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This article considers Claudius Ptolemy's notion of 'chorography' as a rationale for new forms of experiential representation and marketing of urban/architectural geographies

Digital Chorographies: conceptualising experiential representation and marketing of urban/architectural geographies

Richard Koeck and Gary Warnaby

An important theme in place marketing, branding, and architectural literature – and practice – is the development of a strong, attractive image, through (primarily) visual representation of a location. But considering that today we live in cities that are digital hybrids, in which we are connected to a wider system of information, how is an 'image of the city' constructed in this context, and are there other strategies and tactics that should be considered? Using Plato's notion of *chora* and Claudius Ptolemy's notion of *chorography* as points of departure that will lead us to consider Michel de Certeau's concept of walking as an experiential and dialectic process through which we relate the *spatial stories* of places and moreover,[1] in the context of digital locative media, we will point to ways by which this may be accomplished. In introducing the reader to the concept of *digital chorographies* as a means by which a place's spatial narratives may be constructed, we suggest that a current emphasis on visual representation (for example, of attractive place product elements/attributes, such as architectural landmarks and cityscapes, etc.) should be considered in conjunction with the articulation and narration of qualities contributing to a place's realm of meaning.[2]

Moreover, we argue that technological developments – facilitating potential participation of a wider array of stakeholders in the creation of place image, and its representation – put greater emphasis on developing a co-created experience in and of space and place, with significant potential implications, not only for how urban locales are represented, but also for their management more generally via more participatory approaches. Co-creative processes and practices have implications for developing more overt performative dimensions to place marketing, as it moves from an emphasis on materiality (via the static representation of places, as embodied for example, in maps) to a focus on multiple narratives in a system of dynamic storytelling. Indeed, we argue that incorporating performative aspects into place marketing activities is a means by which the *genius loci* is more effectively communicated, to create distinctiveness in an increasingly competitive spatial environment.

Urban representation and marketing
Representing the city in a positive light to actual and potential users is recognised as an important part of urban place marketing, which has assumed ever greater importance as both a practice and an area of academic study.[3] According to Milhalis Kavaratzis and Gregory Ashworth, place marketing practice could be regarded as 'ways of relating marketable products to real geographical points on the earth's surface'[4] to create place offers, which are commodified and marketed to target audiences in ways analogous to more stereotypical consumer products. The appropriateness of developing such business-oriented practice in the context of places has been questioned. Consequently, the aims and activities of place marketing have been the subject of substantial critique. However, it is not within the scope of this article to engage in this extensive debate.

More recently, focus has turned to place *branding*, whereby, consistent with a key aim of a brand to distinguish a product from its competitors,[5] places have sought to achieve some form of differentiation – and hence, spatial competitive advantage – through more overt, branding-oriented promotional activities. Indeed in this place context, for many, the terms *marketing* and *branding* are viewed as synonyms. However, we argue that conventional notions of marketing/branding in the context of places have two essential problems. First, reflecting theoretical stereotypes, which emphasise that the primary objective of place branding is to endow a place with 'a specific and more distinctive identity',[6] a key task for urban place marketers is to differentiate their area, and then to effectively communicate this. Ivan Turok identifies the problematic nature of this process, recognising a potential paradox, in that for many urban places 'seeking at the outset to be distinctive and to escape from familiar identities they often end up striving for similar outcomes'.[7] Indeed, the inherent problems in accomplishing this are a long-standing literature theme, and represent but one aspect of the critique of place marketing mentioned above.[8]

Secondly, much urban place marketing/branding activity arguably assumes a linear process of place

making in the sense that a series of image representations (and other branding initiatives) supposedly work together to create a holistic urban image. This, however, is not a linear process but is more complex, involving peoples' individual place perceptions, which will incorporate lived experience therein, and also memory.[9] This is frequently neglected in planning processes for place marketing, which are often characterised by *top-down* (that is, planned and implemented by marketing/branding consultants, etc.), rather than *bottom-up* approaches (recognising the importance of more inclusive, participatory processes).

The need for *bottom-up* approaches is increasingly recognised in the literature, which focuses more explicitly on co-creation, whereby value emanates from the interplay of both producer and consumer agency. Robert Aitken and Adriana Campelo regard place brands as social constructions, co-created by stakeholders through an iterative, collaborative process which is culturally informed and contextually bound.[10] Indeed, while most existing literature focuses on marketing to external audiences (that is, tourists/inward investors, etc.), there is increasing recognition of the importance of residents as targets – and also creators and legitimators – of place marketing activities. Drawing on the bottom-up analogy, Lynch's study has shown that residents' perception of cities is reductionist, abstract, fragmentary – related to being in a space, at ground level. Therefore, we argue that if place marketing activities – aim at portraying the *reality* of a place, then the question must be asked, whose reality is to be portrayed? Such questions strike to the heart of the critique of place marketing/ branding in terms of its possible tendencies towards reinforcing existing urban hegemonies, etc. As Clegg and Kornberger note:

> Place branding is inherently political because it always includes a struggle between a brand and its homogenous, silencing effects, and the overflowing, polyphonic reality of peoples' interpretations of a place.[11]

Thus, a co-created, experiential framework that leads to recognisable and memorable experiences from the perspective of place users/consumers (that is, residents/visitors, etc.) arguably needs to be considered more overtly. This links to the notion of a more explicit narrative approach to representing urban spaces, and how these narratives are constructed and communicated.

How, therefore, might the fragmented, complex, and kaleidoscopic nature of urban places be represented visually through inclusive place marketing activity in order to highlight distinctiveness, in an attempt to communicate place competitive advantage? We suggest that branding/ promotional activities are one means of telling the spatial story of a place, but at the same time, argue that through co-creative processes, facilitated by new information communications technology, such stories should not emerge solely from marketing considerations alone, but from the landscape and its people. Furthermore, we will argue that co-creative processes could contribute to new approaches to

place marketing that address Kavaratzis and Ashworth's, and Turok's questions of space specificity and distinctive identity. In order to illustrate the potential role of narrative in this process, we will begin by exploring early forms of representation – and consequent marketing – of places through the use of maps, thereby highlighting the distinction between *cartography* and *chorography* with which we intend to point towards new mode of public engagement in more pluralist processes of branding and image management of urban areas.

Chorography: hybrid modes of spatial representations

Alberto Pérez-Gómez points out that Plato's formation of a geometrical universe in his famous monologue *Timaeus,* written *ca* 360 BC, became the source of inspiration for 'cosmological pictures in the Western world until Newton, and that universe was thus accepted as the structure of physis (nature), the macrocosm that architecture's microcosm was meant to emulate and whose mathematical structure (ratio, proportion) was a symbol that assured meaningful work.' The *Timaeus* gave way to a period in time when mathematical proportion was intentionally embodied into man-made artifacts and in which 'taking measure of time and space was the privileged mode of human participation' with the ultimate aim to achieve to a sense of 'true order'.[12] Pérez-Gómez concludes that Plato's text describes a 'space of human creation and participation, postulating a coincidence between topos (natural place) and chora';[13] a term (also known as *khora, khoȓa*) that had led to much speculation in architectural debates.

During a conversation between Peter Eisenman and Jacques Derrida taking place in New York in 1985, in the context of conversations they had with Bernard Tschumi and his winning of the international competition (1982–83) to design the *Parc de la Villette,* Derrida refers to chora in relation to Plato's somewhat '*enigmatic passage*' in the Timaeus. Derrida, who had written an earlier essay with the same name,[14] argues that Plato's text where he refers to *chora* has potentially a deeper meaning.[15]

> In Greek, chora means 'place' in very different senses: place in general, the residence, the habitation, the place where we live, the country. It has to do with interval; it is what you open to 'give' place to things, or when you open something for things to take place. [...] Chora is the spacing which is the condition for everything to take place, for everything to be inscribed. [...] It is a kind of hybrid being; a kind of being that we can only think of in dreaming.[16]

We mention this not to go into a deeper discourse on Plato's *Timaeus,* but because the term *chora,* one in which everything takes place and inscribed, and Jacques Derrida's notion of hybridity in relation to space in particular is one that resonates well with a mode of visual representation termed *chorography.*

Chorography is not to be mistaken with *cartography,* a term often used in the context of maps. Cartographic representations of urban places have been used throughout history in celebratory – or in marketing parlance, promotional – terms. Whitfield states that

early town images and representations were often not maps or plans in the accepted sense, but were 'pictures, bird's-eye views or panoramas' which offered an imaginative view of the city:
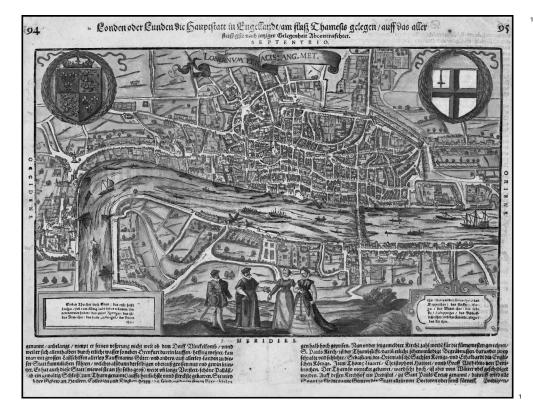
> Their purpose is clearly to present to us, directly and vividly, a picture of living in the city [...] They were not functional documents and could scarcely have been used for purposes of city administration. Their spirit is aesthetic rather than cartographic.[17]

In this sense, they could be regarded as attempts to communicate what Tristram Hunt has termed the 'urban USP' (unique selling proposition), through 'an aesthetic vision of what constitutes the significance of the city'.[18] These more aesthetic representations of place, in the form of the city/town portrait, should more appropriately be regarded in terms of chorography, a concept introduced by Greek astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptolemy.[19] Chorography, described by Ptolemy in terms of the portrayal of a local area (as opposed to geography, which he regarded as referring to the entire world), was particularly evident during the Renaissance, and indeed, is a manifestation of the desire to differentiate places – a factor which has motivated urban place activity since its inception.[20] Thomas Frangenberg describes the term *chorography* as having two manifestations: (1) describing 'a view or a plan of a city or of any other local area produced in the context of geography' (often called a chorography); and (2) referring to 'the art of making such views or plans'.[21] Its main manifestation was the town portrait, which had two main alternative methods of representation – *profile* and *oblique*. Lucia Nuti likens a profile view to perceiving the town/city from 'a very low viewpoint taken at a distance, with a wide and open horizon, and with a significant proportion of pictorial space occupied by sky'.[22] The oblique view was more all-embracing, 'from an elevated vantage point at a distance, such as surrounding hills, in order to grasp urban form and shape'.[23] Frangenberg notes that an oblique perspective, representing an area as if seen from above, was perceived as more informative.

Viewing examples of chorographies, a further point emerges. A well-known map of London (Londinum Feracis: Ang. Met., published 1598), for instance – often attributed to cartographer Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) who was well-known for his chorographic illustrations and annotation of cities (for example, *Cosmographia* from 1544) – places prominently two men and two women in front of an oblique Elizabethan rendering of the city of London [1]. At the time of its production, this was a state-of-the-art visual document (in the form of three-dimensional drawings and not to scale), intended to place the onlooker right into the visual field of the city and evoke a sense of urban experience; essentially building up an abstract relationship between people and a place, or even urban spectatorship, which are points that we will return later to. Such a map is not an attempt to precisely represent the city geographically, but to create an urban situation with embedded narratives.

From the Enlightenment period onwards, however, the predominant trend in urban mapping has tended towards the functional rather than the more overtly aesthetic depictions evident in earlier town portraits. De Certeau (1984) describes a map in terms of showing a tableau, describing the different elements comprising the place in relation to one another in an essentially static way, thereby enabling the creation of 'an image capable of expressing totality within the field of vision, the panoramic, all-embracing view of the divine eye'.[24] In other words,

1 Map of London, circa 1598

maps constitute visual representations of the place as a whole. Their emphasis was to render the city more legible, and also 'to regulate its material and social disorder' as cities grew in size. This was reflected in maps as we would recognise them today, where the intent 'was increasingly analytic rather than synthetic' and a 'more severe, undecorated style' of representation adopted as part of their 'rhetoric of practicality'.[25] This is manifested in the use of cartography in a specific place marketing context, where Gary Warnaby notes that two spatial scales are evident – the *inter-urban* and the *intra-urban*.[26] At the *inter-urban* level, maps are used to emphasise location in relation to other places, emphasising factors such as centrality and accessibility. At the *intra-urban* scale, the use of cartography is primarily to facilitate navigation around a particular locale, which could, for example, incorporate visitor and recreation maps, rendering the town/city 'intelligible, decipherable and finite'.[27] However, Jeremy Black argues that maps are inevitably 'selective representations of reality'[28] and Robert Macfarlane emphasises human agency in map creation, in that when depicting a landscape, cartographers 'carry out a triage of its aspects, selecting and ranking those aspects in order of importance'.[29] This strongly resonates with the selective nature of much place marketing/branding activities, which inevitably, focus on accentuating the positive (and attempting to obscure or deny the negative) aspects of a location.[30]

Notwithstanding these recent, more analytical cartographic developments, arguably one contemporary manifestation of some of the more aesthetic aspects of chorography, with potential implications for place marketing practice, are alternative representations of place arising from participatory approaches to map-making. In recent years cartography has been democratised by the use of the Internet via Web 2.0 mapping technologies. Websites such as Google Earth gives everyone the chance to produce their own individual maps, and the Internet brings so many map users together 'that producers and consumers are no longer distinguishable'.[31] This creates the potential developing a range of alternative place representations, often created collaboratively by groups and/or individuals resulting from their lived experience of place,[32] as highlighted in Kevin Lynch's seminal work.[33] Such maps may exist in addition – and possible opposition – to those representations created by place marketers through communications activities, and may reflect the different – and possibly contested – 'realms of meaning' and different levels of practice and performance of place as a 'lived concept'.[34]

Thus, it could be argued that in representing places from an overtly cartographic perspective, we have seen a movement from the aesthetically-oriented chorographic portrayals of urban places in the Renaissance – one that also provides contextual information about people and places – to a more functional portrayal of more modern maps (with an emphasis on legibility and practicality), back towards a more chorographic approach to urban representation (albeit perhaps in relation to more niche cartographic manifestations). In its heyday, chorography introduced a spatial element with regards to the reading of place representations, in the form of pictorial information of building and spaces. Such practices arguably exist to this day, for example, in city guides/tourist maps, etc., where certain built environment features are depicted using an isometric projection, thereby showing buildings and other features highlighted as being of potential interest to the map user in greater three-dimensional detail. Moreover, these contemporary chorographies have also introduced a quasi-embodied engagement with representations of space, since they rely on architectural or urban situations that connote spatial conventions related to these spaces. This has resonance with Lefebvre's,[35] and later Massey's, dictum that space is a product of interrelations, rather than of Euclidian geometry and, with regard to this argument, provides a transition from the usual contemporary representations from above (i.e. maps) to ground-level spatial practice:

> *Space [...] is a product of relations-between, relations which are necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out, it is always in a process of being made. It is never finished, never closed. Perhaps we could imagine space as simultaneity of stories-so-far.*[36]

While for Henri Lefebvre, the notion of space meant an interconnected set of social conventions and relations, Doreen Massey sees this interconnectedness as a heterogeneous and political phenomenon. While she notes that space is, 'constituted through interactions from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny', she sees it 'as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity'.[37] Further, we seem to have come full cycle in that we begin to see how Derrida's concept of *chora* being 'a kind of hybrid being' and Pérez-Gómez's description of a 'space of human creation and participation' give way to more experiential spatial representations; contemporary *chorographies* that break up a visual representation of a place into smaller parts and thereby capable of capturing the multiplicity of narratives embedded in it.

Digital chorographies: experiential spatial representations

De Certeau's chapter 'Walking the City' in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, starts with a critique of the way in which we visually engage with the city. He argues that the real urban experience occurs 'down below', especially by those that walk, which he describes as 'an elementary form of this experience of the city'.[38] This view is echoed by Rebecca Solnit: '[w]alking the streets is what links up reading the map with living one's life, the personal microcosm with the public macrocosm, it makes sense of the maze all around'.[39] Calling into question the prevalent functionalist urban discourse and believing that it is important to question how we engage with urban spaces, de Certeau asserts that, 'the city serves as a totalizing and almost mythical landmark for socioeconomic

and political strategies'.[40] He goes on to say that '[w]alking affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, respects', thus creating a passage with a trajectory that 'speaks'.[41] In this sense, walking in urban landscapes can be regarded as a dialectic process with which we relate to spatial narratives – potentially relevant to place marketing purposes, in that a recommended route to be taken through a city (in order to demonstrate its attributes to optimum effect and impact) is explicitly promoted. Indeed, such an active probing of urban spaces could be regarded as a form of cognitive urban mapping, which was also explored by the Situationist International (SI), the members of which were particularly interested in the role of architecture and cities with regard to consumerism.

Whilst architects, planners and geographers use maps to engage with the city in rational terms, and Lynch sought to map mental images of the city, members of the SI movement – Guy Debord, Asger Jorn and Michèle Bernstein in particular – were interested in alternative forms of mapping that investigated the relationship between language, narrative, and cognition in urban landscapes that were spoiled by capitalism and bureaucracy.[42] Using similar street-based tactics to de Certeau, Debord developed the idea of drifting (*dérive*), the playful strolling through urban spaces which was seen as a form of surveying of the psychogeographic conditions of the modern city in order to reveal its hidden delights.[43] It could be argued that, since drifting is an engagement with the psychogeographical contours of a city, and since these contours show traces of film and cinema, such tactics could lead to useful explorations of the cityscapes in which we live, for place marketing, among other purposes. In another context, Iain Sinclair recommends a similar tactic when suggesting that the best way to understand a city is through purposeful drifting through its streets:

Walking is the best way to explore and exploit the city; the changes, shifts, breaks in the cloud helmet, movement of light on water. Drifting purposefully is the recommended mode, tramping asphalted earth in alert reverie, allowing the fiction of an underlying pattern to reveal itself.[44]

Sinclair's quote sums up the position also taken by the Situationist International and de Certeau. What is so interesting here is the notion that fiction, or another form of narrative content, is somehow inscribed into a landscape and can be released through the bodily act of walking. Thus, on the same principle that the impact of marketing communications messages is maximised by a multisensory approach, it could be argued that the portrayal of *movement* through urban space (however vicariously and hyperreal via place websites) is potentially a more effective way of conveying urban experience for place marketing purposes that the static tableau of the map, or the montage of static images of selected place elements, which characterises much place promotion material. Navigation through space in this way could be 'guided' (or at least a recommended route identified), motivated by the aforementioned need to accentuate the urban positives in the aim parading the city upon what Monica Degen (2008) terms the global catwalk for investment and tourism.[45] Alternatively users could be left to explore in their own way in the spirit of the *dérive* (with consequent implication for the place marketer's ability to influence or control the user's perception – and reception – of urban space).

Following on from this it could be argued that what we might call 'digital chorographies' is manifested our relatively recent and widespread public access to aerial photography. Kitty Hauser argues that the aerial view can be considered as a modernist phenomenon, representing 'a new
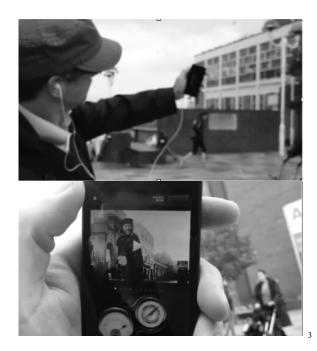

2 Blue dot in Walking through Time app

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perspective fit for a new world'.[46] This resonates with recent digital maps and aerial photographs provided by OpenStreetMap, Bing or Google, particularly where there is the facility to move easily between aerial and ground-based perspectives. Thus, for contemporary place marketers, communicating more overt *experiential* aspects – more explicitly incorporating *movement* through urban space – could, for example, be accomplished virtually. The recent development of Google Street View provides an obvious manifestation of this approach.

In specific place marketing terms, this impression of movement could be accomplished through virtual tours incorporated into websites of relevant agencies. Interestingly, and in contrast to conventional maps, these very recent applications provide a global positioning system (GPS) marker or point signifying the current position overlaid onto a map. Such applications capitalise upon the kinaesthetic experience of being in and moving through space. In this way, highlighting the urban experience as a more dynamic activity, involving movement in time, can be emphasised in the marketing material for urban places, hopefully with more effective results in terms of communicating the attributes of a place. While obviously recognising that this experience is inevitably vicarious, it is, from a marketing communications perspective, arguably more impactful as a means of communicating the spatial story of a place than the perception emanating from maps (and other marketing material) alone, as such knowledge may be more one-dimensional, and consequently, perhaps less effective and impactful in marketing terms.

Indeed, it could be argued that because static maps may, for many, do little to aid perception or understanding of a place, more effective experiential spatial representations require new forms of visualisations, incorporating time, people or communities, as well as their social practices. The geo-referencing of human data to traditional maps has been enabled by – and in turn, has facilitated – new analytical techniques (for example, crowd sourcing; data mining, etc.) and new forms of data visualisations/contextualisations, whereby urban landscapes are understood as a system of infinite layers. Thus, the use of a Geographic Information System (GIS), capable of overlapping data onto maps in layers and thereby offering the visualisation of new relationships, stitched into a representation of space (for example, maps) which enable the user to move virtually not only through space, but also through time.

This is illustrated in the JISC-funded *Walking Through Time* app that permits users of smart phones that contain GPS technology to map their position, not just on a contemporary Google map, but also to choose from a selection of historical maps of the city of Edinburgh [2].[47] This raises a series of questions with regard to our sense of identification with the *blue dot* on the screen – an analogy to Sebastian Münster's pictorial representation of people in front of the city – as well as with the heritage and history of the city. While the use of historical maps could

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3 Battersea Ghost Cinema app

4 Drifting through Battersea with BatterCtrax audio app

arguably be seen as a somewhat superficial and abstract means to connect to the history of a place, it clearly begins to reach into deeper layers of information about a city. At the same time, echoing the aforementioned participatory theme, it places the act of mapping literally in the hands and feet of people, and as such must be seen as one of a series of promising ways to engage the public with the past, present, and future of the built environment of towns and cities, sometimes for marketing purposes. Thus, *Walking Through Time* is more than just tool for way-finding; it uses the city as interface for many memories and narratives that can emerge from the landscape itself and as such is not only attractive for the marketing of places (such as for tourism), but also for place-making in a more literal sense as part of a new form of urban experience.

These ideas were taken further in another recent AHRC urban heritage project, led by François Penz (University of Cambridge), Richard Koeck (co-author of this article), and Chris Speed (one of creators of *Walking Through Time* application), which uses digital tools to create experiential spatial representations. *Cinematic Geographies of Battersea: Urban Interface and*

Site-Specific Spatial Knowledge – which aimed to complement the officially recorded architectural history of the parish of Battersea,[48] by studying how the area has been portrayed in films over the twentieth century. Using the city as interface to collect and restore cinematic moments in time and place, one aspect of the research dealt with the design and development of a mobile phone application, entitled *Ghost Cinema*, which used historic maps, GIS, and a digital database to stitch film trailers as well as text information directly into the streets of Battersea and to make them retrievable via a mobile application [3].[49] The key objective here was not the geographically accurate positioning of filmic information (that is, filmic ghosts; forgotten film shot or screened on location), but, as in the instance of Renaissance chorographic maps, to create an image-based illustration and annotation system that ultimately offers new opportunities for a narrative engagement with a particular place at particular moments in time. People's individual journeys through Battersea's architectural and film history – their strolling through the streets of the city – becomes a way of finding, creating, and sharing of spatial memories, which themselves were intended to be shared with others, for instance, through automated links to social media applications. In doing so, *Ghost Cinema* is a co-created experience (by the developers and the users of the application), which shapes a map-based place image in which the (moving) image becomes a protagonist and narrative *aide-mémoire* at the same time.

BatterCtrax, produced by Amblr Ltd. in collaboration with Koeck and linked to the above AHRC project, takes de Certeau's notion of kinesthetic appropriation and storytelling into the contemporary digital realm.[50] While *Ghost Cinema* substantially relied on historic images, the *BatterCtrax* audio app, written for the geographies in and around Battersea Park, has aside from a hand-drawn inaccurate map (the use of which is optional), no visual interface whatsoever. In this form of city representation and promotion of a place, mapping occurs through a performative act in the mind of the walker who 'drifts' in and out of sound bubbles that are filled with audio material, onsite recorded interviews, and on location sounds, edited together in real time depending on geographical location and individual routes [4]. Here, the user is not merely an urban spectator – an onlooker of urban situations as in the case of *Ghost Cinema* or indeed Münster's view of London – but creator of individualised psychogeographies and, as such, highly memorable urban narratives. All three examples above go well beyond the notion of visually representing or marketing the city, yet they create distinctive and long-lasting mental city images that differ from the more common place branding exercises. And while the aforementioned projects relate to the cultural heritage of a place, we would argue that the underlying principles explored here are relevant to a wider range of applications and city stakeholders, including architects, planners, and urban place marketers.

Implication for place representation and marketing

In recent years, marketing theory has seen an increased emphasis on the experiential,[51] and in particular the means by which marketers and consumers can collaborate to *co-create* value in order to optimise product/service offers,[52] and this has been considered in the specific context of places by Warnaby (2009).[53] Related to this, an important question arises of how such complex and vaguely defined phenomena as places can be most effectively represented, particularly given recent technological developments, which have created the potential to move from a monodimensional (that is, focusing on the static image) to a multidimensional promotion of place; namely, a more overtly experiential depiction, which more effectively conveys the importance of emotional connection through engagement with urban narratives, and embodiment within particular space, or in other words, moving from *cartography* and *chorography*.

Moreover, such a multidimensional approach acknowledges the inherent complexity of urban places as *products* to be commodified and marketed. Tim Cresswell notes that place 'is both simple [...] and complicated'.[54] In their discussion of the nature of place, Cresswell and Gareth Hoskins suggest the existence of three interrelated aspects: (1) places have a material presence, embodied in landscape and built environment; (2) places also incorporate a *'realm of meaning'*, which can be variously perceived and interpreted by different people/groups/organisations (such meaning may develop via a collective accretion of understanding – which may, of course, be contested); and (3) that place involves different levels of practice and performance, relating explicitly to experiential dimensions, stating that '[p]lace is a lived concept'.[55] Many existing conceptualisations of places as products tend to focus on the material (in terms, for example, of outlining a wide variety of facilities and attractions that are elements of a more holistic place product), rather than Cresswell and Hoskins' other, more intangible, aspects of place, which could actually be more impactful in creating the *genius loci* that is potentially a prime means by which a place can differentiate itself. A greater focus on the experiential, more explicitly encompassing the principles of narrative and embodiment, through the technologically mediated methods and techniques briefly outlined above, can potentially create more potent place marketing activities via more realistic and meaningful representation of what it means to be *in* a particular place.

With new digital mapping technologies being incorporated into our everyday urban life experiences, we begin to see that creation of place image and place branding is not anymore solely a matter of relying on visual impact, or 'maps' *per se*, that are created exclusively by place marketers, but is one that increasingly recognises the importance our placement *in* the map (Münster's onlookers or the 'blue dot', so to speak). It could be argued that the recent forms of mapping, outlined above, using digital geographic interfaces and locative media

devices, are indeed a return to Renaissance chorographies, in the sense that they portray a more local area, as noted by Ptolemy, yet not necessarily intended to represent a geographic precise and calibrated space, but provide a new form of legibility through the breaking up of spaces into different themes, highlighting pockets of social activities and incidences, creating a sense of a place with (often temporal) layers of truths revealed by direct human engagement therein – in summary, what de Certeau regards as 'lived space'; a place of 'tactile apprehension and kinesthetic appropriation'.[56] Yet instead of the city being revealed as theatre that is seen exclusively from above, as Denis Cosgrove notes, mobile applications stitch the experience of maps directly at street level and increasingly enable a participatory, even co-creative process of place making.

Tim Ingold (2000, p. 230) draws explicitly on de Certeau, contrasting the concept of the lateral mode of integration with the modern, 'scientific' map, which de Certeau, argues one of its 'most striking characteristics' is 'its elimination, or erasure, of the practices and itineraries that contributed to its production'.[57] Echoing this, Ingold argues that 'the making of maps came to be divorced from the experience of bodily movement in the world'.[58] Similarly, it could be argued that in many cases the practice of place representation and marketing – especially that activity characterised by *top-down* planning approaches – has become removed from the realities of the place being promoted, as experienced by those living and using it. Given the greater opportunity – mediated by the technological developments outlined above – for a much greater range of stakeholders to co-create and articulate *their* representation of a desired reality of experience of place as (in Ingold's use of the term) region – then the distinction between the concepts of maps, cartographic and chorographic representations will over time be eroded still further. This will, as a consequence, present further challenges – or indeed, opportunities – for place marketers, planners, and architects to represent most effectively the places they are responsible for marketing and promoting, if they are prepared to grasp them.

Notes

1. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. by S. Rendall (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1984).
2. See: Tim Cresswell and Gareth Hoskins, 'Place, persistence, and practice: evaluating historical significance at Angel Island, San Francisco, and Maxwell Street, Chicago', in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 98:2 (2008), pp. 392–413.
3. See: Mihalis Kavaratzis and Gregory Ashworth, 'Place marketing: how did we get here and where are we going?', in *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 1:2 (2008), 150–65, and also Heather Skinner, 'The emergence and development of place marketing's confused identity', in *Journal of Marketing Management*, 24:9–10 (2008), pp. 915–28, for discussions of the development of place marketing.
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