Jake Barton's Performance Maps: An Essay

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Jake Barton, a New York-based designer, creates public maps that generate social interaction, personal expression, and collaborative storytelling. Barton's work is centered on performance, drawing attention to the performative capacity of maps, a seldom-explored facet of cartographic design and theory. Examples of Barton's projects, realized and unrealized, are detailed, with a focus on the manner in which maps are designed to evoke performance.

Keywords: Jake Barton, public maps, performance maps, social interaction

INTRODUCTION

Jake Barton doesn't call himself a map artist or cartographer. He calls himself a designer. Yet much of what Barton designs has a map at its heart, a map that talks or that lights up or that changes shape or that tells stories or that collects stories or that does all of these things at the same time; a map that performs and, in turn, evokes performances from those who encounter it. Indeed, Barton's work elucidates a simple and common characteristic of maps that is seldom discussed or analyzed: their performative capacity. Barton's *City of Memory*, for example, is a narrative map of New York that allows visitors to create a collective, online memory by submitting their stories (see Figure 1). Visitors can link stories together by themes to create "neighborhoods" of narrative that then can be explored by others. Visitors can read, listen to, and see the stories that others have contributed. This interaction evokes more stories and more interaction with the maps, opening the way to a different way of understanding and being in their city.

Barton says that *City of Memory* makes the idea that "there are a million stories in the naked city" real, though "actually there are millions of cities," he cautions, "each created inside of an individual New Yorker." By sharing stories of these cities "we can find
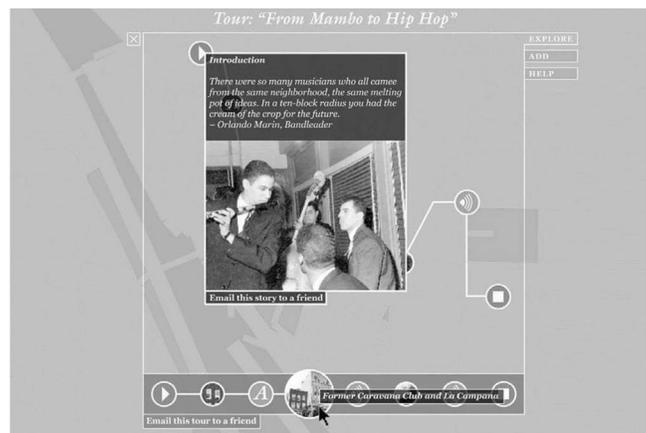

Figure 1. City of Memory screen-shot. (see page 79 for color version)

out more about how similar and different we really are. City of Memory tries to collapse the distance that is between us by encouraging exploration in ways other than physical space."

Barton's project aims to connect New Yorkers through a collective narrative of their city. The project site consists of a map of the city at once abstract and familiar. Barton came to this friendly map through a process of evaluating reactions to the project. People had had trouble with earlier versions: for example, when he had the map oriented north up, people wondered why Manhattan was tilted. Barton realized that subway and other maps had habituated New Yorkers to a particular "view" of their city, one that he adopted while stripping it down to the minimum necessary for New Yorkers to see the map as New York. The sparseness makes Barton's New York easy to navigate. Marks indicate rich clusters of stories, and these explode into individual stories as, exploiting the site's powerful zoom function, you drop down anywhere in the city, which becomes correspondingly detailed. Touching a story icon opens a text panel, or you can listen to the story being told. You can explore the stories of a given

area, or explore stories through thematic linkages, or you can submit a story of your own.

City of Memory simply and effectively gets people to talk to and hear each other within an affective narrative space that they create, that is tied to and accessed through a map of New York, a physical space "vibrating with the world's energies" and "haunted" (Barton's word) by people's collective experience. It's this idea of space as a living memory that gives Barton's maps, which otherwise look like simpler versions of the maps you can buy at newsstands, their remarkable inner life. Touch them and they come alive, which is what Barton insists the space of the city is, alive. So: how do you make a map of a space that's alive, that's continuously morphing, *performing*, with affective resonance?

A Little Background

Like most artists and designers working with maps, Barton came to the map obliquely. Growing up in Brooklyn's Park Slope, Barton began high school at Brooklyn Public High School, but completed it at Phillips Andover. Someone Barton admired suggested he might want to check out Northwestern University's Performance Studies program. Based equally in theory and practice, and committed to performance studies as an evolving practice engaging performance at every front, Northwestern's program instilled in Barton a profound respect for narrative and an interest in polyvocality and the public.

After graduating in 1994, Barton found himself back in New York working as an exhibition designer for Ralph Applebaum Associates. There Barton worked on the American Museum of Natural History's Hall of Biodiversity for which he won a number of awards. In the Museum Barton found himself confronting both the innate conservatism of large institutions and the monolithic, top-down style of institutional curators. Both of these were at odds with his comparatively radical, populist instincts. In such a situation, Barton asked himself, how could one possibly deal with controversial content?

The Lower East Side Tenement Museum suggested a couple of answers to Barton's question. As its name suggests, the Tenement Museum is a tenement building at 97 Orchard Street on Manhattan's Lower East Side. 97 Orchard Street operated as an immigrant tenement from 1863 to 1935, during which period over seven thousand people lived in it. The museum has carefully restored a number of apartments in this tenement to reflect the periods they were occupied by selected residents, the Gumpertz, the Baldizzi, the Levine, and the Rogarshevsky families. These apartments, and two un-restored apartments left to bear witness to the impact of the nineteenth century reform

movement's campaign for improved housing, can be experienced only on tours whose guides, standing in the actual kitchens, the actual bedrooms of the immigrants, interpret for visitors the experience of living at 97 Orchard Street. Providing further depth and context are the rich archives the museum maintains, and the walking tours it offers of the Lower East Side.

The museum's mission also resonated with Barton. This was to promote tolerance and historical perspective through the presentation and interpretation of the variety of immigrant and migrant experiences on Manhattan's Lower East Side, a gateway to America. The embodiment of this mission in the very site of the museum's subject connected the Lower East Side Tenement Museum to museums elsewhere in the world, equally determined to exploit the power of place for understanding the past and shedding light on the present. Organized as the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience, these include, among others, The Workhouse in Southwell, England; the Maison des Esclaves outside Dakar, in Senegal; the Terezín Memorial in the Czech Republic; the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles; Memoria Abierta in Buenos Aires; Bangladesh's Liberation War Museum; the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis, Tennessee; the Gulag Museum at Perm-36 in Russia; and the District Six Museum in Cape Town.

Barton has commented on the particular significance of the District Six Museum in Cape Town to the evolution of his thinking. In 1966, South Africa's apartheid regime declared Cape Town's Sixth Municipal District, which since 1867 had been a mixed community of freed slaves, merchants, artisans, laborers, and immigrants, a "white area" under the Group Areas Act of 1950. Shortly thereafter this regime began bulldozing the homes of 60,000 people, forcibly removing them to the barren, outlying area of Cape Flats. The museum, dedicated to telling stories of forced removals and to assisting in the reconstruction of the District Six community, is built around a cache of seventy-five street signs that had been secretly saved from the bulldozers, together with a huge floor piece, the Map-Painting, across which sprawled visitors annotate the sites that continue to live in their memories. This simple recreation of place stimulates an outpouring of memories, allowing people literally to map themselves back into the heart of Cape Town. As they do this they also keep alive the memory of their forced removal as a hedge against the reoccurrence of forced removals generally. Forced removals are similarly commemorated by the Maison des Esclaves, the Japanese American National Museum, the Terezín Memorial, the Gulag Museum at Perm-36, and Bangladesh's Liberation War Museum.

Here, then, was one answer to Barton's question: attaching stories to spaces was evidently a powerful

way to make the most controversial subjects come vibrantly to life. Confronted with the simple realities of District 6, "Gulag Camp," a Japanese American internment center and Lower East Side tenement, who could fail to be moved by the self-evident oppression and violation of human dignity. *You're standing in a room. The guide is telling you a story about a family that lived there. The story comes alive in this space.* There's no need to talk about oppression, about poverty. These subjects arise infallibly from the floors, seep out of the walls. Together the spaces and the stories speak for themselves: "It's natural," Barton says. "People attach memories to space" (interview with Barton, May 2005).

Barton realized by using analogues for the rooms of the tenement, for its *spaces*, that he could do *at any scale* similar things to those being done by the Historic Site Museums: *the key was to attach the stories to spaces.* Preeminent among analogues for space, Barton realized, was the map. With a map you could do what the Lower East Side Tenement Museum did for the Lower East Side, but for the entire city. But the map alone was not enough. Ultimately, for Barton, the map is a "ruse" to lure people into the affective narrative space of the city itself. It's the resonant living city that Barton's interested in, not the map of it, which remains for him no more than a kind of locative, georeferencing automaton, churning out the 'where' that his story-tellers infuse with the richness of their stories.

Unlike many other artists working with maps, Barton is not really interested in the map in and of itself, and thus has little interest in critiquing it. "No sidetracking on philosophical issues with maps," Barton has said and so, in the generally contestatory world of map art, his stands out, marked by its uncharacteristically positive, even sunny glow (interview with Barton, May 2005). Constructed as it is from the bottom up by the very people who use it, Barton's may be a radical, and perhaps radicalizing art, but it is so friendly and unthreatening, so well-intentioned and constructive, that it comes off as anything but.

Memory Maps

Barton's first foray to this new locative direction was *Memory Maps*, co-designed with Nancy Nowacek. *Memory Maps* was mounted on the Mall in Washington D.C. where every June as many as a million visitors gather across a two week period to participate in the Smithsonian's annual Folklife Festival. Each year the festival highlights the cultures of three different places, and in 2001 one of these was New York. Given the richness of New York's stew of cultures, this was a serious challenge. Barton's solution was ingenious. Inside a structure wrapped in fluorescent construction mesh that was intended to recall a subway car, Barton

mounted a system of enormous maps of the city (see Figure 2). Here visitors were invited to share their stories of the city by writing them on slips of vellum that they then pinned to the map where their experience occurred. Other visitors reading the stories had their own memories stimulated and were so prodded to produce further stories. During the festival's two-week run, more than 2000 people festooned the map with their memories, creating rich and layered mappings of the city's neighborhoods.

In the 1960s, city planners associated with Kevin Lynch had made memory maps. Lynch believed that people's images played significant roles in mediating their lives in cities (Lynch 1960). He believed it was important for planners to understand what these images were, and he advocated asking people about the cities they lived in. The results of these inquiries were frequently mapped. For instance Lynch's colleague, Appleyard, typed onto a map the responses he'd received to a survey about life on streets with different traffic densities. For example, "The street life doesn't intrude into the home … only happiness comes in from the street," on a street with little traffic (Southworth and Southworth, 1982, 186). More notably the planning firm Arrowstreet made a map of Washington, D.C. out of comments it had collected about the city. The map is composed of nothing but words (Lynch, 1980, 158-159). Lynch referred to these maps as "speaking landscapes," which he understood as "sketches with verbal comments appended directly to the locations where they were made, or about which they were made" (Lynch, 1980, 114). The recurrence in different contexts of the idea of attaching commentary to maps says something about its potential, but there are real and important differences between Lynchian "speaking landscapes" and Barton's Memory Maps.

For one thing, the planners' inquiries were comparatively narrow, were focused on the built environment, and largely consisted of assessments and evaluations.

Figure 2. Memory Maps. (see page 79 for color version)

Even so, many planners regretted that these "data" were so "qualitative," and indeed it was out of efforts to "correlate the different insights for consistency" that the idea of displaying them on maps arose (Lynch, 1980). Finally, no matter the publicity received by these "speaking landscapes," in the end they were directed from people to planners, that is, *up* from the people to a higher center of authority. In a word, the "speaking landscapes" were a way for experts to collect geographic facts from people. Bunge's (1970) work in the 1960s countered Lynch's people-to-planners approach, and is peripherally related to Barton's work. Bunge worked to collect and map facts not for planners or authorities, but for the community, as a means of solving community problems, enhancing community image, and explicitly promoting political engagement. Bunge's methods provided a way for community members to collect geographic facts for themselves.

Alas, Barton is not interested in facts; he's interested in stories. And he's not interested in collecting stories; he's interested in sharing them. Instead of funneling stories from people to a higher authority, Barton is interested in spreading people's stories around among other people. It's not, with Barton, people-to-experts but people-to-people, and so it's not about enabling experts but about building and enriching community. Barton has in common these larger goals with Bunge, although each map is distinctive: Bunge focusing on quantifiable data (dead pedestrians, rat-bit children, white flight) and Barton on qualitative stories. Bunge is explicitly political; Barton seems a-political, but may be suggesting a very different kind of political action in his choices of what and how to map and, as a consequence, what worlds to create.

You can imagine Lynch's "speaking landscapes" as a method for displaying the results of debriefing sessions, which could have taken place in small conference rooms, containing planner and citizen, where the fundamental problem for the planner is the extraction of intelligence. You can imagine Bunge's politically charged, data-focused maps, showing both negative and positive community attributes, emboldening a community, for it's own sake, or for the political struggle for justice. The extraction of intelligence is still vital: yet it is both from and for the community. You can imagine Barton's *Memory Maps* as the spatialized narrative debris left by people performing their stories on a stage in front of other people. Barton, then, is not so much about extraction as about performance. Indeed, the fundamental issues here (and in much of Barton's work) are entirely performative, and in *Memory Maps* you can see at work all the concepts that had galvanized Barton at Northwestern— narrative, polyvocality, and public—producing a map fluttering with the pinned memories of people happy to share their stories with others.

Unrealized Maps, Worldview

The limitations of Memory Maps are physical: you can pin only so many vellum strips to the map at any one point; the stories overlap and obscure one another; you have to be physically present to read, or add a story; and there's no index. Putting the map on the Web as the City of Memory was a way to overcome these limitations. While he was developing *City of Memory*, however, Barton was also thinking about other things he could do with maps.

Many of these ideas remain unrealized. There was the Sonic Map, for example (see Figure 3). This would have consisted of a highly schematized map of lower Manhattan projected onto the floor of a gallery in the New Museum. Visitors stepping into a "lighted" square would have heard its "sound" coming from highly directional loudspeakers. Stepping into smaller circles of light would have triggered recordings of individual stories. As Barton described it:

> The visitor enters the room and sees a map made of rectangles of light on the floor, labeled Bowery, Prince Street, Spring Street, etc., with the New Museum's new location in the center. There is the hum of sound but specifics are inaudible. Small dim caches of light populate the map. As visitors walk into the rectangle labeled "Bowery" it's like walking into a column of sound – they hear all the ambient noises that evoke the Avenue, its industrial trucks, its chatter in Chinese. When they walk into the dim circle just north of the new museum, the light rises, and an audio clip about the Sunshine Hotel plays. The sadness of the voice mixes with the directional sounds of trucks and traffic to create a full audio image of place.

> These clips want to get close to the ephemeral "spirit" of locations, to what people refer to as its energy, how it feels haunted through people's collective experience. They will be collected, found, commissioned, or submitted. The wealth of audio material on the area, from existing radio documentaries from the Sunshine Hotel, to CityLore's "American Talkers" series, will be augmented by new oral histories on the sea-change now occurring on the Bowery, or about the generations of artists from the Lower East Side. Audio "found sounds" will evoke the neighborhood's daily rituals, from kids yelling outside the Catholic School on Prince Street in Nolita, to arguments in Chinese outside a restaurant supply store.

The media of light and sound could scarcely be more different from the pins and paper of *Memory Maps*, or the computer graphics of *City of Memory*, but
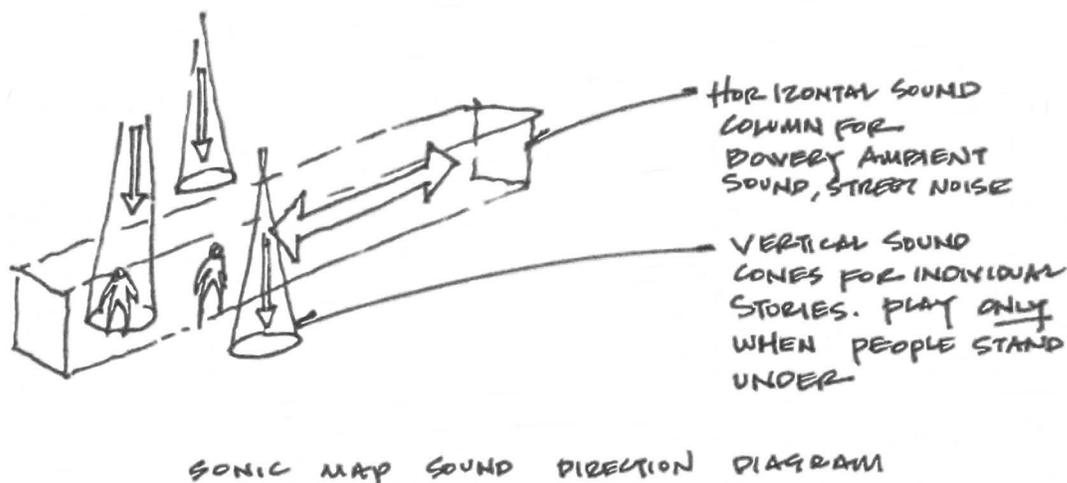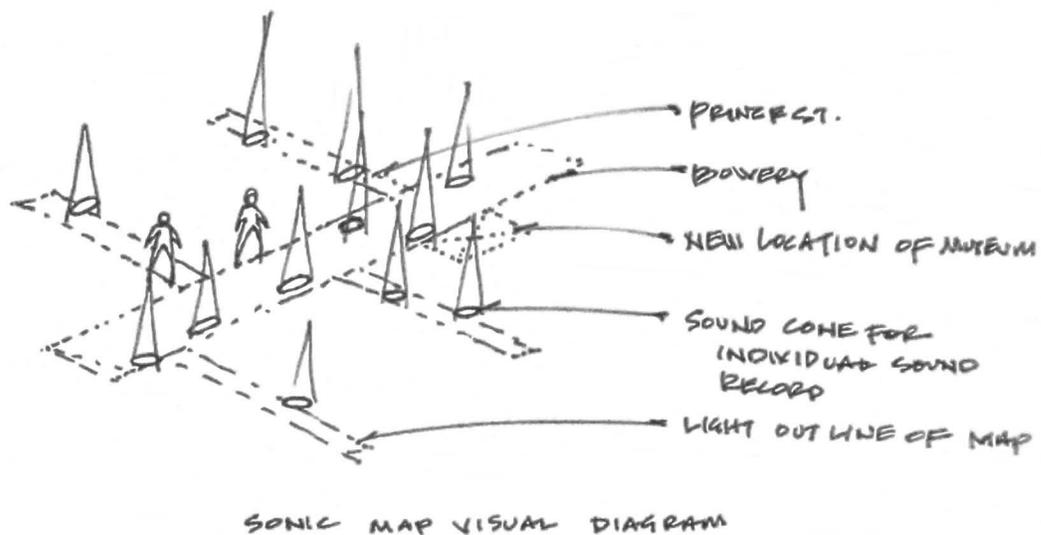
Figure 3. Sonic Map concept.

the idea of anchoring experiences to places remains the same, as does the concern with the haunting of space by the collective experience of the public. The sources of these experiences have gotten richer. Sonic Map would not only have been dependent on submissions, but would have actively found, collected, and commissioned sounds as well. (A similar elaboration of sources also took place in the evolution of *Memory Maps* into *City of Memory*.)

Global/Local engaged a map to demonstrate the international ties made between the museum's neighborhood and the rest of the world by immigration, trade, and art making (see Figure 4). Barton's walkthrough for the proposal read:

Seeing a group of posters on the Bowery, I approach to find a map of different Global/Local connections, a map of the ways in which the surrounding block vibrates with the world's energies. Three different maps show connections of trade, immigration, and artistic influences. A label lists the museum's website where I can go to look, and input my own country of origin, as well as the influence that South African Musicians has had on my painting. I'm amazed to find there are some South Africans from that same city living a block from me!

Though this city is less haunted by memories than it is vibrated by the world's energies, it is still one filled with a wildly diverse public, and here this public ties
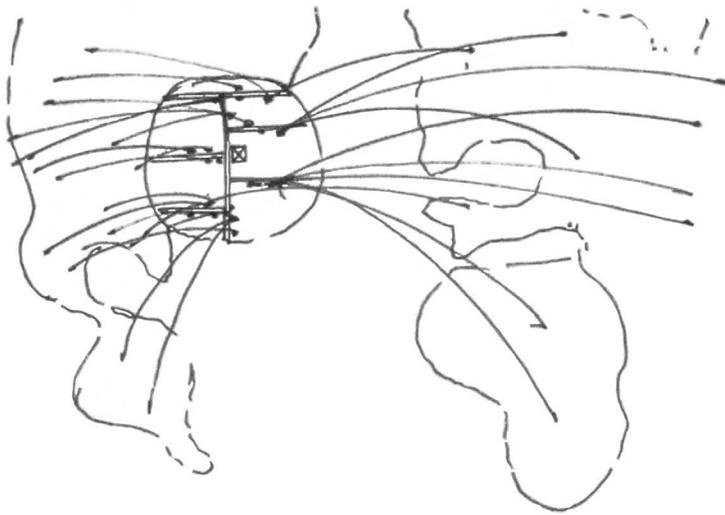
Figure 4. Global/Local concept.

the place to other places in the world, comprising, in some way, a conduit for the world's energies, which Barton imagines gushing out onto the streets of lower Manhattan.

A third project for the New Museum, Emotional Map, would have reversed the inside/outside perspective of Global/Local to get "inside" the neighborhood's "emotional landmarks" (see Figure 5). As Barton tried to describe it,

> There would be two "views" of the digital map. The opening view would be a typical "neighborhood view" map, with different stories, photos, and anecdotes anchored to their locations. Filters could be applied to look at stories dealing with "love" or "sadness," or to create a map of "joy" for the area. The second, the "emotional view," would be from a

first-person perspective, as if standing at street level "inside" the map. Story icons would rise up in front of the viewer, or recede to a distant horizon beyond. Instead of being arranged by location, the icons would be clustered by emotional content, bringing stories of love from Nolita right next to stories of love from the Lower East Side. This would create new groups of stories, new neighborhoods of emotion that could be explored.

Aside from the "neighborhoods of narrative" idea that was to become a facet of *City of Memory*, what's interesting here is the new perspective on "here." In the earlier iterations, "here" was an irreducible place, almost a point, to which experiences, memories, sounds, and international relations could be attached. In contrast, in Emotional Map "here" becomes an Alice-in-Wonderland rabbit hole through which we can dive to look out onto a wholly new landscape.

Doubtless there were many reasons these projects were not realized – figuring out how emotions would rescale the "inside" view in Emotional Map was just one of them, but two other projects suggest some of what was at stake in these proposals of Barton's. One of these projects was PDPal, in which New York artists Scott Peterson, Marina Zurkow, and Jason Bleecker successfully grappled with the comparatively simple problem of collecting certain aspects of the public's subjective reading of places online. Another was Barton's own Worldview in which he struggled with the problem of "emotionally rescaling" a projection of the world (see Figure 6).

In an interesting way, PDPal falls somewhere between a Lynchian "speaking landscape" and the radically affective space of Emotional Map. PDPal
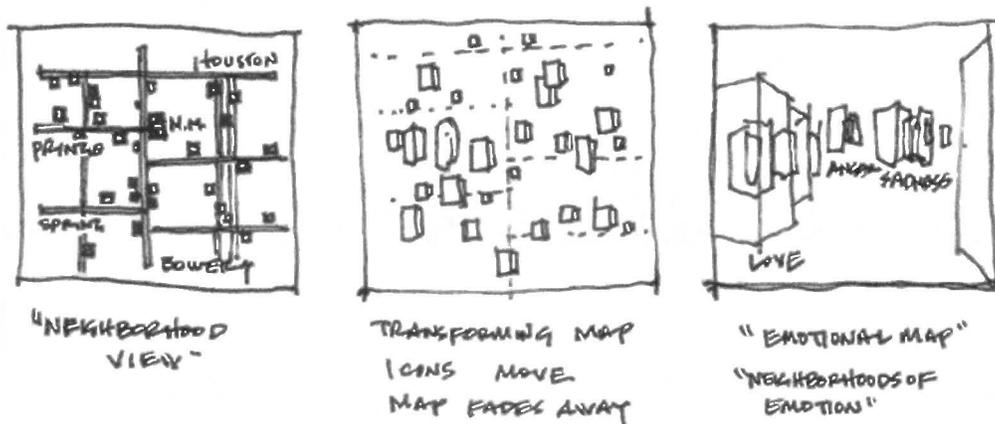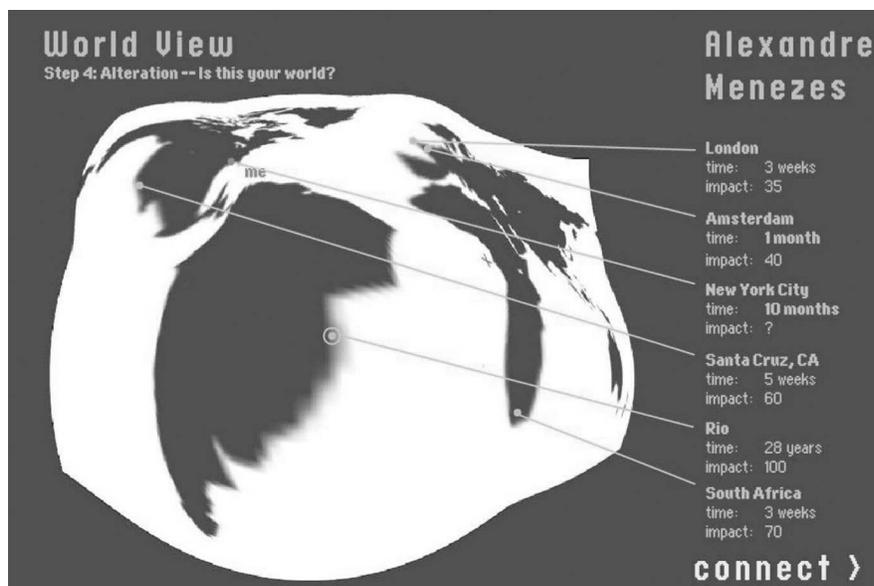

Figure 5. Emotional Map concept.

Figure 6. Worldview world map projection. (see page 80 for color version)

is definitely a site where you can deposit traces of your personal city and share it with others by making maps of it, but only by limiting yourself to the choices offered by the site. Actually there are several of these sites, one of the garden at the Walker Art Center, another of Minneapolis-St. Paul, and a third of Time Square. Each offers you a map and dialogue boxes with pull-down menus. These let you identify a place on the map with a "rubberstamp" that you choose from a palette, and then let you describe it by giving it a name, a rating and an attribute (both chosen from pull-down menus), and annotating it. You can do much the same for routes that you can trace with your mouse. Guiding you through the process is a cool but excitable Urban Park Ranger. On the palette of rubberstamps a jet takes off next to a crib, a Taj Mahal and a triumphal arch rub shoulders with tents and a teepee, unisex couples mix it up with the birds and the bees, with martinis, stoplights, baseballs, and test tubes, with guns, dice, candles, and clouds. It's like a pictographic definition of heterogeneity, yet it's presented in a numbered and lettered grid: the automatic rifle is at F-10, the scooter is at R-2.

The ratings you're allowed – *prudishly, tamely, lustily, faintly, visibly, boldly* – are not those of the telephone pollster, and they're not those of planners, architects, or psychologists either. The attributes include *bright, dark, crowded, comfortable, lawless, delicious, soggy,* and *haywire* too. It's like a survey, but a survey administered in a dream. Prompts ask: *What is closer, past or future? Map the place you miss, the places you imagine. What is noisier, Godzilla or a garbage truck? Map the beasts that roam your landscape. What is bigger, your cubicle or your cranium? Map your taste for consumption.*

You can install PDPal on a Palm™ PDA and use it

to map places while you're actually at them. Later you can download these annotations to the maps you've made on the web. There's no limit to what you can record on your map as you transform it dynamically into a "city you write." At the web site you can share your maps with others; this does achieve Barton's goal of sharing our personal cities with each other.

If PDPal somehow managed to get some aspect of the affective onto the map, Barton's Worldview tried to do the same with Emotional Map's idea of rescaling. Online between November 2002 and October 2003, Worldview was a "creative cartography" tool that attempted to "remap" the world from the user's "emotional point of view":

Through a series of questions, you mark locations of personal importance on a world map, which is then run through a "fish-eye" algorithm, distorting or exaggerating the globe to fit the user's "perspective." The user is then immediately invited to compare his or her map with the "most different" person in the database for comparison. Drawing inspiration from centuries of maps that were inaccurate, incorrect, or simply what was imagined to be true, Worldview takes the current accepted image of the world map, and makes it emotionally precise for each individual user.

Worldview makes numerous assumptions about the relationship between emotions and space, including the one that we would all use the same algorithm for "projecting" our world. Yet the very different worlds tossed up by the user and his or her "most different" mapper do make graphically apparent some kind of difference, and this at the very least provokes an awareness of what it might mean to say that we each inhabit our own individual worlds.

Emotional Map, PDPal, and Worldview have in common an interest in dissolving the "objective" city, or world, in the solvent of human affectivity, even as they commit themselves to sharing the "solutes" with others, which has the effect, in some sense, of "reobjectifying" them. The resulting personal yet public images obligate us to think about what we mean by "objective" and "subjective," as well as what we mean by "place," and even by "experience." The ultimate effect of Memory Maps, Global/Local, City of Memory, Sonic Map, Emotional Map, PDPal, and Worldview is to destabilize fixed social and spatial categories, all

common to maps, pushing us toward an extremely fluid and highly social view of existence. This is either very scary, or highly liberating.

The Chronoscope, Timescapes, City of Memory

Barton's more recent projects, for large institutional clients, are more conservative than Emotional Map, Worldview, or even Global/Local. Timescapes and City of Memory are both being developed for the Museum of the City of New York, while The Chronoscope was the concluding feature of the Times Square Centennial Exhibit (see Figure 7). A movie version of Chronoscope played on the Jumbotron for the Centennial New Years Eve in 2004, and it is permanently installed at the Times Square Visitors Center. The Chronoscope is more or less a sophisticated, "three-dimensional" locator map. Visitors "fly" through an abstracted "now" that is peppered with dated circles. Each of these circles frames a view that when selected is transformed into an historic photo of the past. The fleeting moment caught by the photo is then brought to life with sound and camera movement that turns it into a mini-documentary. For example, selecting 1945 brings up Alfred Eisenstaedt's famous shot of the sailor kissing a girl at Broadway and 43rd on V-J Day. The Chronoscope does deal with many of Barton's obsessions. Its Times Square is clearly haunted by people's collective memories, and is also vibrant with the world's energies. The map is alive and The Chronoscope is located at the site of its subject. At the same time the project lacks the polyvocal public that pushes so much of Barton's work over the top.

   The same might be said of Timescapes, which Barton co-created for the Museum of the City of New York with writer James Sanders (see Figure 8). This three-screen production, narrated by Stanley Tucci, is a twenty-five-minute linear history of New York that uses maps to examine how geography has shaped the city's development. It features an aerial view of New York that evolves with the city, displaying patterns of urban development that are explored in other ways

Figure 7. Chronoscope. (see page 81 for color version)

on the flanking screens. Timescapes is elegant and instructive, the map is lively, the project is concerned with urban memory, and it should garner kudos for

Figure 8. Timescapes. (see page 81 for color version)

Barton and Sanders, but again it lacks the polyvocal public, or indeed anything at all of the subjective.

But *City of Memory* pulls it all together in a triumphant synthesis of the personal, the institutional, and the public (see Figure 9). As we've already seen, Barton brought to *City of Memory* his longstanding interests in narrative, polyvocality, and the public, while the public brought the stories, which constitute its collective memory. What the Museum of the City of New York provided was the wherewithal, the institutional support that translates into a space where the public can flood Barton's animated maps with its unique and wildly multiple lives. Or rather space*s*, for though there may be only one website, it is accessed at a physical installation in the museum, at street fairs, as well as online. The Museum also provides the cachet that has encouraged the participation of "cultural partners", CityLore and Place Matters, among others, which together with the Museum have contributed "place based content" that supplements the stories contributed by the public; stories which, it must be noted, are only added to the site after passing through curatorial filters. The contributions of the institutional partners and the curation do make of *City of Memory* something less than a collective unconscious, and this may make some people unhappy. But they also mean that the site has a deeper sense of history than it otherwise would, and a focus on the history of the city that permits its support by the Museum of the City of New York.

It is probably only through such a set of commitments, innovations, and compromises that you can make a map of a space as rich as New York that's alive and continuously morphing with explicit emotional resonance. Barton's work may not derive from the map art of the Surrealists, Jasper Johns, or Conceptual artists, and its affinities with the map art of the Situationists, while real, is muted. It is superficially related to Lynch's and Bunge's work in form, but not intent. It is quite different from other contemporary cyber-based locative art, although it may ultimately share their political, world-making (or remaking) capacity. Barton's work also shares little with the traditional cartographer, whose work, mapping data extracted from the world by machines, ignores the performative capacities of maps. Barton's cartographic design explicitly invokes, and demonstrates *for* us and *with* us, public performance. In the process, Barton captures and maps the overlapping and interlaced narratives that together comprise the meaningful substance of the city, bringing life and humanity to the inert physicality of the roads, buildings, and other urban infrastructure that dominate "normal" maps.

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Much of this essay is based on material and quotations from Barton's Local Projects website (http://www.localprojects.net/, accessed April 2005), or from interviews conducted by Denis Wood (May 2005). Unless otherwise noted, quotations are from the website. The *City of Memory* will re-launch in early 2006 at http://www.cityofmemory.org.

Information on the Northwestern University Performance Studies Program is from Barton as well as the NU Performance Studies Program materials on the WWW: http://www.communication.northwestern.edu/performancestudies/programs/graduate/.

Information on the District Six Museum: http://www.districtsix.co.za/

Information on the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience: http://www.sitesofconscience.org/

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Digital Archive   Street Kiosk   Museum Installation

Figure 9. City of Memory concept. (see page ?? for color version)

Information on the Lower East Side Tenement Museum: http://www.tenement.org/

Information on PDPal: http://www.pdpal.com/.

Information on the Smithsonian Folklife Festival: http://www.folklife.si.edu/

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