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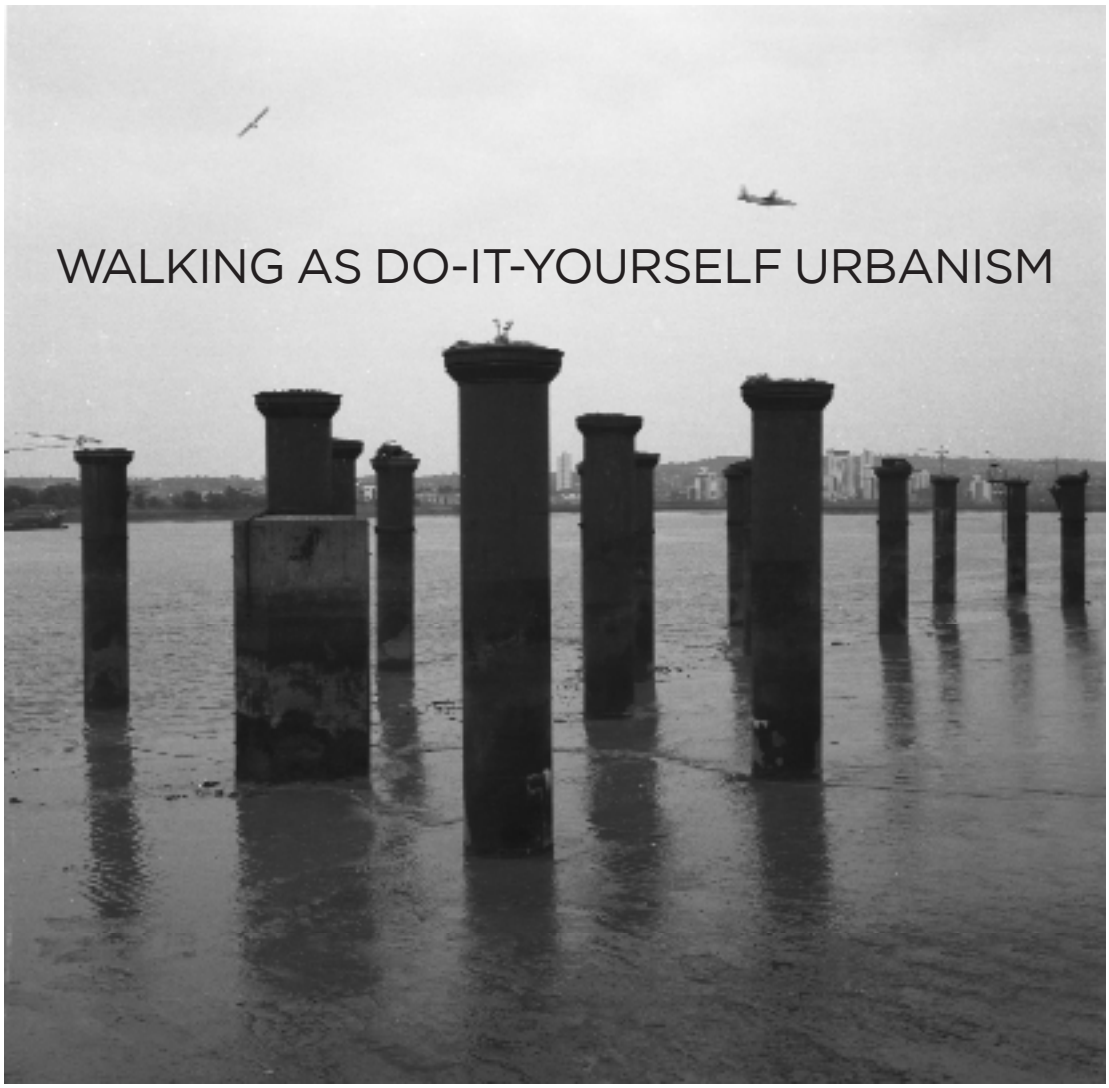

Kenny Cuper: 2007 [2004]

Walking as do-it-yourself urbanism

Kenny Cupers

All images courtesy of Kenny Cupers

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Walking as do-it-yourself urbanism

Kenny Cupers

This article develops a series of theoretical notions arising in the context of an urban art project that took place in London in the summer of 2004 under the title "Where do you breathe?"[1] As a participatory urban intervention, the project challenged the notion of authorship in public space by casting the act of walking as a transformation of urban space, and examined the potentials for a practice of photography based on interaction rather than passive representation.

The project consisted of three parts: a photographic essay, an urban intervention, and a website. The photographic essay constituted an investigation of the city through walking (see figures 1 to 10). As opposed to the image of the city as a dense world and a conglomerate of vibrant urban spaces full of objects and events, the photographs portrayed London as a tranquilised terrain open to contemplation – a post-industrial and uprooted, yet surprisingly bucolic landscape of roaming and lingering. In the experience of walking, open yet personal spaces revealed themselves alongside the city's designated living, working or meeting spaces. These alternative spaces were thought to function as potential chill-out spaces for the urban walker, and I called them "breathing spaces." The photographic work was as much a search for this particular urban sensibility as it was an evocation of London as a fluid landscape of possibility and change. Subsequently, the photographs of these "breathing spaces" in London formed the starting point of an urban intervention. Postcards displaying a selection of the images were distributed in the city – on buses, the subway, in phone booths, coffee shops and Internet cafés. The back of each postcard contained a description of and directions to the place where each image was taken (see figure 11). As such, the finder of the postcard was invited to visit and explore these places. The postcards also featured a website address (*www.wheredoyoubreathe.net*).[2] This website functioned as an alternative city guide for urban exploration: it contained an interactive map specifying the location of a series of urban spaces illustrated with a corresponding image and short description. The website also invited its users to submit their own chosen locations to the existing set of marked places. By asking "Where do you breathe?" and recording the users' answers on the map, the website functioned as a self-growing platform for urban users to communicate their walking experiences (see figure 12 and 13).

This participatory art project evokes a set of theoretical questions that I will address in this article: *in which ways can people be stimulated to see urban space in alternative ways? How can imagination be released on the physicality of urban space? Can the city be transformed by using it, by looking at it, or by walking it?* The presence of the moving body in urban space constitutes an experiential transformation of urban space for the city walkers themselves, but how does this affect the city itself as a conglomerate of spaces and people? And what exactly is the interplay between a physical and an experiential transformation of the city?

In its attempt to stimulate a creative attitude towards the urban landscape, the art project questions authorship with regard to urban space. This raises the notions of power and creativity in the context of the city. Where can creativity be located in this particular initiative – in its production or in its reception? Which forms of subjectivity and which power relations are involved in the process of urban change – be it imaginary or physical? Where can creativity with regards to urban space be located? By explicitly categorising the transformation of urban users' perception as a form of 'urbanism', the art project poses the question of what a creative transformation of urban space could be. Taking the practice of walking as the subject of artistic intervention, the project makes a statement about the transformation of the city into a fluid space of change and creation. Finally, by integrating photography, urban intervention and interactive media, the project questions the ways we understand cultural production in the changing city of today. The route that is followed in this article reflects the hypothesis that is tested in the art project itself: it investigates how people can be stimulated to see the city differently.

1. Power, creativity and the city

Since the functional specialisation of subjects into professionals, the individuals involved in urbanism – in making or transforming the city – have conventionally been architects and urban planners. In the conventional modernist vision they have developed tools and technologies to transform the physicality of the city. The formation of this specific professional group involved in urbanism has invoked a strong dichotomy between 'the planners' as creators of space, and 'the people' as its users. As such, urban space seems to be caught up in a dichotomy: the modern city has been imagined either as a disciplinary space where people are governed through rational urban planning, or as a dark space of alienation and estrangement, a space out of control. This can be seen as the reflection of two different attitudes to modernity: on the one hand the idea of rationalisation described by Weber and proposed as urban solution by Le Corbusier, and on the other hand the estrangement of the individual in the rapidly changing metropolis as described by Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin.[3] The modernist dogma has tended to consider architecture and urban planning as privileged means to govern city life: both disciplines functioned as technologies of the self and of society. This is exemplified in the concept of the panopticon as described by Foucault. This is an organisational and disciplinary architectural type that no longer requires a controlling body in its centre; it serves to illustrate how the disciplinary system is internalised into the minds and bodies of the citizen. Opposed to this ideal of modern government appears an understanding of the city as a place of estrangement and of urbanism as possible

[1] This article and the corresponding art project were submitted as Final Project for obtaining the Master in Photography and Urban Cultures degree at Goldsmiths, University of London in September 2004

[2] This website is no longer active. For an archived version of this website, please visit: http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~cupers/diyurbanism.html

[3] see Gane 2002, McLeod 1983, Vidler 2000 and Frisby 1985

liberation: the city's disorder as origin of revolution, and the city as a medium for direct action. These are some of the ways in which the modernist vision of the city is caught up in a dichotomy between the planned and the unplanned, the rational and the irrational.

This schematic vision with regards to urban space however, fails to bring into focus the multitude of transformations of the contemporary city. The collaborations and shifts between planners, local groups and city councils, the lack of rationality to urban planning initiatives and the urban reorganisation generated by late capitalism are some of the indicators of an alternative vision of the city: no longer a dichotomy, but a multitude of (dis)ordering interventions that constitute and transform the urban landscape. As a result of the proliferation of forms of politics and types of contestation, the dichotomy between urban planning and its others can no longer be upheld. The binaries of planned and non-planned, domination and emancipation, power and resistance, strategy and tactics, civility and desire are becoming increasingly incapable of explaining recent urban transformations. Today, domination tends to operate not merely through modernist technologies of urban planning, but through complexity itself. Complexity can no longer be conceptualised as a direct tool of emancipatory strategies.[4] Similarly, governance operates not simply through central control (the 'planned') or even market economies, but through so-called 'non-planned' and self-organising networks. Power and resistance are not simply opposites. Freedom can be traced as a historical concept created by liberal thought over the last two centuries and as such, it is not antithetical to government but rather inextricably linked to it: "Freedom is the name we give today to a kind of power one brings to bear upon oneself, and a mode of bringing power to bear on others."[5] As such, surveillance and globalised control can be seen as the price to pay for the maintenance of a certain conception of freedom.

However, this "microphysics of power acting at a capillary level within a multitude of practices of control that proliferate across a territory"[6] goes together with a micro-politics of desire. In addition to these forms of capillary power, new forms of political subjectivity are appearing, which instigate creativity and innovation in the urban landscape. Beyond the dichotomy of urban planning and its others is thus the complexity of individual and collective input in the creation and transformation of urban space. This cannot be simply understood as self-governance or resistance, but includes potentiality and creative instinct.

The image of the contemporary city then becomes one of a multitude of urban transformations that originate from the field of diverse actors and interventions, and are characterized partly by hierarchical, partly by self-organized principles. The city's transformation is not simply defined by built form and planned by an elite of architects and urban designers, nor spontaneously inhabited by 'the people', but is characterized by changing urban cultures and is to be thought of as the collective result of human decisions, through a multitude of actions. This reconceptualisation effaces the simple dichotomy between the planned and the unplanned. Urban space constitutes a double movement, where mechanical forms of physical intervention, standardized and restricted forms of social interaction alternate with innovative practices in the urban territory. Rather than simply attached to a static and fixed individual or institution, power and creativity are thus to be seen as distributed and relational characteristics among a heterogeneous group of spatial users, initiators, policy makers, scientists, artists, etc. Urban change is invoked as a conscious effect and as a side effect of urban users' actions in contact with different urban materialities and spatialities. The questions then become: what are the sorts of subjects and subjectivities involved in the transformation of the city today? And how exactly is creativity played out in the urban landscape?

2. Do-it-yourself Urbanism

If the dichotomy between the planners as creators of the city and the people as its mere users has become blurred, and if creativity and power are distributed in different subjectivities and spatialities, how can we conceptualise the user's creativity in relation to the city?

Through his theory of space and society and what he called the "social production of space," Henri Lefebvre has been a key figure in the rethinking of everyday life and creativity in the city. By emphasising the user's ability to influence urban space, and conceiving of urban space beyond its mere physicality, Lefebvre has helped to develop a vision of space as socially constituted: urban space is not to be seen as a Kantian *a priori*, but is actively produced within a social and ideological context.[7] Through the understanding of the social production of space, individuals and groups are acknowledged to have the ability, albeit it with varying power and success, to actively produce urban spaces, and as such, to contribute to the transformation of the city. This conceptual step towards a 'radical democratisation of urbanism' is embodied in Constant's New Babylon and by the cultural practices of the Situationists. Such urban movements have succeeded in developing a distinct 'counter-culture' – a mostly youth-motivated cluster of interests and practices centred around issues of green radicalism, direct action politics, new musical sounds and experiences – that tends to produce what has been called 'Temporary Autonomous Zones': distinct spatialities for alternative communities concerned with resistance and radical empowerment.[8] At first sight their 'alternative urbanisms' such as squatting, clubbing, community gardening, alternative festivals (e.g. Burning Man), and other forms of temporary use[9] could indeed be seen as examples of such a Situationist-inspired force of resistance, and as epitomes of a creative transformation of the urban landscape.

[4] See Baudrillard 1999, Lash 2002, and Manovich (www.manovich.net)
[5] See Rose 1999:96
[6] Rose 1996:17
[7] See Lefebvre 1974
[8] See for example McKay 1998 and Bey 1985
[9] See Urban Catalyst 2003

Nonetheless, the delineation of a creative but marginal counter-culture in opposition to a passive but powerful mainstream seems to revert to the initial binary schema. By converting an old dualism within urbanism to a new one – 'the planner' versus 'the user' now becoming 'the powerful' versus 'the creative' – it fails to provide insight in the cultural confusions and mutations between those categories that is prevalent in the contemporary city. In a similar fashion Lefebvre's connection of the city's material spatiality with its ideological dimension results in a certain form of determinism: when a distinct social situation produces a corresponding spatiality, each space is alleged to signify a certain kind of social behaviour, a claim negated by many social transformations of urban space.[10] This rigidity ultimately allows only a limited definition of spatial or social creativity – a predicament that is reflected in Michel De Certeau's simple opposition of strategies and tactics. As a result this sort of theory tends to privilege one form of resistance against a caricature of power. Moreover, the question rises whether the simple juxtaposition of a *globalisation from above* – often identified with domination and power – and an alternatively heroic *globalisation from below* – one of resistance and creativity – actually corresponds with the contemporary urban dynamic.

In fact, most of the initiatives of 'radical' or alternative urbanisms cannot simply be separated from other processes of urban transformation, such as for example gentrification. Squatters often discover hidden potentialities in the voids of the urban landscape, but as soon as they have reached certain gravity or influence, they tend to be taken on board by more powerful cultural industries – signifying a process from squatting an empty industrial building to the arrival of Starbucks, a process that has transformed many post-industrial empty areas into "cultural quarters."[11] The cultural industries in major cities like London embody this new and sophisticated bond of power and creativity. Other bottom-up types of temporary use – a festival, rave, etc – also tend to be simulated by powerful institutions and multinationals: companies like Nike and Adidas copy sub-cultural strategies and organize informal, sometimes even illegal leisure activities to infiltrate youth culture and market their products. As such, the tactics of "globalisations from below" are inextricably linked to the strategies of "globalisations from above;" informal and formal economies do not only coexist, but also depend on each other.

Consequently, the multitude of relations between spaces and identities could be reconfigured in a more complex schema.[12] The question "What kind of creative transformation acts as a resistance against the commodification of culture?" could be better formulated outside the dualistic framework of power and resistance in the following sense: how does creativity arise out of the situation of human beings engaged in particular relations of force and meaning? If each urban user/producer has the ability to construct their own reality in the urban landscape – resulting in overlapping and conflicting realities – we can start to conceptualise the user's potential creativity in terms of individual and collective imagination in using their environment. This results in a city that is the conglomerate of overlapping and sometimes opposing realities of its users: there are as many cities as there are users, or people thinking about it. This possibility for a personal or collective creativity in the urban landscape could be called *do-it-yourself urbanism*. This term signifies an attempt to explicitly consider such – often-ephemeral – productions of space as a form of urban transformation, as a form of urbanism. *Do-it-yourself urbanism* illuminates the potential of creativity within capitalism but in opposition to "alternative urbanisms," it does not locate it outside of it, or even on its margins, but as immanent to it.

Rather than seeing *do-it-yourself urbanism* as an immediate material transformation, the experiential transformation of the city by the individual is considered as a form of urbanism. Other ways of relating to space are to be seen as urban interventions, which influence how space is perceived rather than change the way space itself exists. This experiential change can be seen as "a series of more direct experiments in living which have an immediate aesthetic quality."[13] The concept of resistance seems to imply a subject who resists out of an act of bravery or heroism. Courage is redundant in creating one's environment, and creative subjects in the city are cautious, experimental and tentative. Rather than a Situationist inspired admiration for the heroism in popular visions of power, there is the opportunity for a vitalism, an active art of living that moves towards a space of flow, affect and desire.

These are some of the ways in which *do-it-yourself urbanism* goes together with an alternative dimension of subjectivity, that is appearing, and that could be close to what Deleuze-Guattari describe as a nomadic subjectivity. Bearing in mind the conceptualisation of the user's creativity in the urban landscape, the question rises how we might understand this nomadic notion of subjectivity with regards to the walker in the urban landscape.

3. Walking as a creative transformation of space

How can the practice of walking be considered a form of transforming the city, a form of creating one's own city? *Walking as a form of do-it-yourself urbanism*, a creative transformation of urban space, involves an altered state of mind that induces a perceptual amplification. It is an act that causes the intensification of our gaze, touch, ears, and sense of becoming. Intensified perception involves allowing oneself to listen and take in without judgement or rejection, and it is the condition evoked by body and mind while crossing the urban landscape. The body and the mind open themselves as an ensemble of desiring

[10] See for instance the analysis of urban transformations in: Multiplicity 2003
[11] See Keith unpublished
[12] This corresponds with Keith & Pile 1997
[13] Rose 1999:282

agencies, as de-centred as the landscape is itself: crossing without ever going through the centre.

There seems to be a continuous tension in the walker's mind, a tension between walking and resting, between the restlessness of the walk and the projected peace of the place to rest, but also a tension between the contemplative continuous duration of walking and the restlessness of being (stuck) in a place. This tension deals with the simultaneity of continuity and change. The hunger for change provides the energy of deterritorialisation: "Walking and drift are hunger towards the world, it is what moves us to trace paths across the planet."[14] On the other hand, walking can also be experienced as restless, whereas the temporary territorialisation allows one to better take in and understand the city.

Connected to this tension between walking and resting, between place and space, is the moment of projection within the walker's mind. This is the projection of a place onto an image that is desirable. Nonetheless, within the liquid space of the walk, the image is a catalyst and a residue rather than something that comes in the place of, something that represents the walk itself. As such, the tension and projection processes that occur during the walk make clear that it is not easy to determine where exactly the *desire* of walking is located: it is not simply a desire from a position of restlessness towards a restful place, because the desire also creates the restlessness and destroys the possibility to rest. The "breathing space" is thus found exactly in this tension between walking and resting: it is not an allocated place, but a liquid space of duration that is the duration of the walk. The space is formed in the line of the walk, between A and B, not in A or B itself. The walker transforms the discreteness and separateness of the city into a fluid landscape: the city becomes landscape through the walk.

Because the walk is not merely goal-oriented and breaks with the automatic pilot mode of perception, the walker is able to transform the city into a field of game and chance. By giving over to the city, this city becomes another world: "*Homo Ludens* himself will seek to transform, to recreate, those surroundings, that world."[15] The city is thus not only transformed in a certain mental customisation process, but also becomes playful in its unpredictability: outside influences come into the mind/body and enter the game – a chance encounter, follow a person, a clue, be guided by the inconspicuous. It is this non-purposive rationality that means we can lose ourselves in the game that is the urban walk: as a consequence of letting go, means-end rationality makes way for an open-ended, experimental and affective mind-set.[16]

The transformational processes involved in the practice of walking blur the boundaries between the 'mental' and the 'physical.' Walking obviously does not add new buildings to the urban landscape, but the walking body and mind are able change its dynamics: the walking body is in an ecosystem that is the urban landscape. In the body of the walker, as well as in the surrounding landscape, the flows of energy cause a continuous qualitative change, an eternal becoming. The city/world now appears as an open, creative, complexifying and simultaneously simplifying cauldron of becoming and the search for this aspect of the city is regulated through the activity of walking: the city, discontinuous at a static look, becomes a fluid urban landscape only in the experience of walking.

In the course of the walk, the city becomes a second nature: it is experienced through a process of accepting the cultural artefact of the urban landscape as self-evident and natural. The walker experiences this nature as one of desiring flow and intensity. Walking in the city can be like walking in a forest, in which nothing is to be liberated nor contested. The photographic portrait of "breathing spaces" evokes this experience through a number of themes (see figure 1 to 10): the deserted railway viaduct that has turned into a raised linear park (Shoreditch), the marshes with their water reservoirs and power pylons serving the city (Walthamstow), the monumental ex-dockland plains alongside the DLR railway (East India beach, Excel parking lot and Gallions Reach pier), and the desertion of the night-time city centre (the City). The images show the silent city glowing in the sky in the urban park, the nightly reflections of city lights seen from the quiet riverbank, futuristic spaces solidified and abandoned objects for free use, former industrial buildings inundated in flower fields, vast marshlands punctuated by utilitarian installations that perform as outdoor furniture, pebble beaches near council estates – post-industrial desertion and a returning nature. Deserted post-industrial spaces show an important aspect of this sensitivity for the landscape: the returning nature in between the gaps and cracks of the urban system embodies the desire for the outside space of culture, and the escape from the city. However, this projected Nature is not a romantic, but a post-industrial nature where the urban networks serving the city come together. It is thus ambivalently positioned in and outside the urban.

The desire to escape from the multiplicities of the urban, away from the crowds into the continuous of the natural, can be seen as the eternal return of the sublime in the contemporary city, a continual desire for an outside. Through this desire the city becomes in a sense a "second nature," an open nature of possibility. This experience is not the projection of a transcendental Nature onto the existing urban landscape, but rather a specific sensitivity for hybrid artificial-natural elements in a post-industrial techno-ecology. The rationale is more pragmatic: where does my body find a comfortable space to walk and rest? The ambivalence of the walk is defined by this continual search for a potential outside that will turn out to be situated on the inside: *the walk transforms the city into landscape*.

[14] Stalker group, see www.stalkerlab.it
[15] See Nieuwenhuis (http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/presitu/presitu.html)
[16] Lury 2003:315

4. The image as urban intervention

After having discussed the main themes involved in the project "Where do you breathe?" – *do-it-yourself urbanism* and walking as a creative transformation of urban space – we can more directly address the first question evoked through this project: in which ways can people be stimulated to see urban space in alternative ways? How to engage a public, and how to stimulate it to interact with the city in novel and creative ways? Whereas the photographic essay illustrated how to make sense of the city and expressed some of the feelings and thoughts involved in the practice of walking, the postcard and website explicitly intended to open a dialogue with the viewer/user by explicitly asking "what is the place of your desire?" and "where do you breathe?" This interactive dimension of the project reveals possible strategies of how to stimulate creative exploration in the city.

Urban space today is filled with posters, graffiti, graphics, GPS systems, mobile phones and other networked technologies, video surveillance monitored by governments and individuals, computer and video displays, etc. As such, physical urban space is overlaid with a multitude of informational layers – text, graphics, images and moving images.[17] Consequently, urban space is not homogeneous, nor unified, but seems to work on disparate levels simultaneously; it seems schizophrenic and pregnant with "other spaces" that remain possible. This endows urban space with a desire – a desire to be elsewhere, of which the result is to be at more than one place at the same time. This desire can be considered an essential characteristic of the city's nomadic character.

The practice of distributing images of other places in the city – such as of tourist destinations and attractions – adds to the exotic character of the image. This is not simply inherent in the medium of photography; it is amplified by the way the images are shown in the city – on billboards, signage and flyers. By adding the location where the image was taken on the back of the postcards (see figure 11), the project "Where do you breathe?" resisted this tendency: rather than increasing the exotic character of the images, the postcards located them, made them nearby and more attainable. The images of these "breathing spaces" were thus literally urbanised, returned to the city. Just like the practice of adding layers of posters to the poster wall on the high street, the postcard intervention aimed to overlay a new imaginary and informational space – not simply over a physical space, but over an 'augmented space' that is in itself already a layering of physical and informational deposits.

These virtual deposits are not necessarily virtual in the sense of "in cyberspace;" a printed image can have a virtual character purely in the imaginary spaces it produces in the mind of the onlooker. As such, photography can be seen not as a closure of – or end point of – experience, but as a starting point for it. The project "Where do you breathe?" attempted to produce such images, which stimulate urban exploration. The photographic project functioned as an *alternative city guide* – alternative in that it involves guiding understood as equipping with a sensibility rather than as offering an exhaustive list for the user to process. The emphasis is here not on forcing people to walk and explore the city, but rather on stimulating them by portraying the city as a nomadic territory with open possibilities. By potentially augmenting their awareness of the urban environment, the project allows users to filter an urban space for what they want to experience in function of their temporary desires, and transform urban spaces mentally in dialogue with this flux of desire.

The project's website aimed to perform as a laboratory for the experience of the city through walking. In the contemporary city, space, movement and information collide and the informational media become potential tools for urbanism. The project's website functioned as a virtual territory where certain spaces are mapped, and from where exploration to these spaces can be organised. As a laboratory, the website does not allow for a virtual walk that replaces or represents the actual one, but forms a toolbox for the walks that need to be created. The website allows for people to add their own spaces in the city to the map and propose them as possible field for exploration. This constitutes a user-defined cartography wherein one can inscribe onto the map – as an abstract two-dimensional evocation of space – a multitude of 'other' spaces. This virtual map permits users to inscribe urban space with their own shared or individual desires.

This user-defined cartography approaches the concept of geo-annotated information or 'geograffiti,'[18] a practice that with the aid of GIS computers allows users to annotate personal information onto a digital map. The project website could be seen as such a tool, be it potentially more widely accessible since it does not depend on the provision of hi-tech material such as GIS palms. Since users became co-authors of the map and add their own spatial imagination to it, the project recognised the individual as a 'producer of space' albeit initially mentally and experientially rather than physically. Space is created through the walks and by leaving traces of use on the website. The project thus proposed an authored sedimentation of spatial imagination with regards to the city. Indeed, by recording traces of use, it valued authorship and creativity in the city as a distributed quality. By explicitly making urban space and the purely virtual space of the Internet interact with each other, the website generated an intensification of urban space. This constitutes one – albeit modest – way of seeing photography as an interactive medium and interactive media as a form of *do-it-yourself urbanism*.

[17] Lev Manovich refers to this as „augmented space." See: www.manovich.net

18 See Tuters 2003

Postscript

This article has located the urban art project "Where do you breathe?" in contemporary cultural production. It has attempted to shed light on some of the theoretical questions and problems raised in doing this project: how the city changes through the practice of walking, what the interplay is between the physical and the mental transformation of urban space, what the role of the photographic image is within urban space, and finally why and how interactive visual media can serve as a tool to stimulate creativity in the city.

N.B. The project ultimately illustrates the extreme temporariness of contemporary cultural production and urban interventions. The rapid evolution in interactive and user-friendly maps (e.g. Google Earth) since the writing of this text in 2004[19] has made some of the intentions of the project outdated, while actualizing some of its potentials.

[19] The art project has been developed during the spring and summer of 2004 in London, and this article was written at the end of its production phase. As it was planned to be published in 2004, I have refrained from revising the article's premise and conclusion when it was eventually published by Goldsmiths, University of London 2007

Fig. 1: N 51:30:30 - E 0:04:00 | 11.06.2004 | walk alongside docklands and city airport - see planes take off at old pier - sit down and feel the wind

Fig. 2: N 51:36:00 - W 0:03:00 | 21.06.2004 | walk alongside Lee river - inhale - see sky and find reservoirs

Fig. 3: N 51:30:20 - E 0:04:00 | 03.06.2004 | walk alongside docklands and city airport - see planes and birds at old pier - shelter when it rains

Fig. 4: N 51:32:00 - W 0:05:00 | 23.05.2004 | escape Shoreditch - climb the deserted viaduct at Long Street - walk the linear park

Fig. 5: N 51:30:30 - W 0:05:30 | 18.06.2004 | the City at night - a walk alongside Thames north bank - speak to the guard who is having a break on the steps

Fig. 6: N 51:34:50 - W 0:02:50 | 28.06.2004 | furniture in the bucolic landscape

Fig. 7: N 51:30:00 - W 0:00:30 | 18.06.2004 | Costa del Cheeky, inofficially.

Fig. 8: N 51:34:20 - W 0:03:30 | 08.05.2004 | walk in the marshes - think about the water and electricity that serve the city far away - lay in grass and listen to trains

Fig. 9: N 51:30:20 - W 0:10:00 | 08.07.2004 | see city glowing and trees waving

Fig. 10: N 51:30:30 - E 0:01:40 | 18.06.2004 | have a parking lot picnic - talk to newly immigrated teenagers - lay down on asphalt

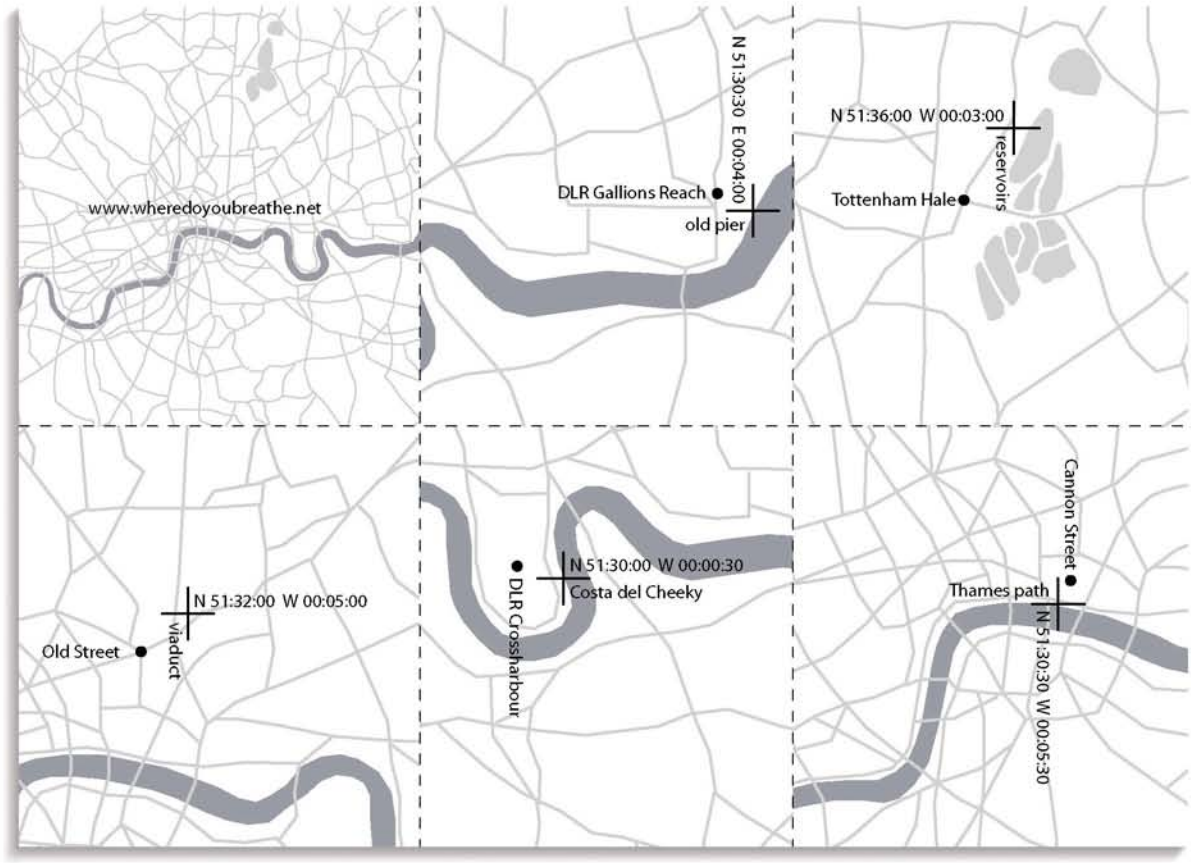

Fig 11: Postcards distributed in East and Central London in June-July 2004

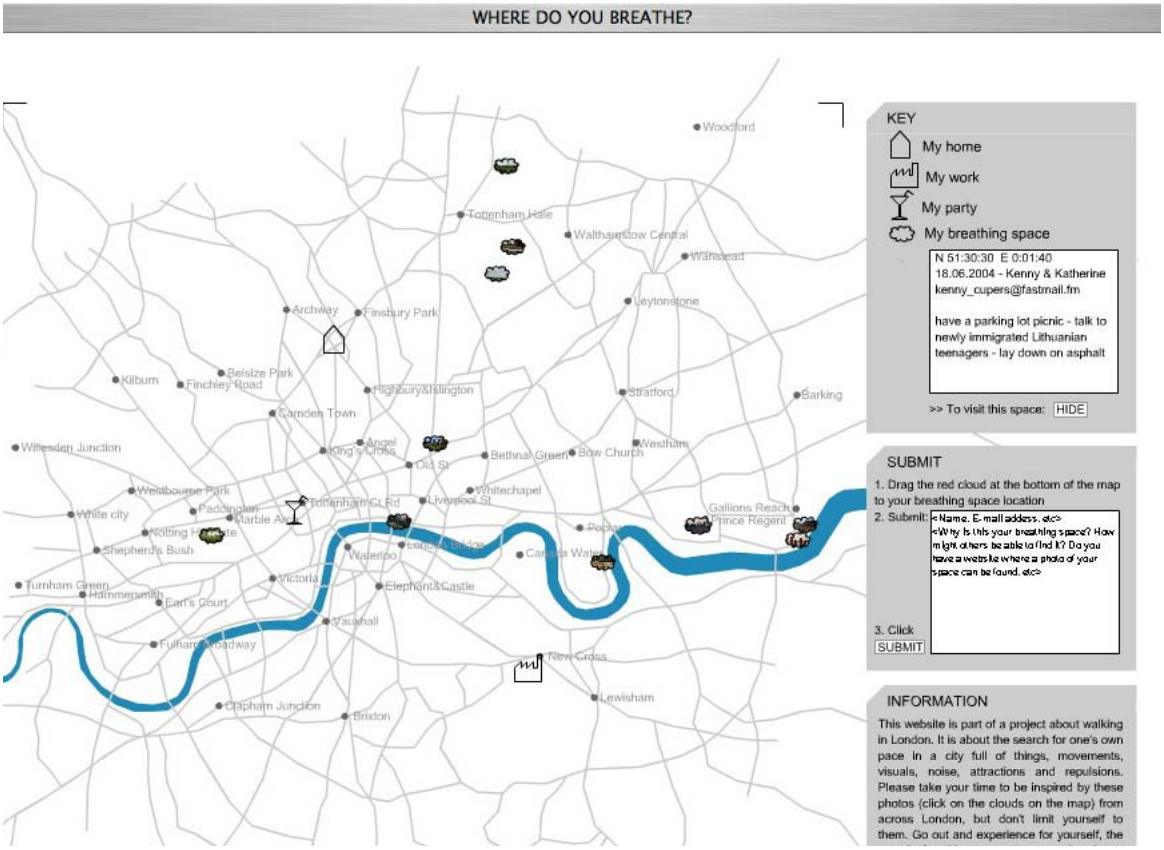

Fig. 12: An image of the website www.wheredoyoubreathe.net as it was launched. By clicking on the markers of the map, the user can look at the photograph taken at that particular place. The interface on the right allows users to submit their own locations and to attach a small text and photograph to it.

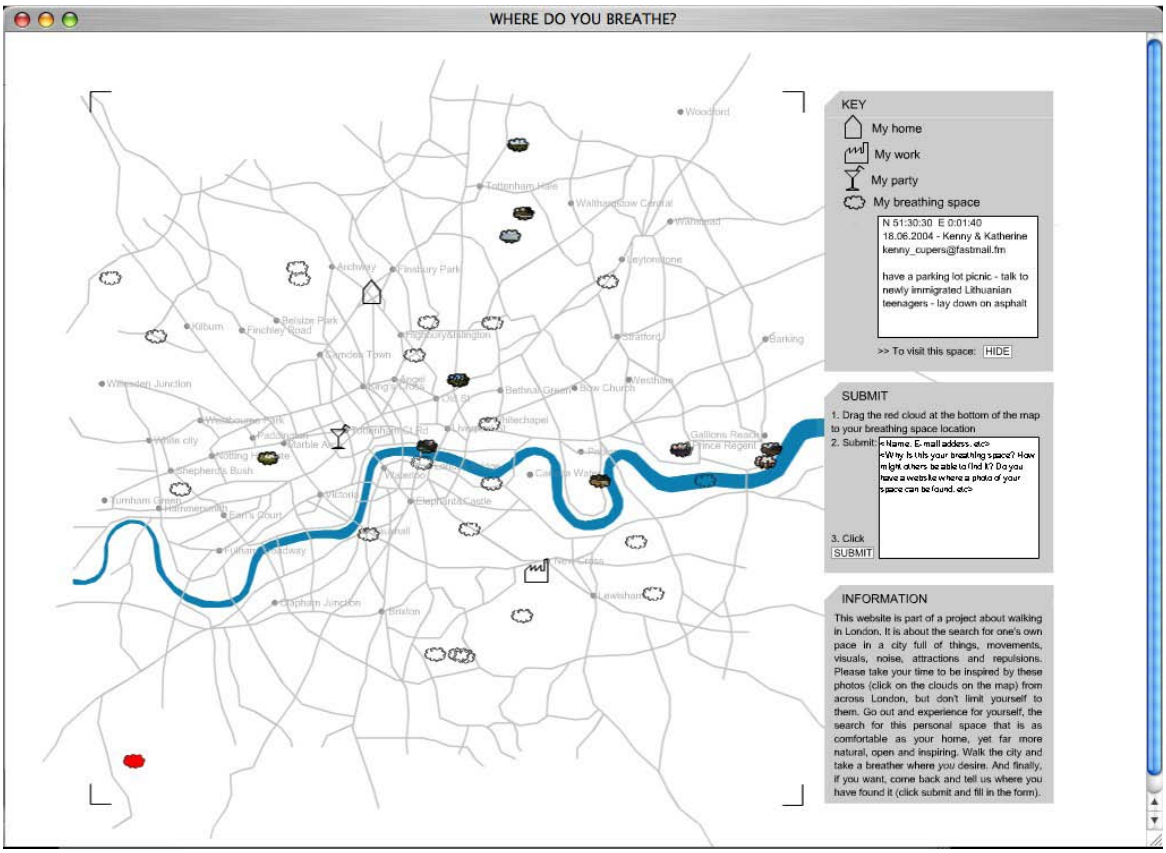

Fig. 13: An image of the website www.wheredoyoubreathe.net two weeks after it was launched. Users have added new locations, texts and photographs. This results in an extra layer of annotation on the map.

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