The ESF-LiU Conference

Cities and Media: Cultural Perspectives on Urban Identities in a Mediatized World

Vadstena, Sweden, 25–29 October, 2006

Editor

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Introducing MediaCities

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The ESF-LiU Conference in Vadstena 25–29 October 2006 gathered more than 50 international scholars to explore and discuss the theme of "Cities and Media: Cultural Perspectives on Urban Identities in a Mediatized World". The main organiser and chair of the conference, musicologist researcher in media and communications Johan Fornäs from the Department of Culture Studies (Tema Q) at Linköping University introduces and sums up the event by outlining the general objectives behind this initiative.

This introduction starts by discussing the recent convergence of two previously distinct research areas: media studies and urban studies. The separation is a particular facet of a more general disjunction between culture and space, which is now being outdated from both sides, as geographers and urban theorists are increasingly interested in the imaginary, mediated and symbolic, while cultural studies and media research express a growing attention to spatial dimensions and locations of communication practices.

The various aspects and forms of this convergence are highlighted, combining the study of space in culture and cities in media or media representations of urban spaces with studies of culture in space and media in cities, comprising urban spaces of media making and use as well as the interspatial flows of images, texts and sounds. The result is a complex and dialectical fusion that may be termed *MediaCities*.

Subthemes and dimensions of this interface between urban, media and cultural studies are discussed, outlining a background to the conference and ideas for future collaborative European research in this hybrid field, based on a set of different previous efforts that have paved the way for this new direction of research.

Cities and media have a long history in common. While new media restructure city life, complex cities nourish new media forms. Today's global megacities accumulate enormous media resources, in the form of mass media and interactive tools for communication. Built urban environments are imbued with mediated city images that attract visitors and transforms modern subjects into spectators of urban landscapes where public and private life mix. This conference brought together themes from urban, media and cultural research to highlight the interplay of symbolic forms and mediated interaction with the development of urban environments, including questions of how cities as well as their inhabitants and visitors identify themselves and each other, in the context of the expanding transnational flows of people, money and media. The interfaces between physical cityscapes, intersectional identity formations and intermedial representations of "place identities" offer unique insights into current processes of cultural change.

Themes like these were highlighted in an ESF-LiU Research Conference called "Cities and Media: Cultural Perspectives on Urban Identities in a Mediatized World".[1] Its starting point was a juxtapositioning of two terms and phenomena, *cities* and *media*, which are mostly studied and discussed separately, and where each set of discourses tends to be differently structured, following apparently distinct logics. Whereas urban studies look at cities as planned and lived technospaces and geographical nodes, media studies investigate communication processes as technologies of culture, forming nodes in the cultural sphere. Behind the two, there has thus been kind of a more general juxtapositioning of *space* and *culture*. While city space tends to be firmly anchored in material structures and coordinates, media culture is often treated as a kind of disembedded virtual flow of meanings and symbolic forms.

That is now about to change. The corresponding research areas have largely been cultivated in mutual isolation but today increasingly converge. (1) On one hand, *culturalisation* and *mediatisation* have been taken seriously in geography and urban studies, with a strong current of interest in *representations* and *interpretations*. Cultural geography is in itself an expression of this current, as is the recent flow of publications on city branding and city images. (2) On the other hand, spurred by intensified processes of *globalisation* and *urbanisation*, there is an ongoing *spatial turn* in cultural studies and media studies, acknowledging the previously neglected importance of "*geographies of communication*", to quote the title of a recent Swedish volume.[2] Traditional media studies have tended to regard media production and use in a rather abstract fashion, but now the physical location of such practices are afforded much more weight.

When Doreen Massey therefore pleas "*For space*" (2005), she expresses vital aspects of this new double turn.[3] Against reducing space to abstract limits and structures to temporal flows, she regards space as "the product of interrelations", a sphere of "coexisting heterogeneity" and "multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality" where "distinct trajectories coexist", and which is "always under construction" as "a simultaneity of stories-so-far". This eminently cultural conception of space goes hand in hand with Massey's simultaneous insistence on the importance of space in culture. In *MediaSpace: Place, Scale and Culture in a Media Age* (2004), Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy introduced the hybrid term "Media-

1 The conference was sponsored by the European Science Foundation, Linköping University, The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation and the Swedish Research Council, and took place at Vadstena Klosterhotel in the medieval city of Vadstena, Sweden, 25-29 October 2006, with more than 50 participants, 5 sessions with 14 invited speakers, 10 short talks and 17 posters. As its main organiser and chair, I am deeply grateful to co-chair Nick Couldry, session chairs Peter Aronsson, Karin Becker, Svante Beckman and Erling Bjurström, as well as to all speakers and participants, who together made this event a successful step towards inaugurating a new and innovative line of research.

2 Jesper Falkheimer & André Jansson (eds) (2006): *Geographies of Communication: The Spatial Turn in Media Studies*, Göteborg: Nordicom.

3 Doreen Massey (2005): *For Space*, London: Sage.

Space" as a gesture towards the many overlapping and interlocking complexities that occur in the intersection of these two conceptual fields: Media and Space. Their intent was to insist that each is implicated in the other, without being reducible to each other. This hybrid concept of MediaSpace built upon how geographers such as Doreen Massey have conceptualised space and place, in approaching the more specific task of thinking about how space and *media* interact.[4]

Nick Couldry wonders if behind the discriminations between levels of the media/space relation there may perhaps hide a wider question of whether media processes serve to *reduce* the actual complexity of space – both material space and imagined space – or in what ways media might inversely serve to *enhance* our experience of that complexity? The trend now in newspapers and television towards condensing what happens in our cities to strips of surveillance imagery is surely a reduction of complexity, with considerable political implications. But other dimensions of contemporary media – particularly contemporary art involving media technologies – instead involve an expansion of our awareness of urban complexity.[5]

Couldry argues that the complexities of both the contemporary city and the contemporary media are so huge that it is tempting to recall Nietzsche's comment in the short section of *The Gay Science* called 'Our new "infinite"' where he writes:

> …today we are at least far from the ridiculous immodesty that would be involved in decreeing from our corner that perspectives are permitted only from this corner. Rather has the world become "infinite" for us all over again, inasmuch as we cannot reject the possibility that *it may include infinite interpretations*.[6]

Couldry finds it tempting to think of both media and urban space as infinite domains of interpretations involving the most complex interrelation of scales: media interpret cities, cities and their resources shape possibilities for media production and circulation, citizens reinterpret and renegotiate the possibilities and constraints offered by both cities and media in countless different sites…

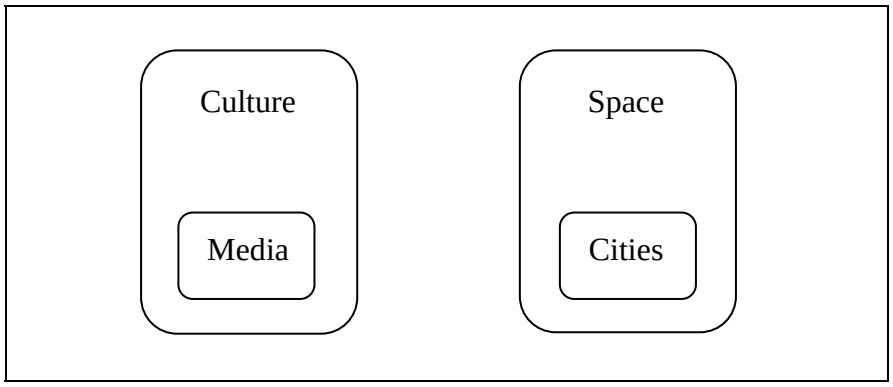
The conference exemplified these intricacies and complexities of MediaSpace, but also suggested sensible complexity reductions in order to draft the outlines of some useful mappings of this conceptual hall of mirrors in which city space and media culture perform their enticing dance. The conference was a decisive step forward in the convergence of *spatial and cultural studies*, and of *city and media research*. It was initiated by a juxtapositioning of two mutually related pairs of concepts and corresponding academic fields: Media and Cities as specific nodes and elements of the more general and abstract dimensions of Culture and Space. I initially pointed out the parallels, correspondences or homologies between the two pairs, in that media as socially institutionalised technologies of communication are specific tools for, modes of and nodes within culture, in a similar manner as cities are specific places, socially institutionalised and technologically materialised nodes in geographical space.

4 Nick Couldry & Anna McCarthy (2004): *MediaSpace: Place, Scale and Culture in a Media Age*, London/New York: Routledge.

5 Nick Couldry, personal communication, October 2006.

6 Friedrich Nietzsche (1882/1974): *The Gay Science: With a Prelude in Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs*, New York: Vintage Books, p. 336.

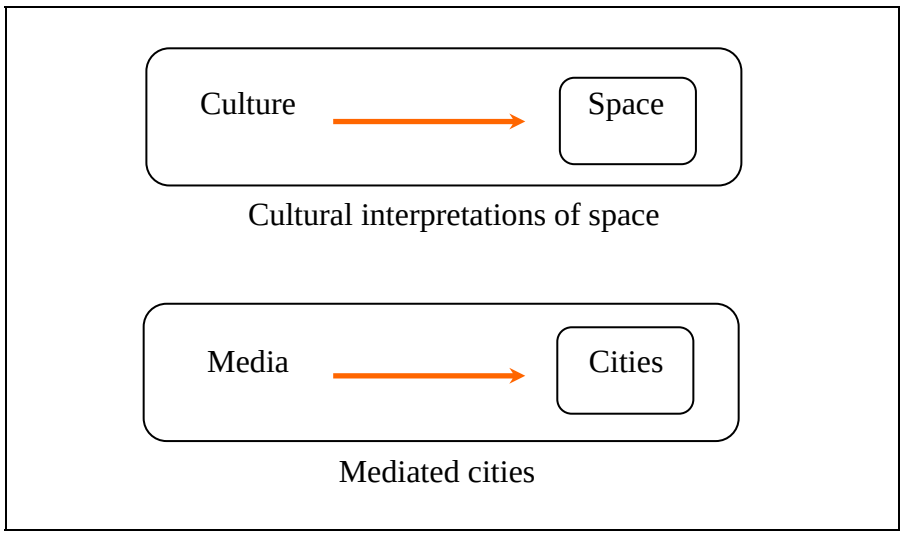
Figure 1. Homology



One may discern a two-way traffic in this interface, a double flow of determination between each of these pairs, as research scrutinises two levels of media/space interaction:

1. Some scholars focus on *space in culture* and *cities in media*: for instance how cities are represented and interpreted in journalism, fiction narratives and everyday life; indeed, how cities are actually themselves highly virtual or imaginary constructions within mediated culture. Space is inhabited and interpreted as a theme in cultural representations, and cities are depicted and imagined in media texts of all kinds. Various kinds of *media representations of urban spaces* have been studied in a wide range of visual cultural studies but also by the sociology and geography of tourism.[7]

Figure 2. Representation

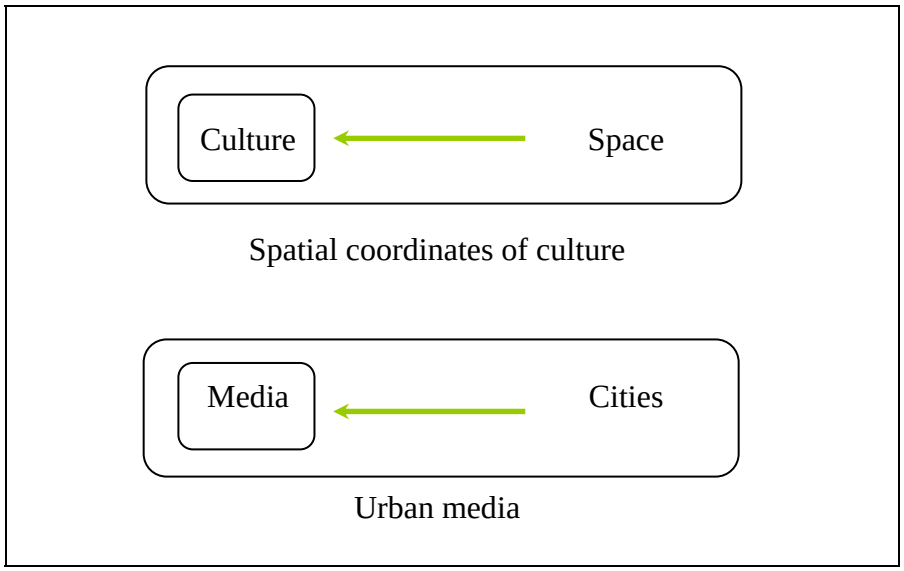


2. There are also studies of *culture in space* and *media in cities*, in several senses, covering all phases of media use, from production over dissemination to consumption and reception of mass media texts, but also including more interactive and mobile media uses. Culture is always localised in space, and media are concentrated in urban environments. Here belongs research on the geography of the *urban spaces of media making and use*, and of the *interspatial flows of images, texts and sounds* between

7 See for instance David Harvey (1990): *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford, UK/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

urban contexts: studies of monuments and media buildings, of cultural public spaces and aesthetic practices in cities, and of the ways in which media representations move across city space, contributing to the reconfiguring of social and cultural space. Where is media making and media use located, and through which spatial grids and networks are media circulated?

Figure 3. Localisation



This leads to a never-ending series or spiral of determinations and a situation of extreme complexity, which almost all of you have in various ways underlined. Just to take an example from the conference papers, Giacomo Bottà's study of Manchester city as represented in pop music simultaneously also situated Mancunian pop in its urban landscape – a both physical, social and political location which at the same time frames musical expressions and are in turn produced by them. Such processes may result in highly reflexive media genres, where the mediated character of a place is consciously explored in new media texts, which in turn determine how the place is lived and experienced, etcetera. Through making and using media texts and media technologies in urban spaces, these spaces and the movements made in them are reconfigured and reconstructed. And as these media texts and technologies both represent and fill the same urban spaces, it becomes impossible to assign any single priority or determination to any side in this model.

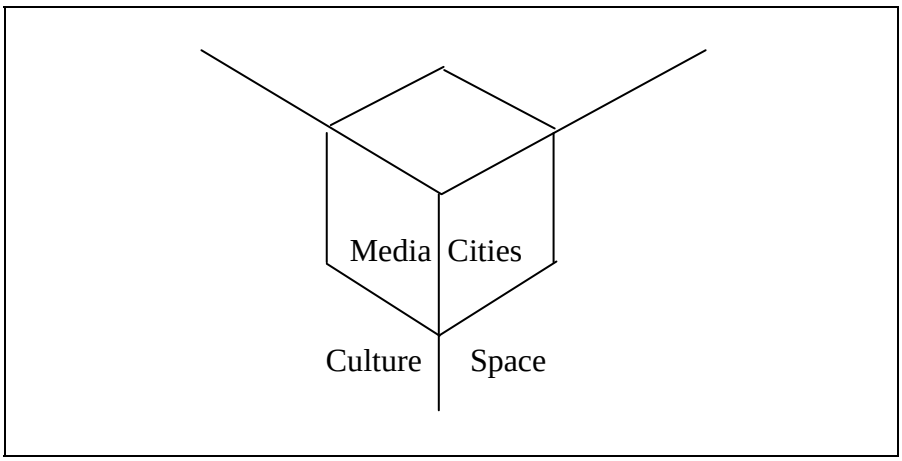
On this basis, my initial models above may have been slightly misleading, in that they gave the false impression that culture and space, as well as media and cities, may be regarded as two separate entities that affect each others from the outside. But culture is never something "other" than space, and vice versa. We may likewise be mistaken to think of media is something completely different from cities. As geographical conglomerations, cities are from the start mediated as well as mediating machines, and media always already co-construct urban settings. New urban art using advanced communication technologies to fuse virtual representations with physical townscapes makes clear how immediate are today the transitions between representations and material artefacts.[8] This is not a recent convergence of previously distinct entities, as also old houses have façades that are like images of past epochs and cultural ideas. Speed, intensity, complexity and interactivity have certainly increased by the advent of new digital media, but the intertwining of cities of media was there long before, all the way back to the emergence of them both! Cities are not only built environments but also from the

8 This was certainly true for the Berlin Art+Com projects presented by Joachim Sauter at the conference.

beginning socio-spatial sets of relations between people and artefacts, that is, they are intrinsic parts of culture as well as of space at the same time. The ongoing convergence or rapprochement between geography and urban studies on one hand and cultural and media studies on the other may thus well be pushed forward by late modern transformations and processes of culturalisation, mediatisation, globalisation and urbanisation, but there is no justification of any idea that the two sides have ever been completely distinct from each other.

Let me therefore provisionally suggest that media and cities may instead be seen as two dimensions of the same phenomena. This three-dimensional figure may perhaps help to see how, viewed from a cultural studies perspective (i.e. from a viewpoint at the bottom left corner, looking diagonally up to the right), cities mainly appear as mediated representations or virtual spaces, while from a geographical perspective (bottom right looking up left) instead media appear as particular facets of urban practices. In a more comprehensive view, they are rather aspects of the same "MediaCity", never actually existing as such in mutual isolation, but as separate entities only resulting from an analytical procedure of abstraction. Media and cities are dimensions of this MediaCity node in our multidimensional CultureSpace world. Together, these vectors result in a complex and mutually configuring interface of *spatial cultures* and *cultural spaces*, whose maps of flows deserve to be explored in a wide range of specific and situated investigations.

Figure 4. MediaCities



3. In an open dialectic, certain aspects of media geography are in turn themselves represented in media narratives, feeding back into the first level, in a potentially endless series of reflexive spirals. This implies a co-formation of urban and mediated spaces that may be termed *MediaCities*, related to broader issues of scale and time-space compression in CultureSpace, in that city mediations as located in urban spaces continually reshape the very spatial structures and social interactions in late modern societies.[9] Those scale-effects of media are themselves lived, experienced and understood in part through media representations, including media's role in the construction of notions of "centre" and "periphery", whether in the cultural, economic, social or political domains.

The following excerpt from an Air France advertisement in a Swedish in-flight magazine distributed and to be read on a flight between cities illustrates some of the reflexive complexities involved when media and cities mirror each other on many levels.

9 Compare Saskia Sassen's account of global cities, Doreen Massey's concept of the "power-geometry of time-space compression", and Couldry's and McCarthy's discussion of scale-effects of media.

Figure 5. Air France ad from in-flight magazine June 2006 ("34 destinations in France")

City Mediations

When preparing this event with my colleagues at the interdisciplinary Department of Culture Studies and the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden, I was inspired by experiences from another kind of ESF resource, the *Changing Media, Changing Europe* (CMCE) network programme, headed by Ib Bondebjerg and Peter Golding 2000–2004. Its 60 European scholars were divided into four subgroups, and I took part in the one focusing on cultural identities, co-ordinated by William Uricchio. We visited various "liminal" cities such as Bilbao, Palermo, Berlin, Budapest and Istanbul, discussing with local media producers and cultural centres, trying to come to grips with how local urban, national and European identities were negotiated and mediated in each setting.[10] Some of us are here today, and we have since then nourished a wish to go on with more substantial joint research along similar lines.

My own contribution to this previous network programme was double. I made one study of money as medium, analysing national and transnational identifications in the design of the

10 The result is a forthcoming volume edited by William Uricchio, with the working title *We Europeans? Media, Representation, Identities*, Bristol: Intellect Press. The same team has already published another volume, Sonia Livingstone (ed.) (2005): *Audiences and Publics: When Cultural Engagement Matters for the Public Sphere*, Bristol: Intellect Books.

Euro. This study is soon to be published. More relevant to this conference, I started thinking of a comparison between popular music texts that thematise different city identities – comparing examples from Stockholm to others from the cities mentioned before. It was for instance fascinating to see – and hear – how some Istanbul music celebrated its city as a cosmopolitan place of hybrid crossings between East and West, and on the level with other global metropolitan centres such as London or New York, whereas the popular music from a city like Bilbao instead often depicts its home city as an isolated corner of the world that now wants to build new bridges from scratch, and then prefers to connect to other relatively more modest and localised cities, such as Stockholm. I hope to be able to continue this analysis in my future research work.

At our Department of Culture Studies (Tema Q), we also share an interest in these issues, arriving there from diverse backgrounds. Peter Aronsson is an historian who has specifically looked at the uses of history and cultural heritage, in museums, monuments and popular culture in local and regional settings. Tora Friberg is a cultural geographer with a focus on transports, gender and regional planning. Economic historian Svante Beckman focuses on cultural policy and the economy of culture. Erling Bjurström combines cultural sociology with media studies, in research on youth culture, popular culture and media culture, with a focus on taste history and style formations. At our department, he is responsible for the area of cultural politics and cultural production. Karin Becker is a media researcher at Stockholm University but also responsible for the area of creative processes in arts and the media at our department. Her focus is on visual culture: from documentary photography and photojournalism over museums and public art to vernacular pictorial practices. Becker and Bjurström have also worked with me in the large media-ethnographic Passages project, inspired by Walter Benjamin's Arcades Project, and contextualising studies of media use in a contemporary shopping centre, where issues of urban public space have become a main subtheme, as will be obvious in our forthcoming English volume.[11] My own background is as first a musicologist studying popular music, youth culture and intersectional identity issues, then a media and communication scholar looking into a wider set of media texts and media uses. Together at Tema Q, we are starting new collaborative research on processes and discourses on culturalisation, including a project on media and cities that comparatively and ethnographically will investigate relations between local urban practices and city representations.

This present conference is for us thus a step in a long series of partly interrelated activities. It is our hope that it may also be a milestone for the forming of a possible future European project. This has been discussed by a loose grouping of scholars in the aftermath of the previously mentioned ESF network, and at this 2006 Cities and Media Conference, the plans were discussed and the existing network for forming such a joint project was considerably widened. Let me elaborate just a little bit on the topic of cities, to indicate my own line of interest in this topic.

Big cities are dynamic "*attractors*" along a series of dimensions, as nodes of convergence for work, commerce, criminality, politics, NGOs, leisure, culture and the media. The production and use of media are centred on big city cores, and it is in mediated texts, sounds and images that these city cores are displayed, performed, interpreted and socially constructed. In a world of fleeting identifications and increasing insecurity, flux and confusion, the big city centres that are strong sources of complexity and mobility still also manage to remain key "*focalisers*" in people's lives, serving as nodes of orientation and belonging as well as transit spaces for global flows – both as physical structures and as mental representations of centrality.

11 Johan Fornäs, Karin Becker, Erling Bjurström & Hillevi Ganetz (2007): *Consuming Media: Communication, Shopping and Everyday Life*, Oxford: Berg.

Capitals are particularly contradictory places. While they serve to manifest and reassert the *nation*, they also are specific *local* units, often remarkably distinct and different not only from the surrounding countryside but also from the nation at large and its other cities. At the same time they are nodes in *transnational* networks of cities and cultures that disrupt the national unities and destabilise any fixed imaginary of an enclosed nation centred on its capital. The very concentration of central institutions and the different life forms that big cities enable make capitals diverge from the nations they are supposed to head and represent. Big cities are thus spaces for *subnational*, *national* as well as *transnational* identifications, constructed through signifying practices in media and culture. The double image of city space as both specific and universal is mediated in a variety of ways through monuments, works of art, songs, poetry, novels and the press. Urban spaces are dominant contexts and themes of media texts, as sites of transitory meetings and experiences, but also as carriers of memory and tradition.

The historical dimension invites us to assess what may be properly new or changing. City branding and event management are part of contemporary economic and cultural policy but also part of a more long-term dynamic of power, representation and meaning. There is actually a very old history of links between media and cities. The city of Vadstena was for instance founded on the mediation of ecstatic hallucination of Saint Birgitta, which was then caught up in national and international powerplays. Already then, the virtual and imaginary had enormous material effects. Today, a plethora of media forms have certainly widened the scope for such interplay, but one needs to carefully scrutinise the situation in an historical perspective in order not to overestimate the uniqueness of the present.[12]

These are just some of the ways in which cities, culture and communication – or material spaces, mediated representations and social practices – interact in forming local, national and transnational identifications. Let me heuristically mention four possible subthemes.

1. *City lives* concern identifications *in* cities and the intersectional identity formations constructed in vernacular urban practices. How do different citizens identify in and with their city, by using mediated narratives and cultural artefacts? There is a need for more research on the actual social life people live in cities and the way they use media, the identifications they make in and with cities and the intersectional identity formations constructed in vernacular urban practices. How do people inhabit and use material and virtual cityscapes? How are local identifications bound to cities, regions or nations crossed and inflected by other identifications along dimensions of gender, class, ethnicity and generation? How is the conceptual geography of a city as physical and artefactual structure related to its thick geography as an (inter-)subjectively experienced and lived set of sociocultural relations? Which effects do various technologies, including new media and communication technologies, have on the phenomenological qualities of urban life? How have the relations between public and private changed and been mediated in our time? How has this affected the relation between public spheres and public spaces? How is public and private history manifested and articulated in present symbolic forms? How are publicness and privateness defined and interconnected, and what is the fate of the cultural public sphere? How does public debate and mobilisation on Internet public spheres relate to physical encounters in material public places? How does today's urban planning affect this relation, and how is culture used to either limit or open up public practices? There is a long-term trend towards the de-spatialisation of the public sphere, spurred by the media. Habermas' "ideal speech community" was also an ideal image of how cities ought to work on a community level, and was from the start dependent on media (for instance books and newspapers). But accelerating

12 This paragraph is inspired by Peter Aronsson's summary words at the end of the Cities and Media conference.

mediatisation has deeply affected the shape of the public sphere and the dialectics of the private and the public, as can for instance be seen in the changes of rituals and ceremonies not only for celebrities but also in people's everyday life, where media play an increasingly central role. Private life is becoming more and more mediatised and staged as a public event, although there are also developments in opposite directions, i.e. in the use of mobile sounds to cut off the individual from the public world. Phenomena like "home pages" on the Web may be used to reconsider George Simmel's, Walter Benjamin's or Erving Goffman's classical works in the age of digital reproduction. Both media and cities are at the same time focal sites for fears of chaos and risks, but also for efforts to overcome such threats by institutions or individuals taking control. Issues of surveillance and regulation induce a paradoxical dialectic whereby technologies of control always tend to create new forms of complexity, unintended side effects and forms of dissent. How have new media in new cities affected this dialectic? Which utopian and dystopian versions are there today of the emerging fusion of city planning and digital communication technologies? How can democratic forms of political and social life survive and develop in this new context? Which are the implications for creativity and citizenship?[13]

2. *City representations* point at identifications *of* cities in words, images and music of the arts and the media. How are different cities identified in mediated representations? How do cities present themselves, and how are they interpreted by inhabitants and visitors? City branding is a prominent and fascinating example here, but this also connects cultural aspects to spatial planning, architecture and transports. How is centrality and size produced, managed and signified in mediating urban practices today, and in historical perspectives? Big cities attract narratives of historical becoming and of the contemporary present. Novels, films, song lyrics and monuments formulate the development and current meaning of each such nexus of social and cultural life. Comparative studies of such narratives may find general generic patterns but also typical differences between cities that are conceived as national or transnational, enclosed or open, unified or divided. A more specific example is city tourism: How do cities market themselves in printed or web-based tourist information material, compared to how they are presented by others in published guidebooks or on personal homepages or photo albums. Which kinds of identification are made for various cities, and how do public expectations match vernacular experiences? Cultural or symbolic representations also connect to political representation in terms of citizenship and collective agency. Who are included and excluded by such representations, and which struggles develop around place-bound identity politics?
3. *City events* offer a way to look closer at the two-way traffic between cities and citizens. People are drawn to city cores, seeking excitement and stimulation in "the centre of events". One example could be the ways cities market themselves in competitions for Olympic games, the effects of organising European or World championships, the local celebration of homecoming winning national teams or sports heroes in manifestations of urban and national identification. But also other kinds of official or subterranean events such as state visits, national celebrations, cultural festivals, film festivals, art exhibitions, major concerts, the Eurovision Song Contest or the Nobel Prize ceremonies show how city identities are constructed in media and culture. How do ritualised mass events in urban settings relate to media events? How do public events reaffirm national

13 This paragraph – as well as the subsequent three themes – synthesises ideas from the CMCE network and from Ien Ang, Karin Becker, Svante Beckman, Erling Bjurström, Giacomo Bottà, Michael Bull, Stephen Graham, Ulf Hannerz, André Jansson, Rolf Lindner, Floris Müller, Roger Odin, Catharina Thörn and others at the 2006 conference.

bonds as well as bring together diverse populations and transnational cultural streams? Events are often full of tensions, and various forms of city activism show that open conflicts are an important form of city event. Conflicts arise over access to urban space between public institutions, commercial interests, criminal networks, oppositional movements and marginalised groups, in an intersectional interplay between gender, class, age and ethnicity. Big city cores are not only where visiting state heads pass through but also where Reclaim the Streets and other NGOs organise actions, related to the centrally placed buildings of societal power centres and to the intense flow of people and transportations. This is also where the chances to become visible in the media is maximised. The convergence of power systems and sociocultural attractors is thus a precondition also to activities of resistance, protest and alternative movements. How do these counter-practices restructure and rethink the big city cores? Some locations even acquire a sacral or "secular holiness" as sites of pilgrimage. Traces and memories of events charge places with meaning, being regularly re-enacted and commemorated.

4. *City networks*, finally, is a theme that goes one step up and looks at relations between cities. Cities are not singular or self-enclosed entities, but develop in complex interrelations with each other, as well as with their suburban and rural surroundings. The urban is not only a fixed set of built structures but also a flexible network of social relationships and symbolic meanings attached to these material forms. How do media texts thematise differences and exchanges between cities and the countryside, the urban and the rural, and how do these differences and exchanges in turn affect media use? On one hand, links of co-operation and competition are forged from above between different metropolitan cities, for instance in the competition for European Capital of Culture. On the other hand, webs are woven from below when individuals, groups and NGOs link between cities in different countries and continents. Which axes and divides predominate on these maps? How do cities differ from each other, and how do they connect or compete on a global market of metropolises, where conditions are changing due to the relative weakening of nation-states? It appears to me that new vistas for MediaCity research may be opened by focusing precisely on the multileveled interrelations between cities rather than by making transnational comparisons that just add monocentric analyses of each urban site as a separate entity of its own.

These are only some of the avenues opened up in the cultural spaces of MediaCity. The doors have been opened, so let us start exploring its fascinating labyrinths.

Appendix: Conference Summary

The ESF-LiU Research Conference "Cities and Media: Cultural Perspectives on Urban Identities in a Mediatized World" in Vadstena, SE, 25-29 October 2006, explored the multiple intersections between cities, media, culture and identity in a series of *sessions*, each highlighting one specific set of aspects. Let me here present all conference talks, even though not all of them are published in the electronic proceedings.

Session 1, "*Cities in an era of global mediation*", focused on the historical development of city culture in the modern and late-modern world of mediatisation and glocalisation. While new media in each period restructure city life, increasingly complex cities in turn breed new media forms, and today's global megacities accumulate enormous technological resources in terms of mass media and interactive tools for communication. The first presentation was *André Jansson* (Media and Communication Studies, Karlstad University, SE): "Texture and Fixture: Understanding Urban Communication Geographies". Based on classical urban sociologists and philosophers like Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre, Jansson locates city textures and fixtures in between two crossing tensions, one of the (concrete, lived) thick city and

the (abstract, imagined) concept city, and another between the time bias of sedimentation and the space bias of circulation.[14]

Session 2, "*Cities, communications and publicness*", discussed the problematic of mediation in relation to public spheres and public spaces. The mediated and mediating complexities of communication in urban areas problematises traditionally rigid dichotomies of the public and the private, as the fit between virtual domains and material forums for public interaction is even further loosened. This session highlighted three aspects, all with a rather pessimistic perspective on recent developments of urban public space, where control and exclusivity seem to increase on several levels. The session opened with *Michael Bull* (Media and Film Studies, University of Sussex, UK): "The Privatising Rhythms of Urban Life: New Media and the Transcendence of Public Space in Everyday Life".[15] Bull has compared uses of mobile phones and iPods and found that while mobile phones provide individual users with "links to society", iPods offer "links to oneself". This focus on the role of ears and listening in urban life opens up new perspectives on the fate of public space. In Lefebvre's classical rhythm-analysis, urban experience was understood as polyrhythmic, whereas iPods tend to let everything move in step with you as you move in step with the music, erecting sensory gates around sound ghettoes, in line with the growth of gated communities. People use them to warm up their private experience in chilly city environments, while mobile phones are experienced as disruptive. The result is a negative dialectic of urban culture, with increasing privatisation forming a lonely crowd. *Mats Franzén* (Urban Sociology, Uppsala University, SE): "Glamour scenes, glamour zone – the case of Stockholm" is a study of the people who fill the central city spaces of Stockholm with "relaxed spending" and entertainment.[16] Franzén shows how the new economy has created clubs that are hybrids of private and public, functioning like celebrity courts without kings, with hierarchical mirrors of a class society where the goal is to produce exclusivity by the club effect of s/electing the happy few while excluding the others. *Stephen Graham* (Geography, Durham University, UK): "Cities and Ubiquitous Media: The Politics of Automated Urban Space" overviews computerised systems that underpin the "ordinary" sociotechnical world, with a focus on techniques of control and surveillance through identification, classification and standardisation. Graham discusses "Code-Space" as software-sorted mobilities through cities, with biometric passports and individualised road-pricing enabling a mass-customisation of road space; "Code-Face" as software-sorted streets through facial recognition and gait (walking style) recognition, reaching dystopic heights in the tracking and security culture of algorithmic war that view cities as battle-space in the wake of 9/11; and "Sentient Cities" where consumers are tracked by radio frequency identifiers, paving the way for an intensified commodification of urban public spaces. He shows how the politics of processual infrastructure has created new rights of passage and remediation of urban space, where perspectives and positions have been replaced by interconnected movement-flows.

Some short talks also linked to this session theme. *Shannon Mattern* (Media Studies and Film, The New School, New York, US): "Anchors Amidst the Flows: Urban Public Libraries and the Importance of Media Places", stresses the materiality of media and the role of library reading rooms for media access and media production. *Kim McNamara* (School of Arts, Roehampton University, UK): "Celebrities and the Reconfiguration of Public Space", shows how celebrities have the power to privatise public space in order to protect themselves from paparazzi. *Gabriel Duarte* (Urbanism Spacelab, Delft University of Technology, NL): "The Emer-

14 See also Falkheimer & Jansson (ibid.).

15 See also Michael Bull (2000): Sounding Out the City: Personal Stereos and the Management of Everyday Life, Oxford/New York: Berg.

16 See also Mats Franzén (2005): "Mellan stigma och karisma. Stureplan, Sergels torg och platsens politik", *Fronesis*, 18.

gence of the Dirty: Tele-Commerce, Metropolitan Sub-Systems and Parallel Economies", analyses formal dimensions of transport infrastructure and communication systems.

Session 3, "*Interaction, representation and citizenship*", dealt with intersectional identifications, cosmopolitan practices and state policies. The meanings of cities are always contested in confrontations between different social groups. The condensed interactions between individuals and collectives in city spaces activate struggles for citizenship and diversity of lifestyles that relate to issues of both cultural and political representation. *Ulf Hannerz* (Social Anthropology, Stockholm University, SE): "Milieux of Cosmopolitanism" argues that what makes a place more or less cosmopolitan is a level of heterogeneity and variety plus a kind of openness towards learning from encounters with others.[17] This makes it different from the multiculturalism that often is conceived as plural monoculturalism. There are important communicative skills involved in managing diversity – a situated learning to deal with local diversity as a practical knowledge. Urban life tends to imply a wide media access, creating a tension between trust and fear. Hannerz also points at parallels with academic scenes, where disciplines tend to behave like tribes and where interdisciplinarity equals cosmopolitanism. The second presentation in this session was *Ien Ang* (Centre for Cultural Research, University of Western Sydney, AU): "Tales of the City and the Nation: Mediating Urban Citizenship".[18] Cities are unable to control their borders as tightly as can nations, and even the most hybrid of them cannot cross national borders. Like nations, cities are abstract imagined communities, but they are also much more concrete, lived realities. The city is more defined by daily life in city space than is the nation. Urban citizenship as the right to belong to a city is regulated by a combined politics of presence and of representation. Ang used the 2005 Cronulla riots in Sydney to understand the processes whereby people and media strive to regulate the permeable borders of a local community. Here, violence of representation and of the streets interacted, as did the dimensions of race and space. *John Eade* (Sociology and Anthropology, Roehampton University, UK): "Identity Politics, Super-Diversity and Contested Localities: Settlers and Circular Migrants in the Global City of London" explores the intersections of politics, class, race, ethnicity and religion in a context of post-colonial British developments related to the loss of empire and the postindustrial trends that give rise to a globalising class structure, hybrid transnational cultures, identity politics and faith communities. Eade presents two case studies, one of British Bangladeshi Muslims in London's East End and one of old and new generations of Polish immigrants, with a focus on the contestation of urban space in the context of mosques, pilgrimage and multicultural festivals.

Again, elements in several short talks reminded of this session theme. *Fiorenzo Iuliano* (American, Cultural and Linguistic Studies, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", IT): "Imagined Bodies, Virtual Landscapes: The Subversive Power of Corporeality and the Marginal Scene", discusses simulacra, power and corporeal sexual identity formations, with references to a range of postmodern writers. *Liedeke Plate* (Comparative Arts and Cultural Studies, Radboud University Nijmegen, NL): "Doing Cities by the Book: Literary Walking-Tours and Cosmopolitan Identities", analyses mediations of urban experiences in forms of productive media reception that express a desire for the lived real.

Session 4, "*Urban place identities and city images*", approached trends in how today's cities present themselves and are interpreted in media discourses. Built urban environments are inseparably linked to mediated city images that attract visitors as spectators of urban landscapes. A growing competition in markets of attraction makes cities use increasingly sophisticated and multiple strategies of branding, and both arts and popular media genres contribute

17 Compare also Ulf Hannerz (1996): *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*, London/New York: Routledge.

18 On transnational identities, see also Ien Ang (2001): *On not speaking Chinese: Living between Asia and the West*, London/New York: Routledge.

to this growing flow of city images. *Rolf Lindner* (European Ethnology, Humboldt-Universität Berlin, DE): "The Cultural Texture of the City" compares cities to books and takes up a thread from Jansson's paper, by exploring the dialectics of urban texts and textures.[19] Symbolic representations in anecdotes, legends, monuments, songs and sayings show cities to be narrative spaces in which different lives and practices are inscribed. Lindner exemplifies how different cities through street names and other intertextual referential networks form complex cultural rhizomes (Deleuze). *Maria Rovisco* (ISCTE Institute of Social Sciences and Business Studies, Lisbon, PT): "Cinematic vistas: City, Memory and Place" analyses how four films – Antonioni's *Blow Up* (1966), Tati's *Playtime* (1967), Kassovitz' *La Haine* (1995) and Frears' *Dirty Pretty Things* (2002) – depict London and Paris in the 1960s and in the last decade. While the late 1960s gave a critique of utilitarian values in modern cities seen as dystopian and de-humanising, the modern city of the 1990s and 2000s is instead depicted through people out of place, with cultural diversity as a key challenge. *Roger Odin* (Cinema and Audiovisual Studies, Sorbonne Nouvelle III, Paris, FR): "Cities Identity and Amateur Productions" analyses the Saint-Etienne Amateur Films Archive in France.[20] His typology distinguishes between (a) commission films depicting official identities, (b) hobby films presenting pacified identities, (c) activist films showing conflictual identities, (d) conversation films constructing subjective and multiple identities, and (e) home movies with identities to be built, since they say nothing without being interpreted by commentary speech. His pragmatic approach criticises the dominant mode of authenticity in these archives for blocking all questions and creating consensus in the service of the political right, finding it deeply problematic that such archives appear in towns that feel to be in a state of crisis.

Several short talks primarily connected to this session theme. *Claudino Ferreira* (Economics, University of Coimbra, PT): "Big Events, Tourism and Cultural Regeneration of Cities: On Lisbon's Expo'98 and Porto 2001 – European City of Culture", points at a disconnection between the imagined city and the real city as lived, resulting in exclusion and segmentation between places in the city. He also shows how culture is supported by such big city events but at the same time also reduced to a means rather than an end in itself. *Catharina Thörn* (Media, Culture and Aesthetics, Göteborg University, SE): "'Clean and Neat': The Visual Fight over Gothenburg Cityscape", shows a series of examples of how Göteborg markets itself as an "event city" that is also "clean and neat", through efforts to control its visual look. *Amanda Lagerkvist* (Media and Communications, Stockholm University, SE): "Future Lost and Resumed: Media and the Spatialization of Time in Shanghai", illustrates how Shanghai presents itself as a fully mediatised city of the future, linking up to the global world and activating retroactive images of futures past in a temporal co-existence here and now. *Melissa Aronczyk* (Culture and Communication, New York University, US): "Logo, Slogan, and Symbol: Branding Montreal and Toronto", shows how Toronto had used the same firm to brand their city as previously London, resulting in the same slogan ("Toronto Unlimited"/ "London Unlimited"), indicating a transnational homogeneity in city branding. *Giacomo Bottà* (Social Policy, University of Helsinki, FI): "Pop Music, Cultural Sensibilities and Circulation of Places", coherently analyses the interfaces between the music and the city of Manchester, UK, through landscape, textscape and soundscape, showing how music texts are situated in a city, mirroring it but also affect its development.

Session 5, "*Visual memory and city space*", thematised how urban memories are enacted culturally in space and time. The role of memories and of visual images were touched upon in preceding sessions as well, but were here specifically addressed in ways that also returned to the question of whose city is visible and privileged in dominant representations. *Esther Sha-*

19 See also Rolf Lindner (2004): *Walks on the Wild Side. Eine Geschichte der Stadtforschung*, Frankfurt/New York: Campus.

20 Compare also Roger Odin (1999): "La question de l'amateur", *Communications*, 68.

lev-Gerz (artist, Paris, FR): "The Perpetual Movement of Memory: Projects in Public Space" presents a set of art projects in public space, thematising the perpetual movement of memory. One theme is here the issue of political and ethical responsibility in such interactive projects, in the interaction between artist, commissioning authorities and urban citizens. *Joachim Sauter* (University of the Arts/Art+Com, Berlin, DE): "New Media in Public Space: Memory of the City" presents another series of arts projects in public city space, where new and interactive media technologies of simulation have been used to explore "invisible cities" and let mediatised memories from the past interact with spaces of the present. *Floris Müller* (Communications, University of Amsterdam, NL): "Constructing City Identities: Popular Communication Policies and Ethnic Tension in Amsterdam after the Theo van Gogh Murder" gives concrete examples of how this city has chosen to organise mediatised activities to deal with inter-ethnic tensions and diversity, often with the unintended consequence that divides between ethnic groups are deepened. He shows how concrete practices such as soccer tournaments articulate ideas of urban citizenship, and thus links back to the third and fourth sessions as well. Müller argues for avoiding harmonious utopianism and acknowledging that the formation of urban citizenship must be an unfinished process.

Seventeen posters were also presented at the conference, adding concretion and forging links between sessions. Poster presenters were Anastasia Deligiaouri (GR), Laura Forlano (USA), John Grech (AU), Terri He (UK), Ingrid M. Holmberg (SE), Annarita Lamberti (IT), Tommy Lindholm (SE), Donald McNeill (UK), Anna-Maria Murtola (FI), Catalina Neculai (UK), Brett Neilson (AU), Francesco Odella (IT), Egle Rindzeviciute (SE), Scott Rodgers (UK), Claudia Westermann (DE), Norbert Wildermuth (DK) and Berrin Yanikkaya (TU).

Let me end by expressing my deeply gratitude to everyone who made this unique event possible – including not only all participants, session chairs and organisers, but also the conference sponsors: the European Science Foundation (ESF), Linköping University (LiU), The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond) and the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet). Peter Berkesand at Linköping University Electronic Press generously contributed editorial skills to make this electronic publication of conference papers possible.

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Texture and Fixture: Understanding Urban Communication Geographies

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The paper discusses the ambiguous character of spaces in-between the panoramic "concept city" and the immersive "thick city". It is argued, firstly, that the theoretical understanding of such intermediary urban spaces in general, and intermediary *communication geographies* in particular, has been underdeveloped in media studies. These spaces are crucial if we are to grasp the reproduction and change of cities – notably the interaction between images, representations and social practice. Secondly, it is argued that the concepts of *texture* and *fixture* are appropriate for a re-thinking of intermediary communication geographies. Texture refers to the communicative fabric of space – shaped as networks of/for circulation – symbolic as well as material in kind. Fixtures are the strong points in textural webs. They contribute to the reproduction of textures, while at the same time working as nodes of circulation. They appear as both hermeneutic loci (festivals, rituals, cultural scenes, etc) and more material infrastructural nodes (web servers, media buildings, outlets, etc), with no clear boundaries in-between them.

The concept city, the thick city – and the city in-between

Urban experience tends to alternate between two extremes. On the one hand, the city may be experienced as a sign or a panorama, through great abstraction or geographical distanciation. This is the city of architects, planners, branding professionals, aerial photographers and gazing sight-seers. We may call it the *concept city*. On the other hand, the city is an immersive cultural forest, a city of walkers, waiting to be explored and navigated. It is a city to be absorbed by, and to loose oneself within. We may call it the *thick city*.

Several theorists have argued that we, as urbanites, know much less about the spatial layers that mediate between the concept city and the thick city. Human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1974: Ch 13), for instance, holds that the polarization of these two levels corresponds to a phenomenological gap among city dwellers. While experts on their own street, and skilled in the imagery of the entire city, most people have just vague, or incoherent, understandings of intermediate levels, such as the geographies of neighbouring districts. Tuan (ibid: 192) goes as far as to argue that the two ends of the scale "express a common human propensity to dwell on two widely disparate levels of thought: high abstraction and direct responses" (see also Tuan 1977: Ch 12).

The same problem is addressed in Michel de Certeau's (1984: Ch VII) essay *Walking in the City*. In the opening of the text (ibid: 91) he describes what it is to see Manhattan from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center:

> Beneath the haze stirred up by the winds, the urban island, a sea in the middle of the sea, lifts up the skyscrapers over Wall Street, sinks down at Greenwich, then rises again to the crests of Midtown, quietly passes over Central Park and finally undulates off into the distance beyond Harlem. A wave of verticals. Its agitation is momentarily arrested by vision. The gigantic mass is immobilized before the eyes. It is transformed into a texturology in which extremes coincide – extremes of ambition and degradation, brutal oppositions of races and styles, contrasts between yesterday's buildings, already transformed into trash cans, and today's urban irruptions that block out its space.

As we can see, ascending the World Trade Center involves (or involved) a double metamorphosis. The street walker is transfigured into a voyeur, who is now in control of the landscape. His or her multi-sensory experience of the bustling city scene is replaced by a totalizing gaze. The voyeur is not absorbed by, but measuring and reading the city. The city, in turn, transforms before the voyeur's eyes: it becomes an image, or even a text. And according to de Certeau, the ability to read and control, and to *own* the city, is a source of pleasure. It is an experience of security, even liberation, that the urban dweller may otherwise achieve only in the most familiar places of everyday life.

So what is in-between these levels? Where does the thick city end, and where does the concept city begin? To some extent this is a phenomenological question – especially if we follow Tuan's approach. The *vagueness* of intermediary urban spaces (see Miller 2006), and their boundaries (or lack thereof), might be understood merely as a socio-cognitive construct. However, the fact that we, as social subjects, have a tendency to bracket off intermediary spaces and processes, in order to make the world more comprehensible, does not mean that they are interesting only as perceived phenomena. On the contrary, I would argue, they are relevant to study, precisely because they constitute and condition a great deal of social life, while simultaneously escaping the classifying forces of cognitive mapping.

This may be particularly true when it comes to *urban geographies of communication*. Every city integrates more or less patterned infrastructures and symbolic flows. These are essential to the (re)production of both the concept city and the thick city – but they are also more or less hidden, belonging to the urban back-stage, and/or taken for granted. Just think

about the cables and wires criss-crossing an ordinary city district, providing us with information we do not problematize until we are off-line. Or think about the socio-geographic logic according to which artistic scenes circulate cultural products and hermeneutic energies in a city. We know that these infrastructures and nodes exist, but we have just a vague understanding of how they are maintained. One may even argue that they become more significant, the less we notice them. Even though intermediary spaces, and *intermediary communication geographies*, are largely absent to our eyes and minds, they represent crucial sites of *socio-cultural reaction*. I am using the term "reaction" here in a biological or chemical manner, in order to stress the processes through which social, cultural, and material qualities blend together and form particular patterns. These symbolic-material patterns, in turn, I will call *textures*.

The problem I will address in this paper, then, is an epistemological one. How can we reach a better understanding of intermediary urban spaces? And how can we understand the (re)production of such spaces in an era of global communication? There is, or has been, I would assert, a tendency within media and communication studies to reproduce the phenomenological gap between the concept city and the thick city – to concentrate either upon global flows of information, or upon local appropriations (in urban areas or elsewhere). Through such a dualistic view – which has sometimes been superficially resolved through the concept of glocalization – a lot of interesting and meaningful relationships tend to slip away. This is paradoxical, since one might presume that it is precisely within these intermediary spaces that issues of mediation may prevail. Mediation represents what Johan Fornäs (2000) has termed "the crucial in between".

There are of course exceptions to the rule. For instance, the Swedish *Popular Passages* project (cf Becker et al 2001, 2002), which has analyzed the circulation of people, goods and media within and through a suburban shopping centre, has done a great deal to unveil the infrastructures and cultural logics that bind individual consumers to the communication geographies of the city. There are also other studies, which I will return to.

My point of departure is that intermediary communication geographies are crucial not only for the realization of global processes, but also for the stability and material fixity of urban culture. This is to say that they both enable globalization – defined as local experiences of globality – and provide a counterweight to such processes. They have a hidden function as place-makers in the city. On the one hand, they produce certain discernable paths and nodes that link the thick city to a broader urban context. On the other hand, they transfigure the concept city into more concrete sites of experience and social practice. As a way of understanding these processes, I will develop two concepts. The first concept, *texture*, has been used by for example Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre – but only in passing. I will define texture as "the communicative fabric of space" (see also Jansson 2006). The second concept, *fixture*, points to the symbolic and material nodes through which urban textures are both linked to global circuits, and anchored in local culture.

Texture

"The act of walking", Michel de Certeau (1984: 97) argues, "is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered". This parallel is built upon three criteria. First, walking is a process of *appropriation* of the urban topography, just as the speaker appropriates language. Secondly, it is the *acting-out* of the place, just as the speech act is an acting-out of language. Thirdly, the mobile character of walking implies *relations* among differentiated positions, just as verbal enunciation actualizes contracts between speakers. Walking, then, can be understood as "a space of enunciation" (ibid: 98). It is a space that emerges through the interplay between the possibilities provided by the urban system, and the selective actualization of these possibilities on behalf of pedestrians. It is a space of

both reproduction and change. Urban movements may on the one hand produce durable paths, and on the other hand subvert the dominant order:

> If it is true that *forests of gestures* are manifest in the streets, their movement cannot be captured in a picture, nor can the meaning of their movements be circumscribed in a text. Their rhetorical transplantation carries away and displaces the analytical, coherent, proper meanings of urbanism; it constitutes a "wandering of the semantic" produced by masses that make some parts of the city disappear and exaggerate others, distorting it, fragmenting it, and diverting it from its immobile order (ibid: 102, emphasis in original).

De Certeau's perspective illuminates, at the most fundamental level, the close interplay between space and communication, through which a city is produced. And the argument does not restrict itself to the act of walking. We may understand all kinds of spatial practice occurring in the city as a "wandering of the semantic", making the urban landscape thick of meaning, while at the same time impossible to fully represent. The bustling activity of the city cannot be translated, nor controlled. The only way to reach a sense of semantic control, as we saw, is through distanciation and abstraction, turning the city into a visual object. But the satisfaction generated from such a perspective, de Certeau (ibid: 93) contends, is based on "an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices". The texturology of the panorama, or the concept city, is just a simulacrum.

It is not exactly clear what de Certeau means when he uses the terms *texture* and *texturology* – and he uses them only in the very opening of *Walking in the City*. It seems like they refer to the visible patterns of inscriptions and variations of the city's topography that emerge through distanciation. But at the same time de Certeau insists on comparing these abstract patterns with a text – let alone a "false" one. Hence, there is no clear distinction between text and texture (see also the critique in Reynolds and Fitzpatrick 1999). This, I think, reveals a limitation to de Certeau's view. The parallel between the city and language is brilliant in pointing out the communicative character of spatial practice, and the spatiality of communication. But it leaves out the material, sensory and emotional richness that exceeds the realm of speaking and thinking. To understand walking as a speech act is not to understand the full experience of walking. Nor is it to understand how certain spatial practices become attached to certain places and material infrastructures. In order to understand the "meaning of the city" we must think of it as something more than ongoing text-production. We may rather think of it in terms of *texture*.

The term texture derives from the Latin *textere*, meaning "to weave", and refers to both the thing woven (textile), and *the feel of the weave* (texture) (Adams et al 2001: xiii). Texture thus helps us get past not only the commonplace notion of space as a neutral container, but also the more culturalist bias towards space as a "wandering of the semantic". Through texture we can understand urban space in a way that captures its communicative density, but at the same time allows us to point out more durable socio-material structures. This is to say that texture directs our attention to durability and repetition (which does not imply stasis, however) rather than to ephemerality and flux. A similar view is suggested by Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space*:

> Paths are more important than the traffic they bear, because they are what endures in the form of the reticular patterns left by animals, both wild and domestic, and by people (in and around the houses of village or small town, as in the town's immediate environs). Always distinct and clearly indicated, such traces embody the 'values' assigned to particular routes: danger, safety, waiting, promise. This graphic aspect, which was obviously not apparent to the original 'actors' but which becomes quite clear with the aid of modern-day cartography, has more in common with a spider's web than with a drawing or plan. Could it be called a text, or a message? Possibly, but the analogy would

> serve no particularly useful purpose, and it would make more sense to speak of texture rather than of texts in this connection. […] Time and space are not separable within a texture so conceived: space implies time, and vice versa (Lefebvre 1974/1991: 118).

Lefebvre departs from the observation that the repetition of practices produces meaningful paths and inscriptions that are at the same time material and potentially graphic. This is the very same observation that leads de Certeau to speak of the concept city – the city of cartographers and planners. But whereas de Certeau sees the illusiveness of such a perspective, Lefebvre sees an organic evolution of materialized meaning. Lefebvre does not link texture to visual abstraction and forgetting, which is a viewpoint closer to his understanding of *conceived space*, but to an intermediary realm of social structuration and sedimentation. In Lefebvre, texture thus closes the gap between the thick city and the concept city, rather than produces it. We can see this in a discussion of spatial architectonics:

> A spatial work (monument or architectural project) attains a complexity fundamentally different from the complexity of a text, whether prose or poetry. As I pointed out earlier, what we are concerned with here is not texts but texture. We already know that a texture is made up of a usually rather large space covered by networks or webs; monuments constitute the strong points, nexuses or anchors of such webs. The actions of social practice are expressible but not explicable through discourse; they are, precisely, *acted* – and not *read*. A monumental work, like a musical one, does not have a 'signified' (or 'signifieds'); rather, it has a horizon of meaning: a specific or indefinite multiplicity of meanings, a shifting hierarchy in which now one, now another meaning comes momentarily to the fore, by means of – and for the sake of – a particular action (ibid: 222).

Texture is here understood as an intermediary concept, bridging the dualities between material and symbolic spaces, and between social practices and more solid spatial preconditions. The webs that Lefebvre refers to may be either symbolic or material, or a combination of both. The crucial point is that their meanings emerge through social enactment. Meaningful textures are like a network of well-travelled paths, made-up not only through spatial practices themselves, but also through the circulation of goods and information, whose mobilities are, in turn, produced through an interplay between structure and agency.

By extension, Lefebvre's notion of texture (although not very elaborated by himself) enables us to see urban space anew, and to ask new questions. In particular, I see great potential here to develop the urban culturalist perspective recently proposed by Gaonkar and Povinelli (2003) in a special issue of *Public Culture*. What they advocate is a focus upon the *materialities of form* that emerge from, and carry, cultural flows, notably in cities, and make "things" recognizable. In accordance with this claim, I argue, texture is precisely the kind of concept that leads us to think about urban *circulation* and *transfiguration*, rather than meaning and translation (see ibid: 387).

This brings us back to the problematic issue of intermediary urban space, and its vagueness. If textures are to be understood as meaningful socio-material webs, can there be any other textures than those we see, or otherwise perceive through our senses? If some textures are recognizable only through spatial abstraction, can they still be understood as textures? My point here is that the very intermediary character of textures implies that they are not often seen, nor problematized, but taken for granted. Nevertheless, through structured sets of spatial resources and conventions they guide our social practices in ways that produce particular "cultures of circulation" (see Lee and LiPuma 2002). For instance, as Joshua Meyrowitz (1985) famously has argued, technological infrastructures not only enable certain forms of communication, but also imposes the adjustment of spatial practices according to the anticipated presence and influence of these media. In the mediatized city people expect others

to carry mobile telephones (turned on or off, depending on region) (Höflich 2005); public behaviour is managed according to the presence of surveillance technology (Graham 1999), and so on. However, new media do not produce new, independent textures. Rather, the newness of new media lies in their capacity to evoke a novel textural experience, making textures visible. As the cultural forms of new media are always an outcome of "remediation", their socio-spatial impact can be understood as "retexturation" – a process through which older forms of urban circulation are both rearticulated and transfigured.

This is to say that there is a social logic to the fact that intermediary textures operate largely unnoticed. We use them and feel them, but do not think very much of them. If we did, they would loose their intermediary character.

However, this is also a relative fact. There are for instance people whose profession it is to operate and maintain these textural webs and resources – people whose work the everyday citizen take for granted. To a great extent they occupy Erving Goffman's back regions. Just like there are janitors and scrub-women who have "a clear perception of the small doors that lead to the back regions of business buildings and are intimately familiar with the profane transportation system for secretly transporting dirty cleaning equipment, large stage props, and themselves" (Goffman 1959: 125), there are people who know where the telephone station is located in a neighbourhood, or how to find the fastest way between downtown newsstands. These people constitute the maintenance crew of intermediary communication geographies – and from their viewpoint the intermediary is both a visible and a thick space.

Fixture

Still, it seems a bit exaggerated that the practices organizing a bustling city could be uniformly characterized by their blindness. This is the view taken by Michel de Certeau (1984: 93) when he argues that city walkers make use of, and produce, spaces that cannot be seen, as long as the walkers do not transform themselves into voyeurs. If we borrow Lefebvre's terminology, however, intermediary spaces are not merely conceived spaces, but *lived spaces*. It is not only monuments who anchor the cultural networks of a city. There are many other determinants for how the movements of form take shape, and how people navigate their urban minds and bodies. And these *fixtures* must not too easily be reduced to conceptual entities. Rather, they evolve through sedimentation, binding the thick city and the concept city closer together.

Urban fixtures can be understood as the strong points in urban textures, or as the determinants of pathways in webs of circulation. These strong points always evolve through history, which is to say that they are recognized as parts of tradition or institutional life. They cannot be invented or invoked, but emerge through a "thickening of space through time" (cf Crang and Travlou 2001: 167f). We might say that urban fixtures emerge through a solidification of certain nodes within the thick city. On the one hand, these nodes produce and are produced through increased circulation of material and/or hermeneutic energies in and around certain places. In this way, they structure urban practices and movements in a way that make thick spaces comprehensible. On the other hand, by means of cultural recognition, their solidification underpins the composition of the concept city. Fixtures are in this latter sense important to the visual and cartographic understanding of the city as a social space.

In a sociological account of urban culture Gerald Suttles (1984) argues that the understanding of culture would benefit from a material turn, which would imply that more attention was to be paid to the "cumulative texture" of local culture. Suttles' argument is that the durability of a city can be understood largely through the materialized expressions of its historical values and narratives. As examples of such expressions he mentions not only urban monuments and museum collections, but also more mundane expressions, such as street names, restaurants, local sports teams, and what people put on their car bumpers and T-shirts.

These objective artefacts, he argues, "give local culture much of its stability and continuing appeal" (ibid: 284). Through selective tradition, certain expressions will live on as a source of collective understanding. Others will fade away. Yet other cultural elements, once regarded as quite ordinary and undistinguished, will be transfigured into more enduring values or narratives.

What Suttles refers to as a "cumulative texture" may just as well be termed fixture. The kind of sedimentation he outlines is best understood as the spatial production of collective memory and belonging. Such processes always involve a solidifying reaction between material, symbolic and imaginary aspects (see also Borer 2006). The notion of fixture leads us further to an understanding of intermediary space as a realm of socio-cultural dialectic – a realm in which organic solidification at a certain point is turned into abstraction. Memories of the local past are reproduced and fixed through materializations within the urban fabric – named monuments, buildings, streets, public centres, etc. Or they are re-enacted through rituals, festivals, and events, attached to certain recognizable time-spaces.

The strength of these fixtures depends upon the social relationship between naming and place-making, between concept and social life. In order to work as a node for circulation, this relationship must be widely recognized as meaningful to local identity. In addition, if it is to endure, the spatial marker must be anchored in a more general moral space. Therefore, as Yi-Fu Tuan has pointed out, there are only few spatial markers that can survive:

> The more specific and representational the object the less it is likely to survive: since the end of British imperialism in Egypt, the statues of Queen Victoria no longer command worlds but merely stand in the way of traffic. In the course of time, most public symbols lose their status as places and merely clutter up space (Tuan 1977: 164).

In spite of their time-biased nature, fixtures may thus come and go. Their structuring power both solidifies and dissolves over time. It takes enormous efforts to invoke new urban fixtures at the conceptual level, through for example place-marketing, or what Tuan (1974, 1977) has described as boosterism (see also the classical writings of Wohl and Strauss 1958, Lynch 1960). While modern cities must create and nurture eligible symbols in order to become recognized in the global market-place, enduring place-values cannot be too alien to urban life forms. Place marketing always runs the risk of enhancing the gap between the concept city and the thick city.

This is a reminder that the thick city and the concept city must not be regarded as separate entities, but rather as two aspects of the continuous urban circulation of forms and meaning. An even clearer picture of this condition can be achieved if we consider what Will Straw (2005) calls the *pathways of cultural movement*, and especially his discussion of *scenes*. Analyzing urban cultural scenes is a way of opening and visualizing intermediary communication geographies. Possibly, we might understand scenes as a form of urban fixture. They link the thickness of cultural communities, or subcultures, to the fluid cosmopolitanism of urban life: As Straw (2002: 248) puts it: "To the former, it adds a sense of dynamism; to the latter, a recognition of the inner circles and weighty histories which give each seemingly fluid surface a secret order." This is to say that scenes, and in particular the particular nodal places through which they require a material form, mediate between the rapid turnover of cultural novelty and the sediments of cultural artefacts and values. On the one hand, they circulate meanings and link the city to global circuits. On the other hand, they produce patterns, or textures, to which local practices, itineraries and affinities become fixed.

Scenes are thus the perfect illustration of how fixtures, as nodes for material and hermeneutic energies, may enable globalization, while at the same time reproducing the city as a repository of memory. Characterized by their vagueness, embeddedness and elasticity,

they can still make us glimpse the social and material order of urban communication geographies.

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Nation, Migration and the City:
Mediating Urban Citizenship

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One of the crucial differences between the nation and the city is the way they figure as representable imagined totalities. Nations are the common cultural appendages of that dominant geopolitical entity of the modern world, the nation-state, whose privileged existence is founded on the principles of territorial sovereignty, self-determination and internal autonomy. As such, nations are commonly thought of as bounded, sovereign collective subjects whose right to independence is beyond doubt. It is on behalf of the nation's way of life, identity and security that nation-states engage in patrolling, defending and controlling their boundaries – in what in recent Australian history has come to be dubbed 'border protection'. In this country, the drama of national sovereignty reached a climax in August 2001, when a Norwegian ship, the Tampa, with 400 Middle Eastern asylum seekers on board, was not allowed to land on Australian territory. (For an account, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/MV_Tampa) Stirring up the prospect of a flood of unwanted 'boat people' seeking entry into the country through unauthorised means, Prime Minister John Howard (in)famously declared: *'We determine who comes into this country and the manner in which they enter!'* This is militant and self-righteous language that asserts the nation-state's sovereign power as the power to exclude. The Tampa incident resonated internationally and was widely denounced by critics as a shameful sign of the Australian government's lack of compassion for the plight of refugees, but in literal terms Howard's statement – repeated endlessly in the media – is nothing more than an insistent articulation of the continuing cultural power of the national(ist) imagination in today's globalised world. *Every* nation-state in principle insists on its fundamental right to circumscribe the limits of belonging, thus

exposing the unkindness towards strangers that is *by definition* an element of *any* national identity and nationalist discourse. (Anderson 1991)

Not so for cities. Unlike the nation-state the city cannot, in general, declare the closure of its borders. A city does not have control over who gets in or out, at least not in any formal sense; it simply has to accommodate new arrivals as best as it can. Moreover, while cities – especially so-called global cities – are increasingly seen as actors of their own, they cannot normally bypass the nation-state within which they are embedded; the latter still circumscribes the regulatory framework and the institutionalised backdrop within which cities – no matter how global – have to operate. Matters of international migration are a case in point. Policies that determine the rules for the immigration and settlement of national outsiders are the jurisdiction of nation-states, not individual cities. In Australia, which as a settler society has one of the world's most well-developed immigration programs since World War Two, rules and procedures for who and how many immigrants might be accepted into the country are determined nation-wide by the Federal Government; a global city such as Sydney –the largest city in the nation-state of Australia – does not have a say in these numbers, even though it is in cities such as Sydney where the concrete impact of new migrants is generally most directly felt. As James Holston and Arjun Appadurai put it (1999: 10), 'Immigration politics cannot be abstractly conducted evenly across all national space. It tends to be implosive (…), and its most intense points of implosion are cities'.

Bob Carr, who was the Premier of New South Wales from 1995 to 2005, repeatedly criticised the Federal Government for its policy of high immigration intake, complaining that Sydney was already bursting out of its seams. He pointed out that the city had to bear the brunt disproportionately from increased migration, because it was the most popular destination for immigrants entering Australia. Carr referred to problems of urban sprawl, a stressed housing market, and pressure on the city's infrastructure to argue that Sydney cannot cope with the population growth resulting from immigration. As he argued in a radio interview: 'if the Federal Government continues to force-feed an increased annual migrant intake into the Sydney Basin you get more growth at the fringes but you also get more intense development in our suburbs. I'm not happy with that and I think the bulk of people in Sydney are not happy with that.' ('Carr seeks solution to Sydney's population problem', PM – ABC Radio National, 25 November 2002).

Nevertheless, there is no way for the city's rulers to stop the newcomers at the gate; the city has no choice but to absorb them within the density of its urban structures and communities. Indeed, as with most world cities Sydney continues to expand beyond its seams, with the accretion of new suburban developments continuously adding to the space of 'Sydney' at its outskirts. In short, the city's boundaries are porous and stretchy, its territorial identity pliable and spongy.

To put it differently, unlike nation-states cities do not have sovereign power over their territory or its borders: Bob Carr could not determine who comes into his city and the manner in which they enter. As a consequence, the way the city operates as an imagined totality – a unitary entity – in the minds of its citizens is rather different from that of the nation. The nation is generally represented as a Subject with a big S, and its story is mostly told in the genre of the epic, articulated in the elevated heroism that constitutes the central focus of official National Histories everywhere. Narratives of the urban, however, rarely take on epic proportions, and if they do, it is usually under exceptional circumstances, for example, when a city has overcome a major disaster (eg an earthquake or a terrorist attack) or becomes the focal point of a great Event. Thus, the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games – celebrated by some pundits as 'the best Olympics ever' – still lives on in the memories of many Sydneysiders as one such epic moment in the city's history. However, such peak moments of urban pride are short-lived interruptions in the way cities are usually experienced: more generally, I would

suggest, it is the city's quality *as lived physical and social space* that tends to dominate its representation. That is, while nations are *abstract* imagined communities as Benedict Anderson (1991) has theorised it, and can acquire epic status in the minds of their citizens precisely because of that idealised abstraction, cities are too concrete realities (in both senses of the word 'concrete') for such imagined totalisation and objectification to work in any sustained sense. In other words, what distinguishes the city from the nation as imaginary constructs is that the former is much more defined by the dynamic concreteness of life in the city as a space – or more precisely, as a multiplicity of spaces – of dwelling, work, travel and play. In this sense, as Sherry Simon (2006) has noted, quoting the Quebec critic Francois Hebert, 'the nation is an epic, the city is a novel', although we might just as well allude to the more mundane, popular genre of the soap opera to describe the heterogeneity of city life: a rambling soap opera of parallel and criss-crossing stories featuring many characters engaging in myriad activities and practices in countless locations and transit points.

The city, then, resists being represented as a unified, bounded or coherent entity – physically, symbolically or socially. Sydney is vast, sprawling and decentred, with no spatial centre for the activities and experiences of its more than four million inhabitants. While Sydney is not a divided city, as is, for example, Montreal (Simon 2006), how and what the city represents for these inhabitants depends greatly on where they dwell. The constant influx of new, often dispossessed migrants who wish to make a new life in the social and cultural fabric of the city is generally experienced in localities far removed from the city's CBD or the more wealthy Eastern suburbs. For example, in some municipalities of the vast western suburbs of Sydney, more than 50% now are born overseas. In Fairfield, Auburn, Bankstown or Blacktown, some of the most diverse areas in Western Sydney – more than an hour away from the glamour of the Opera House and the world-renowned Harbour - people living there come from more than 130 countries and speak more than 70 languages at home, and in each locality the particular mix of people creates quite unique urban realities that are very far away from the idealised imagined community of the sovereign Australian nation.

In this condition, shoring up the rules for formal citizenship is not enough to enhance migrant 'integration', which is such a key concern for many Western national governments today. For example, during 2006 the Australian government announced its intention to tighten the rules for gaining Australian citizenship, requiring migrants to pass an English language and Australian values test before they can call themselves Australians (Australian Government, 2006). In the contemporary global city, however, which is already the home of millions of inhabitants of a huge range of backgrounds, such assimilationist discourses – based as they are on a homogenising concept of nationness – cannot be upheld in the face of the heterogeneity of urban social reality. Here, meaningful citizenship cannot be severed from the differentiated, spatially-specific socio-cultural practices through which it is enacted. As Joe Painter and Chris Philo (1995: 115) point out, 'if citizenship is to mean anything at all in an everyday sense it should mean the ability of individuals to occupy public spaces in a manner that does not compromise their self-identity, let alone obstruct, threaten or even harm them more materially'. In other words, while national citizenship is generally defined in terms of a formal demarcation of national belonging (such as the possession of a passport and the ability to vote), urban citizenship - that is, the right to belong to the city – cannot rely on one-dimensional and homogeneous notions of 'home' or imagined community but depends on the practical recognition of the internal plurality and diversity of forms of life that inhabit the spaces of the city. That is, while national citizenship is governed primarily by a politics of representation (ie of laws, meanings, symbols, discourse, tests), urban citizenship, which centres around the everyday, pragmatic and affective dimensions of 'rights to the city', is, as several cultural geographers have pointed out, centrally about a politics of presence (Amin and Thrift, 2003).

The so-called 'Cronulla riots' in Sydney in December 2005, named after the suburb where it took place, provide a vivid example of the tensions between formal (national) citizenship and substantive (urban) citizenship, and the role of the media in mediating the complex entanglement of national imagination and urban social reality in the negotiation of migration and difference in the global city.

The beachside suburb of Cronulla is part of the Sutherland Shire, which is well-known as one of the city's most white, Anglo areas, with a thriving beach culture that is governed by cultural practices that are typical of white Australian modes of enjoying the beach: surfing, women sunbathing in bikinis, drinking in pubs. Unlike other Sydney beach suburbs, which are only approachable by road, Cronulla is at the endpoint of a city train line. As a consequence, many people from other parts of Sydney are regular visitors, especially during weekends to enjoy sea, sun and sand – one of Australia's favourite pastimes. Thus, many migrant families from Western Sydney often come to enjoy picnics together in one of the parks surrounding the beach town. For many years Cronulla beach has also been frequented by groups of 2nd and 3rd generation migrant youth of Middle Eastern, mainly Lebanese backgrounds, who have their own ways of enjoying the beach, for example, playing soccer rather than surfing.

These divergent uses of the beach have led to tensions between locals and visitors. There have been reports of regular instances of harassment and intimidation between the two groups, much of it focusing on gender politics. For example, many (white) female beach goers have complained about aggressive approaches by men of Middle Eastern backgrounds (Lattas, 2006) At the same time, the surf culture of local Anglo males is well-known for its hostility towards outsiders and an exclusivist sense of ownership of the beach, evidenced by practices such as expressing racist taunts, loud and possessive behaviour, and so on (Evers, 2005). On Sunday 4 December 2005, a group of male youths of Lebanese descent were playing soccer on a Cronulla beach when a group of North Cronulla surf lifesavers reportedly asked them to stop, as it was disturbing other users of the beach. Apparently, some insults were exchanged, with the lifesavers publicly taunting the Lebanese youths that 'Lebs can't swim', after which two of the young lifesavers were brutally bashed.

A week later, on Sunday, December 11, 2005, approximately 5000 people gathered in a protest to "reclaim the beach". Interestingly, and here the role of the media comes into play, the mobilisation of the crowd was instigated by the spread of an SMS text message, which read as follows:

> This Sunday every f—ing Aussie in the Shire get down to North Cronulla to help support Leb and Wog bashing day. Bring your mates down and lets show them that this is our beach. Let's claim back the Shire.

The crowd quickly turned violent, as people commonly described in Australian media discourse as 'of Middle Eastern appearance' were assaulted and attacked. Several people fleeing the mobs had to be rescued by police. The day's events became a national top news story, and a rare case when an Australian incident became a news item internationally as well. The next night, groups of young men of Middle Eastern backgrounds conducted retaliation attacks by entering Cronulla and neighbouring suburbs in a large convoy of cars, smashing shops and cars and assaulting locals. In the days and weeks afterwards, as the city was reeling after what has been called the worst race riots ever in Australia, the authorities established a firm law and order regime, which lasted throughout the summer (this being summer time in Australia), to prevent further breakout of violence, which, indeed, didn't happen, although minor scuffles remain a regular occurrence. (For an account of the riots, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cronulla_riots)

The ‘Cronulla riots’ have quickly become a key marker in Australian public debate about immigration, multiculturalism and national identity, indeed, an epic moment in the symbolic politics of national representation. The (extremist) Right has generally emphasised the right of ‘locals’ to stand up for themselves, stressing the threat posed by the invasion of (foreign) Lebanese youth on the local ‘Aussie’ culture, as is demonstrated by the many Australian flags waved during the riots, and the display of divisive slogans such as ‘100% Aussie Pride’, ‘We grew here, you flew here’ and ‘Locals only’. Many participants also had 2230 written on their arms, signifying Cronulla’s postcode. While these were clear expressions of anti-migrant, nationalist localism, most right-wing commentators blamed alcohol and youthful bravado, rather than xenophobic attitudes, for the violence. Prime Minister Howard, for example, while condemning the riots, refused to say that Australia was a racist nation (‘PM refuses to use racist tag’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 December 2005). Moreover, the revenge attacks on the night after provided further proof for the Right that the fight against the ‘Lebs’ was justified because the latter were a violent lot. In other words, the Right’s perspective was underpinned by mapping an insular and rightuous localism onto an essentialist cultural nationalism, founded on a discourse of ‘Australianness’ from which non-white, culturally different migrants were explicitly excluded. Indeed, in a direct echo of the Prime Minister’s incantation a few years earlier, in the wake of the Tampa affair, that ‘We will determine who comes into this country and the manner in which they enter’, several cartoonists have pointedly used the same phrase to highlight the racism of the riots: ‘We will decide who comes to Cronulla and the circumstances etc’. (Bill Leak in *The Australian*, 12 Dec 2005)

But unlike the sovereign nation-state, a local suburb does not have the legal means to close its borders. Indeed, despite assertions by locals that the beach is ‘our’ beach, the beach is officially *public* urban space that is in principle open for use by all citizens: all inhabitants of the city can claim the right to use it. That is, while the locals can *represent* the non-local, non-Anglo visitors as ‘un-Australian’, they cannot prevent their *presence* (except by illegal violence or intimidation). Indeed, their very presence in the city – or more specifically in this case, on the beach – is a sharp and undeniable reminder of the much-discussed erosion of the nation-state’s control over its own borders, sovereignty and exclusionary identity in the age of globalisation, even though the discourse of the national continues to have a hold on people’s understandings of their world. At the same time, a national(ist) framework is insufficient, if not inadequate to explains why, almost immediately after the riots, people of all sorts of backgrounds have scrambled for ways to defuse the antagonism – for this, we need to shift to the material level of the urban everyday, and to the spatial politics of presence.

First, however, let me briefly describe the Left’s response to the riots. Not surprisingly, for the Left it was indisputable that the riots were racist: for them, it was precisely the white racism of the Shire residents that deserved moral outrage and denunciation. The revenge attacks, from this point of view, drew much less attention: in the Left narrative Middle Eastern youth were generally cast as the victims of racism and prejudice, not as active perpetrators of violence in their own right. In the Left discourse, the media loomed large as key culprits in the whole affair. And indeed, much has been made in post-riot commentary of the inflammatory role played by some media, especially talk back radio, in whipping up local anger in the days before the riots broke. The SMS message I quoted above was published in the popular daily the *Daily Telegraph* and read out by right-wing talk show host Alan Jones during his morning programme on 2GB radio station, and in the days before the riots sensationalist headlines and articles did much to heighten the expectation that a ‘community show of force’, as one radio presenter called it, was imminent in the coming weekend. This was, then, a classic example of a spiral of signification that turned the tension into a full-blown ‘moral panic’, where the ‘Lebs’ were publicly vilified and constructed as the proverbial

'folk devils'. The media indeed played a major role in the amplification of the conflict, as has been confirmed by a recent official enquiry into the riot. (Clennell 2006)

Originally coined by Stanley Cohen (1972), the term 'moral panic' has entered into general public discourse in the past few decades, and it refers broadly to the heightened public perception, whipped up by sensationalist media coverage, that some individual or group, frequently a minority group or a subculture, poses a menace to society, provoking a violent or hysterical backlash with prejudicial overtones. In essence, the process of moral panic formation involves the mediation of a morally strident defense of 'us' against 'them'. Certainly, the dubious role of the media in the build up of the Cronulla riots is undeniable, for which the theory of 'moral panics' provides a neat explanatory model. But there are problems with the extent to which the theory of 'moral panics' has become a standard paradigm among Left academics to make sense of events such as these (see eg Poynting 2006). What the adoption of this explanatory paradigm achieves is an inversion of the process of othering: the folk devils targeted by the moral panic – the 'Lebs' – are fiercely defended against those whom from the Left's point of view were the real culprits, the true 'others': the white racists of Cronulla (who thus easily become the folk devils of a competing moral panic). In other words, the sharp moral divide between 'us' and 'them' is not overcome, but merely turned around. Moreover, as moral panic theory has become a routine interpretive formula for 'blaming the media', its critical purchase, in political and intellectual terms, tends to be diminished. That is, by being so preoccupied with the (negative) role of excessive media coverage (without, incidentally, due regard for the structural conditions under which media industries operate in late capitalist societies), too much focus of the political response is directed at denouncing the violence of representation – the flare up of the 'moral panic' – rather than critiquing and understanding the violence on the streets (or the beach) itself. 'Cronulla' was interpreted one-dimensionally as the unpalatable demonstration of Australian racism (which the media are accused of nurturing and legitimising), at the expense of a more complex understanding of it as a contestation over a scarce urban resource – the beach - which turned ugly. In short, moral panic theory reinforces a reductionist framework in Left intellectual discourse 'where any and every "irruption" of intercultural tension is taken as the national rising of the racist unconscious'. (Burchell, 2006: 7).

A different way of making this point is that the emphasis on representation tends to cast 'Cronulla' as a national rather than an urban event. Focusing on the *national* dimension of the event draws our attention to the crucial role of the politics of representation in the management of intercultural tension: what is at stake then, simply put, is the struggle over who is and is not allowed to count as Australian – as part of 'us'. During their revenge attacks one of the Lebanese youth reportedly bashed an elderly white woman shouting 'I am an Australian too' (seen on TV news). Of course, this is a claim of national citizenship, whose legitimacy – at the level of formal representation – is readily recognised by the nation-state. In this paradigm, the conflict is cast as one between an exclusionary, white racist version of national citizenship and resistance against such exclusion. Indeed, in the aftermath of the riots even the mainstream media have represented the racist undertones of the violence as unacceptable to the nation's self-image: 'Cronulla', here, becomes the epic, anti-climactic moment of national shame. As one editorial dramatically put it, 'Our Disgrace –Cronulla riot that shames Australia's values' (*Daily Telegraph*, 12 Dec 2005).

What such a national paradigm cannot address, however, are the visceral, micropolitical tensions that emanate not from the representation of the other (racist or otherwise), but from the very tangible, embodied presence of multiple others as they move within shared *urban* space. These others are not simply 'victims', but active social agents with their own space-claiming practices, which may be more or less antagonistic towards others. The problem posed by the riots for city dwellers (rather the national citizens) was not how it reflected badly

on the city's reputation, but how the antagonisms can be handled to enable more peaceful modes of actually sharing space. This requires intervention at the mundane level of practices and processes that can change everyday routines and lived experience. And this is indeed what has happened in the aftermath of the riots, with a range of community groups developing a host of initiatives to prevent a repeat of the violence. Some of the most interesting examples are perhaps an initiative of the Cronulla lifesavers club to recruit young people of Middle Eastern backgrounds to become lifesavers – that is, a strategy of 'multiculturalisation' of what has been an iconic Anglo-Australian cultural practice. As summer was approaching again almost a year after the riots, a Welcome Back to Summer party was held at the North Cronulla Surf club, organised by Sutherland Shire Baptist Minister the Reverend George Capsis, 'aimed at promoting kindness, goodness and harmony' (*The Sun-Herald*, 8 Oct 2006). Also on the agenda is the Making Waves Out of Our Zone Cronulla Youth Project, targetting young people of the two antagonistic groups to engage in 'trust building activities and non-violence training'. (ibid)

One can see such on-the-ground community initiatives as interventions in a politics of presence that do not amount to an epic climax of peaceful resolution but are episodes in the ongoing, multifaceted and fragmented soap opera story of city life. What is at stake in the politics of presence is the negotiation of different interests, clashing perspectives and overlapping or contrasting desires among those who find themselves on the same turf: it is a politics that has to overcome the divide between 'us' and 'them' simply because the alternative would be repeating violence and continuing tension. This accords with Michael Keith's astute observation that 'the sites of the city that display the most intense forms of intolerance are commonly also those that demonstrate the potentiral for the most intimate forms of cultural dialogue' (2005: 15). And although these initiatives tend to be framed in the language of tolerance, respect, reconciliation, and the need to accept that living with diversity and sharing space with others is a common feature of contemporary urban life, it is clear that there are no quick fixes to the power plays that are built into the struggle for urban citizenship in complex multicultural societies. The negotiation is an ongoing process, an unending narrative of ups and downs – just like a soap opera.

It is fascinating to consider relevant media coverage on this matter as a rendition of this urban soap opera, and it gives us a sense that the media are not just conduits for moral panics, but also for moral sentimentality (which is of course typical of the soap opera genre), with an abiding predilection for highlighting utopian moments of harmony, alternated by episodes of tension and threat that undercut the desire for harmony. For example, on 8 October 2006 the *Sun-Herald* featured a photo on its front page of a few happy-looking young men on Cronulla beach with the caption 'Getting back to the beach', accompanying this happy-ending story: 'Cronulla has been the beach of choice for teenagers from Sydney's Lebanese community. But since last summer's race riots they had been too afraid to return. In a sign the racial strife has settled, the youngsters are going back to the beach for the first time.'

NO FEAR: (from left) Chris Boutros, Mark Younan, Elie El-Jammal and Mike Mahoney at Cronulla yesterday. Picture: ADAM HOLLINGWORTH

GETTING BACK TO THE BEACH

Cronulla has long been the beach of choice for teenagers from Sydney's Lebanese community. But since last summer's race riots they had been too afraid to return. In a sign the racial strife has settled, the youngsters are going back to the beach for the first time.

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That such moments of happy harmony are not everlasting, however, is suggested by a contradicting story in the Sydney Morning Herald about a week later with the title 'Sun, sea and slurs: racism revisits our beaches' (October 16, 2006), which featured a photograph of a Cronulla beach scene with two patrolling policemen on horses, ready 'to crack down on troublemakers this summer'.

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Sun, sea and slurs: racism revisits our beaches

Bay watch ... a mounted patrol at Cronulla yesterday as NSW Police announced new measures to crack down on troublemakers this summer. Photos: Ben Rushton

In conclusion, I would simply like to quote Ash Amin, who, writing in the aftermath of the urban riots in Britain in 2001, argued that a politics of presence should aim to be 'capable of supporting plural and conflicting claims and that is ready to negotiate diversity through a vigorous but democratic clash among equals' (Amin 2003: 463). But such a politics cannot be easily resolved by invocations of 'community cohesion' and 'harmony', as is too often the case: the plural and conflicting claims involved are too real to be papered over by some easy narrative of reconciliation. Amin suggests that what is at stake is 'the culture of the public domain – whether it is capable of sustaining plural demands without prejudice'.

To translate, what is at stake after the Cronulla riots is how multiple beach cultures can co-exist and be co-present without being subsumed under some homogenising/ hegemonising representation of 'our' beach, founded as it is on an implicit universalisation of the dominant national, 'Aussie' culture. Thus, the politics of presence and the politics of representation are inextricably entangled, for people's experience of society is always mediated by representations of that society. (Peters, 1997) It is in this sense that the media play a crucial brokering role between presence and representation, between physical propinquity and the production of symbolic, imagined community. As such, urban citizenship cannot, as yet, cut itself loose entirely from national citizenship.

While concepts of national citizenship are delimited in absolutist terms of inclusion and exclusion, urban citizenship encompasses the process of *living* with difference, rather than its negation, handling actual heterogeneity rather than imposing imaginary homogeneity or commonality: it involves daily and ongoing contestations over the sharing of space and place; the coordination and management of 'the simultaneity of modern social identities in highly differentiated societies' (Holston & Appadurai 1999: 9). Morover, insofar as the life of the nation is increasingly lived out precisely in cities, contestations over urban citizenship have the tendency to undermine the illusory, imagined homogenisations of national citizenship. At

the same time, urban citizenship cannot be thought of autonomously from national citizenship because the symbolic spectre of the national always informs the substantive realities of the urban: whether we like it or not, the global city of Sydney cannot be separated from the nation-state of Australia. The beach goers at Cronulla know this all too well.

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From Imperial Capital to Global City: Changing Identities in London

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London: An Ambiguous City

London has long played an ambiguous role within the nation. From its origins as a port it has faced outwards maintaining trade networks radiating across Continental Europe and further afield. As the capital of an emerging nation-state it faced inwards. Within the capital there was another tension – between the City of London whose mercantile elite looked outwards and jealously guarded its privileges against the Church and a monarchy based not far away at Westminster. An expanding empire further increased these tensions as City of London investments in overseas markets encouraged the development of local industry and business elites who began to compete with British businesses and challenge imperial controls.

The Growth of Victorian London, Social Class and Political Representation

London expanded rapidly during the 19th century as the City of London, the 'West End' of monarchy, government and entertainment was joined by the vast expanse of suburbs linked to the city centre by an extensive network of railways and roads. London's role as a commercial centre with a large white collar workforce was complemented by the growth of an industrial working class in the manufacturing belt which ran around the West End and in the expanding East End. By 1900 the adult males within this middle class had acquired voting rights as well as skilled workers within the working class. This process was the result of trade union campaigning as well as judicious political manoeuvring by the Conservative and Liberal parties and the emergent Labour Party which was close allied to the trade unions.

The Construction of a National Culture, 1880–1945

The forging of a national male electorate (women were not to gain the vote until the 1920s) was accompanied by the emergence of an assertive national consciousness and culture. A dramatic illustration of the relationship between this national consciousness and imperialism came with the outpouring of 'jingoism' which was unleashed by military setbacks during the S. African 'Boer wars' and such events as the relief of Mafeking. The forging of national culture involved the establishment of sharp boundary between insiders and outsiders which drew on religious and racial differences. Despite historical tensions between the Established Church (Church of England) and Nonconformist sects the construction of a British nationalism encouraged a sense of what these religious congregations shared through Protestant traditions.

This process of constructing an indigenous majority went hand in hand with maintaining a boundary between Protestants, on the one hand, and Catholics and Jews on the other. Since many Catholics had migrated from Ireland and most Jews had migrated from Eastern Europe, this process of boundary maintenance inevitably involved the issues of both race and immigration. Racial typologies were promoted to differentiate those at the top of the hierarchy – Anglo-Saxon Protestants – from 'lesser types'. This racialisation of difference raised the thorny question of assimilation and integration. Assimilation required outsiders to become insiders through a wholesale rejection of their original cultural traditions, while integration entailed a less radical process whereby different groups maintained their cultural differences while participating fully in the social, economic and political life of the nation.

As the first generation of sojourners gave way to subsequent generations of settlers 'born and bred' within Britain so the issue of assimilation and integration became ever more pressing. Class played a key role here since those moving away from the inner working class immigrant enclaves into suburban middle class neighbourhoods were far more likely to assimilate. During the 1920s and 1930s political parties also played their part especially in minority enclaves where leaders from the minority groups encouraged engagement with

national and local political debates and competitions. In London's working class areas, particularly the East End, the integration of the new settlers was encouraged by 'municipal socialism', trade unions and community organisations where the Labour Party competed strongly with Communists on the Left and fascists 'Blackshirts' on the Right.

'New Commonwealth' Immigration and Loss of Empire: Reconstructing National Identity and Racism

The speedy unravelling of empire after 1945 led to a painful revision of British national consciousness. Although the Aliens Act of 1905 was the first legislative attempt to establish a boundary between insiders and outsiders, it was primarily directed against East European Jewish immigrants whereas the 1948 Nationality Act was the first of many parliamentary attempts to deal with the imperial heritage. It was designed to regularise the position of those of British descent who wished to return to the 'motherland'. In the same year, however, the SS Empire Windrush arrived with migrant workers from Britain's colonies in the West Indies, some of whom had fought for Britain during the Second World War. These 'black' settlers eventually claimed rights of residence and thereby challenged the indirectly racialising effects of any distinction which defined insiders in terms of blood and, indirectly or directly, of whiteness.

Majority opinion within Britain during the 1950s and 1960s was probably in favour of the assimilation of the country's settlers from the 'New Commonwealth' (principally the former colonies in the West Indies, Africa, S. Asia, as well as Cyprus and Hong Kong). However, pluralistic integration was established as the dominant political principle within the two leading parties (Conservative and Labour). London attracted the largest numbers of migrants and was well on the way to its current situation where over 300 languages are spoken across the metropolis. The concentration of migrants within the 'inner city' boroughs which circled the City of London and the West End presented both a challenge and an opportunity to the locally dominant political body, the Labour Party. It challenged its willingness to be open to the newcomers and it presented the opportunity to bolster its electoral fortunes if the party opened its doors. During the late 1970s and early 1980s the Greater London Council and the Inner London Education Authority led the way in anti-racist policies designed to encourage 'black and Asian' political participation – a strategy which Labour-controlled boroughs also adopted with varying degrees of rapidity. By the late 1990s the effects of this strategy were to be seen in the emergence of black and Asian politicians and community leaders at every level of the metropolitan and national political structure.

Post-1945 Industrial Redevelopment and the Domination of the Service Sector

The political and social transformation of inner London through immigration between 1945 and 1990 was accompanied by extensive social change. The industrial base of the Victorian industrial belt surrounding the City and the West End rapidly weakened after an initial restoration of fortunes after 1945, although some sectors such as the garment industry were revived between 1960 and 1990 by 'New Commonwealth' immigration. The gradual closure of the East End docks between 1960 and 1975 was the most striking reminder of inner London's declining industrial base. Although industry remained a significant employer in the outer boroughs, the traditionally strong service sector became even more dominant across the metropolis as a whole. As ever, the City of London played a key role in this process, particularly after the 'Big Bang' of the mid-1970s which opened the City to global investment even more drastically and ushered in a process where British companies were forced to compete – often unsuccessfully – with newcomers from N. America, Japan and the Middle East in particular.

The pre-eminence of services was forcefully expressed by the establishment of the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) in 1979. A year previously Margaret Thatcher had led the Conservatives to victory in the national elections and one of the new government's initiatives was to overturn the attempt by local Labour councils to redevelop the derelict docks for industry and subsidised council housing. The LDDC's brief was to turn the docks into an extension of the City of London. While the newspaper industry was allowed space within the new area called 'Docklands', it was primarily intended as a workplace for the finance and business sector. New housing was designed for white collar owner-occupiers rather than the indigenous working class (see Eade 2000).

Global Restructuring and Social Change

The social impact of LDDC redevelopment in the East End borough most deeply affected during the 1980s and 1990s was to establish a sharp division between wealthy professionals employed in the finance and business sector and those pursuing manual occupations. The newcomers who settled in the owner occupied housing were predominantly white in contrast to the Bangladeshis, Somalis, W. Africans, Vietnamese who found jobs in the declining industrial sector or in the expanding low cost shops, restaurants, cafes and travel services. This social division was most evident in the borough of Tower Hamlets, where LDDC redevelopment resulted in a striking division between the white old working class communities and the new service class in the south and the Bangladeshi-dominated neighbourhoods to the north.

The transformation effected by the LDDC in the East End was dramatic but restructuring metropolitan space to attract global flows of capital, people and goods has significant effects elsewhere. In the elite neighbourhoods of Mayfair and Bayswater, for example, the old money of aristocracy and the established indigenous upper middle class was joined by a global elite whose presence was discreetly protected by the government (both Conservative and Labour). The transnational networks maintained by the global elite and the poor migrant workers operated at vastly different levels- economically, culturally and politically. These differences enabled global elite members from Muslim-majority countries to evade the suspicion and surveillance to which poor Muslims became subject, especially after the 9/11 destruction of the World Trade Center in New York and the terrorist bombs of 7/7 in London itself.

The Resurgence of the Multicultural Global City

These economic and social developments have played a key role in establishing London's contemporary position as a vibrant, multicultural city. It is difficult now to remember the gloomy prognoses of metropolitan decline during the 1950s and 1960s. At the same time London's current prosperity conceals a sharp division between the global elite and the professionals within the new service class, on the one hand, and those at the lower levels of the economic hierarchy who are competing for poorly paid and insecure jobs or facing long term unemployment (see Sassen 2001, Evans *et al.* 2005). This polarisation may have been overemphasised and significant numbers of black and Asian settlers are moving away from the poor, inner London ethnic enclaves (see Samers 2002). However, the intensity of competition at the lower levels of the economic hierarchy has been intensified by the arrival of central and eastern European migrants, particularly after the A8 nations entered the European Union in May 2004. The willingness of these circular migrants to take up routine low wage jobs has worsened the plight of young black and Asian workers as well as the refugees and asylum seekers who came to London during the 1990s. The wide variety of countries from which these migrants have come has also seriously weakened the strategy of representing people according to their ethnic background - what Vertovec (2004) calls the problem of super-diversity

British Bangladeshi Muslims – The Islamisation of Urban Space and the Bengali New Year Celebration[1]

Having outlined the major processes shaping London since the Victorian period I will develop two case studies to show how some of the issues described have shaped developments at the local level. The first case study involves Bangladeshis who have made the northern wards of Tower Hamlets their stronghold. The first generation had settled in the area during the 1960s and 1970s and the second generation had forged alliances with white Labour Party Activists during the 1980s around secular, anti-racist policies (see Eade 1989). The arrival of wives and dependants in the 1980s and early 1990s encouraged a process of Islamisation which involved the establishment of mosques, madrassahs and Islamist organisations (see Eade 1997). This process was encouraged by the central government's encouragement of 'faith communities', especially after the victory of 'New Labour' in the 1976 general election. Secularists and Islamists competed for public recognition and funding in a struggle for 'hearts and minds' which linked London's localities to events taking place around the globe, especially in Bangladesh.

These different understandings were vividly illustrated in recent debates concerning the celebration of Bengali New Year (*Baishakhi mela*). The *mela* had been introduced in 1998 as a multicultural event financed by Cityside, a government-funded quango which promoted community arts in Tower Hamlets' western wards bordering the City of London. The *mela* was held in the Spitalfields – the heartland of the Bangladeshi settlement – and provided entertainment, which was intended to express the rich diversity of Bengali culture. Since music and dancing was frowned on by 'strict' Muslims, the organisers were careful not to offend the London Great Mosque on Brick Lane by noisy celebrations during prayer times.

The festival was associated with the Bangladesh countryside which, in turn, represented society as a whole. This society extended across national borders to embrace a transnational Bangladeshi community around the globe. The festival reminded British Bangladeshis of the cultural heritage, which they shared with their compatriots elsewhere, but it also encouraged them to behave in an egalitarian manner free from the inequalities of caste and class - not only with other Bangladeshis but with all human beings.

We see here a utopian vision of a national community which implicitly reaches beyond Bangladesh to a transnational diaspora. This vision helped to establish a common platform between Bangladeshi secular nationalists and white secularists who dominate British state institutions at central and local levels. The New Year celebrations were also linked to other local multicultural events, which were shaped by an equally secular vision of a liberal multicultural locality. The 2001 advert for the event, distributed through the internet by a virtual community of British Bangladeshi professionals, for example, makes clear that the Brick Lane Festival placed Bangladeshis within a wider history of immigration and a contemporary mixture of cultural influences.

> The Brick Lane Festival captures the flavour and excitement of an area that has welcomed new Londoners for over 200 years. Taking place from 12 noon to 10pm, an amazing display of free music, dance and performance will celebrate Spitalfields [sic] rich mix of communities both past and present.

1 The following section is based on two papers already published – J. Eade and D. Garbin (2006) 'Competing Visions of Identity and Space: Bangladeshi Muslims in Britain', *Contemporary South Asia* 15 (2): 181-93 and J. Eade and D. Garbin (2002) `Changing Narratives of Violence, Struggle and Resistance: Bangladeshis and the Competition for Resources in the Global City', *Oxford Development Studies* 30 (2): 137 - 49.

> On Brick Lane itself: pavement café's [sic], a craft market, Asian drumming bands, Caribbean DJ's, the London School of Samba and lots of mad Brazilians, jostle with stilt walkers, rickshaw rides, clowns and jugglers. In neighbouring Allen Gardens the main stage showcases top world music acts, alongside a children's entertainment area with fun fair rides, massive free inflatables, stilt-walking and dance workshops.

These two events were publicly funded on the grounds that they contributed to the multicultural character of the locality and to Tower Hamlets generally. This vision of a secular, liberal society, shaped by cultural mixture, was not shared by Islamist groups. These groups were encouraged, ironically, by secularist members of the central and local state, who wished to harness the resources of `faith communities' in the delivery of policy issues. Local state officials were not so eager to recognise these `faith communities' but, in Tower Hamlets, the purpose-built East London Mosque (ELM) had long been active in building alliances with local officials despite opposition from some secular Bangladeshis activists at least. Benefiting from the Brick Lane Mosque's refusal to engage directly with public organisations, the ELM's leaders presented themselves as members of the area's `central mosque', encouraging outsiders to visit the mosque, providing help with local community schemes and generating finance to build an adjoining community centre.

Their position was further strengthened after the attack on the World Trade Center on 9/11 by media reports, which focussed on the mosque together with the more controversial centres in Finsbury Park and Shepherd's Bush (Garbin 2001: 191). In a report on the ELM's role in cutting truancy within Tower Hamlets, *The Guardian* (August 2, 2002) applauded its determination to avoid `fomenting fundamentalism' and to `live in harmony with the wider non-Muslim community'. According to the ELM's `Director', the mosque '"isn't just about praying…We want to see the well-bring of our community, see children get their basic education and local schools perform better"'. The mosque's impact on local truancy was `one of a range of progressive schemes at the mosque, including discouraging the practice of forced marriage and working with youngsters on issues of drugs and gangs'. The scheme was supported by public funds given to deprived local authorities and the local `regeneration and external funding manager' welcomed the initiative on the grounds that `conventional approaches …, such as home-school liaison workers and informing parents about the importance of attendance had not worked'. On the strength of this success the ELM leaders were going to explain `how the scheme works to the Council of Mosques' in the hope that it might be adopted `by other LEAs with substantial Muslim communities and truancy problems' (Ibid).

Members of the ELM management committee and the associated Young Muslim Organisation vigorously opposed the Bengali New Year festival and similar `multicultural' events. Against the high-minded vision of an egalitarian national/transnational community the ELM's imam developed the vision of a pure

Islamic local/global community. He argued that the festival was an unIslamic event which would only lead young Bangladeshis astray. A properly Islamic celebration was required which would help to counter the locality's socio-economic problems:

> Drugs, alcohol and the gang-fighting and all the other wrong things…unemployment and [the] unhealthy housing situation and the cultural gap between the older and the younger generation. Families are suffering. Marriages are breaking. (Interview with Imam of the East London Mosque, 2000, quoted in Eade, Fremeaux and Garbin 2002: 168)

The imam proceeded to argue that the festival was promoted in both Bangladesh and Britain by a secular minority, whose enjoyment of fun diverted them from Islam:

> In Bangladesh they don't exercise… like this…[only a minority]…There is a secular trend and there are people who are purely having their own understanding about community, about culture…This was the culture of the Hindus…Nowadays some people are getting very much influenced by some other faith – that's why those people are away from Islam. They look for something fun – whatever it is, which culture, which religion - no matter. (Interview with Imam of the East London Mosque, 2000, quoted in Eade, Fremeaux and Garbin 2002: 168)

This portrait of the new `East End' clearly resonates with earlier constructions of London's dark `Other' but the communities visualised are different. In Islamist discourse local Muslims are part of a global community (*umma*), which can be redeemed through the `correct' observance of Islamic practices.

This interpretation of a global Muslim community defied Western ideological assertions about the primacy of secular culture in 'modern' nation-states. Indeed, in the imam's opinion, attempts by 'modernising' elites in Bangladesh to introduce secular nationalism were bound to fail because of the ways in which religion permeated everyday beliefs and practices. The efforts of the secular minority only resulted in the spread of Hinduism rather than secular nationalism. In other words, Bangladeshis could not escape the continuing struggle between Hindu and Muslim communities, which had determined politics in the Indian sub-continent through the partition of British India in 1946, the conflicts between India and Pakistan and the tensions between India and Bangladesh after the latter's creation in 1971. However, what this deterministic vision failed to acknowledge, of course, was the role of both non-religious forces and contingency in this politics of identity. These conflicts were not inevitable and unchanging and what caused them could not be reduced to religious forces.

In spite of the tendency to present sharply contrasting visions of Islamic and secular communities, secularists and Islamists do not constitute homogeneous constituencies nor are they relentlessly opposed to one another. The ELM's website, for example, in February 2006 criticised those lampooning the Prophet but called for a peaceful and reasoned response:

> This appears to be a deliberate attempt to demonise Islam and Muslims, evoking disturbing memories of similar caricatures used against Jews and their religious beliefs in parts of Europe in the 1930s. The East London Mosque calls on Muslims to use all peaceful means to convey their disgust at the publication of the cartoons. It also asks the media and governments of Europe to respond positively to the deeply held concerns of Muslim citizens. (http://www.eastlondonmosque.org.uk/main/index.php, accessed February 14, 2006)

The mosque's leaders sought to distance themselves from the radical Hizbut Tahir organisers of the demonstration outside the Danish Embassy where banners praised Muslim terrorists, called for the execution of those blaspheming the Prophet Muhammad and castigated western secularism. Likewise, although a few secularists have rejected Islam as both a mode of practice and a set of beliefs, many more observe Muslim public practices and refuse to accept that Islam in Britain should be confined to the private realm of belief and domestic practice. Some are clearly deeply opposed to the ELM but they have many other mosques which they can support. There is no agreed hierarchy or central organisation representing Muslim interests in the area despite the ELM's claims to be East London's premier religious centre.

Amid all the media attention given to Islam in Britain and elsewhere, in this area of London at least secularist Bangladeshis enjoy far stronger position within local state institutions than those associated with the local mosques. They have been appointed to white collar jobs in the public sector, such as the National Health Service, education and the borough council. They also control the vast majority of community groups, clubs and law centres providing advice to Bangladeshis residents about how to gain access to welfare

resources or leisure facilities to the third generation. Secularists dominate the various housing cooperatives, which became increasingly important during the 1990s as the borough council's housing role declined. Islamists are limited in their range of possible allies if they want to insist on the binary opposition between secularism and Islam. In practice, then, moderate Islamists have also sought to build alliances with non-Muslims involved in the distribution of public funds through such initiatives as the drugs rehabilitation programme and work training courses rather than remain within a narrowly defined Muslim enclave.

The Sacralisation of British Space and New Forms of Pilgrimage[2]

In the previous case study the focus was on the ways in which religious identity became the subject of competing claims between secularists and Islamists. The process of Islamisation had many other dimensions, of course. It has to be seen in the context of a more general purificatory process where the rural syncretic traditions of the Bangladeshi first generation were challenged by those who sought conformity to textual authority based on the Koran and Hadith. Despite the onslaught of this purificatory process syncretic traditions still survived among the first generation and were sustained by the periodical visits of religious leaders associated with Bangladeshi pilgrimage shrines. Furthermore, the supporters of these leaders still influenced their children among the second generation and were associated with the dominant Barelvi persuasion within the urban mosques.

There was even evidence that pilgrimage cults were being transferred to Britain's urban centres through these continuing influences on Muslims. This sacralisation of Britain by non-Christian settlers was even more obvious among Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists. Old buildings in urban and rural locales were adapted for religious ceremonies while new temples and gurudwaras were built. In some cases pilgrimages were made to these both types of buildings while some of Britain's rivers were sanctified so that Hindus could scatter the ashes of their loved ones rather than make the long journey back to India.

The dominance long enjoyed by the Church of England was being challenged not only by the secularisation of mainstream society but also by the rise of Christian Pentecostalist, Roman Catholic, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist minority groups in Britain's cities and towns. These 'new ethnicities' encouraged the growth of pilgrimage activity as recent settlers went to shrines overseas or even within Britain itself.

Polish Migrants, Pilgrimage and Transnational Links

To illustrate more clearly this process I will focus on another migrant group – Polish Catholics – and changes taking place at one particular shrine in the Kent countryside thirty miles south of London. Here the rural met the urban as many of the pilgrims came from London parishes where white Catholics mixed with the first generation of Poles had settled at the end of the Second World War and more recent settlers from India, W. Africa and Latin America.

The shrine of Our Lady and St Simon Stock was located forty miles south of London and three miles near the substantial and growing town of Maidstone/Ashford. Access was easy since the shrine was close to a motorway and railway line linking the southern port of Folkestone with London. The shrine was set in pretty grounds near the village of Aylesford and was a mixture of the mediaeval remains of a Carmelite friary dedicated to the English saint, Simon Stock, and 20th century additions. Space was provided for the ceremonies which involved the day pilgrims as well as pilgrim guests occupying the modern lodgings. Like most European pilgrimage shrines this one was dedicated to Our Lady, the mother of Jesus Christ, but also to an Englishman about whom much more was known since he lived in the 13th

2 The following discussion is based on a paper given at a 2005 conference in Teheran.

century and his life as a hermit was faithfully recorded by his fellow Carmelites, an order of celibate friars founded in 1242. He was born in Kent and died in Bordeaux, France. During his long life he journeyed to Rome and to Mount Carmel in Palestine before becoming head of his Order an election held at Aylesford. Under his leadership the Carmelites established houses of study at the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Paris and Bologna.

The revival of the shrine began in 1949 when Carmelites left France and settled at Aylesford. A strong link was quickly forged with the Poles who decided to remain in Britain after the end of the Second World War. Most had fought in the Polish armed forces on the side of the Allies and were not prepared to return to a Communist-run Poland. They set up communities in London and other cities, although a significant proportion also found work in mines and farms away from these great urban centres. The Roman Catholic faith helped to sustain their community spirit and the long tradition of pilgrimage to the famous Polish Marian shrine of Częstochowa was transferred to Aylesford. One of the British Polish magazines recently described this process in the following way:

> When after WWII the epoch of exile began for Poles on British soil, they quickly developed a true friendship with the Order of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel. Carmelites came to Aylesford in November 1949 from France to their ancient nest which was taken from them over 400 years ago by Henry VIII. Poles, with Marian hearts, deeply understanding [the Carmelite] exile, took active part in rebuilding the ruined Church and convent. Many of them helped also financially. *Gazeta Niedzielna*, Sept. 2002 (trans. by M. Garapich)

The specific link with Czestochowa was celebrated by the Head of the Polish Church in England and Wales, Fr Kukla, in a recent sermon at the shrine when he rhetorically sought to bring the survivors of the Second World War with more recent migrants. He began by addressing the veterans:

> We wish in this pilgrimage to offer to God - by the intercession of Immaculate Mary - those who 60 years ago in defence of the freedom and sovereignty of our Fatherland, paid the tribute of their blood. We offer in this Mass also you, dear combatants, the generation who found itself abroad. The Sanctuary of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel in Aylesford was and still is the Polish Częstochowa. Here, after a difficult war experience, you rebuilt your faith in God and the faith in humans and faith in human dignity. We bow our heads for you.

He then turned to those who came during the 1980s when political disaffection led by *Solidarnosc* (Solidarity) was crushed by the regime:

> We would like to offer also through the intercession of Our Lady of Częstochowa, those who call themselves Solidarity Emigration. It was you who took into hearts the words of the Slavic Pope [Pope John Paul 11]: 'Do not be afraid. You came here expelled from your Fatherland and for long years you experienced the bitterness of emigration lives and then you found your dignity.'

He then moved on to address those who had come to Britain during the 1990s after the collapse of the Communist regime:

> And you, who call yourselves, the John Paul II generation, you have a special task in new Europe to maintain a really Christian culture in your country of settlement. You have to defend yourselves strongly against a consumerist way of life, which always brings moral and spiritual emptiness. Your input in the life abroad should be a positive, Christian model of the family, which should shape the life of the Polish Diaspora.

He finally turned to those who had arrived more recently:

> I address these words also to these who came to Great Britain for economic reasons, after bread. I welcome you from all my heart. Let yourself be known at Holy Mass, involve yourself in the liturgical life of your parish. Church is your second home, where you often seek support and consolation. Youth is a great gift but a duty also. Don't be tempted by what is easy and pleasant. Take care of your spirit … Your conversations should be an example of the culture of language and costumes. Take care of the good name of Poland, your Mother.

We see here the attempt by a religious leader to sustain the feelings of *communitas* (see Turner 1978). Through these kinds of sermons as well as religious ceremonies the pilgrims' membership of both the universal Church and the Polish nation was celebrated.

Yet despite the emphasis on group solidarity the inevitable political and social tensions within the community lurked beneath the surface and are revealed in Fr. Kukla's call to the 1990s generation and recent migrants to avoid consumerism and bad behaviour. The first generation of military veterans and their families had little in common with the more recent arrivals since they had supported a government-in-exile deeply opposed to the Communist regime which ruled Poland between 1947 and 1990 and rarely, if ever, visited their country of origin. Politically, they shared the same hostility to the regime as the Solidarity Emigration but they were far more wedded to pre-Second World War lifestyles than these younger émigrés, who had lived under Communism for over thirty years.

They had even less in common with the 'John Paul 11 generation' and the recent newcomers who had grown up after the collapse of Communism and were eager to leave the pre- and post-Second World War regimes far behind them. They were formally attached to the Roman Catholic Church, which had long been the bastion of Polish national identity, and appreciated the role played by Czestochowa as a place where pilgrims could celebrate their religious and nationalist resistance to outside domination. However, religion appeared to be less embedded within the everyday rhythms of their lives. They did not necessarily seek to participate in the community life of Polish urban communities and many of the recent migrants were scattered across Britain far away from these communities. They wanted to prosper materially and return to a more wealthy and secure future in Poland. The conservative world of the established British Polish community represented through Fr Kukla's address at Aylesford was not their world. They would have listened to his sermon with due respect but not necessarily agreed with him. Beneath the formal *communitas* there lay a continuing current of disagreement and even antagonism (see Eade and Sallnow 1991 and Coleman and Eade 2004).

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The Cultural Texture of the City

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Cities are not empty pages, but narrative spaces in which particular (hi)stories, myths and parables are inscribed. These cultural codings have a cumulative effect in part the result of the process of continuous intertextual cross-reference. The reflections on the cultural texture of cities are intended to make clear that we are dealing with processes of long duration. Like a rhizome, the cultural texture has burrowed deep, and unconsciously guides even those who are determined to radically alter the image of the city.

1

There are cities which are like a penny dreadful, a dime novel, stained and well-thumbed and with a garish, torn cover, while others are more like an expensive edition of a classic author, leather bound, with thread-stitching and a bookmark. Vienna, for example, this city-as-museum, suggests a book with ornamental design and gilt edging and illustrations by Gustav Klimt. The exemplary representative of the *dime novel* and the *B-movie* among cities is Tangier. Pulp titles like *The City of Sin*, *Tangier Nights* or *Tangier Assignment* and B-Pictures like *White Slavery*, *Tänzerinnen für Tanger* (Dancers for Tangier) or *Mission à Tanger* give some idea of the fantasies associated with the city. White slavers, arms traders, smugglers, agents and dope peddlers are the typical protagonists of these novels and movies. And there's a good reason for that. Out of the special, strategically significant location of the port at the crossroads of Occident and orient, which was acknowledged by its declaration as an international zone in 1924, a status maintained until 1956, there developed that transitory character of the city, that made Tangier a kind of "no man's land". A place, in which, as Paul Bowles wrote, "everyone did as he liked, and the law didn't stop anyone doing it" (Bowles 1990, p. 205), which became a "refuge of non-interference", as William S. Burroughs put it in his manuscript about the International Zone.

> "Everything was allowed there," the anthropologist Henk Driessen quotes a Jewish resident of Tangier, "[and] where no one was polyglot unless he spoke at least five languages, where there were as many poets as financiers and one had as much imagination as the other".

So Tangier became not only an intercultural crossroads,

> "where the merchants, the fire-eaters, the dealers in precious stones and the bankers are Indian or Pakistani, the second-hand booksellers and the builders are Spanish, the rakes and the bakers come from France, the aristocrats, the spies and the gangsters from the United Kingdom, the writers for the most part from the United States",

according to Daniel Rondeau in *Tanger – récit de voyage* (1987), a centre for the trading of money and gold (everywhere in the town one came upon money changers, as Bowles remembers), a destination for affluent exiles and illegal refugees, but also a screen for the projection of fantasies, which magically attracted marginal characters of every kind. Today Tangier can no longer get rid of its reputation as a mecca for drop-outs, gamblers and enfants terribles, a backdrop for displays of a lascivious and dubious Orientalism, associated with, among others, Barbara Hutton, the Woolworth's heiress. Even very recent documentaries such as Peter Goedel's film *Tanger – Die Legende einer Stadt* (Tangier – the Legend of a City) still stick to the B-movie script and tell stories about black market deals, smuggling trips and corruption, about extravagant parties and states of intoxication, about sex, drugs and death. "The films and novels have turned this town," writes Jean Genet in *The Thief's Journal*, "into a ghastly place, a kind of dive, where the gamblers sell off the secret plans of all the armies of the world." "Tanger mal filmée, Tanger mal écrite", wrote the Moroccan author Talar Ben Jalloun, a city caught in the texture of its narrative.

But what does that mean: caught in the texture of its narrative? It is repeatedly said, and at times in a somewhat self-righteous tone, that we only live in accordance with what the media set in front of us (or more exactly: that everyone else apart from us lives in accordance with what the media set in front of them). In this talk of emulation, there resonates that certainty of a right and false life, which marked Critical Theory. But in a city we never really know, who sets the tone and who is the echo. Has the Culture Industry thesis not by now become part of

the way Los Angeles is experienced? And has it not become part of the local mythology? Are mythologies in fact only really authorised through emulation, by an afterlife, just as these, in turn, lend this life substance, by entering the everyday speech, the *parole* and the habits of the inhabitants? It is to the credit of the French anthropologist and sociologist, Pierre Sansot, who died recently, that in his *Poétique de la ville* he raised questions like this: is it really possible to say that we – as readers, as cinema-goers, as tourists – emulate certain facets of a cityscape or do we in a certain sense in fact realise them? The apparent certainty, that nets are thrown out, which act to structure experience, ignores an important question: who gets caught (up) in them?

Back to our typology: There are cities which seem like account books, defined by the logic of "profit and loss", sober, practical, predictable, calculating even in their eruptions, but always keen on the double bookkeeping, which leaves a way out. Others again appear "brash", as if one were reading the city stories of Armistead Maupin, or remind one of science fiction, curiously unplaced and hyperreal, as if they had been thought up by Baudrillard. Brasilia is no doubt an exemplary and early architectural case in point, Los Angeles with its cinetexture, from Blade Runner to Demolition Man another. There are also cities which are reminiscent of the sentimentalities of a regional novel, simultaneously rooted and with a hidden side, at once "*heim*elig" (homely), an*heim*elnd (familiar) and *un-heim*lich (uncanny – literally *unhome-ly*.

These 'scripts' cannot be changed at will, because they are spatially grounded, albeit in an imaginary way. Neither genres nor authors nor their protagonists are accidental. About one city mainly thrillers are written, about the second science fiction, about the third love stories. Cities have their writers as writers have their cities: Paul Auster and New York (or rather Brooklyn); James Ellroy and Los Angeles; Armistead Maupin and San Francisco. The female clerical worker stands for one city, the merchant and consul (or the financier) for another: "Boston may have its Sister Carries and Chicago its George Apleys, but they are implausible characters" (i.e. implausible in those cities), writes the sociologist Gerald Suttles in his reflections on the cumulative texture of local urban culture. Authors have to make the relationship of location and plot plausible, even where it's now only a matter of virtual worlds. In our languages we have a very vivid expression to describe a possible discrepancy, one that alludes directly to place: something – the protagonist, the plot, the scenery – is obviously *out of place*, *etwas ist deplaziert*, *quelque chose est deplacée*, *något är inte på sin plats*. Thus the plausibility of a literary figure becomes a *cultural indicator*, an indicator for what is imaginable and above all what is unimaginable with respect to a particular city. That's reminiscent of the indices paradigm associated with Holmes, Freud, Morelli and Ginzburg. Franz Biberkopf, the central character of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is not easily imaginable in Munich, even if it was a film-maker from Munich, admittedly a somewhat eccentric one, Rainer Werner Fassbinder, who turned the novel into a thirteen part TV series. (And Biberkopf is still a conceivable character in the actual Berlin).

The criterion of plausibility, i.e. of the conceivability and credibility of "characters" – so that something "is clear", "reasonable", and that without mediation – is fundamental to the semantics and syntax of cultural coding, which adheres to latent structures of meaning. Without necessarily being able to articulate it without hesitation, we all know intuitively, if something is not right. It is, following Michael Polyani, tacit knowledge we are speaking about. In the end nothing is more characteristic of a particular city than what is not evident, what is taken to be impossible, what seems to be unthinkable.

2

To show that urban texts do indeed form a texture in which the city is truly enmeshed has been the contribution of Gerald D. Suttles, one of the few urban researchers to pursue the symbolic-representational approach initiated by Richard Wohl and Anselm Strauss. This neglected method raised the question of the evocative and expressive qualities of a city which give it meaning. For Wohl and Strauss it is not only the key symbols, landmarks and emblems which help to formulate the uniqueness of a city but a whole "vocabulary" from anecdote to urban legend.

In an essay with the programmatic title "The Cumulative Texture of Local Urban Culture" (1984), Suttles rejects an urban sociology that looks at city life exclusively in terms of the economic end points of production and consumption and sees local culture merely as the source of minor deviations, an element in economic retardation or simply a set of exogenous factors. The biography of a city cannot be adequately understood if reliance is placed exclusively on economic explanatory models; to achieve a "thick description" of the specificity of a city it is necessary to take into account the cumulative texture of the local culture as expressed in images, typifications and collective representations. What makes Suttle's essay a seminal text, even today, is less that it points to a research deficit (which is by now a somewhat banal conclusion), but rather the wealth of material that he suggests to the researcher (from cemeteries to telephone books) and the specific logic by which, in his view, the pattern is woven into a fabric. According to him, research will usually yield three interrelated series of collective representations: first the founding or discovering figures of the place; second the economic and political elites which, "by hook or crook", have contributed to its 'spirit'; and thirdly material artefacts (such as monuments) and immaterial ones (such as sayings, songs and stories), which express its "character" (Suttles 1984, p. 288). Though there may be a certain US bias in the choice of important items, the list nonetheless gives us an idea of what we should be looking for. There are places, for example cemeteries, in which significant elements of the local culture are condensed: A simple comparison of Vienna's Central Cemetery (Zentralfriedhof) with Père Lachaise in Paris, and of the myths associated with them, would tell us a great deal about the particular character of these two cities. Suttles sees the representations as directly linked to distinct economic regimes. In his examples these are the merchant families of Boston, the financial empires of New York, the joint-stock companies of Chicago, the "dream factories" of Los Angeles, and the oil companies and space exploration enterprises of Houston. The relationship is especially clear in popular "characterology": "Proper Bostonian", "New York's city slicker", "Chicago's hog butchers", "Los Angeles' stars" and "Houston's wildcatters" (Suttles 1984, p. 291). To Suttles local cultural representations display a remarkable durability. Their number certainly increases over time, but they do not fundamentally change. That is what is meant by the cumulative nature of local culture which is, not least, the result of a process of continuous intertextual cross-reference.

3

Let me give you another example. In his great study of Los Angeles, *City of Quartz*, Mike Davis investigated, among other things, the part which succeeding generations of intellectuals have played in the construction and deconstruction of the mythography of the "world capital of the culture industry". The cornerstones of the cultural production which became a material force in the development of the city, the master dialectic of "sunshine or noir", were constituted on the one hand by the literary invention of southern California as Mediterranean idyll by the "Arroyo Circle" – a literary invention, which stimulated the huge property speculations of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries – and, on the other hand, by the anti-myth of noir, extending from Raymond Chandler to James Ellroy. In Ellroy's quite manic novels all the horror that lurks behind the sets of the LA myth is on show. And so the mythography in

the sense of anti-mythology is continued by Mike Davis' critical study and this in turn has been made use in literature, in T.C. Boyle's novel *The Tortilla Curtain*, set in the gated community of "Arroyo Blanco Estates". In 1997 the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art in Humlebaek, Denmark, adopted Mike Davis' leitmotif – "sunshine & noir" – as the title of an exhibition of art in Los Angeles 1960-1997, which was subsequently shown in London and Los Angeles and elsewhere. This year the Centre Pompidou followed with the exhibition "Los Angeles 1955-1985" which, apart from works by Ed Ruscha, Edward Kienholz, John Baldessari and others, also mounted a film programme including Polanski's *Chinatown*, Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* and the experimental films of Kenneth Anger. Anger himself made a considerable contribution to the dystopian view of Los Angeles with his chronicle of scandal "Hollywood Babylon". By turning our attention to a specific city we continue – while adhering to the criterion of plausibility – writing its (hi)story and its stories. The role of the culture industry in the formation of the city of Los Angeles and its inhabitants is evident, not least, in the importance of design, backdrop and make-up in the economy and culture of the place. The clearest example is the cosmetics industry, and the part played by Max Factor, at first wig-maker to the stars. He then went on to sell make-up and dominated the market worldwide. But because subsequently in colour films the make-up reflected surrounding colours, he developed a new kind of cosmetic: the product was now applied with a little sponge. Among his further Hollywood products were eye shadow and eyebrow pencils, "lip gloss" and water-resistant make-up. Harvey Molotch, to whom I owe this example, talked of the Design Economy of LA, with synergy effects linking the most diverse kinds of companies (particularly conspicuous in the merchandising of Blockbuster, where the product spectrum extends from toys to clothes and bed linen), population and professional groups (set designers work in industrial design, costume designers also work in fashion, script writers work in advertising) and symbolic systems. All forms of creativity overlap in this city, which is not only the centre of the film industry in the United States, but also of the fashion and toy industries, of cosmetics and design, where "the fine arts and the popular, kitsch and extravagance, graffiti on road signs and haute cuisine" exist side by side. Of considerable importance here are the numerous colleges and universities, such as the Art Institute of Los Angeles, which offers a degree in culinary arts, including an introduction to "Theory and Practice of Hospitality" or the California Institute of the Arts, founded by Walt Disney, which not only offers degrees in art, film, video, music and dance but also in critical studies. The latter includes courses in "Buying and Selling the Fantasy of LA" (and one of the questions it investigates is "How did LA become the capital of the social imaginary?") and the "History of Simulation". No wonder that, according to one joke, Jean Baudrillard, that shrill Adorno, is the favourite philosopher of the real estate business of this city of illusions. If, with reference to Tangier, we said, that the city is caught in its mythology, then we can agree with Emilio Spadola, that "the whole city is a movie". If we needed further proof, it was provided by a film from 2003, *Los Angeles Plays Itself*, a portrait of the movie capital by Thom Anderson, who teaches at the California Institute of the Arts. It is composed of extracts from more than 200 films from the 1930's to the end of the century. Even the title of the film is a quotation: *Los Angeles Plays Itself* was the name of gay porn flick.

Let's sum up

Cities are not empty pages, but narrative spaces in which particular (hi)stories, myths and parables are inscribed. Public and private institutions – from libraries to museums to sports stadiums – have served as surfaces for inscriptions, just as have the streets, squares and parks whose names shape the collective memory of the city (the French anthropologist Marc Augé has given a nice account of this in relation to the names of the Paris métro stations). As far as the imaginary is concerned, it makes a considerable difference, whether the streets of a city

centre are named after scholars and scientists or after film stars as in Los Angeles. In Los Angeles, no doubt to Baudrillard's delight, even film sets have become historic landmarks. We find parts of these stories again in local history, as in the anniversary volumes of companies and associations. Not least, however, we encounter them in what, analogous to folklore, we may describe as citylore, in the stories about founding fathers, in popular characterology and finally in anecdotes, proverbs and sayings. These cultural codings have a cumulative effect, in part the result of the process of continuous intertextual cross-reference. Those who want to distance themselves from what are seen as clichés involuntarily reinforce them through repetition, even if in a critical context. A very typical recent example was the exhibition "Alt-Wien. Die Stadt, die niemals war" (Old Vienna. The city that never was), mounted in 2004/2005, which set itself the task of deconstructing the myth of "Old Vienna". For visitors, however, its greatest attraction was precisely the presentation of this city that never was through cultural products – literature, music, art, film. The exhibition was a huge success. Thus even the voice of a critical discourse, contributes to keeping the criticised discourse ("Old Vienna") alive and hence powerful.

Urban renewal today, in the era of global city competition, means, not least, designing and conveying a different picture of a city. That's what the boom in imagineers is based on, who promise to make a city distinct, in short: unique. In realising this promise, however, they run the risk of rubbing away existing differences in favour of global city imaginations: "the event city" inter alia. My reflections on the cultural texture of cities are intended to make clear that we are dealing with processes of long duration, involving a variety of media influences that are part of an intertextual referential network. The cultural texture, like a rhizome, has burrowed deep, and unconsciously guides even those who are determined to radically alter the image.

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Reflecting Spaces/Deflecting Spaces

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"In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror. (...) The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there."

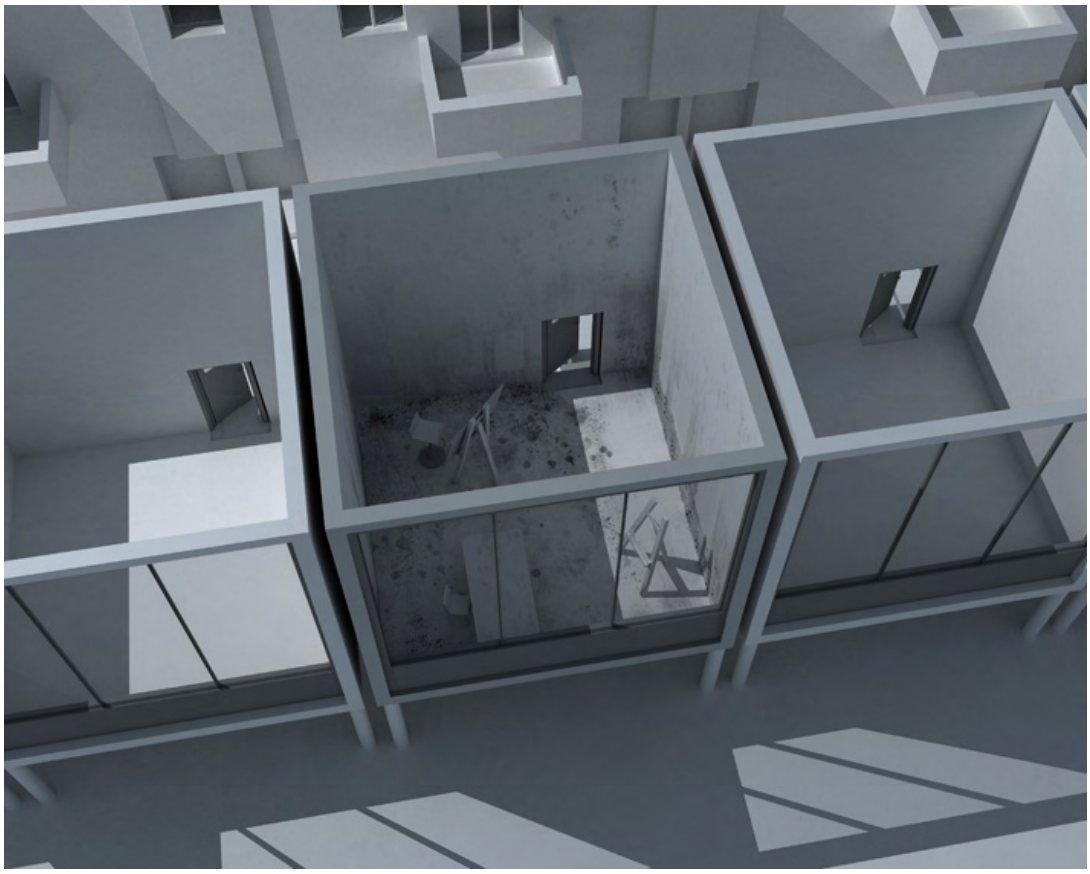
Michel Foucault: Of Other Spaces

Spatial constructions are not static. They are persistently transformed and re-defined by the people that “practice” the space they live in, as the French philosopher Michel de Certeau writes. He also defines space as a “tangle of mobile elements“, considering peoples´ practices as the dynamic element in the creation of space. Regarding space as a geographical and social structure made up by personal contributions and active participation introduces the political dimension of each person’s responsibilities.

My artistic approach of spatial and medial constructions is starting from these dynamic personal linkages and is based on possible dialogues of people with places. By considering cultural diversity and individual practices as motor of transformation, I create portraitures of spaces by deflecting the edges of geographical defined areas. For my works, I am using different media that dislocate and recreate the formal and intrinsic qualities of the given elements, thus proposing new accesses.

In my projects, a specific locality is confronted with other spatial ideas such as the homeland or social and cultural backgrounds. This doubled dispositive acts as a platform for further heterogeneous discourses inside my work. Questions such as: How do people use and thus create spaces? Which spaces appear by concentrating on their ascriptions and personal implications? How does the interaction of given geographical and social places and personal and political contributions open up new spaces? arise by working with people instead of working on them.

In my last project The Place of Art, 2006, a video-installation presented in two different places, I focussed on the relation between art and context as it shows up in everyday life of people living in Bergsjön, a suburb of Gothenburg in Sweden. The work is based on the contributions of 38 artists living in this district who have responded to the questions: how would you define art, and where would you locate the place where it happens? The starting point for the project has been to consider the heterogeneous places of art in different traditions, seen through the eyes of people with various cultural backgrounds, and to deflect the question into the private sphere.

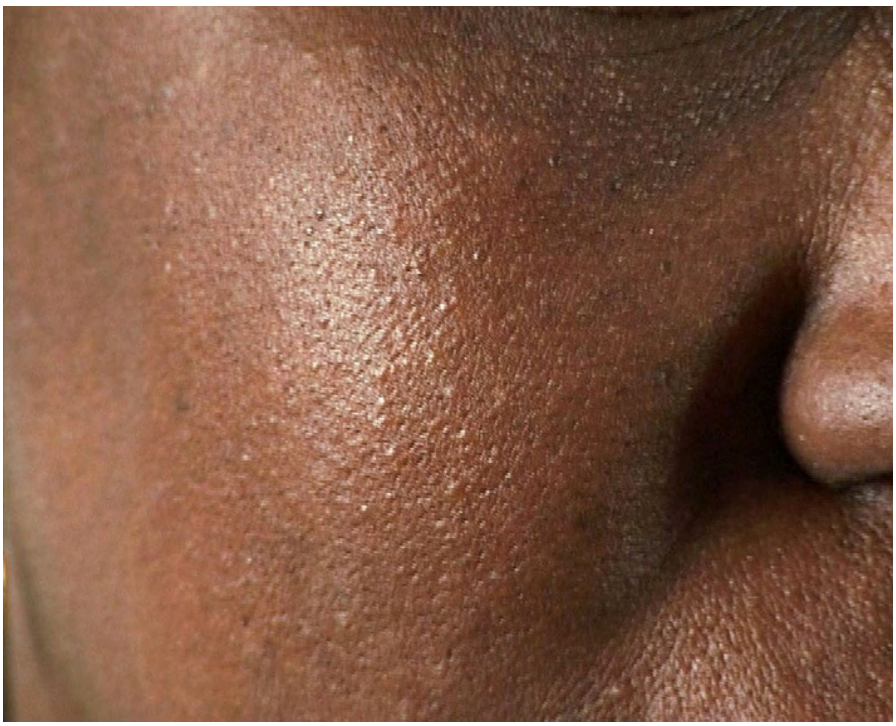


Through the participation of the artists in Bergsjön the project invokes personal visions about the various aspects of possible art spaces, linking actual situations with fictional ideas, and own experiences with imagined circumstances. Memories and thoughts as to where art takes place in the participants' culture are connected to their present lives and spaces, therefore forming a basis for possible continuous renegotiation. The project intertwines utopia, realities and abstract reflections and thus opens up new possible spaces.

The exhibition of *The Place of Art* took place in two separate but complementary spaces, the Bergsjön Centrum (Rymdtorget's shopping, the only existing common meeting place in this suburb) and the Konsthall of Gothenburg as the official institution representing contemporary art. In Bergsjön Centrum, the installation includes a silent movie that shows the artists while listening to their own answers to the questions just after having been interviewed, in the intimacy of their homes. This moment of one’s confrontation with the own voice and what it just said a few minutes ago constitutes a silent, very solitary space where a person is alone with an external bodily element of him- or herself. In the film, this state is accentuated by the visual transformation of the apartment through the integration of their written art definitions becoming a physical component of the domestic interiors. Between the sequences, quotes about art by artists from all over the world - renowned as well as less known - are inserted. The quotes are taken from the catalogue of the Parisian exhibition, *Magicians de la Terre*, which in 1989 sparked both praise and controversy for its postcolonial approach. In the Konsthall of Gothenburg, the installation is composed by four projections pointing the darkness of the museum space and the participants' voices talking about their personal proposals for the place of art. The visual propositions for those imagined spaces are based on their contributions: I developed models in 3d that transform themselves in a perpetual movement into more detailed images. These video-projections that by their constitution are instable, moving images were presented on flat screens in different angles, referring to the chosen perspective for the views on the utopic spaces.

As part of *The Place of Art* I involved local culture workers and art institutions as well as housing companies and municipal departments in the organisation. In common, they have the goal of increasing inclusion, contamination and stimulating conditions for new meetings and experiences of art.

Another artwork, a permanent one in public space I realized for the Multicultural Centre of Botkyrka in Sweden in 2003, is *First Generation*. For this project, I invited both foreigners and Swedes who moved to Botkyrka to engage in a reflection about their identity within multiple spatial and cultural references. The image of the self is never fixed, and in the context of immigration, the dynamic movement of self-identification becomes even more evident. It is in constant evolution: in a creative mode, people with multicultural backgrounds permanently negotiate and (re)create their identity by deflecting their “practices” of different spaces.



First generation questions the notion of a « portrait », in artistic terms referring to the pictorial tradition of portraiture and in identifying terms, suggesting a certain idea of the self. Thirty-four local people agreed to contribute to the project and replied to a set of questions posed by the artist: « On your coming to Botkyrka, what did you find? What did you lose? What did you get? What did you give? ». The four questions were subsequently engraved in the steps of the centre's staircase. Only when it becomes dark, a silent movie appeared on the centre's windows showing close-ups of the people's faces while listening to themselves answering these questions. To hear these replies, one has to enter the building. By separating sound and visuals, I accent the space that opens up in between the story and the image, the listening and the speaking. The project's conception springs from the interaction with people involved in it as well as the architectural specificity of the place and thus engages the spectator, opening up a space for the consideration of the Other.

For *Daedal(us)*, I realized a different device for visualizing altering constructions of space and self. Composed of approximately twenty large-format slide projections, the project invited for a night-time labyrinthine journey through Dublin's North East Inner City during the month of November 2003. The particularity of this district of Dublin, which combines the old and the new, the past, the present and the potential future, was captured by the camera and re-presented in giant projected photographic images. Bringing normally unseen details of the vicinity to light, *Daedal(us)* looks at the district's architectural features and its populace, making them reappear – unexpectedly – within Dublin's North East Inner City. Using night-time projected light to illuminate mural-like images that convey the substance and texture of the area – depicting its inhabitants and shedding light on their lives – *Daedal(us)* accentuates the space they live in.

The project's participatory aspects are integral to it. Both its meaning and creative processes rely on the active participation of individuals within the community, facilitated by the negotiations with the householders who agreed to host the project's slide projectors, those

who agreed to host the projected images, and those who agreed to having their homes or business premises photographed for projection. The project offers additional opportunities for locals and visitors to recognize neighbourhood sites, reclaim them, and be confronted with their image.

Memory becomes an obviously significant element of the project when, over a period of some weeks and for a number of hours each night, the local environment is visibly transformed. Projected images of the front walls of stores and houses will reappear unexpectedly, in proximity to their original site but slightly relocated. These displacements call for re-identification of the buildings and treated sites, and reclamation of them in their new locations.

With its labyrinthine network of projection points inserting photographs of the cityscape onto the city's very walls, Daedal(us) proposes a new routing through the Inner City zone. By interrupting the continuity of the common places and thus the destabilisation of one's orientation points, the project devises a reinvention of this urban space, which the viewer must actively translate and reconstruct.

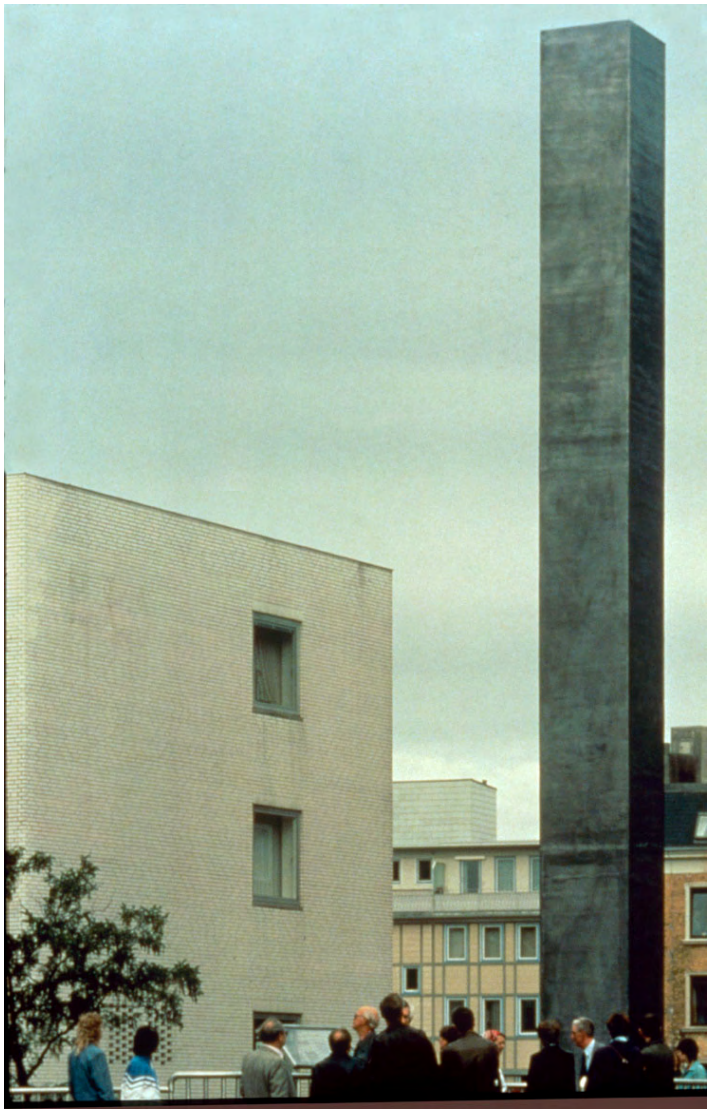
A Thread is a project I accomplished for the Castlemilk Park area in Glasgow, Scotland in 2003-2006. The trees and park-landscape there are a witness to both historical changes and the recent transformations. Having survived the past's bureaucratic enactment, they are the only remaining evidence of local history and culture. Castlemilk is a neighbourhood on the outskirts of Glasgow that historically has been labelled as a challenging area. Simultaneously, the citizens of Castlemilk have been valued as a self-determined community that has invested in the management of its own change. *A Thread* is supposed to become a complicit element in this process by involving and engaging the inhabitants to actively contribute to their environment.

For the project, I invited different local organized groups to participate in a research process in order to find a visual articulation for their issues in the public space of the park in collaboration with art and architecture students. Together, we discussed the image that would represent them as a public statement of their group. By operating as a conduit that has supported citizens not only to design images that are printed on individual canopies but to actively select the site for each shelter, I accented our capacity to choose actively in terms of how public spaces are managed and controlled. Deciding about the specific location of the shelters and thus proposing visibly a viewpoint is a way to re-appropriate public space and to manifest the own decision in community. The imaginary line throughout the entire park area created by the positions of the Roof-Shelters forms a thread that redefines the space.

Another approach to public that was chosen by the city of Hamburg after having been proposed in a contest in 1986 with Jochen Gerz is in the *Hamburg/Harburg Monument against Fascism*. We installed a lead-covered column in the Town Square and invited passers-by to sign their name on its surface. Next to it a panel conveyed the following text, translated in seven languages (French, English, German, Russian, Turkish, Arabic and Hebrew):

> We invite the citizens of Harburg, and visitors to the town, to add their names here to ours. In doing so we commit ourselves to remain vigilant. As more and more names cover this 12-meter high lead column, it will gradually be lowered into the ground. One day it will have disappeared completely and the site of the Harburg monument against fascism will be empty. In the long run, it is only we ourselves who can stand up against injustice.

With the *Hamburg/Harburg Monument against Fascism* we simultaneously evoked the past and the present of this place, installing " forgetting " in a place meant for "remembering" and thus establishing, in the memory of each participant, through the act of public participation, a fleeting, subjective and fragmented memory.




Klaviere · musikhaus lebens · orgeln

As the accessible part of the column was covered with signatures, it was lowered little by little into the ground, making a new space available for inscriptions. There were seven lowering in all and the column vanished from sight completely in 1993. Now, only a plaque remains on the ground. What people engraved on the metal – whether signature, tribute, insult, graffiti - was also printed in their own memory. During the public existence of the column above the surface, history also altered the situation in Germany: the fall of the Berlin Wall, reunification and the resurgence of neo-nazis, had an effect on political awareness which transformed people's relationship and responses to the column. As a foreign object, perceived by some as an almost aggressive element, the status of the monument changed, becoming a kind of public forum.

In each of my projects, the production actualization process relies on disturbing the conventional relationship between the producer and spectator, between the geographical and social space and the people that practice it, on the utterance of words, and on a memory constructed and transformed through participation. My approach invites an enactment of agency, creating a memory, a remembrance (the "I was there") signifying the commitment of people to the(ir) world. In my works in the public realm, a space is constructed for memories activated by participation, that is to say, the moment when the supposed spectator becomes a participant by contributing, writing his name, using his voice or sending in his photo. Thanks to the traces left during these acts, these participants keep the memory of their own participation in the work's procedure, which also bears witness to their responsibility to their own times. By capturing existing and forming new utopic and heteroptic moments in between the people´ s discourses and heterogeneous places, I propose new dynamic visions of space and the being within it.

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"Dressed for success": Entrepreneurial cities, sports and public space

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Changes underway in the global economy have changed the governance of cities where private and public partnerships plays a central role in planning the city. Cities must market themselves in order to attract investments, tourism and not least, the creative class. Public spaces in the city centres are increasingly seen as integral parts of regeneration strategies focused on developing positive images. One of the most obvious changes is the turn towards so-called cultural strategies that range from the promotion of cultural gentrification to the implementation of various "quality-of-life projects." All of these strategies attach great importance to design and visual symbols. For former industrial cities bigger events such as for example sports championships play an important role in the transformation to post-industrial cities. This article discusses how public space of the city centre of Göteborg was used during the European Athletic Championship 2006 to market Göteborg as a city. The article ends up with a discussion of the meaning of public space in the age of entrepreneurialism.

Introduction

> Today the city is once again emerging as a strategic site for understanding some of the major new trends reconfiguring the social order, and hence potentially for producing critical knowledge not just about cities but about the larger social condition. (Saskia Sassen 2005: 353)

> /Cities/ have become sites on which often contradictory cultural, economic and political tendencies combine: a lens through which to view and to interpret wider changes around social inequalities, changing lifestyles, new working-time arrangements and consumptions patterns. (Kevin Ward 2003: 200-201)

What seems to be a paradox is dominating the discussion on the city today. On the one hand researchers, urban planners and politicians celebrate an urban renaissance, where public space is re-valued and promoted as an important meeting place. City centres all over the globe are developed in order to endorse safe and friendly milieus for consumption and recreation. On the other hand the death of the city is proclaimed with the argument that public spaces in many cities are privatized and only accessible for a few, not for the many. Representing two different perspectives on the city, the arguments should not be interpreted as opposites but rather different sides of the same coin – cities becomes more attractive by upgrading the city centres and displacing that or those who do not fit into the image. These tendencies open up a structural possibility for a fight over the meaning(s) of public space where the same place can have competing and mutual exclusive significance for different actors. Taken together this brings to the fore questions such as: what is the meaning of public space, for whom it is public, how and by which means is it regulated what and whom can be seen and meet in this space? In this article I would like to put these questions into a context of entrepreneurial governance – a form of governing that has been the dominant response to the urban problems of post-industrial cities (Bélanger 2000, Jessop 1998). I will use an empirical case from Gothenburg, Sweden to illustrate and develop my arguments. In this article I will start with a discussion of entrepreneurial governance, the uses of culture and order and then turn to a discussion of how public space was used during the European Athletic Championship 2006 in Gothenburg. The article will end with a reflexion of what these changes means for the understanding of public space.

The spectacle of the city

The entrepreneurial turn

The global transformation of the political economy of cities involves a change in the governance of the cities, of many described as a change from government to governance (Fainstein 1994, Smith 2001). This means that rather than seeing urban decision-making as ruled from the top down this analyses stress that urban decision-making is not hierarchical and it is fragmented. Therefore when analysing the governance of the city the relevant question is not so much who governs but which actor(s) has the ability to act? In many cities, especially the former industry and harbour cities, this has meant a shift from urban "managerialism" to urban "entrepreneurialism" (Harvey 1989). Central to this development is, first, "a shift from the local provision of welfare and services to more outward-oriented policies designed to foster and encourage local growth and economic development" (Hall &Hubbard 1998: 2). These out warded policies include increased real estate development, applying for bigger sports events, building so called knowledge villages and entertainments parks. The politics tends to focus "proactive development strategies" in order to make the economy grow. It is a

process where cities both *act* as entrepreneurs and *narrate* their actions in entrepreneurial terms (Ward 2003).

Second, the city is governed by public and private partnerships where real estate owners and commercial companies play important roles in the development of the city. Thus the entrepreneurial city is described as "one where key interest groups in the public, private and voluntary sector develop a commitment to realising a broadly consensus vision of urban development, devise the appropriate structures for implementing this vision and mobilise both local and non-local resources to pursue it." (Parkinson and Harding 1995: 66-67). Many researchers has stressed the notion of consensus either by portraying entrepreneurialism as a distinctive *political culture* (Graham 1995) or as elaborated by Quilley in his analyze of the "Manchester script": a vision of Manchester as a reborn post-modern, post-industrial and cosmopolitan European "premier league" city which "acts to demobilise opposition and deny discursive space to any alternative script" (Quilley 1999: 205).

Third, public spaces in the city centre are increasingly seen as part of regenerations strategies where the focus is on developing positive images of the city centre as "attractive and safe" in order to attract investments and tourism. This process of "urban imagineering" involves both refinements of the physical environment as well as the imagined spaces of identity (Short et al. 2000). And lastly, culture plays a central role in the transformation of previously productive cities into "spectacular" ones. Sharon Zukin has argued that one of the most obvious changes in civic politics during the last decades is the turn towards what have been called *cultural strategies* (Zukin 1995). These manifest themselves in various ways – from cultural gentrification to different "life quality projects". Common to these strategies is the importance accorded to *visual symbols*. Sharon Zukin argues that:

> …urban landscapes have slowly been reclaimed by vision – the power to frame spaces as aesthetic objects. The progressive democratization of vision enables all groups, in all areas of the city, to challenge each other over the power to frame public space with their own visual symbols. (Zukin 1997: 206)

In her book *The Culture of Cities* Zukin argues that cities use culture as an economic base for the symbolic economy of the city. That is, culture can both attract capital and be used as means for framing space. The production of space therefore is also a production of visual representation. That means that in order to market the image of a city – the city space must be framed in an attractive way to lure foreign investors and tourists to it. Tourism as an industry therefore has come to alter the social, as well as, the built fabric of cities.

A key element on urban regeneration is the issue of security. Ensuring that new urban spaces are seen as safe are on of the priorities for regeneration programmes (Raco 2003). The awareness on commercially attractive public spaces among politicians and businessmen creates a need to regulate and control the city centre. The presence of obviously homeless people, street crime and graffiti are not only viewed as potential threats to the credibility of the image of the city marketed by those in power but also seen as symbols of decay and insecurity. The consequence is the emergence of various public and private initiatives to "clean up" city centres. There are several examples today of this increasing awareness in Sweden. The proposed prohibition of begging in Stockholm a few years ago; the police's zero tolerance experiments; the suggested reconstruction in Stockholm of Sergels Torg, a square notorious for its narcotics trade; and the creation of a *Innerstaden Göteborg* in the city centre of Göteborg to reinforce shop-owners' interest in a commercially attractive city are just some of them. At the turn of the year 2004 it was also decided to increase the penalties for those who "scribble", and the police have been given the right to carry out what is called "preventive body search", i.e. the right to search without previous suspicion of committed crime. Common to several of the proposals is that their point of origin is crime prevention. Crime – or threats against the

order of public space – should be prevented before being committed. Roy Coleman argues that control today in cities is "strategically entwined with, and organized around, visualized spectacles that promote ways of seeing urban space as benign, 'people centred' and celebratory" (Coleman 2005:132).

Designing public space in a way that facilitates the supervision of them is one way of maintaining control. Oscar Newman (1997) coined the concept of "defensible space" to describe and analyse how crime can be designed out and order created. Central to this perspective is the quest for real and symbolic borders that define an area as well as enhance the possibilities of surveillance. Shopping malls are examples of spaces open too many, but not to everybody, and their borders are controlled by private security guards. They are examples of a domestication of public space, which reduces the risks of unplanned social encounters and promotes social homogeneity (Jackson 1998). Design can also work through zoning, where places in the city are designed for different purposes. Many concepts have been developed to describe these spaces such as *purified space* or *interdictory space* (Flusty 2001, Sibley 1988) which all point out places that are designed for a single function, often consumption. The growth of preventive strategies should be understood in the context of dismantling of the welfare state. According to Franzén (2001) it is not so much about reducing crime as *redistributing* them in space.

Exclusion can also take place through gentrification and renewal. Decaying industrial or working class neighbourhoods are conversed into residential zones for the middleclass. Often this also means a change of residents as well as a transformation of the area with the habits of the middleclass. In a study of the regeneration of Raval, Barcelona Monica Degen uses the concept *sensescape* to capture the transformation of the area. She argues that "who or what is seen, heard, touched, tasted and smelled is connected to questions about what is included and excluded in the experience of public space" (Degen 2002: 22). Regeneration means, according to Degen, a transformation of the sensescapes that is expected to substitute existing spatial practises of a place with new ones. In Raval a new urban design created has gradually changed the area and created new spatial geographies. A Museum of Arts has attracted tourist from Las Ramblas into Raval with the consequences that local shops have been replaced with restaurants and designer stores for tourists and rebuilt houses have replaced former poor tenants with new ones. She argues:

> New public spaces are emerging that are fostering new forms of public life, qualitatively different to modernity. Exclusion or inclusion of these spaces are fostered through the sensuous regimes in the place, and the imposition and control of new practices are often disguised as leisure and culture. /…/ Hence, power no longer works by altering individual behaviour, but instead manipulating our everyday surrounding structures. (Degen 2003: 879)

Sharon Zukin calls this process a "pacification by cappuccino" when public spaces are revitalized by upgrading the status and expanding its uses for consumptions (Zukin 1996). The results are most often not only a displacement of former working class tenants but also a change of publics. But in Raval as in many other places regenerations does not work without resistance. Degen argues that during night time excluded people reclaim their space. Homeless people take over the square, North African men meet in the corners and new graffiti is painted onto the walls. All of them are gone in the morning. Degen argues that what can bee seen in Raval is an increasingly "temporal and spatially segmented public life" (Degen 2002: 33) where a temporal layering of activities and groups result in that they actually never meet.

Performing the city

Göteborg as an entrepreneurial city

Göteborg is the second biggest city in Sweden with half a million inhabitants and it is situated on the west coast of the country. Historically the base for the economy has been the harbour and industries but Gothenburg, was as many other cities, affected by an economic industrial crisis in the 1980s. During the 1980s and 90s privatisation and de-regulations made Gothenburg known for its innovative way of handling the shift from an industrial to post-industrial city through successful partnerships between local government, business and voluntary sector. For Gothenburg the transformation of the economy has meant a shift from harbour and industries to the branding of the city both as "knowledge city" and as an "event city" capable to be host for bigger events. In many respects the governance of Göteborg is entrepreneurial governance. For a long time a political culture of consensus has governed the city. In the early 20th century this political culture was centred on the different political parties who governed and developed the city with the goal "for the public good" (Åberg 1998). In the 1970s and 1980s this political alliances broke down and today the consensus culture is rather centred on the social democratic party who rules the city and the business and trade industry. Known as "Göteborgsandan" (the spirit of Göteborg), this consensus culture is devoted to develop a business friendly climate in order to adjust city politics to globalisation. The close relationship between city council and business community has resulted in a relatively fast redevelopment of the city and the reputation the "things get done".

One important aspect of the branding of cities is the renewal of the waterfront of many cities, including that of Göteborg. As part of the transformation from an industrial city, the waterfront represents not only a new area for economic exploitation but also a new urban iconography that can represent the identity of the city. Many waterfront redevelopment projects over the globe are also significant in the way they are planned and governed – many times in conflict between public and private interests (Harvey 2001, Lund Hansen et al. 2001). The global trend is that waterfronts are planned as a thematic, highly choreographed and branded form of place-making where there is a blurring between private and public space (Goodwin 1993, Evans 2003). In a analysis of the transformation of the waterfront in Melbourne Kim Dovey reveals how the understanding of the public changed during the process and became equalled with economic interests and public debate was replaced by advertising and slogans about the new "innovative city" (Dovey 2005). During the last 25 years a major waterfront area, Norra Älvstranden in Göteborg, has been redeveloped from harbour and shipyard to an exclusive housing area as well as a science park. In a study of the governance of redeveloping Norra Älvstranden, Åsa von Sydow argues that the redevelopment strengthened the power of an already established elite in the city, which outruled other actors as well as other concerns than growth creation. So at the same time as Göteborg has been praised as a growth machine for west Sweden:

> …critical voices are raised regarding the financial priorities made by the City (events and growth before welfare), values prioritized by the city (markets values before preservation) and the way in which politics is carried out (in tight networks, behind closed doors rather that in public debates). (von Sydow 2004: 131)

Different public and private partnerships concerning the image of the city centre has developed the last few years. One of them is *Safe and Beautiful City* which is a partnership that involves different city authorities, real estate owners and shop owners. Their vision is to make Göteborg a safe, comfortable and beautiful city through a joint partnership where different actors work together for the same goal. Another is *Innerstaden Göteborg* which is

collaboration between different actors based in the city centre – with the purpose to redevelop the city centre. Both of these partnerships are finance through the City Council and private interests. One visible outcome of these partnerships concerning the visual landscape of the city is a zero-tolerance against graffiti and illegal posturing. All graffiti and illegal posturing are to be removed within 24 hours in the city centre and reported to the police.

The event city – European Athletic Championship in Göteborg 2006

In order to successfully transform and brand Göteborg as an event city Göteborg & CO was founded in the beginning of 1990. It is a company that is owned by the city and local business industry together and they work to market and brand Göteborg in order to attract tourism, congresses, business meetings, trade fairs and bigger events. Their business concept is "to be a leading platform for collaborative work on destination development in an international context." This means that they take initiative and are responsible for collaborative work on the local level around these issues. Their vision is to make Göteborg: "One of Europe's most pleasant and attractive urban regions to live in, work in and visit" (www.goteborg.com). This vision is going to bee achieved by an investment in cultural, entertainment and sporting events which "is an essential component in generating growth and making Göteborg even more attractive and is also important a strengthening the Göteborg brand" (Göteborg & Co 2005: 3).

The fact that Göteborg has chosen events as an important component in the new economy is no coincidence, on the contrary, especially sports events is an important factor for many entrepreneurial cities (Bélanger 2000, Smith 2000). Bigger events such as the Olympic or World Championships do not only give cities economic benefits they also give the possibility to enhance the city image which is important, in particular for former industrial cities. In the post-industrial urban economy the legacy of heavy industries evokes unfashionable images and communicates a series of negative words such as unemployment and poverty. Therefore the staging of major sport events is not only a mean to generate visitors, tourism and consumption it is also a way to symbolising the transformation of the city economy. According to Andrew Smith:

> The media coverage devoted to sport, its intrinsic popularity in contemporary culture and its supposed positive connotations have therefore resulted in the adaptation of sporting initiatives by industrial cities as a means of image enhancement. (Smith 2001: 128)

In order to succeed as an event city the city has to brand itself as promote its advantages over other cities. As a relatively small city Göteborg has brought to fore the advantages of being small and therefore offering a unique environment as a venue:

> › attractive and internationally competitive facilities
> › the concept of proximity, i.e. the city's major event facilities are located in the heart of the compact, vibrant city centre within walking distance of hotels, restaurants, shopping, and cultural and entertainments facilities
> › extensive competence in organising and arranging events
> › strong programmes for turning arena events into city events
> › unique and well developed co-operation between authorities, local authorities departments and companies, trade and industry, organisations and politicians
> › considerable interest in culture and sport among the city inhabitants
> › and a clean, safe and beautiful city (Göteborg & Co 2005: 21)

In 1995 Göteborg was host for the World Athletic Championship and already at that point a decision was made to apply for being the host of the EAC 2006. In 1999 a Bidding Commit-

tee was established and three years later, in 2001, Göteborg was assigned the Championships. Göteborg & CO was responsible for the marketing of Göteborg and EAC, and for planning, co-ordinating and carrying out events and activities in the city. Even though Göteborg & CO had the responsibility the event was planned and carried out in collaboration with local actors such as authorities and public-private partnerships.

The Athletic Championship was marketed as "more than a sport event" and included a festival in the city centre with concerts, theatre for children, art exhibitions, European styled street-food etc all with free admission. This arrangement made it possible to "catch the spirit" of the event all over the city centre:

> Over the past 20 years, Göteborg has made its name as the city where major sporting, entertainment and cultural events take place. Göteborg's large arenas, loyal audiences and carefully planned strategy have made the city a leading events venue. When there is something big on, the whole city joins in the party. (www.goteborg.com)

The idea was to market Göteborg as an attractive city through the Championship. At the same time as international media reported from the contests they would also broadcast images from the city as well. The official posters from the event reflected this ambition. Four posters portrayed six of the best athletes in Sweden – placed at important sights of city.

In contrast to usual procedures during Athletic Championships the opening ceremony did not take place at the sports arena but on Götaplatsen which is a square in the central part of the city. Here, the Museum of Art, the City Theatre as well as the Concert Hall is placed. The choice to place the opening ceremony here was *strategic* as well as *symbolic*. The stage that was built was transparent so visitors as well as TV cameras could spot the buildings around the stage. By doing this the event was communicated as not only a sport event but also a cultural festival. This mixture of sport and culture was an important part of the festival and the branding of the event. According to Andrew Smith a major advantage with sports events that cultural events might lack is both broad and popular audience as well as cultural capital. Whereas sport historically used to be associated with working class culture, today sport events can attract people from many different classes, represent both popular and high culture at the same time and thereby gain a broad legitimacy. At the event in Göteborg sports was deliberately mixed with popular culture as well as high culture and succeeded in attracting a broad audience. The last day the marathon took place in the city. The athletes passed all important cityscapes – the main street Avenyn, the Opera house, the canals, Järntorget and ended at Götaplatsen.

Before the festival started the city centre was literally transformed. Streets vendors, graffiti and cheep food stands where moved from the city centre and replaced by clean facades, flower arrangements and a carefully selected taste of Göteborg cuisine. A few people were paid to fish in the canals in order to get good pictures to broadcast and during the event it was possible to spot policemen on bicycles, something which is not ordinary seen on the streets of Göteborg.

At the time of the European Athletic Championship Sweden went into election campaigns where both government of the nation as well as the governments of cities were to be elected. A central part of Swedish election culture is "valstugor" – small cottages that are placed in city centres where all political parties give information about their ideology and political programs. In Göteborg the politicians decided to postpone the election campaign until after the event. All "elections cottages" and political posters were forbidden during the Championship. A social democratic politician explained to media that:

> Mainly, this is about not to give a messy impression. Unfortunately there is a tendency that people are tearing down political posters and scribbled on. (Det handlar väl

> framförallt om att det inte ska vara skräpigt, tyvärr finns det en tendens att valaffischer rivs ner och att det klottras på dem. (2006-05-23 www.sr.se)

One important issue that needs to be addressed is that bigger event can be used both to promote a new image of the city as well as well as gaining legitimacy for a transforming of the city space. Historically spectacles have been used in order to create social loyalty to a place. In her analysis of the Olympic Games in Barcelona, Mari Paz Balibrea comments that The Olympics were constructed as a project "by all and for all", and an event which everyone could participate in and benefit from. Therefore: "invoking the Olympic Games as a pretext, streets were widened, ringroads were built, hotels went up, cultural and sports facilities proliferated" (Balibrea 2001: 198). As bigger events tend to trigger investments for changes in infrastructures and images, events can change the both the spatial geography of a city as well as its cultural and social dynamic for a long time. The important questions to analyse are *how* these changes are brought about, *who* benefits and *whose* interests are being furthered (Silk & Amis 2005: 285)

The politics of public space

In these concluding remarks I would like to return to the initial paradox about public space and the remarks that cities can be seen as strategic sites for gaining greater understanding about the social conditions of our times. Reading research on regeneration and entrepreneurial governance one theme and a set of metaphors seems to haunt many writers: that of public space as a battleground, as a place or constant struggles or war. In 1994 Manuel Castells argued that cities in Europe constitute a nervous system for both economy and political systems and that we:

> …will be witnessing a constant struggle over the occupation of meaningful space in the main European cities, with business corporations trying to appropriate the beauty and tradition for their noble quarters, and urban countercultures making a stand on the use value of the city. (Castells 1994: 23-25)

Historically though, fight for space in the city is not something new, so how can we conceptualise what is happening in cities today in relation to an idea of public space? Cities have always worked as a central meeting point for different populations. The Greek concept of agora catches a basic outline of public space in the city, as a place for assembly, a marketplace and a place for spectacle and entertainment. A fundamental difference though is that today public space is defined against private and capitalised space that did not exist in ancient Greek.

Fundamental to ideals of public space is that publicness in itself – as belonging to the public – is something good. This is the basis the consequential differentiation of public space from private, exclusive space. At the same time public space has never been fully inclusive – historically the use of urban public space has always been contested by different social groups with different interests. Historically these processes and struggles have taken different shapes. Today the struggle stands between on one hand an urban renaissance where public space as a meeting place is re-valued and promoted, and on the other hand in order to maintain this, in the name of security and safety, public space is also highly controlled and regulated (MacLeod 2002).

In contemporary research the literature on public space and public sphere tend to occupy different domains in spite of the similarities of the two concepts. The literature on public sphere emphasises how media, institutions and practices generate "the public", "publics" or "public opinion", theorized within a framework concerning the state and the transformation of bourgeois social relations (Habermas 2001, Frazer 1990). The research on public space tend

to be explicitly spatial focusing how social, economical, political and cultural processes make public places and how these in turn are contested (Low 2000, Lees 1998). To bridge this gap public space can be said to be created *through* the tension between physical place and the heterogeneity and seeming placelessness of public sphere. Henri Lefebvre agues in his influential work *The Production of Space* (1991) that space is produced through the interactions between spatial practises, representations of space and representational space. Representations of space refer to conceptualised images of space, often by city planners or politicians while representational space refers to the space in use, the appropriated space. In the reading of Lefebvre Don Mitchell (2003) argues that public space often originates as representations of space but when used by people it turns onto a representational space. Therefore Mitchell concludes public space should be understood as "socially *produced* through its use *as* public space (Mithcell 2003: 129). Based on this outline, public space is defined as a space produced and structured by its conflict over that space, through the struggle between inclusion and exclusion. By this definition the legal aspect of who owns that place is put aside and more relevant is questions about how it is used, controlled, regulated and challenged.

With the general trend towards entrepreneurial governance urban politics and the responsibility for regenerating inner-city areas becomes to a greater extent the responsibility of public and private partnerships which have little or none public accountability and operate largely independently from the political system (Silk & Amis 2005). The result is that political decisions about the look and feel of a city are taken by actors with a certain economic interests. In this article I have discussed and given examples of how the symbolic economy that dominates the discourse and practice of regeneration impose a certain vision of public space that alters the perception of that place and its publics. As the Göteborg case shows public space was *transformed* before the Championships but also *performed* during the contests. In this performance public space as a spectacle was prioritised before its function as a public sphere which that ban of election cottages obviously shows. The problem is not events in itself but the way they are governed and pursued. If entrepreneurial governance is guided by a consensus culture, or script, among an economic and political elite where image and representation is prioritised this governance do not only risk hollowing out the public sphere, when decisions are taken by closed networks, but also the ideal of public space as the materialisation of public sphere. And even though there is no such thing as an ideal public space open to all it is vital to regard public space as a space for democracy. And as democracy requires visibility – visibility also requires material public space (Mitchell 2003:148). With this perspective the public space of the city becomes a not only a meeting place and a space for consumption but also a place where the conflicts and inequalities of society are struggled for, acted out and represented. And even though entrepreneurial governance works to create a representative, orderly and neat space the control and homogenisation of public space can only be partial and there will always be attempts to transgress, contest and subvert that order.

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The Emergency of the Dirty
Tele Commerce, Metropolitan Sub-Systems and Parallel Economies

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Urban mobility infrastructures leave behind spatial residues that generate regions of ambiguous character, often described as blighted. Paradoxically, such regions also offer optimal conditions for normally 'undesired' urban functions that are related to intense mobility of people and commercial goods/services. They are being silently re-born with very specific functions: heavily connected and 'unwanted' commerce, where the grime of hardware retail, car-repair and small industrial activities can freely happen.

This work investigated cases in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in which formal, social and economical conditions led to the emergence of alternative economies affected by politics of exclusion from local planning agencies. Existing economical and social statistics were cross-referenced against topological and geographical analyses. Through diagrams that confronted both quantitative and qualitative aspects, it was possible to recognize how the study areas operate within hybrid urban scales.

By analysing the paradoxical conditions of these areas, it became clear how provisional the contemporary urban social-economical envelope became. The complex negotiations between metropolitan levels and technologies studied here are crucial for a critical shift on how contemporary urban planning operates. Even with a complete lack of public investment, such areas are having an economical performance comparable to more 'established' locations and an unimagined socio-political representability.

Infrascaping

Contemporary metropolises are structured by movements (of people, goods, and information), and, therefore, by the morphological bodies (namely mobility infrastructure in the form of highways, elevated expressways, and others) through which they occur. Functionally, these movements are expected to have coupled flow rhythms to keep the city working, as connecting bridges. Being such rhythms directly connected to the everyday movement of people and goods throughout a metropolitan network. These bodies – as substrates of the aforementioned flows – form a large-scale network, a super-grid, whose main connecting points go through a scalar downgrading before reaching the end of their planned trajectories. At the same time, the super-grid super-impose existing sub-grids and slice and tear apart already somehow stabilized conditions. Situations alike take place once a given elevated expressway is planned to cut through an existing neighbourhood and entirely transform their spatial, social and economical configurations. At first, such sectioning structures were poorly received in urban academic and professional realms in the early 1960's. Scholars, like Cullen and Lynch rated elevated expressways, road junctions, highway exits, roundabouts, and correlated elements as mono-dimensional, connecting distant points but creating undesired boundaries for urban living. Mobility infrastructure was, then, not regarded as a living part of the city, engendering new possibilities, as if skin is not considered an organ; but instead treated as something that limits the body, a boundary.

Indeed, mobility networks, like skin tissue, are fibrous and porous; do not provide clear lines, but blurred boundaries within metropolitan domains. The connections between the pores and fibres of the city create a series of interstitial conditions and collisions at different scales, which open 'other' dimensions to urban life[1], outside the virtually stable and constant to-and-fro movement of metropolitan information, goods and people. These fibrous networks[2], the combination of super and sub-grids of urban movement, are, nevertheless, subject to relentless 'leakages' that foster a series of both dynamic and static discontinuities from within these constant metropolitan flows. These discontinuities are the source of what I refer to as *infrascapes*. They are formed by the residual zones created along, under, above, beside and around mobility infrastructure, and are characterized by being degenerative, yet potentially beneficial. By allowing local and metropolitan economic and social forces to merge towards unexpected and intensive exploitations of urban space, the *infrascapes* disregard assumptions on the low usefulness of regions degraded by infrastructural presence doing things that are not allowed elsewhere by standard city planning regulations.

Under the point of view of an idealized control sphere of urban space – or the illusory control framework imagined by planning agencies – the *infrascapes* do not fit the quality parameters expected from an ordinary liveable region. They are 'planning fugitives' ignored by the planning authorities' eyes. They are too close to traffic, too blighted, but remain well connected. However, this connectivity compensates for their decay, giving them potential to be effective agents within the metropolitan system. With intelligent and bottom-up development, these areas can be re-born if articulated with very specific functions: - for example, connected and 'unwanted' commerce such as, hardware retail, car-repair, or small industrial activities, can freely take place, 'hidden' from less accepting neighbourhoods where they would not be given the chance to fully operate and evolve.

They are entitled illegal and unplanned powers to manipulate public space to serve their specific wills, thus rendering the *infrascapes* with a different kind of liveability that dodges

1 Foucault, Michel. The Archaeology of Knowledge & the Discourse on Language. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

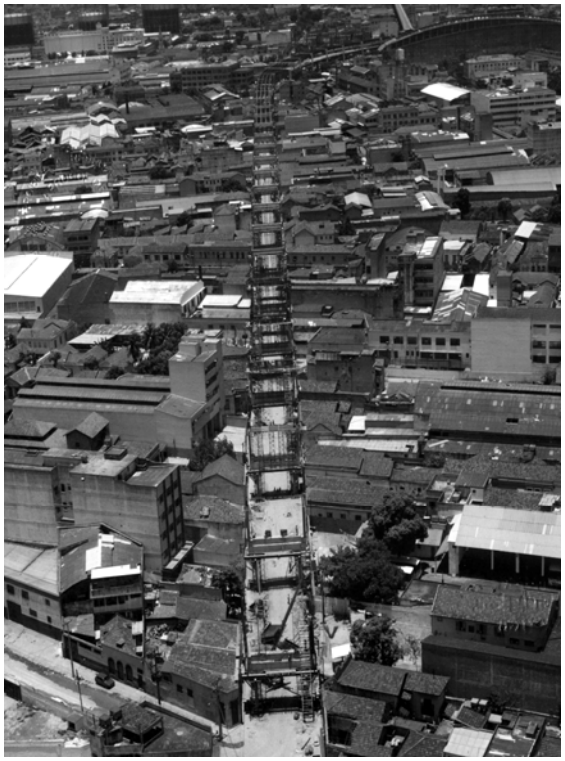
2 Mateo, Josep Lluis. *"Els Immaterials"*, in Quaderns d'Arquitectura i Urbanisme v.187, Barcelona: Col.legi de Arquitectes de Catalunya, 1990.

planning expectations. This essay aims to explore theoretical and empirical frameworks surrounding these *infrascapes* by documenting specific precedents in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Friction

Collisions between movement and fixity are an important, yet ignored contemporary urban condition. Unplanned and unpredicted effects are rendered as tangible results of the movement X body binomial. Such antagonistic relations produce silent, yet powerful, frictions in everyday metropolitan flows. Such frictions occur whenever opposing urban rhythms collide in special spots throughout cities, opening doors for exchange in spatial and functional qualities. For example, intermediate boundaries between city regions, such as - the interface between downtown and the suburbs, industrial and housing districts, or between poor and wealthy areas. These boundaries are fundamentally characterized as residual zones that are *infrascapes*.

Figure 1. 1993. Aerial image from the construction of the elevated expressway on existing local roads of São Cristóvão.



Source: Department of Traffic and Transportation Management of the State Government of Rio de Janeiro.

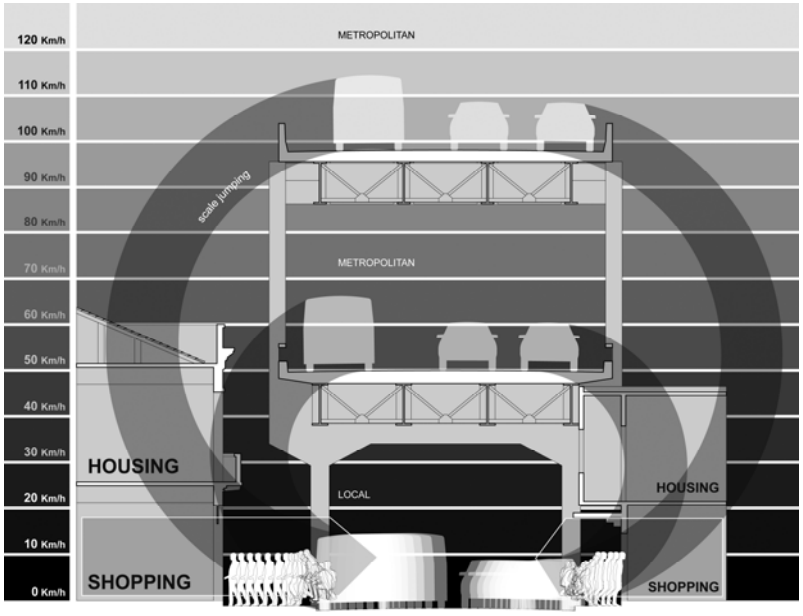
Figure 2. 2004. São Cristóvão (study area diagram). The elevated expressways are indicated in white.

Source: Map designed by the author.

In the 1990's, Rio de Janeiro was bisected by a major new highway, constructed to permit rapid access to the city on its Northern edge and link this area with the national highway system. The work intersected a dense yet declining industrial core of the city, named São Cristóvão. (Figure 1) Since massive demolition to bury the highway was economically impossible, a double-layered elevated expressway was planned to fly over two existing streets and flow alongside the buildings. (Figure 2) At that time, São Cristóvão was mostly

used for low-income dwelling and tiny industries and the construction of the expressway was considered the final blow in the region's development potential; however, what resulted was a different kind of urban vitality. Aside form the environmental inconveniences caused by the expressway (dust, noise, diminished lighting), the local operations of the shadowed streets were entirely transformed by the metropolitan movement right above them. With major and minor access ramps connecting the streets below to the lanes above, the region exhausted the intense movement of the expressway and roundabouts, while remaining hidden from the public eye. (Figures 3, 4, 5 & 6) Removed from the planning authorities, yet physically well connected, the *infrascapes* unleashed a powerful local manipulation of the surrounding public space. The physical environment of São Cristóvão was completely transformed by local commercial communities, which exploited their new urban environment for personal gain, specifically, auto-related shopping. Curb lines are destroyed and sidewalks are taken over as shopping display appropriates auto access points from nearby expressways.

Figures 3, 4, 5 & 6. 2004. The several metropolitan and local layers hovering and accessing local roads (interconnectivity diagram and photographs of its composing layers).



Source: Diagram designed and photos taken by the author.

In one single linear environment, different modes of urban performance co-exist, and exploit the area's spatial features with consequences at the social, economical and political level. The fact that this region was forgotten by Rio's local planning authorities, - it was rendered as being beyond surveillance, - provided local users and residents with increased power to appropriate public street space more intensely than other regions of the city. The private influence on public ground transformed the streets and the body of the elevated expressways to accommodate the specific needs of local residents. It also attracted commercial activities whose performance was not welcome in other more 'visible' parts of the city that could benefit from the unprecedented freedom and connectivity – auto and hardware commerce. The

area expanded. ‘Nobody’ was watching. It was freely permitted to physically modify its surroundings, veiled by biased perceptions of its potential.

(Un)Wanted Commerce and the Everyday

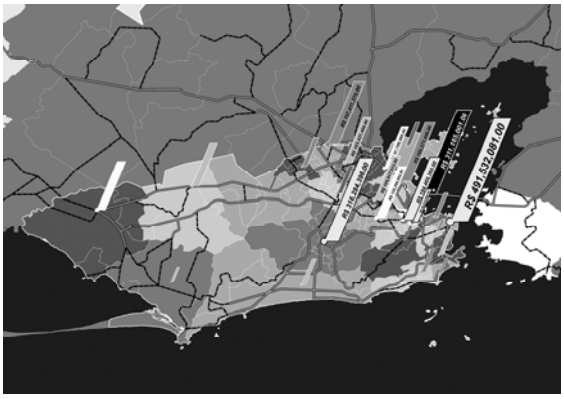
> “The urge to make separations, between clean and dirty, ordered and disordered, ‘us and them’, that is to expel and abject, is encouraged in western cultures, creating feelings of anxiety because such separations can never be finally achieved.” D. Sibley, in Geographies of Exclusion.

The kind of ‘deteriorated freedom’ that bloomed in São Cristóvão is not exclusive. Similar transformations exist in metropolises worldwide that yield different stages of deviant space, where the unavoidable misfortunes of the idealized city find room to happen. Regular notions of public ordinance and organization are subverted and manipulated by the incipient potentials of these areas, transforming their spatial configurations in order to profit from adjacent metropolitan connections. *Infrascapes* have not been purposefully designed to be havens of illegal urban manoeuvres; yet, they are increasingly forming nodes where very specific and intense economical activities are taking place. For instance, even though São Cristóvão’s potential has not yet been officially recognized, the area is consolidating itself as an important commercial hub. (Figures 7 & 8) The bars emerging from these maps show, in scale, the amount of taxes (in Brazilian currency - R$) collected from retail activities (07) and from services (08), with São Cristóvão indicated in black. These numbers show that, even in an unplanned situation, São Cristóvão ranks third in collected taxes from retail activities. At the same time, other statistics show that São Cristóvão performs as a sort of ‘average region’ balance between the polarized situations comprised by the combination of downtown and the rich southern regions, in comparison with the northern poorer suburbs, reinforcing the superimposing qualities of the area.

In the search for a perfect world, we idealize criteria on which we base our aspirations towards our living environments. Dominated by models of perfection that extend from hygiene to social relationships and aesthetics, these aspirations are generally formed by common-sense nostalgic notions of urbanity. Such notions are derived from dream situations built on the ideals of community sustainability advertised by ‘new urbanism’ planners. A great part of contemporary, mid-to-upper class, urban populations tend not to dream of living or performing daily activities in areas normally regarded as blighted and decaying, such as areas around former industrial sites, dumpsters, or next to car-repair shops. Mentally, city dwellers in general still have a very normative perception of their idealized realities, while not fully behaving according to their own fantasies. Western urban societies tend to aim for living standards which they are unable to achieve while continuing to exploit situations that do not comply with their expectations, in this case cheap products and services.

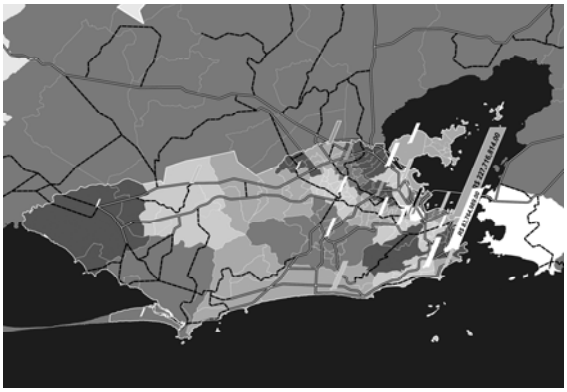
The population does not perceive the overwhelming requirements of their own expectations, and continues to perform their everyday ordinary activities as tacit hypocrisies. In the São Cristóvão example, the area has become a derelict ‘strip’ for second-hand and car-repair shops, appropriating and manipulating the sidewalks’ surface to their own accessibility and parking interests. Cheap former industrial warehouses in the area are also occupied by medium-sized factories, for extremely low prices, Everyday, more and more people learn of the area and as they freely park and load/un-load in front of their stores. A pact of silence hovers over the thematic shopping cluster that provides cheap goods and convenient car access, as nobody ostensibly publicizes its existence. Even public authorities and planners (who most probably repair their cars or buy supply for their homes in these areas) remain quiet.

Figure 7. 2004. São Cristóvão, Retail Taxes (diagram) – information mostly derived from the official reports of the City Government of Rio de Janeiro on the economical potential of its regions.



Source: Diagram designed by the author.

Figure 8. 2004. São Cristóvão, Service Taxes (diagram) – information mostly derived from the official reports of the City Government of Rio de Janeiro on the economi cal potential of its regions.



Source: Diagram designed by the author.

These tacit hypocrisies might describe the ordinary activities of everyday life, and by ordinary I mean - the set of daily and trivial routines of urban life, which are "the basis of all social experience and the true realm of political contestation."3 They denote a fundamental ambiguity of the everyday as the "screen on which society projects its light and its shadow, its hollows and its planes, its power and its weakness"4, and are a key component of the infrascapes. It is not a coincidence that these kind of activities happen far from regular residential areas, forming a living drive-through, where 'respectful' citizens can go to do whatever they need, and quickly flee back home, disregarding the place where they have just been, dirty, illegal, and unseen. Providing a certain freedom of action, protected by their interstitial level of indeterminism, the infrascapes become the proper places for the crude activities of daily urban life, where utopias of the idealized city are replaced by the 'dystopias' of the everyday.

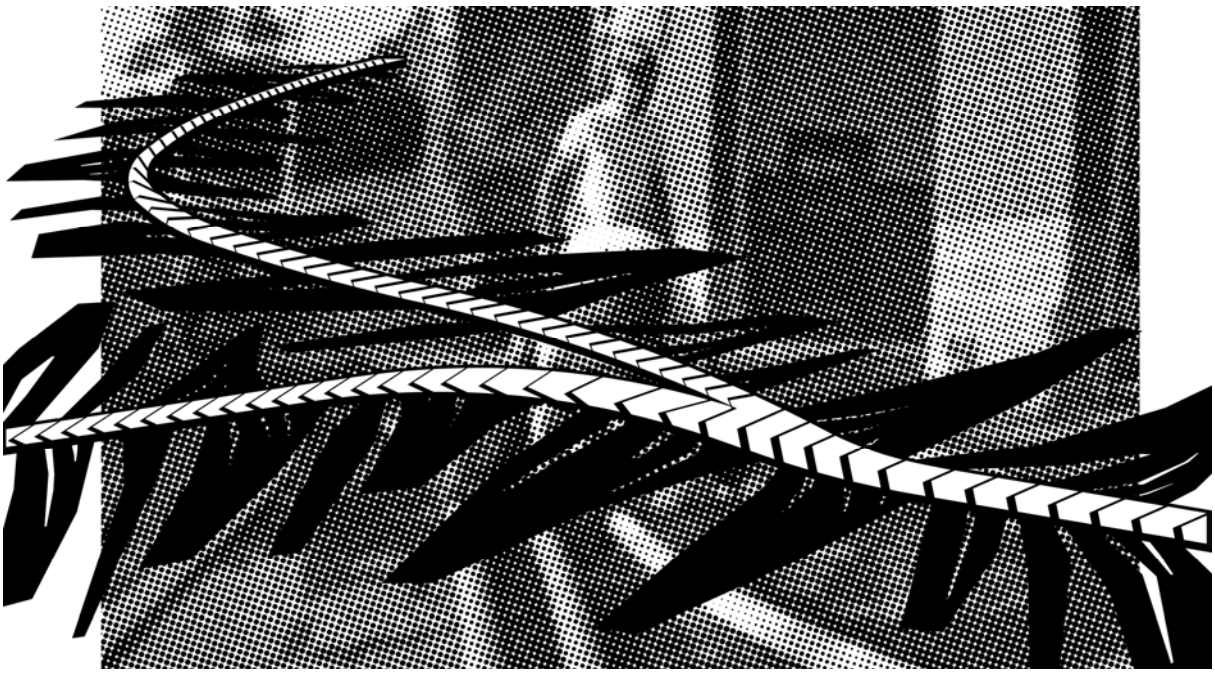
Dynamic and Static Associations – Bodies & Flows

Infrascapes emerge out of the associations between mobility infrastructure and the social fundamentals of the city, but not in a uniform manner. There is a distinction between dynamic and static associations built upon the kind of physical connectivity that is established between the bodies and flows set, and the city. A dynamic *infrascape* happens whenever there is a direct and abrupt connection between the metropolitan super and local grids, mostly in the various forms of highway connections towards a secondary and low-scale traffic system. This process entails a shift of scales, a break in the pace of constant movement flow from the expressway, a reduction of speed, which influences the flow itself. (Figure 9)

3 Crawford, Margaret in. Chase, John; Crawford, Margaret; Kaliski, John (ed.). *Everyday Urbanism*. New York: Monacelli Press, 1999.

4 Lefebvre, Henri. *The Critique of Everyday Life, Vol. 1*. London: Verso, 1991.

Figure 9. 2004. *Infrascapes* can be visualized as ramified and encircling by-products of metropolitan movement, feeding from its movement leakages and potential.



Source: Diagram designed by the author.

The *infrascapes* mark a non-obstructive clog in the continuous flows of the highway grid of a metropolis; creating infinitesimal transitions, decompressions, along their courses. The ramifications created by the *infrascapes* are the channels through which time-space compression is concurrently formed and disintegrated. (Figure 10) This map shows the area of study in São Cristóvão and how it is connected to the surrounding metropolitan highway systems. Roundabout options from the expressways are highlighted to illustrate the scalar shifting of nodes from infrastructural scale to the local scale of the 'buried' streets. By describing three consecutive moments from the expressways to the local streets, it is possible to see how a parallel system is formed by interfacing a local network with numerous connections of the super grid. (Figure 11) In this map, fast reaching fields emanating from the primary (expressways) and secondary (local streets) systems are diagrammed to show the potential commercial influence of the connections. Commercial streets flourish in the close surrounding regions of the systems, and expand where the network permits direct auto access. The more obvious detour options present themselves as options to exit and return fast traffic, resulting in more intense commercial activity. However, the existence of these places does not necessarily involve the creation of a forced centripetal turmoil outwards the 'speed zones' of a city's super-grid, as in a whirlwind effect. Conversely, they present themselves as options, which do not interrupt higher-scale movement flows, but create linear disturbances in them, denoting their presence. The effectively lived spaces created by these ramifications are imbued with ambiguity, uncertainties and unregulated freedom, forming what I referred to before as 'urban androgyny'.

Figure 10. 2004. Metropolitan and Local Connectivity (diagram).

Source: Diagram designed by the author.

Figure 11. 2004. 2004. Emanating Fields (diagram).

Source: Diagram designed by the author.

Infrascapes are composed of relational and spatial agencies, not organized as binary connections, but, through temporal processes of continuous appropriations. These processes offer the 'dynamic contradictions'[5], which connect the interstices of super-imposing, yet disconnected dimensions of urban life. They are super-architectural spaces[6], where different scales of spatial use and appropriation collide without collapsing. *Infrascapes*, thus, provide spaces for functional subversion, where the laws and definitions of the planned city are overlooked by the pragmatic and mundane needs of the users, dwellers and tradesmen of these areas. (Figures 12 & 13) In São Cristóvão, public space is turned into an extra room for display and storage of goods, for informal commercial activities, and for irregular delivery operations of heavy goods. All these activities are providing very straight-forward responses to initially constrained situations, developing ways to exploit their limitations by exploring the possibilities offered by leftover spaces they occupy which can be easily manipulated and managed whenever it is required.

In static associations the movement in the different scale levels is not interrupted, the bodies and flows set is also present, but the bodies and the physical manifestations of the flows, through odours, noise and vibration are the ones to exert influence. This region is changed by the material presence of the bodies, which become concrete architectural-urban entities in their spatial configuration, as happens throughout the 'buried' streets of São Cristóvão. There, façades are obsolete. Now, the buildings and the elevated expressways function as elements of an enclosed urban realm, and behave almost like an interiorized version of the Venturian 'billboard architecture'. (Figures 14 & 15) Being devoid of their primary architectural attributes, stores announce their presence by banners, backlit plates and hanging signs or product samples placed under the first level of the viaduct. Architectural form and image does not matter for the tradesmen in this area any more, only maximum visibility.

5 Certaeu, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday* Life. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

6 Borden, Iain in. Hill, Jonathan (ed.). *Occupying Architecture – Between the Architect and the User*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Figures 12 & 13. 2003. Subversion of private and public ownership X interference (examples).

Source: Photographs taken by the author.

Figures 14 & 15. 2003. Public space and its overlapping infrastructure become exposing units for local shops and small industries, taking over unused space (examples).

Source: Photographs taken by the author.

Superimposing Worlds & Reaction Surfaces

> "Living adjacent to, beneath or above highways, railway lines and flight paths is today symptomatic of the modern city. The effects on living standards have been less than desirable due to the environmental problems of noise and pollution. Yet the spatio-economic potential of these apparently blighted sites is slowly being recognized: highly accessible and relatively cheap." Anthony Hoete, in ROAM - Reader on the Aesthetics of Mobility.

The fibres that comprise metropolitan mobility do not behave as simple linear connections, but as landscapes with varying peaks of activity that originate from folds in the continuity of 'surface', formed by material and immaterial inputs; the concrete physical structures upon which urban movements occur, and the political, social and economical intentions that orchestrate the movements through planning strategies. This combination forms an intricate surface comprising of several layers of spatial network that exchange energy across each other, yet without being ruled by any one established order. As an ensemble of complexities, this surface unfolds as connections from specific local identities (local roads and neighbourhoods) to the metropolitan rhythm (highways), causing the friction discussed

earlier in this text, without letting it fall under an extremely generalizing and compartmented organization. The complex orders of such a model are not established by imposed regulations, but configure 'field conditions', that "are bottom-up phenomena, defined not by overarching geometrical schemas but by intricate connections".[7] The *infrascapes* are not mere results of a metropolitan influence on local grids, but also the reverse influence of local conditions on the metropolitan infrastructure.

> "Each surface is an interface between two environments that is ruled by a constant activity in the form of an exchange between the two substances placed in contact with one another." Paul Virilio, in L'Espace Critique.

They acknowledge the existence of error by composing open-ended conditions, which subverts pre-established orders, enabling, rather than restraining, events. As 'spaces of propagation'[8], *infrascapes* melt together once separated conditions, which activate urban networks of 'becomings'[9], in a constant and spontaneous production of space through hybridizations of the material and immaterial options available. They form reaction surfaces out of the intersecting folds among the stability of the opposing speeds of the local and the metropolitan. In particular, these folds are composed by abrupt connections among the fibres of super-imposing networks, which exist simultaneously within the *infrascapes*. Once these different movements are connected by the folds, the material base (the bodies) of their connections is transformed into a site of exception, which is charged with attributes of all the involved urban realms (or scales), as a reactive surface that bows to several masters. The *infrascapes* do not develop their own unique rhythm, yet, it lives on as symbiotes of the several urban qualities posed on them, having local and metropolitan characteristics at the same time.

Androgynous Urbanity

> "General history or the history of events? From now on, such an academic distinction is no longer merely ambiguous but illusory, for, even if nothing is equivalent, the scale of values of the facts no longer allows simple discrimination between the 'general' and the 'particular', the 'global' and the 'local'." Paul Virilio, in A Landscape of Events.

Another fundamental feature of the *infrascapes* is that they simultaneously retain several, and rather opposing, metropolitan domains within the (sub)systems created by them. *Infrascapes* form a penetrable threshold that allows 'energies' and physical conditions from different metropolitan scales to occupy a same relative urban hiatus. Such hiatuses are formed along bordering conditions throughout metropolises, which are normally believed to restrain and expel events. In the *infrascapes*, the metropolitan exist in the local, and, conversely, the local exists in the metropolitan. Through the 'open-ended' and interstitial qualities of the *infrascapes* as continuously morphing systems, such hybrid conditions are rendered concrete. By using the same spatial bodies, several urban domains connect to each other leaving behind traces of their specific characteristics, fostering environments that are unable to be easily classified by regular urban planning jargons. As a matter of fact, *infrascapes* often end up with the least positive classifications.

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7 Allen, Stan. Points+Lines – Diagrams and Projects for the City. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999.

8 Kwinter, Sanford. La Città Nuova: Modernity and Continuity. New York: Zone ½, 1986.

9 Gausa, Manuel; Salazar, Jaime. *Housing/Single-Family Housing*. Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002.

What exactly are *infrascapes* such as the studied region in São Cirstóvão? Urban? Suburban? / Local? Metropolitan? / Small-scale? Large-scale? / Street? Highway? / Road? Home? / Dirty? Necessary? / Sidewalk? Garage? / Drive-in? Drive-through? / Free? Limited? Is it marginality that spawns an inherent uncertainty in the *infrascapes*, or the other way around? Ideas of categorization and classification are destroyed by the 'otherness'[10] of the *infrascape(s)*. The only concrete and certain quality that they offer is, indeed, more and more uncertainty.

> "This manifested ambiguity, this flux, this incompleteness mysteriously releases me from me from my ambiguous conscience because I see complexity, movement, energy, potential, even hope in their explicit contradiction." Lars Lerup, in After the City.

Superimposing Metropolitan Forms

> "The Centripetal City is characterized by strong pockets of isolated development surrounded by what will be called 'weak' metropolitan form. Weak metropolitan form is not difficult to characterize. Throughout the post-war years massive zones of construction have emerged which stand beyond conventional means of urban representation. Somewhere between the scale of a single comprehensible ladder (such as a commercial mall interior or single subdivision street) and the scale of a regional road map, an immeasurable urban realm has come to establish the space of routine existence. It is this apparent collapse of metropolitan identity into sprawl which propels the characteristic mutations of contemporary urban production." Albert Pope, in Ladders.

What Pope refers to as 'weak metropolitan form' happens in the study-site in São Cristóvão through the previously mentioned androgynous qualities of their organization and physical structures. The crisis in urban classification that came with the sprawl and metropolitan expansion that Pope describes is present in the *infrascapes*, but in a sort of inward multiplication of metropolitan characteristics. The *infrascapes* phenomenon in São Cristóvão establishes redefinitions of interior metropolitan networks, which are found not as extensions, but as superimposing conditions. And what I mean by interior metropolitan networks is the opposite of what is widely considered as regular urban territorial expansion or sprawl. The *infrascapes* act like multiplications, expansions, towards the metropolitan already existing spatial framework. By further disseminating metropolitan and local qualities in different spaces they create structures that belong to both levels at the same time. These conditions disguise themselves in normal cartography, where we are only able to visualize one side of them. By taking closer looks into the spatial structure of the study-sites it is possible to see how spatial structures that are believed to be local have already been modified and adapted to a more metropolitan and high-speed profiles, and vice-versa.

In order to make this phenomenon visible, I have chosen two very clear and opposing features of the urban public realm and measured them to check whether their dimensions correspond to what their initial definition conveys. Measurements of the main circulatory surfaces the streets, namely the car tracks (Figure 16) and the sidewalks (Figure 17) show that the width of the car domains far exceeds that of the pedestrians. Excessive road lanes enable the presence and greater flexibility of car movement in the area, even within an urban architectural enclosure more related to a residential region. It is like a densified version of a suburb reliant solely on private transportation. These streets accommodate vehicle influxes and activities often held only in distanced clusters of highway mega-stores, in the outskirts of

10 Foucault, Michel in. Leach, Neil (ed.*). Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*. London: Routledge, 2002.

the metropolitan core. Through their manipulated physical spaces it is possible to see how streets have been incorporated into metropolitan profiles, extracting their conventional features of local environments.

Figures 16 & 17. 2004. Car Track & Sidewalk Transformations (diagrams). The actual dimensions of the sidewalks and the car lanes have been doubled in scale for better visualization, and their proportions correspond to that of real life.

Source: Diagrams designed by the author.

In all diagrams, the actual dimensions have been scaled up ten times in order to be better visualized in correct proportion. The diagrams show clearly how streets that are directly connected to the metropolitan grid are increasingly becoming more like them in spatial terms, even though their position in relation to other streets of the interior strata still denote otherwise. The domains of the cars are expanding while regular pedestrian space is contracting. And this situation is mostly caused by the spatial adaptation required by the 'drive-through' logics of the study-sites, which need easy access to architecture.

Emerging Fields

All over the world, with very few exceptions, *infrascapes* are playing a decisive role in dismantling grounds for assumptions on imposed transformations of contemporary metropolises and their future implications. The set of daily and trivial routines of urban life surrounding *infrascapes* prove a constant and unconscious disregard of the city's idealized boundaries. The culturally disguised dichotomy among the lived, perceived and conceived spatial dimensions, as described in Lefebvrian works, is progressively more apparent in the breaches between the idealized and the effectively lived urban conditions, as in the scenarios emerging from the *infrascapes* that transgress the "engineered certainties"[11] of planning.

Although the case described here seems to be essentially specific, the conditions it illustrates increase everyday in metropolitan areas all over the world; and even faster in the

11 Amin, Ash; Thrift, Nigel. *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*. London, Polity Press, 2002.

under developed and developing worlds. In Lower West Manhattan, in New York, the region around the intersection between Holland Tunnel and the West Side Highway sets up a similar situation (in morphological terms) to that of São Cristóvão, where unused warehouses and elevated railway tracks are increasingly housing activities related to the heavy movement and relatively easy access of the area. (Figures 18, 19 & 20) This area in New York, north of the Meat-Packing District, is mutating into a sort of theme park for car-related businesses. Old warehouses and areas beneath the Highline's rail tracks are taken over by parking lots, gas and service stations, car accessories shops and mechanic workshops. One can quickly leave West Side Highway and return to it, like the roundabout movements also found in São Cristóvão.

Figures 18, 19 & 20. 2004. West Side Highway & Holland Tunnel junctions, Lower-West Manhattan, New York.

Source: Diagram designed and photographs taken by the author.

This is not to suggest or imply that the scarcity of planning surveillance mechanisms is the fundamental source of *infrascape* generation. The situation in NY is far more stable than in Rio. Indeed, it is the very over-deterministic nature of 'tight' planning that is manifesting its own inadequacies towards dynamic and hybridized contemporary metropolises through the channels of the *infrascapes*. By describing these environments, I intended to denote that, in dealing with these ambiguous environments, it is somewhat awkward to keep on establishing well-defined sets of problems and solutions.

What has been rated as urban problems in planning operations must be subverted, as means to better and more critically adapt our cities to the increasingly blurred reality of a ruling neo-liberal and post-Fordist politics, economy and culture. Metropolitan areas are in need of a new and completely different kind of public space. One that we cannot yet see, name or classify. The defined and secure places of our urban ideologies and utopias are ceasing to be a crucial challenge in contemporary urban design, even though urban planning agendas remain grounded on nostalgic perfection models of hygiene, social relationships and aesthetics. The *infrascapes* are concurrently solutions and problems amidst different social, cultural and economical spectra. They are not models ready to be applied to situations alike, but phenomena that cannot be controlled. If *infrascapes* are regularized and strictly defined, they will succumb to the same sores of current planning. As a matter of fact, *infrascapes* are samples of bottom-up emerging fields of action for urban design and planning, where private and public, and local and metropolitan spatial matters step on each other's influential scope. Their description should not incite questions about how to apply them elsewhere but how to understand their broad and complex origins in order to boost their existing impact to open up further possibilities, rather than regulate the existing ones.

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Future Lost and Resumed: Media and the Spatialization of Time in Shanghai

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The current resurgence of the Chinese mega city of Shanghai involves a radical restructuring of the urban fabric, infrastructure, economy and media culture. New Shanghai competes to become the information communication hub in the Asia-Pacific, and partly through the display of wide-ranging digitalization at the World exposition of 2010 and in the city, the municipal government has set its mind on once again detaining the future right here. In this paper I probe the question of how one place becomes continually endowed with futurity. Futurity, I argue, is in fact an essential part of a collective memory in the city: it is Shanghai's genius loci. Moving from the Golden Age of modernity and cosmopolitanism of the 1920s and 30s, through the city under Communism, into the current global/digital city of Shanghai I inquire into they ways in which media and communication have been historically, and are at present, a backbone of the Shanghai imaginary. I further discuss how the future is both obsessively desired in Shanghai of today and at once under seizure since New Shanghai is, as much as it is a place of physical monumentality, an elusive and contradictory space of temporal coexistence as well as of hypermobility and hypermediation.

Introduction

> Shanghai has the capacity to turn dreams into wonders...All the industrialists and great leaders of the world gather here, not only to discuss the future of China, but the future of the world.

Promotion film: ”A Tour of New Shanghai”, By supervision and commission of the Shanghai Municipal Government

> Zhang Jun, 43, professor from Fu Dan University, said he is concerned about Shanghai’s future, not sure whether the city can keep up economic development and expand its prosperity if it stayed with its political and economic format.
>
> http://josieliu.blogspot.com/2007/01/shanghai-another-hong-kong.html

Media and cities constitute two – sometimes converging – realms in which ‘the future’ is often imagined. They become signs that fix ‘the future’ to a certain place or space. Media technologies and the modern city are cultural forms that often invoke both utopian and dystopian anticipations of the future (cf. Gold 1985; Robins and Hepworth 1988; Highmore 2005). Where *is* ‘the future’ today? Which city in the world has the capacity to conjure up a convincing sense of *futurity*? In this paper I will suggest that it is imperative to consider the Chinese mega and media city of Shanghai, in this context. Shanghai is currently undergoing a radical rebirth and transformation, unsurpassed in history. The city, which has a population of 18.7 million people, has in approximately 15 years redeveloped into a modern metropolis, with an ultramodern skyline, expressways, elevated highways, and thousands of high-rise buildings mostly along the skyline of the Pudong New Area.[1] It also contains the world’s fastest train (The *Maglev*). The city has now reached the size of greater London and NYC together (*Cities. Architecture and Society*, la Biennale di Venezia, October 2006). The economy has grown with 11.9 percent per year since 1993 (see Wu 2003) and more than half of the ‘Fortune Global 500’ companies, the largest companies in the world, have offices in the city.

Shanghai is Chinas commercial hub and main industrial city, and it is currently, in accordance with the Master Plan (covering 1999–2020), striving to become a financial, economical, trade and shipping centre. Through these measures, Shanghai aspires to become a world city and perhaps even, as some argue, the capital of the world of the 21st century. As signs of globality the cityscape is replete with large screens and multimedia installations, and with bodies that move through the city carrying the latest modern media equipment such as cellphones, I-pods, MP3-players, digital cameras etc. Shanghai also competes to become the information and communication hub of the Asia Pacific and strives to develop its infoport by advancing digital technology beyond the era of the Internet (Li et al 2005; Ding et al: 2005).

1 In 1986 ‘The Scheme of Urban Master Plan for Shanghai Municipality’ was approved. In 1993, building on this, the Pudong area (the financial district of Lujiazui (Figure 2) was formed on a spot which was covered mainly by farmland 15 years ago. In 1995 the Master Plan from1986 was revised. Six guiding principles lay behind the effort. The first was to build a socialist modern city guided by openness to the world which would incorporate multiple functions and advanced science and technology. Second, the process of change was steered toward co-ordinating the developments of urban and rural areas through rational decentralization. Third, urban functions within the city were to be dispersed. Fourth, special economic zones were to be given special advantages. Fifth, the Pudong area was planned to become an export-oriented, multi-functional new zone. Finally, the goal was explicitly to integrate the past and the future: in the words of planners to ‘respect history but to build for the future’ (Rowe 2004: 57).

In 2006 the government launched the "HEAD strategy" by which four areas are to be privileged within the coming 20 years – "Health", "Environment", "Affordable" and "Digital." Through mediatization and digitalization, among other things, at the world Expo in particular – the fulfilment of the current building up process – the city is envisioned to parade its fully achieved modernization before the world.

Shanghai is indeed a city capable invoking expectations and a sense of out- of this world-ness, that begets a magical atmosphere, a feeling that the everything is possible and that the future has arrived already, that the future is *here* (cf. Wasserstrom 2003: 52; Kuan 2004). At the same time the imaginary 'spaces of the future' can never be sealed or secured. In Shanghai they work within the city imaginary as a *structure of feeling* (Williams 1977) which involves an anticipation that also comprises jeopardy – an anxiety that the momentum to detain the future *right here* might slip away – and that the future, so eagerly looked for, imagined and carefully planned, will go astray before it could be profited from; before it could be *lived*. The dramatic resurrection of the city can be depicted in terms of an encapsulation process coupled with, and indeed feeding from, its integral threat of decapsulation (Jansson and Lagerkvist 2006). In other words, there is a sense that the building up of Shanghai for the world Expo 2010, will mark not only the apogee of the current regeneration process, but also the beginning of the demise of Shanghai: the beginning of a lost future. Shanghai, as all mega cities, is fraught with many problems such as uneven distribution of urban resources, an overheated real estate economy, and in consequence, insecurity about for how long these miraculous wheels of fortune and growth will be spinning.

The starting point for this discussion is phenomenological: the present is not conceived as a *point in time*, but as an *horizon* stretching itself backwards and forwards (de Beauvoir 1947). *The future is here* also means that the future is in our making: it is something we imagine, live and engage with in the present in relation to the past. This paper lays the claim that understanding New Shanghai requires a meticulous inquiry into how space is imbued with time – or how Shanghai exemplifies a dense "multiple, heterogenous and uneven" urban timespace (May and Thrift 2001) and this further leads to exploring *temporal coexistence* in this metropolis and media city (cf Huyssen 1995; Crang 2005). The contention is that there is a large cultural anxiety about temporality or obsession with time in contemporary China (see Zhen 2001). In this regard, Shanghai offers a forceful case in point. Instead of exemplifying a timeless world (due to time-space compression), Shanghai is globalizing city where *space is filled with time* (cf. Ekecrantz 2003; May and Thrift eds. 2001). Social time is radically *uneven*, and this relates to its constitution by spatial variation. Shanghai exemplifies this unevenness through its *lamination of urban ideologies* from three different eras (Qingyun 2006) – colonial capitalism, stalinist work units and the current edifices of globalization under Chinese characteristics. This also reflects that in the city, different spatiotemporal structures coincide and sometimes clash with one another in a disharmonious yet fully operating textural rhythm.

Temporal coexistence in Shanghai further relates to two phenomena that have heretofore been studied separately. Firstly, it relates to Zhang Zhen's discussion on the spatialization of time in Shanghai. Zhen details how structures of time are being recast by the rapid transition from socialism to market economy and the changes from production to consumption. She argues that through an unselfconscious echo of past undertakings to catch up to the west, stretching from the nineteenth century all the way to Mao's Great Leap Forward, time has become a space in the global arena waiting to be filled or conquered (2001: 137-138). The infrastructure itself is also vindication of what is underway, according to Zhen: "an immense project of spatializing time and arresting the future" (ibid: 134). This includes the building of expressways, railways, bridges, airfields, elevators and assembly lines. Zhen argues that these are

> spatio-temporal passages (à la Benjamin) that link past and future but also inadvertently foreground the vast unevenness, or non-synchronous simultaneity, between the old and the new, the rural and the urban, the inland and the coastal geoeconomical topographies (ibid).

This also reflects that China is undergoing industrialization and post-industrialization at the same time. Shanghai encompasses discrepant and overlapping time-structures. It represents a space of *global temporality* which implies *both* a uniform way of measuring time (which has come about through for example international air transport, satellite connections, e-mail and Internet, standardized time zones, the international dateline and a universal second) (Aveni 1995) *and* a confrontation of discrepant and context-specific time frames. Global time (the temporality of for example digitalized capital flows) imbricates upon the slower time orientations of the nation, and of industrial sectors and bureaucracies (Sassen 2000; see also Wallman 1992; Persoon and van Est 2000).

A second dimension of the characteristic multi-temporality of contemporary Shanghai is the way that the city brings about a strong sense of *temporal play* (Shields 1991) and invites visitors to practice *time travel* (Lagerkvist, 2007 forthcoming). The city is obsessed with the future. But this obsession is perpetuated through the evocation of selected parts of the Golden Age of the Colonial period in terms of a preservation program of old heritage buildings and a nostalgia industry and tourism culture which profits from a memorabilia of this era. A craze for Old Shanghai of the 1920s and 30s has appeared since the early nineties (Bergère 2004: 47). The term 'nineteen thirties' is a powerful connotation which is used in for example advertising for restaurants and cafés. Bits and pieces of its mythology – retrieved on posters, fashion calendars, black and white photographs of the city, labels of famous brands, old songs and movies, books and clothes – are once and again *dragged into the present* (Rojek 1997) i.e. into the city's imaginary. Media forms and their circulation of place-based nostalgia and cultural memory thus enable contact with the past (cf. Couldry and McCarthy 2004: 3).

The histories of Shanghai are multifaceted, as is the manner in which they are drawn upon in pursuit for the future. 19th and early 20th Century Shanghai flourished as a crossroads for commerce and trade. The city derived its importance as the center of China's import-export trade from its functions as a port on the Eastern seaboard. Already a century and a half ago, Shanghai was a hybrid of the 'Orient' and the 'Occident'. It became the key treaty port in the Far East of the English, French and American occupational powers in the aftermath of the Opium wars of 1839-42. The city succeeded the role of Canton as the center for foreign trade and receiver of modernizing impulses from the rest of the world. Shanghai consisted of concessions, established adjacent to the old city, that were independent of Chinese authorities. During the interwar period Shanghai was one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. It was one of the world's major cities; it was named *Paris of the East* and had a reputation of sinfulness, lawlessness and cultural tolerance, which coexisted with drug trade, prostitution and mafia gangs (triads) (Wakeman 1996). Shanghai of the 1920s and 30s also saw an economic miracle, of which Chinese entrepreneurs were the main architects, although foreign presence was essential. This rapid economic growth triggered the transformation of the city from treaty port to Metropolis. In this era, foreign businessmen, Chinese migrants and adventurers of all kinds were drawn to the city. After the 1949 Communist victory, foreigners and wealthy Chinese fled the city and the nightlife vanished. The city kept a shadowy existence for over forty years until the early 1990s when Shanghai opened up for foreign investment and modernization. Deng Xiaoping has been quoted to have expressed repentance over the fact that the Communist party had neglected to create a special economic zone in Shanghai, and this diktat set off the rebirth of Shanghai as a Metropolis in 1992. This process involved the central governments' announcement of granting Shanghai preferential status and the building up of the Pudong New Area.

I agree fully with scholars in cautioning against trying to find the 'essence' of any city. All representations of cities are 'partial and provisional – shortsighted, interested, parts (impossibly) standing in for wholes' (Balshaw and Kennedy 2000: 19, see also Philips 2000). Nonetheless, Jos Gamble identifies a distinct *cosmopolitan identity* of Shanghai, as the city has been, since the mid-nineteenth century at least, permeated by global and intra-national cultural flows (2003). In this paper I suggest that in Shanghai *futurity* is a crucial part of the collective memory of the city in which both the Chinese in general, the Shanghainese inhabitants and foreigners participate. Futurity I define as a structure of feeling which includes both the hopes and anticipations for a bright future and the fear of the fulfillment of the future – due to its unpredictability. Can futurity, in this dual mode of conceptualization, in fact be outlined as constituting the *genius loci* of Shanghai – the defining propensity of the place; a place identity and atmosphere which is culturally produced and enacted and a textural resource (cf. Jansson 2006) that is made use of by different agents with different agendas at different points in time? This exploratory paper sets out to qualify such as proposition. In this pursuit I will probe how one place becomes *re-endowed with futurity*. How is nostalgia for futures past reconfigured in imaginings of the future in Shanghai and how do media and communication technologies work within the future imaginary?[2]

A second ambition is, ultimately, to merge the two discourses on temporal coexistence: the notion of the asynchronous synchronicity of different time-structures that reflect the dense lamination of the city and the way the city invites and calls for what I elsewhere describe as 'time travel' – to actively and by means of performance become absorbed on your Shanghai journey into a city "where yesterday meets tomorrow" (Xintiendi Museum, cf Lagerkvist 2007, forthcoming).

The Future is *Here*

I will begin by consulting a travelogue from the interwar era, which is reprinted on websites for today's virtual tourists:

> I have seen places that were, no doubt, as busy and as thickly populous as the Chinese city in Shanghai, but none that so overwhelmingly impressed me with its business and populousness. In no city, West or East, have I ever had such an impression of dense, rank richly clotted life. Old Shanghai is Bergson''s *elan vital* in the raw, so to speak, and with the lid off. It is Life itself.[…]
>
> Yes, it will all be there, just as intensely and tenaciously alive as ever-all there a thousand years hence, five thousand, ten. You have only to stroll through old Shanghai to be certain of it. London and Paris offer no such certainty. And even India seems by comparison provisional and precarious.
>
> (Huxley 1926: 241-242)

2 Shanghai is in transition. Any attempt at boiling down such a complex and protean process would obviously fail. Inevitably the propositions that may be put forward – since the object of study is transforming by the minute – are fragmentary and must rely on piecemeal observations. This present discussion on Shanghai builds on extracts from a range of media forms: the World Expo 2010 website, the city website, advertising and place promotion, reporting from Shanghai in newspapers, newsmagazines, life style magazines, novels and travelogues, material from the Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Centre, The Bund Museum. Xintiendi museum and Shanghai Urban History Development Museum, and policy documents such as Master plans and five-year plans, and the Expo plan. In addition I have interveiewed and talked to people working within realms of digitalization, urban planning and conservation. In bringing these excerpts together, I hope to gradually unfold the sense in which this place affords futurity and the different ways in which this affordance has been taken advantage of over time.

Figure 1. Place promotion in Shanghai. Photograph by the author.

In this brief, panegyrcial account of his impressions of Old Shanghai of the 1920s, Aldous Huxley was taken aback by the spirit of the city of the inter war era. While he was discussing the exceptionally vital, ancient mores of the 'Chinaman' one cannot ignore that these were observed during the *Golden Age* of Shanghai, of blooming entrepreneurial activities, Western presence and cosmopolitanism. 'So much life', he writes, 'so carefully canalised, so rapidly and strongly flowing - the spectacle of it inspires something like terror. All this was going on when we were cannibalistic savages' (Ibid). This author, who is more famous for a less enthusiastic futuristic vision, extrapolated *ten thousand years* into the future of Shanghai. In stark contrast with the bleak colors of the brave new world he would envision some years later, its future appeared garishly bright. It seemed to entail *Life itself*.

Shanghai was the crossroads of Asia. Entering into *the spirit of Shanghai* (see figure 1) as Huxley did, also meant for thousands of foreigners, company workers, entrepreneurs, missionaries, tourists and Chinese migrants to be immersed into the extraordinary mixture of conspicuous consumption and poverty, refinement and decadence that was a pervasive feature of the city's atmosphere during Shanghais heyday of modernization (Gandelsonas 2002). The globality of Shanghai was already in the late nineteenth century a fact. Through media and communication forms the world came into reach and Shanghai connected to the world – particularity through regular mail steamers and the telegraph, which brought Shanghai in touch with Europe and America (Gamble 2003: 65). In the interwar era, Shanghai turned into a true world metropolis. The central district of the International settlement became a modern business centre with banks, trade- and insurance companies and department stores. The futurity of the city in this era was however marked not only by the economic miracle. The sense that the city was a city of the future was also brought into play through the presence of dance halls (Boyer 2002), movie theaters showing American imports as well as the

productions of the domestic film industry (Zhen 2005). Radio, film, advertising but also mass cultural forms and forms of leisure, such as the race-track and the lottery, were defining aspects of modernity in Shanghai.

A second aspect of the futurity of the global city of Shanghai of the 1920s and 30s was the climate of cultural tolerance and diversity of opinions. The city was also relatively free haven for different publications, cultural expressions, and exchanges of ideas (Reed 2005). This climate allowed for protests and strikes which arose among the Chinese populace aginst the occupational powers, in the 1920s, but foreign nationals managed to maintain jurisdiction over large parts of the city. Another related vindication of the futurity of this place was the founding of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921. The CCP didn't view Shanghai as Chinas's future – to the contrary – it was on the rubble of this city that New Red China would be built. But it is with great irony that one can observe that anything *new* in China originates from Shanghai. In the CCPs case because they could operate relatively unmonitored and free there.

After 1949 and the communist victory, the city was forgotten by the world for over forty years. It paid a penalty for its sinful and Western-oriented, capitalist past. As another ideology came in sway, the early twentieth century modernizing zeal of the city, including its seemingly open-ended future, was lost. Old Shanghai reminded of colonial humiliation and it was, as Marie Claire Bergère writes, denounced as a bastion of imperialism and of compradorial bourgeoisie 'where luxury was an insult to extreme poverty' (2004: 44). While this future was interrupted in Shanghai another one was envisioned and brought into play: Shanghai evolved into China's most important industrial city. Due to a strict fiscal policy, Shanghai contributed for decades a significant proportion of revenue to the state and the central government in Beijing. Through forty years of industrialization the city built up a strong economic base, which mainly relied on domestic markets (Wu 2000). This particular communistic future, and revolutionary enclosure of Shanghai is today a mostly silenced experience and forgotten vision.[3] This era is now a stigma of modern Shanghai and it is often deleted out of the official memoryscape. This is evident at for example the Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Centre where other historical eras and chronological exposes of old photographs from the city are used to promote a sense of development and movement into the future. The era of Communism is shunned from historical memory and is *not* considered one of the 'three great periods in Shanghai's history' since it is generally conceived that Shanghai lost its role as an international centre of growth and development for over 40 years, due to the policies of the Communist regime (Zhen 2005).

The Future is *Now*

In the early 1990s, Shanghai began to resume its lost future, in its drive for progress and modernization, which was interrupted by the 1949 revolution. There are several entwined facets of Shanghai's futurity today. In China– and perhaps most noticeably in Shanghai – new models for social mobility and the rise of a consumer culture endorsed by an official ideology of the democracy of consumption have emerged. In this new socio-economic structure high paid jobs in urban areas have opened for young and beautiful women, ensuing the formation

3 Another example of the capacity that the city seems to hold in setting off new futures, can be traced to the year of 1966 when the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) began in Shanghai. (The revolution proceeded most intensively in 1966-69). Jiang Qing as the leader of the Gang of Four, used Shanghai as its propagandist central base to drive forward and accelerate the progression of the Cultural Revolution. On the fourth of January 1967, the Shanghai group of the Gang of Four initiated large mass meetings, and established the WenHui Daily, Liberation Daily, and the Shanghai Radio and Television stations, encouraging the media to demand the restoration of order. The media played the double role as instigator of the Cultural Revolution and as a brake on it when needed, by different red guard factions.

of an urban mass culture and a new sexual politics (see Zhen 2001). This new urban space is suffused with venues for commodity consumption and libidinal indulgence. There is thus a strong connection here as in other spaces of rapid modernization, between the futurity of the city and the new identities for women, new consumerist social spaces that have evolved as the city has undergone modernization (cf. Felski 1995; Highmore 2005). Shanghai's new international feel of visitors of different national origins also attributes futurity to the city. The presence of foreigners, and in particular of Westerners, offers this sense, which brings back the previous era of Western presence, abundance and prosperity of the city, the epoch of the 1920s and 30s (cf. Lagerkvist forthcoming, 2007). Another important futuristic vision will be exposed at the Shanghai World Exposition of 2010. At Expo 2010 the theme *Better City Better Life* will highlight the need for sustainable development in the urban age. A further visible manifestation of the return of foreign presence in Shanghai which also brings about a strong sense of the future is the work of European, American and Japanese architecture firms (Cody 2004) which have contributed to the city's new look and made Shanghai into a 'museum of architects.'

City of Science Fiction: Mediatized Architecture

Figure 2. The skyline of Pudong.

The city of Shanghai is not only – in an historically overly aware manner – making plans and building up for its future as a world city, it also stimulates visitors and inhabitants to fantasize about the future. Shanghai is perceived and conceived among visitors as a mediatized space of the future. Architecture and physical edifices in Shanghai are both reflective and constitutive of futuristic projections. The Pudong New Area has by unequaled speed developed into a mini-Manhattan during the 1990s and in this district in particular, symbolic meanings are

provided to spatial forms. Here, futuristic visions are spatialized as e.g. in the Oriental Pearl TV tower (see Figure 2) which is already the established icon of New Shanghai, embodying national and local symbols of modernity and arrival (cf. Graham and Marvin 2001; Castells 1999). Futurity is afforded through three facets of media space: *mediations of the cityscape*, the *mediatized sense of space* evoked in the city, and through the *mediatization* of this space (Jansson and Falkheimer 2006). In the following, I will discuss these three facets by expounding the role of mediation and new media within the futurological imaginary, which locates the future *right here* and *right now;* in Shanghai.

Architectural forms become part of the encapsulation of the city and retain a liminal status as both physical and symbolic indicators of futurity. Especially Pudong, the financial district of LuJiaZhui calls forth mediatized memories of SF classics such as *Blade Runner* or *Star Wars*. References to SF abound among visitors as they become immersed into the space age, ”the city of science fiction”, or as they experience ”Gotham City” in Shanghai (see e.g Albons 2000; Nilhén 2005). The future is not only a prospect, it is physically located here, in Pudong, and in that sense it is *now*. In another fictional example, the Shanghai cityscape is permeated by a kind of weightlessness in buildings that is truly miraculous. In his Science Fiction novel *The Diamond Age* from 1995, Neil Stephenson locates the future of the world into the hands of a girl living in a territory called Atlantis-Shanghai and the future of cities in Pudong. The book is laid in the Twenty first century, fifty years into the future in an era on nano-technology and hyper-interactive media forms such as ‘mediatrons’ and interactive books. One of the protagonists, Hackworth, reflects upon the old cities of the world – weighed down by material problems – and he foresees their extinction and survival solely as theme parks:

> From the high point of the arch, Hackworth could look across the flat territory of outer Pudong and into the high-rise district of metropolis. He was struck as ever, by the sheer clunkiness of old cities, the acreage sacrified, over the centuries, to various stabs at the problem of Moving Stuff Around. Highways, bridges, railways, and their attendant smoky, glinting yards, power lines, pipelines, port facilities […]. Hackworth had enjoyed San Fransisco and was hardly immune to its charm, but Atlantis/Shanghai had imbued him with the sense that all the old cities of the world were doomed, except possibly as theme parks and that the future was in the new cities, built from the bedrock up, one atom at a time, their Feed lines as integral as capillaries were to flesh. (1995: 71)

It is interesting that Shanghai should be chosen for this cyberfictional plot which favors the city as *the* site of novelty and of future prospects. Cyber fiction narratives are often set in a near-future and place information and cyberspace technologies, such as the Internet, virtual reality, telemediation, computer intelligence, surveillance or person-machine relations at the centre of the story (Kitchin and Kneale 2001). The *Diamond Age*, moreover, in situating the future in Shanghai also seems to portray aspects and driving forces within the development in contemporary Shanghai of making the city into a *media city*.

The Charm of Digital Shanghai

In contemporary Shanghai the incentive for the transformation and reappearance of the city on the global map, has since the late nineties been tantamount with aspirations of becoming a fully-fledged ‘digital city’. At Pudong airport in August of 2005, this was visible as new life in the new city was portrayed in advertising welcoming visitors, by means of a photograph depicting the ‘digital lifestyle’ of a young Chinese modern family. The ad is imbued with an ideology of communication where the thoroughly mediatized everyday life of the family is saturated with ideals of instantaneous time and networked kinship. New life, in a media city, seems to entail prospects for newness in many subdivisions of life and society: for

community, education, services, as well as pleasure and maximum revenue. The city is also saturated with large screens and multimedia installations, and with people moving about the city carrying the latest modern media equipment.

In 1997 the Shanghai municipal government took an initiative to build Shanghai into a digital city and drafted a city informatization construction strategy.[4] Today, a far-flung, interconnected, high-speed network of information infrastructure has emerged in Shanghai and the IT industry has become the city's pillar industry. The informatization of the city is depicted at the Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Centre as nothing short of a 'silent revolution' which has 'injected great vitality to the fabric of the city and brought dramatic impacts on shifting governmental functions, transforming traditional industries and improving public services' (SUPEC, "Shanghai Infoport" floor 4). At the exhibition centre, the mediatization of Shanghai also includes an imaginary dimension, as one statement clearly displays: 'Can you imagine that one day Internet will also be outdated? Following the era of the Internet will be that of grid.' (SUPEC, floor 4). This prophetic formulation predicts the supercession and emulation of one media form by another. On reflection, however, the functions of the city grid resemble those of the Internet closely. In Digital Shanghai the ideal machinery of technocratic authoritarian China will materialize. The grid will integrate separate service sectors such as medical care, fire agency and public security into one comprehensive functional system of e-governmet. It will further coordinate the work of different departments 'according to the orientation of demands and their information will be widely shared on the basis of a universal grid standard.' The official aim is to concentrate all the urban resources in the shortest possible time in order to enhance the efficiency at e.g. emergencies such as public health crises like SARS. The exhibition promises a better future in the wake of the implementation of these new information services. Three chronological steps are envisioned for fulfilling these expectations:

> Stage One By 2005, with the completion of the tenth five year plan, the main index for Shanghais informatization construction will have reached the average level of the major cities in developed countries.
>
> Stage Two By 2007, a framework for 'Digital City' will have been primarily established, with the objective of digitalizing information resources, networking information transmission and popularizing information technology coming true.
>
> Stage Three By 2010, the charm of digital Shanghai will be fully displayed at the World Expo, a major milestone in Shanghai's course of development as the city first enters the well-to-do category and achieves modernization. (SUPEC, floor 4)

Hence, in this process of transformation 'new media' plays an important and distinctive role. Building up in order to fully accomplish and display the potential of digital Shanghai, the year 2010 and the World Expo, as is clear from the quote above, is envisioned as the magical moment when world centrality will be achieved. By 2010, Shanghai informatization is planned to reach the level of the central cities of advanced countries and excellence in information technology innovation and international competitiveness within the information industry are further aspired. Shanghai competes to become *the* information communication hub in the Asia-Pacific.

4 The Shanghai city informatization project started in 1999 and in 2002, the Shanghai Municipal Government announced the Digital City Shanghai initiative (Ding et al 2005).

The aims for the digital Expo, as well as the digital city, demonstrate visionary and even utopian discourses surrounding new media forms. There is nothing particularly unique about the visions of the digital city, they could apply to other cities. Two elements of a *post-urban fantasy* that was common in the 1990s (Graham 2004) are particularly displayed. First, the realisation of Digital Shanghai is described as a revolution that involves casting away the ballast of materiality. In a digital city, life is made easier and more functional. This also implies that information within in a 'theology of cyberspace' (Bolter and Grusin 1999) becomes a space to inhabit, instead of something which is contained separately within computers.

Figure 3. The visions for digital Shanghai as a space to inhabit. SUPEC, Shanghai Infoport, Floor 4.

Second, in the course of blending ICTs with human bodies and with the intimate spheres of the Shanghainese (Figure 3) the dream of *telepresence* is also manifested. Both these fantasies also relate to heightened *speed* (digital time) which will secure the goal of bettering life. On the other hand, missing out here is the commonly embraced and unbridled *cyberlibertarianism* (that information infrastructures are inherently democratic and transformative) of Western discourse, within the Chinese context. In addition, in contrast with the post-urban discourse, there is no account of a demise of Shanghai as a built environment. In its resurrection, the city will prevail both in terms of 'bits' and atoms.

Temporal Coexistence ”Where Yesterday Meets Tomorrow”

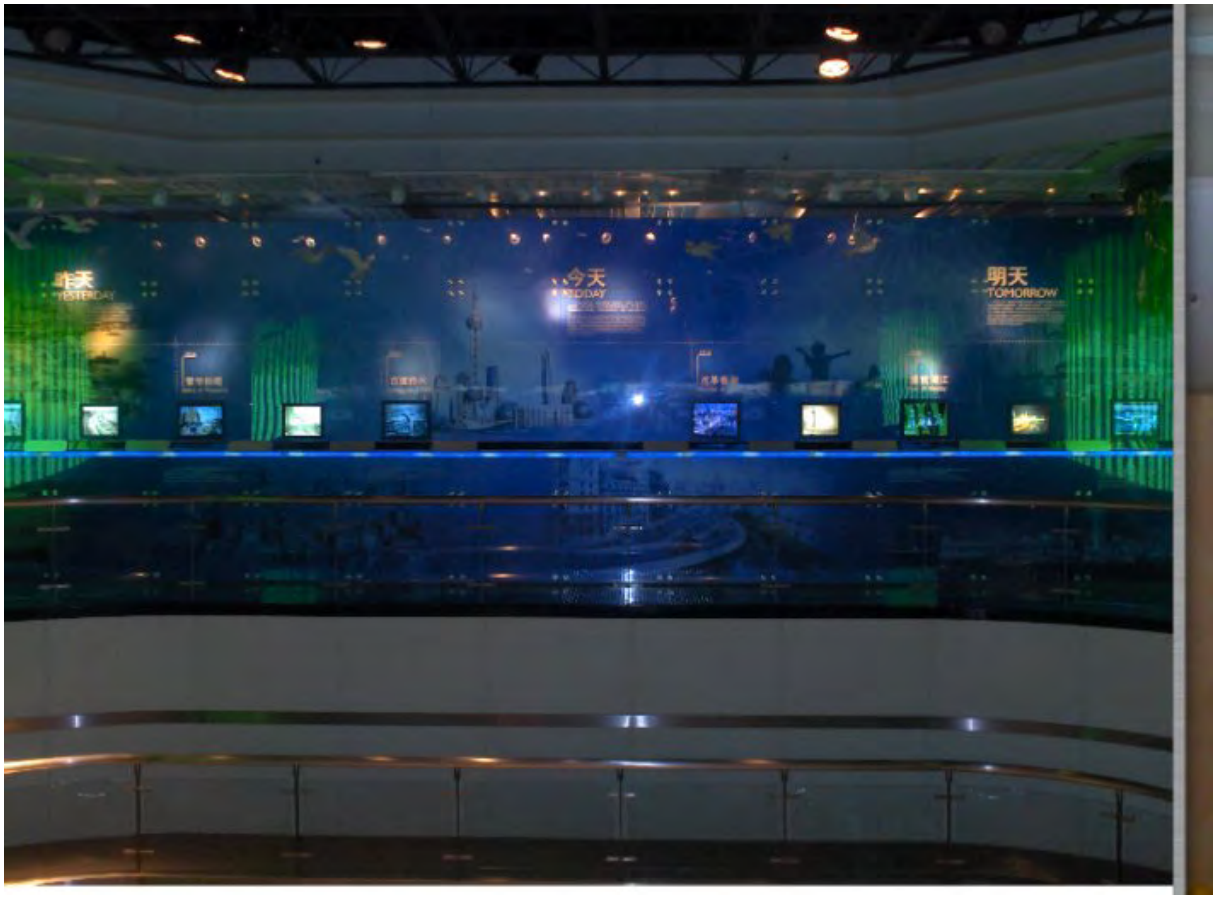

Figure 4. ”Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow”. SUPEC floor 4. Photograph by the author.

In one part of the exhibition at the Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Centre at Peoples Square, an entwinement of the past, the present and the future is featured visually and encoded graphically within *one space* (Figure 4). Along the wall three words are outlined “Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow” followed by a description of each point on this time line. The word TOMORROW is featured on glass on top of a photograph of modern high-rise buildings along the *Huangpu* river Beneath the temporal marker ‘tomorrow’, the sign reads:

> The Hungapu River will grow even beautiful (sic!) in the years to come. She is the blueprint the designers are planning, the prospect that the people are delightfully talking about and the dream that the children are dreaming as well. While dwelling upon *the wonders that time has bestowed Shanghai, we are at the same time looking forward to her glorious future* (SUPEC, floor 4, italics added).

A screen containing an image of the Bund, which is the famous promenade along the river at the heart of the city, (symbolizing ‘the past’) is placed further below. This seems illustrative of key facets of the encapsulation of New Shanghai. The quote reveals that time is conceived as *productive in itself*. Here time is understood as an abstraction constituted by a series of ‘nows’ in sequence (see Crang 2005). But linear development is only half of the story. There is in fact a complex play going on in the city, enacted by planners and municipal government policies, which brings the past into play within the present in order to propel the futurity of the city in a wished for direction. For example, the enthusiasm for new communication

technologies in Shanghai of today is reminiscent of the role that the 'new' played in the rhetoric of modernizing Shanghai of the twenties and thirties (Boyer 2002). In fact, the reappearance of Shanghai also draws on reminiscences of the city as a *media city* (Reed 2004) and a mediated city—the "Shanghai illusion" construed by gaudy fiction and wacky movies, as one 1930s travel writer put it (Wasserstrom 2003: 59) as well as on nostalgia for the entrepreneurial spirit of Shanghai. The encapsulation of the city hereby exploits a nostalgia for futures past (cf Adam 2004a; Hyltén-Cavallius 2002). In other words, something as contradictory and reversed as *retroactive futurity* is put into practice within the city. Within a cultural memory of the city, as I traced back to Aldous Huxley at the beginning of this paper, 'the new', life itself, bergsonian mobility and *the future* seem to reside at this site. This is a living memory of the future which is engaged within the contemporary city's imaginary. Futurity is thus *replayed* in the city of Shanghai. And as the future is once again right here, the fervor with novelty and modernization, is balanced against a reactivation of selected parts of the complex collage of memories that Shanghai invokes. In the words of the Shanghai government:

> The past prosperity of Shanghai has both dazzling brilliance worth parading and bitterness difficult to tell. The reason for our looking for the past traces of Shanghai now is to know the yesterday, think today and supr (sic!) on ourselves tomorrow rather than to have a nostalgia for past prosperity. (Shanghai Urban History Museum, Hall VI)

Hence, the sense of time that is activated in Shanghai is that of a complex intertwining of past, present and future. In "Play it Again Shanghai," Ackbar Abbas holds that

> Shanghai today is not just a city on the make with the new and the brash everywhere; it is also something more subtle and historically elusive: the city as remake, a shot-by-shot reworking of a classic, with a different cast, addressed to a different audience, not 'Back to the future' but 'Forward to the past' (2002: 38)

Abbas claims that preservation is motivated more by anticipations of a new Shanghai that will rival the old than by tender feelings for the old and as Tianshu Pan (2005: 136) has argued recently, Shanghai nostalgia has been employed as a political strategy within the futuristic visions among the leaders in order to turn this increasingly global city into a leading commercial hub of East Asia.

China's eager will to link up with the (rail)tracks of the world, as Zhang Zhen has discussed, would seem to mean to *both* to synchronize with 'global time' (and western clock-time) *and* to establish oneself as the beachhead into a future which requires managing *temporal discrepancies* and diverging modernization forms and paces (Huyssen 1995). Temporal preoccupation is thus not solely translatable to the urge among the Shanghainese to conceive of time in order to produce 'an action space, a container of possibilities' (Crang 2005) in the global arena. Obsession with time also promotes a self-understanding which seeks to incorporate a *coping with and thriving on temporal coexistence* (cf Jameson 1998: 54). As the exhibition commemorates tripartite time, one space overflowing with three times, temporal anxieties are here made into a resource for identity. Hence, along the wall the outlined words Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow figure, not simply to mirror the futuristic orientation of linear development – 'the arrow of time'. There is something else going on: a more or less conscious working out of a simultaneity of times*: tripartite time* (Crang 2005). In promoting such a multi-temporally aware appearance, Shanghai seems geared at achieving centrality of a new kind.

What is more, however, these scriptings at the SUPEC (neighbouring the exhibition on Shanghai Infoport) also mark an identification of place through an embracement of

instantaneous time (Lash and Urry 1994) in which the future is not only *at this site* but also *now*. The slogan which meets the eye almost everywhere; "The past, the present and the future," seems to correlate in a curious way with the relativization of the near and the far – and of the bygone, the now and the then – implied by digitalization. This new timestructure, digital time, however duly illustrates the shift to materialism within the logic of the post-Mao era. The Communist Party's call for people to 'look to the future' (*wang qian kan*) becomes by changing a single character 'look towards money': people want the future *now* and are more concerned with making money in the present than to put their faith in an uncertain future (Gamble 2003: 21). The consequence is that as the temporal fixation of the future city – which seems instantly made up and reappears with special effect quality – is merged with the time orientation of digitalization, a futuristic momentum of the past is not only retrieved and resumed, it is also in an ironic sense *retracted* as the future is *already here, located within the present*. In other words, the future is paradoxically dissolving – it is 'lost' once more while obsessive visions for it culminate. The dream of fulfilling and realizing the future city thus holds the potential, and no doubt unintended, toppling of those same visions – and the future of Shanghai balances on a rift between general hope and unrest.

Futurology often carries the component of a return to the past (Allon 2004: 25). Conversely, heritage is often an aspect of the information economy and the new technologies that support it (cf Frenchman 1998). Heritage in Shanghai is not so much a yearning for the past as something which is being pulled by a movement which is happening towards the future. While Shanghai is undergoing modernization characterized by a craving for the new (poignantly exemplified by its digital ambitions) – always yearning for something which is anything *but* like the past – simultaneously, Shanghai benefits from keeping the futurity of the mercantile pre-1949 era alive in the city's collective memory. Such memories serve both political and commercial interests. According to Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin with reference to the networked city, it is imperative to 'recognise how the configurations of infrastructure networks are inevitably imbued with biased struggles for social, economic, ecological and political power to benefit from *connecting to (more or less) distant times and places'* (2001: 10). Hence, far from an unintentional and chaotic blending of different urban ideologies and time structures, Shanghai exemplifies a celebration of tripartite time and of the epoch of simultaneity and the 'side-by-side' that Michel Foucault once described, in a much quoted passage (Foucault 1967/ 1998: 237). Not only is space compressed as Shanghai globalizes and is linking up to the world and the world is coming to Shanghai. The CCP and the Shanghai Municipal Government are involved in branding the nation and localizing its 'bridge to the future' (see Chen 2005) in Shanghai, by means of allowing the city to thrive on its long-term reputation of magical development, as if having risen up 'out of enchantment', something which the city was thought to embody already in the 1890s (Wasserstrom 2003: 55). This includes shunting aside the outright critique, doubts and ambivalence that the CCP felt earlier toward the capitalist, adventurous, indulgent and cosmopolitan Shanghai, and allowing these exact features of the city's past futurity to form the kernel of the city of the future.

Conclusion: An Intentional Future

Moving from the *Golden Age* of modernity and cosmopolitanism of the 1920s and 30s, through the city under Communism (when one future was lost and another one envisioned), into the current global/digital city of Shanghai I have in this paper inquired into some of the different ways in which media and communication – the technological imaginary, mediations of 'the Shanghai spirit' and the factual media and/or mass cultural forms intrinsic to the urban fabric – have been historically, and are at present, important constituents of the collective memory dispositif; for the city's mode of representation, identity and texture and for what I

call Shanghai's genius loci – *futurity*. Today, the mushrooming of skyscrapers, the new media landscape and commercialized media system, the abundance of media forms in the digital age, in themselves reenact a *future past*, as they carry that same magic of *novelty* bestowed onto Shanghai ever since at least the late 19th century. I suggest that media is a triggering factor, although not a determinant, in affording futurity to the city. More importantly however, media forms, and the load they carry as messages about newness (cf MacLuhan 1964) and their prophecy about perfecting the city, become not only instigators of hope for a bright future but simultaneously imply an anxiety hovering about Shanghai, shadowing the glittering city – and in the process, imaginatively turning it into a towering, and dark urban landscape of science fiction – begging the question: Will we loose it again, before we even could enjoy its full bloom?

Recently debaters have, in a budding critique of the boom of consumerism, mediatization and marketization in authoritarian China, located a forlorn and Huxlean 'brave new world' in New China of today. In a much similar vein, and in a general critique of the globalized economy, Fredric Jameson (1998) delineates a gloomy situation where "a new relationship to the future as a space of necessary expectation of revenue and capital accumulation" (1998: 185) has appeared. Jameson traces a structural reorganization of time itself into a kind of futures market, and concludes: "this is now the final link in the chain which leads from finance capital through land speculation to aesthetics and cultural production itself, or in other words, in our context to architecture" (Ibid). This systemic analysis, attributing to finance capital an agency that impregnates all realms of cultural production – commercialized media and architecture included – however runs the risk of obscuring the genuine possibility of a responsible relationship to our projections and enactments of the future, and hence to the future itself. I would like to round this up by taking my cue from Simone de Beauvoir in *The Ethics of Ambiguity*

> Just as infinity spread out before my gaze contracts above my head into a blue ceiling so my transcendence heaps up in the distance the opaque thickness of the future; but between sky and earth there is a perceptional field with its forms and colors; and it is in the interval which separates me today from an unforeseeable future that there are meanings and ends toward which to direct my acts. (1947/1948: 121)

The future is thus always an aspect of the lived present which also incorporates the past (in terms of individual and collective memories), as well as acts, bodily movements and performances (Crang 2001; Lagerkvist 2007, forthcoming). Social time is, as Jon May and Nigel Thrift argue, *made and lived simultaneously* (2001: 5). 'The future' is not only a dream of an other world – it is a project which is put to work in the living present through our conscious acts (de Beauvoir 1947/1948; Adam 2004a, 2004b, 2005). Seemingly looking into the future in a skyline, attributing science fiction qualities to a place, experiencing and enacting 'the future' in a cityscape saturated by department stores and screens, and assuming that media space possesses futurity etc. is the work of imagination and intentionality. But bestowing futurity to a place or phenomenon is also a social practice, which implies an *ethical and political choice*. As China enters into our daily lives through globalized commodities, and as the country fully achieves our attention during for example the Olympic Games, and when Shanghai will display its globality and modernity at the World Exposition of 2010, it is worth remembering one memory of the future in the city, which seems lost now, or at least kept off-limits: the futurity of the 1920s and 30s when diverse opinions were expressed, and when social movements were using the space of Shanghai as their refuge for envisioning a different future. The important question to raise in relation to the Chinese authoritarian market dictatorship is obviously: Is this the future that we want?

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Place as Brand: Lessons from Two Canadian Cities

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At the intersection of urban entrepreneurialism, communications technologies and transnational flows of capital and consumers lies the "place brand": the representation of the city through the logos, slogans and symbols of advertising and branding agencies. Cities are increasingly turning to branding as a means of creating and conveying their identity to a public at large, for the purposes of attracting tourism, trade and talent, as well as greasing the wheels of public diplomacy.

This paper offers a brief overview of some of the origins, methods and outcomes of initiatives by cities to create a "brand identity" through private/public sector partnerships. The interpenetration of government and private enterprise to create the image of a city is not new; what is new is the transformation of the role of business in the articulation of a city's identity. Through a case study of the cities of Montreal and Toronto, this paper investigates the relationship between what the proponents and practitioners of place branding say it does and what it actually does in a conceptual and practical sense.

Introduction

Of the many promises and prophesies advanced by the globalization movement, perhaps the one that has been most thoroughly debunked is the claim that place no longer matters in the global picture. Though it is undeniable that global flows of people, information, goods and services, and capital have led to transnational networks, virtual communities, and new coordinates of production and exchange, this has not reduced the need for national and local frameworks of citizenship and belonging (Taylor 1994; Harvey 2001; Holston and Appadurai 2003).

But if globalization in all its forms has not fundamentally affected our need for place, it is undeniable that it has impacted our understanding of place, and the way in which our identities are formed in relationship to it. The new political and economic realities of global knowledge and practice – what Soja calls the "fourth modernization of capitalism" (1989: 5) – fundamentally alter the ideology of place-based identity. Following Anderson's oft-cited observation that "communities are to be distinguished not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (1991) we are bound to consider which new forms of imagining globalization has wrought, and what they suggest for the formation of identity with regard to place.

In recent years one such form has seized the imagination of civic leaders, policy-makers and government representatives. This form is place branding, the creation and communication of a place's identity through the profit-based marketing techniques of private enterprise. This particular phenomenon – with its attendant congeries of self-styled place-branding consultants, quasi-academic journals and conferences, and media attention, both promotional and critical – signals a growing trend, one that has been adopted in countries with emerging market economies and with established capitalist economies alike. Place branding is a form of identification, differentiation, and recognition, a local discourse for a global audience.

But what happens to citizenship when places become brands? When Britain's Labour Party retreads its military hymn, "Rule Britannia," with a hip new image, "Cool Britannia"[1]? When policy centres and world summits hold round tables on branding and selling the Middle East,[2] Africa,[3] or Ontario[4]? When Germany is no longer seen as a federation of *Länder* but as "The Land of Ideas," its flag hanging not in front of Parliament but over the shapely figure of Claudia Schiffer?[5]

1 See, for example, Thomas Frank, "To the Dot-Com Station: Rebranding Britain with American Quackery," *Harpers Magazine*, May 2000: 76-81; and Peter Preston, "Selling Britain Abroad is Important, but We've Got to Buy It First," *Guardian*, 15 November 1999: 22.

2 "Red Carpet In, Red Tape Out: Rebranding the Middle East," World Economic Forum, Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt, 20-22 May 2006.

3 "Strengthening Branding and Changing Perceptions," World Economic Forum on Africa, Cape Town, 31 May – 2 June 2006.

4 Ontario Economic Leadership Summit, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, October 2005.

5 See the press release and related materials at <www.land-of-ideas.org>.

Figure 1. Germany's 2006 branding campaign, on display at Grand Central Station, New York, NY. Photograph courtesy of Darcy McFadyen.

This brief essay offers an overview of the phenomenon of place branding and the rationale that motivates its increasing popularity among government decision-makers and civic leaders as a key tool of urban, regional and national economic policy. It addresses the contradictions inherent in place branding through the category of "monopoly rent," a term borrowed from the language of political economy by geographer David Harvey to demonstrate its significance in cultural and social contexts, or in Harvey's words, to "generate rich interpretations of the many practical and personal dilemmas arising in the nexus between capitalist globalization, local political-economic developments and the evolution of cultural meanings and aesthetic values" (2001: 394-5).[6] To illustrate the contradictions, two case studies are presented, one about Montreal and one about Toronto, which illustrate the work of place branding in urban contexts.

These cases also offer a micro-portrait of some of the issues Canada faces with respect to national identity. What Charles Taylor refers to as the "unstable and constantly evolving amalgamation that we call Canada" (Taylor 1993: vii) is characterized by ongoing and unresolved tension over issues of identity and citizenship in the national discourse. This tension is a recurrent feature of policy debates that seek to establish a working definition of culture to incorporate divergent ideas and ideals of what it means to be Canadian. International relations scholar Jennifer Welsh calls Canada a "model citizen" for the rest of

6 In many ways monopoly rent resembles the idea of aura advanced by Walter Benjamin in his seminal essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." I have chosen to use the category of monopoly rent here because it strikes me as better suited to the particular features of geographic space and the economic determinism of those who control it in branding processes. Perhaps we can conceive of monopoly rent as a kind of geographically specific aura.

the world, with responsibilities, as a successful liberal democracy, to represent its distinctiveness on the global stage. “Even if we haven’t always been able to articulate who we are,” Welsh explains, “we have prided ourselves on being able to articulate what we believe in” (2004: 192). Yet this ongoing inability to articulate “who we are” underlines the contingency of Canadian identity.

These issues are hardly particular to Canadian cities, however; issues of integration and inclusion of diverse populations, questions of citizenship and belonging, and the increasingly prioritized belief that countries need to promote themselves on the world stage are common to all localities in an era of global awareness.

Place/Brand

Can a place be branded like a product? What happens when a community’s identity is forged not through shared traditions and rituals, kinship and ethnicity, language or geographic proximity, but through the profit-based marketing strategies of private enterprise?

“Cities have always been brands, in the truest sense of the word,” explains Simon Anholt (2005), prominent branding consultant and oft-quoted “guru” of the place branding movement. By this he means that for an external audience, at least, the character of a city is largely determined by “a handful of qualities or attributes, a promise, some kind of story” (Anholt 2005). This “story,” Anholt argues, plays a major role in public perception of the city, which in turn influences powerful external actors to make decisions – whether to visit, invest, or relocate to the city in question. Place branding is always, crucially, about competition for resources made scarce in a global context: tourism, trade, talent, or inward investment. Branding is thus a way to influence decision-making by massaging and orienting the “story” about a place to craft a narrative that will be compelling to the decision-makers. The purpose of the narrative is to present the locality in such a way as to set it apart from its competitors, highlighting its offerings as “unique,” “different,” “unparalleled” – a hyperbole familiar to us from tourism ads and travel brochures.

In Harvey’s terms, this is the work of “monopoly rent” (2001: chapter 18) – the modeling of difference, authenticity and uniqueness of a “tradable item” in the interest of acquiring surplus value and profit. Those who control this resource can extract “rent” from those desiring to use it for its “unique,” “authentic” and “non-replicable” qualities. The owner of a unique work of art, for example, can charge considerable amounts for the privilege of viewing it; or exact a high price when selling or trading it.

Monopoly rent can apply equally to a geographically defined space, not by directly trading it, of course, but by “trading upon” it through marketing practices (Harvey 2001: 395). This is the *raison d’être* of place-based branding, a process which constantly seeks methods to make a particular region appear more attractive than that of its neighbors. Each place brand boasts more luxurious hotels, better food, more innovative scientific research, greater tolerance among its people, whiter sand on its beaches, and so on.

But as Harvey points out, the category of monopoly rent contains two vital contradictions. First, although uniqueness and particularity are crucial to the rate of monopoly rent, the commodity cannot be so unique as to be outside the realm of tradability. In other words, in order to function as a commodity, the item – or place – must have a price, which presents its value as exchangeable rather than as truly authentic or unique. To maintain these terms of exchange, the number of categories in which to display uniqueness is restricted to accommodate the perceived desires of those wishing to visit or invest. As Harvey says, “the more easily marketable such items become, the less unique and special they appear” (2001: 396). But here we arrive at the second contradiction. At times, the modeling of difference, uniqueness and authenticity in the global marketplace can also serve to set a place apart in

progressive terms, imbuing its citizens with a sense of empowerment and the ability to resist the trader's calculus.

In their efforts to create a recognizable "brand," two Canadian cities prominently exemplify these contradictions – Toronto the first, and Montreal the second. Let us now turn to the case of Toronto, to illustrate the first contradiction at work.

Selling "Toronto Unlimited"

Toronto's attitude towards its residents can be characterized as one of "diversity management" (Goonewardena and Kipfer 2005) – an attempt to reconcile the city's vastly multicultural and multilingual population with ethnoculturally inclusive policies on everything from education to business loans to "employment equity" (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002). This is seen as necessary for Toronto, given that close to half of its population (approximately 1.2 million out of the city's 2.48 million) is foreign-born (Statistics Canada 2002), and over one third of Toronto residents speak a language other than English at home – over 100 languages and dialects are spoken in the city (City of Toronto 2006).

This "politics of recognition" (Taylor 1994) also extends, not surprisingly, to its communication strategies. In 2004 a joint initiative by institutional actors from both the private and public sectors was undertaken to develop a brand identity for the city. An investment of $4 million[7] ($2 million from Tourism Toronto; $1 million from the province of Ontario's Ministry of Tourism and Recreation; $500,000 from the federal government; and $500,000 from the City Summit Alliance, a public/private business-based leadership group) paid for thirteen months of marketing research, including 250 interviews "with key business and community leaders," 14 focus groups, and ongoing citizen input. The brand's visual identity was launched with much fanfare in June 2005:

Figure 2. The "Toronto Unlimited" logo.

To explain the use of "unlimited" as a branding strategy, a press release offered the following rationale:

> Our brand speaks to the unlimited opportunities, offerings and potential to be realized in Toronto. It also speaks to the creative and imaginative perspectives of Torontonians – we have been blessed with a community of varied and diverse backgrounds/heritage which contribute to a broad outlook as opposed to a narrow one. (Tourism Toronto 2005)

Almost immediately, the campaign was roundly criticized by local media. "Toronto Unlimited: Uninspired or Just Unimaginative?" read one headline. "New Campaign "Brands" Us as Suckers," said another. The general tenor of the commentary was that the branding initiative was a waste of taxpayers' money and an embarrassment to the city. Overall, it was felt that the campaign did little to improve public perception of city, either at home or abroad.

7 All figures are in Canadian dollars.

The criticism only increased when, a few weeks following the launch, it was discovered that Toronto was not alone in its attempt to market itself as a "community of varied and diverse backgrounds" with "unlimited opportunities": In July 2005 I was asked to write an article for the *Toronto Star*, a local newspaper, to address the adverse reactions to the city's new branding campaign When I interviewed the chief executive of a Canadian branding firm, he sent me the following image for inclusion in the article:

Figure 3. Brand identity for external promotion of the City of London (England).

In 2003, a public/private sector tourism promotion group backed by the Mayor of London and the London Development Agency, had launched London Unlimited, a brand identity for the City of London.

"London Unlimited's goal is to maximize international investment in London across all sectors including tourism, trade, inward investment, higher education, creative industries, culture and sport, as well as promoting London as a host city for major events," stated a press release from 11 November 2003. A quote by advertising executive and Team London chair Tamara Ingram reads: "London is a wonderfully diverse city and there is so much here for international businesses, tourists, students and investors…"

Of course, it is not surprising that London should also choose an all-inclusive approach to brand its identity, given the multicultural and multilingual character of its population. Whether this copycat gaffe is the product of ideological isomorphism or merely a regrettable lack of research on the part of the Toronto advertisers, the message is clear: the politics of recognition, the potential for a place and a people to form a culture, do not translate well into the shorthand of the brand.

Branding à la Montreal

> "This is where you come to indulge. To party. To shop. To eat. And most of all to celebrate life… à la Montreal." – Tourisme Montreal advertising brochure, 2004

Montreal's recent economic revitalization puts the city in good stead to regain the international recognition it enjoyed in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when Expo '67 and the 1976 Olympics put the city on the world stage. Employment growth has steadily risen since 1997, the number of welfare recipients is at a ten-year low, and the number of building and construction permits issued in 2005 rank among the highest of the last decade (Ville de Montreal 2005).

Positive economic signs notwithstanding, Montreal's status as a world city hinges more on its cultural capital than its economic clout. As sociologists Germain and Rose (2000) point out, if economic considerations were the prevailing criteria to achieve world city status, Montreal would be conspicuously absent from the list. With the island's population of just over one million (Statistics Canada 2002) and an economy that still relies heavily on manufacturing, its limited service and industrial offerings put it more on a par with mid-sized North American cities like Baltimore and Boston. It is not even ranked the most important Canadian city: Toronto has a higher population, larger tourist receipts, and a more diversified economy (Germain and Rose 2000).

Rather it is Montreal's symbolic capital that places it in the ranks of world cities along with New York, Rome, and other prominent locales. Its status is in large part linked to language: it is the third-largest French-speaking city in the world, after Paris and Kinshasa (Congo), and the only major French-speaking city in North America (Germain and Rose 2000). This feature grants the city uncontestable "uniqueness," and is heavily leveraged in its branding initiatives. The city is presented to visitors as "a European-style city in North America that offers a unique experience because of how passionately we celebrate life" (Tourisme Montreal 2002). Indeed, tourism has consistently been used as a strategy for urban revitalization in Montreal since the 1960s. The three levels of government in Canada (local, provincial and federal) have invested, by one estimate, nearly seven billion dollars in building Montreal's tourism infrastructure between 1967 and 2002 (Levine 2003).

The discourses employed at each level to justify Montreal's economic strength, however, are frequently at odds, as this "unique" positioning of Montreal and Quebec places it squarely in the middle of the longstanding debate that characterizes Canadian culture. On the one hand, Montreal's cultural distinctiveness is seen as part of the country's strength as a national player on global terrain. On the other, its promotion as a distinct cultural commodity raises concern that this might constitute a crucial step towards Quebec's on-again off-again goal of secession from Canada and establishment as a sovereign entity with the right to self-governance.

The tensions inherent in Montreal's positioning as a unique city in this regard were manifest in the production process of a recent tourism campaign in the province. In 1999 I worked as a copywriter at a Montreal advertising agency. One of our clients was a provincial government ministry responsible for the promotion of Quebec in both domestic and international markets. We were responsible for developing advertisements for the international market – at this time primarily the United States – through the media of print, radio, television, and the Web, as well as direct mail and newspaper inserts. Though our role was to execute the project from creative conception through to market, our mandate was accompanied by a number of restrictions. First, the ministry requested that we avoid the use of the word "Canada" in the ads. Second, photographs used in the brochures were carefully scrutinized to ensure that they portrayed a particular image:

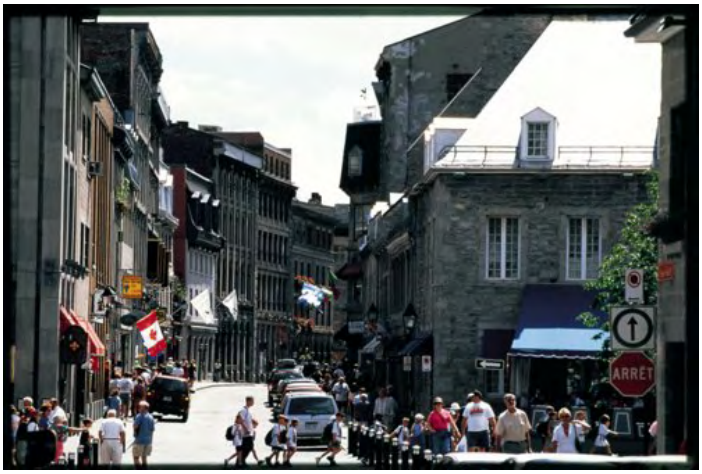

Figure 4. A prominent street in Old Montreal, a popular tourist spot in the city. The advertising agency was asked to modify this photograph before it could be used in the tourism advertising.

Figure 5. The photograph after modification. The Canadian flag has been replaced by the Quebec flag.

In effect, the image desired by the provincial government was of a Quebec that was "Canada-free" – that is, not reliant on the national interest. If Toronto's brand strategy was to offer diversity through a politics of inclusion, Montreal's brand of diversity was of a rather more exclusive sort. By presenting itself as unmoored from national tethers, the city could better highlight its distinctive ethnolinguistic offering.

Here we arrive at the second contradiction of monopoly rent. Though uniqueness is a marketable entity, used to attract scarce capital resources away from other putatively "unique" localities, it is also the basis for creative local cultural developments which can foster a strong sense of identity, citizenship and belonging. (Harvey 2001). This potential is what Harvey calls "spaces of hope," localities where "the progressive forces of culture appropriate those of capital rather than the other way round" (411):

> The problem for oppositional movements is to use the validation of particularity, uniqueness, authenticity, culture and aesthetic meanings in ways that open up new possibilities and alternatives rather than to allow them to be used to create a more fertile terrain from which monopoly rents can be extracted by those who have both the power and the compulsive inclination to do so. (Harvey 2001: 410)

In this regard, Montreal's "brand" can be considered a successful validation: the portrayal of the city accords with some of its citizens' political and cultural goals of distinctiveness. But not all citizens are represented in this image. Montreal's population, though less ethnically diverse than Toronto's (approximately one fifth of the population is foreign-born [Statistics Canada 2002]), is still home to multiple ethnic and visible minorities. Montreal's selling strategy, as a Europe in North America, operates to the detriment of the other cultures of the city.

Conclusions

As a socio-spatial determinant of identity, branding offers a shorthand for communication and recognition in an international context. What it does not provide is a realistic way to account for the ethnic and cultural diversity that characterizes the population of Canadian cities. If Toronto's city leadership can be criticized for its "all-in" brand of diversity, Montreal's brand suffers from the opposite but no less problematic issue of exclusionary

differentiation. In both cases, the potential for real diversity and an alternative politics is subsumed into a sanitized and commodified form, a "food-and-festivals" brand of aestheticized difference (Goonewardena and Kipfer 2005; Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002).

A city's identity is negotiated by branding agencies through a constant oscillation between two related, yet contradictory poles: the desire for uniqueness, and the desire for recognition. Though the status of a global city is predicated on its distinctiveness from other global cities, it must still conform to certain standards in order to be recognized as properly global. Branding applies the logic of best practices in business – efficiency, consistency, and coherence – to keep competition operating on a restricted scale. In so doing it symbolically flattens the social, cultural and physical topography that makes a place inherently unique, then reshapes it until it fits into preordained market categories. In the case of Canada, such aestheticized portraits appear especially deformed in light of the country's already existing progressive policies and successful accounts of tolerance, diversity and respect.

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Pop Music, Cultural Sensibilities and Places: Manchester 1976–1997

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This paper's claim is that popular music is able to implement places in powerful ways, forming new modalities to conceive and perceive them.

This is the result of a layering: popular music mediates places as textscapes, soundscapes and landscapes. Song lyrics referring to places make up a band's textscape. The use of local music tradition, vernacular or typical city noises constitute a band's soundscape. Finally, the landscape consists of all the visual elements (e.g. covers) referring to the same particular locality. Turning to the regeneration level, it seems important to note that music in itself is ethereal, but its production, circulation and fruition rely on material factors located in cities.

This kind of implementation on the representational and regeneration level could be analysed in Manchester. Since the late 1970s, the local popular music scene has adopted a particular 'cultural sensibility'. Bands such as The Smiths, The Fall, and Joy Division were able to root their poetics in the city, offering a chance to re-imagine it. In the same period, the independent music entrepreneur Tony Wilson developed The Haçienda FAC 51, which set the trend for the regeneration of a whole district.

This case represents a convincing example of a cultural innovation, which relies on redefining the symbolic value of the city's architectural and social past.

Popular music is nowadays more and more understood as a symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is here meant as based on products and practices, which are consumed for their emotional or intellectual contents (Scott 2001). This kind of capital has been often taken into account in describing the new and pervasive economic development of post-industrial cities. This phenomenon could be confirmed by analysing the way European cities use successful bands and music scenes in promotion and placing strategies. Their presence is traceable in tourist material, city reports in magazines and newspapers, in biddings (e.g. European Capital of Culture) and in regeneration or preservation projects (e. g. Cavern Club in Liverpool, the Battersea power station in London). Certain municipalities have also started adopting dedicated policies to boost local scenes and to increase their visibility (e.g. rehearsal spaces, training schemes and urban festivals).

These strategies are directly connected to the narratives of the 'creative city', as developed by Charles Landry (2000) and Richard Florida (2002) and adopted by big and small municipalities around the globe. These narratives usually advocate 'urban culture' as an instrument of place re-imagining and regeneration. In addition they are aware that, despite deindustrialisation, cultural industries remained in the city and could be nowhere else than there. Cities are understood as places of consumption and spectacle, where 'urban culture' becomes a tool to boost local economy.

Nonetheless, 'creative' policies towards popular music have often failed or have even been harmful. My claim is that these policies tend to neglect some basic aspects of popular music production, consumption and circulation:

1. popular music has always been deeply involved with places and cities in particular
2. the production of popular music is based on the interaction of individual 'cultural sensibilities' and the industry. This interaction could take different forms, for example it could originate out of conflict
3. circulation modifies the place images produced by popular music
4. popular music is able to reshape both the place image and built environment, without the municipality acting as a negotiator

On the level of production, I would like to refer to the concept of 'cultural sensibility', which is here defined as the subjective reaction to certain social or spatial circumstances with a cultural expression. This could be the expression of an individual subject and then adopted by a wider group or it could originate out of interaction within a scene and then spread to the masses. It is cultural sensibility that asserts a certain aesthetic or emotional value to a place. Peter Hall in his study on historical continuities in urban civilisation distinguishes 'cultural/intellectual', 'technological/productive' and 'technological/organizational' cities (Hall 1998 and Hall in: Verwijnen & Lehtovuori 1999). Within the 'technological/productive' typology, he identifies 'creative-innovative cities', referring specifically to the birth of cultural industries and mass culture in the US of the 1950s. On the other hand, in reference to 'cultural/intellectual' cities, the author affirms that (they) 'are not likely to be stable or comfortable places; but they must not have surrendered to total disorder either. Rather, almost invariably, they are places in which the established order is under prolonged challenge by the *new creative groups*, whether or not that challenge takes an explicitly political form' (Hall in: Verwijnen & Lehtovuori, 1999, italics by me). With this latter typology, Hall unfolds a very important aspect of urban creativity, i.e. the involvement of people. In fact, in the view of many scholars concerned with popular culture, people are not only passively consuming goods, as 'mass'; they are also creatively determining the production of culture (Chambers 1986 and Fiske 1989), including the aesthetic choices shaping certain images of the city, which is why I define them as 'cultural sensibilities'.

My thesis is that, today, European 'creative cities' could be analysed combining Hall's 'creative-innovative' city (with its stress on the mass production and the built environment) and the 'creative-cultural' (with its stress on the presence of new groups challenging the established order through the creation of new place-images).

Considering the circulation of places, we must state that products of popular music are not unique, they are reproduced in thousands, millions of copies; they are built upon transitority (Chambers 1986). Record buyers and gig-goers shape their image of particular cities according to the representations they enter in contact with as records or live gigs. Circulation amplifies the creative dimension of a place (the city is perceived merely as the place of a particular scene) and produces new meanings and images. Examples supporting this statement could be Seattle as the capital of grunge, New York and hip-hop, Nashville and country, New Orleans and traditional jazz, Chicago and urban blues, Detroit and the Motown sound.

Manchester between 1976 and 1997 could be considered a place where the cultural sensibility of a few became an instrument to re-imagine the city, its built landscape and its culture. This paper examines the work of new wave and post-punk bands such as Buzzcocks, Joy Division, The Smiths, The Fall and the following *madchester* scene, which spread out of the interaction between the local *indie* music bands and the US imported house music.

The time dimension is based on two events which symbolically started and ended the considered era. In 1976, the infamous London punk band The Sex Pistols played twice at the Lesser Free Trade Hall on 4th of June and on 20th of July. The first gig was attended by fewer than 40 people. The second, after just six weeks, was attended by many more and it was already evident that the audience was composed of the initiators of the developing music scene. This included two members of Buzzcocks (who organized the first gig), Morrissey, the future singer of The Smiths, members of Joy Division, the future NME journalist Rob Morley and the future Factory Records founder Tony. Wilson (Nolan 2006). The presence of such a notable contingent of listeners could be read as a confirmation of the existence of a creative milieu based on higher interaction, which is a basic element for understanding local creativity and innovation (Landry 2000). The individuals listed above, involved in various roles as members of the local popular music scene, were proud, independent, self-determining, aware of the cultural distance from London, and of their own industrial and working class heritage (Milestone 1996 and Haslam 1999). In 1997, The Haçienda FAC 51, a club owned by a local team, including Tony Wilson and New Order (the band which featured the three remaining members of Joy Division) closed, ending in a way the creative parable of this scene. That same year the national political context changed drastically, with the election of Tony Blair as Prime Minister. The people involved in the scene, shifted their interest on the national level (which turned local popular music scenes into the all-encompassing 'Brit pop'); in addition, the internationalization of their success, made them less committed to the local sphere.

Popular music is analysed here because of its ability to implement places in a credible authentic way, forming new modalities to conceive and perceive them. This is the result of layering: popular music products and practices mediate places as *textscapes*, *soundscapes* and *landscapes*. Lyrics and titles of songs referring to places make up a band's *textscape*. The use of local music tradition, local vernacular or typical city noises constitute a band's *soundscape*. Finally, the *landscape* consists of all the visual elements (covers, posters, clothes, photo shootings, videos, stage scenography…) referring to the same particular locality or to its previous representations. The mediation of places through three 'scapes' turns popular music into a powerful tool for re-imagining places and builds alternative images of cities, circulating around the world in millions of copies.

The Manchester scene made significant use of landscapes; nearly all of the considered bands, from Buzzcocks to Joy Division and The Smiths were pictured, especially at the beginning of their career outside, in open space, posing in front of factories. Chimneys,

cobblestone streets, red brick buildings have been part of the Manchester imagery since the descriptions of Friedrich Engels and the novels of Charles Dickens (Shields 1991 and Moretti 1998). These bands adopted the considered architectonical elements as symbolic 'authenticity seals' for their local belonging, confirming the narrative that makes everything 'popular', something 'for real'. In addition, two other considerations could be made. First, showing the empty and decaying temples of capitalism can be linked to the gloom expressed by these bands. They exemplify the emptiness of capitalist society and of industrialism, which can be best grasped as, when money stops running in, unemployment grows and whole districts are left in physical and social decay. Second, it could be read as an ironic overtone. In 1985 the Smiths posed in front of the Salford Lads Club (youth leisure club) for a shot by Stephen Wright, which appeared in the gatefold of the band's 'The Queen is Dead' LP (1986). The club was opened in the beginning of the 20th century, to keep the local Salford youth 'off the streets' and educate them to become 'good citizens', as usual for many other philanthropic initiatives of the time (Lindner 2004). The Smiths posing in front of the club, located at the end of the real 'Coronation Street' opens up a series of questions concerning identity, as the band was increasingly getting media attention for its overt subversion of working class values, while celebrating, at first sight, idleness, criminality and social indifference.

With textscape, I refer to the use of localities, toponymies, street names, monuments, districts, more or less recognizable as such. The references to the quite unmistakable built environment are variously present in songs by these bands. The Smiths refer to iron bridges, disused railway lines and cemetery gates. Additionally city's districts are more or less openly referred to, in particular the, at the time, most rundown and disfavoured, like Whalley Range, Cheetham Hill and Ancoats. The band Joy Division relies less on the direct nomination or representation of the built environment and concentrates much more on its subjective psychological effects. In their lyrics the built environment is evoked because of its monotony and desolation, structuring a sinister textscape, which only through circulation goes back to being identified by the listeners with Manchester.

The soundscape of Manchester is built upon the use of local music tradition, local sound and noises and the vernacular. With 'local music tradition' I refer to the influence of early North American Rock'n'Roll and Soul music (which in the UK is epitomized as *Northern* Soul), widely played in local fairs, workers' clubs and local pubs, the places of the working class. The use of certain sound effects (harmonica, synthetic drums) has often been associated with industrial noises (trains, alarms, heavy industry machineries). In addition, the Mancunian accent is easily recognized and sometimes accentuated by the bands' singers, both in performances and interviews.

Manchester as a place is present on all three levels of representation, which could be adopted in pop music. The city's local music scene was able to deconstruct previous media representation and was able to develop, through individual sensibilities, a different image of the city. Through circulation this image reached millions of people, who were able to make it their own, reshape it again and keep it viable.

Also from the point of view of regeneration, Manchester is a very interesting case study. In fact, as in many other cities around the world, the local independent pop scene developed a fascination for the dilapidated city centre, using run down factories as rehearsal rooms or gig venues. This fascination grew into entrepreneurialism, with The Haçienda FAC 51, a club founded in 1982 by a team of entrepreneurs including the TV journalist Tony Wilson, the members of New Order and their manager, Rob Gretton. The club was located in the Northern Quarter, on the corner between Albion Street and Whitworth Street West, in a former yacht exhibition hall. Thanks to this club the *madchester* scene developed, the first European scene of house music (electronic music based on the performance of DJ and not of a band), connected to the use of ecstasy (an illegal and potentially dangerous drug). An urban cluster

formed, as new clubs, record stores, small shops opened in the same area, while the club became famous all over the world. Unfortunately, at the same time criminality rose because of the drug market control.

The local municipality was not able to be effective in the area and in the scene for a complexity of reasons (speculation, not addressing popular music industries directly as a partner, confusion in dealing with licensing issues and nightlife control, see: Lovatt 1996; Quilley 2000; Brown, O'Connor et al. 2000). In addition, it discovered more fruitful partners (sport, with the Olympic and commonwealth games biddings; education with the Manchester University Agenda 2015). Additionally, the scene was for a long time very diffident of any possible external intervention from politicians.

Pop music offers powerful representations of places, which are able to affect the image of a city as a whole and its material design; working on the ethereal level and on the material level. Individual sensibilities and their networking are indispensable for the creativity and authenticity of a music scene. All these elements could lead us to confirm the role of popular music as symbolic capital. Nonetheless, municipalities could still find difficult to obtain a cultural and economical profit or a benefit for the whole citizens, as long as sensibilities, representation and circulation are not taken into account at a political level.

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Virtual Bodies, Imagined Landscapes: Marginal Corporealities and the Ethical Space

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This paper aims at highlighting some aspects of postmodern reflection about the formation and representation of identity in the urban scenery. Starting from some of the by now canonical issues raised by Jean Baudrillard, such as simulacra, symbolical exchange, iperreality, I mean to relate the dynamics of the "hyperreal" city, as realized by media and the information system, to the pivotal question of the construction and deconstruction of subjecthood, with particular reference to gender and sexual identity. Two different landscapes (the periphery of Nebraska, and the metropolitan reality of Bombay) will be analysed through the layered and decentered perspective provided by two movies (*Boys Don't Cry* and *A Mermaid Called Aida*) revolving around the interaction between the urban scenery and the construction of the marginal transsexual identity.

1

In this brief contribution I wish to speak of the construction of sexual identities in different – urban and non urban – contexts, moving from a critique of the work of the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard, and trying to confront his theories with two movies, which feature the lives of two transgender persons.

The movies I will be referring to have been released in the past years in the Us and in India. They are, respectively, *Boys Don't Cry* and *A Mermaid Called Aida*, and narrate the lives of two transgender persons in two 'difficult' places, Falls City in rural Nebraska and postcolonial Bombay/Mumbai. *Boys Don't Cry* reports the tragic case of Brandon Teena, who was, as Judith Halberstam states, "a young white person who had been born a woman, but who was living as a man" (Halberstam 2005, 23) and was killed by two close friends of the girl he was dating at that time. *A Mermaid Called Aida* is a documentary released by the Indian filmmaker Riyad Vinci Wadia in 1996, which deals with the history of the most famous Indian transsexual, Adi Banaji, who in the 'postcolonial' metropolis of Bombay/Mumbai succeeds in becoming a woman, the "fabulous glamorous Aida."

Let me start whith Baudrillard's theme of hyperreality, questioned in most of his work. According to Baudrillard, the world we inhabit is marked by the end of every original presence and positive meaning, and is reduced to its representation. The core of hyperreality lies in the assumption that representation precedes reality, and informs it, providing it with its significance and epistemic frame. When Baudrillard theorizes the notions of simulation and dissimulation, he indirectly underlines that the problem of the real and the question of the origins is an old one, which implies that the task of finding a primitive and original reality is not only impossible, but, nowadays, completely outdated.

These movies are powerful enough to radically question the complex system of hyperreality theorized by Baudrillard, because of their strong ethical stance – their power to address an ethical interpellation, which reconfigures any theoretical construction about media, simulation, and metropolitan reality. To some extent, by configuring spatiality and marginality through the position and the visual frame of "anomalous" bodies and sexualities, they mark the emergence of ethics as an alternative space, a dimension capable of preceding and exceeding both the structures of subjecthood and the limits of urban and/or non urban space. My aim is to trace the hypothetic trajectory of a transitional space, which marks the shifting of the body spatiality and configuration from the cultural constructions of postmodernity – hyperreality and the theories that could be related to it – to a new 'ethical' stance from which reality can be read and filtered. The ethical space amounts to a geography of recognition, a dimension marked by the encounter of the bodies and the political gesture of a mutual response, which breaks away from the omnivorous spatiality of postmodernity and its tendency to absorb and simultaneously reconstruct individual and bodily identities, and is grounded on the 'open space' produced by the encounter.

2

When Baudrillard theorizes transsexualism, in his book *The Transparency of Evil*, he states that "We are all transsexual" (1990, 20) – which amounts to saying that transsexualism is the actual condition of postmodern sexuality, a sexuality that goes beyond its natural and original implications (reproduction and/or pleasure), and hinges on the power of mutation, of biological transformation, of artifice. Transsexualism, according to Baudrillard, represents the historical moment that follows sexual liberation, and at the same time its paradoxical but inevitable nemesis. The theory of simulacra, once referred and applied to sexuality, leads us to consider derivative and artificial sex, whether symbolically produced by the mediatic imagination or in the operating theater, as the model that precedes what once was the original,

the ‘natural’ sexuality, the organic harmony of bodies and sexes. In his famous essay about simulacra, Baudrillard writes:

> When the real is no longer what it was, nostalgia assumes its full meaning. There is a plethora of myths of origin and of signs of reality -- a plethora of truth, of secondary objectivity, and authenticity. Escalation of the true, of lived experience, resurrection of the figurative where the object and substance have disappeared. Panic-stricken production of the real and of the referential, parallel to and greater than the panic of material production: this is how simulation appears in the phase that concerns us -- a strategy of the real, of the neoreal and the hyperreal that everywhere is the double of a strategy of deterrence. (Baudrillard 1981, 6-7)

The transgender body is a body deprived of any intimate relation to an alleged notion of nature and origin – it can stand for a prosthetic body, a body whose truthfulness is produced by the technological process from which it springs, and that marks a clear and blatant divide from any received idea of nature as something given once for all, and not subjected to interventions or transformations of any kind.

Theories about post-human body prove to be crucial to this kind of theme. Suffice it to think of what has been theorized about the cyborg corporeality and its power of disrupting the organic structure of the body as conceived by the humanistic tradition. Cyborg, in the work of Donna Haraway, is not only the prosthetic body, produced by the encounter of natural organicity and technological devices, but a rhetorical device capable of questioning the unity of the discourse about the monological linearity of the humanistic subjects and its metaphysical and moral counterparts.

According to the thought of Baudrillard, we could think of the transgender body as a simulacrum, in the sense that Baudrillard gives to this word, to the extent that it escapes the limits provided by a ‘natural’ order of things.

As Baudrillard argues, the emergence of simulacra marks the end of nature and originality as we used to know them, and the search for foundational origins gives way to the unceasing play between simulacra – that is, between the copy *and* the copy, in a movement that finally dismantles the primacy of any ontological, metaphysical or the like, system, unveiling its insurgent (and historically marked) loss of foundational nature. And also the human body, once it has lost its edenic and original dimension, comes to be denaturalised and made equivalent to a sign – a simple element in a net of signifiers, deprived of any external reference, and simply doomed to be caught in a process of unending exchange with the other signs belonging to the same system. (Baudrillard 1976, 50-86). In her by now classical manifesto, Donna Haraway reminds us that

> A cyborg is a creature in a post-gender world; it has no truck with bisexuality, pre-oedipal symbiosis, unalienated labour, or other seductions to organic wholeness through a final appropriation of all the powers of the parts into a higher unity … It is oppositional, utopian, and completely without innocence. (Haraway 1985, 150-1)

– perhaps the innocence that belongs to ‘pure’ creatures, a sort of ‘paradise lost’ which is by now impossible to recover and to enter again.

In her essay about contra-sexuality, the Spanish philosopher Beatriz Preciado lists some practices and instances defined as ‘contra-sexual’, among which the transsexual body is included along with a heterogeneous number of ‘items’ belonging to ostensibly different (bodily and semantic) fields: drugs, sadomasochism, virtual sex, people affected by AIDS, and so on. (Preciado 2000) On the other hand, Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000) argues that the attribution of sex to a baby is not automatic and immediate but sometimes implies a number of scientific and medical practices, so as to demonstrate that the attribution of sex is a

voluntary and conscious practice and not a totally natural one. This theory is not so different from the operation that Judith Butler describes as 'girling the girl', that is to say, attributing a sexual identity by pronouncing the illocutory statement "It's a girl" or "It's a boy", which relies upon a pre-given authority by which it is, in turn, empowered. (Butler 2003).

So far with sexuality. Let's see what happens when the problems of sexuality are connected with the urban landscape. When Baudrillard deals with the city and the urban space, he emphasizes the central role played only by the metropolitan reality in our political and epistemic frame, inasmuch as it comes to be the symbolical locus which, simultaneously, enacts and epitomizes the process of signs exchange and of the subsumption of the real under the process of code trading, which is crucial to understand our postmodern condition, characterized as it is by an incessant flux of codes and signs and by parallel, necessary processes of coding production and recombination.

Elizabeth Grosz, too, dealt with this problem. She hypothesizes, in a 1995 book, a posthuman and postmodern system capable of integrating bodies and cities in a mutual exchange, a model of interface:

> What I am suggesting is a model of the relations between bodies and cities that sees them, not as megalithic total entities, but as assemblages or collections of parts, capable of crossing the thresholds between substances to form linkages, machines, provisional and often temporary sub- or micro-groupings. This model is practical, based on the productivity of bodies and cities in defining and establishing each other. (108)

However, this suggestive idea, clearly indebted to the thought of Gilles Deleuze, fails to account for extra-ordinary circumstances, which, I think, are powerful enough to cause this aseptic theoretical frame to vacillate: what kind of body is implied in such a scenario? What kind of city? What happens if the body is, so to speak, a "different" body, and what happens if the city is a peripheral or a rural one, or a Third World and postcolonial city? What is the role played by the systems of information and communication that link bodies and cities together? The pure idea of a machinic assemblage of bodies and territories, thus, needs to face the specific requirements of historically and socially marked bodies and territories.

The peripheral and postcolonial realities of Falls City and Mumbai could stand for two sites 'outside' the central space of production and circulation of modern and sanitized sexual identities – western metropolitan scenery informs and defines sexual models and norms, a paradigm that has been defined as 'metrosexuality'. On the other hand, in an essay devoted to the sexualiztion of suburbia, John Hartley writes:

> Contemporary suburbia is the physical location of a newly privatized, feminized, suburban, cunsumerized public sphere. But suburbia is itself a diffused and dislocated phenomenon. … I would argue that the major contemporary political issues, including environmental, ethnic, sexual and youth movements, were all generated *outside* the classic public sphere, but that they were (and are) informed, shaped, developed and contested within the privatized public sphere of suburban media consumerism. (Hartley 182).

Theories about suburban and peripheral spaces are entangled with issues of identity and the construction of the marginal subjecthood. The cinematic perspective renders this connections more complicated, insofar as it creates a scopic field which questions the position of the spectator/observer and its semiotic and political role in the rendering of the bodies and places portrayed. This open (visual) field could be conceived as the first step towards the geography of the ethical encounter I was referring to before, just because it configures a different frame of spatiality, in which the observer and the observed are encompassed in the same epistemic and visual frame, and caught in a play of mutual recognition.

The act of speaking from the margins of the margins (from a marginal sexual identity in a third-world country or in a peripheral context), from the extreme location of marginality, finally amounts to the complete erasure of the very notion of 'origin': no organic body from which the "newly born woman" can derive her identity, no repressed content upon which she can ground her foundation as an individual, no authentically national (in this case, American/Indian) origins to which she can symbolically attribute her cultural- (and also gender-) specific legacy.

We could argue that the movies lie in order to establish truth – as the transgender bodies whose stories are narrated replicate nature in order to establish *their own* nature – and, on a further layer, as the peripheral scenery (which is the background chosen for these stories) needs to be represented according to the traditional stereotypes ascribed to the margins of the geography of modernity, in order to predicate the fracture of the dyad center/periphery in the wake of global communication. So, three orders of simulation would be needed in order to establish a temporary and precarious paradigm of reality, capable of subsuming the questions of replication of the nature, otherwise quite uneasy to handle. According to Gayatri Ch. Spivak, the female subaltern was not able to speak; on the contrary, in the (alleged) new order of hyperreality, the body of the new (former?) subaltern is, literally, "made to speak" – but it can only speak with the forked tongue provided by the contradictory dynamics of the new global space, tracing its simultaneous belonging to a marginal location and to a global and globalized apparatus of representation and configuration of roles and identities (or rather, roles *as* identities).

At the beginning of my work, I was thinking of outlining the way through which the imagined bodies produced by the politics of gender construction encounter parallel mechanisms of identity construction provided by peripheral landscapes. Both Falls City and Mumbai represent two peripheral realities, at least from the point of view of a queer person, external to the landmarks of modernity and progress, ruled by conservative political forces and, to such extent, 'orientalized' by the global gaze of postmodern metrosexuality, which tend to represent them as different but at the same time similar lands of archaic and anti-modern traditions and styles of life.

3

But the reasons of my critique lie in what I have defined above as the ethical stance implied in the movies. There is a "political grammar" of cinema that constructs the actual bodies of Brandon and Aida.

These bodies mark the places they inhabit, define a new sense of belonging to their spaces, and, at the same time, redefine the traditional paradigms through which two cities so distant and different are usually shaped. The body and the city interact in a mutual exchange – and the fact that this exchange occurs on the symbolical and fictive plane provided by the cinematic eye reinforces the idea that places are continually reshaped and re-framed by both the bodies that inhabit them, and the filter through which they are observed.

So, my perspective upon these two different and parallel stories is to some extent puzzled. Where does the order of simulacra end, and where does the order of reality begin? And above all, does an order of simulacra, as such, actually exist?

What I want to suggest, and what accounts for my critique, is the emergence of what has been defined as the 'naked life' (Agamben 1995), the 'precariousness' of existence (Butler 2004a), definitely the utmost experience of the burden of the body, its irreducible materiality, and the subsequent 'interpellation' addressed by the 'body of the Other' that, in this case, comes to be the body *as* the Other. Butler writes, drawing on Emmanuel Levinas, "To respond to the face, to understand its meaning, means to be awake to what is precarious in another life or, rather, the precariousness of life itself." (Butler 2004a, 134) The two movies,

and their contradictory relation with the necessity of telling 'the truth', bring the presence of the 'naked life' and its strong ethical and geopolitical weight into my discussion about the power of representation and the order of simulacra.

At stake there is an ethical stance that cannot be subsumed nor reduced to the order of reproductive or mediatic representation, an ethical stance that goes beyond the theoretical assumptions of hyperreality and that constitutes, according to Butler (and Levinas) an 'interpellation', a claim of ethical responsibility towards the Other and for the Other. That sense of precariousness and of naked life is the powerful limit opposed to the order of simulacra theorized by Baudrillard, and applied by Baudrillard to the epistemic meaning of the transgender body.

According to this new perspective, the political role of the transgender body as it is portrayed by the movies I am referring to is interpellated to epitomize the sense of vulnerability and precariousness instanced by the 'open structures' of transgenderism itself. Far from being the symbol of a new technological or cybernetic order, it embodies the possibility of subjecthood and individual position to be continually and eternally rewritten and reconfigured. Identity construction comes to be not any longer the enclosed space occupied by an as much defined 'bodily' (i. e. phenomenological) identity, but the unstable and shifting self-positioning of a body continually reshaped by the space it inhabits – and, at the same time, continually reshaping it.

At the end of an essay devoted to the case of David, an intersexual person, Judith Butler states:

> David does not precisely occupy a new world, since he is still, even within the syntax which brings about his "I", still positioned somewhere between the norm and its failure. And he is, finally, neither one; he is the human in its anonymity, as that which we do not yet know how to name or that which sets a limit on all naming. And in that sense, he is the anonymous – and critical – condition of the human as it speaks itself at the limits of what we think we know" (Butler 2004b, 74).

The notion of the anonymity of the human runs parallel to the idea of anonymous landscapes, territories that cannot be enclosed in the present geography of power and, for that reason, are marginal and peripheral. The anonymity of the human, moreover, speaks at the interstices of our systems of knowledge, and can emerge as a voice that is continually silenced, repressed, and obliterated by the universal norms of the sanctioned and sanitized sexual identity.

The movies I have chosen are paradigmatic just because they offer a decentered perspective, moving from the margins of the modern world, from two peripheral places that stand, symbolically, for the "simulacra" of the former, XIX century, empire, and a marginal location inside the global and neocolonial empire. The power of marginality succeeds in reconfiguring our direction of knowledge, and our sense of belonging to the global world. The epistemic twist that follows the striking violence of replication and simulacra is molded on this new geography of uncertainty. Cities and places acquire a temporary and provisional – maybe a precarious – centrality, which strictly depends on the emerging precarious bodies that inhabit them, and on the gaze cast upon them by an as much decentered and dislocated anonymous observer.

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Doing Cities by the Book: Literary Walking-Tours and Cosmopolitan Identities

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The past decades saw the rise of the literary walk throughout Europe. Like all walking-tours 'in the footsteps of', the literary walk is part of the so-called 'theming' of historical sites, mediating urban experience in terms of the 'experience economy' (Pine & Gilmore) and standing in uneasy relation to 'city branding' as the deliberate manipulation of the city's image for commercial exploitation. Reconstituting a literary experience in space through the 'rewriting' of literary texts as urban texts, they mediate people's approaches to the literary past as they speak of (and to) a desire for an embodied experience that is locked in the 'fast time' of economic globalization, at once resisting it and inextricably part of it.

Focusing on the literary walking tour as a performance of the city that is exemplary of the ways in which literature constitutes an 'imagined city' that is, in its turn, projected onto the built environment, this paper explores the literary walk as a particular form of cultural mediation that needs to be considered in the context of the transformed cultural, economic and political cityscapes of Europe.

The past decades saw the rise of the literary walk throughout Europe. Today, indeed, there is hardly a city or town that does not have a walk 'in the footsteps of' some famous author, and from Dublin to London and Paris, visitors are invited to retrace the trajectories of their favorite authors and characters. There is, of course, nothing really new about pilgrimages to the sites of famous writers or visits to the locations of popular novels; ever since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, travelers have gone to places on account of their being described in literary works. Yet the mediated images that attract visitors to cities and shape their experiences of them are increasingly derived from the books they have read (and the films they have seen). Constituting an 'imagined city' that is, in its turn, projected onto the urban environment, these images are part of a collective imaginary that is thus re-enacted, replayed and re-presented. The literary walking-tour belongs to what the French historian Pierre Nora (1996) has termed the 'era of commemoration'. As part of the current 'memory boom' (Huyssen, 2000), it is one of the ways in which the culture of memory that has swept over Europe (and the United States) since the late 1970s manifests itself today.

In the European cities that are increasingly construed as historical theme-parks, walking is inevitable, the necessary correlative of pedestrian city-centers that can only be visited on foot (Plate, 2006). Walking-tours are an integral part of the 'City of Spectacle' (Boyer, 1994) and a logical extension of the so-called 'theming' of historical sites. But the walking-tour is not only a technique of tourism; it is equally to be understood as a response to city-life as dominated by the disembodiment of labor and the weightlessness of capital, both of which have profoundly affected our relationship to space and time (Bauman, 2000). As I wish therefore to argue, literary walking-tours enjoy a heightened popularity because they proffer citizens with an embodied and situated urban identity. Mediating people's experience of the city by referencing the literary past, city-walks speak of (and to) a desire for an embodied experience that is locked into the 'fast time' of economic globalization, at once resisting it and inextricably part of it.

Literary walking-tours characteristically take us through space as if through the pages of a book. Guiding the visitor to the exact spot, walks 'in the footsteps of' literary writers and/or their characters bring the body of the tourist to particular places in the promise that to be there and to look upon the sights will make the past present again. On location, the past is re-enacted as place becomes the medium wherein the past is made present as an experience, lived, tangible and seemingly available to consciousness and sensory perception. This 'presentification of past worlds', as the German philologist Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht puts it in Production of Presence — 'that is, techniques that produce the impression (or, rather, the illusion) that worlds of the past can become tangible again' (2004: 94) — can be seen as a response to a fundamental desire for immediacy and lived experience in contemporary culture. In Gumbrecht's analysis, such a longing for what he terms 'presence-effects' arises in response to a culture that 'gives a higher value to the meaning of phenomena than to their material presence' (Gumbrecht, 2004: xiv). As he argues, we live in a culture that conceives of knowledge as conceptual and the product of interpretation and that consequently bracketed off other, presence-based forms of knowledge: lived and embodied experience, revelation.

Walking-tours, and especially literary walking-tours, I would argue, articulate such a desire for presence. Walking is an embodied activity. It engages the body in what has been termed 'rituals of slow time' (Franklin, 2003: 13). As a leisure activity that is deliberately undertaken, it can reactivate 'a feeling or a remembrance of the physical dimension in our lives' (Gumbrecht, 2004: 118). Producing a literary experience spatially, literary walks constitute a kind of productive reception wherein the literary text is rewritten as an urban one that is also a physical, sensual, emotional and/or aesthetic experience. This reconstitution of a literary experience in space produces less an interpretation than the 'presentification' of it: an opening and exposing of both the body and the mind to the 'imposed upon relevance'

(auferlegte Relevantz) of what the English novelist Virginia Woolf used to call 'moments of being', but which Gumbrecht prefers to term 'moments of intensity' (Gumbrecht, 2004: 100ff.) Seen in this light, the transformation of reading into walking is part of a larger movement within culture that attempts to 'recuperate the spatial and bodily dimension of our existence' (Gumbrecht, 2004: 116). It is a way of turning words into experiences whose seat is the body and the senses (rather than the mind). An experiential and multi-sensory form of knowledge, then, the literary walk is not only a quest for the material basis of fiction. Rather, I would argue, it allows us 'to be in our bodies and in the world' (Solnit, 2002: 5) while bridging the gap between the fictional worlds with which we are familiar and the real world from which we feel increasingly estranged.

Indeed, as a theme for walking-tours, literature can provide a means for feeling 'at home' in the city. The literary scholar Ann Rigney has argued that literary works have a distinctive role to play in the formation of cultural memory precisely because they are capable of 'arousing interest in histories which are not our own, in the history of groups with which one has hitherto not identified' (2004: 389). Literary texts, she maintains, need to be seen 'not just as channels for perpetuating certain memorial traditions but also as the source of new traditions and the means for broadening the horizons of what one considers one's own heritage' (2004: 389). Yet, if literary texts can anchor the self in time through the inheritance of histories from the past, can they not equally ground these memories within space? As many have pointed out, literature—like film and photography—produces imaginary spaces and imagined places which then mediate our perception and experience of the material world (Donald 1999; Alter 2005). Novels (and pictures, and films) do not merely represent place; they actively constitute it. And as they produce it for specific audiences, they instruct these audiences not only in ways of seeing, but also in ways of being in it.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the walking-tour is its construction of what John Urry has termed 'the tourist gaze' (1990; rev. 2002). Telling us where to go, what to see and how to look, walking-tours theme the urban landscape, organize the gaze, objectify sights into signs and reify them into marketable icons (Urry, 2002). Walking-tours systematize the tourist gaze, selecting not only the places to be looked upon, but also the terms in which the gaze is framed. As Urry puts it: 'Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy… Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records and videos, which construct and reinforce that gaze' (Urry, 2002: 3). Urry's exclusive focus on sight to the detriment of the other senses has recently been criticized for its disembodied perspective and for ignoring important bodily aspects of tourism (Franklin, 2003: 9; but see Urry, 1999). Not only is it so that at the turn of the twentieth century, 'despite the new virtual world (and perhaps also because of it), a new tourism of the body was emerging' (Franklin, 2003: 9), but the construction of tourism as a semiotic practice involving primarily vision, cognition, and visual technologies such as the camera sidelined important aspects of the body. Indeed, more than just a gaze it is bodies that are constructed in tourism. Thus the literary walking-tour choreographs bodies according to the rhythm of its narrative; it maps the tourist body's spatial trajectory and paces its step; and it construes the distances (or closeness) at which bodies are to stand from one another, to gaze upon a particular sight or to take a picture of it. Clearly, tourism is one of the urban practices through which, in the words of Elizabeth Grosz, 'corporeality is socially, sexually, and discursively produced' (Grosz, 1992: 243).

Attending to the tourist's body makes clear that the current marketing trend to stage experiences taps into the same desire for presence-effects Gumbrecht longs for. As a way of understanding, of seeing and of being in urban space that retrieves certain physical dimensions in our lives, literary city-walks come to stand in uneasy relation to the so-called 'experience economy': an economy that is based not so much on goods and services, as on

experiences that are to leave a memory. As Pine & Gilmore, the authors of The Experience Economy, point out, a well-defined, captivating and compelling theme is crucial to this process. It is the theme which provides consumers with something around which to organize their impressions, and it is the theme which enables the experience to yield a lasting memory (1999; 46).

Aimed at producing a 'memorable' experience of the city, the literary walking-tour is a theming of urban space that seemingly offers a comforting feeling of belonging and the reassurance of a sense of identity. Walking in the footsteps of a favorite author or character, we feel as it were 'on familiar ground'. Yet the fact that today, there is hardly a city or town that does not have a multiplicity of such walks should remind us that these re-enactments of the past are invented cultural traditions which, in the context of Europe, are inextricably bound up with Europe as an economic project. Feeding off the desire for lived experience, they make the past seem present and the strange appear familiar. Yet serving to make people feel at home in the city and the world, they also produce space as commodity, creating personal memories of the city that are intertwined with a variety of political and commercial interests.

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The cultural identity of homo videns in mediated city spaces

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Contemporary societies are organized under the rules of "mediated" civilization. Steadily we have passed from homo-sapiens who premised rational thinking as his basic principle to "homo – videns" who privileged the sense of vision against the procedure of logical estimation. Media gaining a dominant position in everyday life have managed to accustom interpersonal relationships, social structure and cultural identities to a mediated context where the sense of direct communication and exchange of ideas is almost a lost case. The problem of true communication, of real human relationships is even exaggerated in big cities where people tend to construct their identities and consequently their behavior, according to stereotypes presented in media. Since the notion of time, effectiveness, and speed are extremely important for "visual" citizens the lack of interpersonal communication leads inevitably to an isolated, "self-made" identity that each one of us constructs for himself, letting alone any common cultural experience. "Homo videns" in modern cities is a media product and his only true and common shared identity is this of "common visuality". As Hans Georg Gadamer has warned us: "From 'readers' we have become spectators of the world".

Introduction

The initial stimulus for this paper was the innovative work of G. Sartori (1998) who introduced the term of "homo videns" as the inheritor of "homo sapiens". G. Sartori describes with negative- black colors the evolution from the civilization of thought to the civilization of picture, of moving images. The argument of the famous political scientist lies on the supposition that the postmodern "course" to visuality wasn't an external or a technical one referring only to advanced communication networks but it was followed inevitably by changes to the whole "human" condition affecting both the person itself as an individual and the "social persona" as well.

Relevant and extended theoretical argumentation is provided to the above thesis by the literature about the so called "post-human" condition (see Hayles 1999, Fukuyama 2002, Pepperell 2003) which is trying to explain the metamorphosis of contemporary humans to the condition of "post-human", where several "traditional" human characteristics and idioms were transformed or disappeared due to the impact of technology. The post human condition functions as the denotation term for homo videns and explains vividly- while negatively - the width and significance of consequences included.

In this "framework" of visuality where virtual reality has displaced reality itself, construction of identities is nevertheless, a procedure which merely concludes and "obeys" to the above situation. We are talking about "self- made" identities that isolate people from each other, disconnecting their social relations and leading them to their visual-self who has less and less references to the real world.

Moreover modern cities' culture is well-grounded in the theory of mass communication or non-communication promoted by the sites of mass media. Citizens are TV viewers, are consumers of the widespread mass culture. Citizenship has shifted to "audience-ship" and therefore to spectatorship. Urban space turns to be the "remains" of media space, or in other words, the space left from media to people to cogitate about themselves; but is there such a space really?

The paper explores the interrelations and chain reactions between mediatized civilization, cultural identities of citizens and the new meaning of city space drawing inferences from the theoretical discussion on the specific issues. What we will try to highlight is the close interconnection between media representations on one side and the construction of contemporary urban identities and the new perception of city space, on the other side.

Do contemporary cities have the same "face", the same visage? Do they correspond to their traditional role as urban places that define, delimit and modify at the same time places, cultures, identities or they are in a dissolution procedure under the logic of globalized mediated space which dictates that no real boundaries and borderlines can abide or remain intact from media world commands.

Theoretical considerations

a) Homo videns

Is homo videns a new type of human being or is it just the product of mediatized and electronic- driven culture? Has our perception of world and our physical environment changed utterly because of media representations? Any possible answer should take into consideration the impact of media in the ways we see, we understand, and we face our living environment ever since media and especially TV have captivated a great percentage of our everyday living experience and knowledge.

The question is even more interesting if we add the prospective of "return", of possible "rectification". Can we become more human again regaining some of our old features or there is no way back? It seems that the route of technology does not leave big margins for such a

thought. It is clear that any improvement in the "videns" situation can only happen in the present realm of mediated world if we deliberately follow different paths of living and choose ways of expressing ourselves in a more "natural" way.

On the other hand the influences of media are tremendous. Homo videns is conquered by the power of the spectacle as a new way of forming human relationships.

> The spectacle cannot be understood as an abuse of the world of vision, as a product of the techniques of mass dissemination of images. It is, rather, a Weltanschauung which has become actual, materially translated. It is a world vision which has become objectified. (Debord 1995: 4)

The moving images cross the mind of homo- videns as a parade of symbols and it is not just another additional visual experience; it has substituted real experience. The more he is captivated of the illustrated spectacle life the more he stays aloof in front of his real life. But "To see doesn't mean that you understand also" says Sartori (1998) meaning that vision cannot replace thinking, what's more critical thinking. "Literal" vision is not the same with the "figurative" one, which is accompanied with mental elaboration of the message (Thompson, G. 1997: 295). The first is just the sense of vision the second depends on cultural variables; variables that in the second media age are defined very much from media.

Therefore, visuality is the core value of tele-society. Along with visuality comes "visibility" that is extremely important for media communications and for the new content of "public". F. Ortega explains:

> Everything that the media make visible becomes public, whatever the subject, personage, or event dealt with. The objective is not, therefore, to reproduce shared areas of life. But from the moment that the spotlight of the media is projected on something, this something becomes a component of the common property. (2002: 214)

If our society and culture is "teledirected" as Sartori describes it then it does not seem necessary that people living in this society have to be totally teledirected as well. Perhaps culture is the main force which guides people's behavior; a conscious thought, though can change behavior and consequently change culture as well or at least the results of its impact. But if we come to uphold Habermas option that "the paradigm of the philosophy of consciousness is exhausted" (quoted in Poster 1995: 44) then the limits of reaction are narrowed dangerously.

On the other hand, culture has also the feature of stability. Once it is established and accepted it hardly changes. Following the stream which provides easy solutions for communication using a PC or any other electronic device, homo videns is constantly isolating himself from the social environment where he lives because the range of information he needs can be easily achieved by watching TV and the need for interpersonal communication or any other form of two dimensional communication has fallen into a nugatory idea. The knowledge most people have for events derives from the reception of mass-mediated symbolic forms that are diffused by media. The deployment of technical media plays a crucial role in the ways people act and interact with one other and the dominant form of mass communication does not provide ways of interaction. (Thompson 1990: 225). The result is "privatization" as F. Ortega says which "means a greater reclusion of the individual in his isolation; a vindication of greater individual liberty; an exaltation of the family and its morals" (2004: 214).

Personal relations require effort, trust, direct communication and direct consequences and opposed to "media nature" relations where abstraction and anonymity prevails are hardly to be obtained. If we include the factor of speedy life that is a common characteristic in life in cities we can understand why people seem to feel more relaxed in communicating with the

"anonymous other" on PC. This is how the "private-public sphere" (Ortega, 2004: 217) is constructed converting the sense of common shared publicity to an individualistic perspective convenient enough for contemporary alienated people.

Homo videns portrays the turn of human beings from their orientation to community towards to an orientation of strict individualism. N. Postman (1986) envisages in his book the collateral effects of television which has taken the role of ideological agent operating as a given subconscious for the people affecting their relationships, their way of thinking, their total perception of the world. TV civilization has replaced steadily words with visual signs, thinking by watching, and human relations with coded messages. At the end it has intruded in human brain altering basic functions of human behavior. Sartori defends the thesis that,

> television is not only a mean of communication; it is also seen as a source of all knowledge and is an 'anthropogenetic' instrument, a medium which, displacing communication from the context to the world of image, gives birth to a new 'anthropos' ..., a 'moloid' who does not read and exhibits an 'alarming mental lethargy' (quoted in Filho, 2004: 302).

In the age of "simulacra" as Baudrillard (1994) describes it, even identities are a fake imitation, a fake representation of what is supposed to be a real culture. In this age truth and fiction are very close; in fact they are overlapping each other. In the end "The simulacrum is true" (Baudrillard 1994: 1).

b) Constructing visual identities

Homo sapiens was the authentic evolution of human nature while homo videns is described and perceived as the divergent course of contemporary human condition. This difference in the origins changes dramatically the symptoms of this new-identity which is formed very early in childhood, since children have access and therefore familiarity with technology from a very young age. G. Sartori warns us that "televisual children" are

> deformed by the electronic nanny even before they learn to read or write, likely to become individuals who are increasingly lost, distracted, directionless, anomic, bored, in need of psychoanalysis, depressive and, in short suffering from a profound sense of emptiness. (quoted in Filho, 2004: 302).

Construction of identities is primary a matter of ideology adopted consciously or not while it is embedded within a social context. Constant repetition of acts, behavior and cultural patterns works in the direction of an ideological socialization, which regarding the present audio-visual age, is very much specific and limited of the possible directions that could be followed. Anyway, nowadays socialization is measured by the exposure to media and in this sense "whoever in underexposed to the media is dissocialized or virtually asocial". (Baudrillard 1994: 80). Maybe the "telly-led society" that Sartori is referring to is another term of one-dimensional society and, in the end, of one dimensional man as Marcuse (1964/1971) analyzed very early, in the decade of the 60s.

Watching television is not just another habit; it assembles a "private" cultural event, a form of hypnosis and a subconscious invasion of signs and messages that invade undisturbed to our understanding of this world. While TV invades into the private space of people, the concept of privacy collapses and in the place where mental concentration should be, TV message intrudes, transforming uniquely the procedure of critical elaboration of information received. Finally when any form of resistance to TV messages has been decreased the

relationship between TV and the viewer becomes a medium's "monologue". (Papadimitriou 2002: 197)

The technical medium has always been crucial for cultural transmission, because "it alters the material substratum, as well as the means of production and reception, upon which the process of cultural transmission depends". (Thompson 1990: 205). "Diving" into the world of spectacle does not offer another, alternative reality; for homo videns is reality itself. Devotion to media images leads of necessity to media-dependency. After this point media-world seems normal.

What media have succeeded in contemporary societies is to provide a blur picture of reality, where images, sounds, real events and "artificial" ones or media events (Katz & Dayan 1992) are consolidated to a unity from which none of us can escape at least without a serious effort. And even the possibility to escape is doubtful because the fear of social isolation is immediate (Noelle-Neumann 1991). Stereotypes, images and above all ideologies well-hidden behind TV screen carry the main duty of current cultural identities that are paradoxically both multi-cultural and one-dimensional at the same time. It is like adding details in a given product, how much you add makes a slight difference it does not change the substance, the "core" of the product; homogenization remains.

At this point the contribution of the theory of social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann 1966) is crucial. Even more helpful is the thesis for the construction of reality by mass media by N. Luhmann (1996/2003: 143). As the author explains media do not address people as a reality of a physical entity and functions but as a social construction. The "myth of human" that media construct is been recycled and represented with qualities that media attach to it (1996/2003: 144). Homo videns is, in this sense a prototype and not a simulation. Media are aware that once the illusion is discovered as such somebody may try to escape. It is true that you cannot interfere in an illusion but you can certainly act and react to reality. But what if this is not an illusion and the only given, living reality is the one offered by media? Mark Poster gives a good explanation:

> The mediation has become so intense that the things mediated can no longer even pretend to be unaffected. The culture in increasingly simulational in the sense that the media often changes the things that it treats, transforming the identity of originals and referentialities. In the second media age 'reality' becomes multiple (1995: 30).

In this constructed reality fragmentation occurs at the same time with homogeneity. This new coming "fragmented homogeneity" enhances similarity and the right to difference is usually never exercised from people.

In information society where information sometimes even exceeds our expectations, people seem to live in ignorance about how these telly-led identities are affecting subconsciously their behavior and everyday life according to values already predetermined by media. Media though, are not an independent sector of society, in contrary they belong to it and what they show derives from society and moreover reflects political and economic structures. This interpenetration between media and society and the fact that their duality has faded away is strengthening even more the dominance of homo videns. Because "the medium and the real is now in a single nebula whose truth is indecipherable" (Baudrillard 1994: 83).

This vicious circle is well supported by culture giving good reasons for the stability of the system. Because culture is after all a well grounded social system which from the point it is accepted it hardly changes.

c) Culture in between city place and media space. An equation running?

In a culture built around the society of spectacle and the empire of vision, cities turn to engage this culture's boundaries and characteristics as well. Images of media provide segmentation and this is reflected in citizens' behavior and acts. Cities are constantly crowded with lonely people seeking their isolation and privacy in every given opportunity.

Changes in cities architecture and public buildings bare the irrefutable witness of mediated alienation. Public buildings were always serving as historical representatives of the way(s) a society is looking the world and reflect modern tendencies. Modern shopping malls represent the consumer – society values and market oriented communities. It's easy if we think of

> … today's 'edge cities'; satellite communities joined by freeways and shopping malls, living spaces designed exclusively for the twin pursuits of driving and shopping. Peer into one of those shopping malls and you'll see how intimately related architecture is to the social imagination. By any reasonable standard, shopping malls break all the rules: their exteriors are bleak, unfinished, forbidding; the exits are never clearly marked; the space seems fiendishly designed to confuse. And in fact it has been designed to confuse. (Johnson 1997: 43)

Segmentation and isolation are images and situations reflected in block of apartments also where people hardly know each other yet they are living in the same house- building. Each design and architecture style "echoes and amplifies a set of values, an assumption about the larger society that frames it" (Johnson 1997: 44). Media have almost abolished the "interpersonal space", a space where people interact and response to each other. Because "when people interact, space matters. Spatial arrangements determine what people say, how they say it, and even whether it's necessary to say anything at all". (Reeves & Nass 1996: 37). So spatial organization whether it is public or private is bound to culture and perhaps consists and represents its core components.

Transformation in public sphere has affected cities commonality as well. The contradictions here are very interesting. Visuality and publicity does not come along together at least the way they used to. TV has replaced public sphere with a media-sphere which is governed by its own rules. TV constructs public events that are "consumed" (watched) in private. The notion of where the public is and how it is experienced is changing constantly. If we take the common example of people walking in a crowded city street, it is easy to observe that acting in a public place does not mean necessarily that these people gain any common experiences unless they urge for that. Speedy life, and new habits for citizens, e.g., wearing earphones for mobiles, MP3 players and other trendy electronic gadgets have promoted self reclusion even in public places. In the second media age public places, perhaps the most indicative and important image of a city's "face", turn to be "gathering loci" of people unwilling to give up their privacy, externalize and share their experience.

So can we argue that city place as partly a mental space is confined by media space? Do we have an equation running? And what do we mean by space? How important are the physical borders in a stage of dissolution from media?

The attributes of a "place" that Gieryn describes are quite enlightening for our argument. Accordingly, "place" can have three necessary and sufficient terms. Place is:

> (1) A unique geographic location (irrespective of scale), (2) a material form (either natural or artificial or both) and (3) (place is) invested with meaning(s) and values (that are flexible and malleable between and within communities) (quoted in Borer 2006: 175.)

The relationship between (1) and (3) is the dualism between "real" city and "imaginary" city. The intersection and coexistence of these "two cities" results to a unique personal experience that constructs "different cities" for each single individual and helps citizens to locate and recognize themselves as members of existing communities.

> While the real city appears to be soundly located and constructed within personal biography and the physical world, the imaginary city somehow seems to defy time, space and identity…. The imagined city thus intersects with the social to construct intimate personal relationships with place (Stevenson 2003: 113).

It seems that what was mostly affected by media "contamination" was the third aspect which involved meaning investment. Nowadays people invest on media to find meanings for them. Homo videns relies on the visual reality of given meanings letting alone any critical evaluation of them. This is how media culture is invented; based upon the dominant position of media in the battlefield of meaning.

Since culture is an elusive term in sociology, especially in media sociology, it is difficult enough to locate the space where culture takes place, especially to investigate if media culture is relocated somewhere else except media landscape. In any case though, any culture needs a place to be exercised, to be learned, to grow. Cities provide this place, are undertaking the role of the mediator between culture and people. People are acting their cultural acts upon cities dramaturgy. Quoting and reversing at the same time L. Mumford, M. I. Borer points out that: "The city remains the greatest stage in which we enact and reenact our cultural dramas" (Borer 2006: 173).

The "traditional" - but eternal as well - relationship between cities and cultures is based upon their interdependency. Culture includes the notion of "locality"; it needs to take place somewhere. A city also acquires its significance from peoples' actions that live in specific place. A city's identity and character is the collective image of living narratives, of meanings that people invest in specific places. But despite the fact then *we* give meaning to places, places of urban geography, cities in general have their own meaning as well, gained through the living history of people lived in them and added their own explanations and significations to them. The media have signalled the end of long narratives and the way urban culture is attached to them. In media age where long narratives are missing, short fragmented narratives are mirrors of fragmented personalities, of people self –restricted, alienated from the real world. Because "the postmodern world, fragmented and differentiated, gets along better with media narratives, with a limited scope and an ephemeral nature". (Ortega 2004: 218).

While in the first place culture was mainly the outcome of this tight relationship between cities and people, media have interfered actively proposing a new explanation for place; in fact media proposed placelessness. A new culture was introduced that needed nor cities, nor people's interaction in order to exist. The only prerequisite for this culture is "watching" and paying attention to images. Cities remain places where people act but this act is very well determined and predefined by media that prescribe to the viewers their roles

The question rising here is whether there is an "alternative" culture apart from the media constructed one, because we have to consider, from a materialistic point of view, that real culture is the "living" one. Culture consists of discourses which integrate meanings and ideologies that either are contested, negotiated or reconstructed and cities are not to be seen only as places and markets where political and economical struggles are conducted. Moreover cities are places that living culture is grown, common feelings and behaviors are articulated and local identities are formed.

The argument standing here addresses culture as an ongoing procedure: In the end, though, meanings and symbols are shared, a whole "bank" of cultural and semiotic resources (Kress et al. 2001: 10-11) is composed to the notion of culture. The contemporary "host" of

these contradictions and symbolic battles is mass media. Mass media may restrict a city to its physical territory but may as well expand it promoting "glocal" identities and communities as well (Wellman & Gulia 1999). If construction of identities is a process by which a person identifies himself in a specific cultural and physical environment, the cultural one is provided by media while the "empirical" one from cities. The result of this synthesis comes out like this: People living in contemporary cities identify themselves as global citizens. "Local" as a term, has engaged the meaning of the origin place while "glocal" addresses the hermaphrodite condition of contemporary citizenship and therefore, culture-ship. Place remains important, cities continue to be places where memories and everyday life proceeds but their contribution is sometimes neglected by homo videns who prefers his visual loneliness. The new urban imagining should be conceived under the abilities that new electronic media provide- especially Internet- and the opportunity that it gives its users to detach from the "real" world and join imagined and represented worlds where the notion of space is re-conceptualized. As Stevenson points out: "These worlds take the form of 'communities' and 'cities' which supposedly exist outside space and time – free from the bounds (and bonds) of place" (2003: 128).

We should point out though that culture is not only an epistemological assumption, is rather a materialized issue very much dependent from place and time even if modern conditions of life advocate for the opposite. Culture is also the place we live, work, and communicate; it still holds and offers the perception of communality. What people do in a city, the way they name places and how they invest feelings and memories on them plays a significant role to the practice of culture and at the end to the perception of the world.

What we should consider is whether, under the aforementioned condition, cities can continue "to live" in their traditional setting? Are they still normally "restricted" from physical boundaries or media culture-ship has overcome them?

Conclusion

"The ways that people make sense of the world they live in, or hope to build are tied to the places where they practice their culture" (Borer, 2006: 175). We can add to this interesting portrait of culture that even in the post human age of Informatics cities still remain the places where culture lives and grows, where culture is realized by everyday practices. Even cyberspace is mainly a physical place although it boasts for its placelessness; electronic addresses (e-mails), chat "rooms", information "highways", websites to be "visited" constitute the virtual cities (Stevenson 2003) where the terms of place and time are transformed into new symbolic forms but the psychological investment on them and their significance remains almost the same. The sense of place and specific bonds with it is still a crucial element for citizens' identities which even when surrounded by electronic-cultural hegemony they still need a real place to escape and be human. In human nature the "sense of belonging", of a place – based philosophy remains crucial for the natural grow of a personality. Perhaps the negative attributes of post human and homo videns situation can be efficiently eliminated by re-appraising the importance of city as a social organism, as a social locus, where common identities are constructed, changed and re-built again.

Media visuality as the 21st century's crucial concept cannot replace reality, can only interfere to it changing some variables. No matter what changes in virtual world and the level of intrusion in peoples' identities the sense of belonging, of living *in* and *within* a city, the bond to a specific community of people is still an important issue. Even homo videns needs to recognize the place he lives, to recall in his memory familiar places and events, people he has met. Mass media and virtual communities can offer a sense of common shared virtual places but since no one can really locate them they remain abstract, vague and fragile and therefore dangerous for identities, because once the PC or TV is turned off these worlds do no longer

exist. Subjective worlds are not equal to objective ones. Media and the electronic world of PCs are temporary places of a virtual consciousness that can serve as a part-time deliberation from physical constraints. On the other hand perhaps constraints are necessary to people in order to decide, to formulate and to locate themselves in the real world, where ideas and dreams are materialized. Because even in the realm of dreams materiality exists at least as a wish; the power of vision and dream comes from their inner possibility of escaping to reality. Otherwise they will turn into a Utopia.

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1 The symbol "/" indicates that the first date is the date of publication while the second is the date of the translation.

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Untitled and Undocumented: Fragments of Life in the Global City

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This paper represents a number of projects undertaken between 1986 and 2005 and were presented as a poster at the *Cities and Media* conference in Vadstena, Sweden in October 2006. In the context of a scientific conference, this 'corpus' might appear to represent a concerted effort over two decades to build a significant body of research. The thematic that body addresses could then be described as an interest in exploring and understanding a set of problematics concerning life in the contemporary city. Although such a presupposition might be true in hindsight, in fact and in practice, the work this paper represents had more humble origins. This was a desire to produce aesthetic objects – works of art. For a reader expecting a more conventional, scientifically oriented, and empirically objective project, this paper will beg a question about the nature of research. It also raises an age-old problem or question about what art really is. I hope the following paper will shed some light on these issues. I also hope to show how the projects I have undertaken over the last 20 years through a range of media might, and correctly should, have been considered as legitimate forms of research representing a concerted investigation into life in the contemporary city.

Introduction: On the Necessity of Artistic and Cultural Research

The phenomenon of art in all human societies suggests that art responds to a fundamental human need, no matter what the form of society. Theodor Adorno[1] and Walter Benjamin[2] both realised that art is, or can be at least, more than an object of entertainment. Although there are many points of disagreement between Adorno and Benjamin, both would agree that art performs an important social and even essential role in the human world. For Adorno, art became a highly refined object of contemplation and reflection that enables those who encounter it to gain in their self-awareness and, through that, attain a higher level of self realisation and edification. Benjamin sees an even more instrumental role for art. For him, art enables the individual to directly participate in the renewal of society. Through art, an individual encounters the foundational mythological formations[3] of a culture, and through that encounter, participates in the transmission of the structural bonds and cultural relations surrounding the object world. This in turn results in the re-affirmation and renewal of meaning in that individual's social milieux.

i) An Evolving Practice

My ideas about the social and cultural role of art have changed over the years and there is a perceptible evolution in the projects documented by this paper. This evolution first started to take place in the intellectual approach I adopted in thinking about what I was doing. A secondary level of evolution took place in the kinds of artistic practice(s) defined in and undertaken in realising each project. To start with, although, it is important to say from the outset that art can be more than just about making beautiful, decorative objects, the projects undertaken here have been underpinned by a deliberate investigation and engagement with a problem, or, if not a problem, then with an aspect of the world each project represent.[4] The

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1 Theodore Adorno and Max Oppenheimer, *The Dialectics of Enlightenment*, London, Verso Books, 1999.

2 Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, Harry Zohn trans., London, Harper Collins, 1992. Benjamin speaks of these formations in terms of both traditional and capitalist society. I use the term mythology here to refer also to the work of Roland Barthes in which he too was investigating the foundational structures of belief and meaning that underpin contemporary society. See Roland Barthes, "Myth Today" in *Mythologies*, London, Granada 1982.

3 Benjamin speaks of these formations in terms of both traditional and capitalist society. I use the term mythology here to refer also to the work of Roland Barthes in which he too was investigating the foundational structures of belief and meaning that underpin contemporary society. See Roland Barthes, "Myth Today" in *Mythologies*, London, Granada 1982.

4 Although at one level, artists document the world through their work, artistic representations produced and the knowledge such work realises should not be approached in terms of being an objective document. The veracity of the representation between art objects and the world is notoriously difficult to deal with, and has been one of the objections conventionally used to dismiss the validity of art as scientific research. There is first the issue of representation itself. Particularly in the fields of photography and film, and in relation to documentary and ethnographic genres, there was once much argument about the objectivity of the representation. For a time, some sought to eradicate the subjectivity of the observer by devising techniques that they thought would alleviate the problem (see, for example, Colin Young's useful overview of the problem presented in his essay "Observational Cinema", in Paul Hocking (ed), *Principles of Visual Anthropology* 3rd Edition, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyer Press, 2003, pp 99-113). Some ethnographers then developed approaches to depict the relationship between the observer and their subject within the representation, thus removing the apparent omniscience of their articulating positions. The point is that in articulating these representations, there is implicated, as any articulation representing something always implicates, a relationship between the observer, the nature of the articulation or object itself, and that which is being observed and/or represented. This relationship is embodied in the position of the observer relative to the subject being observed. In the hard sciences, this issue was first addressed when people realised that, even if only observing inanimate objects, the presence of the observer changes both the state and the behaviour of the observed object, rendering the 'objectivity' of their observations less than objective. The

process of realisation of each project enabled me to reflect on whatever problematic I had chosen to focus on at the time. In a sense then, there has always been an engagement with the subject of each projects that at least aligned the work I was doing with that of a scientific researcher.[5]

On the other hand, whether one sees this work as art or as science, the labour of a researcher – as artist or as scientist – always aims to manifest an output – the production of a mediating object that represents that research. The manifesting of this research has taken place in fictional, creative, and experimental forms, and been embodied as photographic exhibitions, writing, performances, installations, websites, and even radio features. I have also, however, produced more conventional scientific forms of research that have been manifested in scholarly and academic writing. In and through the making of these objects, I have explored ideas, and sometimes a world of the imaginary, founded on observations, sometimes of the city, and sometimes of the purely subjective states of being the city structures materialise.

ii) Emotional and Intellectual Observations – The Work of Affect

During the 1990s there came another evolution in this work that represents a turn towards affected zones of human experience. This became necessary when I realised that emotions too are also an important aspect of the human cognitive[6] understanding of the world. It became apparent that emotions provide solid ground for research in the making of art, just as much as emotions are (or if not, emotions should be) regarded as a valid form and ground for the pursuit of knowledge. It may seem facile to say that the distinction between *intellectual* practices normally associated with science involve the exercise of the human mind using faculties such as reason, logic, and rhetoric, as well as observation and reflection. This contrasts with other – supposedly non-intellectual – forms of cognition that are called *feelings*. It is not only my view that the odd and somewhat false dichotomy between

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relativity between observer and subject has gradually led scientists away from making absolute statements founded on a nexus between observed facts and "truth", and towards more modest claims and procedural positions. Ironically, it is the relativity of art's relationship with the world that has become increasingly common in scientific practice, and not the reliance on or maintenance of distance between observer and observed. In the convergence between science and art has led some to conclude that knowledge remains subjective, and that observations of the world always implicate an observer resulting in an adoption of stances in which observations are regarded provisionally in relation to their subject.

5 I should also point out there is also an inclination towards a more amateurish kind of practice that is different to the practice of a professional, both as a scientist and as an artist. The reason for this is that in a world where professionalism invariably means also that an individual seeks to make a profit through the performing of their craft, or the exercise of their skill, there is a freedom to pursue one's research, whether one thinks of that as scientific or artistic when one abandons the idea of making a profit from what one does. In fact, in the production of these works, I have never sought to sell the outputs of the projects as a conventional artist working in a commercial gallery context does. Nor have I tried to patent and market the ideas produced out of this research as a corporate oriented inventor or research sometimes does. The findings of the work undertaken in these projects was made available to their audiences through the generosity of the public gallery sector, or through another such like medium such as a public broadcaster, for everyone's benefit. In this sense, the work documented by this paper is entirely that of an amateur, which I define as someone who investigates questions and problems at their leisure, as if they are a member of a nineteenth century bourgeois society of flâneurs who have the unjustifiable privilege of being able to contemplate such questions at leisure without being tied to having to make a profit or in any other way needing to make such activity pay its way. In an age of complete commercialisation and commodification of life, this may well be one of the last remaining forms of resistance available.

6 For a general overview of the cognitive sciences, see Howard Gardner, *The Mind's New Science*, New York, Basic Books, 1987. For a more specifically film oriented approach, see David Bordwell, *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema*, Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press, 1989, and Torben Kragh Grodal, "Art Film, the Transient Body, and the Permanent Soul", *Aura*, Volume VI, Issue 3/2000, pp 33-53.

emotional and intellectual reasoning is due to peculiar socio-cultural bias – probably stemming from Ancient Greece – in which the intellect is regarded as a superior and a more refined form of human reasonable and rational activity.[7] One hopes that today, there is sufficient reflexivity amongst Europeans to perceive the biases of our culture and generally to realise the folly of excluding from our epistemology other forms of cognitive reasoning and rational knowing.

Today, with the aid of cognitive science, it is possible to see that the distinction between conventional forms of intellectual activity and other forms of human cognition is partly based on a capacity one has to construct the objects of one's cognitive interactions with the world into a rational form of discursive language. Allied to this thought, and thanks to semiologists such as Ferdinand de Saussure, Charles Peirce, Claude Levi-Strauss, Roland Barthes, Christian Metz, amongst many others,[8] it is now possible to think of art as being another form of linguistic representation, although that is not, of course, the only thing that art is or can be about.[9] Thinking of art as a form of linguistic cognition is a key to thinking about art as a valid form of research.

II
Art and the Advancement of Human Knowledge

I have argued elsewhere that artistic forms of expression – that is to say expressive languages such as visual art, performance, film, sculpture, and so on – may, and should, be regarded as valid forms of research that are distinguished from conventional scientific research sometimes by method and sometimes by approach, but always by the form of communicative strategies[10] such works use to communicate their findings. Research through art is undertaken using different modes, and is represented in languages that are not normally associated with so-called objective discourses of scientific observation. What creative, practice led research does, however, is enable the researcher to deal with phenomena that are

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7 The Greeks maintained a bias against what they regarded as emotional responses to the world, just as they did against art in general. For Plato and Aristotle on, the so-called intellect was regarded as a superior mode of acting, even if on all other issues, the Greeks disagreed with each other passionately. See for example, Aristotle Poetics II, Plato (D. Lee trans.), "The simile of the cave", *The Republic*, 2nd edition, Penguin 1975, p 323, J.N. Findlay, *Plato, The Written And Unwritten Doctrines*, Routledge & Keegan Paul 1974, I.M. Crombie, *Plato's Doctrines, vol II*, Routledge & Keegan Paul 1971. Levi-Strauss distinguished the 'logic of the concrete' (as he terms mythological thought) from 'scientific thinking' by arguing that mythological thinking shows a "respect for and the use of the data of the senses" whereas scientific method, like Aristotle, advocates only a process of rigorous external observation and measurement from which certain conclusions are then made (p 13). See C. Levi-Strauss, *Myth And Meaning*, Routledge & Keegan Paul 1978, pp 15-24.The Greeks maintained a bias against what they regarded as emotional responses to the world, just as they did against art in general. For Plato and Aristotle on, the so-called intellect was regarded as a superior mode of acting, even if on all other issues,

8 There are many sources one can refer to in outlining the contributions of many individuals to the field of semiology. Two that I find particularly helpful are Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, Oxon, Routledge, 2006, and Terence Hawkes, *Structuralism and Semiotics*, London, Methuen, 1977.

9 As Foucault was at pains to point out, scientific knowledge itself is not only an ideologically neutral form of linguistic representation, but also, an attempt to codify certain relations between different epistemological bodies as well as ontological bodies, and through that codification, exact certain relations of power through knowledge. See Paul Rabinow (ed), *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought*, London, Penguin, 1984.

10 To briefly summarise these, the distinctions I make argue that scientific research often deploys rhetorical arguments using objective forms of discourse in presenting rational scientific arguments whereas artistic research more usually employs expressive and performative forms of language in order to re-present the findings of an artist's research activity. See John Grech, "Practice-Led Research and Scientific Knowledge" in Lelia Green and Brad Haseman (eds), *Media International Australia*, No. 118, February 2006, University of Queensland Press, pp 34-42.

difficult to represent, and sometimes even to perceive, through conventional observational methods and scientific approaches.

In recent years, there has been renewed interest in the contribution that art (and culture more generally) can make to the development and enhancement of society, science, and to human knowledge.[11] Taking place around gradually emerging discourses of what have been termed the *culture and creative industries*, many of these discussions have been undertaken as rearguard actions in order to defend the creative arts from annihilation under the aegis of economic rationalism. Focused on validating and verifying the commercial viability of the cultural and artistic product, the debate surrounding the *creative and cultural industries*, just as the debate surrounding science, and particularly in pure research, has adopted and to some extent been swayed by a language that takes little account for the actual and real value of art and science. In fact, I suggest that just using a word like *industry* indicates how far already such discourses have gone in making scientific and artistic research conform to a corporate, profit oriented capitalist model of "accountability" rather than looking at the benefits of this research on its own terms. This is the language of accountants, tax collectors, and corporate entrepreneurs, and it shares little in common with the nature of the cultural, artistic, or, for that matter, the scientific project.

There is no need here to recite the arguments[12] about whether art is or needs to be commercially viable in order to prove its value. I raise this debate to make an important point about the distinctions between the work of the practice led researcher working as a scientist and the work of the practice led researcher working as an artist. This difference is only starting to emerge in the context of attempts to argue for the value of creative led research in general, over and above whatever potential that research has for commercial exploitation. This means identifying the differences between the modes and methods of the creative scientific researcher and the creative artistic practice led researcher.[13]

Yet questions of economic viability obviously have a bearing on the eventual outcome of the production of cultural and artistic as well as scientific work. Nonetheless, it is easy to overestimate the importance of money in either cultural, creative, and even scientific enterprises. The work of pure, practice led, and creative research, whether it is executed by someone calling him- or herself an artist, or by someone who is regarded as a scientist, is performed, just as any work is – by doing it. Like many scientists, most artists just get on with doing their job – responding to their calling.

There is something that remains mysterious, perhaps even quasi-religious, in the *higher* calling of an artist and a scientist, and I will not shy away from that here. For this is the real source of a living researchers' passion and motivation, and not the imagined desire for fame, to rule the world, or even just to make lots of money that is sometimes projected on them. Humanity as a whole ought to be grateful that most artists, as well as many scientists, are determined to get on with their work rather than try to justify what they are doing in terms of economic value, power, and worth. Although this often leaves the artist and the scientist vulnerable to being exploited by sharp-shooting commercial entrepreneurs, without the far

11 Artistic endeavour might once have been spoken of in terms of an enhancement of human experience, just as science could have been spoken of in terms of an enhancement of human knowledge. It is another mark of the overwhelming fascination and capture by economic discourses of capitalism in Western democracies that one can no longer speak of an enhancement of human experience or knowledge in justifying what one does, but must now talk in terms of economic and commercial benefit.

12 An important attempt to address this issue was undertaken by Brad Haseman. Haseman argues that practice led creative and artistic research is similar but different to scholarly and academic research because it is a performed form of research. He suggests that due to the performative quality, creative practice led research should be evaluated using different criteria to conventional forms of academic research. See Brad Haseman, "A Manifesto for Performative Research" in Green and Haseman, 2006, pp 98-106.

13 See Haseman, in Green and Haseman, 2006, pp 98-106.

more earnest endeavour of such selfless individuals, the future of humanity would be very bleak indeed.

III
What is The Global City

The idea of *global cities* has been around now for some decades now. Changes in the world during the second half of the 20th Century, particularly in relation to the emerging significance of the global economy, have had a tremendous impact on the life of cities, changes that perhaps appear most pronounced in cities like London, New York, and Tokyo. For some, these three cities are the first order category of *global cities*.

In my Ph D thesis, *The Work of Art in the Age of Global Culture* (2005), I argue there has been too much emphasis made on the economic and financial aspects of globalisation however. More needs to be made of the role that art and media play as the interface between the physical spaces within which people exist and the mediated spaces *the global city* has created.[14] Yet many of the foremost theories of *the global city* have almost exclusively credited significant institutional and corporate actors such as stock markets, multinational corporations, and international regulatory agencies for determining the phenomenon of globalisation. What has been ignored is the importance of the individual actor, collectively the people of *the global city*, who realises in everything they do the everyday realities of that city. Along with that actor, not enough significance has been given to the role of art – as a mediating object – in realising the bonds and relations between individuals in global culture.[15]

The Work of Art in the Age of Global Culture also pointed out that there has been too much emphasis on the centrality of the English language, and the roles of cities like London and New York in accounting for *the global city*. Even in the formulations of the cinematic global city,[16] much emphasis has been made of the role played by Hollywood conventions of representing cities.[17] In discussions concerning *the global city*, it appears to me that there has been a tendency to overestimate the significance, importance, and role of the United States, the English Language (and the cultural values embedded in and by that), and the economy.

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14 Significant studies on the emerging global structures of capitalist societies in the late 20th Century started accumulating in the 1980s, with perhaps Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, London, Verso 1996, and David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Basil Blackwell 1990, being two early important texts. Numerous other books have been published since, however, with some such as H. P. Martin & H. Schuman, *The Global Trap*, London, Zed Books, 1997 taking a more alarmist tone. Alan Scott's *The Limits of Globalisation: Cases and Arguments*, London & New York. Routledge, 1997, critically analyses the global phenomena. More recent publications have focused on the links between urban, regional, and metropolitan spaces and the emergences of capitalism at the end of the 20th Century such as David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*, Routledge New York 2001. Edward Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2000, recapitulates Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its origins, its transformations, its prospects*, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1974, by looking at the future of urban spaces in the 21st Century, while Saskia Sassen, *Cities in a World Economy*, London, Sage, 2000, takes a Pax Americana view of relations between cities in the capitalist global economy. Finally Allen Scott's (ed) *Global City-Regions: Trends, Theory, and Policy*, 2001, tries to provide an overarching discussion of both the problems and possibilities of the global city.

15 An exception to this is Ulf Hannerz's *Transnational Connections*, in which Hannerz recognises the significance of culture, and the role of artists in general in creating the cosmopolitan mileage. See Chapter 11, "The Cultural Role of World Cities", *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*, London, Routledge, 1996, pp 127-139.

16 Perhaps the earliest book to directly address the concept of the global cinematic city was David B. Clarke (ed), *The Cinematic City*, London, Routledge, 1997, a book quickly followed by Tony Fitzmaurice and Mark Shiel (eds), *Cinema and the city: film and urban societies in a global context*, Oxford, U.K.; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

17 See, for example, Colin McArthur, "Chinese Boxes and Russian Dolls: Tracking the Elusive Cinematic City" in Clarke, 1997, pp 19-45.

In *The Work of Art in the Age of Global Culture* I argue that too many aspects and facets of everyday life – of the people and of the modern city – have been ignored, denied, or underplayed. Not only do other, non capitalist economies continue to operate, even in the 'wanna-be' strongholds of the Global Emporia – places like London, Los Angeles, Sydney, and Hong Kong – but other languages, as well as localised dialects of the English language produce not just regional nuances within globalisation discourses, but actually rupture the theoretical frames that many theorists of globalisation see as hegemonic. What such *dominant* globalisation theories do is totalise the human experience of and in *the global city* while simultaneously universalising the knowledge of that city. There is a risk that discourses about *the global city* may now be in the midst of restoring an all conquering imperial project.

For that reason, I personally was quiet disappointed that some of the foremost protagonists of these globalisation discourses did not actually attend the conference at Vadstena, even though they had been given prominence amongst invited speakers, for it would have been both stimulating and essential to challenge some of the basic assumptions that they appear to make about *the global city*.

That notwithstanding, in today's highly mediated world, the life of *the global city* takes place in every city, town, and country, global and local villages alike, whether these outwardly appear to be highly urbanised cosmopolitan centres or parochial and peripheral outposts of capitalism. From the largest metropolis to the smallest nation, in places of culture and in places of nature, there is now a pressing need to expand the study and consideration of not just the places like Paris, Buenos Aires, and Bangkok, but to incorporate even what appears to be the most insignificant places in the world, both empirically and theoretically, if the formulation(s) of *the global city* are going to live up to their presumptuous name.

Benjamin's *Das Passagen Werk* brilliantly, if somewhat unintentionally demonstrates that theorisations as well as practical representations of *the global city* can only be discussed provisionally, in terms of an incomplete project. This is not only because Benjamin was unable to complete his project. Rather, as Benjamin himself would have found out had his life not been so tragically foreshortened, *the global city* is a constantly evolving organism and the outward and internal processes of that city can never be completely understood, theorised, or even documented.

Like all forms of organic life, cities are recursive[18] entities that make both summations of their present state of being as well as predictions of the way they may perform in the future impossible to predict. There remains an essential imperative not only to conduct new and original research into even the most studied quarters of *the global city*, for even the studies that presently exist cannot be regarded as comprehensive or conclusive in themselves, but an ever present, ever urgent need to expand the field of study constantly by;

i) incorporating new forms and areas of research as well as
ii) enabling new research subjects and subjectivities to be voiced.

Even the most comprehensive and seemingly complete body of research must humbly acknowledge that it is constantly in need of revision, augmentation, and reconsideration.

In the practical terms, my study of *the global city* through a variety of media such as photography, scholarly as well as creative writing, radio, live performance, and the cinema has shown that it is inaccurate to argue that, for example, the most important modes of

18 In a sense, cities evolve and are like what Heinze von Foerster describes as "non-trivial machines", that is, mechanisms into which certain inputs are processed but the resulting outputs are determined as much by the internal state of the machine as they are by the nature of the input itself. For an expansion of the notion of recursion, see Heinz von Foerster, *Seeing with the Third Eye*, video documentation of workshop produced by the American Feldenkrais Guild, c1984. Also Heinz Von Foerster, *Observing Systems*, Intersystems 1983, and Lynn Segal, *The Dream of Reality: Heinz von Foerster's Constructivism*, New York & London, W.W. Norton 1986.

transport in *the global city* are technological, and often privatised means of consumption of space, exemplified by the motor car. Of course, the auto is important in new world countries like Australia and America, but this does not account of modes of transport people use throughout the world. As Wim Wenders' two angels in Berlin films indicate, walking remains an important and significant means by which people move through space, engage with place, and integrate and participate in the everyday life of *the global city*.

It is hard to see who and what the discourses that presently frame and dominate ideas of the global city and globalisation benefit. Such a discourse appears to delimit the concepts along the lines of power that presently govern the capitalist economy. Perhaps the animosities created by the overbearing shadow of successive Communist regimes made the hand of capitalism seem so much more benign in the early 1990s, but that era is now long past. The global limits of capitalism have also become apparent.

There is an overdue need to re-assess the continuing discourses of *the global city*, particularly when such discourses still act to privilege a few, select cities around the world, while inhibiting and denying the human capacity to imagine and create alternative economies, orders of being, and of knowing. Whether intended or not, such discourses may, unintentionally or otherwise, be helping to restore, perpetuate, and even expand the imperialistic ambitions of the diminished inheritors of the world's colonialists.

I believe the human need for self determination coupled with the desire to rid itself of all forms of tyranny, terror, and domination is irrepressible. This is so fundamental that human beings will continue to use whatever resources they have at their disposal to eradicate themselves of domination, injustice and inequity, whether military or economic, symbolic or physical brutality. This means that conflict will continue to be played out on the global stage as long as there are individuals who feel that they have the right to impose their will on others. I also believe, however, that in the end, this will result in either the eradication of all forms and states of inequity of power and domination by some over others,[19] or, otherwise, bring the sad but seemingly ever mounting pile of human historical debris to an end.[20]

IV
Researching The Global City through Media

i) Background, Methods, Approaches, and Motivation of Production

The work I presented at the *Cities and Media* conference explores a range of issues and concerns that emerge in an on-going, but varied, reflection on the conditions of everyday life in the contemporary city. These investigations have taken place in various forms and genres including photography, gallery exhibitions and installations, new media forms like web sites, scripted radio features, live performances, illustrated lectures, fiction writing, travel writing, life writing, as well as scholarly, academic, and scientific writing.

Each project employs different media forms to collect, collate, and represent data in a range of cognitive perceptual modes (visual, aural-oral, spatial, temporal, sculptural, and scripterly-writerly). Each project can be thought in terms of both being a way of 'recording'

19 I am not the first to link this to the hegemony of capitalism over the world, and neither am I the first to link this tendency to the particular social formation underpinning what once was correctly described as European, but today is better thought of as Western and capitalism. For an expansion of this analysis, see Pierre Clasters, "Of Ethnocide", *Archeology of Violence*, (Janine Herman trans.), New York, Semiotext(e), 1994, pp 43-51.

20 Needless to say, this allusion to Benjamin's angel of history is deliberate and is both affirmative and optimistic in outlook as well as remaining in keeping with the spirit of Benjamin's covert concern for human emancipation. See "Theses on the Philosophy of History" in Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 1992, pp 245-255.

subjective experiences of contemporary life as well as well as creating artifacts that enable a reflection on those subjective experiences.

My motivation in making this work has been to better understand contemporary life in the city. It has not been in response to commissions received, or a desire to make saleable commodities to be marketed through a gallery or commercial fine arts venue. With the exception of *Sharkfeed*, all projects were self initiated and, in many cases, completed prior to any thought of publication or exhibition had taken place. In general, however, all the work was produced in response to a self-defined role as an artist in society – a role I have taken very seriously in the past, but today look upon it with a little more humour.

As already indicated, the kinds of understanding the work has sought to produce is subjective in orientation. Each project does not attempt to generalise on aspects of life in the city. Rather I have attempted to take up and position my camera, the microphone, and the body – of the work as well as of the producer – in a relationship with the world of the city around them. From that position, I have attempted to engage with that world through the production of the work. In the process of that engagement, I attempt to reflect on what I perceive with the aid of the media employed.

The desire to reflect on the issues the work identifies has been informed by readings in scientific literature from as far afield as philosophy, sociology, art history, cultural studies, physics, cosmology and mythology, social and cultural history, theology, as well as readings in popular culture such as print media, radio, and television. In addition, the work has often been informed, and sometimes even conceived in response to, or in dialogue with, other cultural works such as films, music, books, individual's biographies, and so forth. Sometimes the work has arisen out of on-going discussions with friends, lovers, and close associates. These readings and discourses have taken place running parallel to the process of production.

How each artifact should be interpreted, and what it is taken to mean, has been deliberately allowed to remain as open as possible to whoever encounters the work.[21] As an artist-researcher, or researcher-artist, each work I have produced has provided an opportunity to reflect on a particular aspect of life, or problem that the respective project identified. Once made, however, I generally leave the work to its own fate, a strategy I adopted when presenting my work at the poster session of the *Cities and Media* conference in Vadstena. I am not very interested in standing before my work and try to explain or speak for what the artifacts are about. On the contrary, I assume that the work, whatever its worth and success, was speaking for itself.

However, on occasions I have been invited to provide what in Australian public gallery parlance is sometimes described as a 'floor talk'. These are occasions when an artist or producer is invited by the Gallery they are exhibiting in to speak to interested publics about their work. Although it is difficult to predict how others perceive and approach such presentations, I have tried to maintain and adopt a position of articulating as best I can my own processes leading up to the production and exhibition of the work whenever I have given such public presentations. What remains clear, however, is that, given the authoritarianism of Western culture, audiences, even well informed and well intentioned ones, will defer their

21 This is not to deny, however, that the production of a work does not lay down certain tendencies and lines of interpretation, for as Roger Odin argues although this is done in relation to film, is that "We must [...] confront the shocking fact that not only does a film produce no meaning by itself, but all it can do is *block* [emphasis Odin] a number of possible investments of meaning. The only effect of internal constraints is to prevent the application of certain reading rules." (Roger Odin, "For a Semio-Pragmatics of Film" in Toby Miller and Robert Stam (eds), *Film and Theory: An Anthology*, Malden Massachusetts, Blackwell, 2000, p 55) The process of an individual's engagement with a work is therefore much more complicated than this brief expansion of this idea might suggest. What I am arguing is that once having established the structures of a work, which includes, naturally, the textual inhibitors that work possesses, I prefer, as a rule, to allow the work to stand on its own as it is encountered by others.

own interpretations and significance of what they encounter in a work to the ideas provided by the author or producer when they speak about or articulate their intentions.

As long as authorship and the voice of authority remains as highly prized as they presently are in Western culture, there will always be a danger that a producer who speaks before their work will predetermine and legislate how others can approach and interpret that work, and the meaning that they then can settle on in their negotiations with it.[22] Rather than seeking to regulate and legislate the meaning of my work, I, like many artists, often opt to remain silent and hover invisibly around the work, while observing and listening to what others have to say to it and about it. Although there are always people who fail to even notice the work's significance or presence altogether, I know that others can and have already found something rich and valuable for themselves within it.

For, as stated above, my intention in producing much of this work was internally motivated, that is to say, it was derived from a sense and a need in me to define and respond to some problem or question that arose out of my experiences of living in the world and the encounters that produced at the time. In putting my work on public display, I become delighted when this work (and the problems or issues it raises) resonates and becomes significant – in its own peculiar way – to and for others.

ii) Issues and Concerns

In looking over the entirety of that body of work I presented in my poster at Vadstena, some general issues and concerns appear to have driven the projects' production. Each work is in some way or other concerned with and/or reflects upon or about one or some of the following;

a) the sense of space and place;
b) alienation;
c) unemployment;
d) masculinity;
e) love and human relationships;
f) urban decay and (later) renewal;
g) subjective identity;
h) subcultures and a sense or lack of sense of identification and collective life;
i) modernity and postmodernity;
j) migration and mobility;
k) power and the structures of social inclusion and exclusion.

Initially I began exploring these issues and concerns around the edges of the metropolis, in parts of the urban landscape that are still not completely or thoroughly incorporated in the

22 For a fuller development of how the meaning and interpretation can be variously legislated, see Allan Sekula, "Meaning in Photographs" in Victor Burgin, *Thinking Photography*, London, Macmillian Press, 1982. Although today, theoretical discussions of photography appear to be fully developed, when I began studying and working as an artist, photographic discourses were relatively still in their infancy. Nevertheless, there were already some classic texts in circulation, amongst them, Roland Barthes' *Mythologies* London, Granada, 1981, *Image Music Text*, London, Fontana Press, 1977, *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*, Berkeley California, University of California Press, 1977, and *Camera Lucida*, London, Jonathan Cape Press, 1982, Walter Benjamin's "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" in *Illuminations*, 1992, and "A Small History of Photography" in *One Way Street*, London, Verso, 1979, as well as Susan Sontag's *On Photography*, Penguin Books, 1979. Another useful source for this discussion is Sekula's "Photography between Labour and Capital" in Lesley Sheddon, *Mining photographs and other pictures, 1948-1968: A selection from the Negative Archives of Shedden Studio*, Glace Bay, Cape Breton, Goose Lane Editions, 1997.

daily and nightly routines of the city. Initially, I wanted mostly to look at places the city and its inhabitants abandon. In the second period or phase of this work's development, the projects became more general in terms of space but focused more directly on central questions like ideas of citizenship, longing and belonging, media and the formation of the global identity in the context of a re-examination of theories of the global city and global democracy.

Above all, however, I have always been irresistibly drawn to ruins, discarded bits and pieces of everyday life. Like Benjamin's angel of history,[23] my gaze becomes transfixed in fascination by the mounting piles of human refuse, for these are, as the angel well knows, traces of the struggles between different orders, states, and beings. Yet, unlike that angel, I see hope in those ever growing mountains of rubbish, for it is clear, as I have already stated, that sooner of later this will have to stop. The world is finite. In the meantime, either humanity will find another way of doing things, or, like an insatiable parasite that knows no limits, humanity will kill its host, and with that, destroy its only habitat.

As stated above, my first tentative investigations into the abandoned places of the city took shape on the outskirts of the city, on beaches, in parks, and children's playgrounds. For the work-a-day citizen, beaches, parks, and playgrounds are places best abandoned after dark, and the few who dare to penetrate the veils of such normative abandon must clearly be doing so out of bad intentions. Only with the return of the sun and light of day do law abiding citizens come to reclaim these innocent playing fields. Like an ignorant transgressor, into such lonely places I ventured – unaided, vulnerable, and unarmed – with only my trusty witness, my camera, on my back.

The nature of the places I was exploring and the fact that I made these images at night – often in total darkness – gave many of the photographs I made an eerie quality. In these rejected zones of shrouded darkness, I was committing the unheard of violation of peering through the veils of secrecy to find – well what exactly? In fact, nothing! And certainly not the world of vice, corruption, volence we tell our kids exists out there. Yet if my camera could not reveal the mysterious hidden dreamtime that my imagination had conjured, I needed to find other devices to somehow open the doors to the festering world that lay beyond the doors of normal perception. For that, I had to turn to writing. Today, I know a world inhabited only by nocturnal creatures whose habitats and promenades are customarily denied to others only by the mundane invasions of daylight. But if they dare to encounter their own dreamtime, they will surely find it.

Needless to say, my head, long exhausted by day-time memories of beaches, parks, and playgrounds filled not altogether with pleasant memories of fun, recreation, relaxation, suddenly became intoxicated by the imaginative richness of a netherworld I had always been too terrified of opening.

The resulting images, particularly those of the beaches, somehow managed to capture an underlying sense of the *Unheimlichkeit* I have sometimes, or is it often, felt, not only because beaches are places where bullies of Sydney's Anglo-dominated West-European culture try to stake their claim of exclusive ownership over both the physical and metaphysical properties of the city, but more profoundly, because the images I was making enabled me to recognise an undeniable sense of strangeness one has in any encounter with place, no matter how familiar one dreams it into being.

The resulting works – exhibitions, performances, writings, and installations – turned sites that are otherwise usually overlooked as innocuous places of daily habituation into mystery zones and rat infested intersections where different possibilities, other orders, alternative states, hyper-real universes, co-existent times and places, and mutant morphologies meet,

23 See "Theses on the Philosophy of History" in Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 1992, pp 245-255.

challenge, revile, stroke, penetrate and violate each other's existence both willingly and pleasingly. In such an interstice, my imagination was again released to confront the horror of the mutilated other, that frighteningly super-real figure of the tortured self denied their habitat.

iii) Themes and Chronological Development

The first ten years of word presented at Vadstena comprised mainly of the following major projects

- *On the edge* series I and II,
- *Spiritus Des Corpus*
- *Images from the Underworld* (gallery exhibition, performance piece, and MA Thesis)

The main themes in each of these projects can be summarised as;
(good) alienation and making the world strange,
life in the post-industrial city of the 1980s
unemployment (connecting to themes of).....
(c.i) masculinity and identity and ....
(c.ii) migration and work.
The second ten years comprised of these major projects and works

- *angels and the city,*
- *Phantastic City,*
- *Sharkfeed,*
- *Berlin?Berlin!,*
- *Interempty Space – The Global City,*
- *The Work of Art in the Age of Global Culture*

Here the work became both more complex and more sophisticated, eventually leading to the critical stances arrived at in my Ph D thesis. The main themes can be considered along several developmental lines; citizenship, migration, community, relationships between technology and the body, identity, and city/global networks in the 20th Century, and the loss of home (*angels and the city*) postmodern cities, impact of technology on everyday life, the mediation of everyday life, (bad) alienation leading to isolation and loneliness, yearning for love and human relationships technology and the city, theories of the city (*Phantastic City*) dangers of the city, stranger danger, murder, the noir city, gambling and criminality, migration, justice by mass media, racism, the constructions of childhood, and the suburban home in the 1960s (*Sharkfeed*) theory and the city, migration, tourism, and the traveller's journey, empty space and the people striving for democracy in the city (*Berlin?Berlin!*) technology and the city, the role of the internet, and imagining the empty spaces of *the global city* and the global citizens who actualise and inhabit it (*Interempty Space – The Global City*) the role of media in constructing the global city (not as globalising city, that is the city in material reality, but as *the global city*, which is already a mediated, discursive, and fictional city), questions of citizenship and mediated citizenships, ontological and epistemological questions about life in *the global city* and global citizens, that is, the work of art in the age of global culture (*The Work of Art in the Age of Global Culture*)

In concluding this section, it seems appropriate to say that earlier projects appear to have reflected on and/or considered the role of media in defining the subject of my enquiries only incidentally. The relationship between the medium of representation and the life of the subjects of the work emerged only gradually. It grew organically over several years and over a number of different projects, and appears to have taken place primarily in the second period

of time. Subsequently, later projects have actively engaged with, analysed, and incorporated reflections on the role of media in the formation of the cities I have lived in and explored, which today includes London, Amsterdam, Sydney, Berlin, and the village of Gharghur on the Mediterranean island of Malta. The role of media reflects not only on the subjects of the work, however, but also the conceptualisation of the projects themselves. This means that discussions of *the global city* are necessarily tied in part to a discussion of the media in a global setting.

V
A Parting Gesture: Life beyond the city gates

Naïve as it may seem, I concluded my poster at the *Cities and Media* conference with the following passages....

In the final pages of "Beyond Human Rights", Giorgio Agamben turns his attention to the issue that confronts cities everywhere today. Although referring to the European city and to the European Union more generally, Agamben describes the city as a refugium to which those seeking asylum go. The nature of this city, according to Agamben, is like a

> Klein bottle or a Möbius strip, where exteriority and interiority in-determine each other. In this new space, European cities would rediscover their ancient vocations of cities of the world by entering into a relation of reciprocal extraterritoriality. (Agamben, 2000, *Means without ends*, 24.5)

I wish time would have proven Agamben right, for he originally wrote those words in 1993, in the heat, one might say, of the post Communist melt down at the Berlin Wall, and the euphoria which then appeared to offer a chance for a more peaceful future resolution to some of the oldest problems confronting humanity. Where it that cities could in fact be regarded as a refuge for people today, and that such cities were indeed the cities of the world Agamben sees.

In reality, today, cities have become more like concentration camps where people are kept in terror by the State which, calling upon the emergency powers of the state of exception, makes it impossible for people to live in either peace or freedom. Cities are again bordered by barriers and walls, barbed wire fences and armed guards.

In 1993, Agamben could see the future city leading back to the death camps. I recoil from that idea with horror, and hope that other people will turn their attention to reversing this trend, to turning on our rulers and insist that the city gates be opened and strangers again welcomed.

This poster documents work that is both creative and scholarly, artistic and scientific in nature. I decided to attend this symposium because I have a story to tell. Through that story, I hoped to contribute a sense of a global city founded on a notion Lewis Mumford identified in The City in History *as enabling of all the different peoples of the world to live under one roof and realise their human potential in their difference. I hoped to inspire that vision in others. Presenting scientific and scholarly ideas is what academic conferences are all about. Instilling vision and inspiration is never an easy thing to do in any situation. I am sure I have failed on both accounts.*

My parting gesture is this: you and I, "We", are charged with the responsibility of realising the global city, in bringing down the walls to all the cities of the world and throwing open the gates that hold others and ourselves out and in of where we want to be and go.

Everyone has a right to be here, and there, and everywhere, for that matter, not just those privileged by the city fathers. Everyone who wants to be part of this city should be here. "We" are charged with realising this city. There is much needing to be done.

VI
Epilogue: Afterthoughts from Stockholm and Sydney

Without intentionally setting out to create a coherent body of work nevertheless I find that, when considered in hindsight, the corpus of the research I have been conducting does appear to have focused on certain interrelationships between media, contemporary life, and the city. The result is a not inconsiderable body of work in which many of the most significant questions and problems facing cities today have arisen and been addressed in some ways. One interesting thing to note in these progressions is that, while there was no over-riding problem or hypothesis guiding the work in its production over the years, there nevertheless is a discernible point, what seems to have become a natural conclusion, reached at the end of writing *The Work of Art in the Age of Global Culture*. By the end of my Ph D, what had become apparent was the rising untenability of human life in contemporary consumer oriented Western cities like Sydney. This reality has been paralleled by the birth of what is sometimes called the posthuman condition in which the fusion of technology and the body becomes essential for survival.

However, in the practice of the everyday, what has taken place since the completion of my Ph D is the culmination of another project – and the birth of another child, a real child this time, full of life and fun and needs and wants, not to mention the pooie nappies, sleepless nights, and snotty running noses. With some correlation, my research interests have also shifted at this time – onto more real, and more rural, or at least more provincial terrains of regional settlements. These, it seems to me, have today become the most hospitable sites to sustain a more human life. What is apparent, both through these projects, and through the work of others, particularly Giorgio Agamben[24] and Paul Virilio,[25] is that the larger cities in the world are increasingly inhospitable to many forms of life, and rather than supporting the diversity and heterogeneity that Walter Benjamin saw in the agoras of 19th Century Paris and early 20th Century Berlin, today's largest cities are becoming mono-cultural habitats that support only one form and type of existence – the stressed-out, overworked, overdriven, hyper-competitive ghost of the consumer running between fixes in the city's shopping malls and the sites of their occasional casual re-employment. There appears to have been a shift in an age old balance between cities and the country. The country should no longer be discarded as insular, isolated, far removed, uninteresting, uninspiring, impoverished, inward looking, in-bred place to live.

On the contrary, the posthuman era upon which we are now entering has the potential to turn run down and long abandoned villages into attractive transnationally connected places in which rural livability contrasts with oppressive, congested, polluted, over-crowded, and terrified and terrorised cities. As Sean Cubitt once suggested in a series of on-line posts to a *Fibreculture* discussion, there is much to be said for living in the hinterlands.

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24 Some important sources I rely on for this discussion are Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1993, Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Stanford California, Stanford University Press, 1998, Giorgio Agamben, *The Man Without Content*, California, Stanford University Press, 1999, Giorgio Agamben, *Means without ends: Notes on Politics*, (V. Bennetti & C. Casarino trans) Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2000, Giorgio Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal*, (K. Attell trans.), Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2004.

25 Paul Virilio, Chapter 3 "Improbably Architecture" in *The Lost Dimension*. New York, Semiotext(e), 1991.

This brings me back, ironically, to a work I completed at the beginning of this long period of productive research, *The Holtermann Rephotographs*, a project which returns to the country and visually investigates the impact of human activity such as gold mining on Australia's natural environment over a hundred and fifty and more years. Only today, it is not just the impact of mining, farming, and the construction industries that should be re-examined, and not only how that continues to destroy Australia's native habitat, but rather, the impact of human activity generally in the world at large. What this suggests is a return also of an idea of a global village – not quiet in the way Marshall McLuhan foresaw – but more implicitly, in the form of an urbane and cosmopolitan rurality.

Now finally, in rounding off the findings of my research, there are just a few points I want to re- iterate;

1) *The Global City* is more than just the sum total of the globalising cities of the world. *The global city* is a city that, to some, perhaps quiet large extent, already exists. It comprises of a range of spatial and virtual terrains, and is comprised of the living spaces people inhabit as well as the mediated realms provided by technology.
2) The age-old relationship between urban and rural environments and provinces, largely a neglected area of the study of *the global city*, needs much greater earnest investigation. This promises to be a rich vein for individuals to rediscover, both intellectually and in practice, that it is no longer necessary to be in the thick of things in order to draw upon them. For being in the thick of things does not allow one to gain any better a perspective over what is happening in the vast expanses of the world.
3) Continuing research into cities should be focused on the problematic of *live-ability*. Here important questions arise concerning the quality of life in urban and rural precincts of *the global city*, measured not only by the quantity of experiences such dense urban environments give. Taken in correlation to a rural conflate, the rubric of the city in terror is not inconceivable. This can also be a useful intellectual foil to highlight one of the significant aspects and benefits of life in the rural quarters of *the global city*.
4) As argued in the opening of this paper, I believe there is a great but mostly unrecognised potential contribution to be made by practice led creative research coming from the arts and cultural sectors in the realisation of future projects about the city. And finally,
5) Allied to all of this the contests over notions of citizenship, of course, for cities are mere geographies of lifeless forms and structures without the individuals who inhabit and extend them. It is individuals working collectively who turn the physical spaces around us into a living habitus.

Here, issues such as racism, cosmopolitanism, migration, xenophobia, inclusion and exclusion are of concern in the re-interpretation and re-assignment of *the global city* as a both a place of refuge and a place of human asylum.

An Account of The Major Projects Presented in Vadstena

1) Gallery Exhibitions (1986–1993/2004)

The Holtermann Rephotographs (1987–1993/2004) *

format: Photographic exhibition of rural towns, villages, mining and allied industrial operations, and natural landscapes
issues and themes: time, photography, and history, social visual history, documentary, rural life in colonial Australia, Australian identity, the role of immigrants in Australia, 19th Century photogrpahic practices, industrial relations, aboriginal people
exhibited: Toured nationally through public galleries in NSW, Queensland, and Victoria, Australia (1989–1991). Exhibited at St James Centre for Creativity, Valletta, Malta, Jan – Feb 2004.

Images from the Underworld (1989–1991)

format: photographic and text gallery installation of city landscapes at night
issues and themes: urban mythology, unemployment, immigration, masculinity, alienation, de-humanisation, and urban decay, post industrial city
exhibited: *Myth + Identity* group exhibition, concept and curator John Grech. Toured nationally through Australian public galleries; Wollongong City Gallery, NSW, Aug - Sept, 1992, Nolan Gallery, Canberra ACT, May - June, 1992, Mildura Art Centre, VIC, Mar - April, 1992, Tamworth Regional Gallery NSW, Feb - Mar. 1992, Orange Regional Gallery NSW, July - Aug. 1991.

Spiritus des Corpus (1988)

format: photographic and text gallery installation of city landscapes at night
issues and themes: unemployment, masculinity and identity, alienation, urban decay, and the post-industrial city
exhibited: *Diversions* group exhibition, Tin Sheds, University of Sydney, Australia, 1988.

On the Edge series I and II (1986 & 1987)

format: photographic gallery installation of city landscapes at night;
issues and themes: alienation from the city, urban decay, place and identity
exhibited: various group shows in and around Sydney, Australia, between 1986 and 1991.

2) Radio Features and Live Performances (1993–1998)

Phantastic City; A City of Theories and a Theory for Cities (1998)

format: scripted radio feature incorporating voice/music/sonic performance,
issues and themes: a scripted radio hour long feature exploring contemporary city life, postmodernity and the city, mediation, virtuality, and subjectivity, love, identity, and community

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* Although I refer to *The Holtermann Rephotographs* in this essay, this work was not actually presented at Vadstena as it represented a rural project, and when I was compiling the material for the Poster session, I considered that it was not relevant to the conference topic.

broadcast: Radio Eye, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, (Radio National network), Feb. 23rd. 1997. Also broadcast by Radio Bronja, Public Broadcasting Service, Malta, Apr. 28. Re-broadcast on Radio Eye, A.B.C. Radio National, broadcast June 14, 1998

Isolations, (1996)

format: photo+text performance.
issues and themes: gay sexuality, suicide, alienation
performed live: "Health in Difference" Gay and Lesbian Association, Sydney University, & "Cultural Politics of Feelings", Macquarie University, Australia. 1996

Images From The Underworld, (1993–1995)

format: voice, text, image and sound performance, (concept & realisation J. Grech.).
issues and themes: underclass, unemployment, subculture, migration, history, Australian left-wing politics, governance and the city, media and representation, voice and memory, forms of identity and culture
performed live: Harold Park Hotel Pub Theatre, Glebe NSW, and other venues inc Cultural Studies Association Annual Conference, Victoria University Of Technology, Melbourne, Australia. (See also MA Project synopsis) 1993

3) New and Old Media Installations (1993–2005)

Interempty Space: The Global City (2002/2005)

format: internet installation (web site) incorporating photographic images, text, and maps
issues and themes: the global city, cultural mapping of Berlin, cultural citizenship, notions of space and virtuality, the work of art in the formation of the global city and global citizenship
published: www.jgrech.dds.nl,

Sharkfeed (2000)

format: internet installation (web site) incorporating photographs, moving image, sound, illustrations, and text
issues and themes: cultural mapping of the city of Sydney, child kidnapping, criminality, justice, racism, media representations, childhood, and stranger danger
published: www.abc.net.au/sharkfeed, www2.abc.net.au/sharkfeed,
exhibited: D>Art00, the New Media Showcase at the 2000 Sydney Film Festival; "Metropolis" exhibition, Museum of Sydney, 2000; ISEA2000 Paris.

angels and the city (1993–1996)

format: installation of contemporary images, family archival photos, video, sound, and 3D objects
issues and themes: citizenship, migrancy, and family/community relations in post industrial cities
exhibited: (concept, direction, photography J. Grech), Wollongong City Gallery, Australia, Mar-May 1996.

4) Recent Ficto- and Cultural Criticism

"The Monday Sirens" (2005)

genre: fiction/cultural criticism

issues and themes: post 9/11 State terrorism and the city, State Dictatorship (*the state of exception*), cultural memory of terror
publication: "PubliCity" (John Hutnyk ed), *Left Curve*, no 29, Oakland Cal., USA, pp 105-106.

"Nijmegen" (2003)

genre: fiction, art and cultural criticism, travel writing, life writing/autobiography, philosophy,
issues and themes: love, family, relationships, art, history, and memory, cultural readings of cities
publication: unpublished manuscript

"Love Play at the Schiller Cafe" (2003)

genre: fiction, art and cultural criticism, travel writing, life writing/autobiography, philosophy, romance
issues and themes: love, family, relationships, history and memory, cultural readings of the city, petite bourgeoisie capitalism, Amsterdam cultural history
publication: unpublished manuscript

"Living with the Dead:* Sharkfeed *and the extending ontologies of New Media" (2002)

genre: scholarly academic writing
issues and themes: ontology and the screen, media and the city, new media documentaries, theories of screen culture, new media theory
published: Rob Shields, Joost van Lon, and Greg Elmer (eds.) *Space and Culture*, Sage, vol 5, issue 3, Carleton Canada, August 2002

"Beyond the binary: New media and the extended body" (2002)

genre: scholarly academic writing
issues and themes: ontology, epistemology, new media, screen culture, new media theory, philosophy
published: *Mediatopia; On-line Symposium and Exhibition*, http://www.mediatopia.net/grech.html.

"Empty Space and the City: The re-occupation of Berlin" (2002)

genre: scholarly academic writing
issues and themes: cultural theory, citizenship, Berlin, the global city, space and power, democracy
published: Ian C. Fletcher and Van Gosse (eds), *Radical History Review: Citizenship, National Identity, Race, and Diaspora in Contemporary Europe*, Duke University Press, no 83, Spring, pp 114–142.

5) Conventional Scientific Research (1989 – Present)

The work of art in the age of global culture: Theory and Practice

Ph D Thesis (1998–2005, conferred in 2006), University of Technology, Sydney (research also conducted at the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis, University of Amsterdam, 2000–2004).
The Work of Art in the Age of Global Culture considers how mediated artifacts are transmitted throughout the world with a view of examining how they represent the examples

of “the work of art in the global city.” This thesis is not an examination of films about ‘the city’ per se, but a consideration of the relationship between visual forms of representation and the individual who interacts with art in the contemporary city. The objective is to examine whether and how viewers who engage with globally transmitted images may enhance their awareness of and participation in the formation and perpetuation of the global (mediated) city. By considering the role that mediated images play in this process, my thesis speculates on the continuing role of art in an age of global culture, in particular how art can help make the global city more democratic. Thus while the scope of the thesis is provided by films set in a number of cities around the world (principally Berlin, but also Los Angeles, and Amsterdam), my thesis explicates how these aid their viewer to participate as citizens in the global city. It extrapolates three different levels of abstraction in its analysis:
1) at an empirical level by analysing the artifacts;
2) at an historical and social level by analysing the contemporary city and citizenship; and
3) at a cultural level by analysing the role art can play in society today.

Images from the Underworld: A Mythical Cosmogony

MA Thesis by Research (1989–1995) University of Technology, Sydney
Images From The Underworld combines original photographic images with geographical and social history research, mythographical, theoretical and scientific writing, as well as autobiographical and fictional reconstructions to map a mythical underbelly of the city made up of migrants, workers, artists, flâneurs and other marginal travellers in Sydney. (See also notes on the exhibition and performance piece that came out of this work.)

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Paper from the ESF-LiU Conference "Cities and Media: Cultural Perspectives on Urban Identities in a Mediatized World", Vadstena 25–29 October 2006.
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On the Urban Surface: Historicizations of Haga, Sweden 1860–1985

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Re-evaluations of old urban built environments are often placed under the heading of gentrification, post-modern urbanism or urban renaissance, and as such, seen as only secondary effects of urban restructuring within post-industrial society. In this thesis, re-evaluations of old urban built environments are instead addressed as primary instances of the continual socio-spatial and imaginary co-construction of the city as a moral landscape. Spatial values and meanings are played out in asymmetrical power-relations and produce geographies in which "new" and "old" are intertwined with "nice" and "ugly", "good" and "bad" in varying ways. Although under contestation and, hence, in a state of flux, such geographies tend to dominate over long periods of time. Thus, any examination of their construction and reshuffling needs to cover a long time-period in order to avoid precipitate conclusions regarding their nature and timing.

This thesis regards re-evaluation as a phenomenon of its own and as a possible constituent to any place, but examines re-evaluation in only one case – "Haga" in Göteborg, Sweden – a place with origins in the 17th century and with a dense predominately 19th century building stock, which on the level of public discourse has gone from being "old and ugly", to being the "old and nice Haga." The focus on re-evaluations of old urban built environments aims to reveal the specific ways in which discursive practices of history and geography are intertwined in different discursive contexts over time regarding Haga and old buildings. The aim is also to discern the discursive instances of re-evaluation, and to highlight the unavoidable subjectivity and politico-ideological aspects of spatio-temporal knowledge. Three tasks have been undertaken. First, an analytical focus is worked out in order to enable a framing of textual co-representations of space and time: historicization ["historisering"], a concept that concerns discursive linking of contemporary existing materiality to a past temporality (Chapter 1). Second, texts are gathered in which the objects of research – "Haga", "old buildings", and "good old Haga" – have been represented as a "place" (space + meaning). Departing from an analysis of the historicization of these texts, which range over

150 years, different domains and imaginary geographies are discerned. On the basis of this analysis, the texts are arranged into four empirical chapters, each of them making up a field of regularity [regelbundenhetsfält] of its own (Chapters 2-5). Third, the differences in the historisations of each chapter are analysed in order to discern statements of contradiction. These contradictions, prevalent in every field of regularity, are sorted out as instances of ambivalence, i.e., embryos of re-evaluation, and in this case, the subsequent establishment of "old and nice Haga" (Chapters 2–5).

The headers of each empirical chapter define the result of the analysis of the field of regularity in question. Two of the objects of research – "Haga" and "old buildings" – are found to have been placed in the shadows of particular overarching conceptualisations: monumentality and the picturesque; the rural and the pre-industrial; "the welfare state" and nostalgia (Chapters 2-4). The third object of research – "old and nice Haga" – since being an object also of what in foucauldian terminology can be defined as a discursive formation instead appears as itself ("old and nice Haga") and with a bias in "the worker." Each chapter is summarized in the following.

Chapter one introduces the issue, gives a brief survey of previous research and outlines the theoretical perspective. While much recent research regards both "space" and "history" as dependent on and interrelated to shifting power-relations and human subjectivity, these perspectives nevertheless are seldom brought together as an object for research. This study of the establishment of increased urban heritage concerns (as played out in the re-evaluation of "Haga" into "old and nice Haga") needs to take a departure in the inter-dependence and co-construction of "history" and "space". The main theoretical tools chosen are the concepts outlined by Foucault (1969) for an archaeology of knowledge ("enunciation," "discourse," "field of regularity," "discursive formation," "contradiction," "rules of discursive formation"), together with what Gregory (1994) has called "geographical imaginations," and, particularly in relationship to built environments, what Landzelius (1999, 2001), has called "semantic spaces" (subjectively conceptualised spatialities), "spatial polysemy" (ambiguous meanings) and "resemantisation" (continual semantic reshuffling). The thesis suggests "historicization" as an analytical tool for discerning discursive linkings of contemporary existing materiality to a past temporality. The source material for the thesis consists of every text that concerns the objects of research where they appear as places (space + meaning).

Chapter two, the first of four empirical chapters, examines the appearance of Haga and old buildings "in the shadow of monumentality and the picturesque," and within what I define as a geography of urban attraction. The domain of urban attraction is delineated by the appearance of travel guides for Göteborg in the 1860s and by the historical context of an increased inter-urban mobility and a growing bourgeoisie. Research into Göteborg's geography of urban attraction reveals this literature as a crucial instance for the canonization of the objects of attraction with an astounding permanence. This geography originated as buildings, places and routes of the late 19th century bourgeoisie urban life, coupled with an astonishing lack of the "old and nice" within the urban centre. The "old" is, in terms of "picturesque," placed in the urban periphery. Moreover, research also reveals that later literature on Göteborg's history constructs a geography which parallels the travel guides' geography. Although Haga, in this context, is given a history up until the mid 19th century, its position is fixed in the margin through fateful con-fusions of name and space. Except for traces of a caponnière (reminiscent of the founding period) and bourgeoisie milieus, such as charity funded institutions on the outer edge, contemporary Haga remains largely absent in the geography of attraction, when it appears at all, it is "bad" as well as "ugly." The contradictions identified (embryos of re-evaluation) consist of two instances of ambivalence. Even if these texts comprise the same imaginary geography, Haga here appears as a possible object for the geography of attraction.

Chapter three, the second of four empirical chapters, examines the appearance of Haga and old buildings "in the shadow of the rural and the pre-industrial," which I define as a geography of memory. The domain, called the domain of the vernacular, is delineated by the appearance of "the dwelling-house" as the site of national identity at the time of the 1860's increased quest for the unique (at the dawn of industrial mass-production) but also further on in time. Apart from a reiteration of the identical spatial relations of centre-periphery as discerned above (concerning Chapter two), the geography of memory plays out the geographical scale of "the region" with primary reference to rural pre-industrial circumstances. The research concerns the position of urban vernacular built environments in the context of local associations, particularly in the context of the Göteborg historical museum up until the museum's 1967 investigation into objects of historical value situated within housing areas designated for clearance by the city (of which Haga was one). The 1967 investigation still conceptualised contemporary Haga in a fashion similar to the one discerned in the geography of attraction, in spite of the new programme from 1964 that emphasised the city's process of industrialisation over the last hundred years. In relation to the geography of attraction, the geography of memory also includes charity funded dwelling houses of the foundation Dicksonska stiftelsen; Västra Skansgatan, a street with many "typical" wooden houses [landshövdingehus]; the entire street pattern of the area. These objects can thus be discerned as a partial historicization of Haga. The contradictions identified (embryos of re-evaluation) consist of several instances of ambivalence in the geography of memory. One contradiction found is intrinsic to the social construction of "the dwelling-house" as an object of regional folk-culture memory. One contradiction has its origins in the 20th century continual efforts to save not only individual buildings, but entire areas from exploitation. In the 1970s, these appear as efforts to decompose the pervasive opposition of "the old" and "the new" in spatial planning. One contradiction lies in the insistence on an extension of industrial memory's objects (the factories) to the industrial era's housing areas. One contradiction lies in a stress on the need to also preserve Haga's atmosphere. One contradiction lies in the reconsideration of the museum's task and a demand for more active participation in contemporary issues.

Chapter four, the third of four empirical chapters, examines the appearance of Haga and old buildings "in the shadow of 'the welfare state' and nostalgia," and within what I define as a geography of sanitization. The domain, a domain of housing politics, is delineated by the appearance of public concerns in the mid 19th century to come to terms with a growing housing shortage in the wake of urbanization, and the successive transformation of such public concerns from practices of examination as well as physical construction, into a politics of physical as well as moral sanitization of existing urban housing with particular regard to Haga. Within this domain the "home" appears as the site of potential social progress and, hence, the place where material "improvement" becomes the most urgent. "Old" urban vernacular houses appear as definitely "bad," but similar to the geographies related above, picturesque and pre-industrial houses are accepted in the urban periphery, however with a distinctive nostalgic dismissal. The research, somewhat surprisingly, reveals a historicization of contemporary Haga within this geography, a historicization which nevertheless resolutely puts Haga's entire origin (physical heterogeneous appearance and mixed use) in the historical context of 19th century despised housing speculation. Hence, on an over-arching level of analysis of the historicizations, there are striking similarities between this field of regulation and the ones related above. At every instance, Haga appears as the most unwanted place in Göteborg, a marginalisation which eventually puts Haga in the position of the socio-material abject of Göteborg. When, in the mid 20th century, the power over spatial regulation was successively shifted to local authorities, Haga could be turned into the primary object of a local renewal and clearance project of Göteborg (running from 1962). Contradictions

(embryos of re-evaluation) are identified at three instances in the geography of sanitization: one which appears as a hesitation regarding the large-scale modernist plans of 1947; one which appears as the identification of Haga's inhabitants' legitimate approval of Haga; one which appears as a consideration of qualities of the contemporary existing Haga with potential for development.

Chapter five, the last of the empirical chapters, examines the appearance of "old and good Haga" and the corresponding geography of maintenance. In this chapter "old and good Haga" makes up the object of an entire discursive formation (in the sense outlined above). The domain, a domain of academic interest in urban issues, is delineated by the successive appearance of new objects of knowledge ("working-class housing," "19th century urbanity," "wooden construction" and "urban culture") in several disciplines and academic contexts and which together end up putting "Haga" at the very point of an intersection, an observation supported by the fact that several research projects on Haga emerged in the early 1970s. The chapter gives a short overview of a decade of controversies (early 1970s to early 1980s) concerning clearance versus maintenance of Haga; controversies which eventually put Haga in the new position of "old and good Haga," but which was a compromise for each wing. An early split in the "maintenance" wing is discerned as a crucial instance for re-evaluation. The main part of the chapter is left to the geography of maintenance. Setting out to save all of Haga, labelled, first and foremost, as "the oldest working-class district of Göteborg," the discursive rules however only qualified some of Haga's materiality to be historicizised. Apart from the objects already included in the museum's 1967 selection (charity funded dwelling houses of the foundation, Dicksonska stiftelsen; Västra Skansgatan, a street with many "typical" wooden houses [landshövdingehus] set the entire street pattern of the area), the maintenance geography was made up by an imagery of "the inmost," "the wooden construction," "the housing-function," "the turn of the century." This, in turn, marginalised Haga's physical and social heterogeneity in particular ways. On an overarching level this brought about a simple conversion of Haga's moral landscape from "outer-nice-new" to "inner-nice-old." This was at the expense of the previously emphasised outer edge, now the previously despised wooden inner poor part of Haga was brought to the fore. However, an even more crucial reshuffling of the moral landscape developed on the level of inter-related but unintended priorities that departed from the labelling of Haga as "the oldest working-class district of Göteborg." This order of priority successively reduced Haga's heterogeneity in building material. Examples of this are stone-houses in the middle of wooden construction, mixed building heights such as high-rise in the middle of low-rise, mixed use buildings such as work-shops located in residential areas, mixed aesthetic appearance such as modernism/functionalism in the mid 19th century urban vernacular, mixed building ages such as buildings less than 40 years old in the middle of buildings dating from the late 19th century, mixed social structure such as bourgeoisie, craftsmen, shop-owners or service sector employees in the midst of workers. These are found to be the main shadows in the geography of maintenance. Herein is revealed the inevitable relationship of imageries and the production of material space. Two contradictions are identified, contradictions which besides serving as intrinsic contradictions of a discursive formation and as instances for further re-shuffling, point beyond the discursive formation in question. One contradiction lies in the recognition of the experience of dwelling in Haga and emphasises the use-values of Haga's buildings. One contradiction maintains that Haga owns qualities that can never be destroyed.

Chapter six discusses some of the main results of the thesis and outlines some possibilities for further research. The fact of a continual historicization of old buildings and Haga, traced as existent over the past 150 years, however with shifting referents, is discussed as a contribution to the conceptualisation of the role of the past in the era of modernity. The re-evaluation of Haga and establishment of "the old and nice Haga" in the 1970s is discussed

as a new discursive formation, but it is the tracing of its genealogy, i.e., the fields of regularity within which the instances of ambivalence appear, that contributes to an understanding of the mechanisms of re-evaluation. An important finding is the existence of continual contradictions over time and in different contexts, and that the disciplinary production of knowledge in separated but parallel contexts supported the shift from a "pre-industrial and rural" to an "industrial and urban" object of knowledge. The discussion also concerns the fact that the contradictions were generally found to exceed the discursive rational normativity, and instead departed from conditions of affect and emotion. Beyond the discursive, other and affective aspects of the past in the present, were traced. It seems as if hereby the limits of the theoretical framework of discourse analysis are touched upon, and this may thus be one important issue for future research. Finally, the content of historicization of Haga turned out to shift dramatically over time. This confirms the hypothesis of the thesis that historicizations, as such, are continually subjectively constructed, whereby they overarch the post-modern era. There is no such thing as one single history of Haga, and Haga is not even one single place. Haga is many places, with or without overlap, with or without relations to each other, with or without unambiguous limits. Re-evaluation is continuously in progress. This thesis reveals how historicizations take part in the sorting of places and people over time and space. The scrutinization of historicizations' discursive and material effects has hence only begun.

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Preserving the Recent and the Most Recent Memories of Tel Aviv

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Since 2004 the website "Tel Aviv White-City" has been discussing the Modern Heritage of Tel Aviv, the built form of its identity. It is the result of a process that dates back to the 1970s, when artistical media began to deal with The White City as a memory device. This process testimonies how artistical media have been realizing *die Sorge* (Care) and, then, the preservation of the city, according to Heidegger's philosophical language. It has given birth to the restructuration of city's life and identity, and takes inspiration from the re-telling of local recent history. The latest results of this cultural mediatization of the city are the Conservation Plan, the new Master Plan and the Strategic Plan, determining a new urban development trend, the main theme of which is the reconstruction of the *telavivi* identitity.

This trend is the rejuvenation of a former one, that happened in the early beginnings of city's life, when artistical representations of the young Tel Aviv were nourishing the sense of place and, then, the cultural dimension of its development. In this light, Soskin's photographs and Gutman's drawings might be considered expressions of preserving the ensemble of the most recent memories of the city.

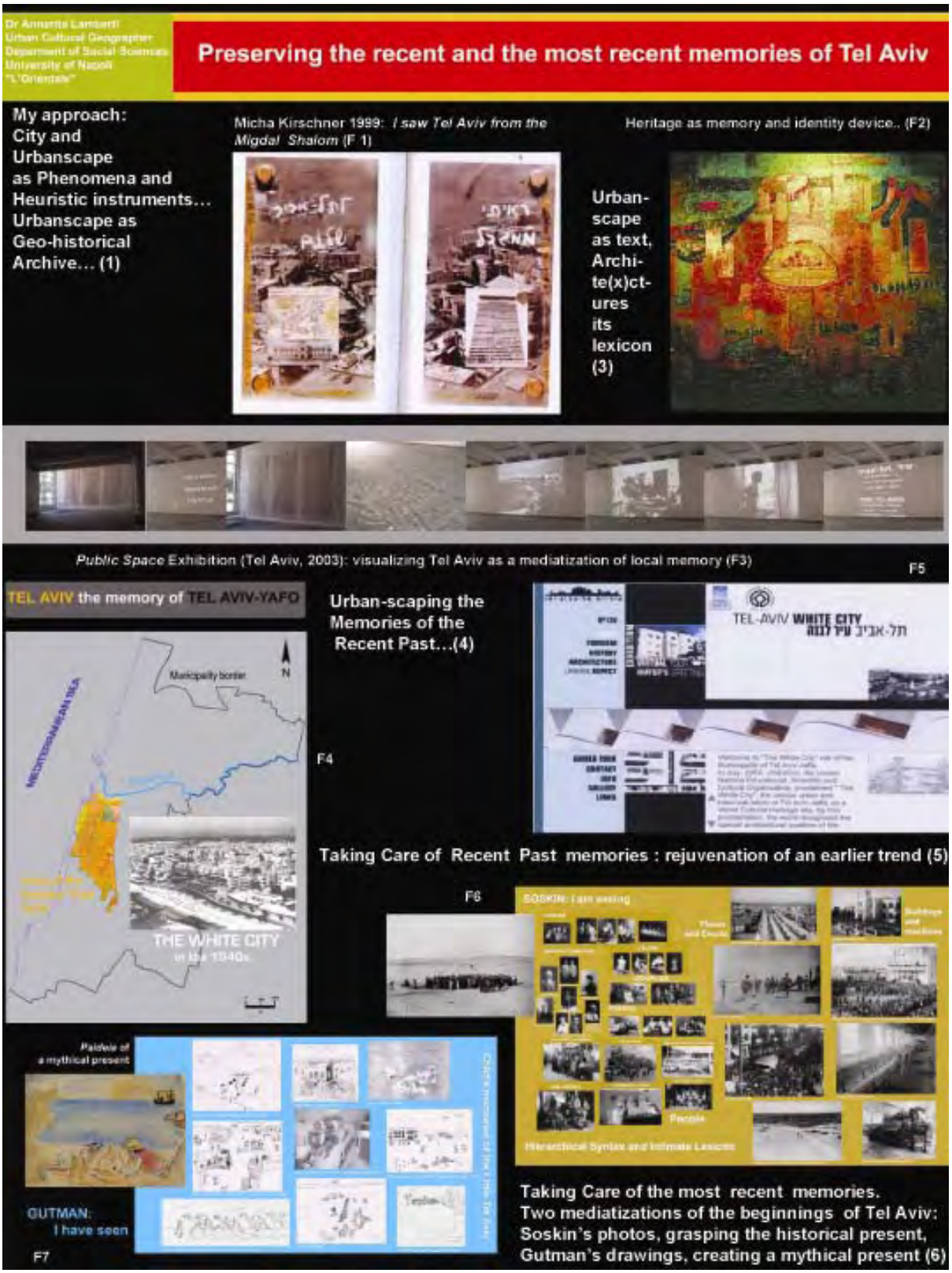

Figure 1. Micha Kirschner, 1999, Raiti le-Tel Aviv mi-Migdal Shalom.
I have chosen this installation to represent my approach. It shows part of Tel Aviv urbanscape at the current time with a layed on photo of the Migdal Shalom, an architectural element of the contemporary urbanscape (on the right), and with a picture of Rothshild Boulevard with the Gymnasia Herzliya at the end by Gutman (1959), and a design of the

Gymnasia façade (elements of the past Tel Aviv urbanscape). The handwritten text says: "I saw Tel Aviv from Migdal Shalom". Shifting his gaze from the present epoch, the artist has reached the true essence of Tel Aviv: the Gymnasia Herzliya, demolished in 1963 in order to build the Migdal Shalom.
Source: Omer, M. (ed.) 1999, *The 90th Anniversary of Tel Aviv-Yafo. Contemporary Cityscapes. Israeli and American Artists*, Tel Aviv Museum of Art, Tel Aviv, p. 192.

Figure 2: Gutman's mosaic detail
The photo shows a detail of Gutman's mosaic, placed in the Migdal Shalom.
In Gutman's mediatization of Tel Aviv the city is a memory device, represented by its current architectural bodies, among which he put the Gymansia Herzliya image, encapsulated in an out of time bubble: though it is a disappeared body, it is still nourishing Tel Aviv's identity and protecting the city.
Source: Photo by A. Lamberti 2003.

Figure 3: The *Public Space* exhibition
The sequence shows how the exhibition *Public Space* interpeted Tel Aviv with respect to its past memories and its multi-language representations, displayed in a room of the Helen Rubinstein Museum in 2003. Tel Aviv has been mediatized by its name, maps of Geddes'plan area, a satellite photo on the floor, films of an every day urban scene and the urbanscape in the 30s, a young woman, a song.
Source: Photos by A. Lamberti 2003.

Figure 4: Tel Aviv the memory of Tel Aviv-Yafo
The cartogram is composed by a scaled down reproduction of Geddes's plan (1938) and a photo by Kluger (1948), both layed on a map of Tel Aviv-Yafo Municipality. It shows the position of Geddes' plan area, i.e. Tel Aviv, inside the area of Tel Aviv-Yafo and represents its relationship with the whole Municipality.
Source: Elaboration by A. Lamberti 2005.

Figure 5: Tel Aviv White City
Source: *Tel Aviv White-City*, www.white-city.co.il.

Figure 6: Soskin: I am seeing
Source: Raz, G. (ed.) 2003, *Soskin: a retrospective. Photographs, 1905-1945*, Tel Aviv Museum of Art, Tel Aviv.

Figure 7: Gutman: I have seen
Source: Dagon, Y. (ed.) 1999, *Gutman's Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv's Gutman*, Gutman Museum, Tel Aviv.

(1) Tel Aviv and the mediatization of memories

Tel Aviv is not yet one hundred years old. It is still a young city but one of the most important aspects of its mediatization regards its relationship with the memory of its past. In the light of a cultural analysis aiming to point out the most peculiar aspects of Telavivi experience, Tel Aviv might be defined "the city of memories" and "the memory of the city".

My approach to cultural analysis of city and its mediatization is grounded on an epistemological trinomial: the city (as phenomenon) – the city (as heuristic instrument) – and Cultural Heritage.

As a phenomenon a city is always a specific urban situation, that cannot respond to a pattern or be understood and communicated according to the inflexible syntax of a theorical urban design. A city is a living entity, a kind of cultural life, where and through which society expresses itself.

But a city is also a complex instrument for deciphering territorial living and everyday issues. Analysing territories through the city-heuristic instrument permits us to recognize unusual aspects, that often cannot be seen. A city is an instrument-subject of *kata*narrative that reveals the multiplicity of territorial narratives. Its essence lies in its nature of territorial fragments, since it expresses the cultural and political positionality of local subjectivities, which a researcher can articulate if he/she makes his/her will of investigating synchronous with his/her research subjects'rhythm of life (Lamberti 2005).

My urban geography perspective leads me to consider *urbanscape* as a research field. The urbanscape is a phenomenon to be investigated but also a surface of visualization, where urban events appear, juxtaposed or layered, depending on the trajectory of observing subject's eye and his/her position in respect to the city. As the urbanscape is a visual synthesis of the city, it can also be considered as a heuristic instrument. This permits us to realize a methodological practice that allows us overcome the inflexibility of chronological and linear frameworks of research, giving us instead the possibility of connecting the interrogation of both past and present, moving unceasingly between them, observing their co-presence embedded in the urbanscapes. Besides the temporal meaning of urbanscape there is also a territorial one. The urbanscape is not only the skyline, the profile of the city, seen from afar, that often alludes to its rapid transformation into metaphor and the visualization of a bird's-eye view perspective just like in the maps, belonging to the huge and varied pre-Enlightenment cartographical corpus.

Urbanscape can also be seen *flâneur*isticly, according to an inside-the-urban-territory perspective: this is a condition in which the observing subject is completely immersed in the city, that he[/she] experiences with all his[/her] body, with all his/[her] senses (Benjamin 1939).

In this light, urbanscape can be regarded as a complex visual system, constituted by people, animals, vegetable forms of life, or inert natural elements that compose the soil where the city arises from, architectural bodies, places. The *flâneur/euse*'eye projects itself from the interior of the city and, at a human height, turns to different bodies, that compose it, keeping an equal relationship with it. The act of seeing-while-walking permits the *flâneur/euse* to redefine the urbanscape in the form of a text, which he/she belongs to and'writes' while he/she is travelling all over and experiencing the city. The urbanscape is the visual configuration of urban-territorial plots or narratives. The visual nature of urbanscape, rendered explicit by scape**,** the linguistic component coming from the Ancient Greek verb σκοπέω [scopeo] I observe, leads us to discuss the visual aspects of the remembering act in respect to the city: linking the city to memory is a complex issue of History or better of Hi(d)story(a). The word History includes one of the roots of the Ancient Greek verb ΄οράω [orao] I see: I am referring to the root of the perfect tense οἶδα [oida], that means I know since I have seen.

The word History means that the awareness of knowledge is inseparably linked to the experience of seeing. So, the cultural identity of an urban society, as the identity which can be considered as the awareness of "the self", which might be built and defined through a visual dialectical process with the city and through the re-narration and visualization of its memories, becomes an act of Hi(d)[see]story[-telling].

The city is a memory and identity device (Boyer 1994). Urban Heritage, as an expression of city's History-histories and memories, can be considered an instrument for critical processes of remembering, that may involve the preservation, or the deconstruction or the reformulation of different cultural layers of the city (Chambers 2001). The city as a phenomenon is an ensemble of its own memories that the city sets up on the basis of a spatial syntax. Through this spatial syntax the city holds, gathers and displays urban memories in the form of an archive to be lived in.

Hence the city is the active performance of a territorial body (Mazzoleni 1993) made of /built with its memories/Heritage (Poulot 1998). In the light of the process of visualization of urban identity, Cultural Heritage can be re-considered as a multiform system of memories embedded in buildings and places inside the city's territory. This system of traces assumes the meaning of Cultural Heritage when, and if, its cultural contents, which the spatial configurations of urban territories and bodies performed in the past, come to the surface of the present epoch or have been preserved along the course of time thanks to systems of transference (from the latin verb *trans-fero* I bring through); that is through *media* in the etymological sense of means or devices.

(2) Tel Aviv and memory

Since I am aware of Said's lesson (1992) that theory cannot remain pure or be confined in the Dustless Regions of Thought, but it needs to hybridize itself with phenomena and places, which it deals with and where it comes from, I bring with my approach to Tel Aviv and urban memory the sense with which the *Telavivim* build, elaborate, discuss their city as a "memory device", in order to excavate the particular meanings that memory assumes in Tel Aviv. This means investigating not only the relationship between memory and the city but also the relationship between Tel Aviv, memory in general and Tel Aviv's memory in particular: between Tel Aviv and the meanings of the Modern Heritage (Lamberti 2006b), between memory and its historical context. I am referring to the issue of the peculiarity of the Recent Past and the Recent Memory. To excavate the issue of memory in Tel Aviv permits me to focus on themes of the cultural and identity value of the Youth of Memory and the manner of freezing its freshness in the attempt to move from a phenomenal investigation towards a further and future hybrid conceputalization. The young memory theme is an important aspect in urban cultural studies and in urban development studies context because it regards the relationship between memory and current life of the city, and, this permits me to focus on the vitality of memory and on how it is included in current territorial and social plots (Lamberti 2006a). In Tel Aviv what is going on with regard to the process of mediatization of the city expresses not only the specific relationship that Tel Aviv has with its earlier 50 years of existant memory, but also with the attempt to freeze that memory, visualizing (in the literature mediatization too, particularly in Yoram Kaniuk's and Yaakov Shabtai's novels) the aspect of places inside Tel Aviv and their sense, before that memory, whose witnesses are often still alive, becomes simply a banal memory locked in the past. This trend of preserving recent memory, sustaining the memory of an epoch lived by the city and its architectural and artistical representations, is a means of inhabiting that memory in order to re-generate the memory of a way of being, in a period when the *Telavivim* and their city have been moulded: it secures the ongoing sense of place in/of Tel Aviv to an awareness of its identity. At the end of the 80s *Ariel*, one of the most interesting journal of Israeli art and literature, dedicated a special

issue to Tel Aviv, confronting the rediscovery of its own identity, and celebrated the topical aspect of its past with short-stories, poems, articles about specifical aspects of the Telavivi past, that describes the city as the cultural capital of Israel (*Ariel* 1989). Tel Aviv has been identified with the process of its Recent Memory-Past preservation, whose meaning lies in what Martin Heidegger defined *die Sorge,* or Care.

Heidegger's philosophical thought explores, commencing form the philological reconstruction of a lexicon, the sense of inhabiting, which he links to the acts of building and preserving:

> We do not inhabit since we have built; but we build and have built because we inhabit, i.e. because we are because we are the inhabitans *(die Wohnenden)*. But what does the essence of inhabiting lie in? The main aspect of inhabiting is to take care. It permeates the inhabiting in every single part. (Heidegger 1951a, p. 98).

Quoting Hölderlin Heidegger shows another aspect of inhabiting: «Voll Verdienst, doch dichtersich, wohnet Der Mensch auf dieser Erde (Worthfully, but poetically Man inhabits the Earth)» (Heidegger 1951b, p. 127). The adverb "poetically" refers to poetry, a form of Art and, therefore, according to Heidegger means-*medium* to realize the συμβάλλειν [sumballein], to bring together and to communicate different level of meanings, to mediatize. Poetry comes from the Ancient Greek word ποίησις, which refers to the act of bringing-outside-from, disclosing what is hidden «in this way what is hidden and the hiding are not put aside, but cherished and protected» (Heidegger 1964, p. 39).

In Heidegger's philosophical language "To Poetry" expresses his own trust in a kind of pre-scientific knowledge and intepretation, in which he searches for the true and deep meaning of 'to think' in *What does to think mean?*. In this work, the act of thinking is reinterpreted as a series of equations, which reveal that to think and to know how to think are linked to the acts of remembering- taking care of-cherishing-preserving (Heidegger 1954).

Inhabiting-Building include the Remembering-Preserving places: they all mean to produce a sense of place while producing and experiencing it physically. Dealing with cities and places within them, this complex of Inhabiting-Building-Remembering-Preserving might be considered as the cultural dimension of urban development.

(3) "The memory of the city" and the Architectural Heritage

An aspect of taking care of Tel Aviv's memory expresses itself in the identification of the architectural Heritage of The White City, in the heart of the city, the materialization-mediatization of the Municipality of Tel Aviv-Yafo's memory, which the city has to start from, in order to begin a process of re-development.

This process of re-telling local recent history, through the built environment of the city centre's urban places, dates back to the 1970s, when literature, and later paintings, architecture, cinema, and contemporary art installations began to deal with The White City of Tel Aviv, the built memories of its beginnings, representing it as the location of the happiest years of Tel Aviv life in contrast with the identity crisis, that the city was experiencing. The White City and its Modern Heritage are the architectural mediatization of the European origin of the main ethnic group of Tel Aviv founders and contemporary citizens, but currently they represent a transethnic identity device, which identify the "Telavivi tribe". Furthermore, the International Style aesthetics mediatizes the particular relationship, characterized by an equal and intense dialogue, that linked the Telavivi urban society and the Jewish Diaspora (Lamberti 2004). It has given birth to the restructuring of the city's life and identity, through the preservation of the Telavivi Modern Heritage. The results of this cultural mediatization of the city are the Conservation Plan (1997), the new Master Plan (2003) and the Strategic Plan (running since 2000, and currently in its third stage). These plans focus on the preservation of The

White City, determining a new urban development trend, whose main theme is the reconstruction of the sense of place, the sense of belonging to Tel Aviv and the awareness of the Telavivi identitity. The latest result is the website "Tel Aviv White-City" (white-city.co.il), that since 2004 has been discussing the Modern Heritage of Tel Aviv, the treasure and the built form of its identity.

The process of regenerating the Modern Architectural Heritage assumes a cultural peculiarity in the respect with this Heritage nature as medium of recent past memories. The Modern Heritage of Tel Aviv is the mediatization of a special history because not completed in the past but still alive. Modern Architectural Heritage is the ensemble of traces from a kind of past that more than other kind of past comes to our eyes as a place, inspiring new research and methodological trends, calling for an interdisciplinary approach, conjoining anthropological, geographical and historical insights (Lamberti 2006b). Architectures, "lieux de mémoires" (Nora 1992), hold eyes of social milieux, who built and inhabited them, and, furthermore, they mirror eyes of social and political milieux who are currently looking at them and taking them into consideration.

In Tel Aviv Modern Movement buildings, urban bodies, hold and transmit contents of a special History as it is local and recent. Their preservation allows the city to prolong its "recentness" and rejuvenate itself through regenerating its young memories.

The mediatization of this process happens in the term of *urbanscape-ing*. The website invites to experience the urbanscaping in a virtual manner, giving information about every single buildings, their designers, their locations on urban territory, and every events regarding the rediscovery of this Heritage.

On the other hand *The Discover Tel Aviv Centre* realizes its mediatization in a *flâneur*ist manner. Established around 20 years ago, The *Discover Tel Aviv Centre* is a non-profit organization that puts into practice this need for History and memory: it communicates the living history of Tel Aviv to people interested in and curious of it, through strongly subjective story-telling that highlights the "dream city" character of Tel Aviv, demolishing the cliché of a city ugly and too young to have a History behind.

Each volunteer of the centre, for the most part retired teachers, realizes a research about an aspect of urban space, that will be the theme of the visit in the urban places constituting the research fields. The centre offers a dense schedule of visits with a Hebrew speaking guide and a less dense one with an English speacking guide, addressed not only to tourists but also to recent immigrants, who cannot understand Modern Hebrew yet.

The tours constitute an opportunity to discover the meanings of urban space, perceived as banal and experienced in every day life without paying attention. They give information about the trasformations the city has gone through, and let the people imagine how the city looked like in the past, walking around the streets of the Geddes'plan area.

This tours are the product of the eye of old generation of the *Telavivim* searching for the traces of a no longer immediately visible Tel Aviv (Lamberti 2005).

Like the Conservation Plan and the Master Plan, which refers to the spatial logic of The White City, the *Discover Tel Aviv Centre* tours are projectual devices and cultural practices to inhabit the memory and rejuvenate it.

(4) "The city of memories": preserving the most recent memories

During the early beginnings of the city's life, artistical representations of the young and small Tel Aviv were nourishing the sense of place and, subsequently, the cultural dimension of its development. In this light, Avraham Soskin's photographs (Raz 2003) and Nahum Gutman's paintings and drawings (Dagon 1999) might be considered as expressions of preserving the ensemble of the most recent memories/histories of the city.

Soskin's mediatization approach: I am seeing

The narrative of the city, realized by Avraham Soskin, is a live historiography, thanks to the photographic medium, assuring the immediacy of information indexation, endowing the source with the character of truthfulness, derived from the visual quality of the historical finds.

Soskin's narrative logic can be synthesized as I am seeing, and, as a consequence, I take photos of the *Telavivim*'s stories and Tel Aviv's History for the next generations. Photography permits us to participate physically and emotionally in the hi(d)storiographical tale but, above all, permits to realize a very detailed narration.

The photographic corpus, produced by Soskin, constitutes a multi-historiographical narrative visual archive about Tel Aviv, concerning memory, stories and History.

Memory has to be considered as the past Soskin personally experienced. This act of memory expresses Soskin's intimist and subjective eye, who participated in the exceptional everyday life of the city as he was one of the *Telavivim* and not only as a hi(d)storical witness. Stories refers to the micro-historical tale of the events experienced by the *Telavivim* as they were founding, building and developing their city; they vary depending on the social, cultural, ethinic and gender typologies of the subjectivities who experienced and narrated them.

History concerns the value ascribed to the ensemble of the events scientifically documented by Soskin as Photographing-Subject, who recognized the exceptionality of Tel Aviv in the History of Jewish People and of Zionism.

Soskin had a remarkable historiographical awareness of his work. In 1909 Soskin began to record his activity regularly in his diaries, where he wrote:

> One day, it was in 1909, I was roaming with the camera in one hand and the tripod on my arm, on my way for a walk through the sand dunes of what is today Tel Aviv toward Jaffa.
> Where the Herzliya High School once stood I saw a group of people who had assembled for the housing plot lottery. Although I was the only photographer in the area, the organizers hadn't seen fit to invite me, and it was only by chance that this historic event was immortalized for the next generations. (Raz 2003, p. 6).

Yet the act of seeing is not neutral and does not come down to its physiologic dynamics, as it is strongly influenced by culture. Regarding the photography *The lottery of Achuzat Bait*, Soskin seems to perceive the dunes as empty, as pure space: he cannot perceive the territorializing acts, that other people realized on them. In the empty space of the dunes he saw only a group of *Eretz-Israeli* Jews Tel Aviv's citizens-to-be.

Soskin's photographical eye freezed this very starting moment of endogenization process of exogenous people (Lamberti 2005), who was going to transform that space in the Telavivi territory. Being part of the Jewish society of Jaffa and informed of the project to found the first Jewish city, Soskin selected with his eye just one narrative belonging to the space/place of the dunes at the North of Jaffa. In that photography there are no dunes but just the mediatization of a city-to-be, of an urbanity project.

Soskin entrusts the exceptionality of this Tel Aviv's History-(hi)stories-memories to a historiographical and archival methodology, which gives birth to a visual language, characterized by a hierachical syntax and an intimate lexicon.

The syntactical elements of Soskin's photographical language are people, considered as bodies of the *Telavivim* subjectivities either remarkable or not, pictured singularly or staying as different group formations, alluding to their role in the Telavivi society, showing its composition and articulation as a demographic document. People are at the top of the hierarchical syntax marking Soskin's language, followed by architectures (other kinds of urban bodies), events in the urban space, factories and things. The urban space of Tel Aviv, which houses all

of these syntactical elements-subjects, is conceived as a θέατρον [theatron] : the place for gazing, from the Ancient Greek verb θέαομαι [theaomay] I gaze, another word for I see.

Soskin's hi(d)-storio-photo-graphical experience consists of immortalizing the theatrality of Tel Aviv, a place where to attend this unfolding project.

Gutman's mediatization approach: I have seen

The logic of mediatization of city memory, revealed in Gutman's works, consists in the representation/transmission of his own personal memories, and it can be synthesized as I have seen. But it is characterized by a particular attitude: using a naïve and infantile graphical language, Gutman addressed to the youngest Telavivi generations, and he began to do it when the city was still living the most recent stage of its history, in the 30s.

The painting, ink and pastel on paper (1934), illustrating the poem *On the beach*, constitutes the manifesto of Gutman's approach: here Tel Aviv, a young city, is symbolized by two little children, a boy and a girl playing on the beach, from where the *Telavivim* have taken out the raw material to build the city (sand to make the concrete). Tel Aviv is mediatized as a real and vital presence, completely emancipated from Jaffa, that is evoked as a metaphor of Tel Aviv's oriental backdrop through the skyline in the up-left corner of the painting and in the shape of a castle of sand, the two children have made for fun.

Gutman presents his narrative of Tel Aviv History as a *corpus* of subjective memories of a child, who lived the years of its birth and the very firts development. The transmission of these very recent memories assume the value of παιδεία [paideia] that sets and tells to the infancy in the city the tale of a mythical and founding present, which has its origin in the infancy of the city: a mythical present that has to run forever. The visual tale aims to stimulate an emotional participation in what was going on in that foundation moment of Telavivi identity, constituted by both ordinary and exceptional events.

The Telavivi identity seems to be tightly related to the freshness of Tel Aviv's memories, that are preserved from the wear of the time and transformed in metaphor: Tel Aviv will keep its identity until it will be able to keep its past recent.

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Cronulla n'est pas Clicy-sous-Bois: On the Limits of Comparison

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Introduction

In November and December of 2005, riots occurred in the French *banlieues* and in two beachside suburbs of Sydney, Australia (Cronulla and Maroubra). These were both highly mediated events, the first in its unfolding organisation and representation and the second also in the role of talk radio and newspapers in whipping up the frenzy that would lead five thousand white youth to attack men of Middle Eastern appearance at Cronulla Beach on 11 December.

In both cases, the role of media must be analysed in complex relation to urban conditions and global flows. The circulation of similar images (cars burned or smashed in the streets) may be one reason for the rapid proliferation of comparisons between these events. But what are the force and possibility of such comparisons? And how might they function to produce new knowledge rather than as mere catalogues of similarities and differences?
There are three main aims:

1. To outline a description of the social thickness and specificity of the various dimensions and intersections by which these events link the cultural complexity of the contemporary city to the workings of media.
2. To ask what thinking these events together reveals about the possibilities for comparison at a time when local, national and global orders intersect and overlap in complex ways.
3. To suggest that the most important link between these events is the emergence of a new kind of political actor that poses serious challenges to liberal and national regimes of cultural integration.

Methods

The study employs the multi-methodological techniques of qualitative cultural research. There are three stages to the data collection and analysis:

1. Collection of materials associated with each event, including media texts across a variety of platforms (newspaper articles, television news reports, blog posts, etc.), images, ethnographic interviews conducted by other researchers, academic and activist commentary.
2. Critical discourse analysis of above with the aim of locating instabilities within and tensions between these texts. An important element of this analysis is contextualisation to gain an understanding of the concrete and virtual environments in which these events take place and interact.
3. Application of cultural and political theories concerning globalisation, citizenship and media to deliver nuanced analysis of the dynamic processes of interaction between the events and their significance for rethinking the operations of power, domination, resistance and unsettlement

Discussion

As a result of the methods described above, the following issues were identified as relevant for understanding the complex intersections between the events.

1. The need to develop a list of differences between the events, not as a critical analysis in itself but to provide a compass for such an analysis.

France	**Sydney**
French republican universalism—e.g., law on veil	Australian multiculturalism as official policy
Trigger event was death of two youths in power substation in Clichy-sous-Bois after police pursuit	Riots and counter-riots after beach altercation between life guards and football players
Media coverage emphasizes race/ethnicity rather than social conditions	Role of media in encouraging anti-Muslim riot, organisation with mobile phones
Some feminist criticism of left celebration of *banlieuesards*	Participation of white women in anti-Muslim riot
Four weeks duration	Five days
Spreads to other French cities but always confined to *banlieues*	Confined to Sydney, but riots take place in wealthy, predominantly white suburbs
Interior Minister Sarkozy calls rioters ‘scum’	Prime Minister Howard: ‘I do not believe Australians are racists’
State of emergency declared in *banlieues* using law dating from colonial period in Algeria	NSW parliament legislates to allow police to ‘lockdown’ suburbs, in some ways an extension of anti-terrorism legislation
French precarity movement—March 2006	No organisation around precarity despite passage of new industrial relations legislation
French troops to Lebanon—August 2006	Delay in evacuating Australian citizens from Beruit

2. There is a complex tangle of race, gender and economic conditions (including the lack of a political response to the crisis of Fordism) in the brewing of these events. An analysis that seeks to highlight one factor at the expense of the others is inadequate (this is often the case in both mainstream media and critical academic or activist analyses, although the former tend to play up the issue of security). There is a need to consider their 'intersectionality' (Williams 1994) in relation to the transformations of urban space.
3. There is a crisis in comparative studies due to emphasis on global interconnectedness in cultural theory (Harootunian 2005). One possible solution is to argue that global processes are also internal to the nation (Sassen 2006), although this leaves the challenge of comparing overlapping and intersecting entities. Media flows are a key element of this complexity and are certainly relevant to the comparison at hand.
4. The debate about these events cannot be entirely structured by concurrent debates about migration and border control. In both cases, the actors are not migrants (at least not recently so) but citizens whose exclusion from certain urban spaces (while it may entail certain technologies of internal border control—e.g., the lockdown) is not accomplished solely by juridical means.
5. In both cases, the violent action reveals the equally violent delimitation of citizenship in the liberal nation-state. The riots are not a struggle for recognition or ascension to fully-integrated cultural citizenship. Rather they involve the explosion into the political of supposedly apolitical actors. This entry entails the suspension of citizenship or, more precisely, the legal disarticulation of citizenship from rights (Farred 2006). At stake is not simply the 'state of exception', which operates by a binary logic allowing either the full rule of law or the complete stripping of rights (Ong 2006).

Conclusions

1. The global interconnectedness of these two highly mediated events at once mitigates against their comparison and provides the only interpretative horizon on which such a comparison might make sense.
2. What binds the rioters in France and Sydney together is the institution of a new political figure, neither completely citizen nor completely foreigner. More often characterised by dormancy, this actor interrupts the political sporadically to struggle against its own disenfranchisement. In so doing, it exposes the internal incompatibility of liberal ideals of multicultural 'integration' and modern nation-state structures.

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The *Free* Girl vs. Feminism Part II: "'Cause I'm Free, I Can Do What I Want to Do!"

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The first part of this paper called 'The Free Girl vs. Feminism Part I*: "Don't Get Me Wrong, I'm Not a Feminist or Something!"* is presented at the **Freedom and Prejudice Conference** in Istanbul in October 5th 2006. In that paper I aimed to open up a discussion space on the prejudice in contemporary Turkish society which is articulated and reinforced by the representations and messages of mass media against women's liberation movement and freedom, and the theories and studies that are carried out under the umbrella of feminism.

The Free Girl that is mentioned in the title of both of these papers refers to a popular Turkish musician, Nil Karaibrahimgil who first started to work in media industry in the advertisement sector, and then wrote and sang the songs of a cell phone advertisement campaign; at the same time she appeared on the visual materials as a drifter on the eastern part of the country singing "I am free" –that caused her to be known as the "Free Girl" until her debut album was publicized. In this paper I will try to explore the anti-feminist discourse generated by and with one of the white-*st and* free-*st* urban female image in the Turkish popular cultural scene and the dissonance of her adventures as a drifter in the rural and relatively less-developed areas of the country as opposed to her urban identity, by following the cell phone advertisements that she took part in. These cell phone advertisements are later designed as a love story and after a while moved into the city scene where a handsome boy tries to follow the cues and reach her, and as the "story" unfolds "episodes" become more urban and concomitantly much more complex and fast.

Starting with her image in the advertisements, she constantly tries to show to the Turkish audience how different she is, how she can do everything she wants, how she is free from all traditional bounds, which are also emphasized in her

album titles, covers and lyrics, and self-made unusual costumes as well as her remarks on the related subjects in the various TV and newspaper interviews. That seemingly *free* and *resistant* attitude falls apart when it comes to deal with the traditional norms, roles and values of being female in the given social context where she confronts with different social groups in front of the public. Therefore, I would like to discuss her urban, *free* and challenging public image which is elaborately –as it is claimed to be- *free* from any political view –especially feminism- and at the same time explicitly and implicitly negotiating with the existing social and cultural values of being a female with all the possibilities and the limitations Istanbul offers to women today.

Feminism and/or Anti-Feminism in the World

The anti-feminist discourses today cannot be considered as local issues, so to say that they are not specific to the Turkish context. All over the world, feminists have been accused of being man-haters, representing only white middle-class women's interests.[1] Backlash is supported by the misrepresented images and misarticulated feminist discourses by the mainstream media. The backlash can be traced to a response to 1970s feminism, this was as well the time "feminist arguments appeared to be gaining wider credence" and again "somewhere along the line feminism has become the 'f-word', perceived to be an empty dogma which brainwashed a whole generation of women into false consciousness of their relationship to power (Whelehan 2000:16)." Mass media have a major role in the "decline" of feminism(s) by the articles that are published in the newspapers and magazines, and by the TV programs and most of the movies, which are more popular and effective in reaching larger audience than the alternative media. Loudermilk (1997) says, "(a)ccording to media pundits, we live in a "post-feminist" age; feminism is passé. The term 'post-feminism,' at least as it's defined in the popular press, implies that feminism is over, that women have won."

As Whelehan points out that "(i)n today's cultural climate feminism is at one and the same time credited with furthering women's independence and dismissed as irrelevant to a new generation of women who no longer need to be liberated from the shackles of patriarchy because they have already 'arrived'(2000:3)." This new way of looking at feminism has been described as post-feminism or new feminism says Whelehan; but according to her "a definable threat runs thorough the language of culture, politics and mass media that is quite simply anti-feminist and anti-equality (2000:3)." The mass media stand in the center of this cultural and political context and by presentation and representation of the popular anti-feminist discourses, they articulate and reproduce the already existing values and prejudices in the society. The contemporary women also have to deal with the undermining and conflicting representations of their real life practices and experiences in the media.

As MacDonald points it out "(…) the biggest gap opens up between women's changing experiences and awareness, and the media constructions of themselves that they are regularly exposed to (1995:6-7)." On the one hand, they have become the active participants of the workforce in a variety of fields and liberated from the traditional bounds which used to limit their everyday life activities; on the other hand, mass media continue to produce and reproduce the binary oppositions and portray women as subordinated members of the society or simply the objects of male gaze. Mass media's presentations of feminists are steorotypical and similar to the women interviewees' answers in Paula Kamen's book: "bra-burning, hairy-legged, amazon, castrating, militant-almost-antifeminine, communist, Marxist, separatist, female skinheads, female supremacists, he-woman types, bunch-a-lesbian, you-know-dykes,

1 This could be a valid argument for the time, but then the feminism**s** raised their voices.

man-haters, man-bashers, wanting-men's-jobs, want-to-dominate-men, want-to-be-men, wear-short-hair-to-look-unattractive, bizarre-chicks-running-around-doing-kooky-things, I-am-woman-hear-me-roar, uptight, angry, white-middle-class radicals (*quoted* in Loudermilk 1997)".

Faludi argues that, the discourse in popular cultural products blame women's movement and feminism for creating unhappiness and despair among women.: "in Hollywood films, of which Fatal Attraction is only the most famous, emancipated women with condominiums of their own slink wild-eyed between bare walls, paying for their liberty with an empty bed, a barren womb. 'My biological clock is ticking so loud it keeps me awake at night,' Sally Field cries in the film Surrender, as, in an all too common transformation in the cinema of the '80s, an actress who once played scrappy working heroines is now showcased groveling for a groom. In prime-time television shows, from "thirtysomething" to "Family Man," single, professional, and feminist women are humiliated, turned into harpies, or hit by nervous breakdowns; the wise ones recant their independent ways by the closing sequence (2006)". Not only popular movies or TV shows also the popular fictions depict feminists or the women who "once" participated in women's movement as de-womanized, unhappy, lost the female characteristics in search of her own gender identity and or her own career.

Feminism and/or Anti-Feminism in the Turkish Context

There have been some confusion and conflict on the definitions of freedom, free life style and real life practices of these concepts in the Turkish context. The notions of freedom and liberation are mistakenly associated with having a pre-marriage sexual life solely, therefore in terms of preventing any "loose" labels, women today feel like they have to deny certain alliances or help creating public enemies by condemning and marginalizing the women who do have different and alternative ways of living. As Saktanber (1995) describes, there are two kinds of women representations in the mass media in Turkey: The free, available woman or the good wife and selfless mother. The "adjectives free or independent indicate that a woman is not under the protective mantle of a man or that she has violated the authority of the man under whose tutelage she legally exists" (1995:155). This point of view also suggests that "the sexuality of free, easy woman" is open to any gaze. At the same time, "free or bold women" were represented with an exaggerated sexuality that also makes them look like available and inviting. So the term "free" itself when it is used as an adjective to refer to woman meant to be the available and inviting woman rather than an acting and willing subject. This connotation was and still is one of the major fears of women, which made them refrain from any associations of being "free". From this aspect, feminism as the voice of women's liberation was reduced to the level of sexual freedom.

The prejudice against Feminism does not simply refer to about how it is understood; it is also about not willing to understand anything about Feminism or any *–ism* in general. This is as well not only about taking sides with feminism or anti-feminism, it is also strongly related with the apolitical lifestyles which have been imposed on the younger generations by a number of institutions such as families, education system and state regulations after the 1980 military coup in Turkey. After the experience of 1970s, when there were two major political sides in conflict and when people suffered due to the political views they hold, a systematic depoliticizing process was promulgated in 1980s. The younger generations were carefully and deliberately detached from politics and introduced and encouraged to be the faithful members of the consumer society.

> Paradoxically, when all the political activities were banned in Turkey after the military coup, a new feminist movement found for itself an arena to raise its voice. After the first unstable three years following the 1980 democracy break, well educated, mostly middle-

> class urban women started to seek the ways to redefine femininity and a new female identity. As Tekeli (1986:195) points out the main political trajectory before the 1980s can be linked to the domination of left-wing ideologies in anti-state circles. When Tekeli describes the first days of the movement in the 1980s, she says "we discovered just how thoroughly Turkish society was permeated by patriarchal and sexist concepts and the 'fact' that daily private life is the real arena of patriarchy (quoted in Grünell & Voeten 1997:225)".

Following the emergence of this new feminist movement, women magazines were published, one of the most remarkable one was called Kadınca; in the beginning it was a traditional women's magazine addressing issues such as beauty, sex, fashion, interviews with celebrities. When Duygu Asena and her staff took over the magazine its content changed and it became an important publication for the feminist movement. This publication and its attempts to open up a space for feminist views helped the word spread in the society but at the same time the "radical" statements created a general misunderstanding of what feminism really is. The idea of economic independence and some suggestions to women in terms of being able to have a life on their own have been understood mostly at the level of sexual freedom or hate against men, which I believe are the main confusions related with the conceptualization of feminism in Turkey. Concomitantly, feminism became a separatist worldview in the eye of the public and also feminists became "loose" and/or "mad" women.

Istanbul and Women

Istanbul is one of the biggest cities in the world with 13 million at present inhabitants. Starting with 1980s and continuing all through the 1990s, Turkish society in general and particularly the urban population of the country have been deeply influenced by the effects of the free market economy, new social and institutional regulations, rapid changes in temporal and spatial experiences due to the adaptation of new technologies, fragmented city structures, and establishment of commercial broadcasting stations among all other factors. These changes became more and more visible in the urban centers, especially in the city of Istanbul. One of the important characteristics of this era is the existence of the diverse groups or individuals being in the same places at the same time but managing to be there without having any contact whatsoever. There were invisible zones in certain sections of the city, along with the highly visible borders. One of the major discourses circulated in the social life was (and still is) being able to live the way one wants, which was articulated into a "freedom" based discourse. The demands of 1970s were originated from the "justice" for all, which shifted in the 1980s to the "freedom" for self originated demands, though the problem with that freedom was being free to choose anything and everything within a pre-determined consumer culture (Gürbilek (2001).

The dominant spirit of the era after the 1980s can be summarized as "no memory, no future, no ties", therefore the young generations' desires become running away from Istanbul, but at the same time from the country due to the insecurity, fear of future, feeling stuck between the traditional values and beliefs and the modern (or even postmodern) life styles. At the same time the matrix of economic, social and cultural climates constrain the mobility of a number of urban subjects in Istanbul. Only privileged minority posses the means to overcome that implicit stability. The fragmented structure of the city allows women to be on the certain places at certain times. The ones who live in the periphery do not experience the city as the ones in the center; they live in their own small communities. The ones who are in the center started to draw back from the certain parts of the city in order to avoid any possible troubles. Mass media's representations of women collaborate the male dominated discourse and show what happens to a girl when she asks for her freedom in the city. So once it was a place where you could be as free as you want, now it is the place where you will be scared as you live. At

the same time, the increase in the number of women who work and earn high salaries resulted with more and more women living alone in the city, as well as driving, shopping and going out at nights without the need of an accompanying men.

Istanbul opens up a space for urban middle-class women to be free and to be feared at the same time. Between these two maxims women in İstanbul still have to deal with multileveled aspects of traditional norms and values and male-dominated discourse. Sometimes being economically free does not necessarily mean that a person is really free.

The Free Girl and the Cell Phone Advertisements

The Free Girl came to our world by a singing a song "I'm Free" on the rural parts of the country with a back bag and a "*cow*girl" hat and the mobile phone in her hand, which was the symbol of her freedom. Later on we found out more information about her, such as she has been working in the advertisement sector, she was composing her own music, and she was going to release an album[2]. The *Hazır Kart* (Ready to use Mobile Phone Card) advertisements started to broadcast in the 2000s as an unfolding story attracted attention just like drama series, making the audience wait for the next episode. The main theme of these advertisements was consistent with the contemporary urban people's desire of running away from the city, yet not giving up the urban conformist habits provided by the new technologies: Being on the top of a hill and still being able to communicate.

Whelehan argues that there is individualistic kind of 'radicalism' of '*new*'[3] feminists. "This radicalism pretends the power of self-definition is all about being 'in control' and 'making choices', regardless, it seems, of who controls the 'choices' available (2000:4)." Yet Nil does not describe herself as a feminist neither 'new' nor 'old', her lyrics pretend to create a woman*ish* world-view. If one does not read/watch/listen her interviews in the media or if one does not listen to all of her songs, s/he could easily think that she defends women's rights, asks for equality and economic freedom. In one song she addresses her mother and says "Mom I've got to run, I don't want to cook rice". But in another song she changes her idea and addresses her boy friend and says "So I've got out of bed and made a cake for you". In her interviews she keeps telling that she is free to do whatever she wants to do and her mood changes so easily, she feels like a child all the time and everyday she 'resets' her memory leaving all the 'bad things *in* yesterday'[4]. She presents her life and herself as if she lives out of space with neither contextual nor spatial or temporal references, but definitely in her own 'world' and in her own urban settlement by holding the 'total' control in her hands. But on the other hand, she gets so confused or suddenly remembers that she lives in a country where the traditional values, beliefs and gender roles are important in the commercial success of her albums; so she decides to come out of this world and negotiate with the society's conservative discourses. As it happened in her latest album release, as soon as the questions posed to her about feminism she announced what she meant by buying her own ring the (main theme in one of her songs) was the 'opposite of feminism'.

Again Whelehan argues that "being 'in control' became one of the catchwords of the nineties in the parlance of women's magazines, but control always seemed to be about the right to consume and display oneself to best effect, not about empowerment in the worlds of work, politics or even the home. It was an expression of withdrawal from a wider political arena (2000:4)." As I mentioned the anti-*isms* period in the Turkish context, Nil sure is one of the best public figures, who fit the ideal persona of the global consumer society.

2 Nil Dünyası *(Nil Wor*ld) 2002, Nil FM 2004, I Bought My Own Solitaire Ring 2006.
3 I believe this statement explains the spirit of most of the urban young women today.
4 Interview with Ayşe Arman, May 6th 2006, Hürriyet Newspaper.

Conclusion

The “Free Girl”, she sure is not alone when she insists on not being feminist, not having anything to do with politics. Most of the young women and men share similar feelings and ideas with her; they hate feminism because feminism hates men, they hate politics because politics is a mess. The Free Girl has her economic independence. She has no financial expectations from men. At the same she thinks that women have to deal with a lot of problems in Turkish society. And as a successful advertiser she repeats one of her pad commercial lyrics during an interview where she explains her relation with women’s issues: “Having kid and career at the same time is almost like creating an art work. The ones who succeed in doing this are very important role models. Therefore I believe working modern women are having problems in this respect and they try to achieve this goal. They should depend on themselves instead of a man or their families. The summary of this whole idea is: Buy your own solitaire ring, buy your own diamond”. In another interview she clarifies mist about the issue: “ I speak to women and say go buy your own ring. That is why I wrote this song. I want this subject to be discussed, that’s why I brought it up. Don’t look for any feminist meaning here. I don’t mean that men should not buy diamonds to women; it is just women should buy as well. I address to women, I don’t have any complains about men”.

How it is possible to achieve such independence with political denial? How far any economic independence can manage to go without the collaborating social and cultural transformation? How long would any idea survive without its discursive and theoretical basis? Just because women are able to live on their own, that does not mean that women are subordinated anymore; on the contrary this pseudo-freedom creates a deeper and stronger subordination model. This time with superficial freedoms and rights, women get the illusion of being liberated from the patriarchal discourse and the traditional values. The backlash of feminisms serves to the male dominated discourse again.

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Re-employing *the literary*: the use of *the literary* in city identity formation in Brisbane

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The *Downtown Brisbane* and *Experience Brisbane* tourism campaigns of 2001 through 2003 sought to brand the city of Brisbane internally and, to a lessor extent, externally using the *literary*, particularly the identity and work of local novelist Nick Earls. While the cultural identity of some early modern cities, especially London[1], are contiguous with their literary heritage or a literary identity, the usefulness of literary components (such as authorial identities, literary events, and literary narratives connected to place) is underemphasized in accounts of contemporary cultural policy-making[2]. Of interest then, is the case of Brisbane's use of Nick Earls in its branding campaigns (and it might be said, Nick Earls's reciprocal use of the city in intermingling his own authorial identity and narratives with the identity and narratives of Brisbane) in i) the usefulness of literature in broadening the dimension of place, ii) the renovation of literature as a tool of cultural policy, but ii) the necessary subservience of the radical potential of literature to other functions, such as city marketing and the marketing of books.

The campaign addressed perceived problems in Brisbane's local and wider identity. Brisbane, the capital of the state of Queensland, is a subtropical city of 1.3 million people on Australia's eastern seaboard. Since 1970 it has been the fastest growing major city in Australia, and one of the fastest growing on the Pacific Rim[3]. It is sometimes taken to together with the Sunshine Coast urban developments to its north and the City of the Gold Coast developments to its south to constitute the "200 kilometre city" with a population of around 2 million people. Despite rapid growth in recent decades, Brisbane, historically, has

1 Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995)
2 Stuart Glover, Literature and Cultural Policy Studies. (Unpublished Thesis Uni of Queensland 2006) p.135–68.
3 Bernard Salt, "Brisbane - It's booming, it's brilliant, it's downright sexy" The Australian 3 Nov 2005. Available at http://www.brisbane-australia.com/103334.php.

been viewed as something of a cultural joke. For example, in an episode of the *Dr Who* television programme in the 1970s, Brisbane is described by Dr Who's assistant as "a negative interface to the universe"[4]. This is a problem not just for international tourism, but also for the identity of the city nationally, and for its residents. At the level of tourism, this "negativity" takes the form of Brisbane functioning mostly as a stopover city, with many locally believing this is because Brisbane lacks a major attraction. Tourists tend to spend only a single night in the city before heading off to the Great Barrier Reef or to the Gold Coast beaches.

In order to address these local and wider perceptions, Brisbane Marketing, an organization representing and funded by the city government and city retailers, conceived of the need for a campaign to re-brand the city. Its specific aims were to i) create coherent civic pride around a positive rather than negative identity for the city, ii) move perceptions of Brisbane in other Australian states from "sleepy city" to "happening city", and iii) present Brisbane as a hub from which the "in-bound market could explore surrounding areas"[5]. Only the first of these did not have an immediate commercial dimension.

With the help of a local advertising agency, Junior, two brands were created: i) *Downtown Brisbane*: which served retailers interests by emphasising the diversity and accessibility of downtown spaces, and ii) *Experience Brisbane*: which emphasized the diversity of "world class" attractions close to Brisbane. The campaigns had television and print advertisement components.

Significantly, both campaigns employ author Nick Earls as their front person and putative author. Earls had become one of Brisbane's best known identities on the back of the success locally, nationally, and, to a degree, internationally of a series of "lad fiction" novels—or *twenty-something* romances written from a male perspective mainly for a female readership—including, *Zigzag Street*, *Bachelor Kisses*, and *Perfect Skin*[6]. The *Downtown Brisbane* campaign for television, featuring 30 second and 60 second TVCs shown in high rotation, was built around a lad fiction narrative parodying one Nick Earls's own. In it, Earls, appearing as himself at a press conference, narrates the story of a gormless young local Brisbane man's attempt to romance a young Norwegian woman backpacker through a sequence of major downtown sites[7].

In the print campaign, *Experience Brisbane*, which took the form of an eight page A4 sized colour brochure distributed to Brisbane house holds, Nick Earls is called upon to re-describe the city and nearby sites as simulacra for more famous tourism locations[8]. Significantly, this campaign added cultural or creative dimensions to city narratives that traditionally had resisted the celebration of Brisbane cultural identity. Previous state tourism campaigns had emphasised the physical attractions of the area (beaches, reef and rainforest), while internal city campaign emphasized sport.

This *Experience Brisbane* campaign leant less on the structure of Earls's lad fiction narratives than had the *Downtown Brisbane* campaign and more so on his identity as an "author". It seems to take this function literarily, in asking him to re-narrate the city. Perhaps regrettably, instead of suggesting a distinct identity for the city and distinct locales and attractions within it, the print campaign emphasises Brisbane and its various locales as stand-ins or simulacra for more famous locations: Australia Zoo stands in for Kakadu; dolphin

4 Gerard Lee " HARPO", *Hot Iron Corrugated Sky: 100 Years of Queensland Writing*. Eds Robyn Sheahan-Bright and Stuart Glover (St Lucia: U QLD P) p. 56.

5 Junior "Case Study: Brisbane Marketing" Pdf file available from http://www.junior.com.au/html/folio/folio_bris_mkting.htm.

6 Nick Earls *Zigzag Street* Sydney: Arrow 1996; Nick earls *Bachelor Kisses* Ringwood: Penguin 1998; Nick Earls *Perfect Skin* Ringwood: Penguin 1999.

7 See http://www.junior.com.au/html/folio/folio_bris_mkting.htm for TVC footage.

8 See http://www.junior.com.au/html/folio/folio_bris_mkting.htm for images from the print campaign.

feeding at Moreton Island for Monkey Mia, Dreamworld for NASA; and Brisbane Forest Park for the Daintree Rainforest. As most of these locations are a day-trip away from the city centre, they were presented as "spokes" to Brisbane's "hub"[9]. Despite the downside to presenting the city as a second best attraction, the use of the literary in the negotiation of city identity was new. The previous emphasis on only the physical dimensions of the city was augmented by a concern for the cultural. This was timely, as it came during a period when the city had become more introspective about its identity and seemed keen to re-negotiate the negative images of the 1970s[10].

Not surprisingly, the city and the advertising agency have claimed the campaign was a success[11]. The campaign recognition was high: i) 50% of Brisbane residents claim to have seen the *Downtown Brisbane* campaign, ii) 90% of these agreed that the advertising suggests that *Downtown Brisbane* is a lively place, and iii) 40% of Brisbane residents claim to have seen the *Experience Brisbane* campaign. Correspondingly, stakeholders reported themselves as "extremely happy". Likewise, the campaign reinforced the high local recognition factor for Nick Earls. While Earls had often been featured in the local press and radio media, the opportunity for sustained, positive, self-authored television exposure is an almost unheard of thing in contemporary publishing[12].

As a conclusion to this short paper, three brief comments can be made about these media campaigns in its transmutation of the city, and of the relations between the city and the literary.

Firstly, the use of the literary broadened the dimensions of the city. The literary focus of the campaign was novel for Brisbane. It repaired to the city's identity something of its literary heritage (which also includes David Malouf, Steele Rudd, and Judith Wright) and a sense of the importance of its contemporary literary life (that includes well-known authors such as John Birmingham and Andrew McGahan)[13]. This seemed to be welcomed by the community. It suggested cosmopolitan and cultural dimensions to the city, which had been underplayed until recently.

Secondly, the campaign suggests a potential for *the literary* as a tool in cultural policy-making and place-making. Literature as an early, mostly pre-digital, media and creative industry tends to be marginalised as part of the 'arts agenda' in contemporary cultural policy-making[14]. The success of these campaigns suggest a use for mediated versions of *the literary* in the formation of city identity beyond its established employment in literary tours, literary festivals, ideas festivals, and the circulation of literary texts in their print format.

Thirdly, and more negatively, the campaigns risks the reduction of *the literary* into a simple a function of marketing. On one hand, it would seem a positive that, after decades of literary works and public commentary critical of Brisbane, that Earls's books celebrate the city, representing it as a life-style orientated middle-class metropolis—a representation that is mirrored in the tourism campaigns. On the other hand, the decision by Brisbane Marketing to use Earls and parodic versions of his narratives to represent the city, rather than a more

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9 Junior "Case Study: Brisbane Marketing" Pdf file available from http://www.junior.com.au/html/folio/folio_bris_mkting.htm

10 Stuart Glover and Stuart Cunningham "The New Brisbane" Artlink 23.2 (2003) p.16–23.

11 Junior "Case Study: Brisbane Marketing" Pdf file available from http://www.junior.com.au/html/folio/folio_bris_mkting.htm

12 For an account of the difficult relationship between literature and television see Graeme Turner "Australian Literature and the Public Sphere" *Australian Literature in the Public Sphere* Eds. Alison Bartlett, Robert Dixon and Christopher Lee. N.p. Association for the Study of Australian Literature, 1999. p.1–12.

13 See *Hot Iron Corrugated Sky: 100 Years of Queensland* writing eds. Robyn Sheahan-Bright and Stuart Glover (St Lucia: U QLD P).

14 Stuart Glover, *Literature and Cultural Policy Studies*. (Unpublished Thesis Uni of Queensland 2006) p.98–107.

politically attuned writer[15], while not surprising for a retail and tourism based campaign, negated the radical potential of literature. While the institutions of literature and publishing, and the authors operating within them, have long established strategies for celebrity-making and book-marketing, these campaigns reduce *the literary* from a critical function to a simple marketing function[16]. Even where there is a wider utility in the re-branding of a city, there would seem, in the function and operation of such marketing campaigns, to be a cost in the potential undercutting of literature's sometimes, but not always, more radical possibilities.

15 It is hard to imagine the city taking up and using the fiction of Andrew McGahan who has written widely about Brisbane's underclass, or Melissa Lucashenko who has written about Black–White relations in Brisbane.

16 See Joe Moran, Star Authors: Literary Celebrity in America (London: Pluto Press).

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Anchors Amidst the Flows: Urban Public Libraries and the Importance of Media Places

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With increased popular and scholarly interest in the impact of digital media technologies on city planning and urban living, the significance of physical places, where people can access material media, is often overlooked. I argue that public libraries play important social roles in facilitating media access for technological have-nots, in remaining as one of the city's few remaining freely accessible public spaces, and in maintaining environments uniquely suited to the access of physical media with distinctive material qualities.

Mobile media have made it possible to distribute the classroom, the office, the boardroom across the city's streets. When combined with locative technologies and the powers of the Internet, these new media technologies promise to bring customized information on-demand to anyone, anywhere. In these new technologies, many presume, lies a new promise of the universal library – although this time in the form of a hand-held computer, rather than a stately civic building recalling Alexandria.

Yet despite many proclamations to the contrary, the library as a physical place has not been obsolesced. Cities across North America, Europe, and Asia, and likely elsewhere, continue to commit vast resources to designing and constructing large, vibrant downtown public library buildings. In this presentation I will draw on my recent research on several contemporary, urban American public library buildings. In the interest of time, I'll offer just a few brief case studies to illustrate how these buildings function as public places and media spaces – how they balance their obligations to house media of various formats and facilitate public access to those media; how they serve a variety of urban publics as one of a city's few remaining free public spaces; and how, in both internal organization and outward representation, they embody the values, the identities, of the cities that host them and the myriad publics who use them. In doing all of these things, these buildings attest to the importance of material civic places within a network of global media and capital.

Figure 1. Unshelvable books at the San Francisco Main Library. Photo by the author.

Many libraries and architects learned from the mistakes of the San Francisco Main Library (see figure 1), which is notorious for failing to provide sufficient space for the library's book collection. Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas recognized that he and the team designing the Seattle Public Library must "devise a strategy where the books are given their place, are given their respectful environment, are given their value, but are also contained" so that space is also reserved for non-book media and public activities.[1] "There is certainty that there will be books," Koolhaas said, "but uncertainty about the varieties of other media. Only by creating a unique space for books can you maintain this tension and do each medium justice."[2]

1 Robin Updike, "New Library Design Goes Beyond Books," *Seattle Times*, 16 December 1999, B1.
2 Gary Wolf, "Exploring the Unmaterial World," *Wired*, June 2000, http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/8.06/koolhaas.html.

Figure 2. The “book spiral” at the Seattle Public Library. Photo by the author.

Libraries typically calculate their print collection growth for decades to come and build in more than enough linear feet of shelving to accommodate that growing collection (see figure 2). And they often secure external funding for elegantly appointed special collections and archival resource rooms – reassuring their publics that these precious, and often irreplaceable, material media deserve an appropriately respectful space for their preservation, collection, and access (see figure 3). Despite that fact that so many spheres of activity and kinds of information have been digitized, there remain – and will remain – pockets of the human stock of knowledge that cannot be translated into 1’s and 0’s. There is a materiality to particular media and artifacts and experiences that cannot be reproduced in a digital environment. There must be a place for this “material knowledge” – a place where people can feel the heft of a book, smell the ink of a newly printed magazine, turn gingerly the brittle pages of a worn manuscript or dig through boxes of historical photographs.

Figure 3. Western History Room at the Denver Public Library. Photo by the author.

Plus, libraries often save their grandest spaces for print media, integrating reading rooms in myriad flavors of “magnificent,” both classical and modern. Seattle’s designers recognized the unique experience of being in a grand nineteenth-century reading room and considered

how to translate that experience into a space appropriate for new technologies and new patterns of media use. The designers placed atop the building a huge, vaulting, elegantly but not stuffily appointed reading room that affords views of the city and the sound, and serves as a "majestic space well suited for the noble act of reading" (see figure 4).[3] Within the room are different conditions, from the intimate and informal to the rigorous and organized, from linearly ordered carrels to grouped foam chairs in an arresting red – for all kinds of reading moods, methods, and materials, both analog and digital. Meanwhile, the ground floor offers a more informal alternative: the living room, an "island of Persian rugs and cushy couches" (see figure 5).[4] The space's proximity to the fiction collection, the cafe, and the library store, and its provision of a variety of work areas and seating arrangements communicates this space's commitment to both traditional and new media and its dual purposes as a media-access space and a social space.

Figure 4. The top-floor reading gallery at the Seattle Public Library. Photo by the author.

Figure 5. The "living room" on the ground floor of the Seattle Public Library. Photo by the author.

3 Seattle Public Library, *Rem Koolhaas: Seattle Library Architecture Design Presentation*, videocassette recording; Randy Gragg, "Relax, Seattle: Library Will Work," *Oregonian*, 21 May 2000.

4 Sheri Olsen, "How Seattle Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Rem Koolhaas' Plans for a New Central Library," *Architectural Record*, August 2000, 24.

Seattle recognizes that it's serving multiple urban publics with varied information needs. The children's room and the popular library are on the ground floor, in order to accommodate patrons who cannot or do not wish to traverse the entire building to get what they came for. The foreign language collection is near a main entrance, too, for patrons for whom English may be a second language – and who, therefore, might not be able to follow signs leading them to foreign language resources deep within the building. Another population that the urban public library serves – and which often raises heated debates during public design deliberations, particularly among suburban voters who are averse to using their tax dollars to build what some refer to as a "daytime shelter" – is the homeless: media have-nots, and therefore those whom, arguably, benefit most from having access to a *place* where media are concentrated and freely accessible. Furnishings, finishings, and even media playback devices are often chosen with a mind to security and sanitation as pertaining to this population.

But libraries aren't only about media access; some also serve as places for media production and as outlets for commercial media. Chicago houses a tv production studio and music practice rooms. Inside Salt Lake City's Urban Room, a "foyer" to the library proper, one finds several commercial or cultural outlets, including Night Flight Comics, whose presence attests to the library's support of non-mainstream media and may perhaps attract a countercultural audience who might not otherwise visit Library Square (see figure 6). Then there are tenants committed to the support, exhibition, or production of media: the Salt Lake City Film Center and radio station KCPW, the Center for Documentary Arts and, perhaps in the future, two small movie theaters. This is a library that regards comic book shops and newsstands not as competitors – or commercial interests likely to tarnish the reputation of the pure, benevolent institution (that never was) – but as services that enhance the library experience for its patrons. As project architect Isaac Franco, of Moshe Safdie Associates, explained, the commerce will "be used by people whether they go to the library or not"; it "brings them in contact with the cultural institution" and may even eventually draw them inside amid the books and computers.[5]

Figure 6. The "Urban Room" at the Salt Lake City Public Library. Photo by the author.

We see in Seattle and Salt Lake City how urban public libraries must balance obligations to old and new media, to scholars and popular media consumers, to information haves and have-nots, to civic natives and new arrivals. They must balance the need to preserve material media and secure media technology, while also facilitating access. They must balance

5 Isaac Franco, personal communication, 29 July 2003.

commercial obligations while also celebrating their position as one of the few remaining freely accessible public spaces – one of the only places where those on the wrong side of the digital divide can cross that divide.

And, borrowing language from this conference's call for proposals, urban public libraries are also "interfaces between physical cityscapes, intersectional identity formations and representations of 'place identities.'" The architectural design process provides an unparalleled opportunity for institutional and civic closet-cleaning and psychoanalysis. What better time to prioritize the institution's and the city's values, to reassess the library's purpose, to reconsider what ideas it embodies, and to refashion its institutional and civic image, than when considering how to physically embody, or *anchor*, these values, to structurally accommodate these functions, to materially symbolize these ideas, and to reflect these images? Through the design and construction of a new home, libraries reassess or reaffirm who they and their cities are.

International starchitects are often commissioned to provide spectacular buildings that will put these cities on the global map. Preconceptions about "contextual" design are questioned, as libraries wonder how to design buildings that reflect the core values of their cities, while also drawing attention – and capital – from outside. New libraries often attract so many visitors – those who intend to use the library's materials or those there solely to gawk at the architecture – it is no surprise that many have argued, as Redmond Molz and Phyllis Dain do, that "libraries are regarded as visible affirmations of metropolitan vigor."[6]

Many of these cities found themselves attending to similar issues, dealing with similar pressures, and addressing similar questions in their public design processes, yet the disparity in their decision-making processes produced an array of results, from stately red brick boxes to crystal speedboats, to stacked boxes, to unwinding Colosseums (sic) – a variety that attests to the specificity of place, and place-based identities, in shaping media spaces. And all of which attest to the continued need for anchors in the sea of digital information.

6 Redmond Kathleen Molz and Phyllis Dain, *Civic Space/Cyberspace: The American Public Library in the Information Age* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), p. 208.