

Mobilization Special Issue on Social Movements



***SPACING MOVEMENTS:
The turn to cartographies and mapping practices
in contemporary social movements***

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DRAFT.

"The diagrammatic or abstract machine does not function to represent, even something real, but rather constructs a real that is yet to come, a new type of reality." (Thousand Plateaus, p.142)

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Abstract

In referring to the work of Foucault and post-Foucauldian social theory as the ‘**new cartographer**’, Gilles Deleuze pointed to a mode of spatial thinking that sought, not to trace out representations of the real, but to construct mappings that refigure relations in ways that render alternative worlds. The epistemological shift that Deleuze signals has, in subsequent years become the basis for intense analytical and political experimentation and mobilization in some social movements, especially those connected with the global justice movement. In this paper, we begin with an account of these debates about space and spatial practices. We then turn to the ways in which these new cartographies/new mapping have emerged in and are shaping the spatial practices of social movement, activist, and artist projects. We are interested in understanding how this particular genealogy of spatial practice and its new cartography is being mobilized to render new images (and practices) of economies, how it is being deployed in community and alternative economic projects, and how it is being used to understand the spatial institutions, networks, and practices of economic organizations such as corporations, military-state economies, and the university.

The paper presents examples of movement groups that are experimenting with spatial practices and cartographies as tools for a politics of global justice. While global justice movements in general are filled with spatial imaginaries and thinking, due to efforts to articulate a globalizing identity of struggle, some groups are specifically engaging with new modes of spatial thought and practice, and especially with the tradition of cartography, in order to further their political projects. We focus on *Université Tangente/Bureau d'Etudes* and *Hackitectura*, two art-activist groups respectively based in Strasbourg (France) and Malaga (Spain) that are producing a series of maps in order to enhance analyses of global processes of integration and discover spaces for resistance and transformation. These group specifically tackle questions of critical social theory, engaged cartography and new economic geographies while being immersed in producing visual tools for and as participants in movements for global justice.

Keywords

Deleuze, Foucault, cartography, mapping, economic geographies, social movements, no-borders

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Techno-political tools and social transformation constitutes an interesting interaction domain. Some of us are calling for the production of ‘anti-technologies of resistance’, arguing for methods that can't be replicate elsewhere, so evanescent that they can't be produced with a guideline to understand it. The exercise of mapping is always under the danger of capturing something it wants to be free. How groups producing maps, analyzing and/or producing techno-political tools to systematize large amount of data deal with those questions. Which are the ethical and philosophical challenges and limits about mapping social transformation, social movements and networks activities?, how to reverse control surveillance engineering, how to challenge the pan-capitalism, through mechanisms ,as Brian Holmes call them, ‘grass roots top down surveillance systems’. What is the role of technology and software programation inside the development of this activist research field? We do also get the sensation that maps/visualization field of action is highly competitive, and is fulfilled with private actors and enterprises, how do actors and groups from social movements and hacklabs challenge this?

<http://www.euromovements.info/english/news3.htm>

New maps and the production of new Europeans

Something unique is afoot in Europe, in what is still called Europe even if we no longer know very well *what* or *who* goes by this name. Indeed, to what concept, to what real individual, to what singular entity should this name be assigned today? Who will draw up its borders?

Jacques Derrida (1992, 5)

In ‘*The Other Heading: Reflections on Today’s Europe*’ Jacques Derrida (1992) challenged us all to think about what is “afoot” in Europe. His answer is that “afoot” is a ‘new heading’; a new “chapter heading, a headline, even a letterhead” (page 13) for what it is to be Europe (union, unified, integrated); a Europe that is “heading” in a certain direction and may now be “heading off” in a new direction, with all that implies in terms of changing goals. As we are all sharply aware after the events of the summer, “To change direction can mean to change goals, to decide on another heading or else to change captains, or even – why not? – the age or sex of the captain.” To take another heading also refers to a heading that is not ours, but the “*heading of the other.*” Writing in the early 1990s, Derrida saw the possibility of new “spiritual geographies” emerging from the anti-communist revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe, creating new headings and new projects for a post-colonial Europe.

For Derrida (1992) this was the project of a “new Europe” in which the cartographies and geographies of ‘Europe’ were being decolonized, not only to the East but throughout the re-unified peninsula. The result was an ‘other heading’ whose tendencies were thorough-going, open, and ambiguous (Derrida 1992).

Material transformations in the institutional structures and actors, demographic flows and mixes, juridical rights and sovereignty, regional economic relations, and new cultural politics of identity are producing new claims on the state and society, new demands on projects of economic and cultural integration and cohesion, and new challenges for the social sciences as they attempt to understand and account for these changes. Europe itself, as ‘a self’ in the form of a ‘unity’, is beginning to think about common markets, currency, military endeavours, and – after 9/11 and the more recent 3/11 Madrid bombings – integrated policing and population registration systems. At the same time, residents of this space ‘Europe’ increasingly identify with each other across regional and national distances, while for others the emergence of stronger social and cultural ties and corresponding new structures of feeling have given rise to uncertainties and concerns about national sovereignty, cultural rights, and autonomy. These tensions and trajectories have generated rich fodder for the efforts of social movements and social activists to engage with the production of the new Europe(s) being wages so vigorously by government and corporate entities alike. What are the new geographies and cartographies to be of *We, the People of Europe*?

In this paper, we focus on two related aspects of the new heading and new cartographies. The first related to the institutional project of coordination and integration, but political and economic, with its consequences for how European social identities are being reconfigured. The second focuses on the re-emergence of a second “situationism” we might say, a responsive and productive carto-politics of social action.

Like Balibar, our own thinking about Europe has increasingly been drawn to its peripheries, one of us writing from and about post-socialist eastern and southern Europe,¹ on the edge of the ‘border’ where post-socialism as a political and cultural movement has – from the first days of de-Stalinization -- been politically mobilized in terms of a return to Europe, liberal democratic states, market capitalism, Christian nationalism, and a regime of civil society in which the sovereign individual and private property were to form the basis for political and economic relations. The other of us focused more on the Iberian ‘peripheries’ of regions (the regions of the Catalan and the Basque, in particular), where new projects of autonomy and participation have emerged out of prolonged struggles with the centralisms of state and union.

In both regions, people are struggling with very basic economic challenges and difficult personal circumstances wrought first by the shedding of the dictatorship of the fascists in Spain and the nomenklatura communists in Central and Eastern Europe. In a recent paper in *Area*, one of us has reflected on what it means for our research and pedagogy to take seriously these questions and the

¹ By post-socialism I refer first to the revolutionary transformations in Central and Eastern Europe that followed the upheavals of 1989, what Guy Standing (2002, 51) has called the first revolution to be led by international finance capital and international financial institutions. Second, I take post-socialism to refer to a movement of de-colonization driven by a desire for a liberal polity and a neo-liberal economy. Third, I take post-socialism to be a process that is as much about de-colonizing the Cold War legacies of Western Europe as it is about de-colonizing the Stalinist legacies of Central and Eastern Europe. Post-socialism is a process of decolonizing and disclosing the Cold War European mind and its spaces, and the ways in which that thinking and those geographies provide resources for renewal of our critical project.

challenges they present (Pickles 2005). In this paper, our attention is directed to the concrete efforts of social activists in Europe to address these challenges and the role that cartography and mapping play.

Social Movements and Space

That space is no longer to be thought of as container, a Euclidean space of fixed points, standard metrics, and commutative relations is now well established within geographical studies. In these works, space, place, and scale are more richly understood as always in process, always being produced by social processes, which themselves are in process of re-scaling. This gathering around various conceptualizations of the socio-spatial dialectic (Soja) mobilizes a geographical imagination to articulate questions about scale, place, identity, and representation in interesting and productive ways. In the discipline of geography this has worked its way out through the writings of scholars such as David Harvey, Ed Soja, Derek Gregory, Neil Smith, Doreen Massey, and many more, to think about the various ways in which space is produced by, and in turn produces, the social (influenced variously by a spatializing of Marxism, the spatial thought of Henri Lefebvre, and the spatialized genealogies of Michel Foucault). In sociology, this spatial imagination was greatly invigorated by Manuel Castells and his introduction of various scalar conceptualizations and readings of networks and their effects, a concept that has re-merged more recently and differently in actor network authors such as Bruno Latour, Callon, and John Law and notions of networks, self-organizing systems, and meshworks in the writings of Manuel De Landa and Arturo Escobar.

Among these spatial incorporations, most use has been made of network analysis as a way to understand social movement dynamics. These include: the early proto-network analysis of movement *building blocks* by McAdam (1980); Diani's conclusions on network production as a measure of movement success (1999) (see also Giugni), as well as Melucci's famous work on alternative cultural networks as the initiators, sustainers, outcomes and archives of movements (nomads of the present). Network analysis has flourished as New Social Movement work has grown, particularly as these approaches have met and engaged Resource-Mobilization traditions. These network analyses have facilitated a more complex picture of social movement dynamics than was often possible with the strict focus on SMO's that accompanied earlier work in resource-mobilization.

In their 2000 *Mobilization* encounter focusing on the role of space in contentious politics and the practices of social movements, Tilly, Martin and Miller, Marston, and Wolford have each drawn on aspects of these traditions to open a conversation between the more taxonomic sociological approach to movements represented there by Tilly (Figure 1) and the more dialectical and relational analysis of the socio-spatial representation in a variety of ways by the geographers. Each and in conversation all have, as a result, expanded the lexicon and conceptual apparatus for thinking geographically about the social in social movements. Each points in slightly different directions and each works with concepts of space, the social relations of spatiality, socio-spatial dialectics, and spatial practices, but all suggest some important ways in which a post-vanguardist politics attentive to contingency and local specificity must reshape thinking about social movements around different configurations of space and place (see Escobar for a broader reading of the significance of contingency and local specificity).

For Tilly (2000) five spatial aspects of contention are particularly important:

1. Time-distance costs and spatial configurations present opportunities and constraints to participants in public claim making.
2. Everyday spatial distributions, proximities, and routines of potential participants in contention affect the extent and character of their mobilization.

3. Contentious politics intervenes in the spatially organized jurisdictions of governments, and thereby incites governmental intervention.
4. Spatial configurations of routine political life shape non-routine contention.
5. Contention transforms the political significance of sites and spatial routines.”

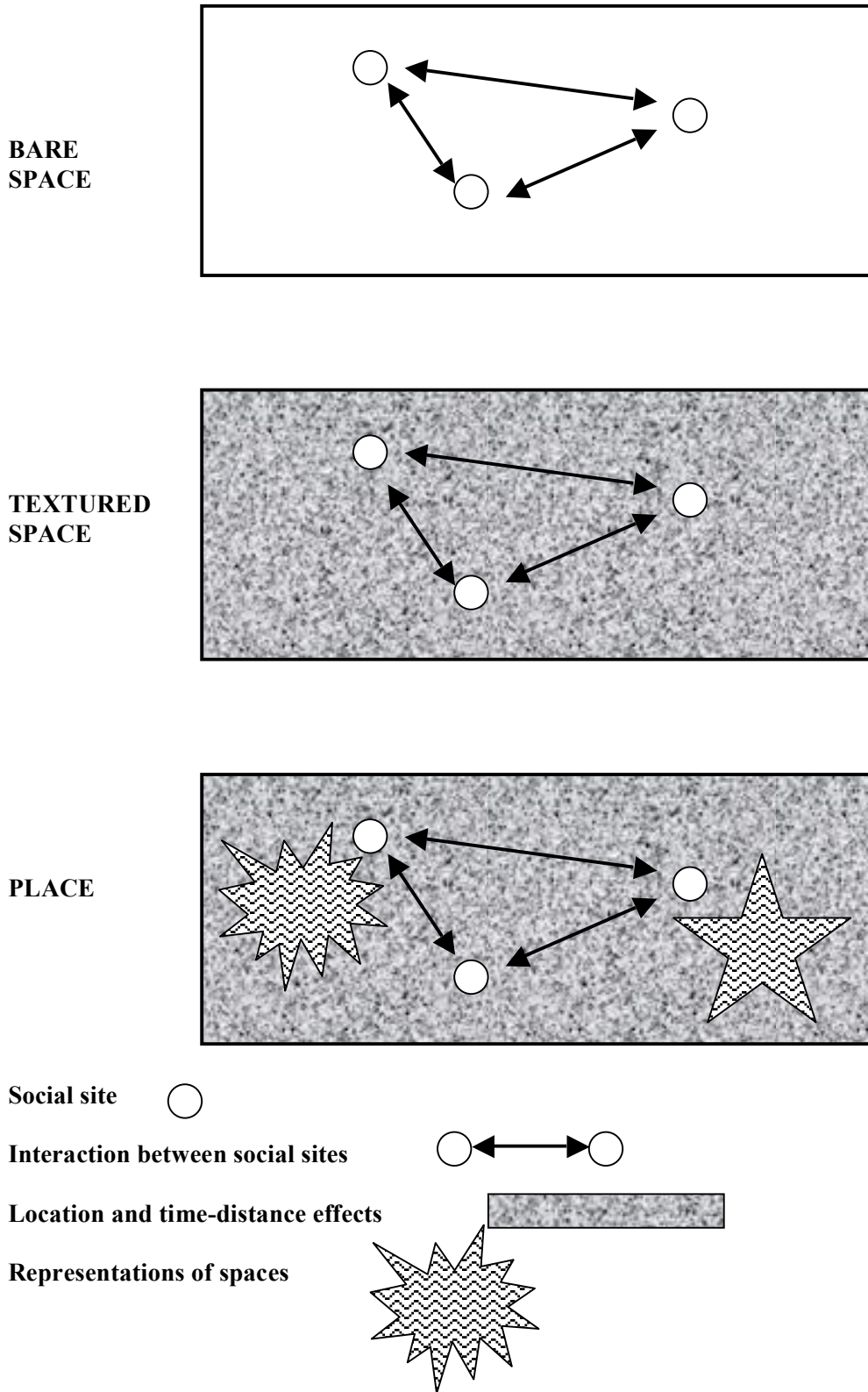
As he suggests in his reading of Wolford’s claims about the MST in Brazil: “*the very effort to coordinate collective claim making within and across localities generates new categories shared across localities*”. There is much in Tilly’s writing about space that is discomfiting (his abstract taxonomic mode of analysis, his reductive reading of space (Figure 1), his attachment to distance-decay models of spatial interaction, and his tendency to invent spatial categories and terminology *ab initio* and without reference to deep traditions of geographical scholarship on the matter). But, in his deployment of these generative models of spatial practice and the ways in which they can help us to understand the practices of mobilization among social movement actors, his spatializing of social movements may be helpful.

There are many diverse forms of incorporation of spatial thinking and spatial practices in contemporary social movements, but for our present purposes we focus on a limited set in which theories and technologies of space and spatial mapping are generating particular interest in and among the social movement activists themselves. That is, instead of an imminent analysis of geographical theory in social movements research, we seek to refocus on the production of spatial theory and practice in and by the movements themselves. These include ‘No-borders’ actions and movements, the new research centers of artists, activists, and self-styled hackers working on more productive machinic cartographies directed to a new type of bio-geo-politics. The participants in these social movements are diverse in their backgrounds and career positions; they are variously the unemployed, academics, flexible workers, artists, designers, community and housing specialists, chainstore workers, intellectual workers, etc. Their locus of action is emerging rapidly as some of their recent actions suggest in continental terms (specifically ‘continental drifts’).

What characterizes this set of movements is their focus on the intensification of processes of de-territorialization and re-territorialization occurring in across Europe, the Americas, and elsewhere. In each of these settings, the role of a spatial politics of enclosure, exclusion, and the hardening of territorial-politico boundaries generates among the increasingly dislocated and flexibilized sections of the population an apparent intensity of desire for new cognitive maps (as Jameson called them), and in many groups these new maps are real maps of re-territorialization and struggle; new machinic forms produced in the act of contesting public spaces and new possibilities for citizenship (Deleuze and Guatarri).

Thus, in ways already pre-figured by the movements themselves, in this paper we turn away from sociological debates about space and social action, towards a more immanent reading of the spatial thinking and practices of social movements themselves. We do this in three ways. First, we address the resurgence of interest in networks and network mapping. Second, we focus on the ways in which immanent materialist philosophies of social action have both posed a fundamental challenge to social movement literatures in the academy (while also drawing on those writings) and are currently mobilizing around a loosely framed set of spatial and mapping practices. In particular, we focus on the ways in which the *new cartographers* in the movements explicitly seek to re-conceptualize and re-present alternative spatial identities and socio-spatial configurations that open borders, re-focus connections and commonalities, and posit new subjectivities in the debate about territory, citizenship, and belonging/exclusion. Third, we focus on several case studies of these mapping practices to illustrate some of the ways in which socio-spatial movements of direct action are emerging as increasingly coordinated movements for the reconfiguration of new re-territorialization of public space and the commons of everyday life.

Figure 1: Analyses of Bare Space, Textured Space, and Place



Spacing social movements: Is cartography a strange place to begin?

Cartography may seem an unusual beginning for thinking about the reconfiguration of social, economic, and geopolitical identities. Historically, cartography has been associated with the imperial projects of the last several centuries by mapping *'terrae incognitae'* in order to facilitate material and cognitive conquest. Cartography may even seem an irrelevant subject. While it is argued that more maps are being produced now than at any time in the known past (especially thanks to GIS), it seems that the majority of these are classically Cartesian and dedicated towards mapping 'objects' such as glaciers, streets, military targets, and potential markets.

The relevance of cartography to projects of emancipatory politics, social theory or critical political economy can seem as limited at best. After all, so much of this new mapping we've mentioned actually seems to only deepen the power of existing institutions (the military, corporations, etc.), and the military has again become one of the major arenas of mapping not only terrain but geopolitical identities and social futures (see the full spectrum dominance slides from 'Transparent cartographies' presentation). Even in participatory mapping and GIS practice, one may rightfully be skeptical of the emancipatory potential of participatory mapping in which, as Denis Wood (2005) has recently argued, the deployment of terms like "public" "participation" "geographic" "information" "systems" is in so many ways precisely not about public practices but about the construction of new technical intermediaries and consultational instruments, not about the participation of citizens in the governance of their lives but about a representational politics that domesticates any threat of participation, not about the 'geographic' as a complex nexus of meanings and practices but about the rendering of a landscape of instrumental rationalities, and not about information but about the production and regulation of 'data'. It may well be about systems!

In such a world, the only apparent relevance for a critical project of cartography might appear to be the discursive 'deconstruction' of these maps and the worlds they produce. But, as Fred Jameson (1991) pointed out in his efforts to come to grips with an appropriate politics that responds to the dislocatory effects of what he referred to as the 'postmodern condition', the unity of a mid-twentieth century Eurocentric order is broken up into a radical diversity that at the same time masks power and oppression through complexity and disjuncture. Individuals are increasingly unable to perceive the criss-crossing of (now global) power relations that meet at the intersection of their daily life (Jameson 1991). The globalization of capital, trade, and the culture industries project a plethora of 'identities' of a society fully imbued with participatory possibilities and choice, but lacking the kinds of 'cognitive maps' so necessary for effective political action and the reflective life. As a result, we need a political project of global cognitive mapping- in order to understand the current spatial logics of capitalism and provide individual subjects with the tools necessary to create alternative trajectories to navigate this system (Jameson 1991, p.54).

Such cognitive maps are, of course, always being produced either by design or by default, with some social actors staking out particularly clear positions on their value. Alan Watson, European Chairman of the world's largest public relations firm, Burson-Marsteller, for example, has little doubt about the importance of producing such cognitive 'way-finding' maps by design:

First of all they've got to start by knowing how the system works... We can advise them on how they should put their argument on paper. We can advise them on which people in the committee would be interested... So that way you build a map for them, a sort of road map of where they need to go, who they need to talk to and what they need to know... We don't do the lobbying... What we do is to give the company the information so that they can go and make the case for themselves.

In this paper we turn to a series of other activist projects largely outside of the fields of the academy and government. In these social movements, artistic spaces, and autonomous zones cartography is being re-appropriated and made into a relevant tool for a new geo-politics and a new bio-politics (see Pickles 2004). These mappings are both counter-mappings, but they are not lodged as alternatives to or overcomings of traditional cartography and epistemology. No longer a logic of either/or, but a logic of proliferation and dissemination (and/and/and/and...), and a practice of representational production that evokes and constitutes new maps and their constitutive worlds (Pickles 2004).

These new mappings are what Gilles Deleuze – in referring to Michel Foucault – called the ‘*new cartography*’. The new cartography was to be a mode of spatial thinking that sought, not to trace out representations of the real, but to construct mappings that refigure relations in ways that render alternative epistemologies and very different ways of world-making. From this perspective,

A distinction must be made between two types of science [royal and nomadic], or scientific procedures: one consists in “reproducing,” the other in “following.” The first involves reproduction, iteration and reiteration; the other, involving itineration, is the sum of the itinerant, ambulant sciences.[...] Reproduction implies the permanence of a fixed point of view that is external to what is reproduced: watching the flow from the bank. But following is something different from the ideal of reproduction. Not better, just different. One is obliged to follow when one is in search of the ‘singularities’ of a matter, or rather of a material, and not out to discover a form... when one engages in a continuous variation of variables, instead of extracting constants from them,[...] And the meaning of the Earth completely changes: with the legal [royal-reproducing] model, one is constantly reterritorializing around a point of view, on a domain, according to a set of constant relations; but with the ambulant [nomadic-following] model, the process of deterritorialization constitutes and extends the territory itself.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 372)

The epistemological shift that Deleuze and Guattari signaled has, in subsequent years, become the basis for intense analytical and political experimentation and mobilization among many some social movements, especially those connected with the global justice movement. For our purposes here, then, the new cartographers are the social movements who – across a very wide spectrum of groups and locations – are rapidly expanding the scope of their spatial practices and their production of new mappings to render new images (and practices) and to render visible their geographies in new ways.

Each of these in a wide variety of ways signals the need for new cartographies whose principles re-compose the logics and epistemologies of traditional cartography and social action. Here the traditional logics of cartography (the logics of tracing and reproduction) are to be transformed by mappings that proliferate relations, open up spaces, and constitute new subjects:

What distinguishes the map from the tracing is that it is entirely oriented toward and experimentation in contact with the real. The map does not reproduce an unconscious closed in upon itself; it constructs the unconscious. It fosters connection between fields. [...] The map is open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to any kind of mounting, reworked by an individual, group, or social formation.[...]

Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 12)

A new cartographer

One of the more influential figures involved in the new networks of mapping and mappers is Brian Holmes, who in a wide range of published papers, projects, and actions has mobilized much interested around the mobilization possibilities cartography provides for analyses of and responses to the global economy and emancipatory politics. Holmes seeks to deepen Jameson's global cognitive mapping project (Holmes 2004a & b) through the post-structuralism of Tally and Bartolovich (1996) and the new materialism of Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guatarri, and Michel Foucault (Holmes 2004b).

For Holmes the new cartographies work in the spaces between dominant and dissenting maps. For Holmes "every successful cartography ultimately helps create the world it purports to represent," (Holmes 2004a, p.4), and it does so in part through the organization of information and the rendering visible of the global economy in new ways (Holmes 2004b, p.2). Holmes stresses the "need [for] radically inventive maps exactly like we need radical political movements: to go beyond received ideas and orders, in fact, to go beyond representation, to rediscover and share the space-creating potentials of a revolutionary imagination" (Holmes 2004a, p.1).

Holmes compares two styles of maps- one of classic geopolitical economy and efforts by *Univeriste Tangente and the Bureau d'Etudes*. The first style is that of a "geographical representation of networked power -- a determinate network map which attempts to identify and measure the forces in play" (Holmes 2004b p. 7). This map has fixed borders and actors with fairly clear dynamics underlying their relationships². The second form of map is that of "an undetermined network diagram, which opens up a field of possibility or of potential strategy" (Holmes 2004b p.7). Holmes invokes the notion of 'diagrams of power' from Deleuze's work on Foucault: "a cartography coextensive with the whole social field." The map does not designate a "static grid" fixed in spaces but rather a productive matrix that interacts across a myriad of "points-human beings" and spaces. This productive matrix coexists alongside and in tension with others operating throughout the realm of the 'social'. "Deleuze describes the diagram of power as 'highly unstable or fluid... constituting hundreds of points of emergence or creativity.' The aim [of mapping] is to indicate the openness, the possibility for intervention that inheres to every power relation" (Holmes 2004b, pg.8). Mapping becomes a way of visualizing this "meshwork" (see De Landa 2005 and Escobar 2004 on meshwork and social movements).

Further ideas on how to build this new cartography are developed by Saul Albert who attempts to push past some of the underlying assumption of traditional 'systematic cartography' as well as Harley's initial critiques of them. Albert also deploys post-structuralism including some of the same notions of Deleuzian-like 'diagrams of power' but now in the context of actor-network theory from Bruno Latour and John Serres. For Albert there is in Latour's thinking a similarity between these new cartographies and Actor-Network-Theory at the level of their practices and their critique of 'representational norms' (Albert and Latour in Albert 2003, pg.4-6). Albert claims in fact that:

Latour's example unintentionally chalks an outline around the missing half of Harley's critique: that cartography is potentially an ontological investigation. If it removes its a-priori

² Holmes uses in particular a map called "Centers and Peripheries in the World" by Francois Chesnais. This map opens up the same author's book *The Globalization of Capital* (Paris: Syros, 1994). Interestingly, Holmes notes that Castells draws on Chesnais several times for his analysis in *The Rise of the Network Society*. The map is a curious adaptation of the dymaxion image -known for breaking North-South dichotomies- superimposed with a stark center-periphery representation of power (Holmes 2004b, p.2-3- see also <https://pzwart.wdka.hro.nl/mdr/pubsfolder/bhimages/flowmaps/chesnaismap.jpg>)

assumptions, it becomes a kind of spatial ontology, one that is well equipped with both the tools and methods of constructivist research, and the de-ontological moral standard of 'irreducibility'. (Albert 2004, pg. 6)

For Albert de-ontologized cartography can now function much like John Serres' 'quasi-objects' -- nodal points of articulation of particular interconnected, but contingent roles, subject positions and sets of social relations:

This is how Serres would view the map, as a formalisation of human relations, a representation with which each actant becomes a subject. This is the use of the map as a communicative tool; as successive actants engage with the map, each locates their subjectivity in its representational schema, the 'I' is shifted from person to person, between person and multitude, or from multitude to multitude. 'Analytical cartography', and the power relations Harley identifies in it, are an example of the 'deterministic practices' this use of the map may give rise to. (Albert 2004 p. 9)

Such critically engaged cartographies have begun to multiply in recent years in social movement and artist movement groups. Some of them are of the style of the "propaganda map" demonstrating and creating a particular spatial imaginary (Pickles 2003); others are street protest maps which designate targets, safe zones, or map out areas for differing levels of physical militancy. A newer wave of these activist maps that are more theoretically and analytically engaged has also emerged and seems to be spreading.³ Besides *Bureau d'Etudes/Université Tangente* and *Hackitectura* examples of these efforts include a groups in Barcelona (<http://forumbcn2004.org/>) and Rome (www.transform.it) which focus on maps of the multiple types and sites of conflict going on within their respective cities as it restructures. Yet another project, www.theyrule.net, uses the internet to create network maps of corporations, their executive boards and political administrations in the US.

For Holmes, "we can approach [these] map[s] of global flows as diagram[s] of power in the Deleuzian sense... not simply as "static grids" but rather "productive matrices" criss-crossed with tensions. The networks visualized are indeterminate, open to "a field of possibility or of potential strategy," (Holmes 2004b p.7). In this sense, *Bureau d'Etudes/Université Tangente*' BE/UT's maps can be seen as "cognitive tools" (Holmes 2003) 'responding' to Jameson's call for a global cognitive mapping of the scales and structures of a global system ungraspable to any (according to Jameson) individual subject wandering through it. Yet the 'totality' of the 'global' represented in these maps remains contingent and conjunctural. While the networks of governance visualized through the maps can be frightful, the sheer number of points also demonstrates *a certain vulnerability of any particular point in the network*.

Autonomous knowledge can be constituted through the analysis of the way that complex machines function[...] The deconstruction of complex machines and their 'decolonized' reconstruction can be carried out on all kinds of objects,[...] In the same way as you deconstruct a program, you can also deconstruct the internal functioning of a government or an administration, a firm or an industrial or financial group. On the basis of such a deconstruction, involving a precise identification of the operating principles of a given administration, or the links or networks between administrations, lobbies, businesses, etc., you can define modes of action or intervention, (Bureau d'Etudes/Universite Tangente 2002, p.3)

³ As an example of this diffusion, in Chicago during October 2004, a critical political art fest was held which focused strictly on mapping practices and theory (<http://plus.calendars.net/messhall/d01/10/2004?display=M&style=B&positioning=A>)

As with the alternative economies debates that parallel and criss-cross with these social movement efforts, BE/UT place a great deal of emphasis on the fact that autonomous politics and their visualizations in maps such as *'Inklings of Autonomy'* are based on the important political and intellectual conviction that non-capitalist and non-state forms of social organization and production already exist. The new cartographies are, in this sense, tools for jumping "scale of autonomous struggles, markets and organizations," (Bureau d'Etudes/UT 2003, p.3). As with diverse economy arguments, BE/UT sees all these forms as coexisting within the expansive category of the 'economic'. A central difference between the two bodies of work though, is not only the importance of political antagonism but also the possibility of the 'articulation' of economies. Gibson-Graham critique articulation theory since it is usually uni-directional: different economic forms are 'articulated' to capitalism (Gibson-Graham 2005 forthcoming). BE/UT on the other hand discusses articulation between economies, but this articulation can occur across various forms of economies producing, as a result, new and distinct forms. For example, the 'economy of solidarity' is seen as the "confluence" and "articulation" between the commercial economy, the non-monetary cooperative market economy, and the domestic economy (Laville in Bureau d'Etudes/UT and Bureau d'Etudes/UT 2002, p.6-7), in ways very similar to Manuel De Landa's concepts of economic agents interacting to produce 'wholes' that have distinct dynamics from any of their constituent parts (de Landa 1996).

'Que se Vayan Todos' <http://utangente.free.fr/2003/quesebayan.pdf>

Université Tangente and the Bureau d'Etudes

In 1998, with the exhibition *Archives du Capitalisme*, Bureau d'Etudes started producing organizational charts showing the proprietary relations between financial funds, government agencies, banks and industrial firms. A number of these graphic charts, or "organigrams," were deployed as part of an installation including black-and-white photographs of heads propped up on wooden pickets (presumably CEOs), as well as a scale model of a proposed new parliament building, to articulate the voting rights of those with real power in today's society. The exhibition was an autonomous project in an artist-run space, at the time called the "Faubourg," in the city of Strasbourg. For a subsequent show entitled *Le Capital*, mounted by Nicolas Bourriaud in the city of Sete, an organigram detailing the relations between the French state and a panoply of major transnational corporations was blown up to wall size. Squares and rectangles of varying proportions, each identified with a name (Societe Generale, Dresdner Bank, Mitsubishi, Pirelli, etc.) were connected with a labyrinth of elaborately traced channels, printed in black against a white ground. The result was something like an all-over painting for the computer and finance-obsessed 1990s: an aesthetics of information.

B. Holmes "Bureau d'Etudes"

The Bureau d'Etudes project began around 1998 with a collection of political art called the 'archives of capitalism' (Figure). The group began to experiment with what may be called proto-versions of maps and flowcharts of economic networks as a form of public/political art. Some of their early work included representations of economic institutions or powerful individuals in their city and region. The frustration with the political economy of the art world as well as the actions of unemployed and squatters movements at the time took the efforts of the *BE* into even more politically engaged art work.

After several other collective projects in France, the group began to question how to break out of the typical gallery-museum circuit for art. In coordination with other artists and in reaction to structural

unemployment they founded the '*Syndicat Potentiel*' (the 'Potential Union'), a group that has engaged with issues of casualized labor and culture workers under neoliberalism. The groups are tightly networked with other autonomous activist groups, with the strongest connections to squatters' movements around Western Europe (Holmes 2003 p.1-2), and one of the central goals of these groups is the production of "autonomous counter knowledges" and an economy of the 'free', as in free stuff, services, etc. (Manifesto). This latter is based on the work of Marcel Mauss on the gift economy and the rediscovery of Mauss in France after the general strikes of 1995 (Holmes 2003, Graeber 2002, <http://www.revuedumauss.com/>).⁴

Reflections on the changing nature of the economy as well as the increasing prominence of global resistance movements and the calls to articulate a new sort of international solidarity, pushed *BE* toward a long-term engagement with cartographic representation as a way to work on and communicate these same issues. The group has produced over a dozen maps, as well as accompanying texts, that are used by different participants in global resistance and anti-capitalist efforts. *BE* maps are often distributed at Social Forums, No-Border camps, counter-summits and through other movements spaces (social centers, etc.) and local collectives, usually situated within the European Union though not exclusively (see <http://utangente.free.fr/>, Holmes 2003). *BE* has additionally helped to establish the *Université Tangente*, a sort of free web resource and networking space for critical reflection and research regarding global transformations, radical activism, and political subjectivity.

With the first 'global days of action' in 1998⁵ and the widespread emergence and acknowledgement of global resistance movements, these cartographic movements seems to have expanded in scope and reach, increasing their networking, exchange of ideas, and practices among movement groups as an explicit strategy of moving UT out of the gallery-museum dynamic and into more open circulation (Holmes 2003 p.3). The maps being produced, which often show dense networks of institutional actors in regional and global economies function as shock tools to incite conversation and analysis, and they have been widely disseminated and used through movement events and gatherings. Distribution of the material has occurred through events such as the European Social Forum, counter summits against important international institutions, and No Border camps against migration policing. UT continues to produce new maps and is increasingly trying to respond to the political conjunctures and perceived needs of movements, with Holmes in particular articulating the broader theoretical possibilities of social movements of cartographic practice (Holmes 2003, UT 2003, Tactical Media 2003).

[T]hese maps present an excess of information, shattering subjective certainties and demanding reflection, demanding a new gaze on the world that we really live in. These are synoptic visions of the contemporary, transnational version of state capitalism, as constructed "by collusion between specific individuals, transnational corporations, governments, interstate agencies and 'civil society' groups." They make visible the institutional patterns that have structured themselves in an overarching, terrifyingly abstract space, almost totally beyond the grasp of the democratic counter-powers formerly exercised within the purview of the national states, and indeed, almost totally invisible - at least until recently when the communicative possibilities

⁴ These efforts have resulted in other collectives experimenting with map-making as a form of intervention and have even helped create a spin-off series of political seminars discussing new geo-economic and geo-political changes through the practice and metaphor of mapping. These seminars include periodic engagement and dialogue with university scholars, such as the recent seminar *Continental Drift* in New York with David Harvey.

⁵ See the People's Global Action website for more information: <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/mayday1.htm>

have allowed a certain measure of "cognitive mapping" to be performed by inhabitants.

Université Tangente's maps in the '*European Norms of World Production*' series (including '*Barclays PLC*', '*World Government*', and '*Governing by Networks*') are particularly instructive.

Absent from the local landscape, invisible to the naked eye, a labyrinth of laws and standards lends tangible form to our existence. The European Union ... is an attempt to produce the world we live in. The instruments it uses are norms: industrial standards, territorial models, ideological guidelines, truth criteria. These become the second nature of an expanding, accelerating drive to make this vast, unpredictable human region into a playground for capitalism.

Sophisticated services have now arisen to lead corporations through the tangle of agencies that their own lobbies helped to create, as a smokescreen to hide and further their own interests.

('*European Norms of World Production*' - map legend)

The map is intended to be polemical and to facilitate the imagination of global activists in picturing a dizzying array of institutions, actors, personalities, organizations and movements. The map is made up of three parts. On one side of the map is the 'Normopathic Complex (Europe)' which puts before the reader a series of EU institutions, nation-state institutions, corporations, lobbies, think-tanks, personalities, policy initiatives, regulatory agencies, court systems, police forces and a wide array of norms and laws that facilitate the expansion of the above (see appendix image 1 or <http://utangente.free.fr/2003/europeA3.pdf> for an example). Links are drawn between the different items to create a sort of network map of corporate, state and regulatory power (regulatory doesn't always seem equivalent to state here). Part of the second side/layer of the map is that of 'organized civil society'. Here one sees a series of NGOs, EU committees on civil society, and non-industry policy platforms that are nonetheless linked in multiple and complex ways with the nation-state and EU as well as with industry (if not directly then through secondary groups, such as task forces, think-tanks, etc.). The final layer in the map is 'Inklings of Autonomy' and includes a wide array of social movement activity. The movements are purposefully represented with hyper-porous boundaries (see appendix image 2 or <http://utangente.free.fr/2003/quesebayan.pdf>). One issue melds into another including things such as: 'anti-prison', 'abolition of the state', 're-appropriation of public goods and services', 'heterodox research centers' and more. Not everything is connected to everyone else in the image though, the links amongst movements are less clear than those amongst actors in the other layers of the map.⁶

FIG. World Government: Barclays PLC
<http://utangente.free.fr/2003/barclays.pdf>

FIG.. Governing by Networks:
<http://utangente.free.fr/2003/governingbynetworks.pdf>

In "Flowmaps, the Imaginaries of Global Integration" Brian Holmes suggests that UT's maps can be seen as attempts to visualize space of flows. While the five *scapes* themselves aren't broken down, one

⁶ Previously in the paper I've touched upon the issue of Actor Network Theory and commented how at least one author (Albert 2003) saw UT's maps as ANT analysis. The '*Norms*' map as a whole seems akin to a sort of ANT approach with the aim being to describe as much (and as many) as possible the different 'actors' or agents in the 'network'. There isn't a rigid assumption of how those links play out, and there is not a hard and fast beginning or end to the network other than the point where the author, or 'cartographers' in this case, choose to cut the network (Latour 2004).

can see how specific actors are mapped as nodes, through which things such as knowledge, money, media, etc. are flowing. Networks of circuited flows are visualized moving through actors such as states, corporations, investment funds, armies, think tanks, lobbies, powerful family lineages, media groups, transnational religious organizations and social movements (Holmes 2004b, p. 5). The final aim of most of these maps is to plot out different governance structures of globalizing economic, political, and military networks or, on the other hand, social movement activity. Flows are not assumed to be unidirectional nor stable, though links of what appear to be stronger connection are drawn between actors that seem to be more closely linked.

For many social movement activists this context of a shifting Europe, restructuring itself internally and projecting itself territorially, has creates complex mixes of challenges and opportunities. The contexts of the nation-state, its institutions and the styles of politics that this often presented have shifted into a more nebulous terrain. Whether this is due to the weight of the European Commission and the lobbying structures around it in designing policies, the shifting internal borders and a new way of embodying 'national space' besides the external border, or the skyrocketing of what we could call 'domestic trans-nationalism' through increasing number of immigrants from longer lists of countries. If the nation was ever a 'box', it is rapidly unfolding at the creates only to be refolded in many new ways.

'*European Norms of World Production*' [SLIDE] is a map of the European Union reflecting a dense network map with three layers. The map is purposefully meant to be a polemic and to facilitate the imagination of global activists in picturing a dizzying array of institutions, actors, personalities, organizations and movements. On one side of the map is the 'Normopathic Complex (Europe)', and it may be best to present this with the very text that *BE* uses to present this map:

Absent from the local landscape, invisible to the naked eye, a labyrinth of laws and standards lends tangible form to our existence. The European Union ... is an attempt to produce the world we live in. The instruments it uses are norms: industrial standards, territorial models, ideological guidelines, truth criteria. These become the second nature of an expanding, accelerating drive to make this vast, unpredictable human region into a playground for capitalism.

Sophisticated services have now arisen to lead corporations through the tangle of agencies that their own lobbies helped to create, as a smokescreen to hide and further their own interests. (*Bureau d'Etudes*- '*European Norms of World Production*'- map legend)

The reader is set before a series of EU institutions, nation-state institutions, corporations, lobbies, think-tanks, personalities, policy initiatives, regulatory agencies, court systems, police forces and a wide array of norms and laws that facilitate the expansion of the above (see image or <http://utangente.free.fr/2003/europeA3.pdf> for an example). Links are drawn between the different items to create a sort of network map of corporate, state and regulatory power (regulatory doesn't always seem equivalent to state here).

The second side/layer of the map is that of 'organized civil society'. Here one sees a series of NGOs, EU committees on civil society, and non-industry policy platforms that are nonetheless linked in multiple and complex ways with the nation-state and EU as well as with industry (if not directly then through secondary groups, such as task forces, think-tanks, etc.). This is not necessarily a map of co-optation, but it suggests this as a possibility asking us to questions how civil society efforts may fit in to the production of a 'normalized Europe'.

The final layer in the map is 'Inklings of Autonomy' and includes a wide array of social movement activity. The movements are purposefully represented with hyper-porous boundaries (see image or

<http://utangente.free.fr/2003/quesebayan.pdf>). One issue melds into another including things such as: 'anti-prison', 'abolition of the state', 're-appropriation of public goods and services', 'heterodox research centers' and more. Not everything is connected to everyone else in the image though, the links amongst movements are less clear than those amongst actors in the other layers of the map. This may be partly to reflect that 'autonomous' aspect.

Part of the idea of this map is that it's the interplay of these three layers that is creating the new Europe. These are fields-layers where many (though not all, the map does not pretend to be exhaustive) of the tensions around the idea of 'Europe' are being fought out. The map makes an abstract thing like 'EU' or 'Europe' acquire a body through its institutions and laws, it becomes less a distant bureaucracy and more like a target in your daily life.

The map has primarily been used as a workshop tool for teach-ins. Now, on the one hand, its dizzying, impresses people with its complexity, and sort of leaves them wondering what to do. Yet it also shows just how many points at which this new 'Europe' is vulnerable and at how many level of society it can be challenged. As for results of this work, for the most part its gotten people thinking harder about what the EU is (beyond the counter-summit that used to happen twice a year) and how to challenge it, and also it has helped spread the idea of mapping as a tool to map out power and to map out collective struggles. *BE* is also working with other collectives now at developing online map generators that could be much more participatory with new input from folks and could used for different ends or campaigns.

The cartographic practices of Bureau d'Etudes involve the location of one law, institution, corporation, and then following the multitude of connections and networks that bring those same laws, institutions into a larger framework- the framework through which that particular point gains significance and existence. Though the institutions seems solid, their existence or role is irrelevant outside the web of relations that produces a particular 'Europe'. The neoliberal Europe of power becomes more than a hierarchically organized functionalist set of power/knowledge dispositifs..., it in and of itself combines elements of smooth and striated space- de an reterritorializing,...these 'frameworks' then exist in constant tension with other processes of de- an re-territorialization.

Delete-the-borders

The activist mapping efforts we are discussing in this paper then are, at one and the same time: an attempt to navigate the changing contours of this thing called 'Europe' within the context of global resistance movements; and an attempt to create new geographies and spatialities that prefigure the sorts of social relations these movements would like to enact, often taking advantage of the same reconfigurations of European 'space' (such as the reworking of borders) as a way to inject and pursue their own projects.

Thus, mapping has taken on an increasing role as a part of global resistance politics. The number of groups, efforts, projects, that use maps as a technique to engage questions of the global economy, new transnational identities, changing urbanisms has become dizzying. The styles of maps, the particular goals and the types of cartography they draw on are often as splintered as the groups themselves.⁷ The

⁷ Some of these maps take the form of community asset mapping- different participants in a mapping sessions indicating resources, sites of memory, sites of access, and other things on a basic frame of a map with often little more than an outline of a city or region. The results then forming the base for a map oriented toward the goals of a particular group or campaign, drawing links between disparate resources. Others take the form of the basic tourist or street map. These are often made in preparation for a large mobilization and will indicate targets to be

two groups referred to in this paper: *Hackitectura* (based in Malaga, Spain) and *Bureau d'Etudes* (from Strasbourg, France); are key referents for this growing trend of activist mapping in Europe, and have aided in training or inspiring others to take on re-mapping as a tool.⁸

Hackitectura

Hackitectura is based in Malaga-Spain, though it works closely with a network established throughout the region of Andalusia and parts of Northern Morocco. It emerged in 2004 at the intersection of several pre-existing projects (mobilizations, maps, texts, websites) and has been extremely active. As the name implies it's a network of hackers, artists, and architects on others involved in activism in the area (see www.hackitectura.net). *HA* is situated in some very interesting and complex nodes of social movements activity in the area including: independent media and technology initiatives, migrant rights organizations, and emerging efforts at organizing around flexible labor markets.⁹ Of their mapping projects, early efforts resembled the street map variety described above, though the focus was to chart the diversity of protest actions and events at one of the large anti-globalization protests. Groups could plot their different actions on a larger master copy and it could be used as an infopoint at a protest convergence center or reprinted for handheld use. From these efforts at showing where protests were happening, later efforts focused on how to translate discussions of globalization to the city-wide scale. In the city of Seville, on the eve of a large EU summit and concomitant protests (2002), a collaborative mapping project was carried out with different community organizations to discuss and try to represent different effects of globalization on the city, using Zapatista frameworks of understanding (In particular, those from the communiqués on 'Seven Pieces of the Global Puzzle and the 'Fourth World War'). Besides the map itself- a different vision of the city was produced by the collectives involved- something that lasted much longer than the action itself.

The success of these efforts led to projects that focused on challenging the notions of the EU-Africa or North-South border between Spain and Morocco as struggles for immigrant rights and against precarious/casualized work grew. The creation and use of a rethought cartography became one strategy for beginning to reconceptualize the terrain of the 'border regime'. Producing this included forming a network between social activists in southern Spain and Northern Morocco to increase the participatory input into the new cartographies. Through these efforts new conceptions of economic change, global flows, as well as innovative ways of thinking about community action began to emerge, seeing mapping as an important tool for making these emerging geographies visible (Perez de Lama 2005).

Cartographies of the Straits of Gibraltar [SLIDE OF Hacki MAP]

protested, areas sealed by police, safe areas, but may also include resources such as information centers, independent bookstores, free wireless access spots, medical services, etc. the thus becoming something that can be used long after the mobilization.

⁸ As a brief indication of how fast this trend is growing, in the past several months, due to the increasing numbers of activist mapping groups an e-list has been created for to link these efforts, a newsletter is in preparation and calls have been made to have networking conferences or sessions either at the European Social Forum or elsewhere. A flurry of recent activity has emerged among participants in this activist cartography- as they come to the realization that no one group is alone in having chosen a form of cartography as way to explore new avenues of struggle and to navigate the current contours of power.

⁹ *HA* also has a complex relation to institutional academic and artistic spaces. While individual members may be working as professors or design consultants, *HA*'s collective projects often occur tangentially to the university and the large studio. In this sense *HA* forces us to rethink the role of collective intellectual work in an age of diffused information and cyber-technology, and its relation to more traditional institutional sites.

Instead of accepting the border as a fixed entity that separated us from them, constraining bodies and movement, the groups involved tried to map all the different flows that made up this “border” region: including flows of capital, police, detention centers,...- “geographies of empire” as well as networking between movements, migrants, new technologies,...- “geographies of the multitude”. A method was chosen that ignored the geo-political and epistemological borders between worlds that have been naturalized through the sea that ‘separates’ them. Instead, a particular item was chosen and then its paths were *followed* leading to links and pathways that traveled across the Mediterranean between Spain and Morocco and between ‘Europe’ and ‘Africa’. Thus, for example, migrant flows regularly move across this space as do the police networks and detention centers set up to repress them. Capital flows- whether in the form of Moroccan debt repayments, immigrant remittances or European corporate investment (i.e. factory relocation) are constantly in flux back and forth. Cell phone coverage and web-streaming technologies span the region of the straits facilitating the ever-densifying nodes of contact and coordination between social movements on both sides. The result then is a map that doesn’t *reproduce* the border as a space of separation but *follows* the flows across the Mediterranean in order to articulate the border as a space that is created, inhabited and traversed. The ‘solid Mediterranean’ - is a saying in vogue now referring to the notion that a Mediterranean understood as some sort of natural border ignores what for the gross part of history in these regions has been more a conduit of communication and exchange than that impervious wall of a container.

Conclusions

We conclude in a preliminary fashion with a series of questions posed in a recent essay by Brian Holmes. Like us, Holmes has attempted to think through the ways in which grids of power and determination are undermined by their own over-determined structures and complexities. He has attempted to see in complex grids of power self-organizing lines of flight, and real possibilities for alternative social and economic organizations. In particular, he and the social movements with whom he works have attempted to think through the implications of Deleuzian materialism and the practices of multitude, seeing in traditional practices like cartography new epistemological and political possibilities for producing new subjects and relationships, destabilizing hegemony by the material practices of new cultural production. But, Holmes ends this recent essay with a note of caution, and perhaps pessimism:

"To resist is not to be against, anymore, but to singularize," writes Suely Rolnik, reflecting on the changing meanings of artistic practice since the Great Refusal of the 1960s. "All and any acts of resistance are acts of creation and not acts of negation." [10]The great theoretical swing of the past three decades, from critical negation to use value and subversive affirmation, has left "progressive" practices wide open to every form of cooptation and complicity. Despite the autopoietic processes that an installation like USE so brilliantly lets us see, the entire planet—Spaceship Earth—is prey to a resurgence of repressive authority, within the perfectly legible game of the capitalist world-economy. Berlusconi's Italy, where the project has been shown, is hardly an exception: and yet it is also one of the laboratories for new forms of political mobilization. Can we imagine artistic representations of self-organizing processes, in open confrontation with the economic game?

These questions are serious ones and difficult for us to begin to answer without much more work. But perhaps we can end not with a conclusion, but with a re-statement of the Swiss installation artist, Thomas Hirschorn’s mapping project. His *Drift Topography* (2003) is an “imaginative map” of the Persian Gulf war that abandons traditional geography, turning instead to mappings of the military and

political forces at work in the region in the context of mass consumer and product-based culture. “Cardboard cut-out American soldiers line the periphery, enclosing and guarding the nightmarish landscape within. Large mushrooms suggest the uncontrollable growth of political and economic factors as well as the threat of nuclear war. Imitation book covers copied from well-known texts on historical and political topics tower over streets lined with plastic jugs that purport to contain oil. Highly-charged words such as ‘anarchy’, ‘justice’ and ‘globalisation’ are strewn across the landscape, reflecting the ideas and rhetoric that continually inflect our understanding of the political situation.” (Tate Modern, Online catalogue, 2006).

FIG. Imaginative mappings:
Drift Topography. Thomas Hirschhorn, 2005.

Hirschhorn’s purposefully ramshackle style and his rejection of skilled craftsmanship and its associated ideas of beauty in fine art, gives to the work a rough quality of obsessive, cluttered eccentricity that seems to want to aggressively overwhelm the viewer with information. As the artist has said of his own work: ‘To me the most important activity that an artwork can provoke is the act of thinking.... It is only when the eyes and the brain get exhausted that there are no lies and you can get the truth.’

Perhaps this is precisely the impulse behind the articulation of social movements, art, and new cartographies, in which representations are not to be defined “not simply as the refusal of the commodified object and the specialized art system, but as an active signage pointing to the outside world, conceived as an expanded field for experimental practices of intimacy, expression and collaboration - indeed, for the transformation of social reality” (Brian Holmes. *Maps for the Outside*).

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"Teach yourself institutions"
<http://www.metamute.com/look/article.tpl?IdLanguage=1&IdPublication=1&NrIssue=28&NrSection=10&NrArticle=1404>

Maps (all by *Universite Tangente*)

'*European Norms of World Production*'. Mute magazine (UK) and Posse Magazine (Italy)

In order to get a feel for *Universite Tangente*'s project, it may help to browse their online map collection: <http://utangente.free.fr/aneupages/cartes.html>- The maps below are available on the website

'*Governing by Networks*' - <http://utangente.free.fr/2003/governingbynetworks.pdf>

'*L'Industrie de Normalisation Europeene*' - <http://utangente.free.fr/2003/europeA3.pdf>

'*Que se Vayan Todos*' - <http://utangente.free.fr/2003/quesebayan.pdf>

'*World Government: Barclays plc*' - <http://utangente.free.fr/2003/barclays.pdf>

Websites

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