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Rhythms, dressage and pacemaking in South Side Chicago: examining the construction site of the Obama Presidential Center

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the effects of a major civil project, the Obama Presidential Center in Jackson Park on Chicago's South Side, on the everyday rhythms of this part of the city. In particular, we examine the construction site of this center and its impact on the production of rhythms. We focus on the notion of "dressage" in Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis, suggesting a critical reading of this notion through the theory of pacemaker. Theorizing the interrelation between rhythms, dressage and pacemaking, our article investigates the interface of the built environment and everyday rhythms. We employ the chronoanalysis concept of the "pacemaker" to analyze the OPC construction site's disruption and introduction of new rhythms which transform the park. The discussion provides reflections on how Lefebvre's concept of dressage can be theoretically advanced through pacemaking and thereby made fruitful for empirical inquiry. The examination of the OPC construction site draws attention to how major infrastructural projects change the rhythms of urban spaces and can provide concrete perspectives on how capitalist urban redevelopment becomes manifest in people's lived everyday experiences and routines.

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Introduction: "not just a monument to my presidency"

On Chicago's South Side, monumental change is currently unfolding. In 2016, the Obama Foundation announced that it would build the Obama Presidential Center (OPC) into Jackson Park, one of Chicago's largest public parks (Schwarze, 2023b; Schwarze & Wilson, 2022). Set to open its doors in 2025, the OPC will be a massive, $800 million, nineteen-acre mega-infrastructural project, encompassing a variety of different architectural elements, from a 235-feet museum tower, a forum, several parks and recreational facilities. In this article, we use pacemaking and rhythmanalysis to

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discuss the entrainment of urban residents in public parks, construction sites and commuter routes in and around the OPC construction site.

The ongoing construction of the OPC presents a unique opportunity to examine material change in action through the construction site. While the impact of the OPC on adjacent neighborhoods cannot be conclusively established at the moment, the nineteen-acre construction site itself has, however, already altered the physical and social makeup of the area. While most research on mega-infrastructure understandably focuses on the actual infrastructure in question in terms of its expected, planned, or actual effects, construction sites have been overlooked in existing research. The scale of such a construction site can match that of any actual development, composing a city-district in the largest examples (Soloman, 2012) that exist for years or even decades in the case of stalled projects. This particularly holds true for large-scale infrastructure developments (Fainstein, 2008; Orueta & Fainstein, 2008), such as sports venues (Preuss, 2007), museums (González Ceballos, 2004), or waterfronts (Lehrer & Laidley, 2008; Zeković & Maričić, 2022). This is important insofar as the effects of infrastructure developments on everyday life and the production of space begin much earlier than their completion. The size and scale of these construction sites significantly intervene in people's established daily spatial routines and practices before these infrastructural projects open their doors to the public.

In this paper, we develop an analytical framework for researching the following question: how do construction sites of infrastructure projects impact people's everyday lives? We argue that such impact can be theorized through Henri Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmanalysis, particularly his notion of dressage (Schmid, 2022; Schwarze, 2023b). The concept of dressage foregrounds the forced imposition of rhythms onto urban space which, in turn, structure, determine, and limit people's ability to appropriate and use space.

However, Lefebvre (2004) himself does not invest much space for developing his notion of dressage which he outlines over the course of 6 ½ pages in his *Rhythmanalysis*. There he merely discusses the notion of dressage broadly (see below) but does not explicitly connect it to processes of urbanization and the urban as a specific spatial scale. This is surprising. After all, Lefebvre's *oeuvre* is most known for his urban and spatial theories (Lefebvre, 1991, 2004), and his *Rhythmanalysis*, too, draws on and extends his earlier writing on the city, everyday life, and space. Dressage, however, remains mostly outside of considerations of the urban and the city. We argue that this is a missed opportunity because the added value of dressage as a concept for understanding urban infrastructure developments lies in its ability to make visible how different modalities of the urban are established and reinforced. There are however ambiguities over how to operationalize dressage. Therefore, we suggest a critical reading of dressage through the theory of pacemakers (D. N. Parkes & Thrift, 1975) to make it fruitful for examining infrastructure urban redevelopment. We argue that pacemakers, such as buildings, traffic lights, or, as in our case, construction sites, are organizing material elements which enact dressage and thereby structure, impose, and determine rhythms. We do not claim that dressage and pacemakers necessarily need to be material. They can take many forms, including specific repetitive human activities. In our analysis, we theorize dressage and pacemaking as an urban process that works upon a pre-existing set of already existing rhythms which become altered through pacemakers and their associated imposition of dressage onto embodied rhythms because infrastructure construction sites

are, first and foremost, material. At the same time, as we show in our empirical analysis of the OPC construction site, these pacemaking materials work hand-in-hand with non-material forms of dressage such as, for example, through the operation of security guards in and around the construction site who form part of securitizing practices and ensembles of material and non-material pacemakers.

Bringing pacemaking into discussion with dressage contributes to the emerging operationalization of Lefebvre's writings for theoretical and empirical research (Bitter & Weber, 2009; Goonewardena et al., 2008; Schmid, 2022; Schwarze, 2023b). This scholarship is characterized by a close reading of Lefebvre's texts to develop ways in which his writings can be mobilized for theoretical development of and empirical inquiry into urbanization processes and the city. We argue that theoretically expanding Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmanalysis via pacemaking and operationalizing this novel theoretical reading can add to this scholarship in meaningful ways by showing how taken-for-granted urban features such as construction sites are important spaces for understanding urban redevelopment and its impact on people's everyday lived experiences, practices, and routines.

Through applying dressage and pacemaking to infrastructure construction, this analysis contributes to research on how the urban and urban life are dynamically and continually structured (Amin & Thrift, 2002), particularly how urban change and redevelopment do not merely become manifest through the physical alteration of urban morphologies and infrastructures but through the interplay between urban materiality and associated changes in mobilities, flows, and rhythms in urban space (Castells, 1996; Edensor, 2010; Sheller, 2014). By extending the analytical focus to the period of construction and construction sites as material pacemakers, we develop a theorization of urban redevelopment that not only focuses on the spatio-temporal fixation of capital (Jessop, 2006) but foregrounds how urban redevelopment is experienced in people's lives through changes in the reproduction and imposition of everyday rhythms (Degen, 2008; Osman et al., 2023)

In the first section, this article theorizes the relationship between rhythm, dressage, and pacemaking. This is followed by a section on the research context and research methods, which includes a brief history of Jackson Park as well as the OPC project. The third and final section examines the role of the construction site as pacemaker in altering the urban rhythms around it.

Rhythm, dressage and pacemakers

The question of organizing rhythms and dressage

Urban geography and sociology have increasingly come to turn to Lefebvre's formulation of rhythmanalysis as a foundation of the study. This methodology, philosophy, and ontology rest on the simple observation of rhythm, which Lefebvre (2004, p. 15, original emphasis) defines as "Everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is **rhythm**." The rhythm here is a time, a place and a practice. Rhythms though also have to repeat in some way, not exactly, after all that would be *repetition*, Lefebvre (2004) remarks. Nonetheless, the time, place and expenditure of energy repeat in an evolving and situated manner. When turned onto the city, rhythmanalysis focuses on the apparent taken-for-granted nature of its constant motion, which

come together into polyrhythmic ensembles (Crang, 2001). The so-called rhythmanalyst turns their attention to how "the everyday establishes itself, creating hourly demands, systems of transport, in short, its repetitive organisation" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 7). However, there is a tension here, between the everyday establishing itself spontaneously and objectively, like the cheer of a crowd at a sports game, and the repetitive organization of such, the fixture itself. Most studies have tended to study the *spontaneous* nature of urban rhythms, such as a pedestrian walking. However, rhythms may also be organized or shaped, such as the introduction of restaurants, bars and shops for pedestrians to navigate. Urban life is under organized construction (Kern, 2016) that becomes the taken-for-granted or the spontaneous.

In *Rhythmanalysis*, Lefebvre (2004) examines the creation and imposition of social rhythms in the chapter *Dressage*. He builds off the observation that for most of the time, people live by rhythms as if they had been trained to do so in some manner. The goal is to critically explore how rhythms become spontaneous to the "initiative of living beings" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 40). To do so, Lefebvre (2004, p. 39) invokes the metaphor of breaking in an animal over two phases of action,

> Breeders are able to bring about unity by combining the linear and the cyclical. By alternating innovations and repetitions. A linear series of imperatives and gestures repeats itself cyclically. These are the phases of dressage.

The first phase is the disruption of "natural ways" in which the subject behaves, often marked by a "signal," Lefebvre remarks, which has a beginning and an end. Second, is the cyclic rhythm that resumes, not with a signal, but by the "general reorganisation of time. Therefore of society, of *culture*" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 39, original emphasis). For example, a trainer has a specific signal – a whistle – to enact certain repetitions, like the drill of a football team when they are doing specific exercises. The actions of those exercises though are internalized in the culture of the team and the sedimented conduct of their practices. However, Lefebvre (2004, p. 39) focuses dressage on the indirect and passive, where dressage works by creating an environment to shape behavior: "One presents them with the same situation, prepares them to encounter the same state of things and people." Here the classic rhythmanalysis of the street is indicative. The traffic lights signal behavior, but pedestrians and drivers instinctually conform to the rules of the road. Dressage therefore "bases itself on repetition" and occurs by "making them repeat a certain act" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 39). Thus, the act of "breaking in" is orchestrated initially but thereon continues as passive action. In the two phases, dressage speaks to the tension between spontaneity and organization of everyday rhythms, dressage is created by organization of time, but also operates spontaneously in repetitive situations.

Secondary authors have tended to interpret dressage as an embodied and taken-for-granted way of doing things, in the sense of spontaneity. Jones and Warren (2016) summarize dressage as "how rhythms create modes of behaviour that can be easily slipped into with relatively little thought." Their examples range from cycling recreationally to the purchase, preparation, and ingestion of coffee. Edensor (2010, p. 71) meanwhile says that "Lefebvre identifies the regulation of embodied rhythms through the notion of 'dressage'." Edensor's usage of the word "regulation" speaks to how dressage is, to some extent, initially *unnatural* to the subject; it is something that has come from outside the subject and come to change their habitual way of doing. The second keyword used by Edensor (2010) is

"embodied" – dressage works upon the body. Dressage can be seen as the work of producing the body whilst also working upon the body, as it involves "duration, harshness, punishments and rewards" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 40). Behavior is altered by changing the outcome, giving something for conforming or applying pressure for not doing so. However, where Edensor (2010) focuses on "embodiment" in the sense of a single human, Lefebvre (2004) has a more metaphysical take on the body, for he (2004, p. 42) says that "The crowd is a body, the body is a crowd (of cells, of liquids, of organs)." This implies that there are multiple scales to dressage. We are simultaneously in a dressage that works on the individual, and a dressage of the crowd-body, cut along any distinction (race, citizenship, income level, education, interests, civil participation, etc.). The individual and crowd bodies interact as subjective and objective aspects.

Dressage is deceptively simple. At first it seems like all it speaks to is how people are "forced" to live by rhythms, dressage is "imposed" and a "regulation." Yet, at the same time, there is a nebulous aspect, dressage is a passive operation of the "crowd" and "repetitive situations." This is encapsulated in the two phases: a signal and orchestration of structure and the passive operation of that structure which follows the initial signal. Despite its potential to be central to rhythmanalysis, the secondary literature of dressage has almost exclusively focused on the embodied and instinctual results, rather than the organizing structures of such behavior – the signals and repetitive situations that break-in society at large. Dressage lacks the second piece of the tension at the heart of rhythmanalysis, the organization. For this we turn to pacemakers.

Pacemakers

To *organize* dressage, we draw on pacemaker theory (D. N. Parkes & Thrift, 1975). The contemporary vein of pacemaker theory in English originates with a paper by D. N. Parkes and Thrift (1975) which presents a time-based analysis of society. Pacemaker analysis has continued mainly in the chronoanalysis-centered side of Lefebvrian rhythmanalysis (Blue, 2019; Osman & Mulíček, 2017; Schwanen et al., 2012). Here, we explicitly pair dressage with pacemaking to develop a more lived and placed conceptualization of both concepts.

At their simplest, pacemakers are all the ordinary things in the world that one waits for or aligns behavior with. Authors tend to emphasize very direct instances of pacemaking, such as elevators, schools that open at 9am, etc.: "their role is always the same, they 'pace' behaviour" (D. Parkes & Thrift, 1979, p. 360). More conceptually though, pacemakers make-up the world,

> Our environment is packed with pacemakers. As individuals and to our personal experiential models of clocks and maps which we relate and from this comes our activity programme in which time is the organizer, space the realizer. (D. Parkes & Thrift, 1979, p. 370)

Parkes and Thrift describe a synchronized system of interlocking places to be at certain times, making pacemaking a temporal theory of society. Pacemaking frames the city as a set of "specific spatiotemporal markers indicating when, where, and for how long they are supposed to be" (Osman & Mulíček, 2017, p. 118). In acquiescing to such temporal structures, bodies commit themselves to rhythmic organization. In course, larger formations are generated, as pacemakers work to "entrain rhythms into a coherence which provides

the essential basis for region or place formation" (D. Parkes & Thrift, 1979, p. 361). We suggest that pacemaking operates as per the twin phases of dressage, the signal and the repetitive situation.

As *organization*, pacemakers are material and located, acting upon existing bodies and other pacemakers. The multitude of (material) forms that pacemakers can adopt means that pacemakers interact, dilute, and magnify each other. For example, in relation to the industrial and the post-industrial cities, Mulíček et al. (2016, p. 129) note that the more simultaneous pacemakers there are, the more the entrainment of any single pacemaker will be reduced,

> The newly emerged postindustrial spatiotemporal configuration of the city is laid over the routines and rhythms of industrialism (without replacing them). Thus, we often witness functional or cultural conflicts arising from the existence of multiple time spaces in the contemporary city.

This idea of the morphological city, with layers of different ages, and the different pacemakers of them, coincides with the polyrhythmic city of overlapping and often inconsistent rhythms. In short, pacemakers are restricted, enabled and amplified by the inertia of the urban fabric. Blue (2019, pp. 942–943) urges caution not to overstate the entrainment capacities of any pacemaker: "The ability to entrain must not be considered as an objective temporal feature or element of a given set of rhythms or practices." If it is not objective, we believe, it is best to see entrainment of pacemakers as always occurring through a medium: the city.

In the city, we argue, pacemakers are organizing materials which enact dressage and thereby structure, impose, and determine rhythms. Pacemakers, in other words, are the organizing materials of "spontaneous" everyday rhythms. They operate by signaling linear rhythms and orchestrating the repetitive situations of cyclic rhythms. Making dressage physical in the form of pacemakers has two advantages. First, it makes dressage real in the world and therefore open to empirical study. Pacemakers provide a solid focus for the study of dressage, for they become concrete and materially localizable in the structuring of urban everyday life. Secondly, insofar as pacemakers are actual, they interact with and impose onto existing embodied rhythms within city spaces, altering these rhythms through the enactment of dressage. We argue that dressage is therefore an urban process that works upon a pre-existing set of already existing rhythms which become altered through pacemakers and their associated imposition of dressage onto embodied rhythms.

Mobilizing our theorization on the relationship between embodied rhythms, dressage, and pacemaking, the next sections turn to our empirical analysis of the construction site of the Obama Presidential Center to foreground how this site enacts dressage and pacemaking and thereby changes embodied rhythms in adroit ways. We show that urban redevelopment does not simply denote the material change of the city but also involves spatio-temporal processes of structuring and pacing urban rhythms.

Methodological notes and urban context

Data collection

Our analysis builds on data collected using ethnographic methods (Atkinson, 2014) involving field site observations, interviews and secondary data collection. This data

was collected as part of an ongoing research project about the Chicago South Side and the OPC. Ethnography allowed us to observe the production of rhythms in Jackson Park and surrounding neighborhoods. Detailed field site observations were conducted where walking the field site became an important method to capture rhythms. Walking is "an intrinsically social activity" (Ingold, 2004, p. 328) where social interactions with people, soundscapes and changing materialities of urban space produce a range of different rhythms. There is a strong autoethnographic element in the act of walking (Middleton, 2022) where "the walking body must continuously adapt to the contingencies, flows, materialities and interruptions experienced while walking down a street" (Edensor, 2010, p. 73). In Jackson Park, for example, the construction site of the OPC made walking the park, at times, difficult, as established routines and lines of walking were interrupted. Over the course of three field visits between 2017 and 2022 – years which also correlated with the planning and beginning of the construction – 38 interviews with community organizers, residents, and stakeholders in the OPC development were conducted to learn more about their lived everyday experiences with it. Furthermore, document and discourse analyses of printed official planning documents by Federal and State agencies, newspaper articles, press releases by the Obama Foundation, and public speeches by officials behind the OPC assisted us in reconstructing how the OPC is framed as a major economic project.

South Side Chicago and Jackson Park

The OPC is constructed over parts of Jackson Park, located on Chicago's South Side. The park was designed by renowned landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted in 1871 and is one of Chicago's largest public parks (551.52 acres). It features many ornamental and practical structures, including a Japanese-styled Osaka Garden, a meadow, two lagoons, the Museum of Science and Industry, and various recreational facilities. Jackson Park was integral to Chicago's modernization into an industrial powerhouse, hosting the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, which celebrated the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in North America. President Obama draws on this legacy in promoting the OPC which, for him, "can attract the world to this historic neighborhood, whose rich cultural heritage dates back to the 1893 World's Fair [Exposition]" (Obama Foundation, 2016).

Chicago's South Side is an area of historical industrial boom and bust, and recently, gentrification-centered redevelopment (Schwarze, 2023b; Wilson, 2018). While today the area is economically deprived, as Wilson (2018) chronicles, it is currently also being transformed into a post-industrial investment and consumption space for a more affluent, white middle-class population. The current redevelopment frontier is the latest moment in a long history of urban redevelopment and "renewal" (Hirsch, 1983; Hyra, 2008) on Chicago's South Side. The OPC contributes to this redevelopment frontier which turns Chicago's South Side into a complicated planning terrain enmeshed with conflicting visions of urban redevelopment.

The South Side is divided along racial and class lines (Pattillo, 2013) where its history is closely intertwined with racial segregation of African-American communities through redlining, electoral gerrymandering and public housing transformation (Rothstein, 2017). This has led to territorial stigmatization of the South Side as violent "ghetto

spaces" (Luger & Schwarze, 2021; Schwarze, 2022, 2023a; Wacquant, 2008) which dominate public representations.

The Obama Presidential Center

It is customary for US Presidents to build new public amenities, dubbed "Presidential libraries" after their term(s). The first was a traditional library built by President Roosevelt in 1940. Successive libraries have functioned mainly as archives, but also to solidify the President's legacy (Simon, 2016). Over the past century, Presidential libraries have become progressively more complex, incorporating different types of structures and uses.

The OPC, however, stands out as a significant break from previous libraries in terms of scope, function, and symbolism. The most recently opened Presidential library – the George Bush Presidential Library – is 0.4 acres in size and cost $43 million. The OPC will cover roughly nineteen acres and is anticipated to cost $800 million. Further, the OPC will contain a public museum instead of a traditional archival library, and the physical documents typically stored in a Presidential library shall only be present digitally.

Set to open in 2025, the OPC will be a campus of public amenities. The centerpiece will be a 235-feet tower housing the museum with exhibits on the African-American civil rights movement, the Obama presidency, and the personal lives of the Obamas. Adjacent to the Museum tower will be a forum housing the main public amenities, including an auditorium, recording studio, classrooms, a restaurant, and a public "free use" space. There will also be a branch of the Chicago public library, presumably in the forum. The forum shall also include significant public space, in the words of the website,

> It will also provide plenty of spaces for people to relax, eat, do their homework, or play a game of chess. The Forum is designed to serve as a hub for our neighbors, so these spaces will mostly be free and open to the public.[1]

A winter garden is also planned which will carry the name of Hadiya Pendleton, a Chicago teen shot and killed on the South Side of Chicago shortly after performing with her majorette squad during President Obama's second presidential inauguration. The outdoor grounds include a large plaza that is surrounded by the museum and forum. This is expected to be used for public events like fairs. The grounds of the center will significantly overlap with portions of Jackson Park, which shall be renovated, such as the Women's Garden and a new wetland. Thus, the OPC campus will fundamentally transform Jackson Park's landscape.

The Obama Presidential Center construction site: dressage, pacemaking, the production of rhythms

In the following we decipher the working of dressage and pacemaking on the production of rhythms in and around the construction site of the OPC in Jackson Park. Firstly, we foreground how the OPC construction site has altered the association of Jackson Park as a public space for recreational activities, discussing how the construction site has destroyed specific material structures and places in the park which residents valued as important to their daily lives. As a result, the construction site enacts dressage through

pacing residents' spatial practices within Jackson Park in new and disruptive ways. Secondly, we examine changes to spontaneous rhythms as people navigate the construction site, particularly focusing on how the construction site enacts and produces a new security regime of control and surveillance within the park, pacing and controlling spatial behavior and practice.

Dressage, pacemaking and the destruction of park space

To begin our investigation, we turn to a piece of Jackson Park that is being built over: the Women's Garden often also referred to by its more official name "Perennial Garden." This area had symbolic meaning and significance to residents in their everyday rhythms. This park was originally a secluded area where residents could pursue the typical freedoms of a public park. Apart from no longer being accessible at all to the public, the area is now dominated by the overbearing sounds of construction and heavy machinery. Much more than sheer disruption, the construction site acts as a signal to the new organizational structure of dressage that is being constructed. The garden was an important socio-cultural, historical, and recreational artifact to residents and users of Jackson Park, but has been irreversibly destroyed by the OPC construction site (despite claims by the Obama Foundation to rebuild it as part of the OPC plan) (see Figure 1). What pace is being set illuminates on processes of dressage that such construction represents.

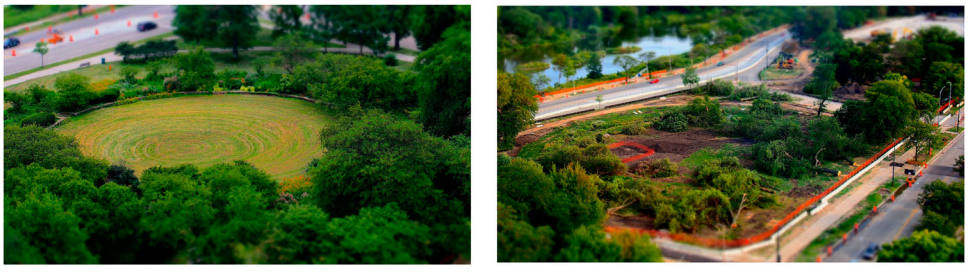

Figure 1. Left: Women's Garden before its destruction; right: after the construction of the OPC has begun. Source: ©Doug Shaeffer.

The garden's historical and socio-cultural significance stems from its creator, May McAdams, who, as explained to us by a member of a Chicago-based historic preservation organization, was

> a very forward thinking and accomplished landscape architect, a woman in the 1930s building the Woman's Garden on the side of the Woman's building from the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 which really put Chicago on the map, especially after the Chicago fire of 1871 which levelled the city.

In conversations residents emphasized that the Women's Garden used to be an important place to reminisce the legacy of this important landscape architect whose idea was to produce a garden that is close to the rhythms of wilderness and nature; something residents expressed as important to them in their daily use of the garden. As one resident,

who lives in an adjacent neighborhood and who frequently spent time in the Women's Garden, reflected:

> It [the Women's Garden] was a great place for kids to play, there was a bunch of trees in there that were so climbable. You know, they branched out low and kids could really climb in it. There was always birds, always butterflies, always bunnies. I mean there was … It was just teaming with wildlife. And it, it's really … it's a pretty devasting habitat loss and, you know, I don't know what it's gonna look like when they're, you know, reinstall whatever they're gonna install. But its gonna have a big tower next to it and its gonna be at the end of a big plaza and its, it's not gonna be … there's no way it's gonna be the kind of wildlife habitat that it was. So, it's very sad.

This lived experience with the garden foregrounds spontaneity in the production of rhythms through creative and playful ways of using and appropriating the garden's landscape (e.g. children climbing trees). In his second volume of *Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre (2014, pp. 601–602) documents how nature and cyclic rhythms are closely intertwined. In the context of rural societies, he writes that "[t]he house, the field, the tree, the sky, the mountain or the see are not simply what they are. Cosmic and vital rhythms envelop them, subtle resonances accompany them, every 'thing' is part of a song." Although a human-made construction, the Women's Garden, for its users, established cyclic rhythms close to nature by being used for spontaneous, playful, non-linear activities like children climbing trees, walking, sitting on park benches, or simply enjoying and observing its wildlife and diversity of plants, flowers, and trees.

Dressage in the case of the Women's Garden had never developed into a comprehensive system of bodily entrainment and set practices of pacemaking where the garden dictated the ways in which human bodies must exist and behave within its parameters. Public parks are very often located as a space that is much more free for public behavior compared to locations like shopping malls, office blocks or gated communities that much more directly govern behavior. The garden is not without dressage, but the biggest pacemakers one might expect to be operating – work, school, church, family – are all outside of the garden. The Women's Garden itself, much like Jackson Park, was perceived by residents we spoke to as a space deliberately without pacemakers. Considering when Jackson Park was built, it was a refuge from the pacemaking of not just an industrial city, but considering Chicago's centrality to early North American economy, the pacemaking of an industrializing continent. The above reflection, particularly the description of how children used to climb trees, foreground how alternative ways of spatial appropriation were, in fact, considered to be a "normal," even welcomed, aspect of the rhythmic ensemble of the Women's Garden. Its trees were certainly not planted for children to play on them, but the fact that these activities nevertheless happened and were not restricted or policed foreground the flexibility, playfulness, and spontaneity of the production of rhythms which escaped the automatism of repetitions (Lefebvre, 2004) central to dressage. Therefore, the trees were a neutral appendage, a tool to set your own pace of youth, playfulness or parenting. The Women's Garden and other green spaces now absorbed into the overbearing rhythmic space of the OPC construction site were considered spaces of enjoyment (Lefebvre, 2014), fluidity, and spontaneity where wildlife and people found ways to co-exist and produce collaborated, cyclic rhythms.

Dressage is predicated on a signal, which the destruction of existing facilities fulfills. In turn, the respondent mentions the expectation of the transformation of the Women's

Garden from something facilitating wildlife to a different kind of park in the foreground of a tower block and accessed through a paved plaza. There is not just the inevitable loss of change, but the transformation from wildlife to a more "urban" style of garden that, through the tower and plaza, shall be more integrated into Chicago. The significance of such a transformation is in the manner of dressage being implemented in either case.

Since the onset of the OPC construction, this area has changed, and the construction site now enacts dressage onto the human body of park users, pacing their spatial routines and behaviors in a process of "breaking in." No longer a refuge, the pacemakers of the construction site is penetrating into the park. Practices of avoidance have, for some, taken over their approach to and appropriation of this public space. As one resident from the nearby Woodlawn neighborhood commented, "I don't like going by the construction. It's just, it's sad. And sometimes its noisy and when its noisy it makes me think about how all the water birds feel about the noise. […] And that's really unfortunate." Pacemakers, as argued above, are the organizing materials of institutionalized rhythms. The Women's Garden, too, was a pacemaker. However, it allowed for spontaneity to occur in everyday rhythms through diverse spatial practices, behaviors, and routines (e.g. climbing trees, walking, sitting on park benches, observing wildlife etc.). In contrast, the construction site paces behavior linearly and enacts dressage by, firstly, disrupting these former ways and practices in which people used the Women's Garden and Jackson Park. Secondly, the construction site itself establishes new cyclic rhythms, characterized by the soundscape of the construction site, which further disenfranchizes and alienates users from the OPC and how its construction site has not only changed the built environment of Jackson Park but also its rhythms which used to be produced through the social interactions of people with nature and wildlife. This pacing resembles what Lefebvre (2004) metaphorically described as breaking in an animal where users of the Women's Garden are broken into new patterns of spatial routines and behaviors which, as the statement above emphasizes, often take place through practices of avoidance and feelings of aversion toward the destruction of the garden. This shows the significance of construction sites as signals of behavior that presage the new infrastructure, foregrounding how the construction site conducts its own punishments upon those who go near. The act of walking as an embodied spatial practice of everyday life and producer of rhythms (Lyon, 2021) has changed in response to the construction site, foregrounding how "the walking body must continuously adapt to the contingencies, flows, materialities and interruptions experienced" (Edensor, 2010, p. 73). In this adaptation, the old rhythmic actions are broken.

Construction site as pacemaker: securitizing change: dressage, spatial practice and everyday rhythms

The construction site as a pacemaker is a huge temporary machine that aims to regulate the flow of workers, materials and the public in order to orchestrate the architect's plan. This requires an interior of intense pacemaking as every component arrives on time in order to be assembled. At the same time, the construction exudes a forcefield of control as it regulates behavior to curve around it and take caution when nearby. Between these is the boundary of control that acts as a membrane to allow certain elements in, while stopping others. In this section, we focus on the securitizing

element of the construction site and its pacemaking on the residents who are affected by its dressage.

As a result of the construction site, previously held instinctual routes of commuting are altered by the change to paths through the area and the introduction of noise and general disruption. In this, it is shown how the introduction of a new pace encounters the morphological city and the existing modes of dressage. It also shows how lived experiences with urban redevelopment begin with the onset of infrastructure construction and not just after infrastructural developments have been realized.

Through its impact on residents' spatial practices and routines, the construction site itself has become a pacemaker, enacting dressage by creating new repetitive situations of walking through Jackson Park. Users of Jackson Park now must walk either alongside the construction site, which is fenced off and patrolled by several private security guards to ensure that no loitering in and around the site takes place, or by doing a detour via the Northern part of Jackson Park, closer to the Japanese Garden and Lake Michigan. As one resident, who cycles through Jackson Park frequently, reflects:

> How it [the construction site] has impacted me is various closures of roads and paths and ways to get through the park, and that's only gonna get worse as the road construction ramps up, I think. […] What are the safe routes to walk or bike through this park? There already aren't that many and they're gonna be closing more of them for construction. So yeah, its main impact is on my routes to and from Hyde Park. Like, if I don't wanna go up north around The Museum of Science and Industry, like especially if I'm coming into Woodlawn for anything.

The OPC construction site introduces new spatial arrangements to be followed. The interior has to be avoided entirely, and the boundaries that individuals have to follow in taking the most direct path to their destination create new corridors. These corridors are sites of rhythmic commuting that are enmeshed in dense affect of noise, security and inhospitable industrial surfaces. In doing so, the construction site disciplines people to adopt different spatial routes for activities of everyday life. The construction site, following dressage, installs and regulates new linear repetitions in the production of rhythmic space. It "sets the pace" by detours and closed routes around this central core that is almost sacred in its protections. What people are most affected by though is the "forcefield" that surrounds the construction site. The site has introduced new "proper" ways in its immediate vicinity that exerted upon the existing urban and social fabric. For example, the same resident told us that taking pictures of the construction site is forbidden and policed by security guards that patrol the entire site: "if you walk over [to the construction site] and take photos, the security guards will come yell at you." In this manner, the new corridors to destinations are not just detours, but are a training ground for proper behavior, like the example of whistle that is used to train animals and to re-enact repetitive behavior. There are new civil modes of being, the construction site is entraining a passivity in the residents, the guards are literally breaking-in would-be photographers with verbal abashments.

This leads to the wider change from the freedom of the park to the security of a presidential center that the construction site is a herald of. The securitization of the construction site has become an everyday phenomenon and means to socialize people into specific behavioral patterns which would not intervene in the construction site in any way. Security officers patrolling the area alter rhythms in and around the site

through their embodied practices of controlling, monitoring, and surveillance. In interviews, residents have described this securitization of the construction site as having a "chilling effect" onto their bodies and spatial practices in and around the construction site, for it makes them feel uncomfortable to be monitored and told to leave the area. Indeed, our observations of the construction site confirm this impression where security guards patrol the construction site in repetitive fashion by driving around its boundaries in their SUV security cars. These securitizing practices exert affect and set the pace of behaviors, to be a citizen in a certain, passive way, immediately. Here, the twin phases of dressage, the signal and repetitive situation, clearly surface in how pacemaking is enacted through the presence of security guards. Linear dressage now characterizes everyday life and the production of space near the construction site where spatial practices of avoidance, bypassing, and the regulation of the body foreground the controlling nature of an "automatism of repetitions" (Lefebvre, 2004) enacted through rhythms.

For residents we spoke to, the reproduction and enactment of dressage and pacemaking, driven by securitization of public park space, will, moreover, likely be the new normal in and around Jackson Park in the future. As one resident reflected to us,

> Jackson Park will be much more thoroughly policed and surveiled. So, your behaviour might have been perfectly acceptable last year with your cut-off barbequing with your family, with your relatives right there. [This] won't really be welcomed anymore because it will look bad for the celebrity semi-private public tourist attraction that you will be next to and […] I think – if African Americans are already looking over their shoulders to see who's watching what they're doing, they're gonna be doing it even more.

Thus, a new pace is introduced in Jackson Park where residents have started to adapt and change their spatial behavior to the rhythmic forces of the OPC construction site. In doing so, the construction site itself is acting as the signal, like a whistle, that a new regulation is incoming and the old behavioral patterns shall end. The metaphor of breaking-in used by Lefebvre speaks to how dressage is in many ways a violent process of destruction, for old bodies – whether individuals or crowds – are made to alter their behavior or are displaced by their inability to conform to the new repetitive situations.

Conclusion

Pacemaking and dressage are intimately related to spatial visions that harmonize and reverberate. The construction site of the OPC represents a critical mass of urban change that overwhelms the current ways of being in Jackson Park and the South Side. Our discussion employs pacemaking to develop Lefebvre's notion of dressage. Despite the centrality of dressage to Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis, encapsulating the political shaping of the urban environment, the concept has not been used or developed much in applications of rhythmanalysis beyond spontaneity. Therefore, the origins and power dynamics of the rhythms that shape the urban world are often naturalized, their origin and operation obscured as inevitable or natural ways of the world. To this end, we employ pacemaking as an actively produced manifestation of dressage. Inspired by the dual phases of dressage, we examine pacemaking as involving "signals" and "repetitive situations." Pacemaking illustrates how human individual and collective actions "set the pace" of certain everyday rhythms. We have shown that the urban built environment sets pace and enacts dressage, too, foregrounding the interconnection

between embodied rhythms and urban materiality in the form of a construction site in our analysis. This opens research into the efficacy and functioning of dressage through the examination of material pacemakers. The OPC construction site is a major signal for the production of new rhythms in Jackson Park, pacing people's spatial behaviors and routines in being in and around this public park.

Our analysis shows that approaching urban redevelopment as a rhythmic project highlights the intricacies of people's lived experiences with such change, as well as foregrounds how economic development is often envisioned through the production of new embodied rhythms. As Jankowski (2021, p. 186) has argued, "rhythmanalysis illuminates the separate interconnected small worlds that people live in." In this paper we display how changes to the urban rhythms disrupt these small worlds that people's everyday lives are contained within. Infrastructural and redevelopment projects like the OPC and its construction site change the ways in which people live in cities and their communities which, in turn, produces new sets of embodied rhythms and spatial routines. Such change already takes place in the moment of the onset of infrastructure construction, we have argued in this piece, and not just once the infrastructure project has been realized. This finding is important, for it extends analyses of the impact of the loss of public space to the hands of private or controlled space toward the period of construction itself which, so far, has been often neglected in research on infrastructure development. There is a "cleansing" process to the construction site in that it disrupts, at times even destroys, as our discussion of the Women's Garden shows, the spontaneity of rhythms within the park before the new rhythms and dressage of the OPC were imposed. This disruption is the "signal" for change in rhythms of the area. The construction site has a need to dominate those inside and around it that the park never had. This domination, as argued in this piece, goes hand-in-hand with the securitization of urban space through the imposition of dressage and pacemakers *qua* a security apparatus and system of socio-spatial control. The fence around the construction site, paired with the constant presence of security guards and repetitiveness in which the boundaries of the site are controlled, monitored, and policed by them, enact dressage onto the human body of park users whose behaviors are paced to conform to expected spatial practices and behaviors set and determined by the materiality of the construction site. There is the significance here in the overregulation of behavior. Lefebvre (2004) suggests dressage is inherently civilizational, a kind of building up and intensification of habitual control. In this regard, the manner of the construction site is pertinent for being the herald of a transition from a free space to a controlled one. Dressage highlights the open/closed nature of a space, its presence indicates if the visitor is enabled to be creative or submissive in their use of it.

The OPC construction is unfolding as we write, and it is therefore not possible to conclusively assess its impact on Chicago's South Side. Yet, understanding the evolving and changing rhythmic dynamics during its construction already offers important insights into the relationship between power, redevelopment, and everyday rhythms – the manner in which the form of the urban environment is designed to exert dressage upon bodies in the individual and crowd senses of the term.

Note

1. https://www.obama.org/the-center/ (last accessed 25 August 2022).

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