

<https://digithum.uoc.edu>**Special section: Emotions and relational approaches: Simmel's legacy and contemporary challenges (II)****Das Geistesleben unter die großstädte: the socio-affective order in the subway from a Simmelian perspective****Erick Serna Luna**

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Abstract

The reflection on socio-affective relations and the construction of social order in public transport originated in the thought of Georg Simmel. This theme has been deepened by the French tradition of urban studies studying the role of emotional exchanges between public users in the construction of the social order of New York and Paris subways. However, when observing transport systems of this type in Latin America, there are other populations that, by using the subway for commercial purposes, influence the construction of the socio-affective order in the subway. These cases allow us to relate other Simmelian reflections on socio-affective relations, such as the notion of the poor and the stranger. Based on this, the article proposes to move towards a general and inclusive reflection on the importance of socio-affective relations in the construction of social order in subways.

Keywords

subway; socio-affective relations; social order; public transport; Simmel

Das Geistesleben unter die großstädte: el orden socioafectivo en el metro desde una perspectiva simmeliana**Resumen**

La reflexión sobre los intercambios socioafectivos y la construcción del orden social en el transporte público se originó en el pensamiento de Georg Simmel. Un tema que ha sido profundizado por la tradición francesa de estudios urbanos, la cual ha estudiado el papel de los intercambios emocionales entre el usuario público en la construcción del orden social de los metros de Nueva York y de París. No obstante, al observar los sistemas de transporte de este tipo en Latinoamérica, se aprecia que existen otras poblaciones que, al usar el metro con fines comerciales, influyen en la construcción del orden socioafectivo en este transporte. Estos casos nos permiten relacionar otras reflexiones simmelianas en torno a los intercambios socioafectivos, historias como, la noción del pobre y del extranjero. Basándose en esto, el artículo propone avanzar hacia una reflexión general e inclusiva sobre la importancia de las relaciones socioafectivas en la construcción del orden social en el metro.

Palabras clave

metro; relaciones socioafectivas; orden social; transporte público; Simmel

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Presentation

From the guidelines of classical sociological theory, it is commonplace to think of Georg Simmel as an eccentric author, who lacked a solid methodological proposal but possessed stimulating essayistic prose with which he outlined the modern city's forms of sociability (Frisby, 1990). However, in opposition to this perspective, Esteban Vernik (2008) proposes a retrospective reading of Simmel's work, based on his last works, about a philosophical view of life (Simmel, 2004) and about pedagogy (Simmel, 2008). When reading Simmel's work from this perspective, the attempt he made to systematize a pedagogical and methodological proposal rooted in his philosophical perspective of life can be appreciated. This pedagogy sought to convey the idea of the connection that exists between people life's spheres, and how the connections between these could be useful for the formulation of analytical perspectives. So, for Simmel (2004, p. 53)

"[...] all our psychic contents, experienced actively or passively, are fragments of worlds, each of which properly signifies a specially configured totality of world content. With regard to the theoretically conceivable 'real' world, it is common for all of us to adopt this attitude: we all know that our knowledge is fragmentary".

In this regard, I consider that Simmel was consistent with this proposal, which reflected his own analytical exercise, in which his philosophical, aesthetic and sociological perspective was mixed, through which he appreciated and conceptualized the forms that sociability took in modern cities. Such is the case of *The metropolis and mental life* (Simmel, 1950a). This text could be the first aesthetic and sensorial ethnography, due to the use of the *flâneur* (Benjamin, 1989) that Simmel uses to describe urban life through his senses. Thus, Simmel built the sociological data that support his propositions from his sensations and perceptions. Similarly, we also owe to Simmel the first attempt to recognize the important role that affectivities play as a form of social relationship (Sabido Ramos, 2017), which is condensed in his proposal on the effects of affections on socialization forms.

Although it was never Simmel's intention to establish an intellectual testament or a research method (Vernik, 2004), reading Simmel's work in retrospect we can appreciate a heuristic proposal to think about the social and a methodological proposal to investigate the phenomena around socialization forms. At the end of his work and his life, Simmel (2004) conceived research as an activity closer to art than to reason. An activity that connects with the different worlds that make up the life of the person who investigates (Simmel, 2004).

In addition, the Simmelian proposal of linking art with reason and his essayistic prose full of sociological snapshots (Simmel, 2007) was characterized by enunciating forms of sociability, which he did not necessarily develop in their final consequences. These impressions, captured at the time, ultimately became reflections of greater theoretical and methodological significance; in Simmel, there is a source of inspiration for the sociological imagination (Mills, 1961). A quality that, by itself, should be appreciated as a valuable sociological heritage.

In this article, these Simmelian legacies are recovered to analyze the socio-affective relationships in the study of social order in the subway. A social order that, I presume, is built from the relationships maintained by the different types of actors within this means of transport. Within this type of actors, it is necessary to incorporate the peo-

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ple who occupy the subway for economic purposes. This is the case of the different types of merchants, urban artists and beggars who carry out their activities in the corridors and on board the wagons. These people and activities have not been considered by the French tradition of urban studies which has overseen studying with greater attention the socio-emotional construction of social order in the subway.

The first section of the article highlights the Simmelian legacies that enable the ethnographic study of the socio-affective order in the subway. The second section highlights the socio-emotional characteristics of the subway that allow me to propose the study of a "spirit under the city". In the third section, I present the approaches and studies carried out by the French School of Urban Studies in the study of the socio-emotional construction of social order in the subway. In the fourth section, based on the studies carried out on the subways in Latin America, I present some of the populations and activities that should be incorporated into the study of the subway's social order. Finally, I offer some reflections for the construction of a research agenda on the importance of socio-affective relationships in the construction of social order under the city.

1. For a sensitive ethnography: the methodological contribution of Georg Simmel

Deconstructing the aesthetic-analytical perspective that I appreciated in Simmel from the reconstruction of a literary genealogy, reflected in his execution of sociological snapshots. Based on the analysis Benjamin (1989; 2010) made on the *flâneur* and modernity, one can appreciate the evolution of a way of registering the emotional and sensory experience that life in the city provokes, which ranges from the aesthetic literature to the vestiges of sensory ethnography. From the *flâneur* represented by Baudelaire (Benjamin, 2010) to the detective literature of Edgar Allan Poe (2009), one can appreciate the way of being in the world and immerse oneself in the streets and its commercial life. Through this way of being in the city, the poet gets lost in the spaces of the city to find, through his sensations and emotions, those surprising and impressive elements that move him and inspire aesthetic reflections (Benjamin, 1989). This relationship has been analyzed from literary and political perspectives (Buck-Morss, 1986; Pizarro, 2012), which have highlighted the relationship between Poe's *Man of the Crowd* (2009) with the idea of loitering that characterizes the poetic attitude of the *flâneur*, which can be seen in Baudelaire's prose (Buck-Morss, 1986; Benjamin, 1989).

Based on this general genealogy, Simmelian snapshots could be the link between poetry and ethnography. As I have pointed out, the ethnographic exercise that Simmel inspired was more familiar with the *flâneur* of the poets of the late nineteenth century than with the methodical systematization of experience. That ethnographical method would be condensed by the members of the Chicago School and by modern anthropology. Thus, what Simmel does in most of his essays is a sensitive and emotional analysis of the experience of urban life. One aspect that Simmel sought to highlight was the construction of urban culture, with special emphasis on the sociability that occurred in public spaces. A sociability marked by numerous crowds, interactions with strangers and stimulating nervous life (Sim-

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mel, 1950a). Very similar to what Benjamin (1989; 2010) developed in his “passages” on *flâneur*-style analysis, which was inspired by the analysis of Baudelaire’s and Poe’s work. This similarity could leave the door open to the analysis of Simmel’s work in Benjamin’s thought.

The sensory and emotional aspects with which Simmel identified the sociability that characterized large cities are condensed in the notion of “*blasé attitude*” (Simmel, 1950a). This concept will be key for the subsequent study of social order in public spaces, since it describes emotional states and how they build the forms of modern sociability in cities, characterized by emotional control as a sign of high civility (Goffman, 1979). In this same analytical vein, the differentiated and differentiating role played by the senses in social interactions is a characteristic that distinguishes Simmelian observations from the mere description of ethnography. A style that, due to the oblivion suffered by the author, has not been recovered until recent times by anthropology and the sociology of emotions (Sabido Ramos, 2017; 2021).

My proposal is that the incorporation of the epistemological and methodological principles that are appreciated in a fragmentary way in Simmel’s work could play in the study of behaviors and socio-affective relationships that constitute social order in the subway. Especially, in Latin American subways where – although not exclusively – social order is built based on the sociability of multiple actors that go beyond the users, the authorities and the acts of materiality that constitute this means of transportation (Joshep, 1994). What I propose is to recognize and incorporate the activities carried out by merchants, street musicians and beggars in the subway. The activities carried out by these people give another level of complexity to the socio-affective relationships and the sensitivity that support the social order in the subway.

A second objective of the work, beyond the analysis of the social order in the subway, is to highlight the heuristic contribution that lies in the Simmelian heritage on his vitalist perspective of research. Although Simmel insisted on saying that his work would have no heirs (Vernik, 2008). In retrospect, the foundations of an ethnographic methodology can be extracted from Simmel’s work, which is based on observation and sensitive registration through which the social behaviors that are represented in urban spaces can be described. That is, identifying the forms of objective urban culture and the subjective forms of urban culture (Sabido Ramos, 2003). Within which, returning to the theme of social order in the subway, the appropriations carried out by the different populations could be an expression of those urban subjective cultures under the city. Which, for the most part, are in constant tension and conflict with the structures and norms that govern civic behavior under the city.

In this sense, what the vitalist proposal of Simmelian pedagogy proposes is very similar to what Maritza Pereiano (2014) has recently proposed regarding ethnography as a way of life. Through this, beyond the sensitive impressions that are expressed in the monographs, ethnography is an epistemological perspective that allows the creation of a theory from the reflection and questioning of everyday experiences.

2. The *Geistleben* under the city: the subway as an ethnographic space of modern life

As some specialists of Simmel’s work and thought point out (Vernik, 2012), culture is one of the central themes in the author’s work – for

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the case at hand, urban culture. In this sense, based on the analysis of Rammstedt (Vernik, 2012) and Wolff (1950), Simmel transferred the notion of spirit from the discussion of German nationalism to the observation of life in the nascent cities of the early twentieth century. In Simmel’s idea, as was seen in the discussion about a spirit within German culture (Wolff, 1950), there was a common culture in the behavior and social order of cities. Describing the forms through which this culture was expressed was what Simmel understood from the notion of *Geist*. In this way, Simmel transfers to the local scale his question about how society is possible (Wolff, 1950) towards how social order is possible in urban spaces where the agglomerations of people begin to be appreciated, the growth of economic life, and therefore, the growth of psychological life (Simmel, 1950a).

That is the epistemological context in Simmel’s thought, which surrounds the following snapshot, in which the author reflected on the questioning of sociability and order in urban transport:

“Before the development of buses, trains, and streetcars in the nineteenth century, people were not at all in a position to be able or to have to view one other for minutes or hours at a time without speaking to one another. Modern traffic, which involves by far the overwhelming portion of all perceptible relations between person and person, leaves people to an even greater extent with the mere perception of the face and must thereby leave universal sociological feelings to fully altered presuppositions” (Simmel, 2009, p. 573).

According to Simmel, inside transport, people are physically so close that knowledge about interactions and perceptions of body contact is at the expense of facial expressions and visual perception (Simmel, 2009). Simmel leaves the note there and continues with his impressionistic analysis of the role played by the rest of the senses in urban sociability. But it leaves the door open to reflection on the construction of sociability and the construction of social order on board urban transport. A door that can be crossed to analyze the case of the subway, and thus raise the general conditions of what, following Simmel’s proposal, could be “spiritual life below the big cities”.

This idea has already been taken up by the French school of research on behavior and social order in urban transport. The basis for these reflections is Joshep’s readings on the work of Simmel, Goffman and Lefebvre among other scholars of urban sociability (Paraise & Israël, 2004). Based on this, a research school on urban behaviors in the subway, seen as a space for sociability and mobility, was created (Aranguren & Tonnelat, 2013). From this perspective, some studies have shown that different forms of socialization are carried out in the subway, what constitutes it as an urban space with its order of interaction. (Ocejo & Tonnelat, 2013).

In recent times, the studies that have been carried out on emotions and social order in the Paris subway (Aranguren & Tonnelat, 2013) and in the New York City Subway (Tonnelat, 2012; Aranguren & Tonnelat, 2013) stand out. In contrast to other approaches to behavior and social order in the subway (Augé, 1998), Tonnelat and company have developed a methodology through which they record the role played by emotions in social exchanges between subway users (Aranguren & Tonnelat, 2013). One of the elements of this methodology was identifying the different situations, such as the embarking and disembarking wagons, in which interactions between people could be tense (Aranguren & Tonnelat, 2013).

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Following Joshep's (2004) proposal, the authors demonstrate how these socio-emotional exchanges constitute an important part of Paris' subway social order. A space that was the benchmark for the first studies on informal commerce in the subway of Paris (Costes, 1988). In addition to this aspect, which I will recover later, the work of Costes identified that there was a stratified use of the subway, which differed according to nationalities and social strata. Although without the aspect of informal commerce, the work of Tonnelat and Kornblum (2017) on line 7 of the New York City Subway highlights how the mobility of the people who use this line is also marked by their different nationalities and cultural affiliations. This identification of stability in the contacts with strangers, who in spite of it are also trustworthy, is one of the elements that allow the construction of trust between Subway users (Tonnelat, 2011).

With the mediation of Joshep's readings, and the influence of Goffman, in some of the approaches of Tonnelat and company, the influence of Simmel can be noted, both in the appreciation of emotions in relation to crowds in space (Aranguren & Tonnelat, 2013) and in the management of social contacts with strangers (Tonnelat, 2011). Even the operability of the method to identify emotions through the faces of users (Aranguren & Tonnelat, 2014) could be understood as that allusion that Simmel made about the relationship between faces and eye contact onboard public transport.

3. Beyond Paris and New York: the *geist* under Latin American cities

The contribution made by the French School of Urban Studies to the study of social order in the subway is undeniable. Although it has never been the intention of Tonnelat and his team to formulate a general theory on the construction of social order in the subway, I consider that the contribution that their research has made would be greater if their postulates were transferred to study the order under other cities. Unfortunately, it is rare that studies are carried out in which the cases of the subways of different cities are compared, especially when these cities belong to different regions of the world, for example, Latin America. There is no doubt that the language in which research is written is still one of the main barriers to scientific communication. This article seeks to be a first step to reduce the gap among the Anglo-Saxon, French and Latin American schools of thought in the study of social order in the subway.

Although it is necessary to respect the particularities of each case, seen as an urban space, the subway is a means of transport that contains general material and sociological characteristics that make it special to study the socio-affective exchanges that constitute its social order. A first aspect has to do with the numerous agglomerations of people they gather, especially in transport systems of this type found in large cities. From Tokyo to Mexico City, subway systems move millions of people a day through urban spaces.

As Tonnelat (2011) has highlighted, these agglomerations, the constant rubbing of bodies and emotional frictions, make them wonder how social order is possible with these conditions of agglomeration, and how the density of agglomerations is a factor to be studied in the emotional management of interactions between users (Aranguren & Tonnelat, 2013). In a literary context, for the

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Latin American case, Carlos Monsiváis (1989) made the same question in his ironic essays that describe the urban experience in the subway of Mexico City. In the same city, but in a similar context as the first studies on the social order in the Paris subway (Joshep, 1995; 2004), actions have been implemented that have managed to order the embarking and disembarking to or from wagons, through the installation of marks on the floors of the station platforms (Carreón Vázquez, 2018).

This leads to identifying a second sociological aspect of the urban experience in the subway that concerns displacements in the spaces of the subway (Augé, 1998). This encompasses mobility, emotions, sociability with strangers and one's own relationship with the materiality of the stations and wagons. That supposes the learning of the specific rules of conduct of the subway. In the footsteps of Lofland (1998. Cited by Tonnelat, 2011, p. 3) "[f]ive rules would guide the actions of city dwellers: cooperative mobility, civil inattention, audience role, restricted help and propriety towards diversity (Lofland, 1998)". Of these, Tonnelat (2011) highlights that cooperative mobility and civil inattention are central to understanding social order in the subway. Aspects that could be enriched by the study of social order in the subways of Latin America, in which, as I will present, there are many actors who, due to their economic and commercial activities, seek to break with the principle of civil inattention.

The vulnerability of these aspects also affects the foundations on which relationships of trust are built in the subway. According to Tonnelat (2011), this trust is built based on the material conditions that guarantee the subway service and thanks to the reliability provided by strangers who board the subway. However, in Latin American cases, the consistency of the material conditions of the subway is not reliable. As shown by Lenin Pires (2011) at the beginning of his ethnography, which begins with the conflict that generated a failure in the services of the Rio de Janeiro subway. A more serious case would be the terrorist attacks that were experienced in Madrid's subway.

In relation to bodily and emotional contact with strangers, another notable aspect relates to emotional management in the case of the rubbing of bodies. On these interactions, Simmel could be directly evoked, who presents as a general condition of modern sociability spiritual distance in contrast to physical closeness. However, the works carried out by the French tradition of social order in the subway make it possible to problematize this Simmelian maxim, since, behind the apparent spiritual distance, there is a whole series of rules and behaviors of socio-emotional containment that are not written but learned, which are practiced in the various situations that make up the social order in the subway. In other words, there are a series of behaviors, and ways of moving the body and diverting sensory attention that show that there is a whole series of rules of conduct that subway users learn and manage (Tonnelat, 2011).

The learning of this bodily, sensory, and emotional knowledge is part of a series of experiences that are acquired throughout the trips on board the subway. In addition, as can be seen in urban experiences, there is an urban education that fathers and mothers instill from childhood in each subway trip. From the way of approaching the wagons, the way of holding the handrails, the names of the stations, the routes of the lines, the silence that must be maintained, the eyes that must not be fixed on any person, among the endless teachings that are at the core of urban education. These teachings

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precede the rules of conduct themselves that are reinforced through regulations and promoted through advertising by the authorities of these means of transport.

These rules and behaviors can vary from one subway to another, and that they are linked to the urban culture of each city. For example, in Tokyo's subway, it is bad manners to talk in the carriages, and eating food and making or answering calls on board the carriages is prohibited. This contrasts with what Lenin Pires (2011) observed in the subway cars of Rio de Janeiro, where card games are part of the activities that people do to pass the time when the journeys are long. Also, other uses can be seen in which the order of interaction includes embodied relationships between people of the same sex in the subway cars of Mexico (Vizcaya, 2019). These examples show the multiplicity of uses that are carried out in the subway, seen as a social space rather than as a single means of transportation.

4. About beggars, street musicians and merchants: some underground snapshots

It would be impossible to describe the vast heterogeneity of uses and forms of socialization that could be identified in each of the subways of the world's great cities. Even a great ethnographic study would be needed that could describe the forms of socialization that comprise the lines that weave the underground transport network of a city. Nevertheless, another type of behavior is influenced by commercial and economic practices that, despite the prohibitions of the authorities, some people carry out on board the wagons. In this regard, as if it were a spatial allegory of the social hierarchy itself, although depending on the levels of poverty and the restrictions of each underground transport system, the subways of the world are the receptacle for artists, beggars, pickpockets, and merchants who live in the city. From the characterization that Costes (1988) made of the merchants and beggars of the Paris subway, it can be identified that most of them were people who had migrated from Algeria and other countries and had found in the subway a space where to develop their business activities to survive in the city.

In correspondence with the labor problems and the inequality that prevails in Latin American cities, a large part of the studies on urban transport of the subway type have focused on the description and analysis of the popular economies that develop within them (Serna, 2020).

This does not mean that this type of activity is not carried out in other subways around the world, at least not in the case of the subways of Europe and North America. I have already mentioned that the first study on these issues originated in Paris (Costes, 1988), and for his part, Tanenbaum (1995) described the process of regulation of the musicians who played in the New York subway. However, the socioeconomic conditions that exist in Latin American cities make popular activities more recurrent in this region. These artistic and commercial appropriations can be found in cities such as Rio de Janeiro (Pires, 2011), Buenos Aires (Graziano *et al.*, 2007; Perelman, 2013) and Mexico City (Serna, 2020). In this regard,

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perhaps because it is the largest subway in the region, Mexico City is where a greater number of socio-anthropological investigations have been carried out on the commercial, begging and artistic uses of the subway (Serna, 2020).

In addition, Mexico City's subway is the transport of its kind that hosts a greater number of popular economic activities. Among the multiple activities that are carried out daily in its corridors and wagons, wagon merchants stand out, who offer low-quality items at very affordable prices, a group that is the most numerous and visible; also urban artists, who may well be young students, adult musicians and even people with disabilities; young people in a street situation who practice acts of fakirism (Estrada, 2021); AIDS patients; elderly beggars and mentally, visually (Serna, 2019) or hearing impaired merchants; rural migrants (Serna, 2014).

Since the early 1990s, a large part of these activities has been the subject of numerous socio-anthropological studies. These studies have shown the different ways through which these people establish different socio-affective and economic ties with the materiality of the subway space, as well as with users, with the authorities and regulations that order the conduct in the subway. The complexity of these relationships takes the social order of the subway to another analytical level, since, in addition to the fact that the actors and factors that compose it increase, the socio-affective relationships that sustain it involve a greater number of emotions.

In the case of the relationships that involve the different types of wagon merchants, they are interwoven between conflicts and collaborations with the public user; conflicts and negotiations with the authorities; and conflicts with the application of the legal norms that penalize the commercial use of the subway spaces (Serna, 2020). This density of socio-affective relationships allows sociability in the subway to be understood from a Simmelian perspective, mainly in relation to the sociability that involves conflict as a constitutive relationship of social order (Simmel, 2009). For its part, this type of relationship contravenes the proposal of Tonnelat (2011) who proposes that one of the elements that sustain social order in the subway is the cooperative relationships between the populations that use the subway. When appreciating the case of the social relations that sustain popular commerce in Mexico City's subway, social order is integrated by cooperative relations as well as by conflictive relations.

Another type of relationship that can be seen through the popular economic activities in the subway is that which represents the different begging populations. It is an activity with a certain degree of complexity since it is part of a moral economic exchange, as Simmel initially exposed when he problematized the socio-moral rights enjoyed by poor people (Simmel, 2009). For example, in the case of Mexico City's subway this activity is highly heterogeneous. There are at least four forms of representation of begging in Mexico City's subway, which are:

- 1) **Pure begging:** beggars who make a dramatized representation of the stigma they carry. Sick people, pregnant women, some ex-convicts, infants who ask for charity, beggars of supposed rural origin (Serna, 2014) and people with disabilities could fall into this category.¹

1. This idea was originally presented in the framework of the article: "The presentation of the beggar in the everyday subway. Ethnographic notes on the moral affective economy of the forms of begging in the subway of Mexico City", Congreso 2019. Sociedad Mexicana de Sociología, 27 September 2019.

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- 2) **Artistic begging:** they are people who base their representation not only on the condition of their stigma but also rely on an artistic act, regardless of its aesthetic, musical, declamatory, or acrobatic quality. Within this group, we would find blind singers (Serna, 2019), poets and street musicians, fakirs and AIDS patients.
- 3) **Commercial begging:** people who accompany the presentation of their stigma with the sale of some merchandise that is offered to users/spectators for a “voluntary cooperation”. Within this category, we find the “silent candy” who have no disability.
- 4) **Intimidating begging:** through it, people not only manipulate the user/spectator through the emotions of pity and compassion but also use fear to obtain the gift. In this group ex-convicts and young are found.

With their particularities, each of these activities problematizes both the ideas of Simmel (2009) and Goffman (1970), since the purpose of the socio-affective bond is to politicize the stigma that is presented by begging people so that the user, moved by the representation of the pitiful cause, ends up giving a coin. In this sense, the emotional work of the begging person is to provoke pity and thus force the demonstration of the right of the poor that had been enunciated by Simmel.

The work of Flor Estrada (2021) has been the research that has best described the particularities of the emotional work carried out by beggars in Mexico City's subway. Estrada (2021) placed great emphasis on the role played by the socio-emotional relationships that fakirs maintain with the public user to move or intimidate them and thus be able to obtain financial compensation after lying down on the glass that they put on the wagon's floor. In addition, the author highlights the relationships that these populations establish with the materiality of the wagons to perform their acrobatic acts there. Finally, the work highlights the role played by other senses, such as smell and hearing, in the creation of links between beggars and the public user. That offers an opportunity to appreciate the emotional order in the subway beyond visual perceptions.

This activity also gives another dimension to the socio-moral and affective order that takes place in the subway, not only because of the socio-affective relationships that sustain them but also because it is an activity that is carried out, although with different intensities, in different Latin American subways (Graziano *et al.*, 2007) and throughout the world. For instance, in the case of Berlin city, its U-Bahn² is used by many beggars and musicians. The musicians are divided between young musicians who play classical music or realize another music performance and the musicians who play contemporary Latin music hits. In the other group, we find the beggars, represented by old people and young people. Some of them sell the social newsletter called *Mots* for 1.20 euros or ask for a coin or food help; others just present themselves in a low voice and ask for some help either with some food or a coin. Through the coin given by the users to beggars and musicians, we can find a social relationship. On the firsthand, the classical music shows were more appreciated than popular music presentations, so we can notice a kind of distinction and cultural taste about it. On the other hand, the

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moral relationships with beggars were more complicated, because the beggar's discourse must be very convincing to touch the heart of the users and transform piety into material help.

Final reflections: in search of the Geist below the city

Although it is necessary to deepen the particular and comparative study of each of these activities, it is necessary to point out that the recognition of these populations problematizes the notion of the social order that is built under the city. In this sense, beyond the socio-economic implications that influence the practices carried out in Latin American subways, it is necessary to integrate them to build a heuristic perspective on the socio-affective exchanges that constitute the social order in the subway. This work has sought to pay in this respect.

On a theoretical level, despite time, Georg Simmel's thought is a living heritage that allows us to understand the different socio-affective relationships that are identified when studying the social order of Latin American subways. The socio-affective and material conditions found in this region of the world make the Simmelian notions of the poor, the stranger, and the conflict necessary to understand the socio-affective exchanges that are woven under Latin American cities. In this regard, the case of begging in the subway due to its conditions is offered as a case that would allow the development of comparative studies in different subways around the world, both in Europe and Latin America.

Finally, methodologically, I consider that it would be desirable to incorporate sensory data from more senses in relation to the analysis of emotions. This poses a challenge to go beyond methodological ocularcentrism. The construction of sound landscapes or olfactory maps could be some options to complement the visual data with which emotions are identified in facial gestures. This is perhaps the most problematic aspect of the scientific exercise. However, they are part of the challenges that arise to find a heuristic framework that includes the widest possible spectrum of the spirit under big cities.

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2. The U-Bahn was inaugurated on 15 February 1902. It has 173 subway stations distributed in nine lines along of 146.3 kilometers around Berlin city. It transports daily in average of 1.3 million of passengers and near of 45.7 million of users per year.

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Das Geistesleben unter die großstädte: the socio-affective order in the subway from a Simmelian perspective

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