



Wounded cities: Memory-work and a place-based ethics of care

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A B S T R A C T

Keywords:

Wounded cities
Memory-work
Care
Right to the city

What would it mean to think about cities marked by past structures of violence and exclusion as wounded but also as environments that offer its residents care? My current book in progress, *Wounded Cities*, focuses on creative practices and politics in Bogotá, Cape Town, Berlin, Minneapolis, and Roanoke, cities in which settlement clearances have produced spaces so steeped in oppression that the geographies of displacement continue to structure urban social relations. Precisely in and through these 'wounded cities', residents, artists, educators, and activists reconsider the meanings of the 'right to the city' and to theorizing the city more broadly. Drawing upon ethnographic research and theories from postcolonial theory, social psychiatry, social ecology, feminist political theory, and art theory, I introduce my concepts of 'wounded city', 'memory-work', and a 'place-based ethics of care' to retheorize urban politics. Artists and residents in wounded cities encourage political forms of witnessing to respect those who have gone before, attend to past injustices that continue to haunt contemporary cities, and create experimental communities to imagine different urban futures. I argue that a deeper appreciation of the lived, place-based experiences of inhabitants of most cities would enable planners, policy makers, and urban theorists to consider more ethical and sustainable forms of urban change than those that continue to legitimate disciplinary forms of governmentality.

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'Project Prometeo: Acts I & II', downtown Bogotá, December 2002 and 2003

A man in his late thirties wearing a tuxedo walks onto a stage with a lit torch. He sits down, sentinel-like as if at a doorway stoop, and begins to light matches. We are seated outdoors at night in downtown Bogotá; candles and spotlights illuminate the figures of the performers who move across a 'stage' in a very large empty field. Furniture brought in or improvised by the actors suggests rooms in now empty houses that once were occupied. Around the 'stage', former streets are marked out with candles in white paper bags. Behind the performers, two very large screens, each more than three-storeys high, project images and sound recordings of the neighborhood that once existed here, known locally as *El Cartucho*, as well as images of *Project Prometeo: Act II* as it is being performed (Fig. 1). The videos and sounds of *El Cartucho* include on-site interviews with residents, historical images, maps, and scenes of destruction.

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¹ The author wishes to extend her deep thanks to Phil Steinberg for organizing this plenary issue, and to Rob Shields, Jeff Garmany, and Kevin Ward for their generous and thoughtful responses. A special thanks also to Mapa Teatro, the District Six Museum, the residents of Roanoke, and Mindy Fullilove.

The performer does not speak but continues lighting matches; the sounds and images of a taped recording of an interview of him describing his experiences in the neighborhood runs on one of the large screens behind him. Other performers begin or continue to enact their own interpretations of Heiner Müller's *The Liberation of Prometheus*.² (In addition to the basic story – Prometheus brings fire to the humans and is consequently banished by the gods for his transgression, lashed to a remote craggy rock where his liver is pecked at by an eagle for eternity – Müller added a twist: After hundreds of years, Heracles offers to let Prometheus go, who is unsure if he wants to leave his horrible situation because he has become codependent on the eagle and fears what freedom might mean.) We see a married couple sitting throwing matchbooks like dice on the dining room table; a woman in a pink gown eating fire; a woman dressed in white silk carrying candles to the stage to create a makeshift altar; a man standing up from a seat, silently pointing out where he used to live and what used to be in his neighborhood in real- and recorded-time; a little boy sitting in a chair, dangling his feet, while in a video track he proclaims 'I am Heracles!'; a clown puts on makeup and releases white doves from his magic box.

These residents are performing amidst the ruins of their former homes, in a historic part of downtown Bogotá. By the late 1980s, with economic restructuring, suburbanization, refugee movements resulting from the rise of drug cartel-paramilitary warfare, and from other reasons, the neighborhood *El Cartucho* had become



Fig. 1. *Project Prometeo: Act II*. Former residents of El Cartucho perform in downtown Bogotá, December 2003. Photograph: Courtesy of Mapa Teatro Laboratory of Artists.

a dangerous place, known for its informal economies, sex work, and drug trade. The mayor of Bogotá from 1998 to 2001, Enrique Peñalosa Londoño, called the neighborhood ‘a symbol of chaos and of government impotence’; part of his successful mayoral campaign included the promise to ‘reclaim El Cartucho for the public’ (Mance, 2007). Replacing a ‘symbol of chaos’ with the promise of a public park reinforced Peñalosa’s claim to clean up the city by making it ‘green’ and ‘sustainable.’³ Twenty hectares (200,000 square meters), or the entirety of historic Santa Inés, was razed from 2000 to 2004, including historical buildings, streets, place-bound local economies, homes, and social networks; tens of thousands of residents were displaced without compensation. In 2005, not long after the performance of *Project Prometeo: Act II*, the new ‘Park of the Third Millennium’ was unveiled.

Implicit in such urban renewal projects is a both a fear of the ‘other’ as well as a desire to clear out the untidy elements of the ‘informal city’ and to shape a developed, ordered postindustrial city (compare Sandercock, 2003). Yet projects such as these continue to fail by their own self-proclaimed ‘progressive’ goals, such as the claims to take back the city for ‘the public’ or to ‘green’ the city, as well as by its not-so-progressive unspoken agendas of preventing squatting and relocating the homeless from the center of the city. Although the Third Millennium Park in Bogotá, for example, received architectural awards, it is now a rather sterile space and considered unsafe by many of the city’s residents. Because this ‘solution’ did not address the needs hundreds of thousands of residents who continue to live in impoverished conditions, moreover, by 2010 marginalized citizens occupied the park for protest actions, creating a ‘tent city’ of squatters to demand more public housing and care for the city’s homeless for more than three months (Mapa Teatro, personal conversation, 2011).

As Lefebvre (1991 (1974)) reminds, the discourses, practices, and the desires tied to urban pasts, presents, and futures are inherently political because they inform how individuals make and justify their decisions and actions. At a conceptual level, it is important to document both the structural problems that lead to urban inequities as well as the urban imaginaries and managerial strategies that result in these projects and their failures. Yet when critical analyses of urban space privilege representations of the city as property or

according only to development trajectories, we, as scholars, ignore the complex spatialities and temporalities of the lived city for most residents in the world, thus limiting our appreciation both of the possibilities for urban change and the prospects for more just urban futures. A deeper appreciation of the lived realities of inhabitants of the city – including cultural identities, dynamics of the everyday and symbolic worlds – would enable planners, policy makers, and urban theorists to consider more appropriate and sustainable urban transformations than those that continue to legitimate disciplinary forms of governmentality.

Should not we, as urban and political scholars, consider performances such as *Project Prometeo* – as well as the ways that residents talk about and care for places and the city more generally – as more than merely ‘subjective’, ‘biased’, or ‘ill-informed’, but as significant data challenging the current models of the city that pathologically designate districts as either good or bad, and entire cities as ordered or chaotic? Indeed, the actor-residents of *Project Prometeo*, through their performances and stories, raised ethical questions about the politics of place-making in the name of progress and called attention to the significance of art, memory, and imagination in understanding and creating a more just city. The memory-work and creative practices of these displaced residents offer significant lessons about retheorizing the city and thinking differently about the possibilities of urban politics in at least three ways. First, residents performing in *Project Prometeo* challenged city authorities’ understanding of them as invisible; they called attention to the fact that official claims to build a ‘sustainable’ city did not include all of its residents. Through their stories and performances, residents documented their presence (how they used, moved through, and made their neighborhood and city), thus asserting basic individual, collective, and temporal claims to having rights to their city. Second, they communicated and enacted their experiences of place and the city as inhabited, an understanding based upon psychic attachments, materialies, bodily and social memories, and fragile social ecologies. Performing atop the ruins of their former homes in the historic Santa Inés-El Cartucho neighborhood, their interpretations of the Prometheus myth also invited the audience to consider the tensions between the acceptance of everyday violence in their city as well as the fears of the unknown that most residents face when

trying simply to survive. Finally, *Project Prometeo* resulted in acts of witnessing, not so much of so-called ‘slum clearance’, but of remembering life in an otherwise previously marginalized community in the city. As *Abderhalden Cortés (2006)* of *Mapa Teatro* testified: ‘the community’s stories were a substantive part of the architecture of the neighborhood’s memory. A form of resistance in the face of oblivion, a potential footprint among the ruins’ (np). Residents worked collaboratively with the artistic group *Mapa Teatro* Laboratory of Artists and other former residents on *Project Prometeo* over a number of years. Rather than treat the audience as spectators, they called upon guests and residents to attend to their city as an inhabited place by considering how the unfolding and open-ended pathways of memory might offer possibilities of shared belongings. At the end of their performance, the performers invited all of the guests to dance atop the ruins to live bolero music (Fig. 2).

Inspired by the stories, actions, and creative practices of ‘local experts’ who live with violent histories of displacement, in this article I offer an alternative way of understanding the city that challenges dominant Western models. By considering cities as ‘wounded’, urban space cannot be understood as property only. If cities and their inhabitants are understood as having been wounded by state and dominant social-political practices, other imaginaries of place, temporality, and the city might focus attention on why places, peoples, groups, environments, and non-human

natures continue to be injured. Through memory-work and what I call a place-based ethics of care, historical and current resources might sustain more just possible futures. In this paper, I use examples inspired from my ethnographic research about activist and artistic projects in Bogotá, Colombia, Cape Town, South Africa, and Roanoke, Virginia USA to illustrate how attending to, caring for, and being cared for by place and those that inhabit place are significant ethical and political practices that may work to constitute more democratic urban realms.

I intend that this article might open up a conversation about why political and urban geographers need to do more work in theorizing and teaching about the city in ways that are recognizable to the inhabitants of the city. In the following section, I review recent scholarly discussions about postcolonial urban theory, memory politics, and the right to the city to situate my arguments. Next, I discuss the concept of root shock as tied to my concept of wounded cities, drawing upon my ethnographic research and upon theoretical work by social psychiatrists, urban social ecologists, and medical anthropologists. I then discuss memory-work and outline a place-based ethics of care, drawing upon feminist political theory and creative and ethnographic research practices. Through ethical, creative, and ethnographic practices, residents, scholars, and global citizens might begin to explore pathways of belonging based upon the multiple pasts and possible futures that move towards creating and taking care of more socially and environmentally just cities.

Rethorizing urban politics

In recent years, postcolonial scholars researching cities in the so-called global South have called for radical retheorizations of ‘the city’ to understand how to transform structures of inequality and recognize the lived realities of most urban residents (Bayat, 2000; Holston, 2007; Pieterse, 2008; Robinson, 2006; Simone 2010). With some urbanists and planners analyzing North American and European cities (Healey, 2006; Sandercock, 2003), they challenge the inherent Western bias of models and theories of modernity, urbanization, urban development, and governance.⁴ They argue that within a number of Western-based models of urban transformation is a fear of the ‘other’ and a desire for order. Western-based models of urban development either ‘tame’ or ‘romanticize’ the messiness that is so central to the mobilities, spatial practices, and connectivities of the lived city. Underlying such models is a belief in the power of rational planning to solve ‘problems’ by ordering space and thereby flattening out, separating, and drawing boundaries around the complex spatialities, temporalities, and potentialities of the lived city. From a postcolonial perspective, therefore, the real challenge is ‘to rethink epistemic categories’ (Pieterse, 2008, p. 111) and develop theories about cities that conceptualize the urban spaces and realities of most of the people living in the world as ‘ordinary’ not ‘other’ (Robinson, 2006).

When models of the city that implicitly assume that neighborhoods are parcels of property circulating through networks of the global economy are privileged, inhabited places are treated as empty stages upon which the drama of conflict over future development potential takes place; residents, at best, are treated as victims. Perhaps for this reason, a number of scholars maintain that so-called slums, as well as suburbs, central business districts, and retail spaces, must be theorized as constitutive of, not aberrant to, the city (Bayat, 2000; Holston, 2007; Pieterse, 2008; Simone, 2010). To address the persistent problems of urban inequality, privileged network infrastructures, and unequal forms of citizenship, Pieterse (2008) argues that the everyday ‘must be the touchstone of radical imaginings and interventions’ (p. 9). For example, the numerous, often contradictory, everyday processes, mobilities, and practices that residents living cities of the global South use to ‘just get by’ are



Fig. 2. *Project Prometeo: Act II.* Former residents of El Cartucho perform as a place-based act of care; downtown Bogotá, December 2003. Photograph: Courtesy of Mapa Teatro Laboratory of Artists.

what Simone (2010) calls 'cityness'. Bayat (2000) similarly describes 'the encroachment of the ordinary' in Middle Eastern cities as including such quiet and pervasive advances that people make upon the propertied and powerful elite to survive and improve their lives.⁵ Through silent encroachment, sometimes alone and sometimes through collective action, residents gain cultural and political autonomy from the state, as well as redistribute social goods and opportunities. Holston's (2007) detailed ethnographic study of more than thirty years of land struggle and home construction in the outskirts of São Paulo also suggests that silent encroachment may result in emancipatory practices. Most Brazilians live 'illegally' as a result of a history of 'inclusively inequalitarian' citizenship (p. 41) that barred most citizens from land rights. Rather than accept privileges under 'clientelistic relations of dependence' (p. 235), however, after years of home auto-construction and conflicts over land use and ownership, residents have demanded legal rights to more inclusive and differentiated forms of citizenship. Microlevel forms of creative politics and what Holston calls 'insurgent' forms of citizenship operate at the interface between social mobilization (direct action) and symbolic politics (discursive action) according to Pieterse (2008), challenging hegemonic understandings of who and what constitutes the urban public. (I return below to a discussion of who constitutes the public.)

Rethorizing the city from a postcolonial perspective thus means to pay attention to forms of urban political life, everyday survival, insurgency, and creative practice that animate the city and make it liveable for most people who inhabit and move through the city. I draw upon and add to these discussions about alternative models of the city by introducing and/or developing the concepts of wounded cities, memory-work, and an intergenerational place-based ethics of care. By exploring how cities, as places of inhabitation, may be understood as 'wounded' yet as also providing environments of care, urban space must be understood as inhabited worlds infused with many forms of value, rather than as property or according to capitalist forms of exchange-value only.

Wounded cities

Following Lefebvre (1996 (1968)), I understand the city as *oeuvre* (p. 101), as constituted by its inhabitants through ongoing acts of making places. As human and non-human lives move, interact, and engage with others through complex temporal and spatial pathways, the symbolic and material places they make also become part of their bodies-selves-environments, a point I develop in the next section. I define 'wounded cities' as densely settled locales that have been harmed and structured by particular histories of physical destruction, displacement, and individual and social trauma resulting from state-perpetrated violence. Rather than harmed by a singular 'outside event', these forms of violence often work over a period of many years – often decades – and continue to structure current social and spatial relations, and as such also structure expectations of what is considered 'normal'. Such legacies are typical of many postcolonial societies but also haunt Western cities. In this respect, my definition is quite distinct from definitions of cities as 'wounded' or discussions about 'resilience' that describe the city as damaged following singular, while extreme, 'outside' events, from so-called 'natural' forces to war (defined in a traditional sense) to forms of globalization. In the edited collections *Wounded Cities* and *The Resilient City* (Schneider & Susser, 2003; Vale & Campanella, 2005), for example, the city is understood organically, according to bounded territories or as a systems model, such as the body politic metaphor, or as a 'a site where powerful external forces intersect' (Schneider & Susser, 2003, p. 1), or, again, as a node through which power, capital, things, and people flow.⁶

My use of the term 'wounded' signals far more complex temporalities than the approaches to the city described above, which tend to circumscribe urban space-time according to either a before/after events-oriented model or a dependent-pathways systems model (that has pre-defined starting points) (compare Till, 2011). Rather than adopt a Western systems model of the city, such as the ancient notion of city as a circulatory system, or a model that suggests spatially-bound and managed forms of life, such as the body politic metaphor that legitimates the juxtaposition of political territory with state sovereignty and forms of governance, the temporally and spatially dynamic metaphor of the 'wounded city' works metonymically (the daily mazes and social ecologies of places also constitute urban processes) and psychosocially (individuals and groups have intimate relationships with places and the city). As I describe in the next section, if individuals and neighborhoods are wounded through displacement, material devastation, and root shock, so too is the city and its inhabitants. Moreover, cities become wounded in very different ways, as tied to the particular histories, processes, and traumas of displacement. These differences matter, particularly in terms of intergenerational relations and silences, and the individual and group capacity for repair. At the same time, urban social environments and inhabited and formerly inhabited places – as simultaneously material, metaphorical and imaginative, experiential and perceptual – do not deny its residents the possibilities of care and healing.

My use of the organic metaphor of wounded cities draws inspiration from both activists and artists (Till, 2005). During the 1980s in former West Berlin, activists who opposed the construction of a highway across the former site of the National Socialist Reich Security Service and Gestapo Headquarters, engaged in a protest action. They dug up the 'forgetful' layers of grass and denial that covered up a shameful national past and were surprised to find artifacts and cellar building remnants. (The city reclaimed that the area, after dynamiting this and other buildings following the war to expunge all of the physical traces of the former Nazi power center as the American Allies had requested.) The exposed landscape seemed to reveal physically the refusal of the state to come to terms with its violent past in the attempt to become a 'good' democracy through economic recovery. With the rubble of the former Gestapo cellars now present in the urban imaginary, the urban development plans were revoked. As part of the 750th anniversary of the Berlin, historians and activists involved in this protest action created a temporary exhibition that later became the international documentary center and landscape known as 'The Topography of Terror'.

The terrain uncovered and preserved was described by activists as the 'open wound' of the city. I believe their use of this concept was inspired by the work of German artist Joseph Beuys who was one of the first artists to directly discuss German responsibility for the crimes of National Socialism. Beuys promoted an 'expanded idea of art', meaning that art applies to human work in general, thus unifying artistic thinking with human action (Lerm Hayes & Walters, 2011). His artistic environment, 'Zeige deine Wunde (Show Your Wound)' (1974–1975), was created to be installed in a bleak pedestrian underpass in the city of Munich and included pairs of: mortuary dissecting tables under which stood two glass-covered galvanized iron boxes containing fat; lamps; test tubes; preserving jars with gauze filters; bird skulls; clinical thermometers; the heads of two iron agricultural tools (chisels) mounted on bark sticks; two double-pronged pitchforks with cotton scarves placed atop two pieces of slate; wooden planks; two chalkboards; and two issues of the Italian *LOTTA CONTINUA (The Ongoing Struggle)*, a newspaper published by the far-left, militant Italian organization of the same name, founded in 1969 following a split in Turin's student-worker movement) mounted in white wooden boxes

(Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau München, nd; Tate Modern Museum of Art, 2005). The wound is a recurring theme in Beuys' work and refers to personal, social, and political traumas, decay, and death. (The installation alludes to his personal injuries suffered during and after World War II; the injuries Germany perpetrated on its own citizens and others under National Socialism and after the war through denial; and the political division of the state into two Germanies as a consequence of National Socialism.) Stachelhaus (1991) writes that "when Beuys was asked what he really meant by this environment, he answered that his primary concern was "to make visible the death zone toward which today's society is rushing with great speed"" (pp. 161–162). The doubles, as double identities, reflect opposition and unresolved conflict, yet the chalkboards and Italian newspapers may be interpreted as a call to action to confront the past critically and accept responsibility for past crimes, to engage in the difficult work of mourning (which entails a transformation of the self), and to imagine and create a new society.

Drawing upon these activist and artistic notions, I understand the moment of the wound as unfolding, as neither singular nor inevitable, nor coming from an outside source. Through mourning and memory-work individuals and groups may confront and take responsibility for the failures of the democratic state and its violences. Moreover, multiple pasts and futures are resources for residents, providing the possibilities to imagine more socially just cities through place-based practices of care.

Memory-work

My work on wounded cities contributes in significant ways to the vast interdisciplinary literature on memory politics in the city. The scholarship on the politics of memory demonstrates how stories about the past are always 'entangled', to use Marita Sturken's (1997) concept, with already existing memorial topographies of a city and national histories (Boyer, 1996; Crang & Travlou, 2001; Huysen, 2003; Till, 2003). Groups and individuals often struggle with one another for authority to represent their version of the past in the built environment, the media, and in legal arenas. When social groups inscribe their particular perspectives and stories about the past onto and through a public space, the results are contentious. For example, to make repressed stories more tangible in the built environment groups and individuals may establish places of memory at historic sites of cultural trauma to reclaim national pasts and imagine more just futures. Political, postcolonial, and historical geographers writing about the politics of memory have examined official commemorative practices and sites of memory (statuary, streetscapes, memorials, monuments, stamps, tourist attractions, urban renewal projects, bodies), as well as contestations to claims to national identity (DeLyser, 2005; Dowler, 2001; Duncan, 1990; Dwyer, 2004; Foote, 2003; Forest & Johnson, 2002; Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004; Johnson, 2003; Kearns, 1993; Raento & Brunn, 2005; Till, 2005; Whelan, 2003). The politics of memory thus includes the processes of negotiation about whose conception of the past should prevail in public space. Because the meanings of a city are not stable in time or space, the politics of memory also refers to the practices and motivations whereby groups attempt to 'fix' time and identity by deploying the material and symbolic qualities of particular places and landscapes. Indeed, some memorialization projects attempt to close off public discussion by bounding time through place, while others seek to keep open the process of historical reflection through dialog, changing landscape forms, and community capacity-building.

Paying attention to the politics of memory is significant for any understanding of the city, particularly in postcolonial or post-authoritarian societies that have experienced difficult national

histories of state-perpetrated violence and are undergoing political and social transition (Bosco, 2004; Forest, Johnson & Till, 2004; Jelin, 2003; Nuttall & Coetzee, 1998). However, much of the work on memory in political geography has been limited to an approach that I have described as the 'biography of a site' (Till, 2006). Such an approach draws from concepts in key works, such as Foucault's (1975, 1980) 'counter-memory', Hobsbawm's (1983) 'invented traditions', Nora's (1996–1998) 'lieux de mémoire' and Halbwachs' (1992 (1952, 1941)) 'social frameworks' and 'topographies' of memory, and provide detailed descriptions of how national histories, memorial cultures, and shared stories are remembered and forgotten within a given country. Site biographies, however, are often narrow in their analyses of social exchange and power relations, typically framing contestation as 'resistance' to dominant forces. Research is often limited to print media coverage (without critical analyses of the role the media plays in the process of public memory) as supplemented by public documents (city plans, competition guidelines) or the occasional interview to provide evidence of coherent group or political agendas. Ethnographic, phenomenological, or psychoanalytic approaches are rarely used to analyze how transgenerational encounters, performances, and rituals transmit and circulate understandings about the past across historical and lived times and through social spaces.

Places and sites of memory have meanings that exceed their forms as authored representations of the past because of the ways individuals and social groups experience them affectively, a point I examine in detail in the next section. Indeed, debates about difficult pasts often emerge in wounded cities at zones of transition through those very places where the city becomes out of joint in terms of Cartesian space and chronological time (Till, 2005; Till & Jonker, 2009). In and through the neighborhoods that were razed for 'future development', former residents who have inherited what Fullilove (2004) calls the 'root shock' of forced removal (see below), encountering and confronting the violence, injustice, and trauma of displacement throughout the city.

More attention therefore needs to be paid to artistic interventions such as *Project Prometeo* that advance the difficult 'work' of memory in wounded cities marked by particularly violent and difficult pasts. In cities undergoing political transition, memory-work signifies more than past and ongoing resistance to the status quo or conflict-resolution approaches to land rights and other disputes (although memory-work does indeed include that political work; compare Jelin, 2003). Such projects also may offer possibilities of place-based mourning and care work across generations that build self-worth, collective security, and social capacity (Till, 2008). Materially, memory-work motivates the creation of social capital, provides a range of memorialization activities, creates new forms of public memory, and is committed to intergenerational education and social outreach (Till, 2011). This capacity-building work can, in some instances, provide individuals with a kind of 'social shell' (Kearns, 2006) that offers social stability and security, despite the ongoing ruptures of geographies of displacement and exclusion. I consider memory-work as a form of what Pieterse (2008) calls 'recursive political empowerment' that enhances individuals' capacity to act in ways that may be transformative and are embedded in collective possibilities across and through time and space.⁷ Place-based and collaborative memory-work may also create new forms of governance through what Healey (2006) describes as a needed combination of 'hard infrastructure' that challenges, constrains, and modifies dominant centers of power, with 'soft infrastructure' that develops 'social, intellectual and political capital' based on mutual learning (emphasis in original, p. 200).

Those engaged in memory-work often demand public visibility, political transparency, and accountability, demands that implicate residents' rights to the city. Residents' calls of 'never again', to 'give

voice' or 'make visible' their stories indicate the ways that past forms of injustice constitute the present and imagined possible future. The right to represent the past therefore can be considered a right to the city and is intricately tied to the processes of democratization. Following the English-language translation of Lefebvre's collected *Writings On Cities* (1996), scholars have explored the idea of the 'right to the city' by examining the ways that democratic states deny residents equitable access to resources in their city, including housing, public space, free speech, voting rights and, as I have suggested here, the right to narrate pasts through legal and material means (Dikeç, 2002; Mitchell & Staehli, 2007; Till, 2011; Wastl-Walter, Staehli & Dowler, 2005). Further, the idea of urban rights as related to inhabitation fundamentally questions understandings of political community based upon liberal understandings of citizenship as defined by the state (Attoh, 2011; Azoulay, 2008; Holston, 2007; Purcell, 2003).

Questions about the fair access to resources often lead to examinations of where and by whom the 'public' is constituted in democratic states. Sandercock (2003) notes that with the enhanced awareness and/or fear of differences in postmodern societies, urban inequality (and segregation) has intensified rather than decreased; social classes follow distinct pathways and occupy different zones of the city so that the privileged rarely encounter their 'other'. Within cities, 'unwanted' groups, such as the homeless, potential terrorists, 'dirty' or 'irresponsible' mothers, radical hippie types and others, have been discursively and physically excluded from the city (Cresswell, 1996; Dowler, 2002; Mitchell, 2003). This fear of the other, as well as images of the necessity of a strong-armed state to protect its citizens from the other beyond state boundaries, has changed dominant understandings of 'the public' to legitimate new forms of urban forms surveillance and war, particularly following September 11, 1991 (Graham, 2004). As Mitchell (2003) argues, 'to assure that public spaces remain "public" rather than hijacked by undesirable users ... the solution to the perceived ills of urban public spaces over the past generation has been a combination of environmental change, behavior modification, and stringent policing' (p. 4). While Mitchell's discussion is based upon his research in U.S. cities, his argument resonates in the case of Bogotá and elsewhere. Existing 'problems' as defined by urban elites are cleared away from sight and blamed on 'unwanted peoples'; solutions are drawn upon Western visions of the city, as promoted and sold by city management strategists and economic development players located in 'global cities'. In Bogotá, for example, city authorities casually referred to the residents of El Cartucho as 'disposables' (Abderhalden Cortés, 2008). Most residents of the area were displaced as a result of the park project without compensation, perhaps because they 'didn't exist' according to the state. In the early stages of the project, some residents were temporarily housed, so that they could be 'processed' and 'receive' a state-sanctioned identity. In the later stages of the project, other residents were located in a nearby slaughterhouse when the vast scale of displacement resulted in increased homelessness and a public fear of encountering those who once lived in El Cartucho in middle-class neighborhoods and downtown areas. As I have suggested above, however, through *Project Prometeo* the memory-work of displaced residents gave voice to supposedly invisible citizens and called attention to their rights to the city.

A place-based ethics of care

Much of the discussion about the right to the city has been made according to first generation rights such as civil and political rights. Pieterse (2008) argues that second- and third-generation rights – to peace or a clean environment – are as significant because they are tied to larger political concerns about social and ecological

sustainability. Jones (2005), for example, describes how the right to health and socio-economic rights may lead to socially enabling environments, critical political spaces, and inclusive forms of governance. He offers a successful case of 'rights-based development' achieved through social mobilization to demand people-driven institutional access and health rights for individuals with HIV-AIDS in South Africa. These multi-generational rights, even as they are grounded in liberal values such as justice and equity, challenge liberal understandings of universal rights as first generational rights only, and thereby offer a 'normative anchor' to ground political struggles towards more sustainable urban futures (Pieterse, 2008). I contribute to these discussions about multi-generational rights to the city by introducing what I call a place-based ethics of care, a concept I develop in section four of this paper.

Although there has been much work about care in human geography in recent years (Barnett, 2005; Lawson, 2007; McEwan & Goodman, 2010; Milligan & Wiles, 2010; Popke, 2006; Smith, 1998), inspired initially by feminist political theory (Gilligan, 1982; Tronto, 1993; see also Garbardi, 2001), very little has been published on the politics and ethics of care in this journal. For example, the two articles that have been published in the last fifteen years in *Political Geography* have examined the restructuring of the welfare state through housing markets (Smith, 2005), and therapeutic and health policies (DeVerteul & Wilton, 2009). As Smith (2005) has rightly argued in one of these articles, the scarcity of work on care represents a conspicuous silence on this topic within debates about the marketplace, the spaces of the state, and the social contract (and I would add the city). Not only has the political theory of an ethics of care been relegated to the gendered realms of the home and community, Smith also argues that it has not been used to theorize democratic citizenship. She draws upon Sevenhuijsen's (2000) critique of Giddens' 'third way' politics to argue that citizenship should also include 'equal access to the giving and receiving of care' (p. 10; see also Sevenhuijsen, 1998).

I agree with Smith's (2005) reading and argue that a place-based ethics of care offers possibilities to create and plan for more socially just cities. I draw in particular upon the work of Tronto (1993) who argues that care, unlike interest, duty or obligation, is an ethical practice and attitude that implies a reaching out toward something other than the self. Tronto outlines four types of care-giving that can result in ethical qualities – and I would add geographies – that I discuss in detail in section three of this paper. I add to Tronto and Fischer's work by including practices of attending to, caring for, and making place, what I call a 'place-based ethics of care'; these practices are grounded in memory-work and are fundamental in the establishment of differentiated and active forms of belonging and political community that might constitute more just and equitable democratic societies. Indeed, as Smith (2005) argues, 'place caring as an activity and a set of social relations [should be] at the heart of social policy' (p. 10).

Wounded cities, root shock and the social ecologies of place

I venture to propose that displacement is the problem the twenty-first century must solve. Africans and aborigines, rural peasants and city dwellers have been shunted from one place to another as progress has demanded, 'Land here!' or 'People there!' In cutting the roots of so many people, we have destroyed language, culture, dietary traditions, and social bonds. We have lined the oceans with bones, and filled the garbage dumps with bricks (Fullilove, 2004, p. 5).

Contemporary cities in different parts of the world continue to be structured by histories of settlement clearances, geographies of displacement, and state-perpetrated violence. In her study of the

urban renewal program from the 1940s to the 1980s in the United States, Fullilove (2004) examined the devastation wrought on the fabric of cities and across African American communities through multiple generations. Between 1949 and 1973, 2500 neighborhoods were bulldozed in 993 American cities, displacing at least a million people. Today, in cities such as Roanoke, Virginia, neighborhoods such as Gainsboro that were affected by waves of urban renewal beginning in the late 1940s – and that did not get the improvements or housing promised by city planners – have streetscapes with many empty lots, buildings held by absentee landlords, and decaying infrastructure (Fig. 3). Except for a few community centers, in particular the library, an important focal point of political resistance and intergenerational learning, the landscapes of this neighborhood do not communicate healthy social webs maintained through everyday use. Despite its central location and its historic centrality and vibrancy for the city as a whole, the neighborhood has become what Marcuse (1997) calls an ‘outcast ghetto’, an area of the city that is even more segregated from mainstream political, social, cultural, and economic urban life than was the case in the 1950s to 1970s.

Roanoke is what I would consider a ‘wounded city’; the social, cultural, and political histories of institutional racism that underlay the national policies of urban renewal in post-World War II America, and how they were interpreted and implemented in this city in a Jim Crow Southern region, continue to structure the larger urban geographies of Roanoke as well as the more particular

attitudes toward this neighborhood and its inhabitants more than fifty years later. To understand my notion of wounded cities as working metonymically and psychosocially, it is important to describe the complex interface between bodies, memory, social groups and the lived city, and affect.

Fullilove (2004) interprets the history of urban renewal and African American displacement according to her concept of ‘root shock’. Root shock is ‘the traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one’s emotional ecosystem’ (p. 11). Fullilove draws a parallel of root shock to the physiological shock experienced by a person who loses massive amounts of fluid as a result of injury, a shock that threatens the whole body’s ability to function. Citing geographers such as Doreen Massey, planners such as Jane Jacobs, and social psychologists such as Kai Erikson, Fullilove describes place as having a central function in an individual’s emotional and social ecosystem (compare Tuan, 1977). For Fullilove, place is a kind of exoskeleton (personal conversation with author, 2009). As such, we can understand place as always becoming, as within and beyond us, and as functioning as a kind of social protective shell, an understanding that has resonance with some Native American philosophies of human–environment relations.

When we move through and navigate our environments according to unlimited possible pathways, our patterns of movement are a kind of ‘mazeway’ that also provides us with security: ‘Just as the body has a system to maintain its internal balance, so too, the individual has a way to maintain the external balance

MAP 3. Gainsboro Neighborhood

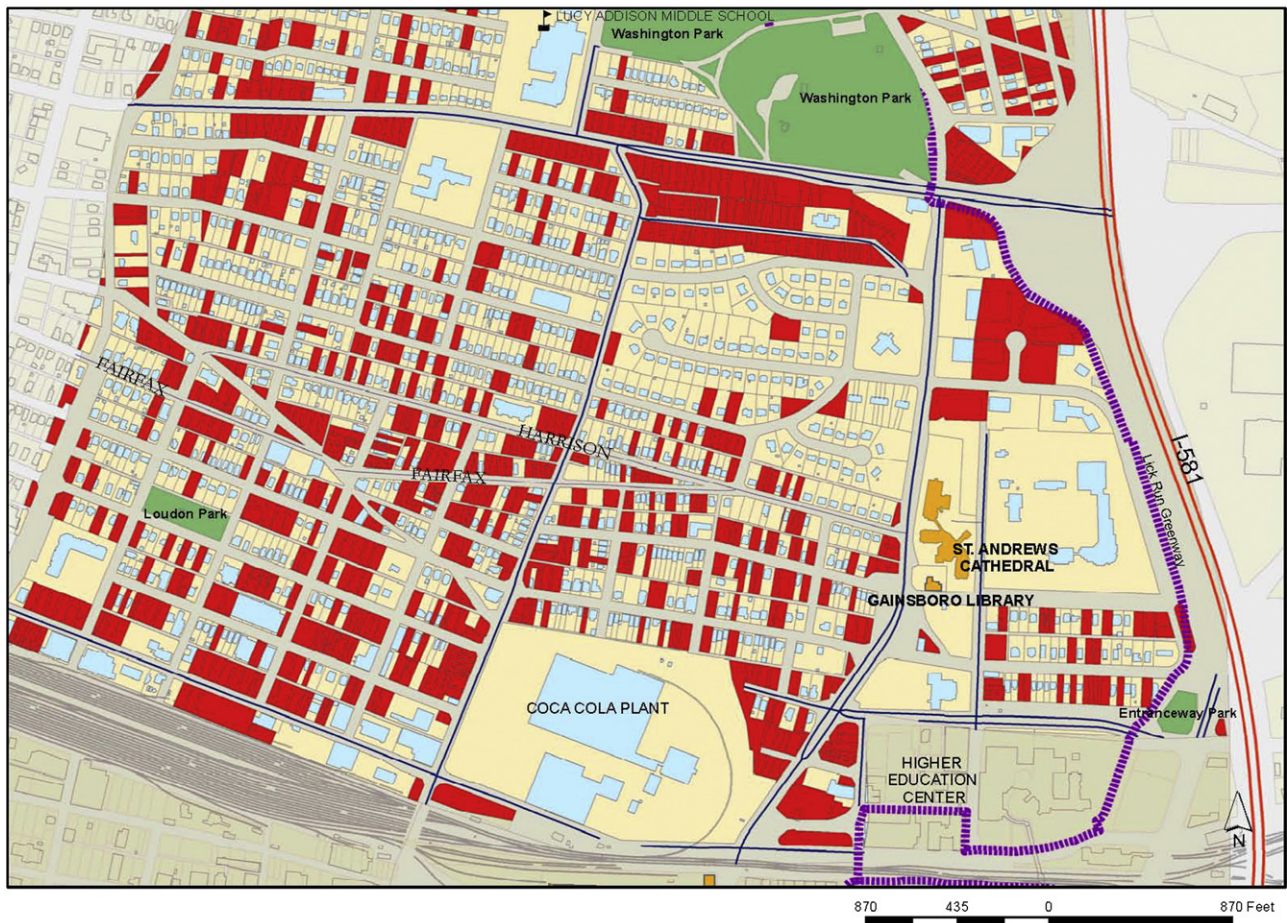


Fig. 3. Map of vacant properties in the Gainsboro neighborhood in Roanoke, Virginia, 2010; GIS and image courtesy of Josephine V. Arbaugh.

between himself and the world' (Fullilove, 2004, p. 11). Similarly, according to medical anthropologists Arthur and Joan Kleinman, bodily memory is often limited to discrete analyses of the brain, body, mind, or person only (Kleinman & Kleinman, 1994). They introduce the concept of 'enacted assemblages' to account for the 'interconnected cognitive, affective, and transpersonal processes' of body-social memory (p. 719). Drawing upon Chinese conceptions of everyday life and social relations, the Kleinmans argue that the local interpersonal world is the primary means through which sociosomatic processes shape the body and bodily processes shape social space.

I understand Fullilove's (2004) notion of mazes and the Kleinmans' concept of enacted assemblages helpful in understanding how embodied social spaces provide a personal and social shell (compare Kearns, 2006); when individuals are forced to leave their neighborhoods and their protective mazes are destroyed and/or cannot be made, root shock, according to Fullilove, may stay with a person for a lifetime. Fullilove argues, moreover, that the physical fabric of the neighborhood one grows up in also provides the cues and opportunities for the intergenerational transmission of stories, and as such root shock may affect multiple generations. Thus root shock can be inherited through social, bodily, and place memory. Places, even when materially demolished, remained haunted by what Casey (2000) describes as the 'unresolved remainders of memory'. For Casey, memory traces are 're-discovered' with evolving circumstances through time (belatedness). These unresolved remainders 'do not consist of depositions laid down – as is assumed in theories preoccupied with leaving marks and traces in an unchanging material base – but in pathways that branch off every more diversely into a multiple futurity' (p. 277). At some moments in time and in some places, we might encounter those residuals and move through pasts to possible futures and return differently to presents. Places are thus both personal and social, made of human and non-human lives. Through making and maintaining places, individuals sustain the mazes and enacted assemblages created through personal, bodily, social, and material worlds.

Maintaining built environments, social relations, places, and everyday routines is also significant in maintaining what Klinenberg (2002) describes as healthy social ecologies of place. For Klinenberg, the distinctive nature of urban life lies in its spatially distributed structures and textures. *Ecological characteristics* provide structure for individuals and social groups, and may include places of worship, schools, marketplaces, and parks. Social institutions that are located throughout neighborhoods offer regular activities and rhythms for local and social communities. The *morphological qualities* of place are the material and social environments that nurture inhabitants and offer support through familiarity, routine, aesthetically comfortable spaces, and a sense of belonging and security. Taken together, these social ecologies of place include everyday routines, social institutions, material landscapes (the fabric, taste, sounds, and scents of places), symbolic systems of meaning and identity, and shared memories. When those ecologies are damaged, individuals or groups will most likely experience root shock.

Finally, the metaphor of wounded cities works psychosocially according to the intimate relationships individuals and groups have with places, and hence the city. In my ethnographic research, residents, former residents, and some of their children in cities as distinct as Roanoke and Bogotá, refer to particular places and to the city more generally as a kind of meta-subject. I believe this is the case because, as I have argued above, places become part of us, even when held in common, through the intimate relationships individuals and groups have with places (Till, 2008). Yet these familiar resonances are not about territorial forms of marking or claiming

'my' spaces, but rather these attachments form the affective networks that give thick meaning to an inhabitant's experience of place and the city. Rather than treat affect as emotions writ large, I follow Bennett's (2005) understanding that 'affects arise in places rather than human subjects' (p. 10). This means that rather than analyze affect according to 'identificatory relationships', an approach that assumes that the origins of affect lie within individual human subjects, it makes more sense to understand the functions of affect according to its motility (Ibid). Such an understanding resonates with the ways that residents and artists speak about places, as having distinct presences – material, sensual, spiritual, and psychic – yet also acknowledges that places are also shared.

While these everyday, embodied knowledges of inhabited places may be taken for granted, when residents are forcibly relocated to other parts of the city, individuals may become aware of the intensity of their place-based attachments which have become severed, which may give rise to another level of loss that is deeper-seated and more chronic than the immediate losses resulting from destruction and/or displacement. When places are physically demolished, not only is the stability of the taken-for-granted rhythms destroyed, an individual's personal and intrasubjective emotional ecosystems become damaged. At the same time, Fullilove notes that when individuals try to reconnect after root shock, their personal understanding of structural and institutional violence and injustice might result in the creation of healing places. I understand such place-making activities as a form of memory-work that may offer opportunities for relatedness – what psychiatrists call 'milieu therapy' (after Fullilove, 2004) – and forms of care.

Towards a place-based ethics of care

In June 2003, the skeletal remains of about 3000 slaves and members of the colonial lower classes were unearthed by construction workers at the historical area known as Prestwich Place in Cape Town, South Africa.⁸ The 2800 square meter plot was once part of a much larger set of seventeenth and eighteenth century informal burial grounds. It is now located in the inner city precinct Green Point, where the highest priced real-estate in the country existed at the time of the unearthing. For more than a year, activists claiming descent from those buried at Prestwich Place halted the construction of a high-end boutique apartments, hotel, restaurant, and conference center, The Rockwell, by protesting the heritage authorities' failure to provide an adequate public consultation process. The 'Hands Off Prestwich Place' protest resulted in a compromise solution, whereby the bones were exhumed and reburied in a more central memorial and exhibition complex in the city (Jonker & Till, 2009). As one activist reflected:

SA: ...We kept candlelit vigils there [at Prestwich Place], letting the bones know we were there, that we were present, we were with them. As we stood, with the wind coming down from the mountain, the candles flickering, it was as though the bones were speaking to us.

KT: And what did the bones say?

SA: That they should not be forgotten again. They acknowledged our presence, grateful that we were with them (Abrahams, interview with author, Cape Town, 2005).

Stan is a highly educated and experienced person, whose experiences under the apartheid regime and following democratization would qualify him as a wise elder. Rather than cast away his comment as subjective or not meaningful, I understand Stan's comment as a way to talk about the significance of places in societies that have experienced extreme forms of violence. The memory-work of citizen groups and the ancestral dead that

haunted Prestwich Place shifted the taken-for-grantedness of urban space in the city. No longer only considered real-estate to be marketed to foreign investors in the ‘new South Africa,’ activists claimed this place as belong to them as citizens of a larger society. Through candlelit vigils, legal challenges, public processions, public hearings hosted by community groups, and other actions, new political organizations were formed and national heritage legislation challenged. Activists’ protests and memory-work communicated their claims in terms of ancestry and the social right to determine the city’s future (Fig. 4).

Their attentiveness to Prestwich Place also indicated a powerful spatial imaginary, one that clearly communicated that present and past are not inevitable. As part of us and yet socially shared, places may act as thresholds through which the living are able to make contact with those who have gone before, with human and non-human lives born and yet to come. Residents thus felt a moral and ethical set of obligations to this place and each other across multiple generations. Indeed, many activists, including Stan, were forcibly displaced from the homes during apartheid and relegated to extreme forms of hardship in marginal lands in the townships of the Cape Flats. Through their personal experiences of displacement and state-perpetrated racial violence, they connected with their ‘ancestors’ histories of displacement during the colonial era. In other words, residents’ actions and voices communicated an experience of the city – their city – as inhabited by both the dead and the living, as a reservoir of multiple histories and stories, and as offering a range of possible futures, many of which are not yet ‘visible’ in dominant representations of the contemporary urban landscape. They also understood their obligation to care for this place as a means to take care of each other.

If one takes root shock seriously, then caring for place is a way to repair our worlds that may help create socially sustainable cities across generations (compare Spelman, 2002). According to Tronto (1993), and drawing upon her work with Fisher, care is a type of engagement with the world that is both rational and affective. It is a ‘species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our “world” so that we can live in it as well as possible’ (p. 103). There are four types of care that Tronto identifies. First, ‘caring about’ someone or something asks individuals to

recognize need in others, thereby resulting in attentiveness. Here I would include ‘caring about places’ as a type of care that encourages attentiveness in the ways that places are both deeply personal as well as socially shared. Second, ‘taking care of’ someone or something – and here I add place – means that one realizes he or she can get something done and sets that realization into action. Place-based caring can be as simple as picking up trash on the beach to hosting a neighborhood potluck to organizing political protest actions; such feelings and actions produce responsibility to oneself, to others, and to places, neighborhoods, and social communities. Third, ‘giving care’ means that the feeling of responsibility for doing the work of caring oneself and getting that work done produces competence in caring work. For example, as I have found working with residents in Roanoke, individuals may gain self-confidence, leadership skills, and social respect when collaborating over months and years, and successfully creating a neighborhood community garden, particularly when confronting hostility or racism from city officials, environmentalists, and outsiders, and/or apathy amongst fellow neighbors. Fourth, ‘receiving care’ means that one makes sure the care work has been done and it has made things better; such a commitment produces responsiveness. This fourth type of care I would argue is not only the most difficult; receiving care also means that one must allow others to share in the responsibility of caring for oneself. To do this means to recognize the ‘other’ as different than the self in ways that might allow for an inclusiveness and openness, including also listening to others, enhancing one’s own sense of self-worth, and crafting new social shells. The responsiveness tied to accepting care means to engage from the standpoint of the other, but by not simply presuming that the other is exactly like oneself.

To illustrate a place-based ethics of care I return to the opening performance of *Project Prometheus* to describe creative practices based in what I would call an ethnographic responsibility of giving back to those who share their stories and understandings about place. *Project Prometheus* was one of five multi-year collaborative projects that constituted the series *Art, Memory, and the City* by the artistic collaborative Mapa Teatro Laboratory of Artists and El Cartucho residents during 2001–2005, during and after homes and neighborhoods were razed (*Mapa Teatro Laboratoria des Artes*, nd). The initial stages of *Project Prometheus* were tied to a larger initiative



Fig. 4. ‘Hands Off Prestwich Place’ citizen protest actions, Cape Town, South Africa, 2003. Image courtesy of The District Six Museum.

by the City of Bogotá Mayor's Office, commissioned by Antanas Mockus who was mayor from 2001 through 2003. When he was elected mayor in 2000, he could not stop the park project underway, but once in office secured United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) funds and provided local funding for what became known as 'C'úndua', a series of collaborations and projects with anthropologists, historians, and artists working with local residents from two 'slums', including El Cartucho (Abderhalden & Aristizábal, nd). While this liberal approach to recognizing past wrongs did not resolve larger social and structural inequities in the city, nor did it provide direct economic assistance to displaced residents, there were unexpected collaborations and outcomes resulting from these projects with local citizens. When Mapa Teatro's creative practice of working with residents on open-ended projects that had no stated clear 'outcomes' clashed with official demands, they began to work independently and raised their own funds to continue their collaborations. Rather than create projects that were limited by external demands, either to work within locations and timelines dictated by developers or according to government outcomes-based criteria, Mapa chose instead to let the creative practice guide outcomes and processes, thereby exploring new spaces of imagination with residents that resulted in performances, exhibitions, and installations in different public spaces in the city.

The many years of collaborative engagement involved in the place-specific performances of *Project Prometeo* included all the types of care and ethical qualities previously discussed (Till, 2010b). Caring about places and inhabitants began at the outset when Mapa confronted their own biases and stereotypes about the neighborhood, and later developed relations of trust with a small group of residents initially at their homes (before demolition) or visiting displaced residents in temporary housing structures. According to Abderhalden Cortés of Mapa Teatro (interview with author, 2008), the realization that the city's patrimony was to be materially lost initiated a creative and relational artistic process. That realization was tied to 'taking care of' and 'giving care' to residents, their stories, and their neighborhood being razed. After getting to know some residents, listening to their needs and offering what assistance they could, they began to work with residents on documenting their stories, memories, and experiences of their neighborhood in transition, recording on-site interviews, developing memory walks, locating historical images, creating mental maps, and videotaping scenes of destruction. They later organized workshops at an old building that they were later to purchase, where they met for group meals (a social ritual), bodywork, brainstorming, developing writing and acting circles, and facilitating support sessions; through these regular workshops, residents 'received care' as well cared for each other during their transitions.

According to Tronto, care challenges the Western Enlightenment assumption that individuals are autonomous and self-supporting, forcing us to recognize that not all humans are treated equally in society. Mapa Teatro acknowledged and honored the expert knowledges of locals and of inhabited places, and explored those situated knowledges through open-ended and intuitive creative practices. Even as residents were unfairly and structurally excluded from accessing the central spaces and resources of the city as a result of urban renewal, the artists created a shared symbolic space and later offered a temporary material place for displaced individuals to return. As they worked in teams of different capacities in unanticipated ways, residents could share their fears and memories with others; they could feel unsettled about their loss and unwanted transition as they explored their attachments to a place that would always be within them. Both artists and residents thus 'received care' in unexpected ways, changing how they worked and interacted with others and the city. Some of those relationships continued beyond the life of these projects. Moreover,

not only did the performances ask other residents, politicians, and audiences to 'care about' the stories, lives, and places attached to El Cartucho, their creative work with residents was a form of 'taking care of' a neighborhood and larger city that was wounded, even as they were experiencing root shock. By performing their myths and stories, residents gave and received care by sharing their intimate relationships with place.

The outcomes of Mapa Teatro's collaborations with residents made the quotidian textures of place visible to a more general public through city mappings and walks; domestic installations; video projections on exterior walls of buildings and in public squares; street, body, and landscape ethnographies; intergenerational memory books; and post-demolition archeologies. Through multi- and mixed-media, site-specific and traveling installations, exhibitions and performances in different settings and with different audiences, the artist-resident teams invited guests and performers alike to move between realms of the real and symbolic, the material and the metaphorical, the perceived and remembered, the experienced and imagined. Significantly, these artforms should not be interpreted as art according to 'crude empathy' that exploits embodied perception to promote critical awareness (after Bennett, 2005). The performances of place by former residents had the potential to transform memories of violence to shared stories of relevance and critical self-reflection through the co-construction of what Mapa call 'temporary communities of the imagination' (Mapa Teatro webpage, nd). I understand these temporary communities as a form of political witnessing. For performance theorist Talyor (1997), witnessing is an active, not passive, role for audiences. Drawing upon the history of the Greek chora, it is the witness' job to challenge the plot, interrupt actions, and reinterpret events. Speaking of Latin American theater, Talyor notes that witnessing demands an acceptance of 'the heavy weight of sorrow', but it may also 'broaden the scope of the possible, expand the audience, and allow for a wider range of responses' (p. 265). The performances of *Project Prometeo* thus did not invite empathy grounded in affinity, such as indicated with the phrase, 'I feel for you', a response based upon imagining what it would be like to be another person, to occupy another's situation and life experience. Rather, the performances offered audiences what Bennett (2005) calls 'empathic vision', or affective and critical forms of awareness based upon 'a feeling for another that entails an encounter with something irreducible and different, often inaccessible' (p. 10). *Project Prometeo* conveyed shared traumas and memories – as inhabited by different people – and offered moments, through art, imagination, experience, and reflection, of collective witnessing rather than spectatorship (compare Ranciére, 2009).

Concluding notes

What would it mean to think about cities marked by past structures of violence and exclusion as wounded but also as environments that offer its residents care? What the artists and residents in wounded cities teach us through their memory-work and practices of care-giving and -receiving is to respect those who have gone before, attend to past injustices that continue to haunt current planning and governance styles, and treat the past as a dynamic resource in imagining different urban futures. Casey (2000) suggests that in body memory, place memory, and social rituals these unresolved residuals of memory find refuge. People need to be recognized and recognize themselves in their social and physical environments to be able to give and accept care across generations. When individuals return to places that have witnessed pain and violence, but are now being cared for and may offer care, they can be again surrounded by living memory and emotional attachments, providing a safe space for personal self-reflection, discovery, and change.

I began this paper asserting the need to retheorize the city across theory, inhabitation, and praxis, and why such an approach and attitude must inform urban political agendas. North American urban geography has tended to emphasize economic and Marxist interpretations of the city when seeking to imagine possible political change and more just urban futures. As Lefebvre has reminded us, however, a class-based revolution is not enough. We also need love and play (after Shields, 1999), which is why Lefebvre turned to Nietzsche to negotiate Marx. While this paper has been a more modest discussion than Lefebvre's about the city as *oeuvre*, there are some similarities. It is informed by philosophy, social psychiatry, and creative practice, and is grounded in an ethnographic and ethical sensibility that I believe needs to be at the heart of retheorizing the way we, as political geographers, think, write, and educate about urban politics, about what the city means, and about more socially just futures.

Neighborhood transition must be considered as both loss and opportunity. When some parts of the city become disconnected from other social spaces, one approach to creating more socially sustainable neighborhoods in the future might include artistic experiments with communities and interim spaces of encounter (compare Till, 2011). Through experimental communities, residents, city professionals, and visitors can explore the lingering and possible pathways of remnant landscapes, material objects, forms of belonging, and transgenerational revenants that exist in and through place. Interdisciplinary teams (that should include residents, practitioners, and artists) should be required for conceptualizing, designing, and implementing particular planning and development projects. These teams would acknowledge different forms of expertise. I have suggested here that artistic practices may enable a place-based ethics of care that also respects unfolding and open-ended pathways of memory and belonging. Memory-work thus contributes to what Pieterse (2008) describes as 'radical incrementalism', a 'sensibility of ethical searching' that trusts 'deliberate actions of social transformation through 'a multiplicity of processes and imaginations' (p. 7, 6). The projects that result from these open-ended exploratory practices, moreover, honor and encourage residents' right to the city by respecting the particular histories and social networks of neighborhoods and cities as already-lived-in places, and encourage responsibility and responsiveness to the city and other inhabitants. If, as citizens, we understand that part of our rights and duties include a responsibility to each other and to the places we inhabit, then we may move from audience to witness to care-giver. This place-based ethical responsibility, tied to a sense of active citizenship and radical democracy, also demands a new way of understanding urban planning, policy, development agendas and transformation, a point that I leave for future conversations.

Endnotes

² Heiner Müller was an East German dramatist, poet, writer and theater director. He is, after Berthold Brecht, considered Germany's most important dramatist of the twentieth-century. His work contributed to postmodern drama and postdramatic theater. See Kalb (2001) and Kushner (2001).

³ As I describe elsewhere (Till, 2010a), Peñalosa initiated five mega-projects between 1998 and 2001: the bank of lands; a parks system, including a bike paths network; a system of libraries; the Transmilenio mass transit system; and road construction, maintenance and renovation. Not all were completed under his tenure, but his ambitious initiatives were made possible, in part, because of former mayor Jaime Castro's financial reforms; a relatively independent city council; and existing traditions to encourage a sense of safety in public spaces (such as Domingo Ciclovía (Cycling Sunday) launched by Augusto Ramierz in 1982 and followed in other cities worldwide; and the Ciudadana Cultura public art projects initiated by Antanas Mockus (who was mayor prior to and following Peñalosa).

⁴ While these postcolonial theorists advocate new ways of thinking about urban and political theory, they also draw upon a range of theories, in particular Western poststructural theories, to think about urban space as postmodern, relational, and/or as assemblages and rhizomes.

⁵ My overview of Bayat is taken from Pieterse (2008), Chap. 6–7.

⁶ David Harvey's (2003) discussion of the city as body politic offers a more complex and nuanced understanding of the city than Schneider & Susser.

⁷ According to Pieterse (2008), 'People's sense of possibility is closely tied to culturally shaped assessments of opportunities and threats ... Such calculations, in turn, are intertwined with a sense of being and self in relation to place and particular communities' (p. 7).

⁸ My discussion of Prestwich Place is largely taken from Jonker and Till (2009).

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