

Captured by the City

Captured by the City:
Perspectives in Urban Culture Studies

Edited by

Blagovesta M. Momchedjikova

**CAMBRIDGE
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P U B L I S H I N G

Captured by the City:
Perspectives in Urban Culture Studies,
Edited by Blagovesta M. Momchedjikova

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To my wonderful parents—
Prof. Dr. Mihail Blagoev Momchedjikov
and Dipl. Eng. Toshka Atanassova Momchedjikova—
two serious engineers with a soft spot for cities.
They have taught me all about living in cities and loving it.

“When a man rides a long time through wild regions he feels the desire for a city.”

—Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*

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INTRODUCTION

URBAN CULTURE STUDIES

BLAGOVESTA M. MOMCHEDJIKOVA

What is Urban Culture Studies?

Cities are living organisms: they grow, change, or sometimes disappear. They are fascinatingly porous: letting those who want in and those who want—out. They can embrace but they can also reject. They can be robust and healthy but they can also be sick. They can be obviously happy but also depressingly sad. Many and intricate are the processes—planned or accidental—that sustain, speed up, or slow down the pulse of the city, infinitely affecting city dwellers, who may or may not have precipitated these processes. Urban Culture Studies aims at sensing and studying that pulse of the city: at times irregular, always complex, and never disingenuous.

Urban Culture Studies is, simply put, an amalgamation of disciplines, approaches, and methodologies, whose common interest lies in the city, any city—mundane, fragmented, and monotone, yet simultaneously also extraordinary, coherent, and polyphonic. It engages the colorful and contradictory urban form—the physical environment (a building, a neighborhood, a park) and its reverberations into other physical or non-physical worlds (a memory, a feeling, a sound)—from a variety of traditional perspectives: sociological, anthropological, historical, linguistic, photographic, while also relying on the inter-disciplinary conversations already begun by the newer cultural, visual, performance, and popular culture studies.

Unlike the established discipline of Urban Studies, for example, which deals with the city as an object, and which is reserved for the more exclusive group of urban planners, policy makers, and architects, the currently forming discipline of Urban Culture Studies embraces the city as a dynamic encounter, an artistic endeavor, an event, a practice, a performance, an interplay, and is open to academics from a variety of fields, artists, and practitioners alike. Ultimately, it attempts to carve its

own, unique field of inquiry: based on the plurality of perspectives on the city, which complement each other, and in their plurality grant us a better understanding of cities—why do we dream about them, flock to them, develop them, negotiate them, leave them, or return to them—and the complex, contradictory lives we live in them.

Why Now?

The city has preoccupied generations of thinkers, poets, planners, and policy makers. From Georg Simmel to Richard Sennet, Walter Benjamin to Michel deCerteau, Baron Hausmann to Robert Moses, Italo Calvino to Yi-fu Tuan, Jane Jacobs to Sharon Zukin, the city has been considered a legitimate place: be it with its problems or with its wonders, but almost always with its unmatched experiences. The proliferation of social media in the last decade, however, has posed a particular challenge to how we think about place and thus, about cities and ourselves in them. Facebook, Twitter, and Skype allow us to inhabit many disparate places at the same time. Now deCerteau's famous walk, which connected the "here" and "there" on the city street has become a mouse click, which has collapsed "here" into "there": they are simply one and the same thing.

Whether we borrow the term "hybrid place" from geographer Andrew Blum or "non-place" from anthropologist Marc Auge, to describe this state of virtual living in many places at the same time, one thing is clear—while euphorically friending, texting, or chatting, we are less and less present to the only one place that can provide us with tangible sensations and experiences: the immediate and urgent *here*. We browse the world wide web more so than scout the city streets, disconnected from the live city yet LinkedIn. The city has thus become a service provider for posts, blogs, tweets—a loser to these, perhaps safer, virtual representations. And we, consuming sites, updating profiles, i-touching cold electronics away, boast multiple selves. Unchained by the challenges of real-life urbanity, these selves wander our cities like ghosts—hybrid selves, non-selves?

Urban Culture Studies allows us to approach the diffusion of place and resulting diffusion of self as processes of reversible nature. With its emphasis on the tangible connections among people, places, and interactions, it offers a holistic and humanitarian approach to urban self and urban place, which can help re-position us in the world of global information towards the revival of both self and place. In such re-positioning, we can recover our experience of place and self precisely due to the interplay between physical and virtual place, physical and virtual self, not in spite of it. As a combination of disciplines and methodologies,

it fosters not interface but face-to-face exchanges and communities—the true antidotes to the alienating effects of virtual consumerism. And that too, contributes to making our cities healthier.

Why Captured by the City?

But as we expand into new locations and selves thanks to never-ending technological innovations, natural and man-made disasters continue to redraw the landscape of cities—uprooting people, erasing places—all over the world. Such oppositional developments affect how we experience, preserve, and remember cities and ourselves in them. Equipped with memory sticks and zip drives, we transmit and store our memories in bytes, as if our electronic devices are indeed responsible for one of the most distinctly human experiences: that of remembering. To engage in the act of remembering means to summon up a visceral, tangible experience of a person, a site, an object, an event, or the combination of some or all of these, as well as the feelings that they provoked. Such acts of remembering locate us in time and place and thus create personal as well as cultural identity: they make us into who we really are.

These acts of remembering, however, are slowly fleeing from us because we live the virtual life more so than the real one yet at the end of the day we bring back no tangible evidence from that virtual existence, and thus no memories. And that is how *Captured by the City: Perspectives in Urban Culture Studies* came to be. It is an effort to remind us that although we prefer to embrace the internet, the real city still embraces us: it still collects rent, heat, electric, gas, water, cable, garbage, bus, subway charges from us; it still fuels our desires, hopes, disappointments; it still perplexes, surprises, fascinates us. This book is a serious reminder that we are still caught in the real city's web of ideas, connections, and contradictions, right *here*.

Ultimately, *Captured by the City* aims to re-enact for its readers, as it did for its contributors, the art of being present to the city, which is a prerequisite to remembering, enjoying, imagining, and planning the city. This is the book's main goal, and its main asset. Being present suggests that one is *here*, and that one is here *now*—that one is consciously connected to her immediate surroundings, processing what is happening to her in the context of these very surroundings. This collection also hopes to inspire its readers to wake up to the present and to engage in their own art of being present, which helps restore the value of real human connections and communities in the face of numbing virtual consumption—a genuine advancement of the discipline of Urban Culture Studies.

How is This Collection Put Together?

Made up of eighteen essays, this collection represents the possibilities for critical reading, thinking, and writing that Urban Culture Studies, as a discipline, opens up. Thematically, the essays in the volume cover a wide range—the preservation of place in memory; the successful daily use of public spaces; the relationship between personal, communal, and cultural identity; gentrification, urban development, and disaster; immigration, travel, and the displacement of self; staging belonging through everyday or scheduled performances, language, and sound. Stylistically, the texts represent a mix of genres—historical or ethnographic studies of public sites and events; poetic accounts of personal geographies through cities; explorations of highly orchestrated or improvised events in designated urban areas. Taken together, the texts re-enact the basic principle of the discipline of Urban Culture Studies—inter-connectivity.

The three-part structure of the volume—Places, People, and Performances—with six essays in each part—is, to an extent, arbitrary, as places, people, and performances (scheduled, spontaneous, or mundane) are always interconnected and interdependent: you cannot consider one without the others. Still, there are some governing factors such as priorities and perspectives within each text that allow for the texts to be grouped in this particular way, and that provoke dynamic connections within each part. At the same time, dynamic connections across all three parts are also expected and hoped for. In living urban environments, it is like that as well: everything is always connected to everything else: it is these connections in the city that we hope to illuminate through our studies, foster through the combination of our different perspectives, and cause through the life of each text in this volume next to another.

Unique to this collection is the two-paragraph, formal introductory section to each essay. While the first paragraph outlines the author's discipline, methodology, and particular engagement with the urban in general, the second details the essay's particular project. The purpose of these reflective paragraphs is twofold: to both position every contributor within a particular field of inquiry (say, Sociology, Anthropology, History, Visual Studies) as well as on the broader, overlapping spectrum of Urban Culture. It is these two paragraphs that explicitly connect all essays to each other and to the larger project of this book: to establish the legitimacy and urgency of the new Urban Culture Studies discipline. While there are many important books out there, which offer fascinating inter-disciplinary studies within the same discipline, thus broadening the scope of that particular discipline, *Captured by the City* offers a cross-disciplinary

(photographic, sociological, historical, architectural, anthropological, linguistic, theatrical, etc.) examination of the common urban theme, thus broadening the scope of Urban Culture Studies as a field in itself.

Places, People, Performances

Part One: City Places: In Memory, History, and Real-time deals with the preservation, development, and improvement of place. Ines Rae asks us to consider how the memory of place gets constructed: comparing photographs of Preston, England, with the memories that they produce, she ponders if memory belongs to people, places, images, or stories. Lois Ascher proposes that in the face of destruction, memory resides in museums, like the one that former residents of Boston's West End (a notorious victim to urban development) created. For David Michalski, however, urban memories exist in fragmentation and collage, as do his of Buffalo, New York—his hometown. Still, though fragmented, any act of remembering allows us to claim the city, as does any practice in the city. One such practice is street-postering, which Tara Milbrandt observes as it divides the city of Toronto and its residents when a ban threatens it. Another is park construction, which Matthew Postal shows can be rather successful in New York City when the interests of policy makers and park goers coincide. But to create useful public places, Nathalie Boucher cautions, we have to heed to our contemporary needs of public place not to what history instructs us, and thus she finds unexpected liveliness in many “doomed” public sites in downtown Los Angeles.

Part Two: City Identities: In Transit and Situ explores what happens to the urban self in the face of economic, geographic, and social change. Margarita Kompelmahler observes the struggles of Soviet immigrants in the Twin Cities, Minnesota, to preserve their former national identity through customs such as social dance, while also trying to remain publicly invisible in their adopted home. The opposite is the case in Tolonda Tolbert's study of the “Gatekeepers”—a certain gathering of men from Afro-Caribbean descent, who openly guard their community against the forces of gentrification on a particular block in Brooklyn, New York. J. Emmanuel Raymundo shows us how in moments of urban crisis (as evidenced by disaster and cinematic representation), certain identities quickly disappear—African Americans from hurricane-ridden New Orleans at the dawn of 21st century, and Asian Americans from the apocalyptic movie *San Francisco* (1936). Temporary (and temporal) disappearance and dislocation, and the subsequent remake of self is what Michelle Dent experiences during her teaching assignment in Abu Dhabi;

what Steve, a Mohawk ironworker from Montreal in New York City narrates in Samuel Neural's ethnography; and what Keisha Gaye-Anderson goes through as a young Jamaican woman who wants to succeed in *The Big Apple*.

Part Three: Performing the City: Voices and Practices studies the interactions between people and places, as evidenced in everyday or scheduled activities, and how these contribute to one's sense of belonging to the city. Joe Trotta considers how place breeds certain linguistic expressions, and how urban dialects form and develop as a result of inhabiting particular places. This is furthered in Ronald Dorris' study of the musicality of speech that the residents of New Orleans possess, and how it formed historically. For E. Jerry Persaud, that's the case with hip hop music, which both reflects and perpetuates the inner-city ghetto: as a physical place, a state of mind, a lifestyle, a lexicon, and a flow. Mathew Hawkins and Marta Rabikowska show how cities provoke artistic creation as they pioneer their film practices in a bar in Plumstead, England, in an effort to discover the larger community of that particular area, to which they also want to belong. Melanie Sovern, too, studies how theatrical improvisation and street performance allow a particular theater troupe to engage with and celebrate New York City. Finally, Rafaela Santos' self-portrait stares at us, as we read the heartfelt stories of a black Latina from the Bronx, New York, who is determined to break the cycle of poverty she grew up in, and leave her mark on the city against all odds.

Goals

Captured by the City: New Perspectives in Urban Culture Studies is a reader, a textbook, and a navigation tool for those intrigued by everything urban, those curious to understand the range of possibilities that this recently formed field presents, and those dedicated to its further development and expansion. As a collection of different disciplines, subjects, tools, methodologies, approaches, and writing styles, this book can be useful to teachers and students, scholars and artists, regardless of their particular affiliations because it demonstrates not the advancement of a single discipline but how different disciplines intersect to form a new field of study—Urban Culture Studies, which is, by its very nature, cross-disciplinary. As such, *Captured by the City* is foundational: it is a new rubric, which helps its readers approach the multi-faceted city from a variety of angles, and see it the way Urban Culture Studies does: through all its parts.

Teachers can use this volume to teach the city from a myriad of perspectives, and from several perspectives at the same time. By critically addressing the complexities of cities, teachers can educate students how to be better readers, thinkers, and writers, and how to improve the future of cities. *Captured by the City* can be a useful textbook for those who are dedicated to teaching Urban Culture Studies; it can also be of interest to the many different disciplines that it represents: Sociology, Anthropology, History, Linguistics, Architectural History, Urban Studies, American Studies, African-American Studies, Caribbean Studies, Postcolonial Studies, Critical Media Studies, Photographic Studies, Film Studies, English, Comparative Literature, Documentary Poetics, Writing, Cultural Studies, Theater Studies, Dance Studies, Performance Studies, Feminist Ethnography, Race and Cultural Criminology. Students can use this volume to learn to see the city as a dynamic entity, which is so rich that in order to grasp it fully, one needs to embrace a multitude of approaches and disciplines. That can lead students to critically think about their own roles in the daily performance of the city. Further, it can offer students models of inquiry and inter-connectivity, help identify opportunities for research, and present different approaches to writing about the city.

Ultimately, *Captured by the City: New Perspectives in Urban Culture Studies* aims to create a lively exchange of viewpoints among scholars, teachers, artists, and students. It strives to prepare the ground for the founding of a Center for Urban Culture Studies in the nearest future, where the lively exchange of viewpoints will continue through workshops, classes, symposia, publications, and performances. I enjoyed putting this volume together immensely and I invite you to share in my joy as you flip through the essays and learn more about the often mysterious interplay among built environments, people's interactions, and infrastructure in cities. I hope that you will understand why and how all of us in this book are intrigued, obsessed, puzzled, fascinated, and, well, fully captured by the city, and that, in turn, will make you wonder about your own relationship with the city.

PART I

CITY PLACES: IN MEMORY, HISTORY, AND REAL-TIME

CHAPTER ONE

REMEMBERING THE CITY: MEMORY-IMAGES

INÉS RAE

The research is located within the discipline of photographic studies. It is an investigation into the relation of the photographic work to the world depicted, and the balance achieved between the neutral document, mirroring reality, and the latent criticism of that reality. Through a photographic practice that uses methods of visual ethnography, alongside an interest in the complexity of the relationship between urban representations, memory, place, and identity, it is possible to piece together the particularities of lived experience.

The current project, *Memory City*, documents a series of personal memories volunteered by inhabitants of Preston and an attempt to explore the relationship between personal memory and public space. It opens up a dialogue between the city's population to encourage them to claim ownership over their public space by experiencing it as a dynamic site where private memories and a public present interact. One of the goals of the project is to explore people's, shared and differing, senses of belonging and document the emotional histories that exist in the living memories of a city's inhabitants; to enable a narration of the city "from below" in order to expose the dynamic, personal qualities of urban change.

We live in a “memorious” world where every step and every movement we make encounters memorialized objects, spaces and relations. The streets we walk along and the roads we drive upon are filled with engravings of past practices. The grooves in the pavement where millions of feet have worn down the surface, the variety of street furniture designs memorializing different industrial and social fashions: our environments are scarred by historical memories. What kinds of memory engravings *have been* inscribed on those places but also what kind of engravings *are being* inscribed upon those places? In this essay I look at some of the memory-talk and memory-images that the people in the *Memory City* project used to define the place of their memories in the urban spaces of Preston’s past. Preston, one of the UK’s newest cities, has often found itself in the shadow of larger cities in the North West of the UK, namely Manchester and Liverpool. The *Memory City* project chose Preston for its research in order to encourage the exploration of Preston as a subject for photographic studies and to generally focus more attention on the city.

The memory of a city space is one characterized by its mutability, both on an individual level and in a wider spectrum. At a basic level, it might be said that people perceive at least two cities: one architectural, and one more nebulous city, a city of the mind, of association, superstition and boundary. As Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson have commented, “[c]ities are not simply material or lived spaces—they are also spaces of the imagination and spaces of association,” two factors which are in continual correspondence with one another (Bridge and Watson 2003: 7). Beyond this, there are further possible grounds for mutation. One is the contrast between the individual and the whole within the city space. Another is the impact of earlier memories upon any particular memory in question. A third is the manner in which memory (in more general terms here) colludes in the way the city of the present is perceived. After all, if cities are, as Bridge and Watson suggest, places of the imagination, then they are not simply day dreams; they are on-going, permanent dreams (or imaginaries), dreams which flow in and out of one another in the process of producing an entire mythology of personal, and group space.

The association between cities and dreams here is not without precedent. Steve Pile, in reference to both Benjamin and Freud, has suggested that

... elements of the city resemble dream elements—for not only can sites in cities be visited many times and the meanings of the locality change upon the “orientation” of the visit, but also cities bring together elements from different places and urban spaces are produced through the intersection of

crosscutting social relations, which combine to produce meaningful places. (Pile 2003: 85)

This proposition, in some ways, appears to fit in with some of the areas of research carried out, in terms of people's memories of Preston. Pat Woods, who was originally from Wigan, but eventually moved to Preston in 1979, provides an example of the way in which a city can "incorporate" other places, something, which is indeed connected to "the intersection of crosscutting social relations." When asked if there was a sense of community in the area to which she moved, Pat responds with the following comments:

Yes, it was actually because we used to baby-sit for each other and, err, a lot of people hadn't been brought up in Preston like we were, so it was a kind of ex-pats commune if you like. So, because we didn't have any family near us we stuck together. Although there were one or two Prestonians in the group, they were mainly people who'd moved up like ourselves. (Selective Transcript 02:28)

The way in which Pat remembers her place of residence is fundamentally torn. On one level, it is an area of Preston bound together by "community spirit," which is in turn linked both concretely and sensuously to the town itself. However, from another angle, it is also (certainly in terms of Pat's Memory) sensuously *apart* from the town. The sense of community is one contingent upon this shared other existence; it is a community both inside Preston, and yet simultaneously grounded in multiple other locations. These other locations, for Pat, bleed into the overall experience of city space. This intersection produces a place of a certain meaning for Pat, yet one, which is certainly a place of liminal, mutable meaning.

"Dreaming" the city (and probably dreaming in itself) then, is also linked with the transgression of boundaries. The memory of a certain place, at a certain time, is stained with the memory of another place; one which is constantly looked back to (not necessarily out of choice), checked and verified in the affirmation of a certain way of life. There is then, a double transgression: firstly there is a basic, physical, transgression of space (from Wigan to Preston, in Pat's case). Secondly, there is an invasion by the place (Wigan) upon the memory, something which influences the way in which the "current" situation is perceived, and space is navigated. Concrete moves into memory (or imagination), which proceeds to translate, or transfer, its foundation back to its original state.

This method of remembrance strikes a pattern with another constituent of Preston who was interviewed. John Browne, who moved to Preston

when he was “about twelve,” describes his sense of living in the city through a poem by Stevie Smith:

What’s the one, Not Waving but Drowning, I’ve [unintelligible] yes, she said he must have wandered out, he must have gone too far out and he says no he didn’t go too far out he’s been too far out all his life, so yes I did feel different, yes. (John Browne Transcript 11)

It is useful to quote here the section of the original poem to which John alludes:

Nobody heard him, the dead man,
But still he lay moaning:
I was much further out than you thought
Not waving but drowning. (Smith 1999: 198)

John’s emphasis upon these last two lines provides an illuminating way of examining his, and perhaps Pat’s, experience of the city. In some ways, John is an “outsider.” Although he may appear to be integrated within city life, he is always “further out,” always slightly removed from the center. However, it is not that simple. Both Pat’s and John’s memories of being in Preston are not merely of being “outsiders,” of being situated in an objective stance, from which one might wave. They are also memories in which the subjects view themselves as being submerged within the city, drowning within its territorial confines and yet still reaching out and gasping for their previous existences, their previous material and intellectual conditions. Again, the transition from one place to another is a mutable, capricious, and self-reflexive process. However, these transitions are ones which have a definite foundation; they are not simply examples of a dream, imagination, or oscillating memory which has lost the ability to retain an adequate grip on what might be deemed “real.” They are direct consequences of an initial material act (in this case migration). Or to put it rather more eloquently, as Marx and Engels once stated: “the production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men [and women], the language of real life” (Engels and Marx 1977: 46).

The above notion (one which is roughly correspondent to the overall idea of base and superstructure) poses a difficult question when looking into people’s perceptions of cities. People’s sensuous experience of the city, it might be said, is something, which is at odds with the actual physical, architectural space of the city. A personal perception of the city is therefore limited in its inclusion of the city as whole. The contrast

between experiencing the city as a whole, or as a more secularized space is something, which Jonathan Raban has looked at in his book, *Soft City*:

When I first came to London, I moved about much more freely than I do now; I took the liberties of a tourist and measured the distances by miles rather than the relationship of the known to the unknown. [...] It is the visitor that goes everywhere; to the resident a river or a railway track, even if it is bridged every few hundred yards, may be as absolute a boundary as a snake pit or an ocean. (Raban 1988: 167)

Raban's argument here relies on a further proposition that inhabitants of a city come to construct their own personal boundaries of a city, a "private city [which] emerges from his [or her] personal symbols and taboos" (169). To some extent, these ideas fit in with another resident of Preston who was interviewed. Joyce Hilton, a resident of Preston all her life talks specifically about memories involving entertainment. She talks about the fact that residents had a certain cinema in their "area" to which they would go, where "everybody knew each-other" (JH Transcript 6). This testifies to a certain system of local boundaries, to which Joyce adhered. However, once inside these boundaries, there is a further development, on a smaller level. Joyce goes on to talk about the inside of the cinema, in which there would be "factions," corresponding to the larger surrounding area in which the cinema lay: "we were from the Fishwick area, whilst some people would come from Ribbleson Avenue, you know, the other side of the cinema, and another lot lived down Blackpool Road" (Ibid.).

Joyce's description of the cinema displays an automatic equation between the "areas" of the cinema, and the surrounding area of Preston. The inside of the cinema is a living simulacrum of its, as Raban would term, "soft" environs. However, although this is a personal memory, it is nevertheless one remembered in terms of a group construction. The system of representation, which Joyce describes, is no doubt strikingly similar to the way in which Raban describes similar situations, as "talismans, more important even than the house or the street, magical guarantees of a certain kind of identity" (Raban 1988: 168). The city (and its representation) is also measured purely in terms of known and unknown. Identity, though, is something, which extends to each particular faction, thereby affirming a joint "soft" experience of the city. The imperatives not to transcend these boundaries then, rest on an implicit, mutual understanding between groups of certain people; the mysticism, as Raban might discern, in this case is almost tribal.

In some sense, this can simply be put down to an affirmation of a certain way of life, or identity. As Chris Weedon, along with many others, has pointed out, "Like the structure of meaning in language, identity is relational. It is defined in a relation of difference to what it is not" (Weedon 2004: 19). This appears to be the case; the particular groups to which Joyce refers are all defined in terms of their differential nature. In terms of the cinema, Joyce went on to say that if someone was to sit in the "wrong" area, "people would say "what are you doing here," you know, and you'd feel uncomfortable" (JH Transcript 6). Joyce also talks about going to a different dance hall than the hall to which her area would normally attend. In this different dance hall she would be "looked down on" (Ibid.). Indeed, another person interviewed in Preston went as far to describe some areas as "the darker parts of Preston" (Neil Cartright Transcript 4), presumably referring to the poorer sections of the city. People's sense of an area is also specifically linked with economic factors then.

To go back to Marx and Engel's statement quoted earlier, if people's consciousness, ideas and so on are formed as a result of the material interactions between one another, then this seems an interesting example. Instead of being formed purely from longevity, association and superstition (mainly as a result of the city's architectural make-up), the "soft city" depicted here is one which arises out of economic issues, of one's individual economic factions, and of class in its more broad sense. Each area is bound by a close knit economic loyalty. The experience, however, is still one of mysticism and ritual, shown most aptly for the factions to which Joyce refers in her description of the cinema. This mysticism is more of an economic, material strain though, one in which taboos (similar to the way in which early divisions of labor would operate) and symbols keep the economic system afloat. This is, of course, a slightly different route to arrive at this particular conclusion than what Raban, and indeed others, might employ. The focus upon an individual experience of the city is one which has always been present, however, this focus can only go so far before it runs into abstractions, comments which are limited only to one individual, and which, therefore, can only serve a limited purpose. Joyce's, and others, perception of the city is perhaps something grounded within the past; close knit, microcosmic communities within the city might be something which can be said to have been outlived. However, this does not stop one reading the city's mutable nature, and people's memories of this, as a dream, as a series of intersections, cross-sections and invasions which appear incomprehensible, yet which all have a material foundation. The city is a place where one must use signs in