TALES — FILL UP WITH TRACKS AND PROVISIONAL SIGNS, A FLUID AND DYNAMIC FIELD OF ACTING AGENTS AND INITIATIVES. A POLYMORPHIC, PLURALISTIC, DE-CENTRALIZED ATLAS OF VOICES AND ROUTES OF THE EMERGING CITY.

- OBSERVING THE "SITE EFFECTS" (BOURDIEU, 1993) OF THE INSURGENT CITY, THOUSAND OF TINY EMPOWERMENTS (EPSTEIN/SANDERCOCK) AT DIFFERENT LEVEL OF SUBVERSION AND REVOLUTIONARY ACTION — DEPOSITING 'SYMPTOMS OF PRESENCE' (G. PABA, 2002)

-ANALSYING THE MICRO-HISTORIES OF INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS, RECONSTRUCTING A WEB, A NEW GRID OF LIFE, SOMETIME INDIFFERENT TO THE TRADITIONAL WORLD OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE AND IDEOLOGIES.

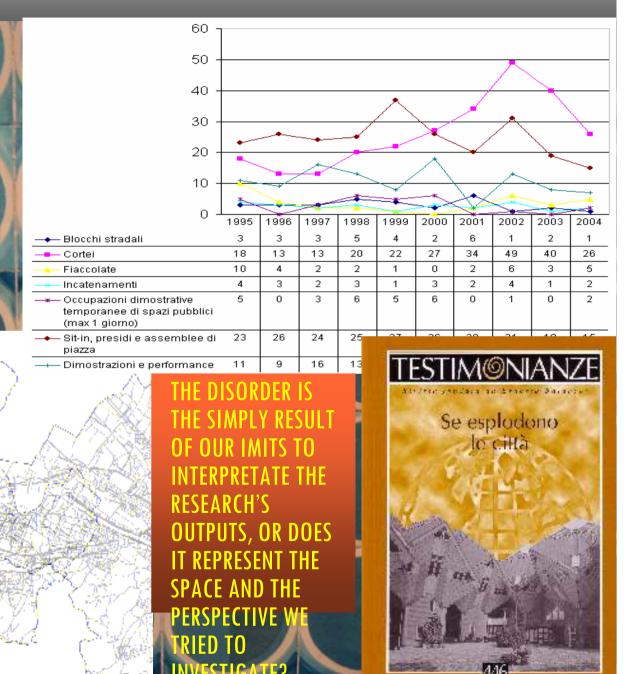
- UNPOLITICAL PRACTICES TO SOME DEGREE, AND — PERHAPS BECAUSE OF THAT, THE ONLY POLITICALLY EFFECTIVE ONES...(G. Paba, 2004)

WIIICH NEI NEJENTATION:

THE MATERIALS TO BE REPRESENTED WERE MADE UP BY AN INTERWEAVE OF HUMAN INTRA-SUBJECTIVE RELATIONS, CONFLICTING WITH THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE CITY

The 'trident'

of protest



WHICH PHOENOMENA DID WE ANALYSE???? **INSURGENT LIVING PRACTICES:** 700 protest marches and sit-ins, in the public spaces ('95-2005) he border territory of the city (disconfort and adaptability in a wild zone of oblique spaces placed on the edge, where continuing life is still a goal) The MIGRANT practices: smellscapes and colourscapes, ethinc communities & solidarity networks that are MERGING TRADITIONS Squatted spaces and self-managed social centres Wall-graffiters and anti-publicity graffiters disturbing advertising The geographies of street-workers The transgressive spaces of nightlife The hypersensitive geography of queers

THE 2 LAST ISSUES WERE STRICTLY INTERLINKED. **AND THEY WERE THE ONLY ONES WHICH WE COULD NOT REPRESENT THROUGH MAPS, BECAUSE OF THEIR HIPER-SENSITIVITY TO THE DANGERS OF ANY CODIFICATION** PRACTICE

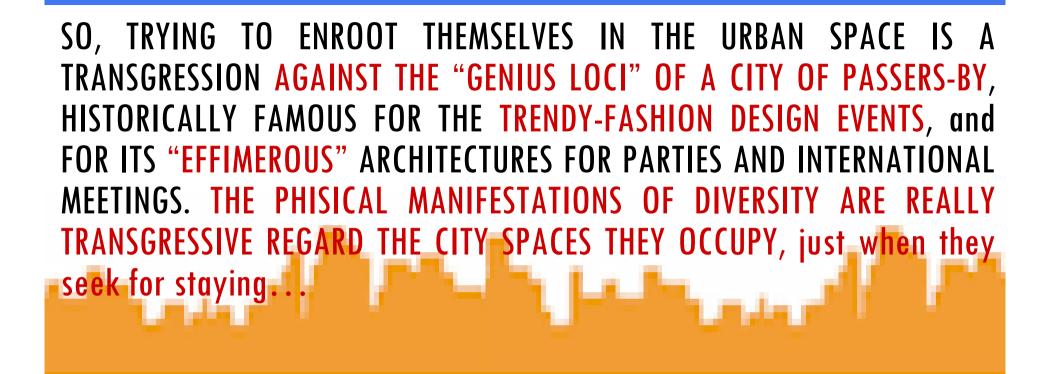
WHICH FLORENCE EMERGES FROM ITS INSURGENT PANORAMA?

A CITY FOR "PASSERS-BY", AFRAID OF BEING ASSAULTED BY ANY FOREIGN/STRANGER FORCE. A CITY THAT PROTECTS ITS REINASSENTIST. PREVALENCE AND ITS CULINARY PURITY, AND CONSEQUENTLY PUTS A CAUTIOUS DISTANCE BETWEEN ITSELF (ITS IMAGE) AND THE DIFFERENCES THAT IMPINGE ON IT.

"In some ways each of us (foreigners) is transgressive. Perhaps because we are coloured in a city made up of grey and brown stone, or because we stay on in the city while the foreigners are assumed to be simply passing hrough here. Their passing is so rapid thatnot even public toilets have been provided" (A not-EU guest resident, 38 years old)

Everyone uses the term 'migrants', overempasising the idea of passage, [...] We foreigners are given the right to pass through but not to stay. Work is available, flexible work, for people who fit in. But there is no housing. Because houses mean staying on. It would be easier to have all tourist or American students, as there are in Florence: they come, they spend money, they leave, and not even shopkeepers have to be nice with them" (An albanian resident, 37 years old)





"Your city is a little like Benozzo Gozzoli's Chapel of the Magi: it represents an inter-religious council, but the faces of the guests who arrive from far away are those of the Medici family. Already then, perhaps, guest were more welcome when they took on the faces and customs of the Florentines" (An african resident, 46 years old)

NIGHT GEOGRAPHIES ARE TWICE TRANSGRESSIVE:

- 1) FOR THEY HOUSE ACTIVITIES TRADITIONALLY INDICATED AS "TRANSGRESSIVE", THAT ARE LEGALLY OUT-OF-BOUNDS, OR AT ANY RATE GO BEYOND WHAT CURRENT MORAL CODES ACCEPT AS "NORMAL" IN SPACES OPEN TO THE PUBLIC.
- 2) THEY INTEFERE WITH THE SYSTEM OF EMPTY URBAN SPACES THROUGH INFORMAL PROCESSES OF APPROPRIATION AND PRIVATISATION WICH "MARK" THE TERRITORY AD CREATES "ZONES OF INFLUENCE" SUPERIMPOSED ON THE TRADITIONAL USE OF OPEN SPACES (allontments, lots)

NEW "INFORMAL PLANNING LINKS" ARE "DE FACTO" OCCUPYING PLACES THAT BY RIGHT BELONG TO THE COLLECTIVITY, AT TIMES TRANSFORMING THE LANGUAGE OF PREVARICATION AND VIOLENCE INTO "INTERNAL REGULATIONS". THEIR DOMINION COMES INTO EFFECT IN THE "KINGDOM OF THE NIGHT": AND THE SPATIAL DIVISIONS ARE NOT VISIBLE TO THE NAKED EYE

SO THEY HAVE A HIGHER DEGREE OF TRANSGRESSION, DERIVING FROM THE 'DISTORTED' WAYS OF USING OPEN SPACES, SUPERIMPOSING ON A MORE 'BANAL' AND ALMOST 'STANDARDISED' ONE.....

THIS STRONG "TERRITORIALISATION" SOMETIMES FOLLOWS THE CONTIGUITY OF THE NATIVE COUNTRIES OF THE WORKERS (as for pronstitutes, or strong_drugs pushers) OR OF THEIR PROTECTORS...EVEN IF MALE PROSTITUTION, TRANSEX, TRAVESTIS AND LIGHT-DRUG PUSHER HAVE HIGHER DEGREES OF 'FLEXIBILITY' (they say 'FREEDOM') TO MOVE AROUND...

HOW DO QUEER GEOGRAPHIES INSERT THEMSELVES IN THIS PANORAMA?

THE OFFICIAL IMAGE

FLORENCE IS AN OPEN/COSMOPOLITAN CITY

FLORENCE HAVE NOT OFFICIALLY A 'GAY NEIGHBOURHOOD' BUT ACTUALLY CAN SHOW A COMMERCIAL CONCENTRATION OF GAY-FRIENDLY SPACES (near Santa Croce Church)

SELF-MADE MAPS AND GUIDES ARE MAINLY 'COMMERCIAL' INDICATING THE SAFE MEETING PLACES, WITHIN A CONSUMERIST-REGARD...THEY DON'T REPRESENT AREAS, BUT A NETWORK OF SPOTS, A VIRTUAL WEB DONE OF 'KNOTS'...

OFFICIALLY THERE ARE TWO MAIN LGBT-ASSOCIATIONS AREAS, ONE PROVIDING 'SERVICES' (CONSULTANCIES, AIDS-HELP, once a magazine/fanzine), THE OTHER ENGAGED IN POLITICAL BATTLES FOR VISIBILITY AND THE RIGHT TO THE SPACE

THE REALITY

IN FLORENCE, QUEER GEOGRAPHIES ARE CHARACTERISED BY "PERSONALISED EXPLOITATION" (RATHER THAN COLLECTIVE) OF THE TERRITORY — FREER AND MORE VARIEGATED FOR GAY MALES, MORE SECLUDED AND STABLE FOR LESBIAN GROUPS

THE PROCEDURES DETERMINING HOW LGBT-PLACES ARE FREQUENTED TEND TO EXPAND BEYOND THE 'ANCHORS' CREATING FLUID/FLEXIBLE GEOGRAPHIES OPEN TO SUDDEN CHANGE, IMAGINING 'COMPENSANTION/ALTERNATIVE SPACES" (A BUFFER AT WALKING DISTANCE AROUND THE 'KNOTS') THAT COULD BE USED IF THE TRADITIONAL ONES BECOME DANGEROUS OR INACCESSIBLE. IN FLORENCE, THE NETWORK OF QUEER SPACES CORRESPONDS TO A **MICROCOSM OF DIFFERENCES THAT ARE NOT OPERATING AT THE** MOST "VISIBLE" LEVEL, WHICH PROVIDE SERVICES AND ENGAGE IN **POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. BUT THERE ARE VARIOUS GEOGRAPHIES OF NO-COMMUNICATING HOMOSEXUAL AGGREGATIONS: PARALLEL** AND AUTONOMOUS WORLDS (ie. THE HIDDEN NIGHTSCAPES OF CRUISING, FOR IMMIGRANTS AND NOMADS) THAT TEND TO COME TOGETHER ALMOST BY CHANCE IN THE CRUISING SPACE OR IN **HIGHLY IMPORTANT SOCIAL HAPPENINGS.** AND IS ON THESE 'PARTY-CROSSING PLACES' THAT THE MOST POLITICISED LGBT MOVEMENT IS WORKING, WITH THE AIM TO CREATE A 'COMMUNITY'....

THE GEOGRAPHIES OF QUEER ENCOUNTERS IN FLORENCE DO NOT DESIGN A 'DOUBLE TRANSGRESSION' BECAUSE THEY DO NOT TEND TO TAKE POSSESSION OF UNUSED BORDERLINE TERRITORIES.

DESPITE THE EXISTENCE OF MORE "STABLE" CRUISING SPACES (HISTORICALLY ANCHORED TO THE TERRITORY AND THEIR "VISIBLE INVISIBILITY"), AT MOST THEY USE "WEEKLY STRUCTURED PLACES" THAT HAVE MULTIPLE USES DURING THE COURSE OF THE DAY.

THEIR "TRANSGRESSION" DOES NOT GO MUCH BEYOND THE TRANSGRESSIVE ACTIVITIES TO WHICH THE ENCOUNTERS MAY POSSIBLY GIVE RISE, SINCE THE "NEW" USES OF THE PUBLIC SPACE ARE NOT FIXED OR EXCLUSIVE. THE SAME IS TRUE FOR THE MLE PROSTITUTION ACTIVITIES, MORE FREE, FLUID, SOLIDAL AND SELF-ORGANISED THAN THE FEMALE ONES.

BUT SOME DEGREE OF INSURGENCY THERE STILL EXIST



BECAUSE THEY REPRESENT A NETWORK OF MOVING BODIES CREATING PLURAL RELATIONSHIPs IN THE URBAN SPACE

The insurgent trend, on the political side:

BECAUSE THERE IS A GROWING LINK WITH OTHER 'WEBS OF RELATIONSHIPS' - IN THE LAST 5 YEARS (since the European Social Forum 2002) THERE IS A STRONG LINK BETWEEN LGBT ASSOCIATIONS, SOME IMMIGRANTS COMMUNITIES AND ALTERMONDIALIST MOVEMENTS (inside a coordination Committee for protests and public events) WHICH SUPPORT EACH-OTHER IN CULTURAL BATTLES OR IN THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE INSTITUTIONS (few no-discrimination policies still around...).

BECAUSE — copying from the immigrants communities and the streetsellers informal union — THE RESOURCE OF PROTESTING IN MANY LANGUAGES IS A WAY TO "INVOLVE THE PASSERS-BY" IN THE LIFE OF THE CITY, SO IT OPERATES TO DE-CONSTRUCT THE TRADITIONAL POSTCARD-IMAGE OF FLORENCE...

The insurgent trend, on the daily living of the urban space

- BECAUSE THEIR USE OF THE CITY SPACE SUCCEEDS IN RETREIVING THE MEMORY OF THE HISTORICALLY-CONSOLIDATED (AND RECENTLY LOST) SIGNIFICANCE OF VARIOUS OF THE CITY'S PUBLIC SPACES, RESTORING HISTORICAL DEPTH TO THEIR TOLERANT ATTITUDE (see the Fondazione Michelucci and Isolotto Community for the ESF 2002). - BECAUSE THEY EXPAND THEIR INITIATIVES USING THE "TRENDY MAINSTREAM" TO **'CONQUER' (FOR SUDDEN EVENTS) SPACES GENERALLY FREQUENTED BY HETEROSEXUALS** -- WITH AN IRONIC APPROACH TO "HETERO-COMPATIBILITY", QUEER GROUPS OFTEN SELECT THE IMPROVISED ACTIVITIES TARGETING THEIR CONSUMERS'SPENDING-POWER THEY INTRODUCE NEW TERMS/INDICATORS IN THE EVALUATION OF URBAN-FACILITIES SUCH AS RELAXATION, SPONTANEITY OF USE, HOSPITALITY, THUS TAKING **PROFIT OF THE EXTREME SENSITIVITY, VULNERABILITY AND INSTABILITY OF THEIR GEOGRAPHIES (STRUCTURED ON THE BASIS OF THE HYPERSENSITIVE PERCEPTION OF A "GEOGRAPHY OF GLANCES") TO BLACKMAIL MARKETING ACTIVITIES TARGETING LGBT CONSUMERS.**

Which contribution to the general debate?

From THIS PERSPECTIVE we could say that there is an overlapping between INSURGENT and RADICAL PLANNING domains, as the first is a pre-condition of the second, AND CONTRIBUTES TO THE "POLITICS OF HOPE" (Sandercock, 1999).

INSURCENCY is done of LIVING practices that need to be RE-COGNISED to make planning and policies effective and sitespecific, because they contribute to create the "meaning" of the urban space and to make the "genius loci" evolve....Its virtue is challenging existing relationship of power, in some form. Thus it contributes to the renovation of PLANNING, and to underline a new humble role for PLANNERS...

INSURGENTCITY AS THE PARADIGM OF A NEW CITY THAT CAN BE USEFUL TO INSURGENTCITY AS THE PARADIGM OF A NEW CAN BE USEFUL TO INSURGENTCITY AS THE NEW CITY THAT CAN BE USEFUL PARADIGM OF A INSURGENTCITY AS THE PARADIGM OF A NEW CITY THAT CAN BE USEFUL TO INSURGENTCITY AS THE PARADIGM OF A NEW CITY THAT CAN BE USEFUL TO INSURGENTCITY AS THE PARADIGM OF A NEW CITY THAT CAN BE USEFUL INSURGENTCITY AS THE PARADIGM OF A NEW CITY THAT CAN **BE USEFUL TO INSURGENTCITY AS THE PARADIGM OF A NEW** BE USEFUL TO INSURGENTCITY AS THE (ΔN) PARADIGM OF A NEW USEFUL TO INSURGENTCITY AS THE PARADIGM OF A USEFUL TO INSURGENTCITY AS THE CITY OF