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Theory Culture Society published online 18 October 2013

DOI: 10.1177/0263276413503691

The online version of this article can be found at: http://tcs.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/10/08/0263276413503691

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0(0) 1–17
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DOI: 10.1177/0263276413503691
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Abstract

This article considers how networked large urban screens can act as a platform for the creation of an experimental transnational public sphere. It takes as a case study a specific Australia-Korea cultural event that linked large screens in Federation Square, Melbourne, and Tomorrow City, Incheon, through the presentation of SMS-based interactive media art works. The article combines theoretical analyses of global citizenship, mobility, digital technologies, and networked public space with empirical analyses of audience response research data collected during the screen event. The central argument is that large public screens can offer a strategic site for examining transformations in the constitution of public agency in a digitized, globalized environment. The idea of 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' is finally proposed as a conceptual framework for understanding how new forms of transnational public agency in mediated public spaces might operate.

Keywords

cosmopolitan imaginary, large screens, participatory culture, public space, public sphere

Introduction

As contemporary cities become increasingly media dense environments, it is important to re-examine our understanding of public space and the modes for transnational exchange. The delimitations of spatial and social relations in the urban context are now complemented by the new patterns of mobility and forms of agency that are enabled by media infrastructure. Public screens offer a strategic site for examining this transformation.

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This essay focuses on a specific artistic and research project that is being conducted via the networking of public screens in Seoul and Melbourne. It combines a contextual overview of the use of public screens in art projects, reflection on the curatorial engagement of artists for the project, commentary on the public interface from civic stakeholders and audience research teams, as well as theoretical speculation on the emergence of a cosmopolitan imaginary. The aim of this essay is to examine the ways in which the networking of public screens can serve as a space for transnational exchange and extend the frontiers of aesthetic and public participation.

In the three and a half decades since the erection of the landmark Spectacolor Board on the old New York Times building, large screens have found a home in two principal urban sites: premium sporting venues and iconic city centre locations such as Times Square or Hachiko Crossing. These different locations favour distinct models of screen usage and modes of spectatorship. Where stadium screens primarily support live events such as sport or live rock concerts by providing close-up vision and replays for large-scale audiences, street screens are mostly used as versatile electronic billboards for advertising. However, in recent years an increasing number of screens have been constructed in more traditional public spaces such as city squares and plazas rather than high traffic thoroughfares (McQuire et al., 2008). These settings favour more varied forms of programming, including ambient art-based content.

While it is too early to offer an exhaustive typology of possible screen uses, three alternative models are evident: i) public space broadcasting; ii) civic partnership; and iii) art. These approaches are united by the decision to show little or no advertising, and instead seek to display a new range of content, as well as foster new institutional partnerships and develop new practices of public spectating.

Public space broadcasting is exemplified by the 'Big Screen' network in the UK, which comprises some 19 screens in different cities at the time of writing (BBC, 2011). The BBC is the primary content provider for this screen network, although initially each screen was established as a standalone installation involving partnerships between the BBC and a mix of local government, cultural institutions and universities. In cities such as Liverpool, the screens have been deployed for a wide range of innovative community-related content, including interactive games and cultural events from music to sport. However, by late 2008, all screens were integrated into a formally structured network. This was partly driven by the BBC's desire to develop a standardized and more cost effective model for screen installation, but also reflects the ongoing cost of producing significant amounts of innovative local screen content (Gibbons, 2008).

The civic partnership model is typified by Federation Square (Fed Square; see Figure 1), a public space in central Melbourne with a



Figure 1. National apology broadcast at Fed Square, Melbourne. Photograph by David Simmonds. Courtesy Fed Square.

number of major cultural institutions as tenants. It includes a large screen facing onto the main plaza and is managed on behalf of the State Government by Fed Square Pty Ltd. When the site opened in 2002, the screen was used primarily to display commercial television programming. Since the appointment of Kate Brennan as CEO in 2005, Fed Square has increasingly sought to use the large screen to support the wide variety of events it hosts annually (McQuire and Martin, 2009). This has involved curating and even producing a range of screen content, including experimental film and video seasons, as well as original programming relevant to specific communities.

The art model has been developed most fully by CAS (Contemporary Art Screen) located in Zuidas, an urban precinct bridging Schipol airport and the centre of Amsterdam. While sharing some characteristics with Fed Square (non-commercial, non-broadcast content), CAS Zuidas is distinguished by its commitment to displaying moving images in a public context. At least 80 per cent of its content is contemporary video art.

Urban screens used in these ways clearly offer different opportunities and raise different problems. For example, in Australia, urban planning policy often treats large screens as if they were static billboards. This underestimates the possibilities for public screens to be sites that incubate innovative artistic and communication modes. In order to provide informed urban planning guidelines, we need to develop a clearer understanding of the full spectrum of potential uses of public screens.

In contrast to small, personalized screens, large screens enable collective forms of public participation, which is not only distinct from older media such as television and cinema, but also from older cultural institutions such as art galleries and museums. Of course, the alternative screen models described above are exceptions rather than the rule, and the interventions they have so far enabled are modest. Nevertheless, they signal the fact that urban screens constitute an expanding communication platform with some novel and as yet largely untapped possibilities.

Large Screens and the Transnational Public Sphere

In 2008 we initiated a research project investigating the possibility of using large screens as a communication platform for an experimental transnational public sphere.² The project involves linking major public screens located in Australia and Korea to present networked urban media events involving specifically commissioned creative content. From the outset our research was designed to address the logistical issues concerning the compatibility between different media digital communication systems, alongside with an investigation into civic policy issues of public display, as well as experimentation with artistic initiatives that would be meaningful and attractive to different audiences. Against this awareness of the technical, curatorial and policy challenges there was also the recognition that urban space is already a media rich environment, and that everyday life is increasingly shaped by new patterns of global mobility. What kinds of new creative practices would enable us to test all of the above challenges facing large screens while at the same time exploring the possibility of transforming them into a platform for a transnational public sphere?

This article focuses on the first urban media event staged in this project: a telematic event that linked a large screen in Tomorrow City, Incheon, with a large screen in Fed Square, Melbourne. The aim of this event was to investigate whether networked transnational screens could be used to prompt a new kind of transnational public exchange. There is already extensive discussion on the formation of transnational cultural spaces (for example Mörtenböck and Mooshammer, 2008). Our goal was to commission contemporary interactive artworks that went beyond provision of public information, or person to person communication, so as to allow contingent groups of public actors in different public spaces to participate in a cross-cultural dialogue. Contemporary art was chosen as the platform for facilitating this exchange because there is a strong trend within contemporary art practice towards engaging with issues of global scope, proposing interactive methods of public participation and experimenting with critical forms of cross-cultural dialogue. By bringing together a globally oriented art practice with the communicative potential of large screens we aimed to explore the emergence of new forms of 'publicness' and transnational cultural agency within a networked urban environment.

Media technologies have long helped to orchestrate the social relations of space and time in the modern city (McOuire, 2008). However, contemporary digital media have taken the relation between media and urban space to a new level of interdependence. The threshold of geomedia differentiates the urban space of contemporary megacities from their historical predecessors (Thielmann, 2010). Geomedia signals a new spatialization of media platforms in two related senses. First, compared to the dominant media platforms of the 20th century (cinema, radio, television), contemporary media operate in a far wider range of settings. From a paradigm conditioned by relative scarcity, in which one had to travel to particular, fixed and even specialized sites (such as the cinema) in order to watch, listen, or be connected, we are entering a new paradigm of ubiquity. From personal hand-held mobile devices to large-scale embedded LED screens, media now routinely permeate urban space. Second, media are rapidly incorporating GPS systems, thus broadening the potential for use of place-specific data and context-aware applications.

The political valence of this shift is uneven. On the one hand, digital media infrastructure enables new modes of collective appropriation of public space. On the other, geomedia intensifies the potential commodification of urban environments, leveraging the modern culture of urban spectacle into individualized data collection and 'real time' tracking of users. Large screens offer a strategic vantage point for examining these contradictory forces. They provide an ideal mediated platform for the convergence of technology, place, community and body. The communicative potential of second-generation large screens and their incorporation into artistic practices was the focus of this grand experiment.

Art, Screens and the Cosmopolitan Imaginary

Cosmopolitan imagination is key to the development of a transnational public sphere: by giving rise to the formation of globalized citizenship, it also highlights its associated ethical and political responsibilities. A cosmopolitan imagination requires us to constantly reconfigure our relationship with 'other' cultures while maintaining a willingness to negotiate our own identity. Urbanism is a crucial part of that process, through its shaping of the material spaces within which cultural exchanges are configured. Hence, the public spaces of cosmopolitan cities are at the forefront of broader social and cultural changes.

Contemporary art provides a useful starting point for questioning the interplay between the new communicative technologies, the changing demographic composition of urban spaces and the traditional civic structures. Art has long been engaged in the reconfiguration of the

cosmopolitan imagination by shaping the global landscape of politics and culture (Papastergiadis, 2012). Art is not just a tool of reflection and representation but also a means for changing our ways of communication, imagination and interpretation (Meskimmon, 1996). The critical exchange led by artistic practice envisages the potential for a new dialogue – an embodied expression of locational identity that nonetheless preserves a space of difference.

Large screens offer a new mechanism for adding these dimensions to public spaces. They highlight the ways that interactive technologies create new possibilities for experiencing time, space and community. The public squares and large screens at Fed Square, Melbourne, and Tomorrow City, Incheon, are similarly equipped with both the assets and desire to connect the local with the global. Since opening in 2002, Fed Square's large public screen has become a key part of Melbourne's civic identity. In 2010, the screen site was the locus of over 2400 different cultural and political events – from large-scale events such as New Year's Eve celebrations, to multicultural community festivals, political protests, and presentations of public art. These multifaceted opportunities for public engagement increase the sociological significance of the site. But the scope of public activation within this space also rests upon Fed Square's capacity to connect with communities beyond its immediate constituents. Too often large public screens replicate existing models of passive content delivery, thus shutting down avenues for civic engagement. And while part of the content displayed at Fed Square is passive, the programming also includes live, interactive and media art content that has the potential to activate cross-cultural and transnational communities.

The transnational dimension of this project was developed in partner-ship with the Korean media art organization Art Center Nabi in Seoul, who established the link to the large screen in Tomorrow City. As one of Asia's major seaports, Incheon fits the paradigm that urban theorist Mike Davis describes as 'imagineered urbanism', in which 'all the arduous intermediate stages of commercial evolution have been telescoped or short-circuited to embrace the "perfected" synthesis of shopping, entertainment and architectural spectacle' (Davis, 2006: 54). Updating Archigram's 1960s vision of the 'instant city', Tomorrow City is intended to be the world's best-known example of a 'smart city' aiming at encouraging new inflows of capital, business, technology, language and labour into the already complex local topography. Upon its completion in 2014, it is intended to comprise state-of-the-art high-rise apartments, five-star hotels, international schools and firms, and world-famous luxury department stores all connected through ubiquitous computing.

However, like many Asian megacities, Tomorrow City confronts the challenges of environmental damage, congestion, and a major shortage of space. In attempting to manage these modern urban problems, the



Figure 2. Launch of Tomorrow City, Incheon, 2009. Courtesy Art Center Nabi.

notion of 'intelligent urbanization' is employed.³ This idea converges with industrial and governmental interests around the information technology sector in Korea, and particularly around the building of 'smart' megacities (Bae, 2010; Yoo, 2010). In recent years, leading Korean corporations such as LG, Samsung and SK have announced new business visions that reveal interests in creating 'mobile smart cities' and/or 'ubiquitous (U) cities' (Son, 2010; Kim, 2010; Myung, 2011).

Tomorrow City (see Figure 2) is one such example within Incheon: built by SK, it is a smart city in miniature, encompassing a space of over 47,000 square metres, including the U-Transit Center, U-City Vision Center, U-Mall, and U-Square (all named to reflect the overarching theme of 'ubiquitous city') where audiences can experience cutting-edge service (Ko, 2009; Kim, 2010). The development of such 'smart megacities' is born out of a pragmatic intersection between the IT industry's desire to implement new mobile technology business models and the Korean government's desire to respond to global concern over issues such as environmental sustainability.

The large screen in Tomorrow City's public plaza typifies these tensions. From the outset, this screen was designed as part of a 'soft' infrastructure aiming to enhance the socio-cultural interactions of its citizenry. However, given the commercial orientation of Korea's many urban screens, there was little experience in developing programming for

this purpose. Although there are literally hundreds of public screens in Korea, almost all are dedicated primarily to advertising. The big challenge for the screen in 'Tomorrow City' is how to design programmes that are not about capturing the attention of people in transit but to function as an 'anchored' public portal where the local can interact with the global.

Curating for a Transnational Public

A major curatorial priority for this project was not to present an already existing set of content but to discover a new template for content generation and sharing. Like any communication technology, large screens are necessarily mediated, but it is the possibility of discovering a new interplay with live-ness – with active public participation in multiple locations through creative triggers – that is the core driver of our project. This ambitious aim – to pioneer cross-cultural and transnational real time public interaction via the two urban screens – brought with it a number of curatorial challenges.

As tradition and etymology define the role, a curator acts as a caretaker responsible for the immediate needs and long-term survival of art works. But over the past 50 years or more, the curator has also been charged with caring for artists and for the events that transpire around artists. Indeed, with the rise of 'participatory' cultural phenomena such as performance art, relational aesthetics (Bourriaud, 1998) and interactive installations, the curator has become a behind-the-scenes producer as well as a creative diplomat (Rand and Kouris, 2007; White and Thompson, 2008). Curators assist artists and audiences whilst nurturing the development of the work: the transformation of a germinal idea into something aesthetically mature, an object or event both stimulating and continuous in the mind and the emotions. The combined activity and passivity expected from the curator brings with it a particular kind of tension that is played out within specific social and institutional contexts.

Traditionally, the institutional context that best serves curatorial activity is the art world. This is a place – or perhaps it is a state of mind – governed by managerial and behavioural conventions that have been finessed to complement the processes and products of artists. However, with the rise of socially engaged practices intent on challenging established art world norms, there are many curators, artists and participants for whom the 'outside world' is now the logical domain for artistic encounters. The rules are wider and wilder out there in the world of vernacular experience, a world that caters to a great many more concerns than 'the artistic'. How then does one curate well in such looser contexts?

For example, how can one most effectively curate interactive artworks that are designed for large screens situated in public space? These sites tend to be embroiled within numerous legal and technological contexts that can be inimical to artistic development and presentation. The screens are 'public' precisely because they carry their sound and image streams into the civic domain, a domain soaked with contrasting cultural values and managed demands. Messages and pulses of emotion that are tolerated or encouraged in the art world do not necessarily travel well into this realm. In managing this volatile terrain, the curator often acts as mediator or broker between multiple, seemingly incommensurate agents. The trick is to find the common ground so as to realize shared aspirations. It is an exercise in negotiation and creative compromise, diplomacy and deal making.

This set of challenges was put to the test on 7 August 2009, when two works of art – *SMS_origins* and *<Value>* – were presented simultaneously on networked screens in Incheon and Melbourne during an event called 'Come Join Us, Mr Orwell!' (after the work by Nam June Paik). This was a world first live link-up that allowed public audiences in different countries to communicate with each other via digital art and SMS texting. *SMS_origins* (see Figures 3 and 4) was conceived and designed by Australian artists Leon Cmielewski and Josephine Starrs in collaboration with programmer Adam Hinshaw. On the screen, a map of the world is displayed alongside a mobile phone number. Participants in the space are invited to SMS their country of origin to the number on the screen. When an SMS is sent, a vector tracing the 'origins' of the



Figure 3. SMS_Origins, Leon Cmielewski, Josephine Starrs and Adam Hinshaw, 2009. Courtesy the artists.



Figure 4. SMS_Origins, Leon Cmielewski, Josephine Starrs and Adam Hinshaw, 2009. Courtesy the artists.

participant (linking their birth place and their parents' birth places) appears in real time on the map. As texts are sent and received, the screen becomes geographically alive, and communicates personal histories to the collective audience gathered around the screens in different cities.

Based on similar technology, the concept, design and programming of Seung Joon Choi's *Value*> (see Figure 5) explores what is important to people and what they 'value' within their urban environments. The work posed the question: 'As a member of the future city, what do you think is the most important value?' As participants in Melbourne and Tomorrow City texted their responses, keywords appeared on the two screens, accompanied by water ripple images. The rippling and size of the words expanded or contracted depending on the importance assigned to the value. The words included 'love', 'networking', 'home' or 'joy'. Choi says that 'pursuing or choosing values in our lives can lead to vital decisions at times' (2009). *Value*> suggests that we take a step back and explore whether it is possible to harmonize different values across time and space. This topic on 'value' allows the common sharing of something new in two cultures.

Apart from curatorial difficulties, staging interactive artworks through networked large screens also presents other issues. Administrators of large screens bear hefty civic responsibilities, including public liability

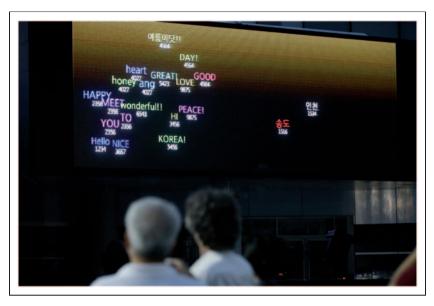


Figure 5. < Value>, Seung Joon Choi, 2008. Courtesy Art Center Nabi.

and the maintenance of corporate and stakeholder interests. These administering agencies often employ media units to coordinate content delivery for public screens without jeopardizing budget, corporate message and schedule. Typically, the media units responsible for public screen events are modelled on those of broadcast television. This ensures that events are closely scripted and controlled so that the programming runs smoothly, and there is no 'dead air' or anything 'off message' on screen. But it also means that communication is prescribed and 'safe', with limited interactivity. This is the opposite of what we wanted to achieve through the presentation of SMS Origins and < Value>. We were interested in spontaneous communal participation and momentby-moment evolution: the artworks themselves are configured as dynamic interfaces involving unpredictable elements. The challenge, still being explored and negotiated in most public institutional contexts involving large screens, is to empower the hesitant, experimental and recursive methods of artists so that both the risk and unpredictability inherent to artistic process are accepted, respected and incorporated.

A New Kind of 'Civic' Engagement

Architects, urban planners and designers tend to idealize the public sphere as a place where people from diverse backgrounds can gather to share information and make their voices heard. In reality, as Habermas (1991) has argued, even the Hellenic public sphere was never a social revolution by people at the base; rather it was an exemplar of a powerful ideology maintained by the intellectual class. It seems that the idea of a spontaneous public sphere requires more agencies and mediating in order for it to house democratic participation. A key original aim of this research project was to show how a transnational public sphere might function within a mediated global context. We envisioned the contemporary city as a living organism that expresses in real time its emotional and physical states. We were dreaming of a new transnational collectivity based on diversity. This is possible with today's media. The large screen works as a window to other cultures, airing cultural and artistic contents from around the world. But as the city develops and its inhabitants increase, it becomes clearer that public art should also be able to question our notion of the 'civic', reflecting on it, asking if there are any holes, rather than conforming to it. The term 'civic' can be refined and redefined by good public art. In the end, it is a process of cultural negotiation. We wanted to propose new modes of experience to share with and between people, and a new template for content delivery – across countries, across screens. Mediated by technology, but inherently live.

Issues of mobility, both material and immaterial, become critical in this context. As a new material base to consider claims to cultural citizenship, large screens call to task the power of discourses and practices in shaping mobility and immobility. From the production cycle of curating and technological networking, to the consumption of its practice as an event, such exchanges highlight the politics of access and distribution that underpin the mobilities proffered by the large screen. As Cresswell has critically claimed:

There is clearly a politics to material movement. Who moves furthest? Who moves fastest? Who moves most often?... There is also a politics of representation. How is mobility discursively constituted? What narratives have been constructed about mobility? How are mobilities represented?...[T]here is a politics of mobile practice. How is mobility embodied? How comfortable is it? Is it forced or free?... The fact of movement, the represented meanings attached to it, and the experienced practice are all connected. (Cresswell, 2010: 21)

But mobility in a transnational public sphere is not just shaped by 'material movement, representation, and practice'. The use of geomedia technologies in $SMS_Origins$ and <Value> show that there is clearly potential for large screens to shape democratic participation through immaterial movement, virtual representation and aesthetic practices.

Transcultural Citizenship and Cultural Consumption

During the live telematic broadcast of SMS Origins and < Value > , audience response research was conducted through surveys of participants at both sites. Korean responses to the event revealed a high rate of participation with the interactive art works on the large screen. The respondents in Tomorrow City were predominantly urban Seoul dwellers in the age group between 20 and 40. Although older people and those from the surrounding rural province of Incheon did not participate, more than three-quarters of the audience engaged with the works using text messages, and considered such interactions successful in forging cross-cultural ties. Many also expressed enchantment towards the new art forms shown on the large screen. These experiences of enchantment and shock reflected the high modernity of the megacity, as envisioned by Tomorrow City planners. Although audiences were acutely aware of the top-down urban regeneration of their environment, their responses revealed how the networked screen could potentially create a transcultural space mediated by their individual experiences of media consumption (Yue and Jung, 2011).

In Melbourne, SMS responses to the work showed that the participants were themselves migrants or had family members who had experienced migration. In analysing these participants' responses, it appeared that most embraced the ideology of a multicultural Australia – the idea of Australia as a country of migrants – as most reacted positively to the diverse ethnographic demographic of users in the square. It is worth noting here too that the broader political climate in Australia at this time was marked by rising racial anxiety, as issues of migration dominated public discourse.

If we transpose Umberto Eco's (1962) influential understanding of the 'open work' to this context, we can recognize that the openness of digital texts coupled to the rise of geomedia has generated new possibilities for creating 'open works' based not only on public spectating but mass public participation. By instigating new forms of social interaction that ask us to re-imagine the models of communication sustained by networked media in public space - in other words, by inventing new modes of becoming public – urban screens might help us to understand how contemporary public spaces might function as sites for innovative forms of collaboration and collective participation. This, however, brings us to the question of what conceptual framework is there for making sense of these new forms of transnational dialogue that occur in public spaces mediated by large screens. We conclude by suggesting that a theory of aesthetic cosmopolitanism could provide the conceptual framework for understanding the new forms of transnational agency that occur in public spaces mediated by large screens.

Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism and Large Urban Screens

Cosmopolitanism is the product of an idea of the world and an ideal form of global citizenship. Everyone who is committed to it recalls the phrase first used by Socrates: 'I am a citizen of the world'. This idea that one could claim a moral connection to the whole world was passed on to Crates, and in turn he taught Zeno who developed a school (later named the Stoics) that gathered in the stoa – the arcades that surrounded the agora of Ancient Athens (Papastergiadis, 2012). The Stoics were the first school of philosophy to develop a coherent and comprehensive vision of cosmopolitanism. They envisaged that cosmopolitanism was not only a moral duty towards strangers and a political system for universal governance, but also an aesthetic engagement with cultural difference. Is it a coincidence that this cosmopolitan imaginary was named after the complex topology of the stoa? The stoa was a shelter from the sun and rain without becoming an enclosed room. It was an in-between and transitional space, neither outside nor inside. Departures and arrivals are signalled in a vague manner within the stoa. One could hover, browse, eavesdrop, rub shoulders and move on. Conversations could commence through casual interruptions, in a site of gossip, rumour and information.

Why did these cosmopolitan philosophers choose to meet in the stoa? One can only assume it was a deliberate attempt to gain a relative distance from the other available spaces. Between the private space of the *oikos* (home) – where personal needs and interest could be expressed freely – and the public space of the *bouleuterion* (parliament) – which was a deliberative venue in which community defined its collective norms and structures without being beholden to any private interests – there was the *agora* – a relatively open space of presentation, speculation and exchange. The stoa exists alongside the oikos, the agora and the bouleuterion. It is therefore at arm's length from the sites of privacy, commerce, and deliberation.

We imagine the stoa as a spatial metaphor for the emergence of critical consciousness within the transnational public sphere. It is a space for criticality without the formal requirement of political deliberation, and sociality without the duty of domestication. The stoa is the pivot point at which private and public spheres interact and from which the cosmopolitan vision unfolds. The mediated activities that unfold between large screens and public squares are an articulation of the contemporary stoa. If we are to grasp a cosmopolitan sense of being and belonging from the vantage point of the stoa, then the live telematic of two screens in the public squares of Tomorrow City and Melbourne can be viewed in a new light. Looking back at the potential role for a large screen in the formation of a transnational public sphere, we can also see how this claim converges with the discourse on the topology of a cosmopolitan imaginary in contemporary art practice. Thinking the place of art within

this context is more than jumping from either the local to the global, the private (oikos) to the public (bouletrion), or even the singular to the universal. It is more like the liminal zone of the stoa.

Notes

- 1. Tomorrow City is one of many newly developed areas in Songdo. Located in the Southwest of Incheon, Songdo is the largest among the fifteen planned ubiquitous cities in South Korea. Tomorrow City's main urban infrastructures consisting of a central plaza and a six story building are fused with ubiquitous technologies to reflect the theme of 'Smart City'.
- 2. The ARC Linkage Project 'Large Screens and the Transnational Public Sphere' (2009–13) is a partnership between the University of Sydney, the University of Western Australia, The Australia Council for the Arts, Art Center Nabi, Fed Square, and the University of Melbourne. See www.spatialaesthetics.unimelb.edu.au/ for details
- 3. Tomorrow City has designated 40% of its space to be officially 'green', highlighted by its centrepiece, Central Park. Every building in the city is intended to be certified for energy efficiency by the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED), and the city is designed to emit one-third of the greenhouse gases of a typical metropolis its size (approximately 300,000 people during the day). Mayor Song Young-Gil has said, 'We continue to recognize the importance of informational technology in the development of IFEZ and feel this is the way for us to generate economic growth in an environmentally sustainable manner' (cited in Jeong, 2010).

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