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DEEP MAPS  
*and*  
SPATIAL  
NARRATIVES

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## 6



## DEEP MAPPING AND NEOGEOGRAPHY

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The construction and representation of difference, in whatever form, are core intellectual concerns of the humanities and social sciences. Acknowledging how different forms of knowledge are produced, their relations to daily life, identity, and social practice, and their epistemological implications are profoundly important. This theme is also a deeply geographic question, as knowledge is deeply embedded within particular spatial environments. The intertwined nature of knowledge and space is reflected in the widespread “spatial turn” across many disciplines.<sup>1</sup> In particular, over the last several decades, a renaissance in geographic information, propelled in part by the rise of new geospatial technologies and citizen-generated data, has markedly elevated the significant of knowledge of places.

This essay explores the intersections of two intellectual currents that recently have had powerful impacts on spatial thinking in the humanities and social sciences: deep mapping and neogeography. It opens with a brief definition of deep mapping as a means to represent places in all their untidiness and complexity. It holds that such representations of place, notably their unique qualities, have gained in importance in light of globalization, neoliberalism’s ferocious impetus that pits places against one another, and tourism. Next, it points to neogeography as a means for constructing deep maps that allow the input of nonexperts and amateurs. Web 2.0 technologies have decisively transformed cartography, allowing locales to construct collective representations of place that suit their own

purposes rather than those of academics or planners. Concerns of “truth” in this regard are often held secondary to their implications and consequences for particular epistemic communities. Third, the chapter asserts that neogeographic deep maps reflect and in turn sustain the contemporary epistemological shift into poststructuralism by accommodating a plethora of voices, diverse experiences, and worldviews, and by allowing such contending perspectives to be brought into a creative tension with one another. Fourth, it positions neogeography within the context of the digital divide and social and spatial inequalities in internet access. Finally, it offers an empirical example of just such a digital deep map from Brión, a town in Galicia, Spain, to point to the pragmatist orientation of such efforts.

## DEEP MAPS: A BRIEF NOTE

Following William Least Heat-Moon’s celebrated and exhaustively comprehensive portrait of Chase County, Kansas, *PrairieEarth*,<sup>2</sup> which gave rise to the term *deep map*, this essay begins with the view that a deep map is a finely detailed depiction of a place, its history, landscape, and culture, and the people, animals, and objects that exist within it. Pearson and Shanks eloquently explain that “the deep map attempts to record and represent the grain and patina of place through juxtapositions and interpenetrations of the historical and the contemporary, the political and the poetic, the discursive and the sensual, the conflation of oral testimony, anthology, memoir, biography, natural history and everything you might ever want to say about a place.”<sup>3</sup> Deep maps are thus inseparable from the contours and rhythms of everyday life, which falls squarely within the geographical tradition of time-geography and structuration theory that produced a long and rich intellectual history of theorizations about how place, biography, and social relations are interpenetrated.<sup>4</sup> Deep maps are not confined to the tangible or material, but include the discursive and ideological dimensions of place, the dreams, hopes, imaginations, and fears of residents—they are, in short, positioned between matter and meaning. Finally, such maps are also topological and relational in nature, subsuming each place’s ties to other places, its embeddedness in networks that span spatial scales and range from the local to the global.

More recently, with the rise of critical cartography, deep mapping is afforded the opportunity to see such representations in avowedly political terms: the Foucauldian revolution in the social sciences and humanities has made it abundantly clear that discourses do not simply mirror the world, they also help to create it. As Denis Wood argues, maps help to bring into existence the world that they portray.<sup>5</sup> Thus, artist Clifford McClucas writes that:

Deep maps will not seek the authority and objectivity of conventional cartography. They will be politicized, passionate, and partisan. They will involve negotiation and contestation over who and what is represented and how. They will give rise to debate about the documentation and portrayal of people and places. . . . Deep maps will bring together the amateur and the professional, the artist and the scientist, the official and the unofficial, the national and the local. . . . Deep maps will be unstable, fragile and temporary. They will be a conversation and not a statement.<sup>6</sup>

Deep maps differ from conventional maps in more ways than one. Deep maps not only show qualitatively more information than do shallow ones, they are self-conscious as social and political entities, making explicit their origins, purpose, whose interests they serve and whose they do not, and what they represent and what they do not. Deep mapping is thus far more than a technical exercise, but one imbued with powerful political implications aimed at changing the world they represent.

Every deep map reflects and contains more than one viewpoint. The diversity of voices, and whose are considered to be authoritative or "correct" (and whose are not) lies at the core of poststructuralist concerns with power, knowledge, and place. Poststructuralism is deeply suspicious of simple categorizations and master narratives that sweep complexity under the carpet: it serves as a sensitizing device to how representations are tied to interests and embedded in webs of power and pays particular attention to the voices of the marginalized, the subaltern, and powerless.<sup>7</sup> In lieu of portraits of places as coherent, integrated, and tidy, poststructuralism offers a range of embodied perspectives often at odds with one another and celebrates the inchoate chaos that undermines any aspiration of imposing a single narrative structure on a complex and heterogeneous reality.

NEOGEOGRAPHY, DEEP MAPS, AND  
POSTSTRUCTURALIST EPISTEMOLOGIES

The explosive growth of digital technologies, as well as the interactive capacities commonly labeled Web 2.0, has important methodological and epistemological implications for deep mapping. Online, interactive mapping facilitates a bottom-up reconfiguration in how data are collected, transmitted, analyzed, visualized, and utilized that differs considerably from traditional top-down models in which experts and government agencies dictate the criteria of data collection, analysis, applications, and standards of truth. The set of spatial representations and practices that emanate from Web 2.0—neogeography—includes an enormous volume and variety of representations that are highly contextual, personal, and relevant only to the producers and consumers of these data, not to academic experts.

At the core of the shift into neogeography is Web 2.0, the set of software-revolutionizing applications of the web. Key to the architecture of this technology are asynchronous Javascript and XML and application programming interfaces, which facilitate the creation of websites similar to desktop applications while allowing instantaneous user interactions. The functionality offered by Web 2.0 has precipitated significant changes from traditional approaches: whereas traditional cartography and geographic information systems (GIS) are expert-centric, neogeography is obviously user-centric. With the spread of Web 2.0, neogeography, code spaces, and the automatic production of space have become deeply woven into the fabric of daily life for countless millions of people to such an extent that simple dichotomies such as "online" and "off-line" fail to do justice to the ways in which the real and the virtual worlds are profoundly interpenetrated.<sup>8</sup> In this sense, neogeography has fostered an unprecedented democratization of geographic knowledge, often with roots far removed from academic experts. Thus Goodchild maintains that whereas "the early Web was primarily one-directional, allowing a large number of users to view the contents of a comparatively small number of sites, the new Web 2.0 is a bi-directional collaboration in which users are able to interact with and provide information to central sites, and to see that information collated and made available to others."<sup>9</sup>

Neogeography refers to the process whereby people using an eclectic set of online geospatial tools to describe and document aspects of their lives, society, or environment in terms that are meaningful to them.<sup>10</sup> A broader interpretation of neogeography includes the study of cultural mapping in all realms of everyday life, catalyzed by the digital mapping technologies and social networking practices of Web 2.0. It has also been greatly accelerated by the explosive proliferation of mobile digital technologies, including smart phones and location-based services. The interactive websites characteristic of Web 2.0 allow users to upload data about locations and apply them in diverse ways, including, for example, simple displays of locations (e.g., favored bird watching sites) or lists of attributes of a place near a user equipped with a global positioning system. This approach lies at the heart of mapping websites such as Google Maps, Yahoo!Maps, OpenStreetMap, and Bing Live Maps. Unlike traditional approaches, users can create share and use information via "crowd sourcing," which allows large, widely distributed groups of people to work together toward a common goal.<sup>11</sup> For example, Jackson reported that OpenStreetMap attracts two hundred thousand volunteers annually.<sup>12</sup> Google Maps was used by 71.5 million people in 2007 and Google Earth by 22.7 million.<sup>13</sup> Rather than rely on state- or corporate-produced data, neogeography generates volunteered data/content, relocating the center of knowledge production from a handful of self-appointed experts to large numbers of people with limited formal geographic training. Sui labels these changes the "wikification of GIS," after Wikipedia, the famously popular, user-generated, online encyclopedia.<sup>14</sup> Rana and Joliveau argue that to fully appreciate the significance of this phenomenon, neogeography must be regarded "as an extension of mainstream geography for everyone made by everyone."<sup>15</sup> As Goodchild points out, neogeography often implies that academic geography is redundant or unnecessary; for this reason, he advocates instead terms such as "volunteered geographic information."<sup>16</sup>

Neogeography has important epistemological as well as pragmatic implications.<sup>17</sup> Because neogeographical knowledge emanates from personal interactions with places, what is held to be true is often highly contextual and specific to the community of users who generate and use such data. Maps in this context do not aspire to be "objective" depictions but are tailored to the needs and outlooks of narrow communities of inter-

est. By rejecting the all-seeing Cartesian subject as their epistemological reference point, critical deep maps demonstrate and help to popularize the social and spatial embeddedness and embodiment of *all* perspectives. The analytical focus is bottom-up, that is, on the relations among large numbers of actors rather than individuals. Through the properties of emergence or self-organization, complexity theory implies that local spatial configurations of interactions affect outcomes at broader systemic scales. Neogeographies are, in a sense, also complex adaptive systems in which conscious agents construct and reproduce systems of meaning, both intended and unintended. Neogeographic practices do not follow a trajectory of gradual, linear growth, but indeed often burst into existence suddenly when large numbers of followers adopt them quickly, a theme consistent with the discoveries of the emerging network science.<sup>18</sup>

Neogeographic deep mapping is an ontological counterpoint for post-structuralist epistemology in that it allows for multiple voices to be heard, leading to a cacophony of representations in which places are depicted and viewed through multiple lenses. Moreover, in that it allows people to jump vast distances instantaneously, cyberspace is both a metaphor of relational space and identity—as fluid, open-ended, produced and reproduced through inter-relations, and forever coming into being—and simultaneously a vehicle to understand people and places in those terms.<sup>19</sup> As the internet has become indispensable to ever-larger numbers of people, neogeography charts paths through the virtual metaverse and mirror worlds, the multiple spaces and "digi-places" it contains. Neogeographic spaces, generated through countless bottom-up interactions of users who are widely dispersed among many physical locations, are virtual, constantly changing, and often bear only tenuous linkages to material geographies. In this sense, neogeographic space is compatible with the Deleuze/Guattarian "flat ontology," or in geographic terms, spatialities uncontaminated by the obfuscating effects of scale, as demonstrated by the multiple, multifaceted examples in the book *Elsie/Where: Mapping New Cartographies of Networks and Territories*.<sup>20</sup>

Neogeographic deep maps have profound philosophical implications for how knowledge is constructed and the criteria by which it is deemed appropriate, or not. For example, groups utilizing neogeographic technologies are not likely to generate random samples of data, a criterion

that lies at the heart of commonly accepted definitions of "the scientific method." How reliable are the results of neogeographic approaches without random sampling, the lynchpin of scientific respectability?<sup>21</sup> As diverse groups of people with varying agendas harness Web 2.0 to upload their own data and interpretations, conventional views of what constitutes valid knowledge and truth come into question. What, then, is "true" when people, particularly nonexperts, generate their own data and stories to interpret and make sense of the world in ways that may be markedly at odds with the rigid criteria demanded by academic experts? Furthermore, user-generated content also tends to rely on very polarizing samples—only those who either love or hate the subject matter beyond a threshold level tend to post their opinions online. These extremes can drown the mainstream interpretations and generate conceptual and political discord.<sup>22</sup> In neogeography, the sharp divisions between knower and known, representations and the world they portray, epistemology and ontology, are deliberately blurred, and truths (for there can be more than one) are repositioned as a partial, contingent series of statements that reflect lived reality and are useful in it. This line of thought owes much to John Dewey's and particularly William James's pragmatist epistemology, in which "truth" is determined and confirmed by its utility and effectiveness in application, that is, from its consequences; thus, "the 'true' is only the expedient in our way of thinking, just as the 'right' is only the expedient in our way of behaving."<sup>23</sup> In this line of thought, there is no single observable reality or one approach methodological style: rather, there are multiple realities, many different and equally viable ways of constructing knowledge, all of which require an enormous tolerance for inconsistency, incompleteness, and uncertainty.

As Jürgen Habermas argues, communications are central to the social process of truth construction, through which individuals and communities of interest partake in the public, discursive interpretation of reality.<sup>24</sup> Habermas's "ideal speech situation" consisting of unfettered discourse is central to the "public sphere" in which social life is reproduced and through which truth is constructed in the absence of barriers to communication. Truth in this reading is inseparable from lived experience, intent, and social practice, leading to the consensus rather than correspondence theory of truth. In this reading, all participants in a debate would theoretically

have equal rights and abilities to make their views known and to challenge any other view; when all power relations have been removed from the freedom to engage in discourse, the only criteria for resolving contesting claims is their truth-value. And, importantly, "the participants in an ideal speech situation [must] be motivated solely by the desire to reach a consensus about the truth of statements and the validity of norms."<sup>25</sup> If one adopts a Habermasian approach in which democracy is approximated by an "ideal speech situation" of unfettered discourse in the public sphere, neogeography provides a reasonably good approximation. Of course, access to neogeography technologies is limited by social factors such as income, education, and often ethnicity and gender, all of which are significant determinants of the "digital divide" as well.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, inasmuch as anyone with simple access to web tools to upload data and download results can participate in neogeographic communities, Web 2.0 essentially realizes Habermas's ideal speech situation for vast pools of participants.

Richard Rorty offered a famous shift in metaphors for understanding knowledge in light of the collapse of the Cartesian world view.<sup>27</sup> If the mirror served as the ideal "reflection" of knowledge construction from the Enlightenment onward, with its emphasis on vision, accuracy, and light, then the conversation serves as the perfect vehicle to summarize the forms of poststructuralist knowledge construction in the present era: a messy series of dialogues in which each voice is partial, incomplete, and contingent. Neogeography is thus much more of a "conversation" than it is a "mirror" of the world, in which the truths constructed are relative and useful for specific communities; there is no value-free arbiter to decide what is accurate (true or not), and accuracy is decided by consensus and pragmatic value. Moving away from an ocularcentric view of truth that lies at the heart of the world-as-exhibition, the conversational view of truth puts more emphasis on practice and performance, on the speech acts that lead to points of agreement between contending worldviews. Neogeography has moved us closer to the performative theory of truth with emphasis on actual spatial practices, that is, "performing" these geographical or cartographic tasks on a sustained, repeated basis. Instead of truth, "performativity" or "truthiness" has been pushed to the front, that is, the quality of an idea "being done right" or "feeling true" without voluminous evidence.<sup>28</sup>

## NEOGEOGRAPHY AND THE DIGITAL DIVIDE

A central concern to the pragmatic viability of neogeography is the digital divide in internet access. Inequalities in this regard are manifested at multiple spatial scales. While roughly 2.3 billion people used the internet worldwide in 2013, or roughly 32 percent of the planet, there are enormous discrepancies in access among and within countries. Everywhere, internet access is greater in cities than in rural areas, and internet usage is higher among the young, well educated, and well off; frequently ethnic minorities, and often women, have markedly lower rates of use.<sup>29</sup> For many people—the familiar litany of the poor, the undereducated, ethnic minorities, and the socially marginalized—the internet remains a distant, ambiguous world. Denied regular access to cyberspace by the inability to purchase a personal computer, the technical skills necessary to log on, or public policies that assume their needs will be magically addressed by the market, information have-nots are deprived of many of the essential skills necessary for a successful or convenient life. While those with regular and reliable access to the internet drown in a surplus of information—much of it superfluous, irrelevant, or unnecessary—those with limited access have difficulty comprehending the opportunities it offers, the savings in time and money it allows, and the sheer convenience, entertainment value, and ability to acquire data from bus schedules to recipes to global news. What is more, within most countries, internet usage is concentrated within cities, whereas in much of the developing world, vast numbers of people, often the majority of the population, live in rural areas; in such places that typically suffer from slow connections, graphical information, which uses much more bandwidth than text, is virtually out of the question.

As the uses and applications of the internet have multiplied, the costs sustained by those denied access rise accordingly. At precisely the historical moment that contemporary capitalism has come to rely upon digital technologies to an unprecedented extent, large pools of the economically disenfranchised are shut off from cyberspace. As the internet erodes the monopolistic roles once played by the telephone and television, and as the upgrading of required skill levels steadily render information technology skills necessary even for lower wage service jobs, lack of access to cyberspace becomes increasingly detrimental to social mobility. Indeed, those

excluded from the internet may be more vulnerable to social forces they do not and often cannot perceive than ever before.

Given these discrepancies, and the resulting uneven abilities to participate in neogeography, utopian claims that neogeographies lead to a “flat world” (e.g., Thomas Friedman) must be viewed with considerable skepticism. Contrary to the hyperbole that continues to swarm around the internet, multiplying even faster than do viruses and webpages, cyberspace reflects all of the inequalities and social divisions that permeate the nonvirtual world. Far from constituting some mythologized world of unfettered individualism, as some advocates portrayed it, cyberspace in fact is thoroughly shot through with relations of class, gender, ethnicity, and other social categories.

Despite these limitations, neogeographies offer great promise in allowing people in various parts of the world to represent themselves in their own terms. Digital deep mapping is much more than scratching an aesthetic itch, it has important political repercussions. In an age of rampant globalization, in which capital’s ability to pit places against one another has reached new heights, the differences among places assume renewed significance. In contrast with popular mythology that holds that globalization homogenizes places, in fact global processes must be tailored to the specifics of individual locations. This theme is critical in understanding the importance of place promotion as localities vie with each other in attempting to attract capital and tourists. Deep mapping via neogeography therefore offers places an unprecedented ability to portray themselves as their residents wish them to be portrayed, not simply how local elites or firms wish the place to be represented.

## AN APPLIED NEOGEOGRAPHIC DEEP MAP: BRIÓN, GALICIA

An existing neogeographic deep map of a place can be found in the case of Brión, located in Galicia, in northwestern Spain. Brión is a small town (population seven thousand) with an unusually extended web presence. Its deep map was started in 2003 in an initiative of faculty at the nearby University of Santiago de Compostela called SINDUR (Sociedad de la Información y Desarrollo Urbano-Regional, The Information Society and Urban-regional Development).<sup>30</sup> Its website was developed over several years in the early 2000s as a collective effort that involved significant input

from local residents, many of whom were unfamiliar with digital technologies, particularly Web 2.0. The project was instigated, for free, as part of a national and regional effort to overcome the limitations of Spain's digital divide and to harness the power of the web for marginalized communities. In some respects, the community served as an experiment to understand the implications of the wider transformation into an information-based economy and society. This initiative received enthusiastic support from the municipal government and arose in conjunction with nationally subsidized attempts to promote other uses of cyberspace such as online banking, e-commerce, distance learning, and to widen public access to information about government services. Brion's interactive webpages were greatly enabled by the implementation of free Wi-Fi services in its public spaces, including schools, parks, and libraries. As a result, internet access became very widespread, reaching almost universal coverage. Local primary and secondary school teachers played key roles in promoting interest in the project among the town's young people. Many residents contributed using their mobile or cellular phones, while others relied on the expertise of local teachers, librarians, and government staff.

While many communities have representations on the web, Brion's digital deep map is unusually extensive, including the following: a plethora of pictures and films; interviews with residents; personal biographies and life stories; samples of local music; depictions of the region's wildlife and natural landscapes; historical accounts of the town's past; an online museum; paintings; architectural details; interviews with elected officials and business leaders; portraits of sports teams and events, folk culture, and emigration; and interactive opportunities for lessons and marketing for small local firms.<sup>31</sup> As of 2012, its website contained more than two hundred individual reports by residents, three thousand pictures, five hundred songs, and two hundred videos. This is not a view that attempts to represent the town coherently as a neatly packaged destination for tourists, but grapples with its people, past, and landscapes in all their contradictions and messy complexity. It is arguably a web equivalent of *PrairyEarth*.

Thousands of uploads to the Infobriton website were posted by a diverse array of the town's residents over several years. Some, particularly the elderly, were unfamiliar with the internet, and a few refused to learn

how to participate. Many entries are amateurish and of relatively low technical quality. Residents insisted that the site's text be in the local Gallegan language rather than Castilian Spanish. Crucially, the website's contents and organization were determined by the collective preferences of the town's residents, and their priorities often surprised the academic experts who facilitated the project. Some people published diaries of their day-to-day activities, yielding a rich trove of time-geographic information about the contours of daily life. Residents compiled a database of more than 110,000 events in the town's history. One popular application was a documentation of the town's folk culture as it evolved over the years. Unexpectedly, an online school of horse riding emerged, complemented by myriad representations of equine festivals and contests. The local music school started online courses in music appreciation, with videos of local performances by students. The effort also gave rise to an interactive local atlas listing local residences and points of interest; maps were based on uploads of data on sixteen thousand locations in the town and neighboring areas. An online, interactive GIS allows users to query these places and make their own maps. Some residents used the site to commemorate loved ones who had died or left the town; others recorded oral histories of the very old: in a community with a disproportionately large number of elderly, this was no trivial matter. Local farmers and gardeners became enthusiastic proponents of the project as way to show off their skills with crops. One offshoot was Granxa Familiar, a network used to advertise local produce in other towns and villages. For Galician nationalists, the site became a way to celebrate the region's Celtic heritage, including, for example, the local festival of Samain (which in medieval Britain became Halloween). Exploits of the local *fútbol* (soccer) team were described in great detail, including boasts of victories over rival teams from nearby towns. An online ethnography museum included photos of local handicrafts, notably shoe and hat production, as well as paintings and songs. One section contained biographies of emigrants from the town, some of whom had returned after years abroad. A virtual lost-and-found was complemented by a local version of eBay. Candidates for local political offices used it for their campaigns, and the government posted election results there. Others came to use the site as a means of keeping track of news, announcements, and lists of upcoming events or for Facebook-

like personal webpages. Because the town's population is not homogeneous in outlook, occasionally disputes erupted over the "correct" representation of some events, particularly those with historical and political implications, and the site's chat rooms served as a public forum for airing these differences.

The InfoBrion project gives us a glimpse of what a neogeographic multimedia deep map can look like. With initial inspiration from academics and support by government officials, the website took on a life of its own. Far from being dominated by the views or interests of elite experts who ostensibly view the town through the eyes of a disembodied Cartesian subject, the mass of information uploaded to the site, which is constantly in flux, reflects the needs and interests of the town's inhabitants. While most of the material was local in content, some explored the community's connections to other places, as with emigration or sports rivalries. Because this material was intimately related to the town's residents' bodies and lives, concerns of "accuracy" or scientific integrity here are displaced by the criteria of relevance and utility: it is in many respects an epistemological pragmatist's utopia. InfoBrion illustrates applied neogeography in practice and substantive differences from traditional planners. Local planners were often reduced to listening to residents' views and were unable to enforce designs constructed in the antiseptic environment of planning offices. Rather, the town's self-image and priorities emerged organically as an emergent property and were far more democratic as a result.

#### CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In an age of explosive globalization, spatial knowledge has become more, not less, important. Deep maps are important vehicles for mobilizing local collective consciousness and giving form to geographical imaginations. By putting the sources of data and the means to visualize it firmly in the hands of users and consumers rather than those of an elite group of expert producers, neogeography forces a broader recognition of the degree to which truth-values reflect broader social concerns such as trust, reputation, and credibility.<sup>32</sup> Accuracy in this context, is largely a matter of ideology and preference, contingent upon context and purpose, and tailored to the specific interests of communities of interest. In facilitating the emergence of numerous "neighborhoods of truth," neogeography

encourages us to abandon the holy grail of universal generalizations and come to terms with the place-bound nature of geographic knowledge. In its stead, it opens up venues for viewing the world through the eyes of particular groups bound together by lifestyle, political values, recreational habits, and other dimensions of social life. However, consideration of how neogeographies are made must pay due attention to the digital divide and attendant inequalities in access to cyberspace: for those who cannot log in, neogeographies are little more than an entertaining fantasy.

The InfoBrion project described here offers a useful example of a neogeographic deep map in practice. The literature on this topic, and cyberspace in general, is often top-heavy with ponderous theoretical concerns and light on examples. The empirical application of neogeographic technologies by communities, as opposed to individuals, remains largely ignored. In Brion, aggressive efforts to confront Spain's digital divide, particularly the lagging usage of the internet in rural areas and small towns, led to a sustained attempt to create a robust local digital community. As a large share of the town's population became involved, the InfoBrion website came to reflect their interests and priorities, which were often at odds with the detached views of academics and experts. The collective effort of Brion's residents to construct a digital representation of their lives, history, culture, and community served their purposes, as it should. While the results ranged from the intriguing to the trivial, it is important that such efforts be evaluated in terms of their utility and consequences. In short, whether viewed as an exemplar of William James's pragmatism or a Habermasian ideal speech situation, this example illustrates the profound epistemological as well as utilitarian implications of digital deep mapping. "Truth" whatever that may be, or knowledge in general never float in some apatial, asocial void, but can only exist when laced through the contours of everyday life and meaning.

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