Title: Who writes the city?

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Short biographical details
Petra Gemeinboeck is a digital media artist, based in Sydney, Australia, where she is a Lecturer in Digital Media at the University of Sydney. In her works, Petra creates scenarios of encounter in which the physical and the virtual perforate one another, and the known and the unfamiliar intertwine. Her interactive installations and virtual environments have been exhibited internationally at venues such as Archilab 2004, Orléans, the Ars Electronica Center, Linz, Fabrica, Brighton, the Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago, and the InterCommunication Center, Tokyo and have been featured in magazines such as ARCHIS and Computer Graphics World.

Andy Dong is a Senior Lecturer in Design Computing and Cognition in the Faculty of Architecture, Design, and Planning at the University of Sydney. He has transformed his training in artificial intelligence, soft computing, and mechanical engineering into a research program that deals with the language of design and its politics. His research focuses on philosophical and computational studies on how design discourse comes to give an account of design practice and designed works. Andy received the Design Studies Award for the journal Design Studies in 2005 and has received several Australian Research Council grants.

Francesca Veronesi is research student in Design Computing and Cognition in the Faculty of Architecture, Design and Planning at the University of Sydney. Her thesis at Venice Institute of Architecture (I.U.A.V) dealt with a compared analysis of settlers’ and nomads’ spatial models of development in relation to architecture, technology and sustainability. Her current investigations consider the creative application of localization and mobility technologies to develop transformations and interventions in urban spaces. The theme of her current research is mapping local memories of places in Australian landscapes.

Abstract (no more than 150 words)
Locative media’s potential to turn the city into a canvas for writing and reading the city opens up a playground for revisiting the relation between the practiced and the mapped. The technologies that enable this playground link locative media arts practices to the arena of cartography and the Historicity of practices of mapping. Imagining the city as a playground of shifting spaces and fluid connections, how can these practices be sympathetic to notions of ambiguity and hybridity? Our locative artworks Impossible Geographies 02: Urban Fiction and Mapping Footprints, Lost Geographies in Australian Landscape explore this question by developing performative cartographic processes that represent the urban scape as sets of dynamic relations rather than fixed ‘objects’. In turning everyday devices of communication into performative mapping devices, the work positions itself in the problematic space of using surveillance as a way to unmap and remap relations in the city.

Keywords
Critical geography; cartography; locative media; mapping; performativity
Who writes the city?

1. Introduction

Locative media’s potential to turn the city into a canvas and a palette for writing and reading the city opens up a playground for revisiting the relation between the practiced and the mapped. The inscription (“writing”) onto this canvas is complicated through its reliance on precise categorical location which is itself reliant on surveillance technologies such as global positioning systems (GPS) and digital video. Locative media projects which annotate the city deposit digital data marked with the global positioning data of latitude and longitude to enable future tracking of the data. The process of reading these digital inscriptions is also dependent upon these same surveillance technologies. The same digital video used to monitor our activities in the city is also our lens for seeing into the multiple layers of the city that are often invisible to the naked eye. The technologies that enable this playground are thus the same that sustain and advance the politics of inclusion and exclusion, driven by anxieties of security and closure. They link locative media arts practice to the arena of cartography and the historicity of practices of mapping. In the article *Visual Regimes of Colonization*, Terry Smith argues how these practices and their forms of representation have served as instruments of colonization and territorialization (2002). As such, the practices of locative media are not immune from the political effects of mapping.

Locative media art has attempted to subvert the mapping processes through techniques such as multi-authoring or “opensourcing” maps. However, deploying locative media and its artistic ‘détournement’ of surveillance technology does not necessarily change the modes of writing the city. The process of mapping still is a reproduction of the predominant modes we know – modes that privilege the ‘objectivity’ of a map maker as ‘he’ bounds locations, assembles identities, and fixes relations.

Our discussion is thus motivated by a critique on contemporary spectacle driven artistic interventions that reproduce “realities we have long been able to name and to label.” (Rogoff, 2006)

If we want to open up the map, unsettle locations and unfix relations, we have to change the
mapping process itself. Imagining the city as a playground of shifting spaces and fluid connections, how can the practice of locative media be sympathetic to notions of ambiguity and hybridity?

Our two locative media artworks, *Impossible Geographies 02: Urban Fiction* and *Mapping Footprints, Lost Geographies in Australian Landscape*, experiment with these ideas by developing experimental modes of performative mapping and embodying narratives. Operating in the emerging field of ubiquitous computing, site-specific, and locative art, both works search for new means to develop temporary appropriations of space and to shape social and spatial relations. Their creative responses re-enact local memories by distant actors, recreate places as networks of practices, and reconfigure the nexuses between people and places. The practices of reading and writing the city that emerge from these works construct an unstable, ephemeral, in-between space, where identities, migratory and fluid, are released from being bound to places and find novel possibilities of encounter.

2. *Impossible Geographies 02: Urban Fiction*

The artwork *Impossible Geographies 02 (IG02): Urban Fiction* works the question of “who writes the city” by exploring the constitution of territories and their fault lines and how we belong to and hybridize these charged terrains. This locative media artwork utilizes networked, location-aware and motion sensing mobile phones to probe into the urban fabric and to produce an alternative, dynamic fabric that overlays the urban landscape. IG02 delves into the construction of urban identities as arising from relations between practices and the context. As such, rather than presenting maps of data about the city and its inhabitants, IG02 uses the concept of legibility through practice to depict relations between the city and its inhabitants. We hope to open a geographic inquiry into how participants’ practices write the city in relation to other geo-referenced discourses such as demographics.
The work imagines the city as a playground, where Calvino’s Invisible Cities meets Debord’s Naked City. In contemporary urban discourse, probably the most prominent invisible city is the filigree spun by the increasing flow of electromagnetic information that pervades our everyday lives. “Seen through their opaque and fictitious thickness” (Calvino, 1974, p.73), however, this city is only one of the many cities, invisible and visible, that we co-inhabit. Global flows of migrants, for example, weave a net of fragile threads – traces of their belonging to other places, which may be invisible to eyes that have never seen those places. The imbrication of these multiple spaces has a ‘thickness’ that might appear opaque or invisible, yet it is certainly not ‘fictitious.’ Mapping this playground in IG02: Urban Fiction, we develop alternative modes of reading and forms of representation for dwellers to write and read the city through a lens that harnesses these electromagnetic flows and renegotiates allegedly known data of the terrain. Writing the city, the dwellers weave geographies in which these multiple, partly intertwined, partly included and partly excluded spaces constantly reshape and reconstitute the boundaries in-between. The city becomes scripted into an embodied performance with the participants; the urban fabric is disrupted by this embodied performance, setting the condition of possibility for the impossible geographies. The ‘impossible geography’ that emerges from the imbrication of these multiple spaces is molded of a digital fluid that ‘unread’ and ‘rewrites’ practiced boundaries of the city, producing spaces in-between, hybrid spaces from which other relations, yet unknown, can emerge. Participants notice the changes visually represented on their mobile phone, prompting them to consider how it is that their presence and practices alters the identity of a space and how to read a space constructed from multiple identities and practices.

2.1. Molding a digital urban fabric

The project involves the city’s inhabitants in a corporeal negotiation of urban spaces and explores how these everyday negotiations can be performatively materialized to represent a ‘lived space.’ (Debord, 1977) Doing so, it transforms mobile phones into a motion-sensing prosthesis to trace participants from diverse cultural communities as they move through urban space. Their movements
and gestures are translated into virtual turbulences to fluidly transform a digital representation of the urban terrain, overlaying the terrain like a digital fabric. Other, allegedly objective, knowledges of the terrain, such as demographics, come into play to define the local degree of fluidity of this digital fabric. As participants move through the city equipped with this prosthesis, they collectively reshape the digital fabric and see the resulting images through the lens of their mobile phones. This situates the participants inside a feedback loop between their practices, the terrain and archived territorial knowledges. The entire generated ‘living map’, including the transformations of all participants, is projected in a gallery space, presenting a multi-authored tapestry of shifted urban zones and hybrid territories, interlaced with threads of subjective encounters, memories, and far distant geographies.

![Image: Figure 1. IG 02: Urban Fiction: participants' interventions reweave the digital urban fabric](image)

As the participants move through and inhabit different places within the urban fabric, their phones send the participants’ location (GPS data), the participant’s motion registered through accelerometers connected to the mobile device, and images recorded on site to a central server. A computational process on the central server interprets, mixes, and puts into context these data streams with other information about these places, such as demographic information based on georeferenced data contained in geographic information systems (GIS). The data of the resulting transformations is then returned to the mobile phones, where it is rendered and displayed via the screen. The sonic fabric layer, too, is composed on the server, streamed back to the phone, and can be listened to via headphones connected to the mobile phones. Prerecorded narratives and city
sounds and live recordings sent to the server are fed back through granular synthesis, where the parameters that distort the visual fabric determine the position, density, and size of the sonic grains.

2.2. Renegotiating Urban Territories

To create feedback loops between the inhabitants’ practices, the terrain and archived territorial knowledges, the work deploys particle systems and forces to express the iterative changes of the digital fabric. The particle grids allow us to computationally express the material properties of the digital fabric, a fabric as a material that can be brittle and porous and at the same time elastic and fluid. While the mobile phones perform as ‘lenses’ that probe into the urban environment and display the turbulent changes, it is the participants’ movements through space that creates the turbulent regions and eventually cause the fabric to fracture and the urban zones to drift. Bodies moving through a landscape charge the terrain inducing movement of the particles in the grid. The mobile instrument acts as a performative prosthesis to depict the zones, connections and gaps resulting from the motion of the particles.

The underlying concept for this particle system relates de Certeau’s politics of everyday practices and its ‘tactics’ to intervene with hegemonic powers (1984) to the geophysical concepts of gravitational forces and plate tectonics. As participants traverse the city’s physical zones and virtual borders, they act on the particle grid like moving force fields. The connections they make (“stitches”), gaps they produce (“rips), and areas they surround in the ‘real’ terrain (“space”) are expressed as deformations, eventually reconfiguring the ‘map’ of the terrain. The stitches shift and entangle the boundaries between geographies, while rips tear apart the fabric allowing other layers
to show through. The participants’ induced turbulences, made by gestures and sensed by the accelerometer, are attenuated by geo-referenced knowledge about the terrain that defines the weight and resistance of the fabric. Demographic data, such as age, ethnicity, and income, defines the local stiffness and thus the memory of the digital fabric. The digital fabric changes based on the interplay between the participants’ forces upon the fabric and the fabrics’ resistance, resulting in a map whose plasticity and permeability is dependant on the tension between what is allegedly ‘known’ and what is subjective, migrant and ‘lived.’

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 3. IG 02: Urban Fiction: Ripping and stitching the terrain** alludes to Donna Haraway’s construct of partial knowledge, “stitched together imperfectly” (1991, p.193).

The artwork generates a virtual tapestry imbricating the city’s sites, sounds, and activities recorded from its inhabitants. Eschewing placed and *a priori* mapped boundaries, the artwork produces emergent geographies in the form of alternative cartographies. While the digital representation of cartographies on the mobile phone screens has a visual homology to maps, they detach the traditional meaning of mapping as fixing and marking preconceived relations between subjects and places through their performative and subjective modes of construction – their performative geographies.

3. **Mapping Footprints**

*Mapping Footprints, Lost Geographies in Australian Landscape* looks at another scape, one that is submerged and lost beneath layers of history, and whose stories have been rendered mute. In an attempt to become a listener and a spectator of the narratives written or performed by contemporary
Aboriginal authors and artists, *Mapping Footprints* draws on the virtual space of the media, books, radio programs, theatrical performances, websites, films and documentaries to recover the silent and unreadable physical space of the city. This mediated space is full of stories about survival in a colonized place, adaptation to environments in transformation, cultural contaminations, and negotiations with the dominant culture transforming the connections between individuals, family, community, spirituality and land. The virtual space of media becomes thus an open space where expressions of the plurality and diversity of contemporary Aboriginal cultures could be hinged. The work was conceived in the stream of the ‘discourse of intervention’ (Gemeinboeck & Dong, 2006) theorized and developed by the series *Impossible Geographies*. The etymology of the word ‘intervention’ is ‘interposing’ from the Latin *intervenire* “to come between, interrupt.” This unstable, ephemeral in-between space is the object of this project. The in-between space is defined by oppositional terms; yet, it contains all oppositions: physical and virtual, nomadic and settled, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, a space shaped by confluences and intersections where dichotomies are blurred and their boundaries perforated. Mircea Eliade, writing about the “discovery” of India by Europeans, argues that “the analysis of another culture tends to reveal what we were previously trying to find in it or what we were predisposed to discover in it.” (Eliade, 1969, p. 9)

“Aboriginal people would tell you that you cannot know the country until you walk across it.” (Lee, 2002, p. 63) Following the resituated footprints on the land, getting oriented is about finding familiar elements to recognize and follow. In contrast, the driving forces within contemporary societies are operating to fade contrasts and reconfigure identities. In Western societies the ambiguous, impermanent, nomadic condition is celebrated by post-modern theorists and actualised by temporary spatial interventions while a mobilized market economy operates toward “the destabilization of identities, subjectivity and spatiality,” opening the choices “to belong anywhere, everywhere, nowhere.” (Kwon, 2002, p. 165) In former nomadic societies, processes of invasion, dispossession, forced settlement and urbanization are reconfiguring the connections between
people, knowledge and land. While the pre-existing web of oral maps radiating across Australian territories are lost or silent, a constellation of stories is colonizing the distributed space of media. *Mapping Footprints* is an attempt to collect and re-situate in the landscape memories sought by the excavation of media archives - contemporary repositories of knowledges. Ethical boundaries of writing the city are expanded by participatory practices of authoring space with the contributions of a temporary invented community of authors. Acknowledging Kwon’s definition of location as “relational and multi-sited”, the site where the process of mapping takes place “becomes a discursive narrative” (Kwon, 2002, p. 159) where the artist/cartographer is a narrator, a coordinator that makes a community operable. Stories about survival, adaptation and alienation in a colonized and estranged environment, debates and discussions about land ownership and use, and significant events congregating urban Aboriginal communities become the new locations mapped by this process of re-territorialization.

3.1. Re-writing footprints

The way memories of places are transferred merges two systems of orientation proper to nomadic and settled cultures, the oral and the map-based. The spatial sound compositions that convey audio sources originating from landmarks are mapped via the GPS map-based software AudioNomad (developed at the University of New South Wales) that traces the position of users in space and allow participants to drag subjective views and personal annotations onto the map. The sonic cartographies perform as counter-geographies of city spaces and allow for the participants to ‘write’ experiential maps. The practice of getting oriented utilizing a technology of control and surveillance causes, paradoxically, drift and disorientation to users wandering through a territory turned unfamiliar by voices from elsewhere. Connections on the map are constantly rearranged and reshaped by people movements which interlace places and narratives in subjective, unpredictable ways.

An enhanced landscape, augmented and mediatised by the overlaying of the virtual and the physical, delivers to the city readers voices of a temporary assembled community of cultural
producers. An immersive, narrative environment becomes the medium for transferring knowledge and bridging subjects, objects and locations. Such a liminal space reinterprets in a contemporary way stories of the Dreaming. Dreamtime stories narrate the creation of a particular landscape; they are associated with it and have no meaning for people who live elsewhere. This is because oral histories relate how to survive in a place and what are the natural features to rely upon. Emma Lee (2002) tells us that Aboriginal stories are intimately tied to the landscape; each story accommodates changes in the environment. In the mutant nature of urban environments, contemporary stories narrate the transformation of the space in-between, which we define as the space for resilience. Authoring such kinds of space means to “reoccupy lost cultural spaces and propose historical counter-memories.” (Foster, 1996, p. 197)

Figure 4. Mapping Footprints: Sonic narratives at the site of Kuringai National Park, Elvina Track

This performative way of using and producing maps reflects back to the discourse of intervention and engagement. Considering Fusco’s critiques to the use of maps made by new media, “what gets lost in this focus on mapping is the view of the world from the ground: lived experience.” Here, it is proposed a process of mapping that is performative; it traces trajectories of bodies in movement and requires a downward look “at the patterns and rhythms of the ground” (Bolt, 2000, p. 213).

4. An Ethics of Writing the City

The contemporary city represents, after all, more than a “container of culture” (Mumford, 1961). Rather, its ‘lived space’ (Debord, 1977) constitutes itself through social and cultural practices (de Certeau, 1984; Rogoff, 2000). In his book The Ethics of Identity, Kwame Anthony Appiah writes,
“If we are authors of ourselves, it is state and society that provide us with tools and the contexts of our authorship. We may shape selves, but others shape our shaping.” (2005, p. 156) The identity of a city’s inhabitants is thus conditioned on a social matrix consisting of the relations between the inhabitants, and the ways in which these relations are read and represented. Identity is thus in part authored by those who write and leave their traces in the city. What then is the relation between these identities or the practiced, according to de Certeau (1984), “a discursive series of operations”, and the city’s representation or the mapped, “a plane projection of totalizing observations”? If cities can be understood as the “being together of strangers” (Young, 1990, p. 240) how can we enact and represent an urban ethics of difference that contests the normative processes of what Iris Young refers to as “cultural imperialism”? (p.74)

4.1. Producing a Performative Geography

The concept of Impossible Geographies draws from an artistic practice that positions itself outside of dominant productions of knowledge and produces subjective perspectives from the margins. ‘Impossible’ here refers to what is commonly not seen and, in the context of cartography and location, what is commonly not mapped. The term ‘geography’ is concerned with cultural practices and differences in relation to space (Rogoff, 2000). It interprets ‘space’ and ‘place’ as a fluid, migrational construct which we always only temporarily belong to, rather than as something geographically fixed and bound. Thus, the ‘impossible geographies’ produced in this work, in a sense, address the hegemonic and colonial views that conceal, disguise and obliterate the reality of these imaginary places.

The work is concerned with the impossibility of mapping identity and belonging to places that are fixed and identified as locations. This ethical dilemma is foregrounded through our practice of ‘performative geography’. The practice of performative geography revises the teleology of mapping by unfixing the knower and the known, the cartographer and the placed data, respectively. Performative geography is a practice by which different actors iteratively and collectively produce a map of imaginary spaces, for which the social imaginary is, as according to Appadurai (1990), a
social reality. As such, this practice seeks to enact hybrid and performative relations that open up multiple entries and hybrid conjunctions rather than affirming authority to a hegemonic, all-knowing cartographer.

Performative geographies render tangible the politics of space and engender the ‘hybrid spaces’ of postcolonial theory. The digital fabric becomes the performative text through which to read the production of spaces and zones. The evolving connections and gaps between these zones display a fluid, fragile web of belongings and un-belongings that can only exist outside the static grid of a single-authored map. Between the grid lines in this experimental cartographic representation, readers of the city can find spaces between binary opposites, opening up for them a ‘third space’ from which other positions can emerge. (Bhabha, 1994) Looking for such ‘third spaces’ evolving between the imbricated textures of the urban fabric, *IG02: Urban Fiction* prompts dwellers to find counter-spaces (Soja, 1996) that are foreign to their preconceived traditional cartographic space.

Fluid and transversal, the cartographies are of a temporality that is always intrinsically connected to other temporalities elsewhere (LiPuma, 2000). The urban cartographies thus unfold in drifts and hybrid montages that emerge from the situated, partial and interpreted knowledge of the ‘terrain,’ (Haraway, 1991) drawing “a migrational or metaphorical city [that] slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 93).

4.2. Authoring the City on the Playground of Locative Media

Current art practices in the field of locative media are often criticized for rarely engaging the way in which the technologies reaffirms hegemonic location-based practices. (Hemment, 2004; Holmes, 2004; Crandall, 2005) Acknowledging Fusco’s critical investigations about “new media culture’s fascination with mapping – a fascination that it shares with the military strategists” and her concern that “in the name of a politics of global connectedness, artists and activists too often substitute an abstract ‘connectedness’ for any real engagement with people in other places or even in their own locale” (Fusco, 2004), questions are posed about the ethics of reading and writing the city. Through the availability of positioning and mobile technologies, city dwellers become at once map makers
and map users. The challenge is to unfix the subject from the grid so that, in Deleuze and Guattari’s words, “the map is open, connectable in all its dimensions, and capable of being dismantled.” (1984, p. 13) *IG02: Urban Fiction*, evolving from intervention and interference rather than surveillance, embodies a map that has “multiple entryways, as opposed to the tracing, which always comes back "to the same."” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, p. 13) A cartographic representation of ‘lived space’ thus needs to include the floating and unanchored to serve, what Rogoff calls a “form of geographical unframing, the boundary line which signals that there’s an outside that is a form not of surveillance but of interference.” (2000, p. 91)

Feminist discourses on spatialization and subjective heterogeneities propel cartographic concepts that engage with dislocating, unmapping and juxtaposing geographical territories to shape relations that emerge from the situated, partial and interpreted knowledge of the terrain (Haraway, 1991). They open up an experimental space for ‘maps’ that represent what Rogoff describes as ‘multi-inhabitation’ of multiple co-existing spaces “through bodies, social relations and psychic dynamics” (2000, p. 23). Rogoff suggests that “geography in its cartographic forms serves as an anchoring structure which sustains subjects through legible and familiar articulations of belonging.” (2000, p. 94) Such ‘legible and familiar articulations,’ however, do not leave room for notions of fluid subjectivities, plural narratives, or differences that must not be absorbed. In questioning traditional epistemologies and introducing subjectivities into the arena of geography, feminist geography privileges a discovery and process driven practice, able to produce knowledge about “a world that is permeated with particularity and intersubjectivity.” (Poon, 2005, p. 766) This shift from dominant quantitative geographic practices changes the way in which both cartographers and subjects are involved in this process of production. Since, according to Donna Haraway, knowledge can only be acquired through knowers situated in particular subjectivities and social contexts (1991), the power of ontology needs to be moved from the expert to the user (Poon, 2005). Digital representations in which knowledge emerges from a mutual experiential engagement create a polyvocal geographic discourse (Kwan 2002; Poon 2005). Such co-authored dynamic maps involve subjects as active
participants (Kwan, 2002), and interpret non-quantifiable everyday experiences and how they relate to what has been measured.

*IG02: Urban Fiction* attempts to democratize the freedom to write the city through performative modes of mapping, producing urban geographies that can be read as sets of dynamic relations rather than fixed ‘objects.’ It develops a cartographic practice by means of which the subjects, inhabiting that which is mapped, constantly change the mapped through their practices of inhabiting. The decision to deploy mobile phones rather than custom built devices expresses our desire that future advances in mobile phone technology (e.g. incorporating GPS) will allow any city inhabitant to co-author this “other map.” This counter-map evolves much faster than the city maps we know, constantly unfixing and remapping previously drawn relational patterns in response to changes in the inhabitants’ practices. It thus changes the teleology of cartography from the constrained, normalizing viewpoint of a single author toward a dynamic, participatory cartography that introduces elements that are not typically linked to cartographic forms.

5. Parting Thoughts

The negotiation of political and cultural views enabled by these works unleashes locative media’s potential for augmenting the physical environment with generative relations and adaptive semantics. This reification is recognized by Drew Hemment as critical in order to ask questions about this media’s relationship to dominant logics of representation and how it forces a reassessment of established ways of representing in relation to the world. (Hemment, 2004) Anthropologist Anne Galloway (2006) further suggests that the reconfiguring of our understandings and experiences of space and culture by locative media can contrast the fixed rigidity of traditional cartographic forms as well as the authoritative purpose of surveillance mechanisms. The artistic use of these technologies opens up an ambiguous performative zone in which known data such as global position meets the uncertain emergence of the unmapped, unknown data such as everyday activities and ‘cultural’ practices.
IG02: Urban Fiction and Mapping Footprints put into practice a confluence of mobile technologies, urban geography, and situated knowledge (what the participants do) to create instruments for writing and reading the urban environment. In turning everyday devices of communication into performative mapping devices, the works position themselves in the problematic space of using surveillance as a way to uncover relations in the city. We appropriate the power structure of surveillance as a playground to enter the ontologically contested space of questioning the modes of inscribing the city. In doing so, we aim to redefine urban cartography as a multi-dimensional, participatory instrument.

On the part of the cartographer there is a need for a self-reflexive approach to the process of mapping. Her role has to be re-invented and re-negotiated throughout the process by exposing the methods through which narratives are assigned to landscape features and positioning her ‘outsider’ perspective within the geographical narration. The derived reductions, manipulations and subjective interpretations bring into the ethics of authoring space questions of authorship, ownership, and cultural difference.

Who writes the city? Our answer would be that the city is written by a multiplicity of authors through the practice of performative geography to create an urban ethics of difference. IG02: Urban Fiction and Mapping Footprints are our instruments for introducing city dwellers to this practice.

6. References


http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=441


