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Abstract

Starting with a play on R. E. Park's claim "The city is a state of mind"ⁱ, this paper will discuss the street as subjective experience, which can bear political significance. For that purpose, I will discuss *flânerie* as a transgressive activity, which, through the re-appropriation of the street by the means of subjectivity, restores the street as a political space; and further inspires and constitutes a radical urban politicsⁱⁱ.

My discussion will be based on representations of *flânerie* through the centre of contemporary Athens, as they are described in a selection of short stories and a novel by Greek author Vaggelis Raptopoulosⁱⁱⁱ. In these literary works, the protagonists undertake walking journeys in the city, during which familiar streetscapes are transformed into uncanny 'environments' that host moments of disruption of the everyday; usually leading to extreme situations that include violence, or death^{iv}. Most importantly, these journeys 're-map' urban space by creating alternative routes of subjectivity through the planned fabric of the city. In the case of Athens, the planned city is a result of an imposed 19th century Western European utopianism^v. I will argue that by representing the city as a labyrinthine, dream-like environment, which constantly irrupts through its 'other', the planned 'city-symbol', Raptopoulos reveals urban space as a terrain of subjectivity that defies the instrumentalism of the planned city. He further proposes an active, curious and critical urban existence, by reminding us of Heraclitus' suggestion: "Let us also remember the one who forgets where the road leads to"^{vi}.

1. Introduction

I initially started working on this paper, wishing to write an essay on ‘walking’ and *flânerie*; and to explore the potential of these activities to be/become activities of resistance. But then I gradually realised that at the core of my inquiry was the idea of the ‘story’ – or ‘stories’ – in relation to the city; which I considered as partly stories that ‘make’ the city, and partly stories that are ‘made out’ of the city.

Subsequently, I decided that to talk about ‘stories’ and the ‘city’, I will draw largely upon Michel de Certeau’s theories on stories making *place* out of *space* and vice versa. In De Certeau’s terms, *place* is defined as ‘the order in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence’, whilst ‘*space* exists when one takes into consideration vectors of directions, velocities and time variables’; therefore space is related to movement and time, it is ‘composed of intersections and mobile elements’ (De Certeau: 117). I would like to quote an extract from *The Practice of Everyday Life*, which, very appropriately for this paper, uses a Greek word in order to discuss the spatial function of stories:

In modern Athens, the vehicles of mass transportation are called *metaphorai*. To go to work or come home, one takes a ‘metaphor’ – a bus or a train. Stories could also take this noble name: every day, they traverse and organise places; they select and link them together; they make sentences and itineraries out of them. They are spatial trajectories...Every story is a travel story – a spatial practice. (De Certeau: 115)

Here, De Certeau points at the transformative relation between ‘space’ and ‘place’ through the telling of stories and the writing of narratives; and as he explains further on:

‘Stories thus carry out a labour that consistently transforms places into spaces and spaces into places’ (De Certeau: 118). This is precisely what I will discuss in this paper, through analysing two different sets of ‘stories’ about the city of Athens: the first one refers back to the mid- nineteenth century and the time of the creation of modern Athens; and the second describes a more contemporary Athens of the 1980s and 1990s. Nevertheless, their differences do not relate only to their chronology; they are fundamentally different, perhaps even opposing, narratives about the city, since one of them consists of a series of planning proposals for the capital of the newly born state of Greece, therefore it is a ‘collective’ and ‘official’ narrative about the city; the second one is a personal, fictive narrative, as formalised in two short stories by the contemporary Greek writer Vaggelis Raptopoulos^{vii} which describe walking journeys in the centre of Athens.

I will discuss the latter as a ‘superimposition’ on the collective narrative of the planned city; I will argue that the subjective narrativisation of the city can operate in a transgressive way, enabling the appropriation of the ‘official’ space through subjective discourses; furthermore, I will argue that subjective narratives can reveal the potentiality for transgressive activities in the contemporary urban environment – and, more specifically, in the street.

2. Two stories: ‘Space’ and ‘Place’

I will now discuss the first of the two stories, entitled ‘In the bottom of the sea’, in which the protagonist takes a night walk in central Athens. I will read extracts from the story, which was published for the first time in 1979, when the writer was only twenty years old.

The first extract is as follows:

We decided to go for a walk without talking through it first... I got into that old mood again for a night walk in underwater Athens. A strong feeling, to get away with you, to swim again in the night, to cross the city with you beside me... Just after Omonia square, at the beginning of Athenas street, we met that blind man, sitting in the same old corner, with a black mask on, diving suit, flippers, oxygen tank and a little tin box for our charity. That incident must have seemed funny to you, because I think you laughed. You were anyway right, because how could we give him any money trapped in our suits? I felt bad though about all that...He seemed to me unbearably lonely and for the first time I hated our underwater condition. We were already arriving at Kotzia square and were reaching the Town Hall. Then I noticed that on its roof two seaweeds had grown, big and silent...Near the end of Athenas street, I stepped on a big oyster which broke into pieces. I started feeling cold, looking at the shining of a thousand pieces [...] just two seconds before the water sweeps them away to another part of the city. So when you rested your hand on my hair, when you held me tight there near Metropoli, I wasn't cold then, I got warm... In Syntagma square, you waved at me in order to make your usual phone call at home. We squeezed inside the phone booth, besieged by advertisements, chairs, small tables, you took your mask off, slowly you dialed the number... outside the moon was sinking little by little behind the big buildings,[...]bleeding, scratched, you smiled as you hang up the phone and I kissed you guiltily.... Your lips had a bitter taste, a certain saltiness, and as we were now walking towards the Royal Garden, behind my mask I was licking that saltiness with immense pleasure... (Raptopoulos: 73-77)

This is a highly personal description of a ('underwater') walking trip in the city. Within this personal narrative, however, we can also distinguish the 'other' narrative, the official 'story' about the city, appearing through the names (and the historical connotations that these names bear) of the places that the walker passes by.

Let's discuss, then, the 'other' story. Here you can see one of the 19th century planning proposals for Athens as the capital of the newly born Greek nation (1833), which is the third by the two German trained architects, Kleanthes and Schaubert, who were appointed to draw the new plans. The subsequent development of the centre of the city was largely based on this third plan. Several historians and theorists have discussed these proposals as representations of Western discourses, which appropriated the history of classical Athens in order to impose the West's own representational order on a colonized and dominated East. For instance, M. Christine Boyer has argued that 'modern Athens was a disgraceful sight' for the West, since it carried too many traces of the Turkish culture, and therefore it had 'to be reconstructed with its Eurocentric focal point drawn on the enlightened times of antiquity' (Boyer: 163). This ideology is manifested in the triangular plan of Kleanthes and Schaubert: the plan turned all perspectives toward the Acropolis, and proposed the opening of a modern avenue across the old Turkish town^{viii}. Furthermore, the canonic, orthogonal planning approach that was adopted by Kleanthes and Schaubert reflected, according to Eleni Bastea, the newly founded regency's intentions to modernise the Greek nation 'by introducing the machinery of a Western state' (Bastea: 20). Western planning interventions in Africa, Asia and South America represented similar colonizing attitudes for Bastea; these approaches did not take into consideration the urban 'realities' of the colonizing nations, but they rather aimed to 'test' contemporary Western urban theories on the new sites (for instance, ordering cities in a regular, rational grid, and separating the city into distinct, functional zones) (Bastea: 83). In a broader context, according to Susan Buck-Morss, Walter Benjamin also described nineteenth-century neoclassicism as an ideological attempt to represent 'the unbroken

pedigree of bourgeois civilisation and the eternal verity of Western imperial domination'^{ix}. In this sense, the neoclassical, formal design for New Athens, was the result of a desire to create a plan that would be 'equal with the ancient fame and glory of the city and worthy of the century in which we live' (Bastea: 18); as Kleanthes, the masterplan's architect, recounted, clearly reflecting the ideologies underpinning his proposed project.

This is a later plan of Athens (1877), which shows that certain modifications on the initial proposal by Kleanthes and Schaubert have occurred; but, further, it shows that the traces of the earlier proposal are still quite distinct: the original 'triangle' is kept, more or less, intact. This is where the narrator/walker's journey begins. He sets off from Omonia (Concord) square, which was originally named Otto's square (after the first king of Greece, and subsequently it was renamed when the king was dethroned), and where the king's palace was initially located in Kleanthes and Schaubert plans. There, the narrator meets a blind man who is begging; the man has 'a black mask on, diving suit, flippers, oxygen tank'. Then the narrator continues down Athenas street, designed by Kleanthes and Schaubert as one of the three major boulevards to connect the Palace (originally in the place of Omonia square) with the foot of the Acropolis Hill^x; there, the writer encounters the Town Hall (another neoclassical building built in 1872), which has 'two seaweeds' on its roof. Continuing on his walk, at Metropoli, the Athens Cathedral, also designed by foreign architects in the 19th century (1862)^{xi}, he shares an intimate moment with his partner; and then again at Syntagma (Constitution) Square, where the Parliament building is now located (originally designed and constructed as the Royal Palace). He finally ends his 'drift' at the Royal Garden, which was originally the garden of the Royal Palace.

De Certeau's idea of the transformative operation of stories suggests that significant places are continuously redefined through the weight of cultural signification, spatial occupation and representation; through storytelling and narrativisation (Lewi). Similarly, the narrator re-appropriates the official space of the city by inscribing his personal narrative on it; furthermore he performs a transgressive activity, as he 'turns the street into a living room' (Burgin: 145); much like the modern *flâneur*, he 'reverses an established distinction between public and private spaces', between official history and personal memory; and further destabilises their hierarchal signification, like the nineteenth-century Parisian *flâneur*, who, whilst walking in the public streets created by Napoleon III and Baron Haussmann, was however more attracted to 'the trivial, fragmented aspects of street life'^{xii}.

In this sense, Baudelaire's *flâneur* and Raptopoulos' walker occupy similar environments. Haussmann's major redevelopment of Paris, apart from having an actual influence on the planning proposals for Athens – as Bastea has described^{xiii} Haussmann was in close contact with the king of Greece Otto – it was a product of what Bataille and Foucault recognised as modernism's *tabula rasa* approach to the city^{xiv}. Modern urbanism and city planning have been largely discussed as operating towards the suppression of incidents and places, which contradict narratives of authority (as in the case of Haussmann, who turned 'Ile de la Cite into an administrative desert' (Sadler: 99); or in the case of Kleanthes and Schaubert, who eradicated all traces of Athens's Ottoman past). And then further they have been discussed as operating towards turning the city into a kind of a 'mnemonic' (memory aid), via deploying monuments and certain public

sites to inscribe a sort of 'text' on the city, which would remind the pedestrian of the official history of the city (Sadler).

For the Situationists, who also walked in Haussmann's Paris, statues compromised by the histories they represent/narrate could be reprieved only by their re-inscription (Sadler: 99) through subjectivity; 'drifting', aimless walking in the city was a way to inspire such re-inscription. De Certeau, however, went further to discuss 'walking' itself as an act of re-inscription (thus a transgressive activity and a political intervention), by rendering 'space' visible through the creation of new paths, of alternative routes, however continuously reversible and flexible. The walker's anarchical spatial mobility subverts the established, institutional spatial practices of 'citation' of the already there (Pile, 249); and allows for the performance of *space*, in the way De Certeau (117) described it, 'as practiced place'.

3. Bringing 'space' and 'place' together in the street

In the particular case of the street, De Certeau (117) would say that the walker transforms, the street as geometrically defined by urban planning, into 'space'. We have already seen how this transformation takes place in the quoted story; however, I would now like to quote further from another story, called 'One-way street' (published again in 1979), in which that transformation becomes more explicitly linked with the walker's movement in the street:

Basically I thought that running was allowed in the centre of Athens. That's why as I was running up Academias street, I was struck by surprise, as they say, when that guy with the bowler hat and the sack spat on me. In reality I didn't throw down neither the bowler hat, nor the sack or his

dignity, therefore I didn't touch anything important and so why the misunderstanding and the spitting and that arbitrary: "Don't you know that it's forbidden to run in the centre of Athens?" that got out of his mouth? I was taken by surprise, that's all! I wasn't looking for a fight because I was hungry, I wanted a cheese pie and I didn't have enough money – I was fifty pennies short – and where was I supposed to find you in that crowd, how could I spot you among those noisy crowds...? (Raptopoulos: 51)

Here, the protagonist is walking on Academias street, an avenue that runs parallel to another main Athenian artery, called Panepistimiou (University) street. Both streets' names refer to three major neoclassical buildings that lie in-between them, 'The Athenian Trilogy', as Bastea calls them: these are the National Library, the Academy and the University building, all of them designed and constructed in the 19th century^{xv}, as part of Athens's modernisation and Westernisation; and they all represent today official history and the power of the state. Nevertheless, the narrator/walker does not act according to 'the state of total and passive submission of the man in the street placed before the architectural phenomenon' that Situationist Michel Colle has identified with the experience of the modern city (Sadler: 7); he rather creates his own 'rhetorics of walking', indispensably linked with his physical mobility, by (to quote De Certeau again) 'condemn[ing] certain places to inertia, or disappearance, and compos[ing] with others spatial 'turns of phrase' that are 'rare', 'accidental' or 'illegitimate'; a fact that becomes more obvious as the narrator continues on his journey:

Then I stopped running, a natural slowing down, slow walking going up Academias street, torturing one-way street, people around me acquired a sudden heaviness, stronger facial features in their slow movement, advertising labels all around me flickering, spots on the night's face, me

developing small lyrical thorns, far away, very far behind me, the guy with the bowler hat and the sack, frozen, in the middle of the pavement, misplaced... (R: 52)

The narrator/walker here disturbs the 'stability' of the 'proper' that Academias street, as constructed by official discourses, is, and through 'the ensemble of his movements' actuates 'space' within it (De Certeau: 117). In this way, he transgresses the 'already there', the 'place' that the discourses of power make of the street, in order to reveal the street as a terrain for further transgressive behaviour^{xvi}. The writer goes on:

On the way back I keep misbehaving. Academias street is a one-way street and I go in the opposite direction, I go faster than the speed limit, my book gets published before I even write it, I keep misbehaving. Near the Opera I meet the man with the bowler hat and the sack still immobile. I stop to sweep up the saliva on him, to repay my old debts, to get rid of what I owe... (Raptopoulos: 53-54)

Contrary to the planning officials of the 1830s Athens, who proclaimed that the street was 'an artistic...and an administrative question'^{xvii}, the writer here recognises the transgressive quality of the street. In his later works, he takes this idea further, in order to describe uncanny, nightmarish street environments, which lead the hero to extreme acts (such as suicide)^{xviii}. But, no matter whether those are considered as Lefebvrian 'moments' of revelation (as described in the above extract), or as triggering events of an inescapable fall, the disruptions of the everyday always occur, for the writer, '...out there in a street, somewhere in the centre of Athens' (Raptopoulos, 1993).

4. 'Re-mapping' urban space through subjectivity

So far, I have discussed the walker's 'spatialising' of the city, through a de-constructing of its constitution by official discourses as 'place', by creating alternative routes of subjectivity that involve 'accidents', 'ruptures', 'turns of phrase', 'transgressions'. Before I conclude, I would like to discuss shortly Steve Pile's theorisation of such activities as a kind of politics of resistance^{xix}.

Pile has argued that one possible way to think of resistance is to recognise the ways in which power relations are 'incomplete, fluid, and liable to rupture'; and in this context to define resistance as not so much through the act itself, but through the meanings that social actions are attributed with in the practice of everyday life (Pile, 1997: 14). From this perspective, for Pile (Pile, 1997: 3), 'urban planning as a spatial technology of domination' can be resisted through a *tactics* of appropriation in De Certeau's sense: through creating new meanings out of imposed meanings, through re-working and diverting space to other ends, though insinuating other spaces into the production of urban space (Pile, 1997: 16).

Pile recognises the significance of subjectivity for such processes, acknowledging the possibility of a 'progressive politics' of subjectivity (Pile, 1996: 255). Since resistance (in terms of a *tactics* of insinuation') cannot simply address itself to changing external physical space, then it must also engage people's interior worlds. Several theorists, such as Frantz Fanon, have examined the colonisation of interior spaces by hegemonic norms and values, but also through the potential for resistance that underlies them. And further, they have stressed the need for subjectivity to inform politics, in order to enable the subject to intervene in a globalised environment, as in Fredric Jameson's

theories about creating ‘an aesthetics of cognitive mapping’ in order to transgress an alienating ‘postmodern hyperspace’^{xx}.

In this framework, distinctions between the local and the global become ambivalent, and they do not appear as natural scales anymore; but they are rather formed out of the struggles that they seemingly only contain. For Pile (1997: 13), all scales (the body, locality, region, nation etc.) speak of the production of space, not only as an echo of domination, but also as a possibility of resistance.

5. The city is a state of mind

To sum up, I would like to situate this paper in the above context. I have attempted a juxtaposition of two different narratives about the city of Athens: on the one hand, literary stories describing walks in the city, and, on the other, the planning proposals that largely shaped the built urban fabric. In this context, I have argued that somehow the former ‘re-map’ urban space by creating alternative, transgressive routes of subjectivity through the planned fabric of the city, which has largely been the result of an imposed 19th century Western European utopianism. I have further attempted to demonstrate that the performance of subjectivity on the street and the subsequent creation of subjective narratives about the city, constitute transgressive operations that can destabilise the established power structures. Finally, in order to situate my discussion of ‘local’ stories about a ‘local’ situation within the context of a conference on ‘globalisation’, I would like to refer to a Situationist idea: starting from discussing a ‘situation’, one can enlarge the scope of their discussion to the city, and subsequently to social space and society (Sussmann: 31). And further, I would like to refer to Pile’s and other theorists’ discussions

of imperialist powers being at work at all scales. And from that perspective, I hope that the exploration of alternative ‘territories’ (like subjective narratives) in relation to the city will provide answers to key questions on globalisation.

It has been said that ‘The urban terrain is an emotional concrete condition’; and that ‘The city is a state of mind’^{xxi}. In modern, and mainly in postmodern theory, the city has been extensively discussed as not ‘merely a physical mechanism or an artificial construction’^{xxii}, but also as a complex set of relationships developed through symbolic, economic, or administrative networks^{xxiii}; and further as subjective experience, as I have attempted to demonstrate, highlighting the significance of locality and positionality in urban space for the contemporary urban subject^{xxiv}. If we were to follow Marx’s argument that ‘Men can see nothing around them that is not their own image; everything speaks to them of themselves. Their very landscape is alive’^{xxv}, we can then acknowledge how such an approach to the city makes possible a creative social urban experience, in which places of power are transformed into terrains of subjectivity; or, in Raptopoulos’ words, into spaces that one wouldn’t want to escape from:

Yes, the Garden was miraculously magical that night, as it was oddly swaying back and forth in the heart of the city, breathing like a young child’s lung. Such an excess of movement reminded me suddenly of your curly double door, that place where you keep exclusively for me the valleys, the hidden corners of your body. I felt a penetrating shivering, as I thought of the sharp feeling of touching that part of your body... That’s why I stopped you as we were walking and pulled you to sit back on the bench, to watch the purple moon that was coming down damp among the wet trees of the Garden... So when we went out, silent, we had an unpleasant feeling of leaving the garden, because it was as attractive as no other place. (Raptopoulos: 77-78)

Notes

ⁱ Quoted in (Pile, 1996: 245). In his 1925 essay “The city: suggestions for investigation of human behaviour in the urban environment” geographer R. E. Park from the Chicago School argued that the city is not ‘merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction. It is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it; it is a product of nature, and particularly human nature’ (in Pile, 1996: 245). Postmodern theory has followed this thinking in order to understand the city as a complex set of relationships coming together through symbolic, economic, or administrative networks; in my paraphrasing Park’s claim, I wish, in particular, to point at James Donald’s argument that ‘the city is above all a representation’, meaning that we ascribe to those relationships a coherence by calling them ‘a city’ (See J. Donald *Imagining the modern city*, London: Athlone, 1999)

ⁱⁱ My discussion will draw mainly upon Walter Benjamin’s ideas on *flânerie*, Michel De Certeau’s ‘rhetorics of walking’, and further Steve Pile’s extensive analysis of psycho-geography as a medium for a radical urban politics.

ⁱⁱⁱ Contemporary Greek writer who has been published in Greece since 1979; some of his work has been translated in English, French and German. I will use extracts from his novel *Ο Εγγένης* (*The Bachelor*) (Athens: Kedros, 1993) and also from his collection of short stories *Κομματάκια* (*In Pieces*) (Athens: Kalvos, 1979); all translation in English will be done by the author of this article.

^{iv} I will use the term ‘moment’ in the Lefebvrian sense, as a time of one’s sudden insight into a situation or an experience beyond the merely empirical routine of some activity. According to Lefebvre, a moment acts as a revelatory time ‘of the totality of possibilities contained in daily existence’; moments ‘were ephemeral and would pass instantaneously into oblivion, but during their passage all manner of possibilities – often decisive and sometimes revolutionary – stood to be both uncovered and achieved’ (quoted in David Harvey’s ‘Afterword’ to H. Lefebvre’s *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). The psychoanalytic perspectives of the particular uncanny signification of these ‘moments’ for Raptopoulos’s *flâneur* will be further developed in my article.

^v According to M. Christine Boyer in *The City of Collective Memory* (London; Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, 1994), through the 19th century planning proposals for the capital of the newly born Greek nation, the West appropriated the history of classical Athens in order to impose its own representational order on a colonized and dominated East. I will in particular discuss the first plan drawn up for Athens in 1832 by Cleanthes and Schaubert, both trained in Germany by Schinkel, by referring also to Eleni Bastea’s account of the urban development of modern Athens entitled *The creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

^{vi} The original Greek text by Heraclitus “Να θυμόμαστε κι εκείνον που ξεχνάει πού πηγαίνει ο δρόμος” appears in the opening of *The Bachelor*. This suggestion ‘to forget where the road leads to’ reminds me of De Certeau’s view of ‘walking’ as an act of creating new paths through space and thus subverting the institution of spatial practices as ‘citation’ of the already there. In this way, he introduces spatial practice as a political intervention (See Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1988)

^{vii} Published in Greek between 1979-1999. All translations are done by the author of this paper.

^{viii} ‘yet refrained from encircling its girth’ (Boyer: 163).

^{ix} In *The Arcades Project* (See Buck-Morss).

^x Areiou Pagou and Aioulou being the other ones; for more about Athenas see Bastea: 78.

^{xi} Th. Hansen, D. Zezos, Boulanger (1862)

^{xii} See Wilson: 149

^{xiii} See Bastea: France was the country most frequently mentioned in the daily press regarding cultural and architectural issues. In 1869 ‘Aion’ reported that Prefect Haussmann of Paris was replaced by Cevreau, see p. 144: “the famous prefect of Paris under Napoleon III, Haussmann, published two volumes...he sent a copy of these volumes to King Otto via the then-consul of Greece in Paris..”

^{xiv} See Sadler: 99

^{xv} Library and the University by the Danish Hansen brothers.

^{xvi} Throughout the twentieth century, the street has been associated with movement and circulation: ‘The great modern dream of mobility’, Berman; and a flexible terrain: Georges Perec has written: ‘Contrary to the buildings, which almost always belong to someone, the streets in principle belong to no one’, Perec: 47 that; See Buvant about the street as the focus of the shaping of cultural identity and as a flexible terrain in which otherness is most likely to be contained making change and conflict inevitable.

^{xvii} Only to disguise economic and political motives behind their proposed street layouts (letter from Minister of the Interior I. Kolettas: “The question of street alignments is a complex one; it is an artistic question and an administrative question”, Bastea: 109-110)

Compared with Prefect Haussmann’s monumental redesign of Paris under Napoleon III (1853-70), carried out by private developers; there were also tendencies of favoritism and profiteering in the case of Athens (110); most simply stated that the alteration of a certain street was approved; in one or two instances they gave reasons for these street openings: beautification, cleanliness, or facilitation of transportation (115)

^{xviii} In his novel *The Bachelor*, as in the short story ‘Aquaforte’, the protagonist commits suicide after nightmarish journeys in his interior world and in the city.

^{xix} For more see Pile, 'Introduction' to *Geographies of Resistance* and *The Body and the City*.

^{xx} In *Postmodernism or the cultural logic of late capitalism*.

^{xxi} First quote by architect Adam Caruso in his article 'La ville émotionnelle' ('The emotional city'); second by geographer R. E. Park from the Chicago School in his 1925 essay "The city: suggestions for investigation of human behaviour in the urban environment", quoted in Pile, 1996: 245.

^{xxii} Park quoted in Pile, p. 245: 'It is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it; it is a product of nature, and particularly human nature'.

^{xxiii} See Donald.

^{xxiv} 'To be an urban subject means st – and the geography of the city means something: whether it is in Freud's uncanny story of dreadful delight or in the freedom it gives for people to lose themselves and look anew. The streets become a map of visible and invisible relations of meaning, identity and power into which the subject is placed and has to find their way around – and possibly, one day, to escape' (Pile, 1996: 245).

^{xxv} In Sadler, 1998: 77.

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