

Mobile Memories: Canadian Cultural Memory in the Digital Age

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Abstract

This dissertation considers the impact mobile media technologies have on the production and consumption of memory narratives and cultural memory discourses in Canada. Although this analysis pays specific attention to concepts of memory, heritage, and public history in its exploration of site-specific digital narratives, it is set within a larger theoretical framework that considers the relationship between mobile technology and place, and how the mobile phone in particular can foster both a sense of place and placelessness. This larger framework also includes issues of co-presence, networked identity, play, affect, and the phenomenological relationship between the individual and the mobile device. This is then considered alongside memory narratives (both on the national and quotidian levels) at specifically sanctioned sites of national commemoration (monuments, historic sites) and also in everyday urban spaces. To this end, this dissertation covers a wide range of augmented reality apps and forms of digital storytelling including locative media narratives, site-specific digital performances, social media and crowdsourced heritage archives, and urban mobile gaming and playful mapping.

Despite common criticism that mobile phones only serve to distract us from our surrounding environment, I argue that mobile technology can generate deeper, more affective attachments to places by reformulating ways of perceiving and moving through them. They do this by insisting that place is more than just its material properties, but rather is composed of a fluctuating relationship between materiality, time, and affect. Following this framework, I also emphasize how mobile technology shifts the traditional mission of the archive to preserve and protect the past to something more playful, more affective, and more preoccupied with the circulation of the past in the present. Included in this analysis are crowdsourced archives created on social media platforms which, I argue, are particularly well suited to capturing the dynamic

qualities of memory and living heritage practices. A contributing factor in this is the mobile phone's position as a site of intimacy and co-presence, which situates it in a long history of communication technologies that employ rhetorical and technological strategies of co-presence, immediacy, and intimacy.

Chapter one examines the role that locative media narratives play at official sites of memory in Canada's Capital region from app-based historical tours to more playful narrative encounters, through the lens of the archive and the repertoire. Chapter two then considers the digital site-specific performance piece, *LANDLINE*, to unpack how mobile media foster everyday place memories in urban spaces through the mobile phone's position as a site of intimacy for geographically distant, but virtually co-present, individuals. Chapter three analyzes my own experimental method, *Maplibs*, which follows a mobile game structure to encourage participants to engage in acts of playful placemaking and collaborative storytelling in order to highlight an alternative process of engaging with place that carries the past forward in meaningful ways. And finally, chapter four analyzes the social media group "Lost Ottawa" to explore how collaborative memory communities mobilize through social media platforms like *Facebook* and create new forms of participatory heritage. In all of this, place is understood as a dynamic assemblage of stories and memories that the mobile phone, through its ubiquitous impact on social practices, plays a key role in shaping.

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Introduction

Today the ubiquity of mobile technologies in the form of smartphones and tablets is changing the way in which information is acquired and disseminated on a daily basis. In the last decade, these devices have gained traction as platforms for generating site-specific memory narratives, creating new ways of engaging with cultural memory and spatial history through augmented reality applications. These geolocate mobile apps have prompted media scholars, such as Jason Farman, to pose fundamental questions about the ways in which narratives are accessed and experienced in an increasingly digital world. As Farman puts it, “Since mobile media are becoming the most pervasive technology on the face of the planet right now, how does such pervasiveness change the ways we tell stories and read stories?” (8). This dissertation seeks to answer Farman’s question by exploring how digital technologies impact the production and consumption of memory narratives and cultural memory discourses in Canada. It undertakes an exploration of various sites of memory in urban landscapes including monuments, historic buildings, national landmarks, and everyday spaces, in order to determine how the spatial and narrative parameters of memory discourses are enhanced, altered, and at times constricted by these new forms of mobile, locative storytelling. In this thesis, I will examine a number of mobile phone apps and digital environments that address both personal and national memory narratives, while also considering the impact of the mobile phone on everyday experiences of memory and place. Drawing attention to both everyday mobile phone practices and site-specific memory narratives serves to highlight the ways in which digital tools enhance and complicate conditions of intimacy, co-presence, temporality, and embodiment, and how this in turn impacts daily affective memory encounters. Through an analysis of site-specific heritage

walking tours, mobile games, interactive performance pieces, collaborative mapping exercises, and social media memory communities, this dissertation explores the role that memory, mobility, and technology play in everyday placemaking practices.

Today's networked society is implicated in what Manuel Castells has called "the space of flows," where interactions are reduced to their status as information in a globalized network (408). Castells argues, "Our society is constructed around flows: flows of capital, flows of information, flows of technology, flows of organizational interaction, flows of images, sounds, and symbols. Flows are not just one element of the social organization: they are the expression of processes *dominating* our economic, political, and symbolic life" (442). As an individual's daily activities are increasingly carried out online through networked technologies, one's relationship to space begins to change, as the space of flows allows for a flexible sense of time and location: our work and communication can be carried out anywhere, no longer dependent on geographic location or co-presence. For this reason, Castells contrasts the "space of flows" to the "space of places," with the latter referring to how geographic space, and one's sense of locatedness, structures human experience. At the same time, Castells notes that even though network connectivity draws users into the space of flows, the space of places still exists. In other words, contrary to what some theorists have argued, including Marc Augé in his critique of non-places, the space of flows does not destroy the existence or relevance of place. However, Castells does insist on their separation or containment: "A place is a locale whose form, function, and meaning are self-contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity" (453).

Notably, this definition of place as contained or bounded does not fully take into account how memory affects a sense of place or one's sense of locatedness, despite the fact that

Castells does recognize that collective memory operates as a key framework in the constitution of places. In his extensive description of the Belleville neighborhood of Paris, which he cites as a true representation of place, he notes, “Cultures and histories, in a truly plural urbanity, interact in the space, giving meaning to it, linking up with the ‘city of collective memory’” (Castells 455). It is by providing the material backdrop for these embodied, social interactions that places “contribute to community-building” (Castells 455). But what Castells fails to recognize is that memory cannot be contained within the borders of place, even if it starts from a particular sense of locatedness. One of the key considerations of this dissertation is how people attribute meaning or create connections to place through memory encounters that often extend to distant times and analogous places. In other words, in the act of remembering, individuals conjure experiences and encounters from distant, yet similar, places that they then bring to their interpretation of their current surroundings. What Castells seems to suggest is that an individual’s social interactions, memory encounters, and embodied experiences of place are what make places meaningful, but that these exist in opposition to one’s social interactions and activities in the networked space of flows. By contrast, this dissertation considers how memory moves through the networked space of flows, and our technologies of network connectivity, while still being located, embodied, and attached to places.

However, Castells does note that the relationship between “the space of flows and the space of places, between simultaneous globalization and localization, are not predetermined in their outcome” and that the two can influence each other (458). In drawing from an example in Tokyo, he notes that during a time of global development and network transformation, a strong appeal was made to a sense of locatedness and historical continuity in the city of Tokyo in order to help the people of Japan hold onto a sense of unique identity amid pressures to

conform to a westernized image of the global city:

The city government, sensitive to the deep-seated Japanese fear about the loss of identity, added to its business-oriented restructuring policy an image-making policy of singing the virtues of old Edo, pre-Meiji Tokyo. An historical museum (*Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsakan*) was opened in 1993, a public relations magazine was published, exhibitions regularly organized. (Castells 458)

As this example indicates, there is often a need to affirm a sense of a continuous past to provide stability in the face of global and technological expansion. However, I will argue that locative media memory narratives are not simply used for nostalgic escapism, or as a mitigating force to an overwhelming sense of supermodernity (Augé), but rather because of the “relational ontology” of the mobile phone itself, or its “imbrication of the social, the corporeal, the material, and the technical” as well as the peripatetic, it functions as an important tool in the development of contemporary memory practices, particularly because memory operates from a similar set of dynamics between the body and the physical and social environment (Cypher and Richardson 256). Therefore, while challenging the stark separation between the space of flows and the space of places, I will explore how locative media narrative practices re-enforce a sense of the local within a global framework of network connectivity, not only to foster connections to a sense of “historic identity” or a sense of the past, but also to reclaim everyday life spaces as personal, historical, and grounded despite their implication in the flow of networked life. In doing so, these mobile narratives are not resisting the space of flows; they are in fact taking advantage of the mobile device’s place within the larger framework of network connectivity, while also relying on the device’s function as a source of “somatic intimacy” as a personal, private, everyday archive of the self, an “always-accessible data

archive carried on the body” (Richardson, “Mobile” par. 12; “Pocket” 212).

Placing Media and Mediating Place

Mobile phones have not only transformed telecommunication but have contributed to a change in the mediascape more broadly as the introduction of smartphones and an increase in 3 and 4G network access have led to the evolution of the mobile phone as a multifunctional interface used more extensively for the “pleasurable parts of life: for promoting sociability, art making, and game play” (de Souza e Silva 20). For many people, daily life is constantly wrapped up in “info-mediatic assemblages within which the technologies and practices of communication, information, and media come together” (Richardson, “Mobile” par. 5). As Adriana de Souza e Silva has noted, “After the introduction of image and video, as well as GPS (global positioning system) capabilities, mobile phones began to foment new types of sociability and develop new perceptions of physical spaces” (20). And Paul Dourish similarly claims that mobile phones “do not create new spaces, but rather allow people to encounter and appropriate existing spaces in different ways” (304). Moreover, mobile phones also contribute to a change in the memoscape as they generate new practices for sharing and collecting various memory media. Joanne Garde-Hansen et al. explore digitally mediated memory at length and note,

As our lives have become increasingly digitized, so digital memories become us. We upload personal images to websites to share with family and friends. With our mobile camera phones we capture the ordinary and mundane as well as the traumatic and newsworthy, slipping in our pocket an archive of texts, photos and contacts. We post online conversations and thoughts that become memories on social network sites; we visit online museums and pray at sites of digital condolence. (1)

However, it is important to recognize that for as much as these changes have transformed both

the mediascape and memoryscape, often what we understand to be new or distinctive features of new media forms, such as telepresence, co-presence, participation, and virtuality, have their roots in older media. As Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin claim in *Remediation: Understanding New Media*, all digital media “remediate their predecessors” (45). As characteristics of older media are absorbed into new media, “the new medium remains dependent on the older one in acknowledged or unacknowledged ways,” and therefore condition the user for the new media experience by drawing from familiar media forms in the remediation process (Bolter and Grusin 47). At the same time, it is clear that new media do possess unique characteristics or have, as Farman notes, “specific attributes . . . that do not have precedent in previous media for storytelling” (8). Particularly, the automatic location-awareness embedded in these devices, their capacity to sync multimedia content (including text, audio, video and photographs), as well as their ability “to layer multiple—even conflicting—stories onto a single space” and integrate real-time commentary by users, exponentially increases the kinds of memory narratives available at specific sites (Farman 8). So while this dissertation recognizes that new media are implicated in a genealogy of past media and forms of mediation, it also contends that new media afford unique possibilities for how individuals experience and relate to places.

These changes are particularly evident when we consider how mobile phones impact everyday placemaking practices. As Doreen Massey has demonstrated, an individual’s relationship to place can first be understood as an ongoing set of relations, “always in the process of being made . . . never finished; never closed” (9). This dynamic sense of place is not only carried out through an individual’s making and remaking of personal attachments to place, but also through one’s experience of interconnections within and among places, as

places themselves are constituted by and through mobility. As Jeff Malpas explains,

Places are thus internally differentiated and interconnected in terms of the elements that appear within them, while they also interconnect with other places – thus places are juxtaposed and intersect with one another; places also contain places so that one can move inwards to find other places nested within a place as well as move outwards to a more encompassing locale. (34)

With the addition of mobile technology, the way in which an individual navigates through or gets to know a place, and the information that places contain, also become enfolded in network connectivity. As Eric Gordon and Adriana de Souza e Silva explain, “Location-aware technologies and the information with which they interface are not outside places, nor is physical material space disconnected from the location-based information now embedded in it. Each is a part of how locations are constructed, occupied, and disseminated” (90). They define these networked experiences of place as “net localities” (91). This concept of net locality necessitates an understanding of our current places as hybrid, comprising both physically co-present people and things (including individuals not connected to the network through a mobile device) as well as network connections. They note that while “urban spaces have always been mediated by technology,” still “net localities produce unique types of networked interactions and, by extension, new contexts for social cohesion” (Gordon and de Souza e Silva 91). Although tele-technologies have long contributed to the breakdown of dichotomies such as “here/there, near/far, personal/private, inner/outer or presence/absence,” the mobility of the mobile phone, which allows the user to be engaged with the mobile device while moving through space, necessarily implicates the body of the user in the hybrid space of the net locality (Richardson, “Pocket” 212). As Ingrid Richardson contends, mobile media do

not “create a condition where the disembodied virtual becomes re-embodied in located, situated, peripatetic practices, but rather that a different mode of embodiment is realized that conjoins the *corporeally realized* space of online networked interaction with pedestrian mobility” (“Touching” 138). With the pervasive use of mobile technologies in daily life, and the enfolding of contexts that they produce, “the borders between remote and contiguous contexts no longer can be clearly defined” (Gordon and de Souza e Silva 91). But also, as Richardson indicates, the boundaries of the human body break down, as they do with other body-tool relations. This body-technology relationship is not only crucial to a comprehensive understanding of mobile technology and place, but also to an understanding of mobile technology and memory.

Body-Screen Ontology

If we consider the mobile phone to be a tool, following the phenomenology of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, it is through use that the tool extends the borders or boundaries of the human body and its material limits. In other words, tools “modify the body” as well as the “kinds of embodiments afforded,” as they become incorporated “*into* one’s way of perceiving” (Richardson “Pocket” 214; “Mobile” par 14). In the context of mobile technology, this requires rethinking, as Richardson has shown, and a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenological body-tool relationship. Richardson draws from this history of body-technology relations to argue that the body is capable and conditioned to accept the disparate notions of time and space that the mobile phone demands. She effectively demonstrates this by situating telepresence in a long line of mediated interactions from the telephone, to television, to radio and cinema. However, she also insists that mobile media carry distinct

“techno-corporeal or *technosomatic* attributes” not found in these other media because of their “unique screen properties” (Richardson “Mobile” par. 8; “Pocket” 214). In applying the term *technosoma* through a phenomenological framework, Richardson emphasizes the lived body’s capacity to adapt to various technologies and positions these changes as part of “the collective embodiments or shared habits of the wider cultural milieu” (“Mobile” par. 12).

The mobile phone conditions a certain type of “screenic seeing” (Cooley 143) that is not strictly visual but rather encompasses the entire body, producing a distinct corporeal relationship in contrast to the ocularcentrism that predominates in discussions of other media, and particularly of other screen-based technologies. This shift to an embodied understanding of screenic seeing is due, in part, to the need to account for the mobility of the user when she is engaged with a mobile phone screen, and also to account for the hand-eye action involved in navigating the mobile phone touchscreen that produces what Ingrid Richardson and Rowan Wilken term “haptic vision,” or what Heidi Rae Cooley calls “tactile vision” (28; 137). For Cooley, tactile vision, where “the hand is directly and actively involved in the seeing that the eyes practice, in relation to screen and surroundings,” leads to a hybrid, “material experience of vision . . . as hands, eyes, screen and surroundings interact and blend in syncopated fashion” (145). This is in contrast to earlier theorizations of screenic media that focused primarily on vision. In *The Virtual Window*, Anne Friedberg notes that conditions of screenic seeing, specifically in cinema, television, and the computer, depended on the immobility of the spectator. Drawing on the comparison of a screen to a window, Friedberg contends that the screen marks an “ontological cut” (5) between “the *materiality* of spectral space from the *virtual immateriality* of spaces seen within its boundaries,” separating the “immobility of a spectator/viewer/user and the mobility of images seen” on the screen (6). However, as

Gordon and de Souza e Silva's notion of net locality has shown, this ontological cut between material and immaterial space becomes less clear through the enfolding of contexts, or levels of presence in networked interactions.

Moreover, as Richardson has demonstrated, the visual focus associated with this stationary, "frontal relationship" between the viewer and the screen in fact varies between different forms of screenic seeing ("Mobile" par. 11). These different "viewing regimes" range from the full attention of cinema, where the screen is encountered in a black box theatre format, to the distracted engagement of television, where the viewer has more control and can flip channels, mute or unmute, or choose to walk away from the screen and return a few minutes later ("Mobile" par. 11). By contrast, mobile phone use necessitates a unique form of screenic seeing that relies, even more heavily than with television viewing, on an ongoing oscillation between distraction and attention. As Richardson notes, "In fact rarely is mobile connectivity a 'dedicated' practice—it is always-already surrounded by other objects and activities within the spatial topography of the built environment" ("Mobile" par. 11). In the case of the urban mobile phone pedestrian, as the individual navigates the built environment while engaged on her phone, she must simultaneously traverse her physical space (through peripatetic movement) and the digital space of the screen (through haptic engagement) while also constantly shifting her visual and aural attention. At the same time, since the mobile phone operates as an interface for a variety of activities, it also requires different levels of multisensory engagements at different times, depending on the activity, such as whether the user is listening to a playlist, texting a friend, making a call, using GPS navigation, or playing a game. The negotiation of various synesthetic factors and movements in mobile media practices is, as Richardson and Wilken have shown, already associated with "existing experiences of spatial perception and

pedestrian mobility” (29). In walking, one’s perspective and attention is constantly shifting between tactile, visual, and aural senses. This leads Richardson and Wilken to an understanding of haptic vision as defined by surface, not depth; a mode of looking “more inclined to move than to focus” (Marks qtd. in Richardson and Wilken 29). As such, haptic vision is “concerned principally with movement, a shifting across surface and between textures or features but without resting to dwell in depth” (Richardson and Wilken 29).

At the same time, in contrast to this superficial or distracted mode of seeing, it has also been argued that screenic seeing associated with the mobile phone creates a deep and immersive experience. As Cooley explains, “window-ed seeing institutes a detached engagement, while screenic seeing encourages an experience of encounter. Vision, no longer a property of the window and its frame, becomes an extension of the screen” (143). Objects viewed or encountered through the screen become enfolded into the screen’s context: “The object, formerly located on the other side of the frame, converges or fuses with the screen, its physicality becoming the physicality of the screen” (Cooley 143). In this way, the user “engages the screen and, subsequently, enters into a relationship with the screen” (Cooley 143). We can understand this more fully through a gaming framework, where the screen associated with a virtual game world is thought to have a kind of depth. As Cypher and Richardson argue, “while other forms of windowed perception have been primarily visual, the game experience sets up a different relationship with the screen, and a different experience of screen space as something with virtual depth to be entered, explored and traversed” (256). This sense of embodiment in gaming comes from a combination of a visual encounter of “deep” virtual space and a “haptic attachment to the hand-controller” that creates a “sticky” sense of immersion for the user who controls an avatar (Cypher and Richardson 255). But in the case of most locative media narratives, such as location-

based games, “The body is not represented in the game . . . it is *in* the game, and the game is *in* the world, enacting a seamless continuity between the virtual and the physical” (Richardson, “Pocket” 214). This sense of continuity arguably gives depth to both the screenic space and the physical place, as the narrative with which one interacts, particularly if it promotes playful encounters with the surrounding environment, opens up new meanings or associations to the places where they are enacted. As Richardson notes, participating in location-based mobile games, “the mobile phone and body act together as feedback mechanism and avatar within the combined actual-virtual space” (Richardson, “Pocket” 213). This body-technology feedback loop is also central to my analysis of memory encounters in locative media narratives, performance pieces, and games throughout this thesis, as what is experienced on the screen must also have the potential to enfold into the user’s corporeal sense of being-in-the-world.

Digital Memory Prostheses

Following a discussion of tool use and body-technology interaction, it is necessary to consider the idea of technology as prosthesis, especially when exploring the role of digital media in memory practices. Marshall McLuhan famously situated technology as a kind of prosthesis when he suggested that technologies have the capacity to transform and extend the nature of human perception. He notes, “Any invention or technology is an extension or self-amputation of our physical bodies, and such extension also demands new ratios or new equilibriums among the other organs and extensions of the body” (*Understanding* 45). In this prosthetic configuration, technology is taken on by the body, incorporated into ways of perceiving, or knowing, and as such amplifies or extends the individual’s capabilities or knowledge capacities. As Jean-François Lyotard similarly argues in *The Postmodern Condition*:

Technical devices originated as prosthetic aids for the human organs or as physiological systems whose function it is to receive data or condition the context. They follow a principle, and it is the principle of optimal performance: maximizing output (the information or modifications obtained) and minimizing input (the energy expended in the process). (44)

In the context of memory studies, following McLuhan and Lyotard, digital media have been understood as prostheses through their capacity to extend the scope of human memory in powerful ways, primarily by overcoming its natural limitation: the potential to forget. As Garde-Hansen et al. note, “Human memory is fallible, easily distorted and open to loss and degradation on a social and neurological level. Media have been seen to supplement human memory, adding to and replacing the capacity for humans to remember in the face of their organic limitations” (11). Memory technologies present us with the opportunity to remember at all costs, to store an infinitely larger amount of memories than the individual mind can hold. But in the context of digital media, this has also raised concern for a loss of forgetting more broadly, as forgetting is also an important function of memory. Therefore, in contrast to the widespread notion that “computers can augment human capabilities . . . by ‘supporting’ our weak memory capabilities,” theorists like Liam J. Bannon argue for the importance of recognizing that “forgetting is not simply a bug in the design of the human but a necessary human activity” and should be considered in theorizations of the human-computer interface (9).

Another manifestation of the fear of forgetting can be found in Andrew Hoskins’s formulation of the shadow archive. Hoskins contends that due to “the rapid[ly] proliferating media of the self,” that is, the way in which our interactions, activities, and overall sociability are carried out online through network connectivity, we constantly, and at times unwittingly,

produce a series of digital traces, or shadow archives, “that make us findable and memorable” (“Memory of the Multitude” 92). Hoskins argues that these traces are “potentially much more powerful and unpredictable,” as they have the “digital potential to return (and also transform) past personal, semi-public and public relations through the unforeseeable re-activation of latent and semi-latent connections of shadow archives” (“Memory of the Multitude” 92). Moreover, because of their hyperconnectivity, the digital afterlives of these traces have the potential to resurface and circulate well past “the limits of human existence,” and at a greater rate or proportion than older media of memory (particularly material traces like photographs, film, or letters), making them all the more haunting (“Memory of the Multitude” 92). Therefore, this notion of technological prostheses requires extending the concept of embodiment beyond the surface of the human body (or strictly the organic limits or boundaries of the human body) to include the exchange of information through intake and output systems.

We can further understand the prosthetic convergence between the body and the mobile phone through what Cooley has termed “fit,” or the relationship that extends between the hand and the mobile device, that fosters a sense of intimacy. Cooley recognizes this as a “natural” inclination of the body towards the fit and feel of the mobile phone. She explains, “Finger, hand and wrist muscles synergistically flex and extend, abduct and adduct accordingly in order to maintain the integrity of contour between the hand and [mobile device] and, thereby, sustain *fit*” (Cooley 145). This technology-hand configuration places touch at the centre of the intimate relationship between the user and the mobile phone. As Anna Reading shows in her extensive study of gender and mobile phone practices, it is common practice for individuals when at home to keep the mobile phone at the side of the

bed, with it being “the last thing . . . touched at night and the first thing touched in the morning, prosaically because of its alarm function” (“Global” 117). Moreover, when outside the home, the mobile phone is held close to the body, “carried with individuals in the day time, clutched in hands, tucked into pockets and squeezed into handbags” (Reading, “Global” 113-14). As a wearable artifact, the phone becomes wrapped up in one’s sense of identity, as an embodied extension of the self, through its physical proximity to the body and its role as a storehouse of personal, and predominantly, affective media such as photos, text exchanges, voice messages, and daily schedule. Furthering this analogy of intimacy, Reading also notes that “naked” was the most common descriptor given by respondents when asked “how they felt when they had either lost, forgotten or were unable to use . . . their mobile phones” (“Global” 115). This leads her to the provocative claim that through “mobile and social technologies” individuals are now “clothed in an archive of the profound, as well as the seemingly mundane” (“Global” 113). As the mobile phone becomes more ubiquitous, and the intimate associations between the body and the mobile phone increase, “the technology is no longer just a tool, but rather part of ourselves, and part of our identity” (de Souza e Silva 31). Moreover, as Richardson has shown, as the technology becomes incorporated into the body, or into one’s way of being in and perceiving the world, it also begins to change how the body comports itself in urban space, changing the body’s postures and movements when one is engaged with the mobile device. Richardson notes, “The body becomes quite literally a mobile-specific *mediatrop*e—inclined metaphorically, corporeally, communicatively and gesturally towards the mobile media device” (“Mobile” par. 18). At the same time, the mobile device also transmits back to the user by generating an affective feedback loop.

This seemingly endless range of apps and uses for the mobile phone in daily life as a tool for communication, often with friends and loved ones (through phone calls, photos, FaceTime, and text messages), as a source of leisure (through game play, videos, or web browsing), as a place for digital identity formation (through social networking apps) and as a source of daily news updates, suggests that in interfacing with our device we are constantly engaged in a series of affective experiences that can be both positive and negative. But as Richard Grusin argues, not only does the phone function as a conduit for multisensory affective encounters, through these encounters we develop an affective relationship to the device itself. Following Deleuze, Grusin asserts that “affectivity is a quality of things as well as people,” noting that, in the context of a mobile phone conversation, “in addition to serving as a medium for the mutual transmission of affect” between the two people engaged in the call, “the phone also served as a participant in [the] affective interaction” (117, 116). He explains that, by considering the situation only from the co-present perspective, that is, a woman sitting in a restaurant engaged in a conversation on her mobile phone, it becomes obvious that “the affective joy addressed via the phone from my host to her partner was also directed at the phone itself” (Grusin 117). As such, the affective encounter circulates not only “in a one- to-one interaction between two individuals or between an individual and a particular media artifact” but extends both through the networked interaction and into the surrounding physical space as it is “distributed across and translated through socio- technical networks of the cellphone industry and its interaction/linkage with other networked and embodied spaces—like the restaurant we were sitting in or a train car or a mall or the streets of a twenty-first-century city” (Grusin 117).

This raises two important consequences for thinking about how locative media

narratives can lead to diverse and resonant memory encounters in place. First, as Grusin suggests, “because people are more intimately and intensely engaged in affective relationships with their phones” they are “more comfortable using them as affective media” (115). This comfort level creates a sense of trust between the mobile phone and the user, which suggests that individuals are more likely to be comfortable using these devices as a source for affective memory narratives. Additionally, the idea that the affective encounter can extend beyond the one-to-one relationship between two individuals mediated by the phone, or between the user and the device, into the surrounding space suggests that these locative media memory encounters have the potential to not only shape an individual’s relationship to the past but also to the physical environment to which these narratives are linked, whether they are everyday spaces or sites of official commemoration.

As Lynda Mannik and Karen McGarry note, “Affect operates on many levels, including that of the individual or the collective, and it also dictates the spectacular or the mundane” (xi). They point to the fact that even “the seemingly banal, routine, everyday experiences of modern life have generative capacity and affective potential” (xi). At the same time, the influx of mobile phone use has led to a shift in daily memory practices where everyday affective experiences, both extraordinary and banal, are archived, tagged, or recorded on the mobile phone. Particularly the integrated camera feature on the mobile phone has changed the practices of taking and sharing photos to something more quotidian and more mobile, with photos being taken *ad infinitum* and on-the-go. As Reading argues, this “everyday use . . . is changing what people consider to be worth recording, and from this what is considered to be publicly memorable and newsworthy” (“Memobilia” 87). This contributes to a sense of affective memory on-the-move. In other words, if affects can be generated from ordinary,

everyday, routine experiences, and if these become integrated with our personal media archive (as tags, posts, or re-tweets), then we are constantly negotiating our affective media and material world affects (either between people, between objects, or between places). Therefore, if we add affect to Richardson's mediatropic/info-mediatic assemblage, it becomes clear that mobile technologies contribute to augmenting affective place-based experiences. If the mobile phone, as a tool for informational and affective exchange, becomes embodied through habitual daily use, to such an extent that it in turn impacts the body's way of moving in and perceiving the world, when it is used to facilitate a site-specific memory encounter, the mediated memory interfaces with the body in perhaps a deeper and more profound way than with other technologies of memory. At the very least, it allows for a re-thinking of Alison Landsberg's notion of prosthetic memory.

According to Landsberg, a memory, when experienced through media, can be embodied in such a way that it encourages a sense of identification or association for the individual, even if she has not experienced or lived through the actual event. As Landsberg explains, "These 'prosthetic memories' are personally felt public memories that result from the experience of a mediated representation of the past" (*Engaging* 3). In her analysis, Landsberg focuses mostly on memory narratives that have been given widespread attention in mainstream media, such as the Holocaust and the legacy of slavery in America. In these encounters, the memory is taken onto the body like a prosthesis: "In this moment of contact, an experience occurs through which the person sutures himself or herself to a larger history" (*Prosthetic* 2). It is important to note the universalizing tendencies in Landsberg's theorization of the prosthetic, as she claims that "the construction of prosthetic memories might serve as the grounds for unexpected alliances across chasms of difference" (*Prosthetic* 3). However, her work raises some crucial

ideas about affect and the affective relationship one can have to the past, through mass mediated experiences of memory, whether the past has been directly lived through by the experiencing individual or not, and how the notion of prosthesis accounts for this relaying of affect. Specifically, Landsberg recognizes the multiplicity of responses to affective stimuli in a mediated memory encounter, and does not assume a collective audience experience: “Two people watching a film may each develop a prosthetic memory, but their prosthetic memories may not be identical. For each, the memories are inflected by the specificities of his or her other experiences and place in the world” (*Prosthetic* 21). In the case of locative media narratives, the personal experiences and associations that an individual brings to the prosthetic memory experience are even more pronounced, or intensified by the site-specificity of the encounter. In other words, when the memory narrative is relayed in-place, the previous associations or experiences the individual brings to that specific place can create a more intense experience or can produce more tension. Olli Sotamaa elaborates on this in the context of location-based games:

When social space is mixed with game space[,] players also become more aware of the routines, fears and fondnesses they direct on familiar urban environments. Then again[,] these emotions attached to certain places can affect the game play, because in some cities the territorial organization can produce virtual no-go areas for certain groups of people depending on, for example, race, class or gender. (42)

This circulation between place, body, and media can create unpredictable and at times discomfoting memory encounters.

Similarly, the circulation of affect can also be unpredictable, as affects themselves are inherently mobile. As Landsberg notes, affect “does not reside in a body” but rather moves

between individual bodies and the material world (*Engaging* 18). Moreover, affects are social in that they can transfer or circulate between people or among groups. At the same time, since affect is first registered on the body before it is interpreted by the mind, or codified as an emotion, affects can be unpredictable and variable between individuals. So although we can think of affect through the concept of “affect contagion,” whereby affects circulate among bodies and objects and are “contagious between people” (Gibbs 337), as affect passes from one person (or thing) to another, it does not mean that the same feeling is shared. As Sara Ahmed notes, “shared feelings are not about feeling the same feeling, or feeling-in-common” (10-11), and as she also suggests, “even when we feel we have the same feeling, we don’t necessarily have the same relationship to the feeling” (10). This is an important distinction and, as this dissertation will show, is crucial in an analysis of digitally networked memory communities, such as those formed through social media.

Key to the notion of affective contagion is the concept of proximity. As Landsberg, following Sara Ahmed, notes “the closer one gets to something, the greater its capacity to move or affect one” (*Engaging* 18). This notion of proximity is two-fold in the context of locative media memory narratives, as the immediacy of one’s physical place has the potential to create an affective encounter, but proximity can also be experienced through digital co-presence facilitated by a mobile media encounter. In other words, co-presence is not necessarily a condition of physical proximity. As I will argue, social media or socially networked interactions can also generate a compelling sense of affective connection between physically distant, but virtually co-present, individuals, and even strangers, through mobile communication. In a mass-media context, Landsberg and Gibbs have both argued that a sense of affect contagion can be passed through mediated representations, such as film and

television. Gibbs suggests that by drawing on a variety of sensory encounters, media act as “amplifiers and modulators of affect” and can “orchestrate affective sequences” in order to generate a particular affective response on the part of the viewer (338). And Landsberg concludes, “Even in the presence of a mediated representation, the body can be moved, touched, affected. The experience of a mediated representation is itself lived; it is a real experience” (*Engaging* 20). She refers to this generally as the “experiential mode of engagement” and suggests that it is crucial to “the acquisition of knowledge about the past” as well as to understanding “the relationship between affect and cognition” (*Engaging* 3) or how an affective experience can shape one’s understanding of history, and by extension one’s relationship to the past by making it viscerally felt in the present. As she explains, “Rather than dismissing the affective as an easier, more crowd-pleasing alternative to the cognitive, . . . affective or bodily provocations . . . can lead to new thoughts, ideas, or historical insights” (*Engaging* 16). For Landsberg, this occurs through the interplay of attention and distraction, which she claims is “particularly conducive to the acquisition of historical knowledge” (*Engaging* 16). She suggests that although “the logic of absorption” is important to draw the individual into the affective memory narrative, the narrative’s “effectiveness as catalysts to historical thinking is predicated on the logic of distraction” (Landsberg, *Engaging* 16). In other words, in order for the user to embody the memory narrative she must be “pushe[d] . . . back into his or her own shoes” and “forc[ed] . . . to reckon with or become conscious of his or her own thinking” (Landsberg, *Engaging* 16).¹ Of course, as we will see with the mobile memory

¹ It should be noted that Landsberg sees the “return to one’s shoes” as crucial to the prosthetic memory experience, as it is what allows the individual, through a kind of ethical imperative, to

narrative, the toggling between attention and distraction (that Landsberg sees as necessary to create a lasting impact on the individual) is already a characteristic of mobile phone use, suggesting that as tools for the transmission of affective memory narratives, they easily facilitate this kind of oscillation, which can in turn generate a compelling memory encounter in-place.

In this way, by creating a link between the physical world and the virtual world, and by allowing for an infinite number of stories, knowledges, or associations to be mapped on a particular place, locative media narratives invite users to engage with memory and place in a variety of playful and imaginative ways. As a facilitator of affective transmission and as a site of affectivity in itself, the mobility of the mobile phone does not only impact pedestrian, peripatetic movement, it is also mobilizes affects and affective memory encounters in everyday places. As Ahmed argues, “What moves us, what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in place, or gives us a dwelling place. Hence movement does not cut the body off

identify with someone else’s experience of a past trauma. To be clear, in situating mobile devices as a form of prosthesis and linking the memory narratives experienced through them to Landsberg’s concept of prosthetic memory, I am not suggesting that all locative media memory encounters facilitate this kind of problematic adoption or ownership of a traumatic experience that has not been lived through by the user who participates in the locative media narrative. Rather, I am using the idea of prosthesis and prosthetic memory as a way to further theorize the body/screen/place dynamic in order to emphasize how memories can be enacted and embodied through a media interface, specifically because this interface is attuned to affective engagement and is a key tool in daily communication and knowledge acquisition.

from the ‘where’ of its inhabitation but connects bodies to other bodies: attachment takes place through movement, though being moved by the proximity of others” (11). As I have already indicated, with digital memory encounters this proximity does not rely on physically co-present individuals, as virtual co-presence can produce powerful experiences of intimacy and connection with temporally distant times, people, or places. As this dissertation will show, the assemblage of physical location, virtual co-presence, attention and distraction, stability and change encountered through the mobile device can generate strong attachments to place and a sense of the past. As mobile devices are used more pervasively to define our dwelling places, they not only influence how we move in them, but also how we integrate the past into the dynamic flow of networked life. As a prosthesis that is “fit” to the body (Cooley 145), the mobile phone becomes an extension of the self, impacting how we reach out to the world, to others, and to places by encoding them with our own personal digital data and, in turn, how the world reaches us (Bassett 345). As a prosthetic memory device, the mobile phone contributes to a breakdown in the distinction between organic and inorganic memories (Garde-Hansen et al. 12), as lived memory encounters occur between individuals as well as between individuals and media through network connectivity, as “physical objects, places, and activities . . . [become] augmented and enhanced with social data and connectivity” (Giaccardi, “Introduction” 4). This requires a rethinking of attachments to place and to the past through mobility as well as a consideration of the kinds of memory encounters and memory communities mobile narratives and digital applications generate.

Participatory Heritage Environments

Landsberg’s emphasis on the impact of the experiential mode of engagement in heritage work

and memory encounters is helpful in situating mobile technology in a broader framework of new museum practices. Recently, the desire to integrate an experiential mode of engagement has pushed museums and other heritage institutions to adopt a more participatory framework for the visitor experience in order to foster a more collaborative relationship between the public and the institution and its collections. The most prominent instance of these changes can be found in what are called memorial or memory museums, which have moved away from object-focused exhibition strategies. As Silke Arnold-de Simine explains, “Instead of predominantly housing collections” these museums “have become places of recollection, not so much driven by objects but by narratives and performances” (2). It is clear that this experiential turn in museum practices coincides with the influx of personal and portable digital media. As Loïc Tallon notes, museums are taking advantage of personal mobile technology devices in creating new ways for visitors to access and interpret collections inside the museum by conforming to larger technological trends towards media that capture “personal relevance and interpretations, interactivity, and easy access and control of content” (xiv). This new museum framework is therefore less concerned with “offer[ing] authoritative master narratives” and more focused on “everyday life, personal stories, and individual biographies, in order to present diversified memories” (Arnold-de Simine 2). We can understand this as a shift away from the “traditional mass media” approach to heritage, which follows “a one-to-many approach in disseminating its message,” towards the “peer-to-peer” model of memory, where “families and friends form close networks and share memories, both personal and collective” (Garde-Hansen et al. 8). Now, as sociability is increasingly wrapped up in pervasive social networking platforms and digitally networked media, individuals have become accustomed to a peer-to-peer model that extends beyond the limits of a physically co-

present familial or intimate circle. As such, these media lend themselves to collaborative and socially distributed processes of memory-making and knowledge production from the ground up.

Moreover, these locative media experiences are becoming easier to create. As Tallon notes, “Today, the hardware platform for a handheld guide can be purchased off the shelf, and limited specialist technical knowledge is required for either programming the hardware or developing and producing content. This has opened up the handheld technology museum market” (xxi). As this dissertation will show, the ease of use has allowed these interpretive tools to be employed more frequently outside of the museum, on city streets and in public places, displacing the authority of the museum by shifting these heritage interactions outside of “official” museum spaces. This has also led to an influx in locative media narratives being produced outside of official memory institutions and within social media memory communities who curate and interpret personal and institutional memory artifacts. As Elisa Giaccardi explains in her study of heritage and social media, the way in which these technologies are mobilized by digitally networked community groups “leads to a questioning of the boundaries between official and unofficial heritage” (“Introduction” 4). This, in turn, contributes to “fostering grassroots understandings and manifestations of heritage practice, and in general bringing to the front the living and performative aspects of heritage as part of our present-day existence” (Giaccardi, “Introduction” 4). This last point is particularly significant as memory itself needs to be understood as performative, or as an ongoing activity that takes place in the present. As Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney note, “As the word itself suggests, ‘remembering’ is better seen as an active engagement with the past, as performative rather than reproductive. It is as much a matter of acting out a relationship to the past from a particular

point in the present as it is a matter of preserving and retrieving earlier stories” (2). At the same time, digital technologies already “modif[y] our relationship to time” as “individuals are developing an ‘extended present’ whereby punctuality becomes irrelevant as phone users renegotiate the time they will meet” (Reading, “Memobilia” 85). This sense of an extended present also impacts our daily sense of temporality and practices of self-narration: “The present tense now governs storytelling on the phone. Narratives no longer inform others about what one did during the day but let them participate in what is going on while it is happening” (Caron and Caronia, qtd. in Reading, “Memobilia” 86). In this way, the social practices carried out on digitally networked technologies seem to reinforce identity formation as something processual, ongoing from moment-to-moment, and dynamic.

Memory, too, follows a similar model. As Garde-Hansen et al. note, “individual memory is dynamic, imaginative, and directed in and from the present” (2). Therefore, when digital technologies are used to prompt a site-specific memory encounter, either through participation in a locative media narrative or in a heritage group assembled on social media, the sense of “extended present” involved in mobile phone practices also works to call attention to the ongoing presence of the past by foregrounding it as something that is constantly made and remade in the present and integrated into the daily flow of networked life. So, while this dissertation is concerned with technology, the focus is not specifically on how the technologies themselves work, as the rapid rate at which technology changes makes this approach unproductive and could also lead to technological determinism, but rather on the social and technological practices of mobile phone use, within which individual and cultural memory is actively shaped and created. As Astrid Erll notes, “Media of memory . . . bring about consequences in that they shape cultural remembrance in accordance to their

specific means and measures. In this sense, ‘the medium is the memory’” (115). Mobile technologies, then, occupy a place in a long line of media that have shaped the relationship between memory and an individual’s sense of place and identity and therefore need to be considered in the evolution of contemporary cultural memory discourses and emergent memory practices in Canada.

The exploration of memory, technology, and place in this dissertation is divided into four chapters. Chapter One considers the role that locative media narratives play at official sites of memory in Canada’s Capital Region, from app-based historical tours to more playful narrative encounters. Here, locative media narratives are examined for their role in shaping the relationship between a material site of memory and a dynamic sense of the past. Through fostering participation, these locative media narratives challenge the concept of monuments as fixed or stable representations of the past. Following the premise of “countermonument” (Young 28), I show how locative media narratives play with the concept of temporal layering in order to reinforce the way that time, affect, and location interact at sites of memory. This contributes to the understanding that monuments are continually subjected to an ongoing negotiation of attachments and antipathies, and do not simply act as frozen representations of the past. Because of this, I argue that these locative media narrative interactions are better understood through Diana Taylor’s theory of the archive and the repertoire, which calls into question the historic privileging of “durable” archival forms over more ephemeral practice-based expressions of memory. With mobile memory narratives, even if the narrative insists on a fixed interpretation of a monument, the very act of performing through it, a performance that is subjected to the unpredictable interactions in the physical environment and the oscillation between attention and distraction that comes with using a mobile narrative in a public place,

contributes to a breakdown of any enduring sense of the reified memory object.

Chapter Two continues this discussion by moving away from a consideration of sites of official or national memory to personal memory encounters facilitated by the mobile phone in everyday urban spaces. By focusing on the interactive site-specific theatre performance *LANDLINE*, this chapter explores how the mobile phone functions as a site of intimacy between geographically distant, but digitally co-present, individuals. To this end, the chapter attempts to reaffirm the body as central to discourses about technology and technological mobility. I do this by insisting that notions of telepresence rely on a sense of situatedness of the body, as it is through identifying the body in place that we come to understand the relationship between “here” and “there” and how these notions are altered through mobile technology’s blurring of time-space parameters. In *LANDLINE*, the relationship between intimacy and network connectivity is highlighted by “syncing up” two geographically distant strangers through a performative engagement on the mobile phone through an audio guide. Here I argue that through performance, *LANDLINE* draws attention to how an individual’s experience of a city is not only mediated by technology, but also by prior memories of place. And it is through this interplay between technology and memory that individuals create intimacy in public spaces. In order to further understand the kinds of intimacy and co-presence that *LANDLINE* seeks to highlight, I draw from Esther Milne’s historical analysis of communication technologies, which examines a variety of communication technologies reaching back to the nineteenth century. Through this genealogy, it becomes evident that intimacy and presence does not depend on face-to-face relationship but is rather, as Milne notes, “always virtual” or, a product of the circulation of affects, memories, and rhetorical practices that foster a sense of immediacy (Milne, *Letters* 73).

Chapter Three furthers the discussion of embodied practices of mobile phone use by exploring Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of tool use in combination with Tim Ingold's theorization of pedestrian movement. Drawing from Ingold's understanding of placemaking as a product of both inhabiting and recalling past traces of habitation, I examine how the pervasive use of mobile technology in daily life impacts practices of wayfinding, where a body's movement through space is affected by both technology and memory. These emergent placemaking practices involving the mobile phone are explored through the framework of location-based games. As mobile gaming becomes more ubiquitous, users experience embodied practices of inhabiting and moving through public places in ways that are more playful and unfamiliar. The chapter then traces my own attempt at creating a location-based game, called *Maplibs*, which seeks to highlight how concepts of mobility, place, and memory interact *in situ*. *Maplibs* attempts to generate a "past-forward" approach to placemaking by asking participants to engage with their contemporary place by calling to mind memories of other times in analogous places. As an alternative method for capturing and articulating affective and embodied experiences of place, *Maplibs* insists on the multiple and changing meanings of place by drawing from aspects of affective cartography, collaborative mapping, and collective biography to create a sense of play in order to emphasize presence of the past in contemporary placemaking practices. By employing a basic game mechanic following a "choose-your-own-adventure" format, *Maplibs* gestures towards the increased attention being paid today to the role that personal, digital inscriptions have in making places meaningful as a result of pervasive mobile media practices of mapping, tagging, and sharing.

Finally, Chapter Four approaches the topic of mobility and memory from a different context by looking at digital memory communities formed on social media. These grassroots

groups have contributed to a decentring of the authority in the museum by mobilizing social media platforms to discuss matters of heritage and memory through a process of collaboration, participation, and co-creation of knowledge. This has led to the consideration of social media platforms as spaces for more dynamic and interactive heritage work. By focusing on “Lost Ottawa,” a successful *Facebook* page dedicated to sharing archival photos of buildings and places in the city of Ottawa, this chapter calls attention to how conceptualizations of collective memory shift with the influx of digitally networked memory communities. In other words, it asks the question, if memory is inherently social, as social practices shape how and what an individual remembers, how do online social environments, which have specific technical and structural protocols, change the concepts of community and sharing? Drawing on Andrew Hoskins’s concept of connective memory and “memory of the multitude”, I explore how social media serve to further complicate any notion of the collective in memory studies (Hoskins, “Memory of the Multitude” 86). At the same time, these digitally networked memory communities become compelling sites of intimacy and connection for virtual strangers who see themselves as salvaging the past through a process of shared storytelling. Because of this, I argue that these memory groups develop a sense of shared memory closer to a sense of “the common” rather than the collective. Moreover, when social media is used for processes of remembering, these memories become integrated into the flow of networked life, and as such emphasize an ongoing sense of the lived presence of the past. It is this affective continuousness of the past, and its re-circulation in the present among multiple users of a *Facebook* community, that fosters a sense of an intimate public through the conditions of immediacy and connectivity that are characteristic of digitally networked technologies.

Sites of digital heritage change quickly. Apps, websites, and digital narratives are created and then subsequently abandoned. At the same time, the emergent memory practices enacted through digital media are continuously shaping our relationship to our current places as well as to the past. For this reason, this dissertation lies at the intersection of theory and praxis in its consideration of purpose-built digital sites as well as emergent digital practices of self-curation that foster both national and individual memory, and memory communities. When locative media narratives are attached to a physical place, they generate a sense of temporal blurring that emphasizes the past as something that continues to encode and shape one's experience of the present. Participation in these narratives emphasizes how individuals learn through the body, and how bodies function as sites of knowledge and memory transmission between individuals and places. The mobile media device is an important tool in this exchange and one that is becoming more central to contemporary memory practices in the digital age.

Chapter One

Augmented Nationalism: Mobile Apps and National Narratives at Material Sites of Memory in Canada's Capital Region

When locative media narratives are used at official sites of memory, they intervene in the relationship between an individual and a memory object (such as monuments, historic landmarks, and archival materials) in ways that challenge the concept of the “memory freeze,” where material objects are considered static symbols of the past. These mobile narratives insist on the dynamics of memory objects, as well as the dynamics of sites of memory, by calling attention to the fluid relationship between time, affect, and place that contribute to an individual's sense of place and sense of the past. By focusing on two examples of mobile apps designed for Canada's National Capital Region, this chapter will explore how mobile narratives continue to shape and reshape conceptualizations of Canadian cultural history and impact users' relationships to that history and to the physical environment. To begin this exploration of mobile technologies and locative media narratives, it is necessary to situate the discussion within the theoretical framework of place and placelessness, particularly because developments in technology have long been linked to these terms. Placelessness has often been cited as a condition of modernity. In his 1976 study entitled, *Place and Placelessness*, humanist geographer Edward Relph was quick to suggest that modern technologies of transportation and communication, as well as modern architecture, were responsible for creating a sense of placelessness. He notes, “Roads, railways, airports, cutting across or imposed on the landscape rather than developing with it, are not only features of placelessness in their own right, but by making possible the mass movement of people with all their fashions and habits, have encouraged the spread of placelessness well beyond their immediate impacts”

(Relph 90). For Relph, the increased mobility afforded by these technological advancements detracted from authentic experiences of place in the same way that new communication technologies “reduced the need for face-to-face contact . . . and hence reduced the significance of place-based communities” (92). Similar concerns are addressed by Martin Heidegger, where he observes how technological developments contribute to a shift in temporal and physical perception:

All distances in time and space are shrinking. Man now reaches overnight, by plane, places which formerly took weeks and months of travel. He now receives instant information, by radio, of events which he formerly learned about only years later, if at all. . . . Distant sites of the most ancient cultures are shown on film as if they stood this very moment amidst today’s street traffic. Moreover, the film attests to what it shows by presenting also the camera and its operators at work. The peak of this abolition of every possibility of remoteness is reached by television, which will soon pervade and dominate the whole machinery of communication. . . . Yet the frantic abolition of all distances brings no nearness; for nearness does not consist in shortness of distance. What is least remote from us in point of distance, by virtue of its picture on film or its sound on the radio, can remain far from us. What is incalculably far from us in point of distance can be near to us. Short distance is not in itself nearness. Nor is great distance remoteness. (Heidegger, “The Thing” 165)

Heidegger’s critique of the compression of space and time experienced through developments in technology shares similarities with Benedict Anderson’s later discussion of temporality in *Imagined Communities*. Anderson saw new technologies such as the printing press, and by extension the novel and the newspaper, as examples of a new kind of temporal perception that

contributed to the idea of the nation. For Anderson, the formal composition of the newspaper is indicative of homogenous, empty time, as the newspaper consists of stories and events from places all over the world, juxtaposed with one another, and linked only by a shared calendrical date, as “most of them happen independently, without the actors being aware of each other or of what the others are up to” (33).

Similar to Heidegger’s argument that what is close is actually far away, and what is far can seem close, a newspaper close at hand connects individuals to events at a geographic distance under the perception of temporal simultaneity, even though they may never visit these places or meet these people. However, where Heidegger felt that a mediated experience of geographic or temporal distance failed to produce a sense of nearness, Anderson believed that this temporal compression, and the cultural products that reinforced it, created an imagined sense of community and connection among individuals. On the ritual of reading the morning paper, he writes, “Each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion” (Anderson 35). For Anderson, mediated experiences such as these reinforce a sense of national community and belonging. Although Anderson can be criticized for failing to account for the exclusionary aspects of nationalism or these kinds of essentialized discourses of belonging, his critique of the impact of new technologies on configurations of space, time, and a sense of place, or community, is helpful in that it echoes Marshall McLuhan’s theorizations of new media. McLuhan posited that through electronic media individuals can “live . . . pluralistically in many worlds and cultures simultaneously,” leading to, what he famously termed, the creation of a “global village” (*Gutenberg* 31). At the very least, contemporary developments in mobile media

continue to foster this doubling of place, or a sense of simultaneity and compression of distance. As Kazys Varnelis and Anne Friedberg note, “Today . . . it is progressively more common to navigate two places simultaneously, to see digital devices and telephones as an extension of our mobile selves” (25). Moreover, the ubiquity of mobile technologies such as the smart phone, allow them to become visual and cultural markers of our constant connectivity and simultaneity, similar to how Anderson saw the newspaper reader on the subway. For Anderson, an individual reading the newspaper on the subway “observe[s] exact replicas of his own paper being consumed” by others and is thus “continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life” (35-36). Likewise, the increasing number of people engaged with mobile devices in public spaces serves to visually reinforce “the pervasiveness of the network” where “technological networks become more accessible, more ubiquitous, and more mobile every day” as they begin to transform public spaces (Varnelis and Friedberg 15). As evidence of this, Varnelis and Friedberg cite the example of the coffee shop, which today acts as a setting for “calculated copresence,” where individuals do not “interact with the other café-goers verbally . . . [but] are—via network connection, mobile phone, or wireless laptop—in another place” (17).

The navigation of two places simultaneously through a digital device represents a shift away from linear cognition, which McLuhan predicted would be challenged by the proliferation of digital media. This movement away from linear cognition to simultaneity and multi-tasking, enhanced by networked media, not only reflects a change in how we think about community and borders, as in McLuhan’s concept of the global village, but also challenges linear understandings of history. In this vein, the previous quotation from Heidegger is also noteworthy for the way in which he positions contemporary encounters with

the past, or cultural heritage, through newly developed media. He positions the “nearness” produced by technology as fundamentally illusive, and in his suggestion that mediated experiences of the past strip them of their remoteness, he implies that the past remaining the past is the thing to be desired. This formulation creates a problematic idea of a golden, authentic, and ultimately privileged past whose existence is threatened by a contemporary desire to eradicate distance. Moreover, it is incompatible with how theories of cultural memory are formulated today; privileging an “authentic” past that is temporally distant neglects to account for the ways in which the past shapes and is shaped by the present.

The interconnectedness of the present and the past is evident in the increasing number of heritage projects or organizations that are using locative media to facilitate public engagement with the past. With locative media applications, the history of a place is re-encoded through various media, including photographs, videos, text, or soundscapes that serve to layer archival representations of the past of a place onto its present environment through the virtual window of a mobile device, such as a smartphone or tablet. In technical terms, as Varnelis and Friedberg have explained, in locative media narratives, location-aware devices “interface with the geospatial Web to provide georeferenced information on the spot to end users,” which ultimately “make[s] it possible for digital media to be associated with a site, or literally found there” (33). The uncovering or discovering of the past, facilitated by Global Positioning System (GPS) mapping technology, not only informs the user about a place’s history, but incorporates that history into an act of contemporary discovery, where the narrative experienced on the mobile device becomes a portal to the past. Moreover, the merging of the past with the present through mobile media challenges the assumption that one’s connection to a technological device always means disconnection from one’s

surroundings. However, the trend towards employing new locative technologies at heritage sites suggests that mobile technologies can, in fact, get us back into place by fostering strong experiential connections to a place's past.

Places and Their Pasts

Locative media narratives not only provide a user with more information about a historic site, they also create a temporal blurring that emphasizes the past as something that continues to shape one's experience of the present. Rita Raley refers to this as temporal layering, where mobile narratives suggest that “the past and the present do not necessarily maintain distinct—or easily distinguishable—ontologies and spatialities” (312). Contrary, then, to what Heidegger seems to suggest, a mediated experience of the past, certainly in the case of mobile locative projects, not only gives us an idea of who has walked a path before, but also how these traces might inform how we frame the present. As evident from its title, *Ghosts in the Garden* is one such locative media project that explicitly plays with the idea of hauntings or the intrusion of the past into the present through temporal layering facilitated by a mobile device. Built around Sydney Gardens in Bath, *Ghosts in the Garden* was a GPS-enabled mobile narrative designed in 2012 to guide visitors through England's only surviving pleasure garden to give them a sense of the scenery and activities that once occupied the space in its heyday, as well as an idea of some of the people who might have walked the grounds. Users are guided by a special “Georgian Listening Device”—a vintage-inspired sound box resembling a radio or transmitter—that broadcasts a series of narratives about the gardens spoken by various “characters” from the nineteenth century.

The narratives function as fictive representations of the past informed by historical research, as the characters and their stories were developed from research conducted by

Steve Poole, an Associate Professor in History at the University of the West of England, Bristol. The project, a collaboration between Poole and his technological partner Rosie Fairchild from locative game development group Splash & Ripple, in association with Holburne Museum, is described as “part game, part story, part immersive soundscape” that provided users with “a unique experience where history and imaginative play meet head-on” (“Ghosts”). Rather than operating as a guidebook or guided tour, the project invited users to find their way through the gardens in a “choose- your-own-adventure” game while communing with “figures from the past” by uncovering their stories at different sites on the grounds. This process of reanimating the past through one’s movement around Sydney Gardens contributes to an evocative and immersive experience of both the history of the pleasure gardens and its present state as a park.

This sense of temporal layering is reinforced thematically in the trope of ghosts and haunting that pervades the narrative, as well as technologically, through the soundscape that *Ghosts in the Garden* creates. As Rosie Fairchild notes, “the soundscape made [visitors] imagine what it was like when it was a pleasure garden. And that was exactly what we were trying to achieve” (React 00:03:53-00:03:58). What makes this soundscape particularly successful is that it emphasizes both the proximity and distance of the past. Because of the nature of locative media, the evocations of the past delivered by the soundbox necessarily mix with the contemporary sounds of the park and the visitors who are also in the space but not engaged in the project. This generates a conscious sonic overlap (as there are no headphones attached to a Georgian soundbox) that reinforces the past and present as discrete entities, but also insists on their co- presence. This theme is carried throughout. On the one hand, listening to the narratives and the period music that accompanies them creates a sense of simultaneity

of and intimacy with the past. On the other hand, the soundscape maintains and reinforces the distance of the past through the intermittent noise of crackling feedback that accompanies the narrative voices and by the fact that the Georgian soundbox is used to disguise a GPS-enabled smartphone, which triggers the narrative at certain “hot spots.” So although the experience depends upon the smartphone, the user never sees or interacts with the contemporary technology, but instead interacts with the pseudo-archival object to impress a sense of “authenticity.”

The notion of a pseudo-archival object is significant here as *Ghosts in the Garden*, like many other locative media projects that attempt to locate and explore a forgotten past, is not built around physical objects from the past. Nevertheless, the narratives still attempt to capture a sense of authenticity commonly associated with an archival or curated object. As Xa Sturgis, director of the Holburne Museum, explains, “These are the only surviving pleasure gardens, but nothing from the pleasure gardens survives. All the labyrinths are gone; all the excitements are not there. And I . . . hope what this sort of experience gives [is] a sense of . . . what used to happen here . . . a sense of the layers of history” (React 00:02:41-00:03:07). In lieu of physical remains of the pleasure gardens, the entire space is used as an archival canvas on which the spirit of the labyrinths, fireworks, and other festivities that once occurred there is invoked through the mobile narrative. As Raley has noted, often locative narrative projects are not traditional processes of “strict historical recovery and preservation [of artifacts],” but instead facilitate the imagining of “a past that does not stay past . . . but now intrudes upon the present” (312). If, as Raley suggests, mobile narratives focus not on the recovery of archival objects, but on framing the past in the context of the present, how then do mobile locative projects impact one’s experience of material memory objects at sites of memory? Does the phone act as a

surrogate for the archival object? And, in instances where traditional memory objects, such as monuments, are incorporated into the locative media project, how does virtual space amplify or obscure one's experience of the material object?

Monuments and Materiality

The relationship between monuments and publics is comprised of complex interactions between place, materiality, and affect. And the kinds of memory work a monument is capable of generating has been greatly contested. In their study “‘That Big Statue of Whoever’: Material Commemoration and Narrative in the Niagara Region,” Russell Johnston and Michael Ripmeester surveyed locals from the Niagara region in southern Ontario to determine the rate at which the general public internalizes national memory narratives reified through statues and historic sites. As implied in their title, Johnston and Ripmeester determined that “material commemorations [do] not figure largely in local place making for local residents” (148). They concluded that physical monuments alone do not contribute to the perpetuation of local or national history, but that, for the most part, only “highly intertextual” narratives are recalled—that is, “narratives that have been told through multiple channels beyond material commemorations” (151). Even when information about a monument or site was made available through a plaque, “some participants suggested that historic sites and monuments best served as prompts to acquire more knowledge elsewhere” (Johnston and Ripmeester 151). Two participant responses particularly stood out in Johnston and Ripmeester's study. One participant revealed, “I'm drawn into monuments, but I'm more driven to go to the library,” while another concluded, “We get general impressions from monuments, not detailed knowledge. It is important to get a sense of where things happened, otherwise they remain abstract” (Johnston and Ripmeester 151). Implicit in both of these responses is the affirmation

that monuments function on two distinct levels: the affective or embodied and the intellectual or informational. Both participants emphasized the embodied and experiential aspects of an encounter with a monument in their claims that something draws the body to a monument and that the monument, in turn, leaves an impression. The physical and cognitive connotations of the word “impression” suggest something felt on the body, or affective, as well as spectral, in the encounter. However, both participants contrasted these affective experiences with intellectual or information-based experiences, suggesting perhaps that the two are not experienced as interconnected. If the phenomenological encounter with the physical object of the monument creates a spatial knowledge or awareness, as one participant implied, then that spatial knowledge, which started out as affective or experiential, leads to a more concretized historic knowledge.

Locative media increase some of the tensions that I have raised here between the affective, intellectual, and spatial aspects of one’s encounter with a monument. In one sense, locative media also affirm that there is significance in attaching a historical narrative to a place or physical location—of being in place, to get a sense of “where” things happened. As Jason Farman contends, “forms of site-specific storytelling aim to capitalize on the idea that there is value in standing at the site where an event took place; far more than simply reading about an event, being in the place where that event happened offers experiential value that gives us a deeper sense of the story and the ways that story affects the meaning of the place” (7). In terms of historical knowledge, the monument’s commemorative intention or significance is made more clear when additional or intertextual information that is typically “found elsewhere,” as Johnston and Ripmeester claim, is added to the object (151). And we can see locative media as enabling just that, where additional narrative or historical information is attached to the

monument or to a place in a way that augments the memory discourse. This is a great benefit particularly where plaques contain information that is, in practical terms, limited by the size of the plaque, or in critical terms, limited by a personal or cultural bias at the time of their inscription. When the purpose of the commemoration is to reinforce hegemonic narratives of nation-building, virtual space becomes an important place for delivering counter-hegemonic memory narratives or spatial histories. We can argue, then, that these technologies have the potential to breathe new life into material commemorations, restore their significance, challenge their narrative, or appeal to younger generations of visitors (or even older ones who, as Johnston and Ripmeester have indicated, also seem to know little about their local commemorative landscapes).

But attaching extra information to the material object could risk obstructing the affective or embodied attachments that can be made there. In other words, does technological immersion come at the expense of phenomenological engagement? Referring to memory objects found in museums, Alison Landsberg writes, “Even though you are not invited to touch these objects, their very materiality . . . their seductive tangibility, draws you into a lived relationship with them” (“America” 78). As mentioned earlier, monuments too, by their materiality, can facilitate these kinds of embodied relationships. Their concrete surfaces beckon tactical engagement; their physicality and, for statuary, their representations of the body invite a bodily awareness on the part of the viewer. Conversely the viewer can be negatively reminded of her body through feelings of discomfort—a large or imposing monument can overwhelm the viewer, eliciting feelings of fear or uneasiness. Regardless, the filter of the mobile device might draw the individual away from tactile engagement or affective intimacy with a monument because her attention is turned towards the mobile device.

But even this assumption, that a surfeit of information mitigates against affective engagement, suggests a dichotomy that ties back to a long history of critical discourse surrounding monuments. Much of the criticism surrounding monuments has focused on the monument's ability to do only "one thing"—its materiality takes away from the dynamic qualities of memory; its prescriptive ideological intent only allows it to produce reductive sensations of national belonging. In all of these claims, the materiality of the monument is privileged over its dynamic or affective qualities. Often this is manifested as a critique of a monument's static form. As Kirk Savage has noted, "Public monuments are [thought to be] the most conservative of commemorative forms precisely because they are meant to last, unchanged, forever" (4). Critics often reference Robert Musil's famous contention that "there is nothing in the world as invisible as monuments" (64). Echoes of this sentiment pervade the Johnston and Ripmeester study. Musil goes on to claim, "They are no doubt erected to be seen—indeed, to attract attention. But at the same time they are impregnated with something that repels attention, causing the glance to roll right off, like water droplets off an oilcloth, without even pausing for a moment" (64). In response to this, James Young contends that "this 'something' is the essential stiffness monuments share with all other images: as a likeness necessarily vitrifies its otherwise dynamic referent, a monument turns pliant memory into stone" (13). For Young there are also political implications in the reification of memory in a monument as it turns the monument into an object of forgetting. He writes, "Once we assign monumental form to memory, we have to some degree divested ourselves of the obligation to remember. In shouldering the memory-work, monuments may relieve viewers of their memory burden" (Young 5). The idea of shouldering the burden implies that concretized memory is passively experienced and reiterates Pierre Nora's theory of *lieux de mémoire* as sites of loss, in

that the reification of the past in a monument suggests that the memory is no longer an active part of day-to-day life, or in the *milieu de mémoire* (Nora 7). Moreover, the passivity of the monument, or its naturalization into the landscape, is also politically dangerous because as an ideological tool, monuments can create what Young calls, “the illusion of common memory” where, “in the absence of shared beliefs or common interest, art in public spaces may force an otherwise fragmented populace to frame diverse values and ideas in common spaces” (6). Similarly, Andreas Huyssen has pointed to the criticism of monuments as relics of nation-building that produce unified sentiments, reinforcing the assertion that “fascist tendencies are inherent in every monument” (258).

However, the tangibility and permanence of the monument can also lead to diverse affective encounters within, as well as outside of, its ideological intent. As Young suggests, “Once created, memorials take on lives of their own, often stubbornly resistant to the state’s original intention. . . . New generations visit memorials under new circumstances and invest them with new meanings. The result is an evolution in the memorial’s significance, generated in the new time and company in which it finds itself” (3). The materiality of the monument and its anchoring to a specific place exposes it to changing spatial and social frameworks. Monuments are therefore subject to what Ann Rigney refers to as dynamics, or the “ongoing process” where sites “become invested with new meanings and gain a new lease on life” (346). The permanence of the monument allows for various physical interventions and inscriptions by the public over time.² This includes both state-sanctioned commemorative rituals, such as the laying of wreaths or national ceremonies, as well as protests and defacement. A critique of locative media’s impact on the material experience of a monument, therefore, should not reinforce the dichotomy of

² See also, Mechtild Widrich’s theorization of “performative monument” (5).

affective/intellectual or dynamic/static. In fact, I suggest that locative media apps foreground acts of engagement that expand James Young's definition of countermonuments. For Young, countermonuments provide "a valuable 'counterindex' to the ways time, memory and current history intersect at any memorial site" (30). They do so by providing opportunities for viewer interaction and engagement. The countermonument "undermines its own authority by inviting and then incorporating the authority of passersby" and stands in opposition to "the traditional memorial's task" by inviting "its own violation and desanctification" (Young 33, 30). The primary example Young provides is the "Monument Against Fascism" by Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev Gerz. This monument consists of a blank pillar upon which visitors were invited to write messages in opposition to fascism. Over time, the inscribed pillar was lowered into the ground until it was completely submerged and a plaque was left in its place. Young's definition of countermonument, therefore, is primarily concerned with works of public art constructed in explicit opposition to traditional strategies of memorialization. However, at the core of the countermonument is the notion that they insist upon visitor interaction and engagement with the monument. But do not all interventions at monuments do this very thing? I would argue that all monuments provide opportunities for public engagement, again whether official (in the form of ritual or ceremony), unofficial (in the form of idling around or sitting on), or political (in the form of protest or intervention). All monuments can signify beyond their static or didactic structure, as they are open to multiple affective encounters or interventions. The difference with the countermonument is that it has opportunities for public engagement built directly into its aesthetic and physical framework.

However, locative media provide a virtual space for similar inscriptions and viewer engagement that is built into the framework of the app itself. Locative media also serve to

foreground the way that time, memory, and current history interact at a site, as Young writes of the countermonument. As with *Ghosts in the Garden*, mobile apps play with the concept of temporal layering in ways that can simultaneously project the past as a distant portal to be opened by the mobile device, but also as something that haunts or impresses upon the present. They too juxtapose the material and the ephemeral and encourage public interaction that serves to augment or challenge conservative definitions of monuments. In this way, perhaps all locative media encounters with a monument can be thought of as an exercise in countermonument. The physical act of writing on the Gerzs' pillar becomes a comment or a tag in virtual space. Whether the app explicitly invites user interventions through comments, or simply requires the user to follow a path through physical space, locative apps promote participatory action with monuments or historic sites.

Locative Media Narratives at Canada's Parliamentary Precinct

In order to understand these experiential connections more fully, I now turn to an analysis of two mobile locative narratives created for various historic sites in Canada's capital, specifically in and around the Parliamentary Precinct. When used at historic sites, locative media narratives still contribute to tensions between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic memory narratives and complicate uses of memory objects.

Canada's Capital Walking Tour

Canada's Capital Walking Tour is an example of one such app created for the mnemonic landscape of Ottawa. The app, developed by Capital Experience in conjunction with Canadian Heritage / Patrimoine canadien, is self-proclaimed as "the best walking tour app for Ottawa-Gatineau" ("Canada's Capital Walking Tour"). It operates as a set of tours for Parliament Hill

as well as Confederation Boulevard, Mackenzie King Estate, Gatineau-Hull, and Sparks Street. The app's description promises to provide users with "the scoop on the events, people and history that have shaped this country" and teach them "about Parliament Hill, iconic sites in downtown Ottawa-Gatineau, and Mackenzie King Estate in Gatineau Park" ("Canada's Capital Walking Tour"). Therefore, not only does the app claim to familiarize users with the layout of Ottawa as a place, it also attempts to contribute to users' affective attachments to a broader concept of "nation" through stories of historic figures and events. This promise speaks to how place can be understood as a combination of material properties and affective attachments. Locative media play with this tension as it is through GPS functions that information about a site is delivered to the user. By its very nature, then, mobile locative projects invite users to consider place as more than its material and measurable properties, by foregrounding the imaginary or intangible aspects, including affects, that contribute to making place meaningful. *Ghosts in the Garden*, for example, emphasizes the concept of imagined place through its immersive soundscape, which highlights the important contribution of imagination to one's contemporary experience of place.

This is not to say that the material is unimportant or insignificant, as it is through an individual's relationship to material objects in space that affective attachments are formed, thus contributing to one's sense of place. Parliament Hill, for example, is rich with monuments, making it what David Gordon and Brian Osborne have called, "a veritable national pantheon of heroes" (619). This collection of statuary, including past prime ministers, monarchs, and other individuals deemed to be of national significance, creates what Osborne has termed an "iconic landscape" that reinforces "mythic narratives . . . [of] a cohesive collective memory" (42). And it is this narrative that *Canada's Capital Walking Tour* attempts to reinforce. Unlike the

immersive soundscape of *Ghosts in the Garden* and its game-like structure, the *Canada's Capital Walking Tour* app operates more as a guidebook, providing users with noteworthy facts about the monuments on Parliament Hill. Its multimedia components are limited and not particularly compelling, as there are only a few pictures attached to each site, and no audio or video components. However, at several instances the app prompts the user to engage with the surrounding landscape in unique ways by invoking visual ties between disparate spaces on Parliament Hill. For example, at the monument to Lester B. Pearson, the narrative prompts the user to “look back toward the Centennial Flame” and to “look up to the flag flying on the Peace Tower,” recognizing that Pearson was there at the inaugural presentation of both symbols, creating visual connections for the user between past historic actors and the symbols which represent Canadian nationalism (Capital Experience). In terms of multisensory experiences, the app attempts to link the user's embodied experience of a site to the past, and to a greater embodied sense of national belonging, through reference to imagined spectral bodies. For example, while at the Centennial Flame the user is invited to walk toward Centre Block noting, “The very steps where you stand have been walked by Queen Elizabeth II, our head of state, and the prime minister, our highest elected official” (Capital Experience). Although this is an attempt to emphasize the democratic space of Parliament Hill (where, as the app notes, “all Canadians have the right to be”), and by extension Canada, the imagined connection that the app attempts to make to past ritual commemorations reinforces the ubiquitous power of the nation, as this experience of democracy is framed through a spectral embodied connection to representatives of state power (Capital Experience). As might be expected with a locative media tour of the Parliamentary Precinct created by Canadian Heritage, the narratives promoted on the app favour the celebration of a unified and heroic

sense of Canadianness and overlook the fact that while Parliament Hill is designed for nationalist purposes, the ways in which individuals perform actions in that space can reveal a variety of affective attachments, as the Parliamentary Precinct is not only a site for tourists and commemorative rituals, it can also be a site of protest or feelings of alienation or ambivalence.

Instead the *Canada's Capital Walking Tour* app insists on perpetuating the mythic qualities of the landscape surrounding Parliament and does so self-consciously to try and foster personal affective attachments in the user. In this way, the app configures time as both historical and affective. This generates a sense of play where past, present, and future lose their distinctness and affects circulate freely among these relations. By situating the user's embodied sense of place (standing on the steps leading up to Centre Block) in a transhistorical context, the app prompts her to feel a connection to the past, rather than simply perceive the past as a linear (distant) temporality. These kinds of affective experiences of place are enhanced by the formal aspects of mobile narrative that extend the definition of reading as an embodied activity to incorporate aspects of performance and play. The *Canada's Capital Walking Tour* app just begins to scratch the surface of the kinds of bodily engagements prompted by mobile narratives that, as Raley notes, frame users as “‘participants’ rather than ‘readers’” (301). Even when an app is operating as a virtual guidebook, as is the case with *Canada's Capital Walking Tour*, affective and dynamic relationships to space are foregrounded, which points to the potential that these apps have for relaying alternative narratives of the past.³

³ As recent controversies surrounding statues of political figures with complicated legacies have shown, there is a need for access to alternative memory narratives at sites of memory, and while the *Canada's Capital Walking Tour* app fails to enter into these alternative

When a sense of play is incorporated into the theorization of monuments, we avoid privileging a memorial's materiality over its affective and dynamic qualities. While mobile apps draw us out of thinking of monuments as static objects, they also draw on the monument's materiality to emphasize the ephemeral or the mobile. However, because a mobile locative narrative requires the user to move through space, and in the sense of history or memory, to move through time as well, the reified object is dismantled. Mobile memory narratives ultimately work to foster the relationship between a sensing body and a physical environment. They do this by insisting that place is more than just its material properties, but rather composed of a fluctuating relationship between materiality, time, and affect. Therefore, even in instances where material memory objects no longer exist, as with *Ghosts in the Garden*, the user can engage with the dynamic aspects of place through a performative (re)creation of the environment. To understand how mobile locative narratives facilitate performative (re)creations of environments requires one to attest to their potential for creating more complex and nuanced narratives about the past. recognize that performance is, as Diana Taylor has suggested, "not simply an object of analysis," but rather, "an episteme, a way of knowing" (xvi). As Raley has argued, "To 'read' mobile narrative . . . requires a range of cognitive and bodily activities, only one of which is reading in the sense of the visual processing of linguistic signs. That is, reading in the physical environment particular to mobile media quite often also involves seeing, moving, listening,

dialogues, particularly around monuments of political figures such as John A. Macdonald and Emily Murphy of "The Famous Five" in terms of their mistreatment of Indigenous peoples, the interplay between a material object and a memory narrative that these apps play with attests to their potential for creating more complex and nuanced narratives about the past.

touching. Participating in a mobile narrative is then precisely that— physical participation that is also understandable as performance” (303). And to understand performance as an episteme foregrounds how individuals learn through the body (phenomenologically and kinaesthetically), and how bodies function as sites of knowledge and memory transmission between individuals.

Both of these aspects depend upon the user being on-site and able to move through the physical environment associated with the mobile narrative. This raises an important aspect of mobile locative narratives that should be clarified. The virtual environments of the mobile locative apps that concern me here are ones that specifically require the user to move to geotagged waypoints in order to trigger a narrative. Many mobile locative apps have narratives that can be accessed remotely. The opportunity for remote access can be a great benefit to organizations like museums or to heritage sites that rely on visitor engagement. The turn towards virtual exhibitions displayed on internet sites such as *The Digital Public Library of America (DPLA)*, or *The Virtual Museum of Canada*, speaks to the importance not only of open access collections, but of making an experience of heritage content accessible and available to individuals who cannot physically visit a museum. For example, the *9/11 Museum Audio Guide* is an app-based tour of the 9/11 Memorial and Museum located at the former World Trade Center site in lower Manhattan. As it is an audio guide, the app is divided into three narratives or tours: Witnessing History; Discovering History: For Children and Families; and Building History: Archaeology and Architecture. Each tour contains a map of the museum’s layout, images of artifacts in the museum (used as checkpoints), photographs, background music, and voiceover narration, including recordings of witness and survivor testimonies (National September 11 Memorial). This combination of media integrated into the narrative framework of the app organizes the museum’s content in such a

way that gives the user a multisensory experience that mimics visiting the museum or encountering the exhibit in person. Although the app is meant to be carried along on the individual's tour of the museum, it does not rely on geotagged waypoints and therefore also functions as a virtual experience of the museum from any location.

Other mobile locative apps use a combination of content that can be accessed remotely and content that is only available on-site. An example of this can be found in the Washington based Fort Vancouver Mobile Project. Considered a pioneer in mobile locative storytelling at heritage sites, the Fort Vancouver Mobile Project was created for The Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, once a Hudson's Bay Company regional headquarters. While some of the content of the Fort Vancouver app can be accessed remotely, much of it is only triggered as the user walks around the grounds of the historic site. One narrative contained in the app is the story of a Hawaiian pastor, William Kaulehelehe, whose home was destroyed by "American soldiers . . . as a way to rid the region of the British" (Oppegaard and Grigar 25). The app contains a video re-enactment of this moment that is "only available when digitally pushed to the visitors via their mobile devices after they have experienced several segments of Kaulehelehe's tale, and as they stand at the actual site of the incident" (Oppegaard and Grigar 25). The creators of the app, Brett Oppegaard and Dene Grigar, have claimed that "during beta testing of this narrative, visitors were highly engaged by such an alignment of the digital environment with the physical environment" (25). This instance foregrounds the value of being in place when engaging with a mobile narrative. Moreover, it demonstrates the unique capabilities of locative apps, which unlike other forms of mobile (or portable) media, including books, letters, radios, or iPods, can convey a multisensory narrative experience at a specific a place while the user occupies that space in order to

facilitate a more engaging and immersive experience with the site.

Oppegaard and Grigar propose that this experience of Kaulehelehe's story has a greater impact than a video "played in the sanitized and detached theatre space of the visitors [sic] center or accessible from a comfortable home office" (25). Their phrasing here is evocative of scholarship on site-specific performance. Although their use of theatre in this instance is a reference to the cinema, or a movie-viewing space in the visitor centre, as opposed to live performance, their classification of theatre space in such clinical terms echoes theatre scholars such as Susan Bennett and Mary Polito, Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks, Gay McAuley, and Anna Birch and Joanne Tompkins who all position site-specific performance as affecting and affected by its location, expanding upon traditional definitions of "venue" in performance studies. As McAuley suggests,

The venue ceases to be simply that which contained the performance (as is frequently the case with performances occurring in traditional theatre buildings), but is involved in complex ways in the genesis of the work and even in its subject matter. The performance may be inspired by the place, or it may be a means of exploring and experiencing that place. In some cases the place is the pretext for the performance, which functions to celebrate or attempt to transform it; in others the performance may exploit the place for its own purposes, and in still others it may play at the interface of experiences of the real and the fictional. (599)

All locative media narratives engage with place in one more of these ways, as they are dependent on the physical site to structure their content. But particularly for those locative narratives that perform an act of historical recovery, the site both inspires the narrative and can be transformed by the recollection of a place's past or the bodies that once inhabited it,

as is evident in *Ghosts in the Garden*, and this, in turn, can transform the individual's attachments to a place. As McAuley also states, "Site-specific performance, especially when it engages deeply with its chosen site, brings ideas of place, history, and memory to the fore, and it has the potential to disrupt, disturb, and even to change the way we see the familiar" (603). We see this in the case of monuments with *Canada's Capital Walking Tour*, where the user's performative engagement with the app has the potential to reinvigorate seemingly banal or quotidian memory objects.

Forgotten Worker Quest

Thinking about a user's engagement with a mobile narrative in terms of performance invites us to consider not only how the performance impacts a place, but how the place impacts the performance or the performer. That is, it calls attention to how "the historical, social, and cultural resonance of the place may be experienced differently by different spectators, and may function in ways that exceed or displace the expectations of the practitioners" (McAuley 603). In the case of locative media apps, the user can be classified as both spectator and practitioner. For as much as the narrative is self-contained within the app, it depends on the user's movements so that meaning is created both through text, but also beyond it, through movements that are only partially predictable. To explore these terms further we might look to mobile apps that explicitly encourage play and improvisation. *Forgotten Worker Quest*, is a mobile app that covers a similar geographic area to that of *Canada's Capital Walking Tour*, specifically the area surrounding Parliament Hill at the Rideau Canal Locks, but invites users to take part in a choose-your-own-adventure game that turns the National Historic Site of the Rideau Canal Locks into a stage upon which the user is free to roam until she is prompted by

the app to engage with, or enact, a part of the area's history. Developed by Carleton University's Hyperlab and the Carleton Immersive Media Studio in partnership with the Virtual Museum of Canada (VMC), the app marks the VMC's "first foray into supported mobile content" in conjunction with one of its web exhibits (Greenspan and Whitson 301). The *Forgotten Worker Quest's* narrative, created by Jessica Aldred and Jennifer Whitson, prompts a site-specific performance where the user is "cast in the role of a newly disembarked Irish labourer" (Greenspan and Whitson 300). In this role, the user is invited to explore the area and accomplish set missions that gradually reveal the history of early Ottawa, known as Bytown, and provide insight into the social and political climate surrounding the construction of the Rideau canal from the period of 1826-1855.

In line with McAuley's assertion that site-specific performance has the ability to change how we view the familiar, the *Forgotten Worker Quest* uses a popular site, one which often attracts both locals and tourists, in order to structure a narrative that, through "procedural rhetoric advances the proposition that even the most glorious landmarks of Canadian heritage bear traces of exploitation and conflict" (Greenspan and Whitson 300). This procedural rhetoric, common in choose-your-own-adventure games, positions users as actors who follow a script (or a set text or narrative) but who are free to improvise and play in how they respond to a given situation. At first this openness to improvisation and play may not be wholly evident. How much improvisation can really occur if a user is following a circumscribed narrative or must operate within (that is, respond to) a set of predetermined commands? As Raley explains, GPS-based narratives that "invite participants to traverse the space of the 'text' with a relative degree of autonomy," allow the user to explore "not only the 'hot spots' (the trigger points on the guiding map) but also...the spaces in between" (308). Similarly,

Forgotten Worker Quest foregrounds the user's free movement around the site by working as a background application.

As Greenspan and Whitson explain, "Players are told that as they traverse the physical site of the canal, they will unlock challenges and content. When this happens, their mobile device will chime to notify them, thus ensuring that they are attuned to the physical canal space, rather than focusing on the screens of their smartphones" (300). Moreover, as Raley also notes,

In GPS-guided walks in particular, the narrative is rendered in relation to the speed and movement of the participant, who may be following a map but can nonetheless decide upon pace and direction. As she moves through physical space, she experiences the acoustic, visual and verbal landscape, detecting conversations, ambient noise, physical objects, and weather patterns such as fog or rain. (308-09)

Here Raley calls attention to the unpredictable elements also involved in mobile locative apps, or site-specific performances. The user must contend with both the information on the app as well as her surrounding elements. She must negotiate both places as well as the people around her who are not engaged in the narrative. Not only do these factors create unpredictable scenarios that the user must improvise through, they also function as the non-reproducible characteristics that make theatrical performance an ephemeral art form. Like the stage performance, the elements of one's performance of a mobile narrative can never be recaptured. Even if one is to follow the same narrative route, the aspects of the place that are in flux—the weather, the lighting, the encounters with other participants and non-participants—will never be exactly the same.

Not only is there uncertainty around what the user will see exactly when responding to

a command, there is also uncertainty as to how that action will be experienced or felt through the body of the participant. Even though affects can be prompted, they are still unpredictable, as are one's past experiences of and associations to place. The space for improvisation and play, therefore, comes from the temporal layering facilitated by a locative narrative. Both Greenspan and Oppegaard and Grigar refer to this as the participant having "a foot in both worlds" (Oppegaard and Grigar 24). As Greenspan notes, in the environment of a mobile locative narrative, "meaning is created through the reader's self-conscious linking of different layers of space and context," where the virtual world of the mobile narrative is not an escape from the physical but is experienced coextensively (par. 21). It is in toggling between the real and the virtual that the user develops "a newly situated critical awareness" (Greenspan par. 22). This gap between the virtual and the real, between receiving a command and responding to it, is what Raley calls the "site of ambivalence" and, as such, is "open to improvisation and experimentation" (314).

Further evidence that the structure of locative narratives provides room for play and improvisation can be seen in the concern that the *Forgotten Worker Quest's* archival partners expressed about the app. According to Greenspan and Whitson, the Archives and Research Collections (ARC) "resisted [the] Hyperlab narratives, seeing them as taking liberties with archival content, omitting fine-grained details, and lacking seriousness of tone. In turn, [the Hyperlab] saw the documentation drafted by the ARC as oriented toward a highly specialized audience, overly detailed, and lacking in narrative interest" (304). This exchange provides an instance of what McAuley referred to as site-specific performance's ability to play at the interface of the real and fictional. It is the mobile app that facilitates the interfacing of the past with the present, allowing for users to play and interpret the past in ways that seemingly operate

against the impetus of the archive or archival object. Greenspan and Whitson cite this as “a clear pedagogical divide” between “their digital humanities group and that of the archive team” (303). They explain, “At heart, we operated with different underlying assumptions about whether to organize our digitized content according to archival principles designed to ‘Preserve and Protect’ the content and its provenance, or following the example of popular interactive narratives and games that provide more user options for selecting and remixing content” (303). Ultimately the disagreement with *Forgotten Worker Quest* led to the production of three iterations of the exhibit: the VMC web exhibit *Heritage Passages*, a Live Museum app, which “provid[es] on-site access to the stories and archival materials included in . . . [the] web exhibit,” and the more playful *Forgotten Worker Quest*, which draws from the same archival images and monuments to structure its narrative (Greenspan and Whitson 289). In this configuration, the VMC web exhibit provides an additional “archival section and downloadable whitepaper,” while “all advanced forms of interactivity and content remixing [are restricted to] the mobile apps” (Greenspan and Whitson 304).

Greenspan and Whitson perceive this conflict between preserving and playing with the past as a tension between archive and narrative. This opposition places the dense, academic, and “uncompromised” archival content in opposition to the active gamifying, remixing, and “narrating” of that content. They suggest that *Forgotten Worker Quest* enabled them “to present the kind of historical reconstruction we had all agreed to exclude from the web exhibit, and to explore propositions that could not easily be advanced in either the web exhibit or the Live Museum app without tainting their objectivity and evidentiary function” (Greenspan and Whitson 304). Although it is undeniable that the tone of the downloadable whitepaper differs greatly from that of the *Forgotten Worker*

Quest, Greenspan and Whitson's formulation is limited in that it still insists on privileging the textual over and above other forms of experience or memory transmission. In doing so they neglect the important fact that locative narratives must also include thinking about and through the body. In this way, their attempt to dismantle the reified archival object falls short. For example, they claim that "because archival materials are quotidian and mundane by nature, they are of limited use within games, web exhibits, and other interactive digital artifacts that attempt to engage a broad and general public" (Greenspan and Whitson 304).

In the case of *Forgotten Worker Quest*, the Carleton Immersive Media Studio created 3D animations of several of the original buildings surrounding the Canal Locks based on archival blueprints. When users arrive at certain locations, the 3D animation is triggered, "inviting them to compare the site from 1829 to its appearance today" (Greenspan and Whitson 302). Greenspan and Whitson argue that these animations generate a more immersive or engaged attachment to the site: "While a hammer is always a hammer and thus somewhat lackluster, ARC's discovery of the blueprints and the work of CIMS in bringing them alive allowed those of us on the Hyperlab team to turn our game players into partial time-travelers" (302). While Greenspan and Whitson suggest that animated media is more evocative than an archival image, compare Oppegaard's discussion of the Fort Vancouver Mobile Project, where he contends that the value of mobile technology at historic sites is its ability to "give the person at the place any kind of media that we possibly could create . . . at the moment that they are most interested in receiving it" ("Fort Vancouver Mobile App" 00:01:30-00:01:41). This is more an argument for "being in place," as is, I believe, Greenspan and Whitson's position, at its core. Their reference to users as time-travelers calls to mind the idea of the mobile device as a portal to the past, not just an object that displays

pictures of artifacts or maps, or provides voiceover narration, but one that blends place, time, and multiple media to facilitate an embodied experience of the past. Although for many a 3D animation might be more compelling than a one-dimensional blueprint, it is not the type of media that is important, it is the act of a user engaging with a multimodal narrative that includes, but is not limited to, archival objects, in place, that brings a site to life. And it is the user performing through a physical simulation of discovering or uncovering this past, and its associated artifacts, by moving around a site that is particularly unique to locative media, where the body, as a moving subject, is foregrounded.

Because of this, I suggest that Diana Taylor's theory of the archive and the repertoire is a more suitable conceptual framework through which to address the tensions between a mobile narrative and archival objects. In her study of the archive and repertoire, Taylor calls into question the typical privileging of textual forms of memory transmission (archive) over forms of embodied practice (repertoire), or what she describes as "The rift . . . between the *archive* of supposedly enduring materials (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, bones) and the so-called ephemeral *repertoire* of embodied practice/knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports ritual)" (19). She explores the opposition of the two by first tracing how writing as a cultural form came to surpass other forms of knowledge transmission through colonization. Taylor notes,

What changed with the Conquest was not that writing displaced embodied practice . . . but the degree of legitimization of writing over other epistemic and mnemonic systems. Writing now assured that Power, with a capital p . . . could be developed and enforced without the input of the great majority of the population, the indigenous and marginal populations of the colonial period without systematic writing. . . . Non-verbal practices—such as dance, ritual, and cooking, to name a few—that long served to

preserve a sense of communal identity and memory, were not considered valid forms of knowledge. (18)

Ultimately, Taylor's work calls for a re-valuing of embodied forms of knowledge characteristic to the memory environment over exclusive focus on the memory object. Similarly, performance scholar Joseph Roach has attempted to retrace a "genealogy of performance" that has been lost at the expense of the archive, or material memory (20). In their respective approaches both Taylor and Roach cite Pierre Nora's construction of *lieux* and *milieux de mémoire*. As Roach explains, "Nora develops the idea of 'places of memory' (*lieux de mémoire*), the artificial sites of the modern production of national and ethnic memory, in contrast to 'environments of memory' (*milieux de mémoire*), the largely oral and corporeal retentions of traditional cultures. Modernity is characterized as the replacement of environments of memory by places of memory, such as archives, monuments, and theme parks" (26). All of the locative media narratives I have touched on, though they vary in the degree to which they draw on material objects of memory, might be thought of as bringing the *lieux* and *milieux de mémoire* into contact. In the case of the *Forgotten Worker Quest*, objects and monuments are used as physical reference points in the narrative, but ultimately the past is communicated through embodied practice in the user taking on the role of the immigrant labourer and enacting his or her journey.

Although Nora felt that *lieux de mémoire* ultimately take the place of *milieux de mémoire*, standing in for the loss of traditional, authentic, communal memory, evidenced in his claim that "we speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left" (7), drawing on Taylor's differentiation between archive and repertoire allows us to think beyond Nora's sequential framework. For Taylor, the relationship between the archive and the repertoire is

“not sequential (the former ascending to prominence after the disappearance of the latter, as Nora would have it). Nor is it true versus false, mediated versus unmediated, primordial versus modern. Nor is it a binary. . . . Yet it too readily falls into a binary, with the written and the archival constituting hegemonic power and the repertoire providing the anti-hegemonic challenge” (22). In Taylor’s formulation, the archive and the repertoire work in tandem. They are mutually constituted and supportive of each other. Taylor’s definition is important to a discussion of locative memory narratives because often new media forms that encourage user interaction and embodied participation are assumed to provide a counter-hegemonic challenge to archive. Even with *Forgotten Worker Quest*, Greenspan and Whitson lament their failure to uncover “any previously unknown historical actors, or unearth much evidence to support either new understandings of the Canal’s construction, or new micro-histories of the women, immigrants, and other civilians whose contributions to the Canal are generally acknowledged, but under-represented” (304). But as they suggest, the value in *Forgotten Worker Quest* lies in its ability to “make a procedural argument about the process of writing history” that calls attention to the limitations of the archive (304). This does not come from dismissing the archive as dusty or dull, but from thinking through the ways in which archival materials can be incorporated into, but also at times take a back seat to, improvised, ephemeral performances of a memory environment. This value is an instance of the archive and the repertoire working together (or sometimes at odds with each other) that emphasizes alternative processes of memory formation. By bringing the archive and the repertoire into contact with each other at a site of memory, locative media narratives probe how “authentic” memory is defined, and move away from thinking strictly about the authentic memory object as a source of the past to more embodied and diverse forms of memory transmission in constructed

memory environments.

However, there are some limitations in defining a user's engagement with a locative media app as part of the repertoire. As Taylor has indicated, the repertoire includes "performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing—in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, non-reproducible knowledge" (20). It could be argued that mobile locative narratives lean more to the side of traditional concepts of the archival and the textual, as they are explicitly connected to narrative and to the augmentation of objects and sites of memory; however, as Taylor explains, "the repertoire requires presence: people participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by 'being there,' being part of the transmission" (20). For the mobile locative narrative, participation is key. It is an active participation that depends on the movement of the user, where she is responsible for reproducing or performing the memory transmission. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the idea of non-reproducible knowledge associated with the ephemerality of performance is mimicked in the environment of a mobile locative narrative which, unlike the indoor museum environment, is less controlled and predictable.

This brings us appropriately back to a discussion of the countermonument. Just as mobile locative narratives draw on the materiality of a monument to challenge its assumed fixity and reinforce memory as contingent and in flux, so too do mobile narratives play with the relationship between the archive and the repertoire to challenge the permanence of the archive and dismantle the "authentic" memory object. In both of these instances, mobile memory apps operate in a similar way to that of the countermonument which, as Young suggests, "need not negate memory . . . [but] negates only the illusion of permanence traditionally fostered in the monument. For in calling attention to its own fleeting presence, the

countermonument mocks the traditional monument's certainty of history" (48). Like the countermonument, mobile locative apps created for sites of memory also insist on the dynamic quality of memory, a quality that relies on human engagement and interaction. This not only foregrounds the body as a site of memory transmission, but also memory as a lived process that works in relation to human temporality.

As Young indicates, memory is "sustained not denied by a sense of human temporality, deriving its nourishment from the very changes over time that would otherwise mock the static, 'everlasting' memorial" (48). The temporal overlay simulated by the mobile device in locative media narratives, whether it occurs through providing the user with archival images to overlay onto her physical environment through the window of the smartphone screen (matching a past image of the site with its present materiality), or through a narrative that situates the user as a historical scavenger or time-traveler, both reinforces and plays with the concept of linear, historical time. Through its very form, the smartphone makes us comfortable operating in both the realm of the virtual and the physical, where toggling between both has become part of daily life. But in the context of locative media narratives, when the user engages with a narrative concerning the past of a place, the experience of having a "foot in both worlds" of the past and the present, or of the virtual environment and the physical environment, the mobile narrative becomes an ideal form for taking memory out of the realm of the fixed or static, and placing the user at the centre of the dialectical relationship between the past and the present.

Chapter Two

Meaningful Places from Hybrid Spaces: *LANDLINE* and The Role of Virtual Attachments in Everyday Placemaking

In the spring of 2017, Heritage Ottawa hosted a public lecture on a forthcoming community revitalization and public history project called Prime Ministers' Row. The project, a non-profit initiative working in conjunction with the National Capital Commission, is focused on redeveloping the Sandy Hill area of Ottawa to improve the quality of the neighbourhood's streetscape, while also celebrating and recognizing the area's historic and cultural significance. Sandy Hill is a neighbourhood that project founder Suneeta Millington claims, "constitute[s] the most historically rich, nationally important, small scale cultural landscape in the country" with the area surrounding Laurier Avenue East having been home to several Prime Ministers, but also "lumber barons, Supreme Court justices, Cabinet Ministers, Mayors, Lieutenant Governors, Clerks of the Privy Council, and heads of national institutions, such as the National Gallery" (Millington "Prime Ministers' Row Project"; Millington et al. 4). The long-term vision for the project is to "connect residents and visitors with [the] national history" of the area while also "protecting the built heritage" by creating what Millington claims will be "Canada's first street museum" ("Prime Ministers' Row Project").

This project is interesting for several reasons, the first being the connections it plans to establish between streetscape (or built environment) and the stories of a neighborhood's past inhabitants. But more specifically, I am interested in the fact that a large portion of the project's mandate is devoted to the development of app-based site-specific mobile content and activities. I attended the 2017 lecture in the hope that the speaker would expound on the

plans for digital content. But, as is the case with long-term development meetings, not much was elaborated, except for a brief overview of the preliminary inspirations for the multimedia platforms. These include the *Cité Mémoire* installation and app in Montreal, the *Museum of London* street museum app, and the ground-breaking Canadian locative media project entitled *[murmur]*. The *[murmur]* project was first developed in 2003 in Toronto by Shawn Micallef, Gabe Sawhney, and James Roussel in collaboration with the Canadian Film Centre Media Lab, and has since spread to various cities both within Canada and internationally. *[murmur]* was created with the goal of documenting oral histories, or the “stories and memories told about specific geographic locations” in order to “collect and make accessible people’s personal histories and anecdotes about the places in their neighbourhoods that are important to them” (“About”). These stories are relayed through the mobile phone, as participants dial a telephone number posted at a specific location in order to hear a voice recording of an individual relaying a memory or story that connects to that specific place.

In her elaboration of the role an app like *[murmur]*, one that crowdsources stories of the lived experiences of a neighbourhood, could have as part of the Prime Ministers’ Row project, Millington emphasized the importance of integrating personal stories along with the stories of national significance that are also associated with the area. She notes, “In Sandy Hill . . . you have a lot of people who have stories about their houses, . . . that might not have national historic relevance, or . . . it might but it hasn’t been documented in any way, but that give you a sense of the people who lived there” (Millington “Prime Ministers’ Row Project”). In this way, the project’s goals are similar to that of *[murmur]*, where the emphasis lies in situated knowledge, or the important role the individual plays in constructing meaningful

places.

One of the most striking things that came out of this information session was that a twenty-second explanation of [*murmur*], as part of an hour-long lecture, led to an extensive conversation where members of the audience shared their personal stories and experiences of the area of Sandy Hill. Many of these people were long-term residents who have seen the neighborhood change over the years. This sharing of stories was a testament to the value of personal memory and lived experience in the creation and perpetuation of an idea of place and a sense of community. And it is these personal stories, coupled with stories about well-known Canadians, that Prime Ministers' Row plans to knit together. As indicated by the large amount of time that was unexpectedly afforded to personal stories at this lecture, it is the slippages between the lived present and memories of the past that create meaningful places. This is something that Daphne Marlatt remarks on in a discussion of *Liquidities: Vancouver Poems Then and Now*. In this interview with Laura Moss and Gillian Jerome, Marlatt reflects on the use of archival materials in placemaking practice, noting that “when you encounter this material and bring those memories into your walking about, you encounter the lived depth of the city, even as you are experiencing it in its present form. This is most intense for long-term residents who have their own layers of memory interwoven with these collective layers in time” (255). She goes on to explain, “Often a historic photograph from the public library would prompt the personal memories of someone who'd grown up here in the 20s or 30s. This is ‘the simultaneity of memory and the present.’ A small but intense experience of this now is when you stop to read one of the historical sidewalk mosaics and streetlamp placards that dot our neighbourhood and elsewhere downtown” (255). Much of the experience of place and memory for Marlatt is tied up in the act of walking. In walking one moves through the city but

also, perhaps coincidentally, one moves into it more deeply. It is by traversing through space that one seems to become more deeply rooted to it. Perhaps this can be better understood through Michel de Certeau's writings on walking in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. De Certeau posits walking as having an "'enunciative' function" in that "the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language" (97). Like the speech act, walking is comprised of appropriation, performance, and networked relations. It is the assemblage of fragmentary experiences in a way that both follows an order, but also invents it. For de Certeau, a walker moves within and against the limits of the city, and inherent in her mobility is the ability to create, or to improvise (98).

Interestingly, walking is also a central preoccupation of the Prime Ministers' Row project. On the level of infrastructure transformation, the project plans to make physical alterations to the streetscape by beautifying and widening the sidewalks in order to make the area more pedestrian friendly. Additionally, the project seeks to add to the city of Ottawa's larger commemorative landscape by creating a continuum with the ceremonial route of Confederation Boulevard, from the Parliamentary Precinct to Rideau Hall. Millington notes that this will produce "a nexus between some of the key core areas in the city . . . creating walking links and nodes that connect the history [of Sandy Hill and Laurier Avenue East] and extend the federal identity into the civic landscape, and help connect the civic stories . . . to the national story. They are symbolic connections, but also very concrete physical connections" ("Prime Ministers' Row Project"). Moreover, several times throughout the discussion the concept of "walking in the footsteps of the people who built the country" was used to emphasize the project as an open-air museum and connote the importance of incorporating the historic value of the neighbourhood into the contemporary experience of the streetscape

(Millington, “Prime Ministers’ Row Project”). It is in the act of walking that the visitor enacts the connection between story and place: “The invitation to Canadians [that Prime Ministers’ Row extends] would be to step into the story, to be part of that story, to walk that streetscape” (Millington, “Prime Ministers’ Row Project”). And of course, walking is also implicated in the mobility of the smartphone that makes the relaying of these stories possible for those who visit Prime Ministers’ Row.

However, it should be noted that developments in technology have historically been thought to have a negative impact on walking practices. As Kazys Varnelis and Anne Friedberg explain, “As the nineteenth century drew to its end, the pedestrian mobility of the *flâneur* and *flâneuse* was augmented by the many machines of transport— trains, streetcars, buses, moving walkways, escalators, elevators—that not only accelerated movement but produced new social behaviours” (18). They then link this to the twentieth-century exodus of urban centres—a central preoccupation of Jane Jacobs’s work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*—where “people fled decaying cities to suburbs . . .[as] public space became increasingly privatized and virtualized, with networks of individuals being replaced by television broadcast networks, and individuals becoming less and less citizens and more and more consumers” (Varnelis and Friedberg 18). But today, in many ways, there seems to be a resurgence of walking in grassroots community initiatives like Jane’s Walks as well as in the influx of mobile phone pedestrians in urban centres. Perhaps these two examples are oppositional, with Jane’s Walks more of a retaliation against the continued privatization of public space that the technology of the mobile phone extends, or contributes to. But as Eric Gordon notes, historically, new media has always had an impact on urban practices and the experience of place.

In his extensive study of the relationship between technology and the American city, Gordon asks the question, “Can the city, as an entity, continue to matter when digital networks enable public gathering without requiring the public to gather in physical space?” (2). However, he goes on to note that “the modern American city has never been bereft of these complications (2). Citing a long history of mediated experiences of the city, “from the handheld camera at the end of the nineteenth century to the mobile phone at the end of the twentieth,” he emphasizes that, “the city has always been a mediated construct,” one that “enters into the cultural imaginary as a hodgepodge of disconnected signifiers often organized by the technologies that produce them” (2). Like the practice of walking for de Certeau, media here is a way of organizing fragments to make sense of city space. In fact, Gordon explicitly links the role technologies play in an individual’s relationship to the city to de Certeau’s exploration of the relationship between the individual “practitioner” and the larger “Concept-city” (5). At the beginning of his writings on walking, de Certeau famously contrasts an image of the readable city, one seen from the top of the World Trade Center—a vantage point that turns the city “into a text that lies before one’s eyes”—to the blind ramblings of walkers, “whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban ‘text’ they write without being able to read” (92-93). In this comparison, de Certeau explicitly returns the focus on the local or the everyday that the “panoramic perspective” (often associated with technological development or progress) leaves behind.⁴

⁴ Wolfgang Schivelbusch discusses the panoramic perspective from the context of railway travel. The panoramic perspective can be thought of as the mobile perspective adopted by the railway passenger in the train compartment. As the speed of the train “caused the foreground to

But for de Certeau, and similarly for Tim Ingold, it is the situated perspective of the individual body moving through the city that is the source of a comprehensive perspective of the world. Ingold notes, “Our perception of the environment as a whole, in short, is forged not in the ascent from a myopic, local perspective to a panoptic, global one, but in the passage from place to place, and in histories of movement and changing horizons along the way” (“To Journey” 227). Mobility and circulation are, obviously, important factors here, as Ingold insists, “Such movements do not merely connect places that are already located in terms of an independent framework of spatial coordinates. Rather, they bring these places into being as nodes within a wider network of coming and going” (“To Journey” 227). But, as Ingold’s invocation of the language of nodes in a network insinuates, it is the interplay between the two that constitute one’s holistic sense of the city or, as Gordon notes, the combination of “both the phenomenological encounter (the blind, embodied practice of the street) and the overarching logic of the Concept-city (the complete picture),” that defines urban practices (Gordon 5). The

disappear, it detached the traveler from the space that immediately surrounded him” (189). As such, “The landscape that was seen in this way was no longer experienced intensively, discretely . . . but evanescently, impressionistically— panoramically” (189). Here the panoramic perspective is considered a more comprehensive view: “the view from the train window [is] an evanescent landscape whose rapid motion made it possible to grasp the whole, to get an overview” (61). In this way, we can understand this conceptualization of the panoramic perspective as having developed out of the earlier nineteenth century practice of exhibiting model dioramas or panoramas, which gave the viewer a comprehensive picture of distant landscapes (62).

relationship between parts and the whole is also characteristic of the mobile phone itself and the relationship between the individual and the network that the mobile phone cultivates. Because of this, mobile media, and mobile media narratives, play an interesting role in the relationship between an individual and her sense of place, and ultimately the experience of memory and place. But to explore this relationship more fully, and the interplay of the locally situated and the distant, requires a more nuanced understanding of place, how place as a concept is defined, and how these definitions have been influenced by technological developments.

Mediations of Place

The idea of place is an evolving concept, one that has entertained a wide variety of definitions stretching across a diverse number of disciplines, the most prominent being geography, but also sociology, philosophy, and memory studies. Tim Cresswell succinctly outlines the complex and evolving definitions of place in his entry on “Place” in the *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Here Cresswell reveals that despite the variety of definitions, there is general consensus that places are constituted by social relations as much as by their material properties. He defines place as a combination of three aspects: location, locale, and sense of place (169). In this definition, location is the geographic location of a place, its measurable coordinates, locale is the built environment of place or “the material setting for social relations,” and the sense of place comes from the experience of these social relations, or “the more nebulous meanings associated with a place: the feelings and emotions a place evokes” (169). He then divides this further into two categories: “individual” that is, associations with place “based on personal biography,” or “shared” (169). Cresswell attributes shared sense of place with “mediation and representation,” in other words with the various

forms of media, including “film, literature, [and] advertising,” that allow individuals to come to know places, or have a “sense” of them, without ever having visited them in person (169). This is how de Certeau’s Concept-city is cultivated. Media produce “sets of meanings” that become widely recognizable or identifiable to the general public (Cresswell 169). In this sense, we can also categorize sites of memory, and the ritual performances associated with them, as another form of mediation that contributes to creating a shared sense of place. Of course, the degree to which these senses of place (or identifications of and with places) are truly shared is debatable.

Although it might not be explicit in his definition of place, Cresswell does seem to account for the plurality of associations to place in his recognition of individual, biographical attachments, but also when he later notes that shared meanings are not necessarily stable. He explains, “while meanings are shared they are never fixed once and for all, and always open to counter meanings produced through other representations” (Cresswell 169). This expanded definition of a shared sense of place is part of a secondary definition of place that Cresswell provides, this one claiming, “In any given place we encounter a combination of materiality, meaning, and practice” (169). Similar to his first definition, Cresswell draws attention to the material, built environment, as well as to individual interactions with this built environment, through which meaning is constructed. But most significantly in this second definition, Cresswell emphasizes the “practice” of place. In other words, he emphasizes that the things that people *do* in place are “in part . . . responsible for the meanings that a place might have” (Cresswell 169).

It is easy to hear echoes of de Certeau’s contention that “space is a practiced place” in Cresswell’s definition of place as practice (de Certeau 117). However, it should be noted that

in his claim de Certeau positions place as fixed or static, whereas space “exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables,” as well as “intersections of mobile elements” (117). More specifically, for de Certeau the idea of space as a practiced place rests on the understanding that practices have the “capacity not only to elude systemic control by exploiting gaps and niches, but actively to alter and disrupt the system within which they work” (Sheringham 222). This is why walking was of great interest to de Certeau. In his analysis, walking is a means of moving both within and beyond fixed space:

First, if it is true that a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities (e.g., by a place in which one can move) and interdictions (e.g., by a wall that prevents one from going further), then the walker actualizes some of these possibilities. In that way, he makes them exist as well as emerge. But he also moves them about and he invents others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements. (de Certeau 98)

As Michael Sheringham explains, for de Certeau, walking can be a transgressive act that “cut[s] across established boundaries and hierarchies” (Sheringham 223). We could think of this as a type of hacking, where walking hacks the controlled system of pedestrian movement, or spatial expression available to individuals. Evidence of this can be seen in the importance de Certeau placed on the embodied nature of walking as “a style of tactile apprehension and kinaesthetic appropriation” (97). As Sheringham succinctly concludes, “It is through the motion of bodies, and by virtue of the ‘scrambling’ of established itineraries and landmarks that [for de Certeau] the city is appropriated” (224). But we can also think of this as a kind of customization or personalization, where our practices (movements) create meaning for the individual. De Certeau likens this to the inhabiting of a rented apartment, where renters “furnish [the space] with their

acts and memories” (De Certeau xxi). Through this customization or “mutation,” the renter “transforms another person’s property into a space borrowed for a moment by a transient” (xxi). It is therefore through practice that individuals personalize and mutate space to make it meaningful and inhabitable, and today these personalized practices are often facilitated by mobile communication technologies.

Again, it should be noted that, for de Certeau, mobility is something that exists in contrast to fixed or stable “place,” rather than something that is integrated into it. But this understanding, as Rowan Wilken and Gerard Goggin point out, still rests on a place/space opposition that relies on a “conservative conception of place . . . that is arguably no longer tenable” (11). Rather than the product of a binary, today place is understood as always-already the product of diverse interactions as well as attachments and alienations. Although the binary may no longer be tenable, de Certeau’s emphasis on the body and its movements is valuable to discussions of placemaking. Similarly, David Seamon’s phenomenological study of place in *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, Rest, and Encounter* also explores the notion of place as embodied practice. In *A Geography of the Lifeworld*, Seamon explores the question of habit, or how individuals experience place in habitual, routine, or pre-conscious ways. In order to do this, he draws on Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s concept of the body-subject, or “the inherent capacity of the body to direct behaviours of the person intelligently” (Seamon 41). In *Phenomenology of Perception*, Merleau-Ponty insisted that the body operates as a knowing subject not strictly through cognition, but also by bodily or habitual knowledge that operates below the level of consciousness. The body-subject, then, responds habitually to the external world, but also has “some ability to adapt creatively to new situations” (Seamon 49).

According to Seamon, bodies perform body-ballets, which are the series of habitual

movements that allow “everyday behaviours” to “proceed smoothly and automatically” (54). These are then incorporated into what he calls space-time routines, or an individual’s routine practice of waking up at a certain hour, getting dressed, eating breakfast, leaving for work on time, etc. And finally, Seamon suggests that when the space-time routines of various individuals collide in public spaces, they form larger place ballets, which ultimately contribute to fostering a shared sense of place. As Seamon writes,

People come together in time and space as each individual is involved in his or her own time-space routines and body ballets. People recognize each other and partake in conversation. Spaces of activity take on a sense of place that each person does his or her small part in creating and sustaining. These places are more than locations and spaces to be traversed. Each comes to house a dynamism which has arisen naturally without directed intervention. (59)

It is clear that today mobile phones play a large role in many individuals’ “space-time routines” or the “place ballets” performed in urban spaces. However, as Shawn Moores has pointed out, in *A Geography of the Lifeworld* Seamon perpetuates a distrust of media and forms of mass communication. Perhaps it is easy to understand why, given the previous excerpt. In it, Seamon seems to imply a kind of utopian collective action; an ordered, synchronized machine of various bodies coming together, moving individually, yet in harmony. It could be that the use of a mobile phone would take an individual away from his or her commitment to the performance, or out of the dance so to speak.

From Non-Place to Hybrid Space

Critiques of mobile telephones often draw on the idea that the technology distracts people from

being in place. In his analysis of *glocality*, or the growing ways that network connectivity reframes our daily experience of the local in a global context, Joshua Meyrowitz suggests that “the more our sense of self and experience is linked to interactions through media, the more our physical locales become the backdrops for these other experiences rather than our full life space” (26-27). Similarly, Marc Augé’s contested theory of non-places claims that developments in transportation and communication technologies have led to the proliferation of transient, liminal places devoid of human relationality and history. These non-places, Augé writes, are characterized by “the fleeting, the temporary and ephemeral” (78). A characteristic of many of these critiques is the similar notion that when we lose this sense of place we lose our sense of self, or that technology impedes traditional, authentic attachments to place which cause individuals to lose an authentic sense of self. However, these theories do not account for how mobile individuals create connections with, or relate to, non-places. In some cases, they falsely assume that an identity not directly tied to local attachments is less authentic. Even Meyrowitz recognizes that in glocalities, network connectivity “affords the possibility of [individuals] having multiple, multi-layered, fluid and endlessly adjustable senses of identity. Rather than needing to choose between local, place-defined identities and more distant ones, we can have them all, not just in rapid sequence, but in *overlapping experiences*” (23; emphasis added). The idea of overlapping calls to mind the temporal layering of cultural memory apps that allow the user to engage with the past of a place. But on a personal level, this overlapping is what allows individuals to, as Meyrowitz claims, “come to live in places without ever fully integrating into the place-defined community . . . or exit places psychologically without ever leaving them physically, such as when we leapfrog over potential ‘significant others’ in the locality to find more distant self-mirrors who are more to our liking” (27).

Despite the fact that Meyrowitz's examples seem to eschew the local for alternate means of identity formation, this concept, as his term glocality suggests, is predicated on the local, even as it attempts to move beyond it. He notes, "As I have argued elsewhere, electronic media lead to dissociation between physical space and social place. Yet in many ways, electronic media also foster greater emotional attachments to place. . . . Now that a move from one locality to another has a diminished impact on our networks of contacts with other people and places, we can choose our localities and react to them in terms of variables such as weather, architecture, quality of schools (etc.);" (25-26). Therefore, his suggestion of individuals "leapfrogging" over local attachments to place in identity formation does not necessarily eliminate all local senses of place and can, in fact, help individuals form stronger senses of self, or ones that are layered and more nuanced.

Again, Seamon does not explicitly dwell on technology, and certainly was not thinking about mobile phones when *A Geography of the Lifeworld* was written in 1979. But, as Shaun Moores has noted, Seamon "was generally suspicious of developments in 'mass communication'" (par. 6). This is a claim that Seamon directly refutes in "A Geography of the Lifeworld in Retrospect: A Response to Shaun Moores," where he reiterates that his original "larger point . . . was that rapid societal and technological changes—increasing ever faster today—allow people to become free of the habitual embodiment to place that, before developments in modern transportation and communication, had always been an integral part of human life everywhere" (5). Still, Seamon seems to perpetuate a distrust of technology, even in his attempt to prove otherwise, in his insistence that developments in technology detract from an authentic experience of place, something that was once an integral part of life. Here any form of technological mediation is thought to create distance that ultimately leads to

disjuncture, or detracts from the intimate and immediate encounters that both Edward Relph, as discussed in the previous chapter, and Seamon see as central to placemaking practices.

However, the notion of the body-subject being in the world does not necessarily have to be antithetical to technology. Scholars including Shaun Moores and Iain Sutherland have looked for ways in which Seamon's phenomenology can exist productively with the growing presence of mass communication technologies in daily life. Sutherland suggests that Seamon's interest in the body-subject "is useful in conceptualizing the role of contemporary mobile communications systems because the latter are now so ubiquitous—and hence mundane, that they are submerged beneath, and at the same time, utterly integral to, the regimes of movement, interaction and perception that characterize everyday life in contemporary Western societies" (158). In other words, Sutherland sees technology, and mobile technologies specifically by their very ubiquity, as a key part of the "phenomenological process by which anonymous space is transformed into familiar and meaningful place" (Sutherland 158).

It is not that individuals are necessarily detaching from place, but that developments in mobile communication technology shift how individuals interact with places. So when Meyrowitz discusses the ways in which the glocality allows individuals to link their identities to things not within physical places, we can understand this as the result of a transforming relationship to place, rather than as a loss of authentic attachments to place. As Adriana de Souza e Silva suggests, "What we learn about mobile communication technologies is that they simultaneously change our communication patterns and also transform our relationship to space. Therefore, there is no point in discussing whether cell phones take us out of physical space or promote sociability among nearby users, because the space in which communication happens . . . is hybrid" (30). When we account for these spaces as *hybrid*, as de Souza e Silva

does, we take the focus away from the parochial idea of “authentic” place experience, and debunk the notion that mobility mitigates against a sense of place.

The idea of authentic experiences of place sets the notion of unmediated and intimate place-based experiences against the larger context of the global, where local attachments to place are lost at the expense of global connectivity. But as de Souza e Silva notes, it is not necessarily a binary, where the physical is set in opposition to the virtual. Rather, “a hybrid space encompasses both instances in one, enfolding context and connecting people who are distant and close” (30). This notion of enfolding context is key to understanding experiences of place alongside mobile technologies. Enfolding contexts suggests that the virtual does not operate as a layer that floats over the “real world,” rather our everyday place-based interactions are increasingly the result of the interaction between the two. In the previous chapter I refer to this as toggling. Moreover, understanding these experiences as enfolding contexts reinforces the importance of the local and of place itself (as other mobile technology scholars, including Mizuko Ito, have indicated). In other words, the mobility of the cell phone insists upon the importance of location through the fact that its very nature allows the user to communicate beyond his or her proximity. As de Souza e Silva argues, the mobile device is “necessarily embedded in the environment and part of other contexts” (33). We understand that we are communicating with someone over *there* precisely because we are *here*. There are similarities here to de Certeau’s understanding of walking as a process of appropriation (that is, one that assumes an “I”) that brings places together, but can also hold them apart:

To the fact that the adverbs *here* and *there* are the indicators of the locutionary seat in verbal communication . . . we must add that this location (*here—there*) (necessarily

implied by walking and indicative of a present appropriation of space by an “I”) also has the function of introducing an other in relation to this “I” and of thus establishing a conjunctive and disjunctive articulation of places. (de Certeau 99)

The use of mobile phones in everyday places allows us to hold here and there simultaneously—creating what de Souza e Silva calls “a culture ‘in between’”—but still reinforces the situatedness of the embodied subject (33).

When we focus on enfolding contexts we recognize the importance of the individual’s embodied experience, and we resist the tendency in much discourse on technology to try and move beyond the body. Sutherland argues for the importance of connecting the notion of enfolding contexts to phenomenology as in doing so we account for “the ways in which both body and technology are enfolded into rhythmic processes of establishing an everyday familiarity with place and at the same time maintaining a degree of unexpectedness. By highlighting these rhythms, a more nuanced account of the role of technologies in formulating experience is developed” (158). The body is still crucial to these communications, particularly because, as de Souza e Silva indicates, “mobile phones . . . have no fixed location” and “as a result, fixed telephones and the Internet connect people in virtual space, cell phones bring this virtual conversation place into physical space,” making “the users . . . the moving network nodes” (33). This is the cultural transformation that Eric Gordon and de Souza e Silva have termed the “net locality,” or the new framework through which individuals come to experience place via their mobile, location-aware devices (89).

The problem, then, lies in a failure to recognize how our spaces are hybrid and how we connect to places in new and different ways but still form connections nonetheless. In her study of mobile phone use, Mizuko Ito notes that more than simply taking individuals out of a

place, mobile phones “set up new manners and ways of being together” (3). Some of these changes include the convenience of being able to notify one’s partner if one is running late for an appointment. Ito refers to this as “show[ing] up” in virtual space, before arriving physically (2). Additionally, mobile phones extend the duration of contact that occurs during “a gathering” beyond the face-to-face encounter, where exchanges often continue via text message, as friends depart from each other and go their separate ways (Ito 3). And finally, Ito notes that groups of young people often communicate with friends who are not present via the mobile phone as much as they communicate with those who are (Ito 2). All of these uses, she concludes, form “the new senses of place being constructed as a hybrid between co-located and remote social contact” (Ito 3). This is often criticized as an “always on” mentality, something that many have cited as a drawback to the ubiquity of the mobile phone, where individuals are “always in social contact even when alone” (Ito 3). But as Ito also notes, this creates an environment where “urban space . . . become[s] highly personalized, [and] no longer a site of anonymity” (3). This claim is particularly interesting in that it expresses a decided contrast to theories of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century modern metropolitan subject, specifically those of Georg Simmel who felt that the increase in population and technological mediation in urban centres were creating conditions of anonymity.

The echoes of Simmel serve as a reminder that although the mobile phone provides its own set of unique changes to how an individual experiences urban space, new technologies have always prompted a shift in how individuals interact with places. Writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, Simmel observed that the over- stimulation of urban life forced individuals to disconnect by adopting a blasé attitude. The blasé attitude functioned as a coping mechanism, where the only way to survive or make sense of a city

that was so full of people and technological stimulants was to disconnect from the multitude. This new “metropolitan type . . . creates a protective organ for itself against the profound disruption with which the fluctuations and discontinuities of the external milieu threaten it. Instead of reacting emotionally, the metropolitan type reacts primarily in a rational manner” (Simmel, “The Metropolis” 68). Gordon and de Souza e Silva have extrapolated on the relevance of Simmel’s concept of the blasé in today’s networked society. They argue that “there is no doubt the blasé attitude still exists—people place limits on what they take in through their senses. . . . and they employ new technologies to assist in that filtering. . . . As more of the world’s information is available online, it is possible for people to outsource some of that filtering to their mobile and location-aware devices” (Gordon and de Souza e Silva 92). However, to position the mobile phone as something that assists in filtering, similar to the blasé attitude, is somewhat problematic in that, as Gordon and de Souza e Silva also recognize, while the phone assists in filtering, it creates more information to be filtered (92). In other words, it functions as a mechanism for over-stimulation as much as it prompts a detachment from the “real world.” If anything, the mobile phone causes individuals to lose the sense of anonymity that Simmel found in the crowded metropolis, as Ito suggests, as the notion of being “lost in the crowd” becomes less likely in our present age of digital surveillance and the automatic location-awareness used in mobile phones and most mobile apps. For Simmel, freedom came from the anonymity created by the metropolis, where the individual was no longer required to adhere to the limited expectations of a small circle. Today’s mobile freedom comes from the excessive personalization of public spaces, of carrying one’s intimate relations in one’s pocket, or in the palm of one’s hand. It is with these new forms of personalization and sociability in mind that I turn to an example of site-

specific theatre that uses the mobile phone to explore the ways in which technology is implicated in the process of making urban places meaningful.

Performing Virtual Intimacy in *LANDLINE*

LANDLINE, a site-specific performance created by Adrienne Wong and Dustin Harvey, draws attention (at times purposefully and at times unconsciously) to the dynamic forms of sociability that mobile phones create in public spaces. At least, this is what the show seems to do on a micro-level. The creative impetus for the performance was much more far reaching, with Wong and Harvey desiring to create “a show that spanned the nation” (“*LANDLINE*”). As its promotional material indicates, “Inspired by the immensity of Canada and the way we use technology to break down that space, *LANDLINE* collapses distance between two strangers in real time” (“*LANDLINE*”). It is in this sense that the performance plays with the macro- and micro-level connections we make between places and people through the mobile phone.

LANDLINE is structured around two geographically disparate cities that are “synced” via the performance. The majority of the performances have taken place within Canada, with past pairings including Vancouver to Halifax, Ottawa to Dartmouth, Ottawa to Whitehorse, and one international pairing of Halifax to Cardiff, Wales. The show is interactive, as individuals sign up to participate in the performance. Described as “part radio play, part walking tour, [the participant is part of] the audience, but . . . also the actor” (“*LANDLINE*”). Each participant is given an iPod that serves as an audio guide and a telephone number, which she is asked to input into her own cell phone. The phone number belongs to another participant in the corresponding city, with this person acting as the participant’s scene partner. Together, their text message conversation becomes the improvised content that makes up the performance. In

this way, the participant is framed not only as audience and actor but also user, for although the individual is engaged with her scene partner, it is her isolated interaction with the object of the mobile phone, the network, and her surrounding city space that lies at the heart of the performance experience. The performance prompts connections between the individual and the external/built environment, between her current place and memories of people and places from her past, and between her and her distant scene partner. And within all of these connections, it plays further with the relationships between past/present, here/there, public/private that are enhanced and at times challenged by the mobile phone. In doing so, *LANDLINE* considers how relationships are cultivated or influenced not only by technology, but by city space, highlighting how the two are linked and how our experiences of cities are mediated by technology, but also already by memories of place.

The experience begins as a *dérive*, a walking exercise developed by the Situationists, namely Guy Debord, that stems from the concept of psychogeography, where “one or more persons during a certain period drop their relations, their work and leisure activities, and all their other motives for movement and action, and let themselves be drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters they find there” (Debord 62). The audio guide instructs the participant to “enter the city and start walking” allowing herself to be guided by curiosity or desire, rather than purpose: “Take this street until something pulls you in a different direction. For the purposes of this exercise, drop whatever your usual motives are for walking about this place. Allow yourself to simply drift. Obey your instincts. Follow the most inviting path” (Harvey and Wong 70). In doing so, the performance attempts to defamiliarize the participant’s experience of her city, by stripping away her habitual, routine, or preconceived ways of moving through that space.

The audio guide then asks the participant to “Notice the structures, the buildings. Does the light reflect off them in a certain way? Observe the city as if you were seeing it for the first time. At moments during your adventure, I will ask you to stop and find a location for a scene. There are no wrong or right answers, only choices you make” (Harvey and Wong 71). Through these directives, *LANDLINE* calls attention to the evolution of attachments to place, or rather indicates that attachments to place are never fixed or stable. By calling attention to the idea that one can view the city in different ways, and that familiarity breeds a limited perspective of the city, the performance emphasizes that our connections to space are deeply affective, and thereby multifarious and complex. As Chris Eaket has written about the *dérive*,

Our everyday experience of the city corresponds to a linear text, “locked into” certain paths and static narrative trajectories. Psychogeography, on the other hand (and particularly the *dérive*), works to break up linear pedestrian activities so that they resemble something more like itinerant hypertext laid out atop the city. Each node has multiple points of entry and exit, and the order in which we explore them affects the overall meaning that we accord the experience. (46)

The *dérive* moves us further away from David Seamon’s phenomenology of place and his concepts of time-space routine and body ballet, by emphasizing the importance of breaking out of habitual experiences of place in order to open up their interpretive possibilities and to account for more diverse ways in and through space.

Ultimately, it is through the *dérive* that the *LANDLINE* participant’s embodied experience is foregrounded in the relationship between place (or external milieu) and the experiencing subject. The performance then builds on this phenomenologically engaged subject by adding experiential layers, first of memory and then technology (through interactions with

the distant scene partner). After drawing her attention to the city space, the audio guide prompts the user to explore her own memories and feelings within the city. The first of these relates to an old friend. The guide instructs the user to “find a location that reminds you of an old friend. The answer may be obvious and you may see a place right away. On the other hand, you may have to ask yourself, what is it about this place that reminds me of someone I know. You have one minute, so act quickly. When you are happy with your spot, simply stand by” (Harvey and Wong 71). Although *LANDLINE* is interested in dissecting the ways in which individuals create intimacy in public spaces through technology, specifically by playing with how the mobile phone challenges concepts of co-presence and anonymity, it begins this exploration without the integration of technology, but rather with memory. The guide then asks the participant to

Observe the place you’ve chosen for the first rendezvous. Look behind you. Imagine that person you miss standing there. Wave to them as if they are walking up to you. (*Three-second pause.*) I understand this will be hard at first. You may think you are alone. Or maybe you feel a little anxious because nobody is waving back. Imagine them waving back at you. Or what if I told you there is a person 5,725 km away from you right now, and despite all that distance, the two of you are engaged in the same activity. You are together. You are both waving. You can take my word for it, or you can check right now by texting a message to the number you were given. If you trust me, no need to text, but we can wait a moment to see if your scene partner shares your sense of trust. (*Six-second pause.*) (*Music in.*) Right now they are looking at their phone. (Harvey and Wong 71)

In asking the participant to find a space that reminds her of an old friend, the audio guide calls

attention to the ways in which memory always already mediates one's experience of place and, in some ways, already blurs the line between public and private. The blurring of this line is not necessarily easy or comfortable, as the guide's instructions to the participant to wave to an imaginary friend who is not co-present indicates. Although high-traffic public areas may allow for a gesture like this to go unnoticed, there is still a sense of discomfort that the command generates for the participant. However, a greeting or interaction carried through the mobile phone between an individual and a non-physically co-present recipient does not elicit the same level of discomfort or apprehension, despite the fact that it is still embodied, as the body adopts specific postures or behaviours when interacting with the mobile phone in public space. By juxtaposing the connection to the phone and the scene partner, the performance reinforces the ways in which technology also breaks down these distinctions, but perhaps when mediated by the mobile phone the line between here and there, present and absent is more easily accepted as blurred. When the guide calls attention to the body of the other individual, looking at their phone, following the same commands as you, it reinforces this disparity.

But memory already circulates in and through places, collapsing notions of here/there and present/absent, or present/past. Personal memories manifest themselves in public places, and this relationship between memory and place is unique but also reproducible. In other words, place memories can be both a product of, and extend beyond, the physical environment. A physical environment can conjure memories of events that happened *in situ*, but memories can also be transposed on a site, even if it did not take place there, or even if the physical site and the memory are disparate, making place memories as much specific as they are generic. This is, in part, a result of the relationship between affects and place. Affects are the absorbed stimuli from the world that are first felt on the body before even being registered into consciousness.

Brian Massumi describes affect as an overflow of intensity that occurs in a “half-second lapse between the beginning of a bodily event and its completion in an outwardly directed, active expression” (90). As he explains, “The half-second is missed not because it is empty, but because it is overfull, in excess of the actually performed action and of its ascribed meaning. Will and consciousness are *subtractive*. They are *limitative, derived functions* which reduce a complexity too rich to be functionally expressed” (90). It is through the brain’s preservation of traces of past contexts that affects are consciously ordered and recognized as emotion.

In this way, affect follows its own order. It is “the expression *event*,” a space of multiplicity and intensity, as opposed to the structured nature of language (Massumi 87). As Massumi indicates, “Structure is the place where nothing ever happens, that explanatory heaven in which all eventual permutations are prefigured in a self-consistent set of invariant generative rules. Nothing is prefigured in the event. It is the collapse of structured distinction into intensity, of rules into paradox” (87). For Massumi, affects are autonomous because of their openness:

Affect is autonomous to the degree to which it escapes confinement in the particular body whose vitality, or potential for interaction, it is. Formed, qualified, situated perceptions and cognitions fulfilling functions of actual connection or blockage are the *capture* and closure of affect. Emotion is the interest (most contracted) expression of that capture—and of the fact that something has always and again escaped. (96)

Similarly, Edward Casey has described place as “eventmental” (336). It is the “eventmental power of place” that allows it “to be recognized as an undelimited, detotalized expansiveness, resonating regionally throughout the unknown as well as the known universe” (336). As such, place is “something in process, something unconfined to a thing” (337). For this reason,

Casey concludes that “there is no simple origin or telos of place: no definitive beginning or ending of the matter. The primacy of place is not that of *the* place, much less of *this* place or *a* place (not even a very special place)—all these locutions imply place-as-simple-presence—but that of being an event capable of implacing things in many complex manners and to many complex effects” (337).

It is the eventmental nature of both affect and place that allows for the circulation of memory among disparate places. And it is the autonomy of affect, or the fact that affects do not reside *in* the body, but rather exist through the “circulation between objects and signs” that allows us to write and rewrite our attachments to place (Ahmed 45). This is both an individual and social enterprise. As Teresa Brennan has noted, in her exploration of what she termed “the transmission of affect...the emotions or affects of one person, and the enhancing or depressing energies these affects entail, can enter into another” (3). For Brennan, affects were characteristically social, coming not only from “within a particular person, but also...from without. They come via an interaction with other people and an environment. But they have a physiological impact” (3). Erin Hurley and Sarah Warner have similarly argued for the inherently social aspects of affects, as “their circulation constitutes their social, public life and knits subjects into that web of relations. It is in this sense,” they explain, “that ‘affect,’ in Deluzian thought, is ‘trans- personal’” (105). *LANDLINE* plays with the trans-personal nature of affects by using them as a springboard for the kinds of remote intimacy it attempts to foster through the mobile phone interaction between its participants.

Act One begins, with the user being prompted to begin a conversation with her scene-partner:

Introduce yourself. Text the number you were given at the beginning. Give yourself a

name, and describe yourself. (*Fifty-second pause.*) You have thirty seconds. Fill the time with words. (*Thirty-second pause.*) Describe the location you are standing in and what it is about your friend that caused you to pick this location. (*Twenty-five second pause.*) You have one minute to complete this task. (Harvey and Wong 72)

Some of the memories that were shared during this exchange have been transcribed and include conversations about deceased friends, ex-boyfriends, and old roommates. It is interesting to note that at this point in the performance the participant has only been briefly introduced to her scene partner, who remains a stranger, yet this first exchange is, for many, a deeply personal memory situated around loss. This immediate jump to deep intimacy could spring from the freedom of perceived anonymity, or it may be a result of the affective nature of our relationship to our mobile phones. As Amparo Lasen has argued, “[Mobile phone] users enjoy an affective relationship with their phones and feel attached to them. This is partly due to the intrinsic affective character of human communication, and also because mobile phones are close to the body” (1). The mobile phone becomes a tool for the maintenance and development of relationships, both professional and personal as through it one can communicate with colleagues or loved ones through email or text, voice call, or FaceTime, which creates a sense of limitless contact with other networked individuals. Moreover, the ease with which individuals exchange messages through these forms makes them a large part of an individual’s daily communication. As Lasen notes, “They are an extension of the human body at the same time that they extend and augment its abilities” (1).

In other words, by always being at hand, mobile phones augment the individual’s ability to communicate, as well as remember, gather, and produce information. The ubiquity of the mobile phone and its impact on daily life and communication positions it as one of the

largest single sources of daily affective encounters for many individuals, playing an important role in how individuals form and maintain communities. Moreover, as affects circulate through our mobile phone interactions, they also have a tendency to linger or create a lasting effect on the individual's affective experience of a place, even after a mobile conversation has ended. Whether we continue to smile after a pleasant conversation, or cry from receiving bad news, mobile phone exchanges have a tendency to penetrate into one's embodied experience of a place or, as Lasen notes, provide another example of "how mobile phone users influence the mood of the place where they are, adding mystery and diversion to the normal patterns of perceiving and behaving [in public space]" (4). With *LANDLINE* the influence extends to a new place memory for the participant, as the interaction with the scene partner, and the sharing of a memory, expands the connections between a story and a specific place, particularly when the story and the place are only made part of one's locale through the connectivity of the mobile phone. The stories from one's distant scene partner have the potential to become embedded into her physical locale via the network. Moreover, because of the transmission of affect, these stories can also become highly personalized, for as Brennan explains, "Even if I am picking up on your affect, the linguistic and visual content, meaning and thoughts I attach to that affect remain my own: they remain the product of the particular historical conjunction of words and experiences I represent" (6-7).

However, even though we come to deeply trust our mobile devices as a carrier of affect attachments and as a source not only of communication but information, it would be wrong to suppose that we automatically trust our scene partner. In other words, presence, or co-presence, and intimacy are not the same thing. Although one can feel co-present to a distant partner, this does not necessarily make the connection intimate. The formation of trust

is not necessarily easy because of the digital gap, or the room that the network creates for an individual to adopt online persona. This can be explored by returning to early experiences of technology and urban space, specifically through the work of Simmel. For Simmel, the metropolis changed the very nature of relationships. They became what he termed “intellectual,” meaning detached, professional, and obligatory, with individuals circulating through them in a manner that mimics “the circulation of money and commodities themselves” (Leach 63). This is an instance of how, for Simmel, the city—as a product of new technologies—creates new forms of sociability, or we could say anti-sociability in the form of the reserve. He notes that the individual’s

Self-preservation in the face of the great city requires of him a no less negative type of social conduct. The mental attitude of the people of the metropolis to one another may be designated formally as one of reserve. If the unceasing external contact of numbers of persons in the city should be met by the same number of inner reactions as in the small town, in which one knows almost every person he meets and to each of whom he has a positive relationship, one would be completely atomized internally and would fall into an unthinkable mental condition. (Simmel, “The Metropolis” 71)

Simmel’s intellectual/emotional division aside, his analysis of the over-stimulated urban individual raises an important question: Do the technologically driven interactions that individuals carry out today through various mobile social media platforms, including Twitter, Facebook, texting, etc., mimic the detachment that Simmel is talking about here? It is, as Simmel notes of the larger number of city acquaintances, not only unlikely but impossible to have intimate, or we could say “small town,” relationships with each of these online “friends.” *LANDLINE* works in contrast to this by attempting to forge intimate relationships with

disparate strangers. But, at the same time, the protocols of text-based (or online) conversations always leave room for distance. Even the audio command to introduce yourself to your scene partner: “Give yourself a name, and describe yourself” leaves room for invention and ambiguity (Harvey and Wong 72).

In *The Problem of Style*, published five years after *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, Simmel continues to explore an individual’s need for anonymity in the metropolis, this time linking it to what he termed the “exaggerated subjectivism of the times” (69). He believed that people adopted or conformed to mass trends as a way to preserve a sense of individuality. He claimed, “What drives modern man so strongly to style is the unburdening and concealment of the personal, which is the essence of style. Subjectivism and individuality have intensified to breaking-point, and in the stylized designs, from those of behavior to those of home furnishing[,] there is a mitigation and a toning down of this acute personality to a generality and its law” (Simmel 69). Fashionable behaviours and commodities were adopted by the individual, not as a means of expressing a sense of self, but in order to preserve it, or keep it private. As John Allen notes, “It is a peculiarly urban strategy of distancing: a public display of conformity which is utterly personal, yet at the same time, hides a deeply private life” (62).

This perspective resonates with the ways in which individuals adopt, or carve out, social identities through networked media. Applications like Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook all necessitate conforming to the demands or aesthetics of the platform in order to create a social identity. The practices of tagging, whether individuals, places, or hashtags, is an example of a standard that individuals adopt *in order to* express themselves on social media that we might say take us further away from individuality or subjectivity, as their use is the result of conforming to the new social norms of the network. For example, the way individuals

take pictures with their smartphones is an instance of the new stylistic practices individuals adopt that may take us further away from subjective expression. The practice of taking and sharing photographs changes with the standards of social media platforms. As de Souza e Silva notes, prior to mobile phones with integrated cameras, “one would take a picture in order to remember a place or a person. Today, with digital mobile images, taking a picture is a means of commenting on the present and creating sociability,” with the recipient usually responds with another picture (de Souza e Silva 37-38). Similarly, Gordon and de Souza have outlined the practices of performing one’s presence in urban space in their analysis of “the location-based social network, *Foursquare* . . . [which] is built on small performances. When a user checks in to a location with their location-aware mobile device, they are announcing their presence in that location” in an act that anticipates an audience, or an individual or individuals who will receive that information (99). Not only do mobile apps structure our experience of urban space, they also create expectations of how one acts, both in physical space, and in virtual space, by ‘showing up’ through a location-based post.

With *LANDLINE*, the kinds of social interactions it prompts also take their cues from social and mobile media protocols, particularly because the two “performers” are strangers. In my own experience of participating in *LANDLINE* from Ottawa to Whitehorse, my “scene partner,” when asked to introduce himself, gave the name Trapeze Man, while I gave my real name. Additionally, he insisted on sharing real-time photographs of his location, something that would be considered “off script,” as we were not prompted to do so, but my reaction to this spontaneous exchange was, naturally, to send back pictures of my location. Behaviours that, once again, were prompted, not necessarily by the script, but by our socialization to the conditions of mobile media exchange.

Because of this, *LANDLINE* employs other means of building trust and feelings of co-presence between its participants, as this is not something that occurs “naturally” through network connectivity. The first is through the use of “field recordings” and the second is through intermittent “confessions.” The field recording is an interjection of sounds from the opposing city that the participant is invited to listen in on in order to draw parallels between her location and that of her scene partner. In the Vancouver to Halifax portion, the participant hears a woman explaining to a silent companion what she sees on a beach. Placed in the position of eavesdropper, the *LANDLINE* participant is asked to listen carefully to the recording and “pick out what is the same and what is different” to her current location (Harvey and Wong 73). In listening to the recording, the participant may pick up on the sound of waves lapping, gulls flying overhead, and the distant sound of traffic, including a police siren. These sounds are overlaid by the woman’s description of her location:

Hi, it’s me again. Um . . . I was just walking up the sand and [. . .] I just noticed all these footprints. There’s, uh . . . I saw my own. And then there’s just this tiny little set of footprints. It looks like it was running. A larger set that’s walking up. A happy face that’s drawn in the sand. (*Laughing.*) It looks like some dog was here and caught a ball, and . . . people are walking in any number of directions. There’s some more dog prints. . . . (Harvey and Wong 73)

This interjection of a local soundscape is reminiscent of the quintessential Canadian example of field recordings from R. Murray Schafer’s World Soundscape Project, and particularly the series *Soundscapes of Canada* created for the CBC radio program *Ideas* in 1974.

Soundscapes of Canada consisted of a series of recordings carried out by Schafer and his team of locations across Canada that attempted to capture and identify different geographic

regions based on keynote sounds, or what they called soundmarks (“Soundscapes of Canada”). Among other things, the project demonstrated a concern with how sounds generate (or contribute to) an individual’s sense of place in primarily two ways: the first was through the project’s interest in the historicity of sounds, in other words, understanding sounds in the context of their place in a temporal narrative of history and/or culture. The second was through the project’s interest in acoustic balance. According to Schafer, humans are sound-makers and therefore have an impact on the sounds in their environment. The soundscape is created through an ongoing exchange or negotiation between the social, technological, and natural conditions of the area. One of the objectives of soundscape ecology is the desire to maintain an acoustic balance within the sonic environment: that is, to maintain a balance between sounds that are produced and sounds that are heard by an individual.

For Schafer and his team, increasing developments in technology were critically damaging the acoustic shape of cities, both large and small, bringing us further away from a ‘natural’ acoustic state, and posing what he saw as serious risks to individual subjectivity, particularly if one’s position as a ‘sounding subject’ was threatened or overwhelmed by the sounds of technology. Frederic Jameson’s subsequent concept of “postmodern hyperspace” elaborates on this perspective. Jameson felt that postmodern architecture or postmodern space created an “alarming disjunction . . . between the body and its built environment” because its expansive spatiality (or infinite spatial possibilities) “transcend[s] the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself, to organize its immediate surroundings perceptually, and cognitively to map its position in a mappable external world” (44). And he attributed this disconnection between the body and the built environment as “the symbol and analogy of that even sharper dilemma which is the incapacity of our minds, at least at present, to map the

great global multinational and decentred communicational network in which we find ourselves caught as individual subjects” (44).

However, *LANDLINE*'s use of the field recording poses a challenge to both Schafer's acoustic ecology and Jameson's concept of postmodern hyperspace by insisting that global connectivity does not, in fact, displace the local, but it is through the hybrid relationship between local and networked attachments that individuals foster a sense of place.⁵ In other words, in its attempt to explore networked connections between geographically disparate places, *LANDLINE* does not eschew the importance of the local or local attachments. When the guide asks the participant if she can discern any environmental sounds that are familiar or that are different after listening to the field recording, it prompts the user to think about difference, despite the fact that she might recognize familiar sounds. The guide continues to mix similarities and differences by remarking,

390,328 people live in Halifax. We call ourselves Haligonians. In Metro Vancouver alone there are 2,476,145 Vancouverites. Together Haligonians and Vancouverites make up almost 8 per cent of Canada. That is nearly 0.04 per cent of all the people on earth. Together we're like a needle in a haystack. Think about this place you are in and what you know about Vancouver. Have you ever been to that city? Would you like to? (*Field recording fades out.*). (73)

These observations draw explicit attention to the fact that here is not there, simply in asking the question, What do you know about that place? or Have you ever been there? But at the

⁵ See also Stephen Kennedy's discussion of "acoustic space," which positions digital space as hybrid, multi-sensorial, and immersive.

same time, it also incorporates a leveling global perspective, where differences are collapsed and we become needles in a haystack. It is in this way that *LANDLINE* reinforces our experience of place, and our networked relationships to distant others or places more broadly, as comprised both of imagination and memory.⁶ In the face of “postmodern hyperspace,” *LANDLINE* suggests that global connectivity does not displace the local, but that the two exist in a dialectic relationship. The content of this particular field recording reinforces this, as the woman’s discussion of footprints, and the absent presences they conjure, is reminiscent of de Certeau and the space he carved out for the moving subject (specifically the walker) as a practitioner whose movements weave fragments of spatial experience together to constitute an overall sense of place. For de Certeau, footsteps

Are myriad, but do not compose a series. They cannot be counted because each unit has a qualitative character: a style of tactile apprehension and kinesthetic appropriation.

Their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities. Their intertwined

⁶ In my own experience of participating in *LANDLINE*, the exchange of pictures taken in the moment in our respective locations, initiated by my scene partner, in some way detracted from the greater exercise of imagining distant locales that is a central component of *LANDLINE*. Maybe this suggests that we still rush to the dominant mode of the visual in information transmission, which as Mark Paterson has discussed in *The Senses of Touch: Haptics, Affects, and Technologies* is historically and repeatedly privileged over the haptic and the aural. And although media scholars try to foreground the haptic and the aural encounters afforded through mobile phone interaction as opening up other immersive possibilities, the visual still dominates, particularly as it is clearly a habitual part of mobile sociability.

paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together. In that respect, pedestrian movements form one of these ‘real systems whose existence in fact makes up the city.’

They are not localized; it is rather they that spatialize. (97)

It is the footsteps that make place. As Casey suggests, places exist in process, they are not pre-determined but are, rather, the piecing together of fragmentary embodied experiences of place. This was one of the problems with the World Soundscapes Project. It was based on an idyllic sense of place that an individual could try and return to with the right utopic balance. But when people as noise producers are removed or restricted, we lose the practitioner, the very thing that structures place and endows it with meaning.

LANDLINE also aims to cultivate a sense of trust and intimacy between the two participants through the injection of “Confessions.” These are anonymous, pre-recorded stories that punctuate one’s walk. For example, early on in the performance the listener hears the first anonymous confession:

Sometimes, at night, I like to turn on the lights and leave the blinds open. My apartment becomes a light box, visible to my neighbours across the way. And as I go about my business, I wonder what they think of my actions, the pajamas I’ve chosen, the state of my kitchen, how I can get my heels right down to the floor in downward dog. When I look out my window I see there is no one looking. No one sees me or my yoga moves. My neighbours are so accustomed to our proximity that averting the gaze is second nature for them. Either that or I’m not very interesting. (Harvey and Wong 71)

This specific confession calls attention to the public/private, inside/outside binaries that the mobile phone blurs. In one sense, these confessions become a way to prompt feelings of intimacy for the user. More specifically, they become the rhetorical gestures that *LANDLINE*

makes use of to create conditions of intimacy and co-presence.

This can be better understood through the framework of the rhetoric of co-presence used in the history of epistolary communication, as laid out by Esther Milne. The notions of telepresence and co-presence are not just the result of digital technologies. In “‘Magic Bits of Paste-Board:’ Texting in the Nineteenth Century,” Milne considers the long history of telepresence in her analysis of the eighteenth century visiting card and the nineteenth century *carte-de-visite* as precursors of the kind of text-based co-presence created by the mobile phone. Milne defines telepresence as “the degree to which geographically dispersed agents express a sense of physical and/or psychological proximity through the use of particular communication technologies” (par. 4). As such, she understands the visiting card to be an aspect of “analogue textual culture [that] function[ed] as avatars of corporeality and presence” (par. 12). As Milne explains, “Like many of the media forms they anticipate, visiting cards were used to stand in for the corporeal presence of their authors” (“Magic Bits” par. 4). Thought of in this way, it is clear that questions of public/private, proximity/distance, and presence/absence that mobile media engender are not unique to mobile phones, but as Milne demonstrates with the visiting card, and with her additional, more extensive study of letters, postcards, and email, these concerns predate our contemporary telepresent encounters. As Larissa Hjorth explains in her study, following Milne, of the connection between the postcard and mobile phone messaging, antecedent forms of telepresence communication constitute “a socio-spatial epoch marked by reframing gestures of intimacy through revisions of what constitute place and thus the practice of co-presence” (par. 14).

Milne’s study of antecedent forms of mobile communication offers an insightful

framework for thinking about the kinds of intimacy and feelings of co-presence that the mobile phone creates, and that *LANDLINE* seeks to highlight. Most significantly, her work in *Letters, Postcards, Email: Technologies of Presence* draws attention to the fact that the notion of presence “depends on the complex interaction between cultural practices and technological infrastructure” and is created by “rhetorical strategies and effects such as intimacy, immediacy, spontaneity and disembodiment” (2, 9). She clarifies that although it may at first seem counter-intuitive, disembodiment is a key factor in creating intimacy in epistolary correspondence, as it is through rhetorical gestures towards disembodiment, or the imagined presence of the correspondent’s necessarily absent body, that creates “a fantasy of bodily proximity or presence” for the writer and recipient (Milne, *Letters* 9). As she explains, “one way to achieve a sense of presence is to eclipse or ‘disembody’ the material system through which one communicates. When communication seems unmediated, the subject may sense a psychological closeness to or intimacy with her interlocutor” (Milne, *Letters* 2). Moreover, it is precisely the physical absence of the correspondent that “provides both the impetus and the ‘material’ for a range of strategies, language uses and technological functions aimed at creating an imagined sense of presence” (Milne, *Letters* 14). As Milne goes on to note, “References to the physical body, to the scene of writing, to the place where the letter is received or to postal technology are often used by letter writers to convey and invoke a sense of immediacy, intimacy, and presence” (14).

From this perspective, it is easy to see how today’s mobile communication technologies and platforms, including text message, email, and FaceTime, adopt and augment these rhetorical and technological strategies of co-presence. Immediacy and spontaneity are intensified with the mobile phone as the phone provides multiple forms of instantaneous

communication that make the user feel closer to the individual with whom she is in contact. Moreover, the intimate relationship between the phone and the body also contributes to the eclipsing of the medium, which Milne talks about, in creating a sense of immediacy. In *LANDLINE*, strategies of corporeal alignment are used through the sharing of personal stories and memories, both between scene partners and in rhetorical strategies of confessions and field recordings that also situate bodies in the context of inside or outside place.

Within *LANDLINE*, we see how individuals collaborate in the creation of shared spaces over large distances, and how this sense of shared space becomes affective and personal. The performance also reveals a unique way of creating sociability through network connectivity, as it does not presume intimacy with the other person. In other words, the social interaction is cultivated without having a pre-existing social relationship with the individual. So at once the experience of creating a shared sense of place becomes more intimate and tied to the individual, but not predicated on a previously consolidated relationship. This raises an argument, already laid out by Milne in the context of letter writing, that “intimacy is perhaps always ‘virtual’” (*Letters* 16). It is through the circulation of affects, memories, and places that meaningful attachments are created. And it is their virtuality that makes these attachments iterative. Despite the presence of a physical body, the connection to place remains embodied. And it is through the mobile device itself, and our affective relationship to it, that we come to understand our connections to places and their pasts as both embodied and discursive.

Chapter Three

Placing Memories: Past-Forward Placemaking Through Collective Storytelling with

Maplibs

In Chapter Two, I positioned the *dérive* as a form of itinerant hypertext, following Chris Eaket, in relation to *LANDLINE*, where the choices one made in moving about the city during the performance emphasized the diverse ways of moving in and through space, as well as the multiple associations, memories, and stories that each individual brings to a place. With *LANDLINE*, a key part of how a participant works through the performance is by populating the physical and digital spaces she encounters with personal data, specifically personal memories. Each place visited during the performance acts as a node in a larger network of place-based memories. This chapter takes the idea of hypertext further to explore collaborative practices of localized, community-based story making, rooted in memory. Popular mobile apps like *Driftscape*, launched for iPhone in November of 2017, and later for Android in May of 2018 (LeBlanc), provide an informative example of the itinerant hypertext model used in combination with shared storytelling and the mapping of city space. The *Driftscape* app presents the user with a series of stories and tours centred around the art, culture, and history of the city of Toronto. Like a hypertext, *Driftscape* provides users with the opportunity to navigate a large amount of data in a variety of ways. Users can isolate the subjects that are of most interest to them (such as art, architecture, literature, or urbanism) by using a dropdown menu. Additionally, the app displays a map with pinned “hot spots” that act as nodes, as each one links to a different story pertaining to the built environment. Users can direct their movements towards the pins pictured on the map, or the information can be automatically pushed to the user, popping up at points along her normal walking route. Users can also opt for

a more intensive (and lengthy) audio-guided walking tour of a specific area. The narratives contained on the app come from a variety of sources, as part of *Driftscape*'s success has been its ability to establish partnerships with a variety of historical and cultural groups in the city of Toronto. *Driftscape* is currently partnered with twenty-seven local organizations including First Story, dedicated to telling the Indigenous history of Toronto, Queerstory, which traces the social and cultural history of Toronto's LGBTQ+ community, The Toronto Dreams Project, which collects fictional stories written about historic people and places in the city, as well as Jane's Walks, Heritage Toronto, and Spacing (*Driftscape*). By involving a variety of local organizations and community groups, *Driftscape* not only distributes the work involved in writing and sourcing its narrative content, it also fosters an environment of collaboration which, as this chapter will discuss, is incredibly valuable to any kind of localized placemaking work. As Dave LeBlanc notes in his evaluation of the *Driftscape* app, single institution apps can often be difficult to maintain, which means, for the user, "once their initial content was uploaded, [the app] remained static" (LeBlanc). As is often the case when institutions attempt to jump on the mobile app bandwagon, many of these groups end up producing similar walking tour apps around a similar set of sites, or attempt to produce a mobile app tour but lack the resources or visibility needed for it to succeed. Instead of working against other organizations, *Driftscape* works collaboratively by linking, in the spirit of hypertext, to other established digital projects, such as the Toronto Poetry Map, in order to enhance their own content while also giving these other projects greater visibility.

Moreover, by bringing a variety of rich and diverse perspectives together on one platform, the app positions shared storytelling at the centre of how cultural narratives are built. As *Driftscape*'s CEO and co-founder Chloe Doesburg notes in an interview with Matthew

Blackett, “creating a platform where diverse stories can be shared, will inspire a greater understanding of the spaces we inhabit, and the people we share them with. We also think it [will] . . . make exploring your surroundings a lot of fun” (Blackett). Here Doesburg not only highlights the playful aspects of engaging with a place-based narrative, she also points to the value of experiencing these stories in-place, which is, of course, one of the unique attributes of location-based media as they make site-specific narratives more pervasive and accessible. As Rita Raley explains, “Even as they read location with geographic coordinates, location-aware art works render space relative and relational. Space then is framed both by a coordinate system and by perspective, a way of seeing” (Raley 311). We can understand this further by thinking through the way in which coordinates have become trendy in recent years. This may sound odd, but particularly around 2014, at the height of their popularity, coordinates could be found on jewelry, as artwork, and (most prevalently) as tattoos.⁷ The coordinate tattoo raises some interesting tensions that are relevant to my discussion of place and locative media. First there is the tension between permanence and impermanence, the permanence of the act of tattooing and the impermanence of the body, which calls to mind the permanence and impermanence of places themselves. But more significantly, there is a tension between locatedness and mobility. Coordinates are tattooed on the body to, presumably, remind the

⁷ A *Buzzfeed* article from 04 December 2014 entitled, “19 Tattoos That Literally Everyone Got in 2014” lists coordinates as number six; an article from *Bordeart.com* posted on 08 August 2016 offers “40 Coordinates Tattoo Ideas to Mark a Memory on Your Body;” and a recent Etsy search for “Coordinates” generated 43,875 results of products from various sellers that feature coordinates including customized bracelets, pillowcases, and guitar picks.

individual of a sense of permanence, of locatedness, maybe even of “home,” but these notions of permanence only have relevance in the context of absence—in mobility. This speaks to the fact that coordinates represent more than just location. Or, we could say, that locations are comprised of more than just coordinates. How is it that locations become meaningful? Or that our mobility can generate a sense of attachment to place? This chapter will continue to explore ambulatory knowledge as a form of praxis-based placemaking where mobility plays an important role in how places are structured and how their meanings are both affirmed and challenged. This follows de Certeau’s writings on pedestrian movement, discussed in the previous chapter, and also includes other phenomenological discussions of being-in-the-world, including that of Yi-Fu Tuan.

For Tuan, and for de Certeau as well, “getting around” is part of how individuals inhabit their environment and make it a place. According to Tuan, individuals get to know a place, and form attachments to it, through routine practices of movement. As these attachments are made, spaces become familiar places through the formation of a “field of care” (Tuan 451). This, for Tuan, entails a multisensory experience as it is a process of becoming immersed in one’s environment. He notes that through “repeated experience: the feel of place gets under our skin in the course of day-to-day contact. The feel of pavement, the smell of the evening air, the colour of autumn foliage become, through long acquaintance, extensions of ourselves—not just a stage but supporting actors in the human drama” (452). Therefore, it is through habitual interaction with one’s surrounding environment that one develops affective attachments to place where “people are emotionally bound to their material environment” (Tuan 451). As discussed in the previous chapter, these habitual, routine practices, like Seamon’s place-ballets, must also take into account the tools and technologies

individuals use in their interactions with the external environment. It is important to consider how media orients us to place, or how technology assists in this orientation, not simply through GPS technology, although this is one key aspect. Today we make our way through places, more often than not, with a mobile phone in hand, and so wayfinding or orienting in place today also consists of toggling our attention between the technology (and the variety of mobile apps at our disposal) and our physical surroundings.

The role that the mobile phone plays in wayfinding and routine practices of “getting around” extends more generally to the role that technology has played in shaping our bodily interactions with the world. The blending of bodies and technologies, or the way in which technologies structure one’s embodied experience, has long been a preoccupation for many scholars, including Marshall McLuhan, in his aptly titled seminal work *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, Nigel Thrift in his exploration of the car as an extension of the body, and Justin Spinney in his analysis of cycling in urban environments. But its roots can be traced to earlier phenomenological theory, and particularly to the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty. A key part of Merleau-Ponty’s *Phenomenology of Perception* deals with tools (i.e., technologies) as extensions of the body and emphasizes that our experiences of the world begin as embodied or pre- cognitive.

In this chapter, I will unpack the role mobile technology plays in placemaking by isolating two forms of bodily knowledge that are at work in mobile phone use: “knowledge in the hands,” following Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology of tool use (127), and knowledge in the feet, following Tim Ingold’s theorization of a peripatetic sense of place. The role of embodied, multisensory placemaking practices will be explored through an analysis of playful engagements with wayfinding and place through location- based games played on the mobile

phone. This will be followed by a consideration of my own attempt at generating a location-based game/collectively written hypertext as a means to explore individual, local attachments to place through affect and memory. As experiences of place often begin as embodied, or pre-cognitive, the articulation of what makes a place meaningful can be somewhat challenging for many individuals. Affect is often difficult to discern and there are several aspects of place that make them difficult to “pin” down, one of which is the constant shifting nature of places, or what Doreen Massey calls “the event of place” (140). But two of my colleagues and I are attempting to broaden the way in which individuals articulate the affective experiences that shape what makes places meaningful, through a method we have developed called *Maplibs*. Rooted in practices of wayfinding and affective cartography, *Maplibs* seeks to capture the embodied experiences of places and the past by drawing from individual memories. Through this playful method, we attempt to explore how placemaking can help us hold the multiple and changing meaning of place and carry the past forward with us in meaningful ways.

Knowledge in the Hands

For Merleau-Ponty, individuals come to know the world through immersion within it. This constitutes a corporeal knowledge. In this way, immersion in one’s environment is the result of inhabiting: the body “inhabits space (and, moreover, time) because movement is not limited to submitting passively to space and time, it actively assumes them” (Merleau-Ponty 89). Pierre Bourdieu similarly posits that individuals are “endowed with habitus, inscribed in their bodies by past experiences” (138). Like Merleau-Ponty, who argues that “the body is our general medium for having a world” (Merleau-Ponty 129), Bourdieu too suggests that individuals “learn bodily” (Bourdieu 141) and come to know the world through “practical

knowledge” (Bourdieu 138), that is, through “being in the world” (Bourdieu 141). It is through inhabiting, Bourdieu argues, that “the social order inscribes itself in bodies through this permanent confrontation, which . . . is always largely marked by affectivity and, more precisely, by affective transactions with the environment” (141). This reference to affect emphasizes the bodily, or pre-cognitive, nature of habitus, something that is first felt on (or through) the body. As Bourdieu explains, “the agent engaged in practice knows the world but with a knowledge which, as Merleau-Ponty showed, is not set up in the relation of externality of a knowing consciousness. He knows it, in a sense, too well, without objectifying distance, takes it for granted, precisely because he is caught up in it, bound up within it; he inhabits it like a garment [*un habit*] or familiar habitat” (142-43).

Tools also play a significant role in how individuals inhabit or incorporate the world into bodily existence. Both Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty have addressed this, but they do so in slightly different ways. For Heidegger, the significance of a tool (he uses the example of a hammer) comes when the “thing” withdraws into its use-value, what he calls “handiness” (*Being and Time* [2010] 69), translated elsewhere as a “readiness-to- hand” (*Being and Time* [1962] 98). As he explains, “What is peculiar to what is initially at hand is that it withdraws, so to speak, in its character of handiness in order to be really handy. What everyday dealings are initially busy with is not tools themselves, but the work” (Heidegger, *Being and Time* [2010] 69). In other words, handiness is a product of *use*, and therefore one of mediation; an ontological process comprising the body and the tool. Heidegger explains, “No matter how keenly we just *look* at the ‘outward appearance’ of things constituted in one way or another, we cannot discover handiness. When we just look at things ‘theoretically,’ we lack an understanding of handiness” (*Being and Time* [2010] 69).

For Merleau-Ponty, the tool becomes a conduit through which individuals reach out and touch the world. It is through the tool that an individual incorporates the external world back into bodily existence. His most cited example of this is “the blind man’s stick” which, as he explains, “has ceased to be an object for him, and is no longer perceived for itself; its point has become an area of sensitivity, extending the scope and active radius of touch, and providing a parallel to sight” (Merleau-Ponty 127). The stick becomes incorporated into the body, into the senses, of the blind person through routine use. Through it, the user reaches out to the world and the tool becomes an extension of the body. As Merleau-Ponty writes of various tools, “To get used to a hat, a car, or a stick is to be transplanted to them, or conversely, to incorporate them into the bulk of our own body” (127). Moreover, the habitual use of the tool ultimately changes one’s perspective or experience of the world. Habit is a key part of this incorporation into the body. In the context of mobile phones, Merleau-Ponty’s next example is particularly relevant. He looks to the typewriter, suggesting that often individuals type “without being able to say where the letters which make the words are to be found on the banks of the keys” (127). That is, one’s familiarity with a keyboard is not strictly a cognitive knowledge, but an embodied knowledge formed by habit. “Habit,” he continues, is “neither a form of knowledge nor an involuntary action” but rather “knowledge in the hands, which is forthcoming only when bodily effort is made, and cannot be formulated in detachment from that effort. The subject knows where the letters are on the typewriter as we know where one of our limbs is, through a knowledge bred of familiarity which does not give us a position in objective space” (127). Knowledge in the hands, therefore, is the enfolding of a tool into one’s bodily schema through habitual use. As Merleau-Ponty argues, “It is literally true that the subject who learns to type incorporates the key-bank space into his bodily space” (128). The

impact of this is two-fold. In incorporating the tool into the body the individual produces new forms of embodied knowledge and also acquires a new way of relating to the world. As Merleau-Ponty suggests, “Habit expresses our power of dilating our being-in-the-world, or changing our existence by appropriating fresh instruments” (127). This is a two-way relationship, or what Ingrid Richardson has described, in the context of the mobile phone, a “relational ontology” (“Touching” 135) where “changes in bodily motility (e.g., walking while texting or using a navigational app) necessarily correlate[s] with changes in lived spatiality, the sum of which is expressed in the body schema” (Richardson, “Touching” 138).

In her analysis of mobile devices, Heidi Rae Cooley explores the impact of this relational ontology on the body, particularly in terms of sight. Cooley argues that traditional understandings of sight fail to account for “the materiality of seeing,” or seeing as an engaged practice (135). She notes that “people tend to focus on and value *what* they see, not *how* they see, which means that people engage seeing in a manner similar to viewing snapshots, as a succession of discrete images” (135). By contrast, Cooley proposes the notion of “tactile vision,” as a way of seeing that emerges from the use of a mobile phone (137). This type of vision is “material and dynamic” as it “involve[es] eyes as well as hands and [the mobile device]” (137). It is the “event” of the co-mingling of the hand and device (the readiness-to-hand to use Heidegger’s terms) that positions the type of “seeing” facilitated by the mobile phone as dynamic, embodied, and processual, what Cooley calls “a happening” or the moment when “the hand forms to the [mobile device] and the [mobile device] gives to the hand” (Cooley 137). Here we have a similar instance of the tool enfolding into the body in the way Merleau-Ponty theorized. And, as with Merleau-Ponty, this assimilation of body and tool is cultivated through habit. It is the assimilation of tool-

use through habit that creates a habitus, or a way of being that corresponds to a way of knowing. For the mobile phone, the cultivation of habitus also comes from the ergonomic and “tactilely pleasing” design of the mobile device that serves to foster a sense of comfort or intimacy (Cooley 137). Cooley “emphasizes the importance of intuition, intimate apprehension and interconnectivity between people and things” (139). Here the mobile device is enfolded in the body in such a way that its use almost seems natural, or involuntary (Cooley 139). This is significant because, as Cooley notes, “tactile engagement that is not directed by volitional movement tends to produce an increase in somatosensory input. Good design works to these ends, insofar as it aims at placing devices into hands in ways that do not require conscious effort or thought” (139). This also, I would argue, contributes to the sense of intimacy and affectivity that is established between the individual and the device, where the repository of our daily personal archive (schedule, photos, notes) and the portal to conversations with friends and loved ones, fits snugly into the palm of our hand. The intuitive relationship between the hand and the device contributes to the illusion of co- presence, or what Esther Milne, in her analysis of communication technologies throughout history, has called the ability “to elide or ignore” the technology as a mediating device that is so “crucial to the presence effect” (166).

Moreover, Cooley aptly notes that understanding the reciprocal relationship between the body and the mobile phone avoids the kind of technological determinism seen in “previous accounts of hands and technological devices, as provided by such figures as Benjamin, Jean Baudrillard, and Roland Barthes” (139). In these accounts the hand is responsible for “initiat[ing] a process that proceeds and concludes in the device” (139). This understanding, where the hand plays a limited and residual role in the technological process,

speaks to the tendency in media studies to “over[look] the potential dynamic and physical interaction that might materialize between a hand and a device” (Cooley 139). When we understand our corporeal relationship to technology-as-tool as one that is productive, dynamic and reciprocal, we begin to see how it impacts our embodied experiences of place in more ways than just distraction. As a tool, the mobile phone fundamentally configures how we experience the physical world. Knowledge in the hands accounts for the kind of embodied, habit-based interactions we experience with technology, such as the “mindless” or “distracted” act of texting-while-walking made possible because habitual use of the mobile interface incorporates it into our bodily existence. (This act might be carried out more deftly by some than by others, depending on the amount of time spent integrating the habit). This raises an important second point: the mobility of the mobile phone. Merleau-Ponty’s concept of “knowledge in the hands” (127) has its counterpart in Tim Ingold’s notion of “ambulatory knowing” (“To Journey” 230).

Knowledge in the Feet

Mobility is also central to how individuals construct place as it shapes our experience of being-in-the-world. Ingold discusses the impact that walking has on perception, arguing that “what we perceive must, at least in part, depend on how we move” (“Culture on the Ground” 331). His attention to this form of bodily knowledge aligns him with Cooley as he also explores a way of perceiving or experiencing the world that is rooted in touch (the contact of feet with the ground), and one that is also often overlooked. As Ingold suggests, “Once [the connection between walking and perception] is recognized, a whole new field of inquiry is opened up, concerning the ways in which our knowledge of the environment is altered by techniques of footwork”

(“Culture on the Ground” 331). It should be noted, however, that this type of ambulatory perception is not the same as what Paul Adams has theorized as a “peripatetic sense of place” (189). For Adams, walking affords a rich multisensory experience that puts individuals in deeper contact with the external world. “To walk through a place,” Adams suggests, “is to become involved in that place with sight, hearing, touch, smell, the kinetic sense called proprioception, and even taste” (188). He distinctly positions this experience of place as “unmediated” in contrast to the “sensorially impoverished” mediated experiences of the external world through technology (189). Here Adams focuses specifically on the automobile, but later extrapolates this to other “technological diffusions” (screen-based technologies) that are “overwhelmingly visual” (191).

By contrast, Ingold clearly acknowledges mediation as a component of ambulatory knowledge and the role that tools play in this experience. He notes, “Both hands and feet, augmented by tools, gloves and footwear, mediate a historical engagement of the human organism, in its entirety, with the world around it. For surely we walk, just as we talk, write and use tools, with the whole body” (“Culture on the Ground” 332). Ingold’s reference to the whole body is particularly significant here in that it makes Adams’s privileging of unmediated experiences over mediated ones untenable. As my exploration of tool-use has already shown, bodily knowledge is mediated, dynamic, and relational. As Richardson notes in her critique of Adams, “from a phenomenological perspective both are equally ‘multisensory,’ and vision must always already include the other senses” (“Touching” 139). As in Merleau-Ponty’s concept of *dilatation*, and Cooley’s understanding of perception as dynamic and processual, the body is constantly adjusting to the external environment through inhabiting. Ingold reiterates this in his discussion of walking, which he notes is “continually and fluently responsive to an ongoing

perceptual monitoring of the ground ahead” (“Culture on the Ground” 332). He concludes, “Indeed it could be said that walking is a highly intelligent activity. This intelligence, however, is not located exclusively in the head but is distributed through the entire field of relations comprised by the presence of the human being in the inhabited world” (Ingold, “Culture on the Ground” 332).

It is important, therefore, to consider *how* bodies move through space. Ingold addresses this in terms of wayfinding. He begins this discussion by contrasting the experience of an individual who is new to a specific place, versus a local or long-term inhabitant. He suggests that a person who is unfamiliar with a place navigates based on a map, or coordinates, whereas a local navigates without a map, but rather from a “sense” of place. Both these individuals could be considered map users, with the local employing a cognitive map, rather than a physical (or digital) one: “The difference is just that the native inhabitant’s map is held not in the hand but in the head, preserved not on paper but in memory, in the form of a comprehensive spatial representation of his usual surroundings” (Ingold, “To Journey” 219). The concept of the cognitive map, however, is problematic for Ingold as he suggests that such a mental map does not actually exist, but rather that one’s sense of place is a product of inhabiting and is cultivated by recalling the traces of these histories of inhabitation. In other words, it is not the holding of a sense of place in memory that is the problem, but rather that this memory of place is not organized in the mind in the schematic or Cartesian way suggested by the concept of the cognitive map. Orientation and wayfinding are not strictly cognitive but embodied and enacted through a corporeal making-one’s-way-about.

More significantly, Ingold demonstrates the importance of the past in how

individuals come to know present places:

Places do not have locations but histories. Bound together by the itineraries of their inhabitants, places exist not in space but as nodes in a matrix of movement. I shall call this matrix a “region.” It is the knowledge of the region, and with it the ability to situate one’s current position within the historical context of journeys previously made—journeys to, from and around places—that distinguishes the countryman from the stranger. Ordinary wayfinding, then, more closely resembles storytelling than map-using. (Ingold, “To Journey” 219)

Ambulatory knowing ascribes value (to repurpose a phrase from Jason Spinney) not just to points A and B, but to “the line in between” (Spinney 25). Ingold suggests that these paths are “to be understood not as an infinite series of discrete points, occupied at successive instants, but as a continuous itinerary of movement,” not only connecting places, but also connecting times, as the memories of past movements become an integral part of how the present place is known (“To Journey” 226). To further illustrate this idea of region (or mapping as a process of movement), Ingold uses examples of Indigenous peoples of Australia, Bengal, and Western Canada. Particularly in his discussion of the Walbiri Aboriginal peoples of Australia, Ingold draws attention to their networked understanding of place:

Originally laid down through the movements of ancestral beings in that formative era known as the Dreaming, these paths are continually retraced in the journeys of the living people who take after them. As they relate the stories of these journeys, Walbiri men and women may draw web-like figures in the sand whose basic components are lines and circles. Every line conveys a journey to or from camp, while every circle conveys the act of making camp by walking all around it. (Ingold, “To Journey” 228).

Ingold goes on to conclude that, from these formative movements, “everywhere” for the Walbiri people, “is not a space but a region concatenated by the place-to-place movements of humans, animals, spirits, winds, celestial bodies, and so on (Ingold, “To Journey” 228). Two important points stand out from this example. Placemaking should be understood as a collaborative process, one that stretches across places as well as across times (where present and past unfold together through movement). Additionally, memory and storytelling play an important role in how these paths are formed and transmitted.

However, Ingold asserts that often these individual experiences and the stories gathered, or the particulars of place and place-based experiences, are lost to generalities in order to fit into a knowledge system, like cartography. As he explains, though practitioners of these knowledge systems collect material “on innumerable and often lengthy journeys,” he goes on to note that “none of this . . . appears in the final form of the modern, ‘scientific’ map” (Ingold, “To Journey” 230). As a result, Ingold contends, “one of the most striking characteristics of the modern map is its elimination, or erasure, of the practices and itineraries that contributed to its production” (“To Journey” 230). This erasure has also been noted by other geographers, particularly William Cartwright et al., who suggest that “A common trait of institutionally-produced maps . . . is that they do make claims regarding their authoritative uniqueness. . . . These claims to distinction reinforce a sense of that particular map’s autonomy and abstraction from the social world (and its eventual use)” (226). But Cartwright et al. also note that “Web 2.0 mapping and GIS [geographic information system] products” might work to decentre the map’s authority (226). This is done, they argue, through digital inscriptions, or tagging, and can potentially compensate for the erasures of individual traces, or at the very least, provides a way to write them back in. Elsewhere, these digital inscriptions

have been described as “thick mapping” (Presner et al. 19). As Presner et al. explain,

Thick maps are conjoined with stories, and stories are conjoined with maps, such that ever more complex contexts for meaning are created. As such, thick maps are never finished and meanings are never definitive. They are infinitely extensible and participatory, open to the unknown and to futures that have not yet come. And perhaps most importantly, thick maps betray their conditions of possibility, their authorship and contingency, without naturalizing or imposing a singular world-view. In essence, thick maps give rise to forms of counter-mapping, alternative maps, multiple voices, and on-going contestations. (19)

If individuals transform space as they move through it, and constitute places through stories and the memories of these traces, as Ingold and others have claimed, then the recording of these traces can alter how we collectively come to know places, by foregrounding the collaborative embodied localized knowledge that gives them significance. When inscriptions are visualized, or tags added, as Cartwright et al. suggest, “the spaces become more personal, the artefacts we use to make spaces ‘ours’ become more affective” (223). Not only does this have the potential to generate play, or playful encounters with place and mapping technologies, it also displaces authority and emphasizes the importance and value of personalization in processes of placemaking.

Maplibs

In order to explore how individuals make places meaningful through practices of wayfinding and storytelling, I, along with two colleagues, have been developing a

method called *Maplibs*.⁸ From our combined backgrounds in Mobile Narratives, Memory Studies, and Urban Planning, we created *Maplibs*, which draws from elements of location-based gaming, affective cartography, and principles of collective biography, in order to call attention to the ways in which the past shapes the affective and multisensorial encounters we have with places in the present in our processes of inhabiting. By combining elements of “mad libs,” a “treasure hunt,” and a “choose-your-own-adventure story,” *Maplibs* prompts participants to focus their attention on various senses and to call up memories of past experiences in multiple proxy sites. Participants then are asked to share these memories in a structured storytelling session. The collective narratives that emerge from these sessions are textured and layered portraits of place, characterized by a commingling of the joyful and the painful, the personal and the shared, the quotidian and the extraordinary, the playful and the profound.

The idea of *Maplibs* was originally developed out of a series of urban consultation questions presented to the public regarding the Ottawa Public Library. Through *Maplibs*, my colleagues and I were attempting to find meaningful ways to carry the past forward in the face of large-scale re-visioning projects run by the city of Ottawa. But the method is also a way to

⁸ Since 2016, I, along with Dr. Rebecca Dolgoy, Adjunct Research Professor in the Department of Canadian Studies and Executive Director of the Centre for Transnational Cultural Analysis at Carleton University, and Sarah Gelbard, a Ph.D. candidate in the School of Urban Planning at McGill University, have been working collaboratively on topics of place and placemaking practices in Ottawa specifically, and in Canadian culture more broadly.

explore ambulatory knowledge production more broadly, and to examine the connections between mobility, place, and memory. By creating an experience that is clearly situated in a particular place but one that also tries to reach beyond it—to other times and places by evoking the participant’s memories of analogous sites, *Maplibs* asserts that the concept of co-presence is not exclusively a product of technology, but one of memory. Collaboration is also a key aspect of the project, not only in our experience of creating *Maplibs* from multiple disciplinary perspectives, but also in the activity itself as each session ends with participants coming together to reflect on their experience of the activity and of the memories or stories that it generated. For this part of the activity we turned to principles of collective biography to structure the shared storytelling session. In the practice of collective biography, individual memories are used as text for analysis (biography) where they are written down, shared, and analyzed (collective). As a poststructural, feminist method, collective biography “draws centrally on the idea that significant memories are critical in the constitution of the self, and that in analyzing memories together, we can begin to tap into broader social and cultural patterns, forces and power relations that contribute to shaping particular subjectivities” (Kern et al. 839). Usually a group will come together around a shared topic, write down their memories, taking care to avoid too much explanation or interpretation. The memories are then shared and feedback is exchanged. And finally, after the discussion, individuals re-write the memories which are then shared again (Kern et al. 839). For our purposes, we drew from principles of collective biography in the *Maplibs* activity because it is a method that is generative and accounts for nuance, complexity, emotion, and affect. In other words, collective biography ultimately recognizes subjects as complex and in constant states of becoming. This generative framework fit well with our interest in the dynamic and affective aspects of placemaking

practices. Moreover, the moments of collective storytelling have been powerful and emotional instances of diverse histories and experiences that highlight the important role of memory in everyday experiences of place.

Since 2016 we have been running *Maplibs* at various workshops and community events including Jane's Walks (2016), Carleton University's Heritage Conservation Symposium (2017), and most recently (Un)school Ottawa (2018), focusing each time on a different site: the Main Branch of the Ottawa Public Library, the Vanier-Richelieu Community Centre and Library, and the Rideau Centre. What follows is an examination of the method through two of its structuring principles: play and affective cartography. Each component will be examined in more detail to assess the impact of playful placemaking practices on how we come to understand place as a series of dynamic interactions. I then provide an assessment of the next steps of the project, including our struggle to find visualizations or digital outputs for the collected material. Finally, I outline the questions that have arisen from our anticipation of moving what is currently a paper-based activity to a digital (app-based) format by first creating a prototype using open software (WhereIGo/Field Day) and then developing an original app with the help of a micro-grant.

Playful Placemaking

In *Gaming in Social, Locative and Mobile Media*, Larissa Hjorth and Ingrid Richardson discuss how the increase in mobile location services and social network services, coupled with 3G and 4G network access, has led to an impressive influx in mobile games and mobile gamers—with these gamers becoming more diverse and ubiquitous. They assert that “across a range of devices, offline and online contexts, levels of engagement, and modes of presence, games and ‘playful’ mobile media activities are being enacted by a growing and diverse

demographic, irrespective of age, gender, place and cultural milieu” (2). This influx of gaming, and its pervasiveness, has two notable consequences. First, it significantly impacts how individuals interact with places on a daily basis. And these interactions also vary, from the individual who makes a lengthy bus commute more tolerable by cocooning himself in an episodic puzzle game like *Candy Crush*, to the woman who detours from her regular path on her walk home from work to catch a particular Pokémon, not found on her typical route, to the *Driftscape* user who has enabled “Discovery mode” on her app to receive automatic alerts on her mobile device at points of interest. Each of these interactions impacts how individuals experience place and, moreover, how value is ascribed to different places. And secondly, the pervasiveness and variety of mobile gaming make everyday experiences of play in urban environments an important point of cultural consideration, and therefore worthy of critical attention.

Hjorth and Richardson call this pervasiveness “ambient play” (69) and suggest that it is predicated on “a particular relationship to the body that is based on interruptability (i.e., maneuvering between gameplay, calls, messaging, and the demands of the physical environment) and shifting modalities of place, presence and being-in-the-world” (4). In other words, the pervasiveness of mobile games is, in part, a product of our ability to attune our bodies to “various modalities of presence” and therefore to be able to oscillate in and out of the game space (Hjorth and Richardson 61). This is born out of the way the body adjusts to its environment, particularly through the incorporation of tools. As Richardson notes, “This ability to embrace ‘fresh instruments’ and mediated perception and modes of embodiment with one’s corporeal schema, and to oscillate between, conflate, and adapt ostensibly to disparate modes of being and perceiving, is precisely why telepresence and virtual space are somatically and

ontologically tolerable” (“Touching” 143). It is the oscillation between modes of presence that *Maplibs* calls into play in order to re-interpret our everyday engagements with place.

Maplibs begins by immersing the participant in a situation of finding a diary with an obscure quotation and subsequently going to the library to search for the source text (see fig. 1).

exercise 1: maplibs

“What about the library?”

After finally unpacking the boxes that had been sitting at the back of my closet for months collecting an appropriate amount of dust, I come across my grandmother’s old diary. As I flip through the yellowed pages, at times desperately trying to decipher her cursive, I find a quote that intrigues me. But it is incomplete. I spend hours searching the Internet, trying to find its source. Eventually I become fed up. Google has failed me! But my failure only makes me more determined to find the source. And then I think, **what about the library?** So I put on my coat, and I head to the library to search for the reference.

I get on the elevator and get off on the _____ floor. I *turn left / turn right / go straight*. I stop for a moment to look around and I see _and _
_____. It makes me feel _____
_____. I am drawn to move towards the _____
because of _____.

Figure 1. *Maplibs* Excerpt 1, “What About the Library,” 01 May 2017.

The engagement with an object from the past is meant to subtly call attention to these shifting modes of presence as they play out between an individual, her memory, and the material world. Ultimately, the memory object is used as a launching point to introduce the main purpose of the exercise, which is to implicate memory in constructions of place. By adopting a playful framework, like other location-based games, the activity attempts “to challenge everyday conventions and routines that shape the cityscape (Hjorth and Richardson 6). Play is fundamental to this exercise as it attempts to reformulate ways of perceiving and moving

through quotidian places. As Miguel Sicart notes, play results from dynamic interactions between things; “it is not tied to objects but brought by people to the complex interrelations with and between things that form daily life” (2). It is part of the everyday, part of breaking down the dynamic interactions between things, places, individuals, and emotions.⁹

As a playful method, *Maplibs* uses a modified *dérive*, where individuals are asked to move through a space paying attention to various sensations. However, unlike a true *dérive*, where no external guiding influences are present, but rather participants are freely drawn to move in whatever way they choose, *Maplibs* employs a basic game structure that provides individuals with fill-in-the-blank prompts that mimic a “choose your own adventure” format, in which the reader/participant chooses where or how she will move and this, in turn, shapes how she responds to the rest of the prompts. This leaves the choice up to participants to be drawn in whatever direction, or to whatever element, they choose in their specific locale, but it still allows us to bring some structure to the experience (fig. 2).

Something about this space reminds me of another library in _____ . Maybe it's the _____ or the _____. Anyways, something feels very familiar. I hear a noise coming from _____ so I move towards it. I look around and all of a sudden I notice an old _____. I can smell _____ and it reminds me of _____.

Figure 2. *Maplibs* Excerpt 2, “What About the Library?” 01 May 2017.

In this way, we managed to find a middle ground between the complete randomness of a *dérive* and an overtly strict structure that might over-determine the possibilities of encounter.

⁹ See also Ryan et al., “Space, Narrative, and Digital Media,” for further discussion of playful mapping and collaborative storytelling

In fact, the potential to over-determine results was of great concern for us in the creation of *Maplibs*, particularly because the activity was originally developed in response to a high-profile public consultation process, initiated by the city of Ottawa in 2016, concerning the redevelopment and relocation of the Main branch of the Ottawa Public Library. The consultation process employed mixed methods including focus groups, stakeholder consultation, and public consultation (via meetings and online questionnaires). In order to accommodate the large volume of public interest in the consultation, the public's input was primarily collected through digital surveys. These surveys were aggregated into a data set that, in our opinion, simply confirmed the initial rationale of the proposed development project. Upon reading the results it became apparent that the drive for urban development is propelled not by any meaningful form of public consultation grounded in the personal experiences of the community, but by a hypothetical future marketed to the public created by developers looking for a return on their investments. By contrast, *Maplibs* sought to open up the discursive terms for thinking about public spaces and their uses by prompting individuals to notice how their personal histories interact with their immediate environment. We did this by shifting the consultation questions to include our affective, memory-based approach. Where the public consultation asked, "How would a Central Library transform our lives and our city?," we instead posed the question, "How would a Central Library transform [and preserve] our lives and our city[, and our memories]?" (Garcia et al. 46).

In their writings about digital playful mapping, Sybille Lammes et al. note that detouring in the *dérive* "is constructed to alter or shift the hegemony of the planners' gaze on the experience of spaces, and one which can also help to critique or contradict the hegemony of the researcher's gaze on the collection of data or material" (33). This is precisely what we are

trying to emphasize with *Maplibs* in terms of the consultation process. Through the modified *dérive*, we attempt to destabilize the strictly future-oriented nature of planning that tends to approach development from a *terra nullius* context and to foreground the individual histories and experiences of those who use shared public spaces. We do this by placing memory at the centre of future visioning, following Daniel L. Schacter and Michael Welker who note that many neuroscientists and cognitive scientists approach memory as something that “serves to connect individuals not only to their pasts but also to their futures” (242). As they explain, in the act of remembering individuals often “extract details” from their pasts and “recombine them to simulate what could happen in their personal futures” (242). Following Schacter and Welker, who position this imaginative process of future-visioning as central to individual practices of planning, problem solving, and decision making, in *Maplibs* we extrapolate this to the level of collective, civic engagement (242). Moreover, our position as researchers is destabilized by the fact that our research questions are rooted in the method itself. In other words, through *Maplibs* we attempt to use process to discover both problems and possibilities. Therefore, we position *Maplibs* as an alternative process of data creation and collection, one that is not already instrumentalized as a means to a specific end, but that is generative. In this way, we follow more of a constructive hypertext model, or a collective narrative approach to content creation.

As Scott Rettberg explains, “The idea of hypertext itself is based on harnessing collective knowledge” (188). In the context of a constructive hypertext, where the text evolves through the author’s or reader’s interactions with it, communities often come together to participate in the act of co-construction under a set of established writing/reading parameters. In this way, as Rettberg notes, instances of collectively written narratives “must be understood not

only in terms of a resulting ‘work,’ but also as a performance” (197). *Maplibs* participants engage collaboratively in the activity in two distinct ways: first, through adding elements to the narrative while undertaking the *dérive*, and second, by participating in the modified collective biography exercise at the end of the activity. These moments of shared storytelling have been fascinating instances of the coming together of a group of relative strangers to listen to, share, and build on each other’s personal memories. Importantly, if we position the work of the user as a performance, then the members of the community who take part in a *Maplibs* exercise by sharing their personal memories and experiences are not simply participants, but collaborators or co-creators in a collective narrative project. Therefore, it is essential that we as practitioners establish a sense of trust with our community collaborators, not only so that we can foster the spirit of play that is essential to *Maplibs*, but also so that we can create an environment for the sharing of personal memories and experiences that is safe, ethical, and generative—elements that we see as crucial to an alternative consultation process. Ultimately, *Maplibs* recognizes that authority and expertise can come from collaboration and co-creation. We do this by recognizing communities as present, engaged, and embodied actors in the ongoing process of placemaking, and more extensively, city-building.

Affective Cartography

Our collaborative, memory-based approach, or what we are calling “past-forward placemaking,” emphasizes the multiple and dynamic meanings of place that result from embodied experiences. This approach follows Doreen Massey’s definition of place as something constructed through movement, change, encounter, and erosion. Massey argues, “‘Here’ is no more (and no less) than our encounter, and what is made of it. . . ‘Here’ is an intertwining of histories in which the spatiality of those histories . . . is inescapably

entangled. The interconnections themselves are part of the construction of identity” (139). In other words, it is the accumulation of stories, of experiences of being- in-place, that define the here-and-now. And it is a collaborative “coming together of the previously unrelated” (141), or what Massey calls the “throwntogetherness” or “a constellation of processes rather than a thing” (140, 141). This definition avoids essentializing by insisting on “place as open and internally multiple . . . not intrinsically coherent” (141). By paying attention to these individual experiences, something that is at the centre of the *Maplibs* activity, we affirm the importance of “subjective data as worthy and useful data” in the process of uncovering representations of place (Iturrioz and Wachowicz 88). Considering the importance our activity places on embodied experiences of place and foregrounding multisensory encounters, we might also understand *Maplibs* as engaging in a form of affective cartography. Affective cartography, as outlined by Cartwright et al., refers to the “actual way in which [individuals] use maps, annotate them, [and] insert personal insights of their own interpretations of geography” (228). It is through these processes of inscription that an individual “makes the map affective” (228). And it is these kinds of affective markups that we attempt to generate by asking participants to call to mind memories of places analogous to the one that they currently occupy (see fig. 3).

I look around for somewhere to sit. I go sit down for a moment. The
 _____ around me seem
 _____. I can't help but think
 back to that time in a library in _____ when...
 well let's just say the caption for the story would be:
 _____.

Figure 3. *Maplibs* Excerpt 3, “What About the Library?” 01 May 2017.

As Cartwright et al. note, this kind of personalization occurs through everyday practices of inhabiting, and interestingly, also through detour. They explain, “When I use a map to find my way along a bush track, then discover a fine swimming hole which I then pencil in on my map[,] the map itself is no longer only instrumental—even if I use it to re-find this swimming hole in the future. It now has connotations of discovery, pleasure, water, wetness and so on” (Cartwright et al. 228-29). Moreover, Cartwright et al. posit the affective value of these annotations as something that can be shared: “The annotations on the map make it affective not just for the initial user of the map, but for other users as well” (229). With the influx of possibilities for digital annotation that mobile locative technology affords, these inscriptions can be shared more easily and with larger groups of people—both with friends and complete strangers. Affective cartography, then, challenges traditional cartographic practices by producing an excess of value beyond the navigational function of the map, particularly when enhanced by digital technologies that make the tagging and sharing of these annotations more ubiquitous. This further contributes to destabilizing the authority of the map, as Cartwright et al. suggest, “Such an affective atlas creates a gap between the instrumental application of cartography and the pragmatics of map use, and introduces a possible cartographic practice that blurs the boundaries between cartographer, mapping, and the map user” (229-30).

Teresa Iturrioz and Monica Wachowicz isolate affective cartography as a valuable research approach for trying to capture the diverse and dynamic personal experiences of place and interpretations of cities and landscapes (75). They note that one of the aims of affective cartography is “to develop an affective representation that provides the framework for modelling dynamic, non-linear and sharable experiences. The overall goal is to allow us to transmit memories and sensations and also to communicate emotions towards those places”

(Iturrioz and Wachowicz 88-89). As a method, *Maplibs* is unique in that it responds to both of these research objectives. In fact, several of our participants have commented on how the activity manages to isolate the affective and emotional attachments people make to places, something that is traditionally difficult to capture, but crucial to, as I have already suggested, understanding place. However, *Maplibs* can only be partially classified as affective cartography if we follow the research done by Iturrioz and Wachowicz, as they define the process as “the creation of maps through the aggregation of subjective data” with the intent of bringing together “perceptions and personal tales in order to gradually determine patterns of positive and negative events that lead to a re-reading of the environment” (77). Although we do ask participants to provide subjective data by drawing from both their personal experience in-place and from their memories of other times and places, we do not create an aggregated map or artifact that attempts to (re)present the environment or terrain in question. Rather, we lean more towards creating a collective experience through shared storytelling that attempts to reframe how everyday places are perceived.

Although we did attempt to collect the data and remediate it into a representative visual form (such as word clouds, graphs, etc.), every iteration seemed to fall short of our desired outcome, or failed to fully represent the experience. Perhaps these visualizations failed because, unlike other examples of affective cartography that use principles of psychogeography to explore how the environment impacts feelings and behaviours, *Maplibs* is not focused on isolating what places make us feel good, bad, safe, or uncomfortable. Rather, *Maplibs* is interested in uncovering how those feelings are the result of both a situated experience of place and embodied recollections of past times and places.

Reflection and Next Steps

At this point, due to lack of funds or access to a developer, *Maplibs* has not been digitized. Participants use a paper workbook to write down their experiences during the activity. As such, we have struggled with ways to record, remix, or safeguard this data. Therefore, our next step is to move to a digital platform with the help of a micro-grant. The switch from paper to digital raises a few challenges as well as opportunities for the possible outputs of this research. First, we are adamant that even with making the move to a digital platform, we will not forego the collective biography aspect of the activity, which relies heavily on individuals coming together in a shared space to discuss their experiences and share their memories face to face. We believe that this kind of embodied encounter is necessary in that it provides a rich and significant experience for the participants. Specifically, the affective experience of sharing memories of place with physically co-present strangers in the collective biography exercise forms a powerful new memory itself. It will, however, be part of our analysis to gauge the kinds of shared storytelling possible with the digital device, and what types of conversations or experiences this form of collective biography could elicit. At the same time, a digital platform could create more lasting inscriptions from this experience and contribute to the kind of digital markups that are transforming places, and how they are interpreted, or remixed, at an exponential rate. In this way, *Maplibs* would contribute to a growing body of digital collaborative cartography and geographic markup. And it would provide the possibility for *Maplibs* to be used by other researchers in other contexts, contributing also to a body of open-source software that seeks to broaden interpretations of place and placemaking practices.

It is notable that *Maplibs* was particularly successful in creating micro- communities

through the practice of collective storytelling, where the sharing of personal memories contributed to a blurring of the boundaries between private and public. As social interactions and processes of personal identity formation are increasingly carried out online, through email, blogs, social networking sites, and discussion forums, Ruth Page and Bronwen Thomas suggest that these platforms too have the potential to generate what they see as productive, “albeit temporary communities around particular collaborative storytelling ventures” (5). Moreover, they insist that scholars and practitioners of digital storytelling must seriously account for “how the fragmented, process-oriented, and communal nature of these forms extends our understanding of what narrative could be” (Page and Thomas 5). Notably, memory, too, is defined as fragmented, process-centred and communal or social. As such, these platforms call for a re-thinking of how we understand intimate memory communities and places of collective remembering.

Chapter Four

Collective, Collected, or Connective?: Social Media and the Changing Shape of Memory Discourses

Launched in 2013, “Lost Ottawa”¹⁰ began as a *Facebook* page where archivist David McGee could post interesting photos from Ottawa’s past, particularly of buildings or landmarks that no longer exist. Since then, the *Facebook* page has accumulated more than 45,000 followers, many of whom have contributed to the site either by commenting on the photos, sharing personal stories or memories of the places pictured, or by uploading their own family or archival photos taken in the city. Despite its title, “Lost Ottawa” is actually a site of profound discovery, as the digitization of these archival photos not only calls up images of the city’s past, but their circulation through the *Facebook* platform positions them as triggers for a diverse and wide-ranging audience to recall and reflect on their own past experiences of place. Interestingly, the wide-spread popularity of the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page over the years has led to the publication of two printed collections of posts and user comments: *Lost Ottawa*, printed in 2017, and shortly after, *Lost Ottawa: Book Two*, printed in 2018. But it is the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page that is of primary interest in this chapter. If memory is understood as a fundamentally social practice, how do online social environments like *Facebook*, a platform that has very specific technical protocols that structure the practices of sharing and consuming information, impact the memory work that is carried out on them? If we consider these platforms to be grounds for the creation of new memory communities, what kind of

¹⁰ In this chapter, “Lost Ottawa” refers to the *Facebook* group, while *Lost Ottawa*, in italics, refers to the book publication. Additionally, in the Works Cited I am treating Lost Ottawa as an author’s name for posts from the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page.

community are we talking about? How does the idea of community change? How does the idea of sharing change (there are many different ways to “share” on *Facebook* and still be part of the online community)? And how do these social networks become viable spaces for the articulation of diverse living heritage narratives and practices?

Heritage institutions often feel pressure to use social media in order to stay current or relevant in an increasingly digital world. These social media pages usually lack the kind of discussion or interactivity that is a hallmark of social media platforms. Despite the fact that these official accounts have a vast number of followers, the conversation is usually unidirectional, as heritage institutions tend only to post content that promotes their exhibits or collections to a wider audience. Or, if they do entertain a comment or question posted by a follower, it is usually one that pertains to the hours of operation or the cost of visiting an exhibit. As Colleen Morgana and Pierre Marc Pallascio have observed, rarely do these institutions respond to posts or comments, or they do so modestly, and many of these sites do “not allow public posts on their page, but [do] allow for reviews (269-70). This raises an important question: what can social media do beyond being an effective tool for promotion? As Elisa Giaccardi aptly points out, social media have the potential to “create infrastructures of communication and interaction that act as places of cultural production” and have led to a “new generation of ‘living’ heritage practices” (“Introduction” 5). It is these kinds of heritage practices on social media that this chapter explores, ones that shift away from a focus on “the technical and political issues of digital archiving,” found in the majority of scholarship on digital memory and heritage, to “the social benefits of remembering and forgetting” that are bolstered by Web 2.0 social networking platforms and the burgeoning of

participatory culture (Giaccardi, “Things We Value” 21).

At first glance, a focus on social media and heritage practices may seem far removed from the ongoing concern with mobility, memory, and place that I have discussed thus far. But an analysis of social media not only provides insight into a growing area of heritage practice—one rooted in decentralizing the authority of the museum, or the reified historical artifact, by fostering communities of contributors—but also expands the understanding of mobility, memory, and quotidian practices that is at the heart of this dissertation. As Graham Fairclough notes in his discussion of social media and heritage, “The walls of a museum are potentially dissolved by social media, just as they dissolve the walls between the special and the everyday, between academic disciplines, between the expert and the lay, between past and future, between ‘us’ and ‘others’” (xvi). He contends that often the heritage discourse at work in social media is “not the special (guarded by regulated canons of taste and thoughts, protected by experts), but the ordinary (which turns out not really to be ordinary because people are not ordinary)” and concludes, “social media reunites or merges heritage with the everyday” (xvi). Here, the quotidian nature of memory is tied to the medium itself, as the influx of Web 2.0 technologies have led to the rise of participatory culture, where daily digital contributions constitute what being “social” means in networked society.

Moreover, social media can be understood as mobile in two distinct ways. First, as the above quotation from Fairclough indicates, social media move or relocate the places of heritage work to outside traditional institutional settings (museums, archives, libraries) in a way similar to the mobile locative technologies that I have discussed thus far. As Tim Coughlan et al. note, the goal of locative media heritage projects is to “support heritage experiences beyond the boundaries of formally curated spaces” as well as to “encourage

local community engagement and inquiry” (21), fostering what they call, in line with the decentring of authority that interests Fairclough, “heritage with a do- it-yourself ethos” (21). Likewise, mobility in the context of social media can refer to a similar kind of socially distributed curatorial practice. As Sophia B. Liu explains, “Socially distributed curation is a socio-technical practice involving people, cultural artifacts and information and communication technology. . . . This type of curation occurs in a collaborative and distributed way, thus creating shared ownership over the stewardship of the living memory that is being preserved” (52). In grassroots *Facebook* pages like “Lost Ottawa” (ones that depend on crowdsourced information for their content), when a variety of user-generated comments contributes to the interpretation of an archival item (in this case photographs), the “social media users engage in docenting activities” that have traditionally been reserved for curators sanctioned within the museum or archival institution (Liu 51-52).¹¹ The decentring of authority at work here emphasizes the social dimension inherent in memory, as theorized by Maurice Halbwachs and others, including Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney. For Halbwachs, memory cannot be separated from the social frameworks that give rise to it, as he argues, “it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories” (38). In today’s digitally networked environment,

¹¹ As Liu notes, “Typically, docents are knowledgeable guides, community leaders, mentors and enthusiasts who volunteer their time to interface with the public and share knowledge about a particular topic. Since social media services fundamentally facilitate conversations and engagement with the public, one might argue that many social media users engage in docenting activities” (51-52).

the social is intimately bound up with connectivity. Therefore, social media become an important point of consideration for discourses of memory. Moreover, as Erll and Rigney point out, although Halbwachs did not explicitly consider the role that media play in memory formation, “the very concept of *cultural* memory is itself premised on the idea that memory can only become collective as part of a continuous process whereby memories are shared with the help of symbolic artifacts that mediate between individuals and, in the process, create communality across both space and time” (1).

This leads to the second way in which mobility is used in this chapter: understanding social media and digital heritage as a continuous cultural process. As Fairclough explains, social media heritage groups “creat[e] new heritage through cultural processes” of collecting, sharing, conversing and contesting (xvi). Morgana and Pallascio liken this to “the performance of heritage” (263). They note that social media open up performance spaces for “acts of self-curation that collect images, video, hashtags, text and other media” (263). As a cultural process, these acts of self-curation can also be understood as instances of digital storytelling. Digital storytelling refers to the process of using digital tools to collect and make public personal stories. Often this process is carried out through academic institutions, such as The Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling at Concordia University, that aim to foster collaborative working relationships between academic research centres and community groups. As Kirsten Drotner notes, the focus of digital storytelling with Web 2.0 services is on “processual perspectives, rather than the results or products, and in that sense . . . is attuned to contemporary narrative practices” (63). Ola Erstad and James V. Wertsch have also argued that narratives and storytelling are an integral part of life and how individuals make sense of the world, relate to each other, and to the past, and suggest that social media provide digital

spaces that “might transform the role narratives play in our lives” (22). They claim that Web 2.0 technologies make this ongoing process of telling and sharing daily life stories appear more ubiquitous and more personalized:

All media are of course personal in the sense that they are mediational means for meaning making. However, the new possibilities of user generated content production represented by [W]eb 2.0 make the personal voice more apparent. Information and communication technologies can be used for producing and consuming narratives in a whole new way by people around the world, as seen on Internet sites like “MySpace” and “YouTube.” By using terms like my(space), you(tube), face(book) we see combinations of the personal expression and the mediational means used in an integrated way. (Erstad and Wertsch 32)

However, it is important to remember that participation is not distinctive to Web 2.0 technology, nor is it new in the context of heritage discourse. As Drotner notes, it is not the idea of “media audiences” as “potential media producers” that is unique to Web 2.0, as she cites traditional forms of print media (letters to the editor; subscription service letters) as instances of audience participation, but rather “the scale of uptake, the semiotic complexity, and the immediacy and ubiquity of exchange that are the most significant features of [W]eb 2.0 in a socio-cultural sense” (64). Similarly, Giaccardi points out that the concept of a participatory culture is not new to heritage, as amateur heritage groups and guilds existed long before the influx of social media. However, she does note that “we are witnessing today a broader and more profound phenomenon” within participatory culture as a result of “several socio-technical factors,” particularly the ease and speed at which individuals can access and share information (“Introduction” 3).

It is this very fact, that processes of participatory culture are not far removed from amateur historian practices that existed prior to Web 2.0 technology, that makes the study of their digital counterparts of interest, particularly because of their rate of acceleration. As Giaccardi notes, “Today mobile and ubiquitous technologies are accelerating these changes by enabling users to participate, spontaneously and continuously, in activities of collection, preservation and interpretation of digitized heritage content and new digitally mediated forms of heritage practice” (“Introduction” 2). But it is important to remember that there are a variety of users and with them different levels of engagement. As Jenkins et al. clearly indicate in their definition of participatory culture, “Not every member must contribute, but all must believe that they are free to contribute and that what they contribute will be appropriately valued” (6). It is also important to recognize how the systems of value are reconfigured by social media and Web 2.0 participatory culture. This is apparent in the above statement from Giaccardi; here participation is valuable because it is spontaneous and continuous, two concepts that speak directly to the networked flow of information. I will now turn my attention to a consideration of some of the standard discourse around heritage practices on social media in order to call into question the kinds of memory work these platforms sustain. Using “Lost Ottawa” as my primary case study, I will unpack two ideas found most frequently in discussions of social media and heritage: that these platforms signal a resurgence of collective memory and that they establish stronger affective attachments which potentially contribute to a stronger sense of connectivity and community.

Social Media and Collective Memory

In their analysis of participatory culture in the digital age, Neil Silberman and Margaret Purser argue that social media have the potential to “restore a sense of collective memory” (17). This

claim stems from a conceptualization of memory that follows from the work of Paul Connerton in *How Societies Remember*, where memory is positioned as embedded in social performances and therefore as something that is embodied, social, continuous (processual), collaborative, and interwoven into daily life. With performative memory, “There is no sense of separation from everyday life,” as is the case with formal museum spaces or official rituals at sites of commemoration (Silberman and Purser 16). Rather, “These performances are the way that people weave rational connections between past and present, taking apart elements of the remembered past and reassembling them to make sense of an ongoing dynamic present, and to negotiate the currents of power and authority that shape daily life” (16). As a result of the ubiquitous nature of social media interactions and an individual’s place in the network (net locality), these daily acts of performative memory are increasingly carried out online. As Silberman and Purser argue, “Digital technologies offer a new medium not only for conversation and contact, but also for the construction of viable, continuous ‘memory communities’ that creatively reassemble fragments from a shared past into a dynamic, reflective expression of contemporary identity” (16). Roger I. Simon similarly contends that social media platforms are being used more pervasively for sharing information and self-expression and, in turn, “offer a productive space for assembling diverse groups of people to engage in an interactive practice of ‘remembering together’” (89). For this reason, he suggests that it is important to pay attention to the practices of memory carried out on social media platforms, while also considering how these platforms structure modes or methods of interaction, and how this ultimately affects the process of remembrance.

Process is, again, key here as Simon positions remembrance as a social process constituted through practice and open to the influence of “the ongoing interchange of

thoughts and affects, opinions and beliefs, attachments and antipathies” (90). On the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page, the discourses of remembering pertain mostly to quotidian aspects of life: childhood memories, memories of growing up, memories of school, of food, of family, of leisure time, and of past jobs. As might be expected, the memories that participants share often express fondness and are at times tinted with a sense of nostalgia for the loss of past times or places. At other times, however, this sense of nostalgia is supplemented by a cynicism (sometimes veiled, sometimes outright) about the present generation who either missed out on the “good old days” or spend too much time on their cell phones, or more frequently, about how “little” the city appears to do to protect and preserve old buildings. But on the *Facebook* platform, often these attachments and antipathies play out at the same time. In other words, many of these *Facebook* posts can generate a multitude of negative and positive emotions that are visually compounded on the platform. For example, in a post from 24 September 2013 “Lost Ottawa” shares a picture of a piece of public art called “Traffic” that once sat in Confederation Park (see fig. 4).



Figure 4. “Traffic,” public artwork once located in Confederation Park from Lost Ottawa,

“The ‘traffic’ noodle...” *Facebook*, 24 Sept. 2015.

As the sculpture’s nickname, “The Turd,” might suggest, the piece incited some very strong and divided public opinion, much of which was captured in the 77 *Facebook* comments that accompanied the post. But what the post also captures is that the interpretive significance of objects and places is largely associated with an individual’s day-to-day attachments and experiences. As one user aptly noted, “Makes you realize how your perception of a work of art is so affected by the memories you associate with it. I remember having many a deep conversation within sight of this, so I have a fondness for it. I can certainly understand why others would have a different opinion” (McGee, *Lost Ottawa* 41). By displaying the diverse inscriptions that people placed on this piece of public art, the platform exhibits the dynamics of memory and the unpredictable associations and affects an object, site, or place can elicit.

As the previous example indicates, a sense of community and interactivity is at the core of an enterprise like the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page, which relies on its users’ interest in reading and/or sharing personal memories and stories about the places pictured. In this way, social media platforms can be seen as new spaces for more dynamic and interactive heritage work. As Silberman and Purser note, “It is the ability to hear someone else’s version of the story, or see a ‘map’ of someone else’s memory of a place, that creates the open cognitive space in which you can change your own” (19). This is frequently the case in “Lost Ottawa” where, as stories are shared and memories build, the site pictured in an archival photograph becomes re-populated, or re-mapped, through the retelling of past memories and experiences. Often these reflections are expressed sensorially, as with a picture of the SuperEx (the Central Canada Exhibition) at the Aberdeen Pavilion in 1988 which evokes many memories of smells and sounds for “Lost Ottawa” contributors. It is often food and entertainment experiences like these that act as the strongest triggers for contributing members to build, or re-build, their own memories and experiences.

Similarly, in a post from 6 November 2014 of Yaghi’s Mini Mart, originally located on Fifth Avenue in the Glebe, users post a variety of memories of and associations to the place that create a sense of both commonality and discord. The photo, contributed by a “Lost Ottawa” user, is captioned as, “Yaghis [sic] on Fifth Ave, demolished this week. Ziki Wahab was a really nice guy who ran a great corner store. So many bags of milk bought here, as a kid going to Mutchmor, a whole lotta candy too!” (Lost Ottawa, “Yaghis on Fifth Ave”). Several users, many of whom note that they too attended Mutchmor Public School, also share their own memories of the store and items that they used to purchase there for pennies as children. As the comments unfold, it becomes evident that many objects or activities associated with the

store become triggers for other users, who then post similar memories. Additionally, fond memories of the owner of the shop, and his role and contribution to the community over the years, are shared. But the posts are not without critical comments, particularly from individuals who are upset about the demolition of the store, which they cite as a failure on the part of the city to protect places and structures that have been important to a community for generations. In these criticisms, users conflate the destruction of the landmark with the loss of stories from the past that will no longer be available to future generations. But these reactions are also met with comments by small business owners who draw attention to the economic barriers facing small businesses. The discussion then turns to the role of the city in supporting small business, and particularly small business owned by immigrant families, and the need to make these businesses more viable and sustainable for individuals who have families to support. What is revealed through the tension of having these diverse perspectives brought together on the platform is that the act of commemoration is not solely an act of persevering or protecting the physical landmark. As some of the comments indicate, places or objects from the past are not always sustainable for a variety of reasons. But what the *Facebook* platform highlights is that, despite this, what can persist is a community of people who remember, and one that is extended a little bit further through the social network than perhaps it was before the post was made on the *Facebook* group. In this way, the community of rememberers on “Lost Ottawa” replicates the community of neighbours who once visited the store. Here authority is shifted away from the memory object, or landmark, and into the circulation of memory as it is felt affectively or viscerally through the discourse carried out between users.

Additionally, unlike traditionally curated museum exhibits, textbooks, or even amateur history websites, there is no appeal to a singular authority or authorial voice on the

“Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page. Although McGee takes on a curatorial role in finding and selecting what archival photos will be posted and adding an initial caption to the photos, other users are always quick to correct a mistake made, or to provide further clarification if a caption is misguided or made in error (see fig. 5).

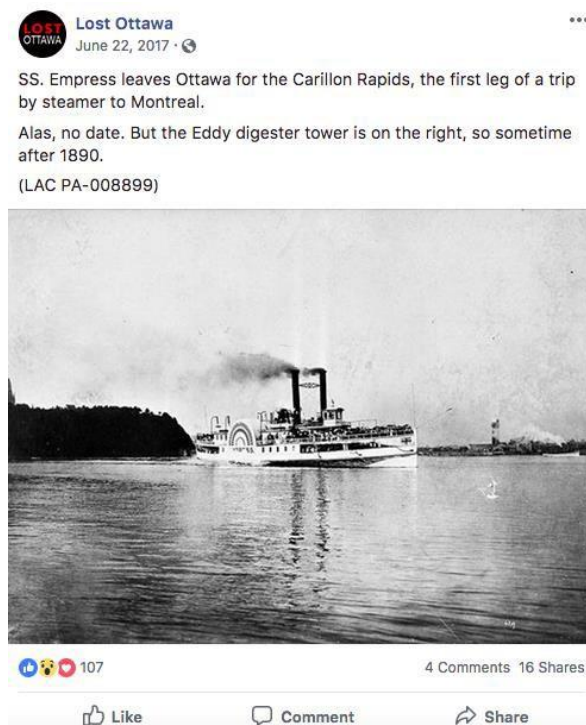


Figure 5. Photograph of the riverboat *SS Empress* from Lost Ottawa, “SS. Empress leaves Ottawa...” *Facebook*, 22 June 2017.

For example, McGee captions a post on 22 June 2017 of the riverboat the *SS Empress* with, “The *SS Empress* leaves Ottawa for the Carillon Rapids, the first leg of a trip by steamer to Montreal. Alas, no date. But the Eddy digester tower is on the right, so sometime after 1890” (Lost Ottawa, “*SS. Empress*”). However, a *Facebook* user quickly points out in the comments section that the ship would have actually been going to Grenville (Lost Ottawa, “*SS.*

Empress”). Moreover, McGee often posts photos that have been contributed by other users, or users will add their own archival photos, newspaper clippings, or other documents as supplementary materials in a comment on one of McGee’s initial posts. In the example of the *SS Empress* post, the *Facebook* user made the correction by citing a text by the Ottawa River Navigation Company from 1898, the excerpt of which he includes in his comment, along with a newspaper article from 1898 that helps to refine the date of the photograph even further. Similarly, McGee will often post an “evening puzzler” in which he will ask the *Facebook* community for insights into an unknown or unclear aspect of a photo, or users will help each other, answering questions posed and contributing material they have found through their own research. Although these kinds of interactions differ slightly from the personal memories and experiences users often share in the *Facebook* group, as here we have the more “proper” archival or historical work of using multiple sources of information to piece together or uncover the circumstances surrounding what is depicted in the photographs, still all of these instances appear to foster a sense of shared authority and community on the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page. And it is exchanges like these that lead Silberman and Purser to conclude, “The sense of collective engagement has to be present somehow, before digital versions of interaction can escape the old one-directional frame of the museum panel or the textbook chapter” (19).

In his extensive study of digital memory, Andrew Hoskins similarly takes up the argument that the shift to digitally networked technology has the potential to change the unidirectional relationship of curatorial authority and, in turn, change memory discourse. But where others see these new media platforms as having the potential to restore a sense of collective memory, Hoskins takes issue with the term collective, arguing that “collective

memory—the most used term for memory beyond the self and of the group, of society—needs upgrading in light of the digital’s ushering in of much more complex dialogic modes of communication” (“Memory of the Multitude” 85). He notes that the tendency in media studies to cling to collectivist notions of mass reception and unified audience (products of the broadcast era) has been an obstacle in the process of fully understanding new Web 2.0 media environments, and he attributes this outmoded ideology to the continued use of the term collective memory in memory studies (Hoskins, “Digital Network Memory” 96), as a kind of outdated notion of collectivity that has little bearing today. He proposes instead the term *connective* memory and the idea of “memory of the multitude” as more appropriate to the kinds of memory practices afforded by today’s networked, participatory media (“Memory of the Multitude” 85).

Hoskins is certainly not the first person to challenge the concept of collective memory, as memory studies scholars have taken issue with the idea of the collective for a long time. One of the most notable is Jeffery Olick’s “Collective Memory: The Two Cultures,” which set out to refine the concept of collective memory. Hoskins also references Olick’s work as it is particularly relevant to digital memory practices. Olick first takes issue with the sheer diversity of the term collective memory, which he suggests serves as a catch-all for everything from “aggregated individual recollections, to official commemorations, to collective representations, and to disembodied constitutive features of shared identities,” leading him to ask, what is not collective memory? (336). He then goes on to distinguish two categories of memory: collected and collective. Collected memory is “the aggregated individual memories of members of a group” (338). This stems from the understanding that “social frameworks shape what individuals remember, but ultimately it is only individuals who do the remembering” (338). As

such, the aggregation of diverse individual memories is an important form of memory work, but should not be misunderstood as a unified or singular act of remembering, or as *the* collective memory. This concept of collected memories foregrounds the individual as memory-maker, the subject doing the remembering, but it is often mistakenly categorized as a collective memory. As Olick further clarifies, any sense of “shared symbols and deep structures are only real insofar as individuals (albeit sometimes organized as members of groups) treat them as such or instantiate them in practice” (338).

On the other hand, collective memory, as summarized by Astrid Erll, “refers to the symbols, media, social institutions, and practices which are used to construct, maintain, and represent versions of a shared past” (98). These are the *lieux de mémoire* that prompt or “provide the cues for certain images of the past” and, according to Olick, have “a degree of autonomy from the subjective perceptions of individuals” (Olick 341). Although Olick considers these two categories to be entirely separate entities, it is more widely accepted that these two forms of memory actually work together and influence each other, as “there is no pre-cultural individual memory,” nor is there “a ‘Collective Memory’ that is totally detached from individuals and embodied solely in media and institutions” (Erll 98). In other words, memory is constructed through a combination of internal and external factors. It is helpful to think of this in terms of Jan Assmann’s classic formulation of potentiality versus actuality in cultural memory. As he suggests, archival items have the potential to be relevant sites of memory, but it is not until the object is brought to light, that is to say, into circulation with individuals, that it becomes meaningful. This is done through a process of actualizing, “whereby each contemporary context puts the objectivize meaning into its own perspective, giving it its own relevance” (Assmann 130).

We can perhaps see “Lost Ottawa” as operating somewhere between collected and collective memory. Social media pages like “Lost Ottawa” become sites where memories can be collected, or collected memories can be shared, but the accumulation of these memory fragments can only amount to assemblages. In this way, they come to resemble the multitude. According to Hoskins, these pervasive digital social practices have shifted the discourse of memory construction whereby, “Memory of the multitude replaces collective memory as the imagined dominant form of memory-in-the-world, and it does this through undermining the very idea of memory beyond the individual” (“Memory of the Multitude” 92). This concept of the multitude is developed out of the work of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri who have defined the multitude as “composed of innumerable internal differences that can never be reduced to a unity or a single identity” (xiv). Hardt and Negri note that “the challenge posed by the concept of multitude is for a social multiplicity to manage to communicate and act in common while remaining internally different” (xiv). In the context of digitally networked memory, Hoskins suggests that for this very reason “multitude” provides a valuable framework for digital social practices in that it accounts for “the singularity of memory to the individual but also recogniz[es] its dependency on the vagaries of an array of digital connectivities and traces” (“Memory of the Multitude” 92). Like the Internet itself, the multitude follows “a distributed network” pattern, where “the various nodes remain different but are all connected in the Web” (Hardt and Negri xv). However, in order to function, “the internal differences of the multitude must discover *the common* that allows them to communicate and act together” (xv). As Hardt and Negri note, “The common we share, in fact, is not so much discovered as it is produced” (xv).

For Hoskins, “the commonality of memory of the multitude is that it is made through

hyperconnectivity, with each other, with the network, with the archive” (“Memory of the Multitude” 92). “Lost Ottawa” demonstrates that the memory work carried out through hyperconnectivity is evidence of how this “*common*” (or sense of the common) is, as Hardt and Negri suggest, produced. It is the act of retrieving and sharing personal memories in the network, through the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page, that positions memory as a common, continuous part of daily life. The connection that many individuals have to an archival photograph posted on “Lost Ottawa” situates the process of memory retrieval as belonging to the individual, but it is also “common,” or shared among many. Evidence of this can be seen in the sense of “sameness” that pervades the *Facebook* page. Similar memories are often shared, and sometimes even the same sentiment is repeated by multiple users. For example, in a post from 11 June 2016 of a photograph of the swimming pool inside the Chateau Laurier from 1931, the majority of commenters responded with the same sentiment of “I swam there” or “I remember swimming there” (Lost Ottawa, “The Deep End”). There are many instances on “Lost Ottawa,” in different contexts and pertaining to different activities, of the piling on of comments that echo a similar sentiment or experience. However, we can understand this sense of “sameness” as the result of common connection, and not evidence of some unified, totalizing “collective” representation. Further evidence of this can be seen in a post from 13 January 2018 of children skating on an outdoor rink in 1957 with world figure skating champion Andrea Kékesy (see fig. 6).

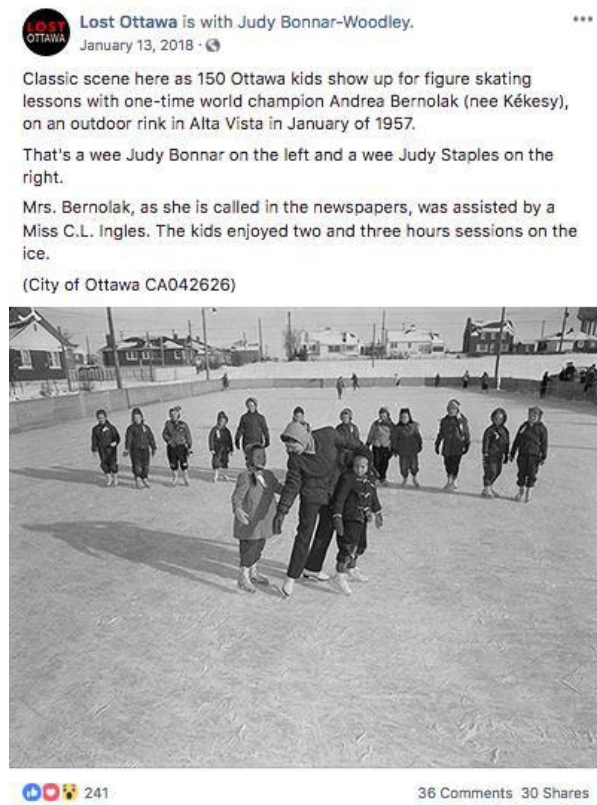


Figure 6. Photograph of children skating with Andrea Kékesy in Alta Vista 1957 from Lost Ottawa, “Classic Scene Here...” *Facebook*, 13 Jan. 2018.

Here, the sharing of similar memories of skating on the rink at Alta Vista leads to a virtual class reunion for those who attended Alta Vista public school in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As the comments show, hyperconnectivity is a key part of the sense of sociability that the *Facebook* platform affords. At the same time, these acts of hyperconnectivity foreground the sense of a continuous past that we can understand as a dynamic experience, developing out of a common sense of connection, rather than a static experience, or a collective remembrance of a reified past time. As such, connectivity, or connective memory, bridges the gap between collected and collective in a way that embraces variety, difference, and multiplicity. Coincidentally, in the introduction to the first printed collection of “Lost Ottawa” posts, McGee affirms these tenets of

connective memory, or memory of the multitude, as he describes the *Facebook* page as presenting, “The history of things that happen to ordinary folks as they live their lives and go about their business. The kind of history that isn’t usually written down. The history of common experience. Shared experience” (McGee, *Lost Ottawa x*).

Moreover, moving further away from a sense of collective, the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page contributes to a process of decentring the authority that Erll notes is often falsely attributed to media or institutions. Specifically, the *Facebook* page is transparent about how media become sites of memory, through the aggregation of data accumulated through a social process of acquiring and disseminating information, as this process is part of what the *Facebook* platform puts on display. As Simon aptly notes, remembering via a social network is not only a process, but a publically archived process no less, in that the evolution of the discourse of remembering can be traced as “digital practices of remembering together constitute a collectivity that publically displays its own process of formation” (91). This is not to suggest that biases do not exist on these platforms, be they racial, socioeconomic, or generational. In the case of “Lost Ottawa,” although McGee does represent a broad range of decades in the photographs that are posted, spanning from the turn of the nineteenth century to the late nineteen eighties, the majority of the photographs posted are from the 1950s and 1960s and depict suburban middle-class individuals and families. Notably, as most of the memories shared on the *Facebook* page pertain to childhood, and the majority of posters appear to be of the baby boomer generation, this generational bias is easily perpetuated. Moreover, it is extremely rare to see people of colour represented on “Lost Ottawa.” And so, like many traditional sites of memory including monuments and historic sites, these platforms, although they appeal to a sense of distributed authority, are not inherently democratic and can also work

to reinforce dominant representations of the past.

However, as I have discussed in the context of monuments, traditional sites of memory have significance because they are subject to an ongoing or dynamic exchange of memories, and as such also operate as vessels where assemblages of memory can be transposed. But what is particularly appealing about a social media page as a site of memory is that it does not use a materiality of iron or stone to give the illusion of permanence or unified meaning. In fact, its digital nature and database form is the antithesis of permanence. The digital is defined by the ephemeral and impermanent while the database is always subject to revision. As Lev Manovich has argued,

The open nature of the web as medium (web pages are computer files which can always be edited) means that web sites [sic] never have to be complete; and they rarely are. The sites always grow. New links are being added to what is already there. It is as easy to add new elements to the end of a list as it is to insert them anywhere in it. All this further contributes to the anti-narrative logic of the web. If new elements are being added over time, the result is a collection, not a story. (82)

As a database, the content on *Facebook* is constantly changing and updated. In fact, “Lost Ottawa” posts new photos multiple times a day. José van Dijck has argued that the constant movement of content on social media platforms makes them an inappropriate place for memory work. She suggests, “*Flickr* is not a logical place to nurture interpretations of the past because the site is primed by the *present* – a constant flow of images whose uploading is premeditated by users’ motives that vary from aesthetic preference to political conviction” (van Dijck, “*Flickr*” 409). In one sense, she is right in that platforms like *Facebook* make it very difficult to go back over long periods of time to retrieve information or past posts. The Timeline feature on

Facebook makes this particularly challenging, as the news feed format privileges a constant updating of information. Here the published volumes of “Lost Ottawa” become particularly useful, as they function as a repository of past posts that can be easily navigated. And in this way, the books attempt to solve what Liu sites as an inherent problem in distributed curatorial practices, where “the very products of curation become new artifacts to curate” (52). But it is, in fact, the constant development or evolution of memory discourses that make these sites particularly well suited to capturing the dynamics of memory. Not only are new photos, and memories, constantly uploaded to the site with one memory or story being supplanted by the next, individual photos themselves become a launching pad for a variety of stories, some that directly reflect the image posted, and others that develop tangentially out of it. For example, a post of the *Facebook* page from 11 May 2013 of a photo depicting an old Ogilvy’s shopping bag elicited a variety of user responses from, “I used to love how they had a piper open the store on the first morning of their annual fall sale,” to “My grandmother worked at Charles Ogilvy’s,” to “[Their] basement malts were the greatest!” (McGee, *Lost Ottawa* 12-13). Just as *how* one chooses to interact on the *Facebook* page can vary, so too can the interactions. Here, the item or the image does not carry an inherent authority, other than its use as a site for the projection of assembled memories. As is the case with this post, and in many “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* posts, the discussion prompted by the photo very often quickly extends beyond the object or site that is specifically pictured to include tangential or aggregated memories of other things, people, or activities not pictured.

Therefore, despite the fact that sameness seems to be highly valued, or at least validated, on the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page, the unpredictability of what is shared as well as the constant updating of the database, where user comments are constantly supplanted by

newer posts, creates a shifting ground that prevents any kind of sense of “collective” stability. If, as Hoskins says, the sense of collective experience that developed in the broadcast era, through the notion of a unified audience experience, is lost in the shift to media environments that ask for *participation*, and not simply spectatorship, we must now focus on how each person engages independently in his or her own way. When users are confronted with a picture on the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page, they have to do something with that picture, and the kinds of “doing with” that have the most value on the platform are sharing, commenting, and liking, in other words some form of interactive engagement. A user may see the picture and share it by showing it to someone in the next room, but because of *Facebook*’s bias towards a certain kind of engagement—that is, likes, hits, shares—this form of sharing is valued less in the context of the platform. Or, a user may see the picture and think more about the present place, she may experience the place differently, it may prompt a personal memory that she shares with her family the next day; there are multiple ways of interacting (or not) with the *Facebook* page and its posts, just as there are many ways in which to interpret the archival photograph. But since the *Facebook* platform values sharing, commenting, and recirculation the most, by extension the success of “Lost Ottawa” is measured in the same terms.

In fact, in the introduction to the first book of collected “Lost Ottawa” posts, McGee discusses the success of the enterprise by tracing its movement through this system of circulation value. He remarks that with its “approximat[e] 42,000 members,” the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page “is the largest historical community in the city, and one of the largest *Facebook* communities in the Capital Region” (McGee, *Lost Ottawa* ix). McGee goes on to note that, in terms of *Facebook* analytics, “Since 2013, we’ve posted more than

8,000 pictures, each one now viewed by an average of 10,000 people. Our weekly reach—meaning the number of individuals who see our content—regularly exceeds 100,000. These individuals have issued almost one million ‘likes’ of our various posts. Most important, they have left more than 90,000 comments about all things ‘lost’” (*Lost Ottawa ix*). In fact, the structure of the book itself was built around this concept of circulation value where, in an effort to include the “most popular” posts, McGee “add[ed] the number of likes, shares and comments together to come up with a simple measure of popularity” (*Lost Ottawa x*).

McGee’s interest in these measures speaks to what Hoskins has called “the new memory ecology” where “contagion and virality . . . have become increasingly significant measures of memory of the multitude” (“Memory of the Multitude” 95). And as Hoskins notes, social networking sites “provide a nexus of communications and media data (sounds, images, textual comments, etc.) that accrue value through the principle of their hyperconnectivity with the many (circulation and remediation)” (95). McGee’s introduction to the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page clearly demonstrates how this scale of value impacts the way in which the success of the project is measured. So to fully analyze the kind of memory work carried out by “Lost Ottawa,” and the exponential possibilities for social media use in the heritage sector, it is crucial to understand this shift in value. Therefore, if “Lost Ottawa” falls somewhere in between the categories of collected and connective memory, as I have claimed, then it is important to consider the nuances of how users engage with the *Facebook* content. By doing this, it will be possible to fully consider and come to terms with any sense of collective that haunts these social media heritage sites for, as van Dijck has noted, notions of collectivity are consistently “naively transferred onto digital practices, even if the conditions for communication and preservation have substantially changed” (“Flickr” 404).

Remembering in Conversations

In order to understand more fully how connective memory operates on the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page, and how “Lost Ottawa” occupies a middle ground between collected and collective memory, it is important to consider the possible motivations for users to post and share content, and to understand how these motivations might be shaped by the platform itself. To do this, I will draw from a framework that puts the social at the centre of memory processes but is not necessarily concerned with digital networks or social media. Conversational remembering is a rich field of study in psychological analyses of memory and is relevant to this discussion of digitally networked memory as the propagation of personal experiences and memories are a common aspect of daily social interactions as individuals share stories with family, friends, or even acquaintances, but notably, “this pervasive exchange of memories may be becoming both broader and quicker as social media supplies yet other means of communicating about the past” (Hirst and Echterhoff 56). In their research on conversational remembering, William Hirst and Gerald Echterhoff studied physically co-present participants who were asked to recall information that they had previously learned individually. From this process they observed, “People converse with others about the past or about previously learned information for a variety of reasons: to inform others, to seek desired information, to create a sense of intimacy, or to influence others” (56). The same might be said for people who engage with conversational remembering on social media platforms like *Facebook*.

In the case of “Lost Ottawa,” some of the motivating factors for user participation might include a general interest in the history of, or the prospect of taking part in, a productive heritage action; it may be enjoyable leisure time, or the possibility of connecting with others who have similar experiences, or simply connecting to one’s personal past. For Hirst and

Echterhoff, conversational remembering stems from the question, “How does the way individuals remember in a group differ from how they might remember in isolation?” (58). This is also an important question to ask in the context of digital memory communities, as users who engage on social media experience a virtual co-presence which can be thought of as consisting of both elements of remembering together and remembering in isolation. In other words, the virtual affords both a sense of intimacy and distance. In the case of “Lost Ottawa,” a user engaging with a post will most likely carry out her act of remembering in isolation (at home in front of her computer), yet if she reads the comments, the individual is also exposed to the cues from others who have shared their personal memories. Moreover, an individual may be alone in viewing a photograph posted on “Lost Ottawa” on her home computer, but the image may prompt conversational remembering with another physically co-present individual, such as a family member or a friend. In this way, virtual space allows for a variety of isolated and shared interactions that both encompass the digital network and extend beyond it, into the physical environment.

In instances of remembering in conversations with others who are physically co-present, Hirst and Echterhoff have observed how processes of scaffolding and transactive memory can contribute positively to the formation of memories. In scaffolding, external influences “such as media, cultural institutions, or social networks” are thought to provide the groundwork for cognition (Hirst and Echterhoff 57). In the context of remembering together, “One person in the conversation . . . might remind another of an initially forgotten memory. In this way, the performance of any individual conversational participant depends critically on others” (Hirst and Echterhoff 57). Similarly, in transactive memory, “people can divide a memory task among themselves so as to make it easy for them to fill in gaps in each other’s

recall” (Hirst and Echterhoff 58). It is clear on the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page that user comments frequently act as cues and triggers for others to recall potentially forgotten memories. With digitally networked memory in general, we can see a similar process of distributed remembering at work in the concept of crowdsourcing, where the information provided by users acts as cues for other individuals to supply additional, or similar, information. In her article “Citizen Scholars: Facebook and the Co-Creation of Knowledge,” Amanda Grace Sikarskie describes this in terms of collective intelligence:

One can understand the collective intelligence of lay scholars’ crowdsourcing of history in this way: no one historian knows everything, and everyone actively posting content has something slightly different to offer the community. All of the content produced and posted by lay . . . scholars amounts to . . . a body of knowledge that no one individual can ever know in its entirety, for it is simply too vast. Collectively, these social citizen scholars have created a massive, fairly cohesive body of knowledge online. (219)

It is also helpful to consider Olick’s exploration of memory inside the brain, in particular neural networks, as it is especially relevant to the context of networked media and collective intelligence. The technological processes involved in social media (sharing bits of information) mimics the neurological piecemeal memory work constituted in the brain and the social process of collection that Olick sees as crucial to the social aspect of the memory process. He notes that neurological discourses on memory insist that memories are not stored as whole entities in the mind “to be called up wholesale at a later date,” but are assemblages of past experiences combined with information in the present (Olick 340). As he explains, “people do not perceive every aspect of a situation, they do not store every aspect they

perceive, and they do not recall every aspect they store” (340). Like the principle of scaffolding, other individuals can positively influence how one might remember, or reach previously buried memories through triggers and cues. In the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* group, it is the accumulation of the collective intelligence of contributors that produce rich and varied memory composites, as users bring different types of knowledge to the group. Some users are particularly good at identifying landmarks or streetscapes (despite drastic changes). Others bring past work experience, or the work experience of a relative, that relates to what is pictured: a person’s father drove a streetcar in Ottawa (McGee, *Lost Ottawa* 80), a person’s grandfather owned a diner that is pictured (88), a user once worked in an analogous place and provides the memory of that experience. Other contributors are archivists, enthusiasts, or amateur historians and, as such, are able to contribute specialized knowledge through a particular expertise, in such areas as military planes or old cars. Other users might recognize a person pictured and can name him. All of this is evidence of the ways in which collective intelligence accumulates in a diverse assemblage of knowledge on social media heritage sites.

At the same time, unlike these explanations of crowdsourced or collective intelligence, which seem to present the resulting assemblage as greater than the sum of its parts, Hirst and Echterhoff’s study of conversational remembering suggests that this might not always be the case when individuals come together in a process of remembering. In fact, they observe that when a group remembers together, their collaboration can influence how and what individuals remember, in that working with others can disrupt an individual’s personal memory retrieval process, leading to what they, and others, call collaborative inhibition or retrieval disruption (Congleton and Rajaram 1572). For this reason, “just because a group may remember more than an individual would remember in isolation . . . the group recounting is not the sum of the

individual capacities of the group members” (Hirst and Echterhoff 59). Other people’s memories and memory retrieval processes can be inhibiting factors in group remembering. In the case of “Lost Ottawa,” it may be that the similarities in shared memories are more limiting than connective, as perhaps individuals are more inclined to comment on a post if they can confirm similar memories or sentiments that have already been shared. In this way, the memory work may be biased as a result of both the platform and the process of collaborative remembering. At the same time, there may be an advantage to digital crowdsourcing, as virtual co-presence could prevent these kinds of retrieval biases as it provides some distance not afforded by physical co-presence.

Still, there are additional factors at play in conversational remembering when individuals are not physically co-present but virtually connected through a digital network. The technological environment that has allowed for the growth of collective intelligence on a massive scale is, as Hoskins notes, a result of “the connective turn” (“The Restless Past” 1). However, he has provocatively argued that the connective turn has, in fact, created a new memory culture rooted in the premise of “sharing without sharing” (“The Restless Past” 2). This is to say that digital networked platforms like *Facebook* and *Twitter* prompt individuals to post, like, and share content and personal information, but these “connective practices” are not “act[s] underpinned by the values of equity and unselfishness, but rather [are] more a matter of an obligation to participate and to reciprocate, underpinned by a set of digitally fostered values” (“The Restless Past” 2). As van Dijck explains, “The idea of ‘sharing’ presumes a conscious, human activity, whereas in the context of social media platforms it has become mostly an unconscious technological pursuit” (“Flickr” 402). As such, virtual communities are constituted by

“mediatizing obligations to contribute, to update, to respond, and a desire to be acknowledged and to acknowledge through the array of the new hierarchies of numbers of comments, followers, friends, likes” (Hoskins, “Memory of the Multitude” 95). In this sense, participatory culture, in the context of networked technology, can be seen as a self-motivated, or selfish, enterprise. In other words, the participatory culture on social media is comprised of individuals who participate in order to bolster their personal online profile. Van Dijck notes, social media sites like *Facebook* are “a primer for promoting the self as the center of an extensive network of friends,” as the kinds of social interactions that the platform encourages are at the service of enhancing one’s social image online (*The Culture of Connectivity* 51). Sharing, therefore, is motivated by an individual’s desire to “show who they are,” as identity formation is carried out “by sharing pieces of information because disclosing information about one’s self is closely linked with popularity” (van Dijck, *The Culture of Connectivity* 51). In this way, a user’s desire to share a story about her past on the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page could be motivated by the fact that the platform emphasizes the individual as the centre of value, and so sharing a story from one’s past on “Lost Ottawa” is as much a contribution to one’s own gain of social and cultural capital in an online environment as it is a desire to contribute to an online community. In other words, in this system of value, participation is not necessarily in the service of the group, but in the service of an individual’s circulation in the network, as the motivation to contribute to an online social networking community stems from a combination of social and technical protocols that are centred on the individual. This is not to say that individuals are isolated in these participatory acts; in fact we know that it is the opposite, as many people feel a more profound sense of connection through their online

identities than they do “in person.” As Erstad and Wertsch have noted, particularly for marginalized individuals and groups, social media can be “an important performance space for certain groups in their redefinition of the self and consolidation of new identities” (33). But this could be thought of as an effect of the system of circulation. Therefore, what needs to be addressed more fully, in order to unpack the distinction between collective and connective memory, particularly in the case of “Lost Ottawa,” is the question of how exactly these pages function as communities. In other words, how much do the practices of sharing, circulating, and commenting on social media (practices that Hoskins and van Dijck position as protocols, rather than as deep practices of sharing) generate conversation and community?

Digital Memory Communities

The individualistic motivations that Hoskins and van Dijck see as an inherent part of participation on social media might actually prevent the inhibitions or retrieval disruptions that come with conversational remembering, as theorized by Hirst and Echterhoff. In other words, if it is individual contributions that create social currency on social media, as Hoskins and van Dijck claim, then there may be less fear for users in sharing unique information. Since social media put the self at the centre of networked expression, aspects of memory bias that can occur in co-present conversational remembering, such as audience tuning, where an individual tailors her retelling of a memory to what she thinks is relevant to her audience, may be less likely. Because the audience for “Lost Ottawa” is virtually co-present, the audience can be imagined in any way the contributor wants. Since there is no direct person-to-person feedback, there is space for the sharer to tell her story in whatever way she chooses. For example, some users tend to share their own

historical research or amateur expertise, while others want to share personal stories from their childhood, and still others only care to comment on what is directly represented in the photograph, such as how grand or beautiful an old building looks. And because “Lost Ottawa” was created without any clear affiliation to a heritage institution (aside from the fact that McGee himself is an archivist at the Museum of Science and Technology), there is no external expectation that the contributor must be accurate nor is there external pressure to provide information that is properly “archival.”

In this way, we might also see the draw of participating in a social media heritage community or network as allowing users to move beyond the individualistic, sharing- without-sharing framework. Even in instances where it seems like the individualistic drive to share personal experience is the primary motivator, there is still indication on the “Lost Ottawa” Facebook page that these digital inscriptions can create an experience of *connective* intimacy (or at least perceived intimacy) for the *Facebook* user. In order to understand how this sense of intimacy might develop it is helpful to contextualize these digital interactions with their analogue predecessors. As van Dijck rightly points out, “the idea of sharing photographs as a community-based social activity is firmly rooted in analogue practices of photography” (“Flickr” 407). However, with the advent of digital practices of photo-taking and sharing, the intimate circle of family and close friends who were initially involved in the sharing process has expanded to include a wider public of general acquaintances, and even strangers. Van Dijck describes this shift as a movement from “a small group of persons (friends and family) sharing oral stories *around* or *about* images . . . [to] photos [being] used to tell stories *with* images to anonymous audiences” (“Flickr” 407). Interestingly, the sharing at work on the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page seems to have one foot in the “old” practices of intimate story-

sharing using images, and another foot very firmly planted in the connectivity of the digital network. Specifically, what seems to be of most interest in the user comments on the “Lost Ottawa” page are the stories and anecdotes of intimate family moments or personal experiences that are triggered by the photos, rather than the more general comments on how the landscape has changed, or how old something looks. At the same time, what makes this enterprise successful and appealing is the reach of the *Facebook* page: the large number of people coming forward with stories, and their diversity as well as similarity. However, when these “old” practices move online and start to occur between digital strangers, there is also an influx in the “exteriorization of intimate and affective . . . practices of memory and remembering” that have been traditionally associated with small, local, or immediate groups (Pogačar 33). With this in mind, another helpful framework for thinking through the conditions of intimacy generated through social media is Lauren Berlant’s theorization of intimate publics. For Berlant, intimate publics can be powerful sites of identification, particularly for non-dominant groups as they create “a porous, affective scene of identification among strangers that promises a certain experience of belonging and provides a complex of consolation, confirmation, discipline, and discussion about how to live as an *x*” (*Female Complaint* viii). And as Amy Shields Dobson et al. rightly point out in their analysis of digital intimate publics, social media open up new spaces for a variety of intimate publics and intimacy practices (xx).

In her theorization of intimate publics, Berlant suggests that intimacy develops through the consumption and circulation of narratives that presume a sense of commonality among a group. As she explains, “What makes a public sphere intimate is an expectation that the consumers of its particular stuff *already* share a worldview and emotional knowledge that

they have derived from a broadly common historical experience” (*Female Complaint* viii). In the case of the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* community, users seem to cohere around the presumption of a shared nostalgia for the loss of a past time and past places. Notably, in their circulation, these narratives *create* a sense of commonality for the intimate public at the same time as they express it, thereby sustaining a sense of “a commonly lived history” (Berlant, *Female Complaint* viii). As Berlant notes, “When this kind of ‘culture of circulation’ takes hold, participants in the intimate public *feel* as though it expresses what is common among them, a subjective likeness that seems to emanate from their history and their ongoing attachments and actions” (*Female Complaint* 5). The repercussions of this are two-fold in the context of the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* group. First, this deep-seated affective sense of common connection serves to frame an individual’s interaction with the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page as a form of collaborative heritage action, in that an individual’s participation in the group, by providing a comment or sharing a personal memory, is doing the community a service by rescuing the past for others. And second, as feelings of intimacy and common history circulate through the “Lost Ottawa” group, what gets reflected back is a certain kind of ownership of the past, fostered through a shared sense of belonging—where the past belongs to the group reflected—which not only brings digital strangers into closer contact, but brings the past closer, as one “Lost Ottawa” user noted in her comment, “Thank you Lost Ottawa for connecting us to our past in such immediate ways” (McGee, *Lost Ottawa* 79).

To return, for a moment, to Roger Simon’s discussion of “remembering together,” as his term suggests, using social media platforms to enact processes of remembrance turns these platforms into “a digital space where diverse people address the significance of how various histories might dwell within their current and future ways of being together in the world” (92).

This distinctly positions acts of sharing personal, affective, and historical knowledge on social media as “more than a collective archiving of personal experiences” (Simon 92). It should be noted that Simon is primarily concerned with how social media works to mobilize communities of remembrance after a lived tragedy or a contemporary tragic event. This is, of course, in contrast to the kind of memory work associated with “Lost Ottawa,” which uses social media pages and archival photos to create an impression of community. However, Simon’s argument emphasizes the importance of understanding memory as “a lived social practice” (91). In his account, “remembering through digitally mediated platforms” puts “people in relation as they express and remake their connections to specific historical events and to each other” (91).

Drawing from Berlant’s configuration of the affective historical present as “a thing being made, lived through, and apprehended” (“Intuitionist” 848), Simon insists that “practices of ‘remembering together’ may be said to restructure historical consciousness, instituting a viscerally felt ‘historical present’” (92-93). When an archival photograph is circulated by “Lost Ottawa” on the *Facebook* platform, it becomes, as Pogačar notes, a temporal object, “to the extent that it is *constituted* by the flow of its passing . . .” (Stiegler qtd. in Pogačar 33). In this way, it “redefines our connection with the past, the object, and the event as fleeting. This, on the other hand, reinforces the presence of the past in the extended now, while, on the other, it dilutes its historicity” (Pogačar 33). Certainly, there is something to be said about the ways in which social media, when used for processes of remembering, restructures memory by integrating it into the flow of networked life, calling attention to the ongoing and lived presence of the past in daily life. At the very least, these platforms are places where fragments from one’s past can be re-circulated in the present through the process of digital self-formation as part of an individual’s personal media assemblage, that is, the digital inscriptions that

constitute one's online identity (Good 559). In the case of "Lost Ottawa," this re-circulation is not the haunting potential of the digital shadow archive that Hoskins sees as constantly threatening "the potential exposure of all of one's [digital] traces, making the digital self forever accountable to an unfathomable and unharnessable deep glut of their past" (Hoskins, "Memory of the Multitude" 92). Rather, the bolstering of community and connection on "Lost Ottawa" works to mitigate this threat, or at least disguise it behind the potential for positive affective encounters with one's past and with virtual strangers. In other words, experience of connecting on "Lost Ottawa" is the affective encounter of the user reaching her memory (retrieving it) and, by extension, reaching out not only to a past time, but to digitally co-present individuals who have, though not necessarily a shared experience, a common sense of connection to what is pictured. In the act of remembering through social media, it is the affective or viscerally felt continuousness of the past, and its re-circulation in the present among multiple users, that contributes to fostering the conditions of immediacy and intimacy that are characteristic of digitally networked technologies.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to theorize the links between everyday experiences of memory, technology, and place in an effort to think through how emergent media practices might impact the creation and dissemination of memory narratives at heritage settings. In this way, it has been primarily concerned with participatory memory encounters through interactive technologies, from the gamification of archival content in the *Forgotten Worker Quest*, to the performance of virtual presence and digital intimacy in *LANDLINE*, to the playful mapping of place-based memories in *Maplibs*, to the collaborative heritage work carried out by a digital memory community on the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page. A recurring theme found in many of these interactive, technology-based memory encounters is the contrast between what Brian Greenspan and Jennifer R. Whitson have noted as a “preserve and protect” versus “play” mentality regarding archival content and heritage discourses (303). Key to this contrast is a difference between official sites of memory, historic places, heritage buildings, and institutions like the archive and the museum and what could be called grassroots emergent memory practices developed through participatory media. As I discussed in Chapter One, drawing upon Greenspan and Whitson’s assessment of their collaborative project, *Heritage Passages* and the *Forgotten Worker Quest*, often the desire to “play” with archival content in heritage settings by remixing it through gamification or other participatory locative media narratives can be at odds with the expectations or goals of museums and archival institutions. The possibilities of playing with digital and archival content through mobile and social media still creates tension in heritage institutions, even as these institutions attempt to adopt mandates that are geared towards a more participatory and user-oriented approach in their collection and exhibition strategies. Therefore, by way of conclusion, revisiting the theme of “preserve and protect”

versus “play” raises some important final concerns in my discussion of locative media narratives and participatory heritage environments. It should be noted that my use of “play” here refers to any kind of digital remixing or reuse of archival content, and not exclusively to gamification.

Digital technology and participatory heritage promise to open more opportunities for collaboration and co-creation within memory institutions. As Luigina Ciolfi notes, “This approach to the design of technology for museums and heritage sites resonates with current developments in thinking about museums as open and participative institutions— something that has emerged relatively recently and has brought significant changes to the concept of heritage” (71). And as Ole Sejer Iversen and Rachel Charlotte Smith point out, it is not simply about how museums or archival institutions employ new technologies, or a question of “how museums can effectively use new technological platforms,” but how the behaviours and practices that these platforms invite “can initiate a transformation of the museum,” where it becomes “an emerging cultural space for collective interaction and dialogue” (140, 141). In other words, the type of engagement that new media afford speaks to the trends in heritage practices to prioritize the individual as a site of knowledge (as opposed to the institution) in an attempt to shift, or at least share, authority. But this kind of ideological shift can be difficult for institutions when they attempt to integrate participatory media or crowdsourced heritage initiatives. Despite their interest in adopting more participatory technologies and curatorial frameworks, many institutions are still resistant to, or create barriers to, these kinds of collaborative practices. As a result, much work still needs to be done in both the design and implementation of “media platforms for collective reflection and dialogue” inside museum or archival institutions (Iversen and Smith 140).

Evidence of this can be found in the *Flickr Commons* pilot project initiated by The Library of Congress. The Library of Congress' *Flickr Commons* project, launched on 16 January 2008, was the library's first large-scale attempt at using social media to engage with the general public. The project was positioned as "The Library of Congress . . . asking the public for help" and as such leveraged itself on a strong sense of Web 2.0 altruism, something that was also reflected in the project's objectives which included tapping into sharing communities; providing photos that are free from copyright restrictions so as to avoid any problems with re-sharing; and increasing search engine optimization and publicity through other, non-traditional outlets (Springer et al. 1, 15). Overall, like many heritage institutions, the Library of Congress' main goal for the pilot project was to make their collections more visible and accessible and, in doing so, diversify the interpretations of their collections by increasing the number of people who engage with them. The first problem with this, as José van Dijck has argued, is that "the actual number of active participants" contributing to these sites is "not overwhelming," although this is not always apparent in the metrics ("Flickr" 411). Van Dijck notes that many of the contributions can be traced to a handful of "power commenters" who contribute frequently and in large quantities ("Flickr" 411). For example, the Library of Congress report notes that out of "the 59,193 tags added through May 13, 2008 . . . 40% of these tags were added by a small group of 10 'power taggers'" who were responsible for contributing "over 3,000 tags each" (Springer et al. 19). Therefore, the sheer number of comments on a given post is not necessarily a true measure of an extensive or diverse reach.

The second problem with this attempted diversification is that even if the institution positions itself as valuing crowdsourced personal stories and memories, this system of value is of a different order, or relegated to a difference place in the archive. For example, the Library

of Congress report seemingly places equal importance on both informational and affective user-generated comments on the archival photos made available on social media. By informational comments I am referring to pieces of information that are otherwise not in the archival record, but that fit its metadata scheme. This can include names of unidentified individuals in the photographs, clarification of time frame, or specialized knowledge about objects or pieces of equipment pictured. Frequently, these pieces of information are further verified and then integrated into the official archival record. As noted in the report, halfway through the pilot project “more than 500 records . . . had been enhanced with new information and cited the *Flickr Commons* project as the source of the information that was changed or added” (Springer et al. 30). On the other hand, affective comments are also heavily lauded in the report: “It is particularly gratifying to see *Flickr* members provide all kinds of connections between the past and the present through discussion of personal histories, including memories of farming practices, grandparents’ lives, women’s roles in World War II, and the changing landscape of local neighbourhoods” (Springer et al. 26). But unlike the informational comments that fit neatly into the archival metadata scheme, the personal anecdotes or affective commentaries are judged to be better suited to their “original context on *Flickr*” (Springer et al. 30). So while the report recognizes that “the personal experiences and reminiscences provided in the conversations between *Flickr* members in many cases enrich the appreciation of the photos,” these stories are kept separate from official archival records and are, instead, added as an appendage (a link) that clearly situates them in the framework of the social media (Springer et al. 30).

This type of selective integration of crowdsourced information reflects a division between “valuable” archival data to be “preserved” in the traditional archival sense and the

“playful,” emergent dialogue on the social media platform. Arguably, this division neglects to recognize all of the opportunities that, as Iversen and Smith argue, come from integrating social media into memory institutions. As they explain,

Social media are dialogic by nature and allow for meanings and experiences to be co-created and recreated within and through ongoing dialogues. This can forge new connections between museums and audiences, and break down the formal dichotomies between “official” and “living” expressions of heritage by acknowledging people’s authority in co-creating and defining what is exhibited. Ultimately, this use of social media creates a framework in which we can bring the “connectedness” *from* our everyday social and living heritage practices *into* the museum, and create new dynamic spaces for cultural experiences and communication. (Iversen and Smith 129)

There is something to be said for how the report from The Library of Congress recognized the need to modify the library’s approach when working with online knowledge communities. This was done by adjusting the tone of exchange (adopting something more informal), as well as by letting comments from users unfold naturally with little intervention, rather than “interjecting Library comments or rejoinders immediately,” while also not being entirely hands off, or absent from the conversation, as many institutions are on social media (Springer et al. 32). Still, as the above example indicates, there is more to be done in order to shift the framework to one that is more inclusive and open to collaborative research paradigms or the notion of “sharing authority,” where curatorial practices develop out of a relationship between experts, non-academic practitioners, and community groups (High 14).

Other projects have started to pave the way for a more productive form of

collaboration between archives and other communities and stakeholders outside of the institution. One example is *Project Naming* from Library and Archives Canada, which takes a shared authority approach to Indigenous archival collections in order to foster reconciliatory heritage work. Established in 2001 as a partnership between Murray Angus, an instructor at the Nunavut Sivuniksavut Training Program, and Library and Archives Canada, *Project Naming* seeks to identify Inuit, First Nations, and Métis peoples in photographs from LAC's collections. The digitization of the photos is crucial to this project, as it bridges the geographical distances between the archival collections and the communities that are represented in the photographs. But even more crucial to the project is the act of mobilizing communities of Indigenous youth and elders to share knowledge, reconnect with the photos, and reincorporate cultural information in a system that has historically left Indigenous knowledge unidentified and excluded. As part of the project's 15th anniversary in 2017, *Facebook* and *Twitter* accounts were created for *Project Naming* as part of the next phase of an ongoing effort to circulate and identify archival photos depicting Indigenous communities. At the same time, as Jennifer Guiliano and Carolyn Heitman note in their forthcoming work, "Difficult Heritage and the Complexities of Indigenous Data," in the *Journal of Cultural Analytics*, the digital reproduction and circulation of Indigenous artifacts and archival records can lead to further mistreatment of these objects. Specifically, they ask, "what is appropriate dissemination and reuse of Indigenous artifacts that have been collected and housed in historically colonial institutions?" (Guiliano). So while *Project Naming* presents itself as a process of recovering and re-claiming of Indigenous history and heritage in an archive that has systematically excluded Indigenous knowledge structures, the widespread circulation of Indigenous artifacts via their digitization can still create problems for Indigenous data

cultures. Namely, as Guiliano notes, mass circulation, remixing, and reuse practices attached to digital, open access, content still exclude Indigenous traditional knowledge structures as, in its digitization, an archival object is further divorced from its context, thereby separating it even further from its status as a living heritage object for Indigenous communities (GUILIANO). Moreover, the digital tools that make this widespread circulation possible can also contribute to a feeling of entitlement, on the part of the researcher or the general public, for unbridled access to all open, digitalized archival records and objects.

Similarly, digital tools can also perpetuate the problematic notion of things being “lost” or “discovered” in the archive. As Danielle Robichaud notes in her assessment of archival research methods and the expectations of researchers, the increased accessibility of digital archives often leads researchers to ask archivists to provide “everything on [topic] x” (par. 16). As Robichaud suggests, the failure of archives to work within these generic search terms can lead to a false “‘lost in the archives’ narrative, which, in addition to erasing the labour of archivists, perpetuates the Googlization of the research process and masks the extensive intellectual labour and time investment of original research” (par. 14). In other words, just because materials are not in widespread circulation, readily available, or easily accessible, does not mean that they are waiting to be discovered. Rather, in most cases, as Robichaud points out, these materials have been catalogued, described, and accounted for by the diligent work of archivists, and therefore “most records that are deemed to be ‘found,’ or ‘discovered,’ have been available for use by way of archival finding aids and lost thanks only to the failure of anyone to read them” (par. 2).

There is also a tendency to adopt this narrative of discovery with mobile media applications. For example, in a video promoting the *Driftscape* app, founder Chloe Doesburg

claims that the mobile app was built on a premise that “the city is just full of incredible stories waiting to be discovered and they’re not always easy to find” (“Introducing Driftscape” 00:00:18- 00:00:20). She positions *Driftscape* in line with other digital “tools that help us find a restaurant nearby or shops, but our shared culture and history is often a little bit more difficult to uncover” (“Introducing Driftscape” 00:00:28-00:00:32). As with the archival collections, it is not that the stories and cultural narratives on the *Driftscape* app are necessarily waiting to be found, as individuals have shared, and continue to share, many of them within their immediate families, groups, and networks through personal archival practices, social practices, and shared storytelling. What does change with these technologies is the visibility or wider circulation of these stories, artworks, archives, etc. In this way, locative media narratives and memory apps can be misleading as it may seem like the technology is responsible for finding, discovering, or uncovering, these stories, when in fact it is simply bringing them together in playful and creative acts of remixing and reuse. As this thesis has shown, this kind of heritage work is not necessarily about uncovering, salvaging, or reifying the past, but rather, remixing, reinterpreting, and re-circulating memory narratives in the present.

The tension between “preserve and protect” versus “play” is also manifested in social media memory communities like “Lost Ottawa,” where emergent memory practices are brought into contact with the strong desire to preserve and protect a historic landmark. Specifically, the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page is often populated with critical comments about the erasure of historic objects and spaces. And frequently this gets extrapolated into a wider criticism of preservation institutions that are not “doing enough” to protect a community’s heritage. But what the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* group reveals is that the anger

individuals have towards the loss of landmarks is predominantly associated with the loss of a personal connection to the object. In other words, individuals often justify their anger or sadness about the loss of a landmark and historic building because these objects resonate for them on a personal level. But as the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page demonstrates, the notion of preserve and protect can take multiple forms that extend beyond the preservation of the material object, to include the digital circulation of individual memories, or the creation of a digital memory community, through discourse on a social media platform, which mobile technologies facilitate at a greater rate.

As the “Lost Ottawa” *Facebook* page is also a forum where individuals express their frustrations about urban development, it is a reminder that many local heritage groups are dealing with consultation processes and disagreements around urban redevelopment. But opening up the discourse of what preserve and protect means, to include the circulation of living heritage practices through social media and new technologies, can work to extend the conversation away from the repetitive “poor planning” critique to an alternative process that puts the individual and the dynamic aspects of memory in the foreground, which is what we are attempting to do with *Maplibs*, and what a project like *Prime Minister’s Row* has the potential to do in the development of its digital memory component. As media continue to blur the line between private and public, inside and outside, intimate memory practices continue to shape shared collective remembrance at an even greater rate. Individual memories and processes of self-curation become even more central to memory discourse, and to the analysis of cultural memory more broadly, as digital participatory cultures continue to grow, expanding our understanding of what it means to “preserve and protect” and what it means to “play” with memory and cultural heritage.

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