THE NEW CIVIC EXHIBITION

Rethinking Cartography And Urbanism In The Experience Economy

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«Map-making, even when apparently most objective, is, like any representation, not the straightforward transferral of visual data to a surface that it might seem. Representation chooses what it measures and conveys. And already in this brief discussion, different forms of subjectivity have surfaced. The most basic is that subjectivity arising from who and what we are, and from the nature of representation, which prevents us from ever making maps or any other images which are exact equivalents of what they represent. Overlaid on this is the subjectivity created by the shared culture of large groups. Only encounters with other cultures, across space or through time, draw attention to its existence. Often, dominant groups assume that the shape of their world is the shape of the world. But there is increasing recognition that other groups live in other shaped worlds which can be mapped in different ways.» [Boyd Davis]

Now more than ever, the way we plan cities is out of touch with the way we live in them. As the city moves in the direction of being primarily a creator of inherently subjective and perspectival experiences, we still plan from the top down. As widespread vacancy and divestiture of intention from artifice opens the door for multifarious visions to be simultaneously projected upon a piece of the city, we still plan in bounded, contiguous, homogeneous districts. As we watch region after area after place after space abandoned for no reason, we still

plan as though we can solve the problem by making a better version of what we replace.

The ways in which we have traditionally documented our inhabitation of the world and proposed changes to that inhabitation are, for the most part, ill-equipped to address conditions of urbanity which, increasingly, characterize the modern city. The act of mapping is, at its core, the act of selecting and representing finite sets of data - an «output» from the real world, so to speak. The act of planning is its inverse; it is an «input» to the real world, but it can only be articulated and proposed in the context of a «world» simplified to the point of being legible and understandable - which is to say, a map. All too often, the inherent relationship of these two disciplines is underappreciated. Contemporary movements in cartography and geography have begun to illustrate how the reading of data from the real world can move radically beyond the traditional parameters of mapping, but contemporary planning has been slow to recognize the implications of these shifts. As the ways we live our cities change and the discipline of planning encounters new tasks and challenges, it becomes imperative to develop our mapping strategies and our planning strategies as a unified tool or set of tools for the tasks at hand.

A map, first of all, is undeniably a subjective document. The cartographer chooses, arbitrarily or by agenda, a boundary for the map, a set of information to show, and a resolution at which things can be shown, among other parameters. By overlaying this selected information onto the physical shape of territory, the map can claim objectivity and authority. In the broadest sense, a map is information selectively sourced from the real world superimposed upon a representation of the real world. The map does not have to involve a top-down view of territory. It does not have to be at any particular scale. It does not have to be two-dimensional. It does not have to be static. North does not have to be up.

Traditional practices and ways of mapping and notions of the role of maps have developed the ability of cartography to show certain types of systems and certain types of human activities at certain scales. As we will see, other types of systems, activities, and scales are marginalized or excluded from expression through traditional mapping, and this exclusion is increasingly constraining the ability of the map to effectively describe the urban conditions into which we propose plans.

A plan, of course, is also subjective. A plan is a representation of a proposed change to the physical environment. The planner proposes change as a means of changing, in turn, the systems and patterns of human use of the physical environment. This is the obvious subjectivity of the plan; it is, in most cases, an explicit tool for the enactment of an agenda. This subjectivity, however, is nested within the subjectivity of the map. Although the plan represents a proposal for a change to the actual world, it cannot be drawn or delineated in the context of a genuinely universal view of all the systems at play. Even if it were possible to document such a universal view, the creation of a representational modification of that impossible document would be tantamount to the implementation of the actual strategy in the real world - as in the hypothetical case, addressed by Jorge Luis Borges and Lewis Carroll among others, of a map at the same scale as the territory it purports to represent and the subsequent blurring of the line between map and territory.

All plans represent changes, subtractions from or additions to the world, but are in fact articulated as changes, subtractions from and additions to a subjectively articulated base document - a map. Thus, the capabilities of plans to exert influence are contingent upon, the capabilities of maps to show the systems that are to be influenced. As de Certeau states,

«to plan a city is both to think the very plurality of the real and to make that way of thinking the plural effective; it is to know how to articulate it and be able to do it.»
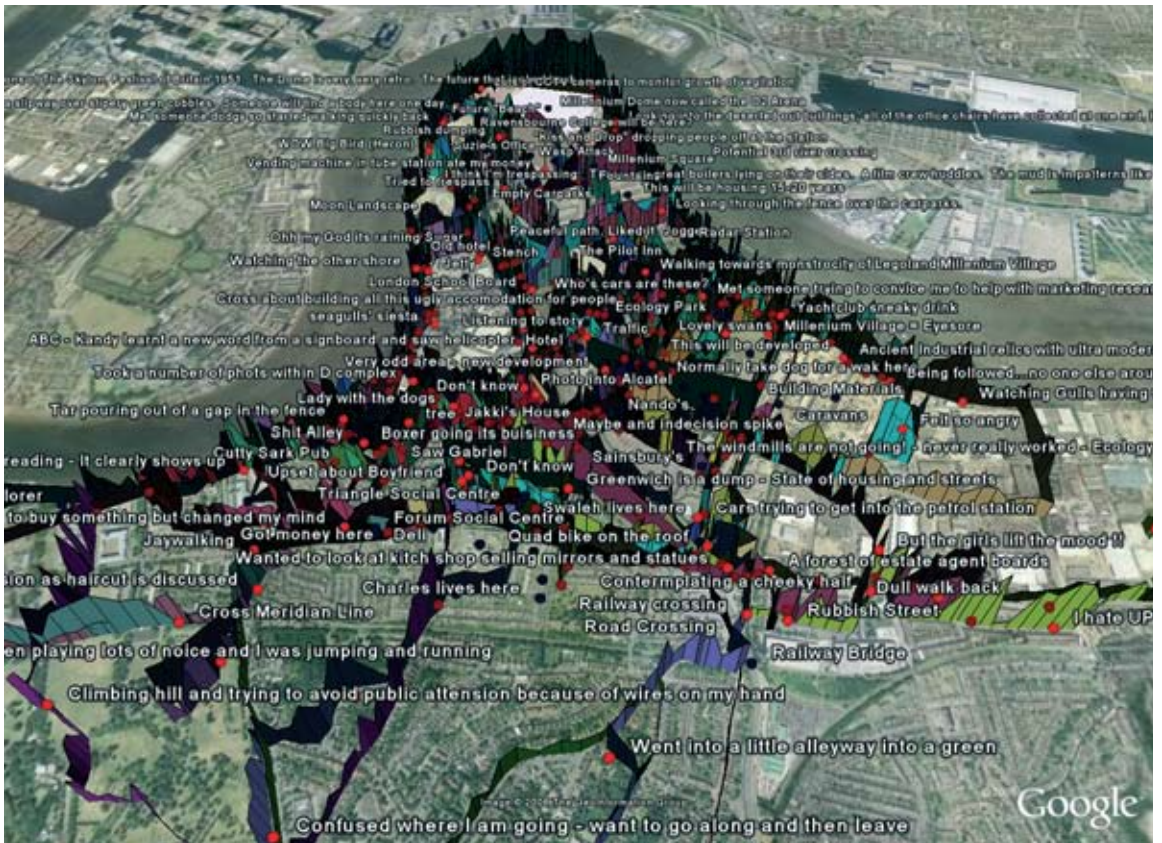
Christian Nold's Greenwich Bio Mapping project plots the galvanic skin response of participants with respect to geographical location, annotated by the participants' description of events during walks around the city.

Recent movements in geography and cartography have begun to revel in the inherent subjectivity of the map and the act of mapping. Cartography is for some,

«fundamentally an instrument of power... an abstraction from concrete reality which was designed and motivated by practical (political and military) concerns; it is a way of representing space which facilitates its domination and control.» [Lacoste]

and the practice of generating maps an arena in which to not only articulate oppositional stances, but to actually do the work of opposition:

«Feminist geography has provided a valuable critique of the lazier generalisations concerning time-space compression. Massey (1993) was among the first to point out the unreasonableness of suggesting that spatial compression was the same for everyone at a given historical

period, regardless of wealth, gender or other factors. She highlights how the degree to which we can move between countries, walk about the streets at night, take public transport, or venture out of hotels in foreign cities, is not influenced simply by universal changes such as the flow of capital or the availability of technology. In the same volume, Rose takes exception to just that kind of apparently objective mapping described above, arguing that " This transcendent, distanced gaze reinforces the dominant Western masculine subjectivity in all its fear of embodied attachment and in all its universal pretensions " (Rose 1993: 71). One alternative lies in the use of timespace mapping, a conscious attempt to reintegrate cultural subjectivity – in this case women's spatial mobility, their access to resources, and the power relations which constrain these into representation.» [Boyd Davis]

For others, the advances in technology which have made available more types of data in greater quantity and with greater ease of access have brought about by necessity new types of maps and new ideas of what can constitute a map, or at least new ideas of what can be shown on a map. Christian Nold's *Bio Mapping* projects are a prime example:

«Bio Mapping emerged as a critical reaction towards the currently dominant concept of pervasive technology, which aims for computer 'intelligence' to be integrated

everywhere, including our everyday lives and even bodies.» [Nold]

Artist kanarinka's performance piece/ installation *It Takes 154,000 Breaths To Evacuate Boston* consisted of the artist running all of the government-established «evacuation routes» for the city and displaying an empty jar for each of the 26 routes she ran, each containing a speaker playing back a recording of her breathing and the ambient noise she encountered during her runs. The installation stands as representative of the air she breathed in pantomiming an attempt to save her own life. She states that

«The project is an attempt to measure our post-9/11 collective fear in the individual breaths that it takes to traverse these new geographies of insecurity.» [Thompson]

In the presentation of the work on http:// evacuateboston.com, she displays maps of her running routes with numbers of breaths and other statistics, inventing a new, and personally defined, parameter to be displayed. She links the visceral and personal act, sound, and impression of breathing to the impersonal, bureaucratic detachment inherent in the creation of the cadastral, universal evacuation maps.

Arzu Ozkal's Daily Media Diary of Turkey shows more examples of new quantities to define and map; she first extrapolates

Turkish national results from three successive elections into a map of the political climate in Turkey in terms of sympathy towards the East or the West. Her website http://tr-act.info then

«examines the fundamental on-line publications of each (religious or secular activist) group every day and looks for combinations of recurring phrases (i.e. political party names, commander names... etc) in the daily news. According to the data it parses, it generates a screen where these recurrences are represented in quantity with a set of graphical items.» [Sourced from website]

The website then projects the data on to a map of Turkey. The two mapping exercises offer a look at long-scale [over the course of years] and short-scale [day-to-day] shifts in the Turkish political climate.

We Feel Fine, a web-based piece by Jonathan Harris and Sep Kamvar, mines blogs for sentences including the words «I feel...» and cross-references this data with the writer's age, gender, geographical location, and the weather conditions at the time the post was made. These projects begin to hint at the potentials of dynamic technology to show conditions of overlap and coexistence in subjective and moving fields such as experience and opinion.

Arzu Ozkal's Daily Media Diary of Turkey plots mentions of critical topics and individuals in the Turkish media.
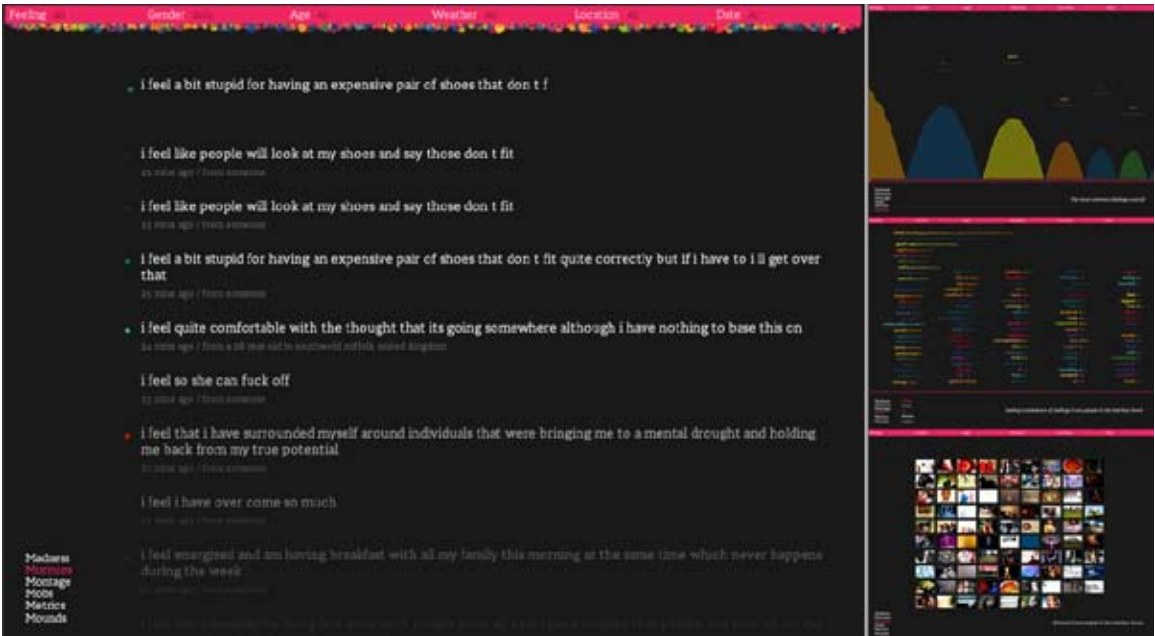
Jonathan Harris and Sep Kamvar's We Feel Fine offers multiple views of a data set harvested from blog posts. The various viewing methods allow the data to be analyzed in terms of several quantitative and qualitative variables such as age, gender, geographical location, weather at the time, and the content of the actual post.

These shifts, or potential shifts, in the way we think about maps, can be seen as implying a corresponding change in the tools we use for planning. The corollary to this, however, is that if we start from the assumptions that [a] the tools of mapping and planning are not fixed, finite or definite as we currently know them and [b] the map and the plan are intimately tied to one another, we must therefore come to observe the mapping-planning tool kit as a singular entity subject to reform if we are to solve the pragmatic concerns faced by attempts to plan the built environment.

In order to address any of these topics, it is first necessary to understand the history of planning as a discipline and how it has co-evolved with mapping. Throughout history, those in power have commissioned the creation and alteration of urban spaces to suit their needs and wants. During and after the Renaissance, in the Western world, thought was increasingly given to the physical city as a tool of shaping societal behavior and reflecting the humanist ideas of the time. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that the idea became widespread in Europe and America of planning as a basic function of modern government.

Friedrich Engels' The Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844 was significant not only for the impact it would have in the origins of Communism, but also for the awareness it spread of the realities of urban life. Before the rise of photography and the automobile, there were few means and little incentive for a non-city dweller to come to an understanding of the crowding, lack of sanitation, and abject destitution of in the dense urban residential districts. According to LeGates and Stout,

«The connection (Engels) draws between the physical decrepitude of the urban infrastructure and the alienation and despair of the urban poor remains valid to the present day.»

The newfound awareness of inadequate living conditions as a major social problem [coupled, doubtlessly, with the observation that such conditions contributed to public unrest leading to the French Revolution and its accompanying Reign of Terror] led prominent thinkers and public officials to increasingly view the planning and structuring of the city as the task of a government to improve quality of life for its citizens. As the crowding of slums was in large part the first problem to be tackled by administrative city planning, the first modern urban plans were efforts to de-concentrate the urban poor and ensure access to fresh air and open space for all.

In the context of the investigation of symbioses between mapping and planning, Engels' and others' description of the problem to be solved is worth an examination. Engels identifies the social qualities of «brutal indifference and unfeeling isolation» of one urban dweller towards another, the stagnant air, the crowding, and the accumulation of filth and waste as the main problems in working-class Manchester and working-class districts around the industrialized world. He notes the apparatus by which its existence had gone continually unnoticed - the lower strata of the bourgeoisie maintained the ability of their businesses to appeal to the upper classes by maintaining a thin veneer of organized commerce and apparent cleanliness onto the thoroughfares by

which the wealthy traversed the working-class districts. He describes various methods by which these slums were constructed - some as haphazard and opportunistic appropriations of any available space, others as densely packed and regimented rows of units constructed in a single project, but all with the same inadequate provision of space, amenities and human dignity. The text describes this type of inhabitation as being more or less homogeneously spread throughout its spatial domain with as little regard to geography or context as possible. Engels establishes that it is the economic system of the times that has created these inhumane conditions, and not necessarily physical geography. Nevertheless, his writing constitutes a description of a context within which the newly minted «urbanist» could work, and a problem for the urbanist to solve. It therefore, effectively, performs the function laid out earlier for the map.

As Engels' description of the problems to be solved in the city was in the form of text, the proposals for solutions that immediately responded to it were also textual. Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto touches briefly on the purported need to blur the boundary between town and country; Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson's Hygeia; The City Of Health and Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities of To-Morrow, although both textual and not graphic, were as much works of urban planning as were any of the

siteless, abstract schemes that would later be published by architects-cum-planners as images and models.

As urban planning became established as a discipline and planned towns and districts were actually put forth for construction, the articulation of site-specific solutions was forced to become more visual and graphic in nature, both because of the necessity for a normative representation of the scheme for the purpose of construction and because of the political requirement to get approval from investors, governments, and electorates who may not have been inclined to read a treatise on planning if it was not in their field. It's possible that this shifting of media towards the concrete, visual, and spatial tools already used in the field of architecture is responsible in part for the twentieth-century attempt by architecture, as a discipline, to subsume the field of urban planning. It is worth noting that until the early twentieth century, architects were conspicuously absent from the formative discussions of urban design. This can be contrasted with the contemporary state of the professions in which it's rare to find an architect, firm, or academic department that doesn't bill itself as an expert on urban design or planning.
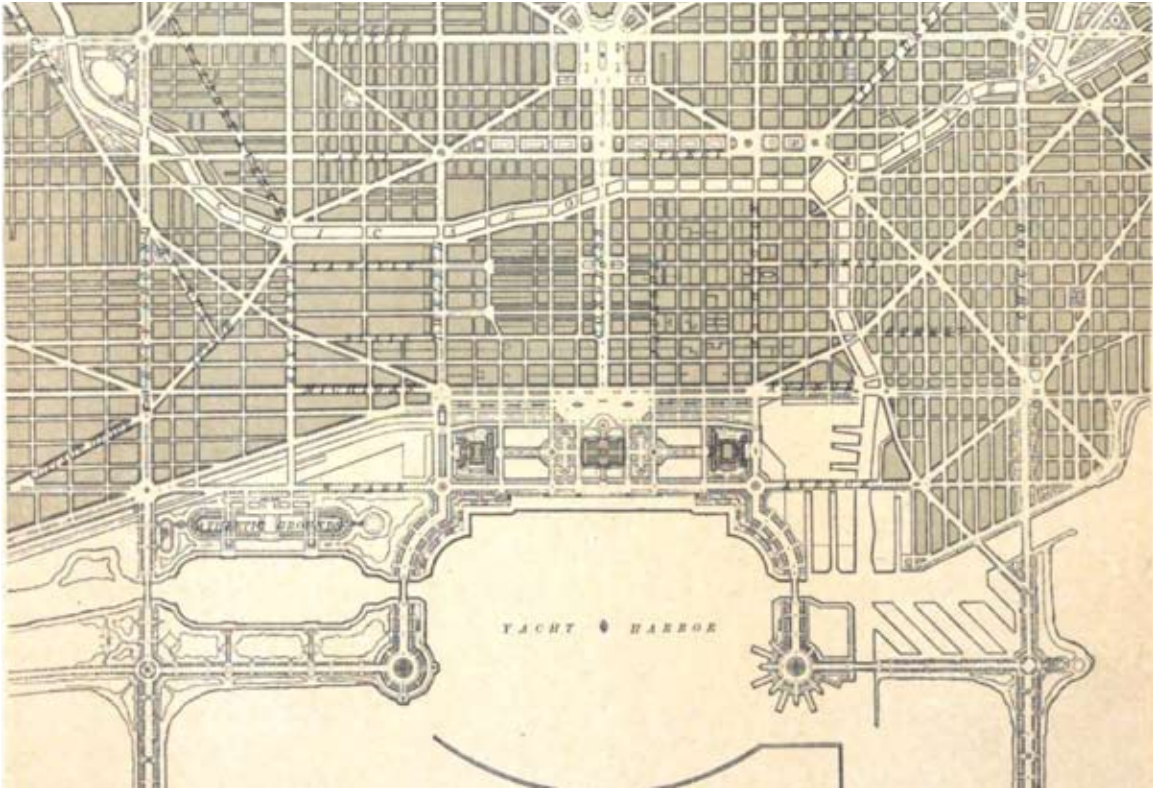
Daniel Burnham's plan for the city of Chicago, published in 1909.

Daniel Burnham and other designers associated with the «City Beautiful» movement were an early example of this now-ubiquitous relationship between architecture and urban planning. Like the textual cities of Howard and Richardson, Burnham's plan for Chicago was an attempt to enact a social agenda through restructuring of the built environment. Whereas the aforementioned two proposals were aimed at improving the lives of individual citizens, the Chicago plan was designed around the premise that large-scale organization and a grandiose unified public aesthetic could create a happier, more satisfied, more docile and compliant public in a more efficient city - bringing the focus of planning away from the city as a tool for enabling social justice for the individual citizen to the city as a whole, a unified entity for whose success the individual was a means to an end.

In Burnham and Bennett's Plan for Chicago, they concisely articulate their impetus for the plan's creation:

«The plan frankly takes into consideration the fact that the American city, and Chicago preeminently, is a center of industry and traffic. Therefore attention is given to the betterment of commercial facilities; to methods of transportation for persons and for goods; to removing the obstacles which prevent or obstruct circulation; and to the increase of convenience. It is realized, also, that good workmanship requires a large degree of comfort on the part of the workers in their homes and their surroundings, and ample opportunity for that rest and recreation without which all work becomes drudgery. Then, too, the city has a dignity to be maintained; and good order is essential to material advancement. Consequently, the plan provides for impressive groupings of public buildings, and reciprocal relations among such groups.» [Burnham]

This priority, driven by the plan's patrons at the Commercial Club of Chicago, contributes to an understanding of why the scale of the proposed interventions was so uniformly broad. If the city is to be designed as a unified machine for economic productivity [going so far as to rationalize the provision of human comfort in the name of «good workmanship» - as if quality of life were not a worthwhile goal in and of itself!] an architect would be the logical choice to design a finite system for a defined purpose. This priority is manifested again in Burnham's choice of existing conditions

to document; only highway and rail transportation systems [each shown as an undifferentiated network of lines], parks [shown as homogeneous green areas] and population density [again shown as a simple head count with no qualitative demographic information]. The final planning documents include the general locations of roads, railways, parks, harbors, and a schematic architectural design for buildings surrounding the proposed central square at the intersection of Congress and Halsted. The plan is drawn as large-scale top-down views and birds-eye perspectives, reinforcing the message that the city is a unified, singular body. Neither planning nor mapping, for Burnham, took place at a scale less than that of the entire city.

Le Corbusier's 1935 proposal for the «Radiant City» takes the notion of city-as-unified-design to a radical extreme. Whereas Burnham's mappings were, in fact, that [readings of information from the real world], Le Corbusier's point of departure was neither based on observed facts nor site-specific. The lack of site-specificity implied simply that the plan would necessarily be abstract, but the utopian predictions about future radical shifts in human nature, which never came to pass, make the scheme seem outlandish in the 21st century. The closest that Le Corbusier came to a mapping for this project was a cursory, simplistic, and heavily biased textual portrayal of life as it was and life, according to him, as it ought to be. Unlike B.W. Richardson, who was not an architect, Le Corbusier took this portrayal and turned it into a normative architectural prescription for a sort of carpet, a ubiquitous material, ready to be placed as-is on any site anywhere in the world:

«The lay-out must be of a purely geometrical kind...To introduce uniformity into the building of the city we must industrialize building...The architect, from a professional point of view, has become a twisted sort of creature. He has grown to love irregular sites, claiming that they inspire him with original ideas for getting round them. Of course he is wrong.» [Le Corbusier]

Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City proposals offer a counterpoint to the
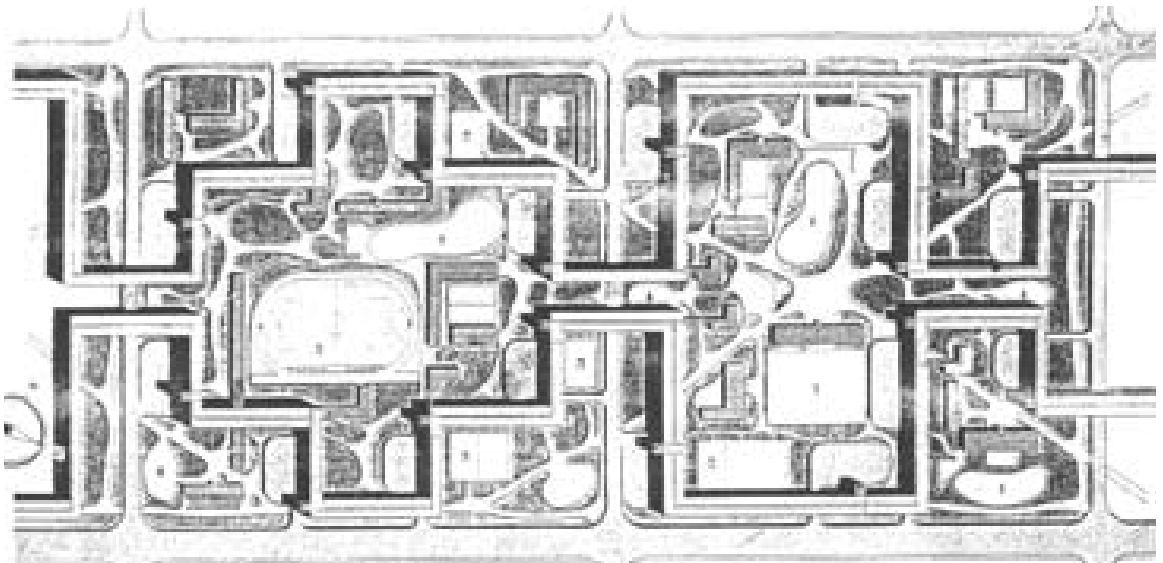
One of Le Corbusier's patterns for the Radiant City.
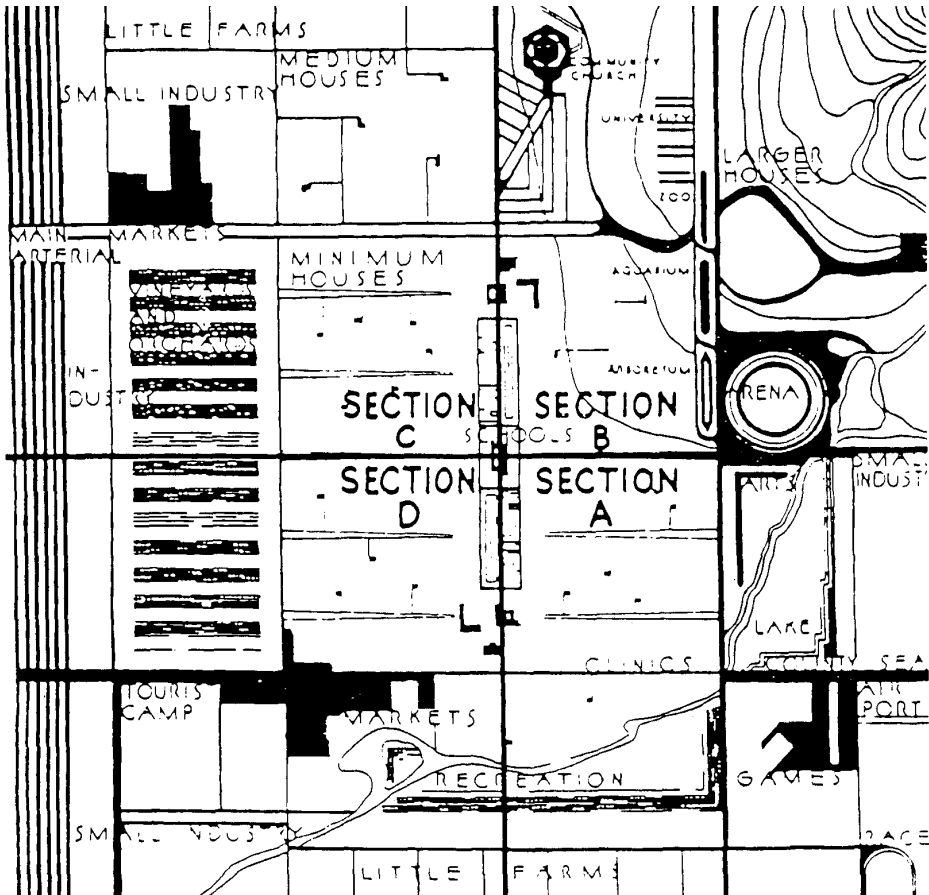
Frank Lloyd Wright's illustration of his Broadacre City plan from April 1935's Architectural Record.

Corbusian vision. Where the Radiant City is iron-fisted and unequivocal in its insistence that the city be a single unit of architecture, Wright's plan [although just as siteless and abstract as Le Corbusier's] is based on a «map», again textual, comprised of observations of extant phenomena. Wright does not talk about what will need to change in society in order to bring about his vision; he describes

«The three major inventions already at work building Broadacres, whether the powers that over-built the old cities like it or not: 1. The motor car: general mobilization of the human being. 2: Radio, telephone and telegraph: electrical inter-communication becoming complete. 3: Standardized machine-shop production: machine invention plus scientific discovery.» [Wright]

Wright's realistic «mapping» of trends at

the time would seem to have contributed to the accuracy with which he was able to predict the development of twentieth-century American suburbia. As Geddes hypothesized, an accurate portrayal of existing conditions led to an understanding of the direction the urban environment would eventually take.

Of specific interest, however, is the one illustration that accompanies Wright's original 1935 article in Architectural Record. Although he insists that Broadacre is not a top-down planning proposal but a prediction of what will emerge from agglomerations of generative components, he still shows a city plan [or is it a map?] from the top down, at an all-encompassing scale comparable to that used by Le Corbusier. The Radiant City needed to be portrayed at that scale in order to be able to see the enormity of the actual thing that Le Corbusier proposed to be built, but Wright's illustration at that scale says very little. He lists the general groupings of program to be found in his city, but scarcely addresses their relationship to one another except through relative proximity. He contradicts his own statements that «all regimentation is a form of death which may sometimes serve life but more often imposes on it» and that «in Broadacres all is symmetrical but it is seldom obviously and never academically so» [Ibid.] by portraying an end result both [in large part] superficially symmetrical and visibly regimented into districts by program

type. Both Wright and Le Corbusier seem to have been acting on the architect's instinct to create something new and discrete, coupled with the contemporaneous need for more built space [and therefore more new planning proposals] in a booming Western world, which led them to use similar representational tools to describe projects whose actual implementation and objectives could not have been more divergent.

From Wright and Le Corbusier to more contemporary practicioners and theorists such as Peter Calthorpe and the Council for the New Urbanism, the modern era has been characterized by the notion that the intent or social agenda of the urbanist is manifested or enacted through normative planning. Much has changed, however, with respect to the goals and objectives of urban design. Although the discipline's roots are in the provision of spatial rights to the citizenry, through the twentieth century urban design has been driven at points by the simple need for more space, the desire of dictators and empires to assert their dominance, and to improve the economic vitality of cities and regions, among innumerable other motives.

In recent years, the improvement or restoration of economic vitality to the city has gained primacy as a motivating factor in urban design. Although business leaders and chambers of commerce have been exerting influence on urbanism for nearly the entire life of the discipline [remembering, of course, that Burnham's plan for Chicago was commissioned by the Commercial Club for the express purpose of making a better place for industry and business], the vision of successful urbanity propagated in recent years by urban designers and their clients has evolved.

The city, divested of productive non-service industry, is now something like an «experience machine.» As manufacturing and industry have largely vacated the city, this new priority on experience can be seen in their replacements. Post-industrial waterfronts in cities around the world are being reinvented in ways intended to leverage and promote the experience of being near water. Whether developed as housing, commercial or cultural institutions, or some blend of program, these developments indicate that the priority of the city is now on being a place that sells an experience. This experience is monetized as food and drinks, tickets to museums and sporting events, and rent and mortgages. The ways in which individual units of development, and even the city itself, market themselves corroborate this. In the 1940's, Cleveland

intended to market itself as the «Best Location In The Nation For Industry» until the media started shortening the name to just «The Best Location In The Nation.» The marketing materials of the time focused on promoting Cleveland as an ideal place for manufacturers and corporate headquarters to locate. By contrast, the current «Cleveland+» campaign is almost exclusively focused on promoting quality of life and encouraging tourism in the greater Cleveland area. New stadiums for the Indians, Browns, and Cavaliers, the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, the Great Lakes Science Center, and proposals for new tourist attractions such as the Cleveland Aquarium and the Rockometer all represent public and private endeavors to increase tourism and draw non-residents to Cleveland. The city has, in effect, become a place to go and experience a city.

Planning is a reflection of an intended use of space. This is not new; every building is built for a purpose, and the same is true of any consciously designed urban district. If the creation of a specific experience is the goal of an urban or architectural intervention, then that experience, as the structures that facilitate or encourage it, will be packaged with or embedded in the physical construct.

Economist Joseph Pine, in his book The Experience Economy: Work is Theatre and Every Business a Stage, presents a hierarchy of types of products on which an

economy can be based. Commodities [things extracted, grown, or procured directly from natural resources] become goods by customization; goods become services, and services become experiences, by the same process. Experience, therefore, is at the top of the 'customization' ladder:

«The company - we'll call it an experience stager - no longer offers goods or services alone but the resulting experience, rich with sensations, created within the customer. All prior economic offerings remain at arm's length, outside the buyer, while experiences are inherently personal. They actually

Easton Town Center, a lifestyle center in suburban Columbus, OH, shows the priority on "experience" as a marketable product by the repetition of the very word itself on their promotional website.
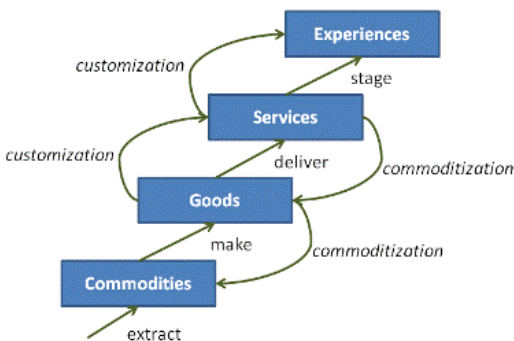
occur within any individual who has been engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual or even spiritual level. The result? No two people can have the same experience - period. Each experience derives from the interaction between the staged event and the individual's prior state of mind and being.» [Pine]

Pine proceeds to discuss how large corporations reconcile the logistics of mass production and global-scale identity cohesion with the need to create an experience tailored to the individual. This offers an analogue to architecture and urban planning in that in both cases there is an effectively immutable sub-structure that facilitates the large-scale provision of a good or service. This sub-structure cannot be effectively changed to suit the needs of individual customers, but in the business model described by Pine, interpersonal interactions [created or facilitated by top-down corporate action] customize the experience of each individual's reception or

Joseph Pine's diagram of the tiers of economic value and customization.

purchasing of a standard good or service. Pine cites the example of the Progressive Insurance Company;

«Progressive Insurance of Cleveland, for example, gives adjusters vans outfitted with a personal computer, satellite uplink, and everything else they may need for the singular purpose of efficiently resolving a claim from the site of the accident...Because Progressive customizes its claims service to the specific individual insured, its offering goes beyond the expected service to provide an experience appropriate to the physical and emotional needs of the claimant.»[Pine}

In the city as «experience machine,» the roles of public and private actors in the field of urban design have essentially changed and partially merged. Previously the role of the public sector in planning was in large part to provide the necessary infrastructural support for individuals and businesses. If a factory made widgets, the factory's owner would not stand to benefit from the city also producing widgets, but from the city doing something to facilitate his creation of widgets. Experience, unlike widgets, is not subject to scarcity - so in an inversion of classical economic thought, a business that seeks to monetize experience stands to benefit from other entities doing the same thing. Municipal governments, community development corporations, and private developers often find themselves using the same architectural and urbanistic

tools to craft the experience on which they rely to boost tax revenue, improve the health of the community, and increase the value of their holdings.

For a city to succeed as a purveyor of itself in a globalized world, it must master a sort of public relations sleight of hand. We can see that the city has taken it upon itself as its primary purpose to provide an experience for its citizens and visitors. The problem with this is the fact that anyone's experience is subject to innumerable factors out of the control of the architect or urban planner. Health, memory, recent events, and preconceived notions can all ruin the attempt of the designer to script an experience and an impression of the city, just as they can create a memorable positive experience associated with a place whose design made little difference in that experience. If a piece of urbanity is to be marketed as an experience - and preconceived notions can shape experience to a great extent - then the quality of marketing [the act of creating preconceived notions] becomes largely indistinguishable from the quality of the actual product [the experience.] If these two are conflated and the city becomes a marketed product, the published readings of the city [maps] have the opportunity to offer a marketable experience as well as physical construction [plans] can. This new primacy and power of information will play a critical role in the re-working of the urbanistic tool kit.

Practically, for the interests of public and private urban design actors alike, interpersonal interaction on a one-to-one level is not something that can be counted on as an available tool. It becomes imperative to develop a method for disseminating information [information indeed, for because as Pine puts it, all that distinguishes an experience from a good or service is in the mind of the customer] about architectural and urbanistic interventions through channels distinct from the physical artifacts of the projects.

The attempt to use the fixed, static media of construction to create an experience that must be customized and personal contravenes the ability of the urban planner to be a purveyor of marketable experience. The human needs for adequate light, air, and open space are not culture-or time-specific, but rather universal. [In economic theory, they are commodities.] Experience, as a marketable quantity, is not universal - it is subject to taste, trends, and cultural preferences that can change. The strongest examples of this show up in commercial architecture and development; the number of downtowns, malls, and shopping centers that have been abandoned in favor of re-packagings of the same program speaks volumes.

In the twentieth century, obsolescence has gone from being an occasional consequence of progress to being a consciously embraced characteristic of modern life. Contemporary Westerners, in large part, feel less attached to the artifices they use and inhabit. This observation is corroborated by the ubiquity of «planned obsolescence» and the nearly unprecedented and chronic abandonment of habitational infrastructure in favor of the new. This points toward a distinct possibility that any urban solution that is allowed to institutionalize or solidify will be, by the nature of the society in which we live, consciously abandoned as a consequence of the contemporary distaste for the not-quite-new. This pattern shows up in architecture and urban design just as it does in fashion or consumer electronics.

The transmutation of architecture and urban space into a consciously rejectable and experience-based consumer product, with its corollary predatory use and

Dixie Square Mall in Harvey, IL is a stark example of an abandoned experiential typology.

discarding of the built environment, has consequences that cannot be ignored. With the current priority on sustainability, economy and energy efficiency, perhaps the most pressing unaddressed concern is the fact that often, what is created is not socially sustainable - its useful lifespan is determined not by the quality or durability of the built product, but by the fast-paced deterioration of a static built environment's ability to provide a marketable experience. If urban space is being abandoned before its physical structure has lost its ability to fulfill a task of providing a good or service, this abandonment must be addressed before anyone's attempts to reduce the environmental impact of development and construction will matter.

In contemporary for-profit development, where developers' profits more often than not come from selling their properties soon after completion, this social unsustainability does not directly affect their bottom line. The impact of conscious abandonment on the modern city is, however considerable; at the least, if governments and community development organizations are going to be in the business both of creating marketable urban experiences and of working for enduring vitality, it is worth exploring ways to reconcile those two goals.

To be in the business of creating an urban experience is, at its core, to be in the business of establishing connections between entities. If we accept that the city is made up of distinct elements, which it is, then logically only an intervention that, on some level, connects multiple entities [in the sense of multiple power-brokers operating] can be considered an act of urbanism and not architecture. If one administrative entity is to be in charge of running the day-to-day operations, for one purpose, of the program that takes place in the physical intervention, then regardless of its physical shape, it can be looked at as architecture and not urban design; for in this case, the singular administrative entity can script experiences with the same ad hoc, personalized tool kit used by Progressive Insurance and other companies in Pine's examples. Even in a situation where multiple entities would be scripting their proprietary experiences [such as in a contemporary lifestyle center], the connective tissue of the packaged, faux-streetscape «experience» contains the urbanism - and it is the fossilization of this connective tissue that is its Achilles' heel. After all, physical retail establishments in and of themselves have changed minimally in the modern era; it is the networks into which they are placed that has continued to evolve and place itself permanently on the brink of obsolescence.

Bruno Latour's We Have Never Been Modern offers an insight into the nature of networks, entities and connectivity in society. To conclude his introductory discussion of «modernity» with respect to «pre-» and «post-» modernity, he critiques the emphasis on «purification» of entities that characterizes modern thought:

«The more we forbid ourselves to conceive of hybrids, the more possible their interbreeding becomes - such is the paradox of the moderns, which the exceptional situation in which we find ourselves today allows us finally to grasp...by devoting themselves to conceiving of hybrids, other cultures have excluded their proliferation.» [Latour]

Latour's «hybrids» are issues that cross disciplinary boundaries and call into question the legitimacy of separating thought into disciplines such as politics, science, sociology, or philosophy; the hole in the ozone layer is one example, the AIDS virus another. Each refuses to fit into a category, but in fact connects multiple
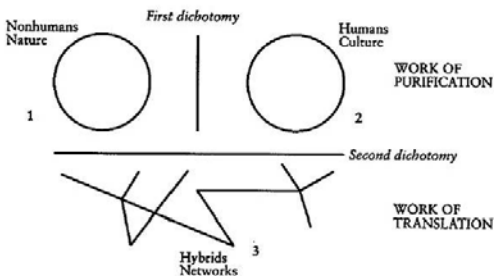

Figure 1.1 Purification and translation

Bruno Latour's diagram of modern thought [above] compared to amodern thought [below]

categories in a case-specific way. Latour's argument is that when our systems of thought provide no pre-supposed linkage between disparate entites or categories that we discuss, each topic or issue charts its own path between one and the next and the next - never allowed to fossilize or institutionalize into a legacy or a trace for other discussions' trajectories to be influenced by or to follow. Latour postulates that in the field of modern intellectual life, it is necessary to combine the two viewpoints [the «modern» category-focused view and the «pre-modern» issue-focused view] in a way that will

«slow down, reorient and regulate the proliferation of monsters by representing their existence officially.» [Latour]

In our urban environments, however, it seems that recent years have been characterized by what Latour would term «pre-modernity.» By attempting to institutionalize the networks that create the city [or the district,] modern planners-as-experience-stagers disallow or nullify the «proliferation of hybrids» in terms of experience. It seems that if we are to allow experience [the connective tissue between entities] to adapt on an individual case-by-case basis, a shift of focus away from a solidified connective tissue and towards a compartmentalization or «purification» of objects to be connected by emergent, ephemeral networks makes sense.

This separation of networks and their formation from the entities that they connect is, like Latour's hybrid networks themselves, already extant in a sense. Large portions of Cleveland, like many contemporary cities, are characterized by a disconnect between the the form of the city [and its constituent buildings and infrastructures] and the ways it is used and inhabited. Given that any intentional unit of development [which is to say, a plan] has an intended purpose, these parts of cities are being used in ways that disregard, negate or contradict the intents of their planners. Warehouses become illicit communal living spaces. Residential neighborhoods become art districts. Abandoned factories become temporary roller rinks and semi-permanent galleries. In these cases, individuals and collectives no longer treat the city and its institutions as providers of services to whom they act as clients. They no longer treat the city, or a part of the city, or a building, as a manifestation of an intended use or a component of an implied and suggested narrative - a plan. Instead, by disengaging their view of the city from the history and intents behind its structure and shape they behave very much like foreign occupiers - not in the militaristic sense, not in the sense of being organized for a common purpose, but in a way that dangles somewhere between «occupier» and «parasite,» each guided by a mixture of universal human needs, the cultural collective unconscious, and

their own personal history. The individual opportunistically takes what he or she can from the given conditions.

The experience of occupying urban space is by definition more individuated than that of acting as client to urban space. If we accept that a city is a piece of artifice designed for a group of people, to act as a client is to use the city in ways prescribed for a group of people. It follows that a client's perspective of the city, and of the functions and significances of its parts, is very like that of his or her fellow citizens for whom the same ways are prescribed. This is not necessarily true for an occupier. The occupier, who by definition disregards, opposes, or is unaware of prescribed ways of using the space around him or her, derives a highly personal perspective of the city and the functions and significances of its parts from previous experience, whims, hunches, chance encounters, and an impression of the latent potential in the environment. To act as client is to view the city as a projection or manifestation of an intended urban way of life, and to acquiesce, whether consciously or unconsciously, to that intent. To act as occupier is to view the city as a set of given conditions into and onto which to project an intent or a vision.

It must be stated that neither the «occupier» nor the «client» with whom the occupier is contrasted is meant to represent a binary classification of people

or of space. Like Levi-Strauss' bricoleur and engineer, they are a pair of exemplars that define a gradient along which the actions of individuals and entities can be located. It is certainly true that one person might live in such a way that appropriation, misuse, and opportunism are features of daily life, while another might move exclusively in a purpose-built automobile on purpose-built roads from a house in a planned development to an office in the central business district. It is also true that in parts of shrinking cities like Detroit and Cleveland, one can find areas in which almost none of the built infrastructure is being used for its intended purpose - and that one can contrast these with neighborhoods that have hardly seen any use but that for which they were explicitly designed. An attempt to distinguish between 'client' and 'occupier' citizens would, however, be a gross oversimplification. Anyone exercising free will is sooner or later going to use space in some way that could be considered contrary to a planned intent. If any group of people were to act absolutely as clients-to-artifice, they would find themselves behaving as a herd of drones if presented with an artificial or planned environment. Likewise, an attempt to call out territory as «provider» or «occupied» would be both a gross oversimplification and logistically impossible. It may be possible to classify people, places, or actions along a gradient from «provider-client» to «occupational», but that is not the objective.

This image of the occupier, the opportunistic urban dweller, is a close relation to many that have been and continue to be postulated in multiple disciplines. Levi-Strauss posits the «bricoleur» as an inclusive collector «the rules of [whose] game are always to make do with whatever is at hand», whose collection of tools, materials and information is

«always finite and always heterogeneous because what it contains bears no relation to the current project, or indeed to any particular project, but is the contingent result of all the occasions there have been to renew or enrich the stock or to maintain it with the remains of previous constructions or destructions.»

By separating artifice from intended uses that have been applied to it and replacing that acknowledged intent with projected potential, the occupier likewise declines to define the set of his or her means in terms of a project or purpose. Defining the set of one's means [or any particular means] in terms of potential use and, in particular, «collecting and retaining», qualitatively affects the individual's quotidian experience. If the occupier/bricoleur is «collecting sets of means» in the built environment and defining them in terms of their potential instead of their suitability for any particular task, their experience is inherently an aimless search or wandering - for if the

occupier/bricoleur does not have a purpose in mind for the fruits of his or her act of collection, which according to Levi-Strauss is inherently the case, it follows that the actual process of collecting these sets of means must be equally devoid of a definite and determinate purpose, except inasmuch as collecting itself is a purpose. If a person has an objective or program in mind when experiencing the built environment [or any environment], that person's perception will accentuate things that help in the accomplishment of that objective at the expense of other stimuli. How many of us notice what's written on advertisements or what music is playing when we're looking for a bathroom? Conversely, in order to function effectively as a bricoleur one must allow oneself to collect and retain information about the potentials inherent in what surrounds us, without being constrained by either our own intent or that of whoever created the things that comprise our surroundings.

Wandering and searching for its own sake has been a topic of discussion for centuries. Debord describes a practice that he terms the dérive, or drifting, as

«a technique of rapid passage through varied ambiances...In a dérive one or more persons during a certain period drop their relations, their work and leisure activities, and all their other usual motives for movement and action, and let themselves be drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters they find there.» [Debord}

In the same essay, Debord claims the dérive in the name of his Situationist movement and describes it as a practice to be intentionally undertaken by people. This Debordian prescription for what superficially resembles intentional occupational behavior would seem to have the Achilles' heel that as soon as the participant consciously decides to begin a dérive, the desire to move aimlessly becomes an aim in and of itself. As Debord articulates it, the purpose of the dérive, preferably of multiple dérives in the same territory performed by multiple people, is to understand a more or less universal set of psychogeographical «constant currents, fixed points and vortexes» that guide people through the city - phrased another way, Debord was acting under the assumption that we act as clients to these invisible forces of psychogeography even when we are occupying space.

While Debord advocates the conscious and purposeful undertaking of some behaviors that characterize occupation [perhaps because he felt people behaved too much in the way described for clients and not enough in the way described for occupiers,] de Certeau observes a phenomenon akin to occupation immanent in the city:

«The city becomes the dominant theme in

political legends, but it is no longer a field of programmed and regulated operations. Beneath the discourses that ideologize the city, the ruses and combinations of powers that have no readable identity proliferate; without points where one can take hold of them, without rational transparency, they are impossible to administer.» [de Certeau]

De Certeau here indicates that the city is not only uniformly in a condition similar to «occupation», but that the phenomena he addresses, which he refers to as the «element that the urbanistic project excluded» are outside of the realm of discussion, let alone manipulation or representation. The contention that the city is no longer a field of programmed and regulated operations points to the observation that the plan or plans [the programming and regulating of operations] are being disregarded and ignored.

De Certeau subsequently addresses the issue of mapping behaviors of the type discussed above. Although it is possible to plot, for example, a trajectory through space, he contends that to do so is to remove or «make invisible» the real salient characteristics of the action in question.

«It is true that the operations of walking on can be traced on city maps in such a way as to transcribe their paths (here well-trodden, there very faint) and their trajectories (going this way and not that). But these thick or thin curves only refer, like words, to the absence of what has passed by. Surveys of routes miss what was: the act itself of passing by. The operation of walking, wandering, or «window shopping,» that is, the activity of passers-by, is transformed into points that draw a totalizing and reversible line on the map. They allow us to grasp only a relic set in the nowhen of a surface of projection. Itself visible, it has the effect of making invisible the operation that made it possible. These fixations constitute procedures for forgetting.» [de Certeau]

The direct implication of this for mapping is that if occupational behavior, in all of its plurality and subjectivity, is to be represented adequately, some sort of perspective must come into play. The traditional, static map is set up in such a way that biases it towards the provider-client end of the spectrum - or more rightly, biases it against the occupational end of the spectrum. It speaks [or purports to speak] unequivocally about which entities are present in a given territory, about the scale at which the city is to be read, and about a hierarchy among the represented entities.

Sir Patrick Geddes, in his 1915 book Cities in Evolution, addressed the idea of mapping as a necessary antecedent to, and component of, planning. He critiqued the urban design of his time as a heavy-handed, authoritarian, and generic expression of power, rooted in an insufficient understanding of the particularities of any given city on the part of the citizenry and the urban design power-brokers. He articulated his solution as a call for a comprehensive «City Survey» [or map, or series of maps] of the city in question. For any given city, Geddes stated a need for this survey to include topography, geology, climate, rainfall, winds, the history of the city's built form, and its relation to surrounding inhabitation. Geddes hypothesized that with all of this information synthesized and brought together, the direction of the city's future could be discerned and plans could be made to address it in the context of a sufficiently nuanced and accurate map.

The general public played an important role in Geddes' vision for the city survey. Not only did he propose that the findings of the survey be put on permanent display for every citizen to view in what he termed «a Civic Exhibition,» but he suggested that «as soon as may be, [the city survey] should be undertaken by the citizens themselves. His book does not dwell on this idea for much longer - Geddes in his time must have viewed the idea of massive informational

collaboration as a futuristic pipe dream - but in the current age of instant mass communication this vision could gain an entirely new significance.

The general public takes such a priority in Geddes' theory not only because they and their social behaviors are the subjects of his proposed study, but also because the City Survey and its associated Civic Exhibition were seen as tools for for the empowerment of the individual. Geddes conceived of the Civic Exhibition as a natural complement to the Outlook Tower, a 19th century building in the city of Edinburgh, Scotland that Geddes bought and converted into a museum of the city. He believed that the new and broader perspective offered by the Outlook Tower would bring to the populace an increased sense of connectedness to the city as well as a greater appreciation of the opportunities afforded a citizen. The Civic Exhibition dovetails with this idea; where the physical tower literally provides a broad-scope view of the city, the collected information in the exhibition allows the individual to step back, so to speak, and gain a broader understanding of the intangible life of the city as a whole. In a way, it is a direct inversion of Jeremy Bentham's «Panopticon,» a proposed prison in which a central guard tower has a direct view into every cell. The universal field of view of the man in the central tower has a clear direct relationship to his universal power as jailer - Bentham's proposal centered around the
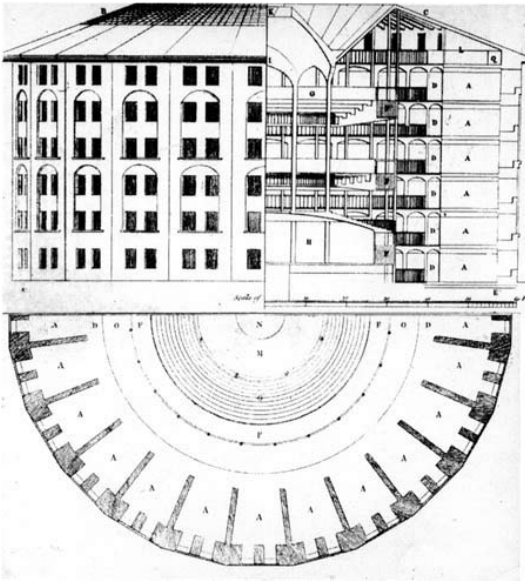
Plan, elevation and section of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon prison design.

premise that the inhabitants of the cells must never know whether or not there was actually a guardian in the tower. The result of this, presumably, was that for all intents and purposes, as far as the prisoners were concerned, there was always a guardian in the tower, ensuring power for the jailers through the mere threat of surveillance. In contrast, when Geddes opens the «all-seeing» capability of the Panopticon to the public, encouraging the populace to observe the city and one another from new perspectives, he advocates or legitimizes the plural actions of an empowered public. This can be seen as foreshadowing, among other developments, the philosophy of thinkers such as deCerteau and Lefebvre who make the case that society is practiced by opportunistic individuals rather than

dictated by authority - but as regards the discipline of urban planning, the civic exhibition has not become a common institution. The «comprehensive» city survey, performed on an as-needed basis and commissioned by entities with an agenda, has become a tool of rationalization or post-rationalization instead of an unbiased resource.

A re-working of the Geddesian city survey and associated civic exhibition can facilitate reform and progression in the plan-map tool kit. As the original proposals were reactions to problems in urban planning and design at the turn of the 20th century, they can be adapted to meet the new challenges of the modern city and take advantage of the new tools of modern technology. This new civic exhibition can serve as a model or a precedent for paradigm shifts in how we define and express what we know about our cities.

Geddes' original City Survey and Civic Exhibition was largely a response to the conditions he observed, namely an ignorance of the particularities of each city on the part of the citizenry and the power-brokers who shaped the city. His solution was, broadly, to celebrate the essence of the individual city. The current issues, equally broadly, stem from an ignorance of the particularities of individuals in the city. This new cartography must therefore be focused on the individual; as Geddes indeed suggested, the act of creating the city survey must be turned over to the general public as soon as possible. While Geddes' proposal was to gain a democratic consensus on what constituted the city and what was worth displaying in his Civic Exhibition, this new civic exhibition must not be an attempt to arrive at any consensus - on the contrary, it must be a celebration of the chaotic, shifting and plural nature of experiences in the city. **It cannot be a finite artifact or set of artifacts; it must be a universal cartographic forum in which all voices can be heard.** With the Internet, for the first time in human history, such massive informational collaboration is not only possible but becoming common.

Governments, businesses, and other collectives must be involved in the creation of this radically plural document; without the involvement of those who hold real power, the tool loses much of its ability to be a facilitator of economic and social improvement and risks becoming simply another punk-rock, rebellious statement that the map and the plan can be radicalized, without making an actual difference. Conversely, without the involvement of the general public, the tool becomes simply another tool of power, susceptible to corruption. **The basic unit of this new cartography must be the actor [be it individual or collective, weak or strong] and not the space or place.**

The «transcendent, distanced gaze» and «universal pretensions» of cadastral mapping are inadequate to show the subjectivity and plurality that characterize occupational behavior. The new cartography needs to create a legitimate picture of what the city does, as opposed to simply what it physically is or what the holders of power say that it is. The significance of any given entity in the city, or even the status of anything as a discrete entity, is mutable and relative. Cadastral mapping, through its attempt to authoritatively and objectively define or characterize places, space or domains, is incapable of registering these facts. Recent technological developments have placed zooming interfaces into ubiquitous portable devices such as the iPhone. This has all but eliminated any reason to continue to think of a map as being bounded by a fixed geometrical edge of representation or by a set scale. Near-omnipresent informational connectivity allows documents to be

dynamically updated in real-time. In light of these opportunities and requirements, **the new map should avoid presenting a «definitive» view of anything, instead allowing data to be viewed or visualized in as many different ways as possible.**

The characteristics of the city as a generator of stimuli, like all sources of stimuli, have never been an absolute or determinate parameter of one entity. As Pine stated, experience is an attribute of the intersection between individual and external entity. New technologies are enabling us now to make maps in a way that mirrors this. Information provided about the city is now capable of being not just a static accessing of one universal data set, but a cross-referencing between the universal data set for any given topic and a dynamically compiled data set about the user. Google Latitude, for example, presents mobile phone users with a map of their current vicinity overlaid with real-time locations of their friends and contacts.

Mark Shepard's GPS Serendipitor is another mobile-cartographic application for the Apple iPhone. The app remembers streets that the user has traversed in the past and suggests a route to a given destination that the user has never taken. The use of such technology [even, arguably, the intent to use it] seems to be a manifestation or facilitation of "occupational" behavior. In

terms of the dynamic between artifice and individual, this may be true - but the individual in this case simply stops being a client to the built environment and becomes a client to the virtual, or representational, environment. It is possible to be a client to this technology in much the same way as one can be a client to urban space.

SixthSense, a device developed by Pranav Mistry at the MIT Media Lab, attempts to bridge the digital world with the physical. The device incorporates the functions of modern cell phones - Internet browsing, text and instant message communications, and old-fashioned telephony - into a wearable device with a built-in projector. Instead of being controlled via buttons or a touch screen, the device receives input from hand motions and objects in its "field of view". In the prototype demonstration, the device scanned products in stores and provided feedback, product reviews, and recommendations - all based on a data set compiled from the user's previous actions and inputs. In a way, this technology mirrors the new-route-finding iPhone app in that it allows technological stimuli to be a combination of static or universal messages and individual, tailored information. It increases the degree to which the digital world has the property of "locality" - beyond simply locating one's coordinates within a cadastral map via GPS or a similar technology, a device like SixthSense allows the properties of a particular place to be

constructed more with information and less with heavy-handed physical infrastructure.

When an individual acts as client to urban space, he or she accepts [consciously or unconsciously] a prescribed notion of how different sets of information ["there is a clothing store here," "there is a train station there," "the lake is that way"] relate to one another. In the same way, the iPhone application [to the best of its capabilities] attempts to concretize a connection between data sets about the individual's previous activity, the shape of the city, and the requested destination. This explicit statement of a connection or a type of connection between entities is what makes it possible to be a client to this technology. The raw data in and of itself - which is to say the information about which streets had been taken before and the location of the destination - has no intent to accept, reject, or co-opt. **The new technology must display raw information; there must be no system-wide interpretation or ubiquitous pre-made connection between data sets.**

The attempt on the part of planners and their employers to embed experience in the built environment is doomed to fail. If experience is to be a marketable product [which seems inevitable] it must be able to be presented in a forum outside the purposed and controlled environs of the particular marketer's domain, in the realm of

information. For experience to be mappable [and marketable], the data sets collected must be able to contain intent on the part of the participants; **the mapping must therefore not just be an unconscious collecting of data, but must actually be an intentional act of cartography on the part of the individual.**

The effectiveness of this project will largely be contingent on the level of cartographic literacy among the participant population. The more that this project can attach itself to informational institutions that already have credibility and widespread acceptance in society, the more likely the participant population is to be regularly exposed to subjective cartography to the extent that their familiarity with, and ability to use, the tools of mapping will improve. **Social media tools such as Facebook and Twitter, in combination with applications for iPhones and web-based applications for computers, can provide a medium for the collection of data and the introduction of cartography as an exercise to a mass target audience.**

The success and near-ubiquity of these social media platforms derives in large part from their amorphousness and lack of a defined purpose. Whatever the initial intent of Facebook may have been, for example, the fact is that currently the medium offers an incredible versatility through the fact that it does a passable job of displaying

information in an unbiased forum with no overall agenda. Facebook will tell you that Joe is having a party on Friday, but as of this writing it won't tell you to pick up a case of beer on the way home from work. What you do with the information is up to you, and this hands-off approach has in large part contributed to the fact that everyone can be on Facebook without feeling like they're part of a group with common characteristics, as well as the fact that people can use Facebook for hours at a time regularly and not think twice about it. This is because the experience of using Facebook is no longer centered around the fact that the user is on Facebook, but instead around the fact that the user is looking at a certain individual's profle. By effectively de-branding their product and intentionally fading into the background, Facebook has chosen to stop selling themselves as a connection between pieces of information, an environment unto themselves, and to begin to sell themselves as simply a source of information - or even more simply, just the information itself. **The new cartography must likewise have no express purpose other than being a source of information about the city.**

Modern «radical» cartography has not really changed planning; it has merely implied

Facebook's original layout [top] and the current layout [bottom.] Note the de-branding of the site via the shrinking of the Facebook logo and the removal of the brand graphics in the top bar, as well as the increase in prominence of the individual user's name.

the possibility of a change in mapping [and therefore a change in planning.] Therefore it is appropriate to explore ways of «normalizing» or displaying these unexplored quantities and qualities of urban space in a way that allows them to be seen in a global and non-disciplinary context. If the basic unit of the new technology is to be the actor and not the space, this information will need to be in the form of personal and subjective mappings of the city sourced from massive-scale group participation. **A major challenge for the new cartography will be reconciling the need for comparability of data with the need for both the input mechanism and the viewing mechanism to not bias themselves toward any particular use or viewpoint.**

It must also not indicate ownership or authorship of built space; by removing these things from representation, the new cartography shows actors only in terms of their own mappings of their experience and in terms of effects on the documented experience of individuals and entities. By doing this, the new map is able to «normalize» data based purely on experiential phenomena; leveling the playing field, so to speak, and making it possible to meaningfully compare an experience that was stumbled upon by chance with an experience that was scripted for an express purpose.

The creation of a new cartographic forum has the capability to bring about significant changes in our society's use of space. This new civic exhibition could one day allow developers and land owners to increase the value of their holdings and qualitatively change the built and marketed experience through the use of information. This in turn could allow our use of land to be driven less by the need to build mock-ups of vibrant urban space and more by functional and pragmatic considerations, allowing conservation of resources and energy. The project seeks to shift the role of «provider-to-clients», at least in part, from the concrete built environment to the ephemeral realm of data. In the face of increased urban homogeneity brought on by globalized economics, it seeks a legitimization-through-cartography of the «occupational behaviors» that give the city its character and that the concrete experience-mongers of the world seek to simulate as soon as they've destroyed it. By allowing the actions of globalized, homogenizing economic forces that often shape our cities to last only as long as their useful lifespan, it seeks to give our concrete and permanent environment a chance to remain reflective of its place and time. The more accurate and nuanced our understanding of the city is, the more effectively we can go about the task of identifying problems and designing case-specific solutions to the issues faced in the contemporary city.

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