The City Expressed: Everyday Media Production and the Urban Environment

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ABSTRACT

Our interactions with cities are increasingly mediated through a complex array of technologies, including location-aware mobile devices and a vast number of online platforms. However, we often also use these tools to create content about the places that we live in and travel through. My thesis examines what I define as “place-based media,” that is, user-generated content produced about place. This content – photos of street life, overheard quotes, and local reviews, for example – emerges out of daily routines, and has a reciprocal relationship with the urban environment, both contributing to, as well as reflecting the life of the city.

In this thesis, I aim to explore the relationship between the technologies and practices involved in the production of place-based media. In my approach, I situate place-based media within relevant historical precedents, such as street photography. In addition, I examine content produced about a single neighborhood, Central Square, Cambridge, in order to better understand the social and affective qualities of content that is created in dialogue with place. Ultimately, this project examines the production of place-based media as an everyday urban practice, with an eye towards the potential implications these media could have for contemporary cities and city neighborhoods.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In an alley off of Massachusetts Avenue (known colloquially as “Mass Ave”), in the heart of Central Square, Cambridge, there exists an 81-foot wall of ever changing graffiti. The project, named simply The Wall, is one of the most striking examples of public art in the city. The Wall began in 2007, with support from the Cambridge Arts Council, as a collaboration between a street art collector and a restaurant owner.\footnote{Clarence Smith Jr., “The Wall at Central Square,” The American Project, January 6, 2012, http://www.americanproject.tv/content/the-wall-at-central-square.html} As described by a post on the WGBHArts Blog:

The Wall at Central Square was unveiled a few years ago as a safe place for everyday folks and renowned street artists alike to come and spray, draw, or paint their visions for all to see. On any given day, passersby can find personal tags, memorial tributes, or fantastical designs – all part of a dynamic, morphing tableau very much suited to the energy for which this neighborhood is famed.\footnote{Mary Tinti, “Public Art Tour: The Wall at Central Square,” WGBHArts, August 8, 2012, http://www.wgbh.org/wgbharts/Article.cfm?articleID=6982}

Although large and arresting, the physical wall itself is the side of a restaurant, tucked away in an alley. The project may not be immediately obvious when walking down the busy sidewalk that runs past, and it is certainly easy to miss when driving through the stretch of Mass Ave that makes up the heart of Central Square. Yet, at any given time, it is common to find people working on, admiring, and photographing the overlapping works of street art.
When looking at Central Square on Google Maps, the alley housing *The Wall* is labeled “graffiti alley” (although its official name is “Modica Way”). Zooming down to the street on the map brings up a 360-degree panorama of Mass Ave created by one of Google’s Street view cars,³ as well as an icon that leads to a collection of photos posted on the Panoramio platform (Figure 1-1). In this gallery, which opens up directly on top of the Street View, *The Wall* is impossible to miss. The intricate works of graffiti that make up the project understandably draw attention from photographers, who in certain instances, upload their photos to online platforms such as Panoramio, which invites people to “Share and explore the world in photos.”⁴ In turn, Google pulls these photos into their Maps application, creating a gallery of photos from the area taken by residents and visitors who were compelled to share their images with a wider audience.

⁴ http://www.panoramio.com/
On Flickr, a popular photo-sharing platform, searching on the tag “Central Square” will similarly bring forth a gallery of photos that were for the most part taken in Central Square, Cambridge. This gallery is made up images of *The Wall*, of Mass Ave at various times of day, of music and theater performances that occurred in the neighborhood, and of various Central Square inhabitants. All of these photos are tagged with the phrase “Central Square,” but they are often additionally categorized and described with other forms of metadata, and can reference the neighborhood in more than one way. Some images are added to public Flickr groups by their authors, such as a group dedicated specifically to images of *The Wall*, called “The Wall at Central Square”\(^5\) (Figure 1-2), or a group titled “Cambridge, Massachusetts,” whose description reads “We love Boston, but the flavor of Cambridge is so different that it needs its own [photo] pool.”\(^6\) Some photos include a geotag, the geographic coordinates of the exact location where they were taken, which locates them in Central Square on Flickr’s map search. Metadata in these examples – geographic coordinates, user-added semantic tags, and links to place-oriented content groups – all function to conceptually tie media content to the places that they represent.

\(^5\) “The Wall at Central Square,” http://www.flickr.com/groups/wallatcentralsquare/
\(^6\) “Cambridge, Massachusetts,” http://www.flickr.com/groups/cambridgema/
These photo galleries and map-based visualizations, whether they exist as part of organized groups and curated sets, or are created dynamically in response to search queries, are themselves representations of Central Square. Much like the “morphing tableau” of The Wall, they are constantly changing and being added to. Textual representations of Central Square also proliferate online. A search for Central Square on Twitter, a popular microblogging platform, will bring up tweets (140-character text messages) that link to news items, plan social gatherings, or share pictures relating to the neighborhood. On Yelp, a platform for local business reviews, Central Square itself has been reviewed 90 times. Reviewers variously celebrate the neighborhood:

“Central square is full of bustling energy; interesting restaurants, other assorted places, and people!”

Mock and criticize it:

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7 Merriam-Webster defines microblogging as “blogging done with severe space or size constraints typically by posting frequent brief messages about personal activities”
8 http://www.yelp.com/biz/central-square-cambridge#hrid:5z87f98_cd-fiv_R6ZvdDA
“Poor Central Sq. No matter what happens, it will always be a squalid hot pot of homeless people waiting for shelters to open and hipsters waiting for clubs to open.”  

And even provide meta-commentary about other reviews:

“the opinions here on yelp seem to be tending towards two extremes: central square is charming and funky, or central square is sketchy and horrifying. these are both false. these are both true. ha! no one will never figure out central square or pin it down properly--and that's exactly what i like about it.”

All of this content is representative of how our interactions with cities are shifting in conjunction with emerging media technologies. This includes not only accessing content about places in the city, but creating and sharing this content as well. This project is motivated by an interest in the “images” of the city that arise from everyday, mediated interactions with urban environment. Looking at media produced about Central Square, Cambridge, a heterogeneous and mixed-used neighborhood, allows me to observe a variety of types of place-oriented content, and ground them within a specific urban context. Through this thesis, I focus on practices and technologies that are well suited to daily urban routine. Ultimately, we are now in a period in which a vast amount of media about cities and city neighborhoods is produced constantly, and this media, which can be accessed from anywhere, has potential implications for the places that they are in dialogue with.

Images of the city

In “The Image and the City,” Kevin Lynch’s highly influential work on the relationship between a city and its image, he writes:

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9 http://www.yelp.com/biz/central-square-cambridge#hrid:zgfoMXSh3oKxn4pwrI2mjw
10 http://www.yelp.com/biz/central-square-cambridge#hrid:W2ukx2AMkTAFQpwOvssVCg
We can look for references to the environmental image in many places: in literature ancient and modern, in books of travel or exploration, in newspaper accounts, or in psychological and anthropological studies. Such references are generally scattered, but are frequent and revealing. While skimming through them, we will learn something about how such images are formed, what some of their characteristics are, and how they seem to play a social, psychological, and esthetic, as well as a practical part in our lives.11

The “image” of the city, as Lynch used the term, referred to the “mental image” of the city that residents hold and use to navigate their built environment.12 His concept of image was tied to what he defined as the “imageability” of a city, that is, the physical qualities that give a city a “high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer.” Lynch wrote that a highly imageable city would “seem well formed, distinct, remarkable” and would “invite the eye and ear to greater attention and participation.”13 In a broader sense, Alberto Vanolo notes that the image of the city can be understood to refer to the “the general meaning and idea of a place,” which “is not formed only by visual elements, but also by many other elements.”14 This image, describes Vanolo, can arise from the physical form of the city, but also importantly, the immaterial components:

the habits, routines, institutions, and organizations regulating the life of the inhabitants, and in addition to discourses about the city, stereotypes concerning the attitudes of the inhabitants, and descriptions from tourist guides, movies, slogans, and local-marketing campaigns.15

Image, in this sense, refers not just how a city or urban neighborhood is conceptualized as an environment to navigate through, but how we perceive it as a place, and assign value to it. It is closely tied to the concept of sense of place, a term used by urban planners, architects, and sociologists, which generally relates to an individuals perception of a

11 Lynch, The Image of the City, 123.
12 Ibid., 2–3.
13 Ibid., 9–10.
15 Ibid.
place that is formed from personal experiences with that place. The image of the city, however, can be mediated through various means, and any media that represent or communicate information about a place (individual images of the city) contribute to this broader, overarching image.

For example, in the realm of popular culture, certain works are more place-oriented than others, and can be thought of as about, or for, a specific city. In fictional and documentary films alike, cities often function more as characters than backdrops, imbued with distinct personalities. These representations, while dramatized, aren’t necessarily removed from the reality of the city. Richard Dennis, speaking about urban artistic works from the late 19th and early 20th century, states that writers and artists of the city were often themselves “city dwellers,” which implies that we can treat their works as “expressions of everyday spatial practice,” or “representations grounded in the material reality of the city.” This can certainly be extended to more modern works about the city: Woody Allen’s Manhattan is a perhaps a prototypical example of this. David Fear describes the appreciation for New York that the film can re-instill:

> When you walk daily through crowded streets and rub elbows with fellow agitated citizens, it’s easy to take the titular borough for granted. Woody Allen’s love sonnet to the city he calls home reminds you what a gorgeous, grand sight this island really is from the moment that Gershwin-scored opening kicks in: the fish markets and basketball courts, the Fifth Avenue boutiques and Broadway theaters, the high-rise dwellers and lowlifes.

In popular music, songs about cities become anthems for locals. The song “Dirty Water,” written by The Standells in 1966 is played loudly and proudly in Fenway Park whenever

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16 For a look at the definitions of “sense of place” across disciplines see: Cross, “What Is Sense of Place?”.
17 Dennis, Cities in Modernity, 81.
the Boston Red Sox win a home game. While the song paints a fairly bleak picture of Boston, referencing the then heavily polluted Charles River and the city’s “buggers and thieves,” the refrain celebrates the city with the line: “I love that dirty water, Boston you’re my home.” While the Charles has since become much cleaner through a variety of environmental efforts, it will likely long be associated with the “dirty water” that flowed through it in decades past.

Apart from more expressive works, images are also produced by various city institutions. Newspapers, as mentioned by Lynch, disseminate “accounts” of the city within informational articles and op-eds. These sources of information have transitioned into the online realm, allowing for new forms of content. The Boston Globe, for example, highlights some of Central Square’s eclectic business and restaurants in an image gallery titled “A night out in Central Square.” In the Central Square installment of their “Visitor’s Guide Series” posted on YouTube, the Globe invites tourists to experience “gritty-bohemian vibe” of the neighborhood, highlighting its art stores and “eclectic cuisine.” Similarly, city governments present images of their municipalities through branding and tourism-oriented initiatives. The Cambridge Office for Tourism, a non-profit organization that serves the City of Cambridge, describes Central Square “as a constant multicultural festival [that] swings well into the night with a broad range of

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21 “Boston Visitors' Guide Series: Central Square,” http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tKY42t03GMs
musical offerings at the local pubs,” inviting visitors to “take a tour of the world’s cuisine including dishes from Asia, India, Italy, Africa, and the Caribbean.”

We’ve grown accustomed to the images of the city that we encounter in films, songs, and newspaper articles, but now, representations of urban life are created constantly as part of daily routine, and shared on a variety of online platforms. While the media about Central Square on Flickr, Yelp, and Twitter are captivating in their own right, they also reflect the practices of the inhabitants of the neighborhood, who produce content about the places they interact with. These practices, enabled by new media technologies, can certainly be seen as part of a broader movement towards a more “participatory” culture, which Henry Jenkins defines as having “relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement,” and “strong support for creating and sharing one’s creations.” In a participatory culture, elaborates Jenkins, “members believe their contributions matter, and feel some degree of social connection with one another.” Similarly, Axel Bruns defines the term “produsage” as a model which describes the “simultaneous production and usage” that occurs in “social software or Web 2.0 environments.” One of the key characteristics of produsage, states Bruns, is “a shift from dedicated individuals and teams as producers to a broader-based, distributed generation of content by a wide community of participants.” The community, in the case of user-generated content about place, can be thought of as a subset of the community of the place itself — not just the residents of Central Square, but those who, on any given day, experience the

22 See: http://www.cambridge-usa.org/visitors/cambridge/
neighborhood. The production of this content involves a distinct set of practices, as it results from experiences with, or reflections on a place. Vanolo notes the difference between the “internal” image of the city, that which is “perceived and reproduced by the local actors of the city,” and the external image, which is “the perception and representation of the city by (and for) people and organizations more or less extraneous to local life and symbols.” In online spaces, the internal and external images of a place intermingle, and those who are extraneous can access the internal images produced by those who are local.

**Space, place, and place-based media**

These everyday images of the city are examples of what I define as place-based media, that is, user-generated content that is in conversation with place. The term place-based media is purposefully reminiscent of “location-based media,” which describes digital media that has been tagged with geospatial coordinates, generally, latitude and longitude. Location-based media emerged as a concept with the introduction of location sensing into consumer products, which was made possible by the opening of the Geospatial Positioning System (GPS) for non-military use. While the two concepts terms are not mutually exclusive, place-based media operates on a different level. Location-based media generally speaks only to the existence of a specific type of metadata, a geotag. For example, a tweet that simply says “hello,” if geotagged within the boundaries of Central Square, would be considered as location-based media, however, it says nothing about the place within which it was produced. A digital photograph of a work of graffiti captioned

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with the phrase “Central Square” is an intentioned comment on a place (Central Square), and would be an example of place-based media.

The distinction is a fundamental one, rooted in the conceptual differences between space and place. Space is the abstract and undifferentiated area through which we move — geographic location can only speak to something or someone’s position in space. However, place, as Yi-Fu Tuan describes it, is the product of our experiences with space: “what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value.”

Place is space as it is lived, experienced, and perceived. As a space, Central Square is a collection of pathways and structures that fall within an (ill-defined) boundary. As a place, it is gritty, lively, charming, and sketchy, where people’s homes, workplaces, and favorite restaurants are located.

Thus, place-based media is not meant as a rigid category based on a specific technology, or a set of formal qualities, but a concept designed to address a range of practices and the various technologies that support those practices. All media is produced in a place, and could be argued to be about that place — a photo of a home-cooked meal taken in Central Square (and perhaps geotagged as such) could illustrate the type of food local to Central Square, or perhaps express the qualities of home life in Central Square. However, the action of tagging or captioning a photo with the phrase “Central Square” puts the photo in dialogue with the place in which it was taken. Producing place-based media involves not only the act of photographing or writing, but also the practices by which content is described and categorized with metadata. Geotagging, for example, is often automated in

26 Tuan, Space and Place, 6.
nature, while adding semantic tags requires explicit user action, and thus, reflects a higher level of intention. Depending on the platform on which it was created, tagging a photo with the phrase “Central Square” can have different implications about how that photo is accessed, discovered, and read, than one that is simply geotagged.

Yet, while place-based media is conceptually broader than location-based media, technologies that utilize measured location play a fundamental role in the how place is represented, as well as the mechanisms by which it is referenced. Ultimately, the goal of this project is to better understand the modern relationship between media technologies, media practices, and the urban environment. This necessitates an examination of various technologies involved in the production of place-based media, which in a digital realm includes a look at the application interfaces and through which they are created.

Throughout my inquiry, I also include explorations of relevant historical precedents in order to better contextualize contemporary practices. Additionally, I perform a qualitative analysis of place-based media produced about Central Square in Cambridge in order to understand what these practices articulate about the relation between urban places, and the individuals that live in or identify with these places.

In some ways, this project can be seen as complementary to Rekha Murthy’s analysis of the street media of Central Square. Street media, as defined by Murthy, are the “graffiti, stickers, murals, the flyers posted on light poles, and those we instinctively decline when someone tries to put one in our hands.” Murthy analyzes the “implicit and explicit” messages, and the “material and situational” qualities of a Central Square media

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ecosystem,\textsuperscript{28} one that she describes as a “a layer superimposed on the city's physical structure and layout, a patchwork that develops and changes both by design and by chance, and at varying tempos.”\textsuperscript{29} Writing in 2005, Murthy concludes with a notion that:

Perhaps, at some hypothetical later date when advanced mobile technologies become as ubiquitous as paper and pen, these will provide the kind of flexible (virtual) spaces for inscription that I have called for in the physical urban environment.\textsuperscript{30}

We have conceivably reached that date. While street media and place-based media entail a far different set of technologies and practices, in terms of access as well as production, they are both media ecosystems that maintain a reciprocal relationship with the urban environment, adding to and reflecting the everyday life of the city.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 59.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 123.
Chapter 2
Urban Space and Everyday Media Production

Central Square, located at the intersection of four dense neighborhoods, is one of the five major squares of Cambridge. It is officially designated as a commercial district of Cambridge, yet is generally referred to as a distinct neighborhood. Although the “neighborhood” of Central Square lacks a well-defined border, at its heart is a six-block stretch of Mass Ave along which sits a wide variety of restaurants, stores, and bars. The stretch is delimited by two major intersections – at the western intersection lies the Central Square Subway Station, and just beyond the eastern intersection begins the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) campus.

Central Square has historically been a lively and heterogeneous commercial center of Cambridge. At the turn of the 20th century, it was the primary site of Cambridge’s emerging downtown, and one of Cambridge’s most ethnically diverse areas. The opening of the Cambridge Subway stop in Central Square in 1912 served to consolidate the neighborhood’s position as Cambridge’s civic and business center. Between 1920 and 1950, according to the Central Square Business Association, the neighborhood “peaked in influence and prestige,” as “several department stores, two movie theatres, and dozens of small retailers served a large and relatively prosperous population.” In the 1960s,

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Cambridge was nearly torn in two by a proposed 8-lane highway that would have run directly through the heart of Central Square, a plan that was supported by MIT and Massachusetts's governor John Volpe. While strong opposition by residents finally convinced city officials to not build the highway ("Cambridge is a city not a highway", read protest signs) the 1960s and the decades that followed, as they were for many urban areas in the United States, were a time of high crime and decay for the neighborhood. This was brought on partly due to suburban flight and the loss of retail stores, and in the early 1980s, Central Square was home to frequent "drug-dealing, muggings, and break-ins." The 1990s, however, were a period of revival for the neighborhood, thanks in part to the $3.6-million implementation of the "Central Square Improvements Project Master Plan" which aimed to emphasize "Central Square's diversity and potential as a destination for residents and visitors." The plan was designed not just to improve the flow of traffic, but also the appearance of the neighborhood, and as a consequence, the general perception of the neighborhood.

The Red Ribbon report, the result of a commission of 120 Cambridge "residents, city planners, business operators, landowners, developers, and institutions" who were convened by Cambridge mayor David Maher in 2010, described the neighborhood as follows:

Central Square is Cambridge in microcosm. It is a uniquely diverse urban environment that is good in all the ways that Cambridge is good, and complicated

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5 Boyer, Crossroads, 184–187.
6 Ibid., 203.
in all the ways American cities are complicated. Central Square is the epitome of urbanism: no other district of similar size in Boston offers the same diversity and intensity of activities. In all of the Boston area, Central is truly special. 

In subsequent sections, the report variously describes the neighborhood as an “entertainment zone,” “emerging science and technology district,” “former downtown shopping district,” “emerging dining destination,” “social service node,” and a “diverse residential neighborhood.” The revival of Central Square that began at the turn of the 21st century has again accelerated in recent years, and Central Square has emerged as a seemingly popular destination for Cambridge residents. This revival, however, additionally means that large and potentially controversial changes for the neighborhood are not only on the horizon, but are currently underway.

An article in The Boston Phoenix titled “Will high-tech steal Central Square's gritty soul?” discusses the rapidly changing landscape of the eastern side of the neighborhood, painting an image of the Central Square’s potential (and likely) future:

A decade from now, the east end of Central Square will look nothing like the west. While homeless people will likely still sleep on stone benches in Carl Barron Plaza and revelers will still pour out of the Cantab Lounge at all hours, at the other end of Mass Ave thousands of tech professionals will go to work in gleaming new structures, shop at the new stores that line their ground floors, and eat at the high-end restaurants that are already springing up.

The article details the impending demolition of a block in east Central Square in order to make way for a “five-story, 240,000 square-foot MIT research facility.” This development is representative of the contrast between the “tremendous power” of MIT and its technology and biotechnology partners, who own a third of the square, and a

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“socioeconomically diverse neighborhood filled with mom-and-pop retailers, social-service providers, restaurants, and nightlife.” Part of the transformation of the east side of Central Square involves the redevelopment of old and unused industrial sites, largely left behind from the numerous confectionary manufacturers that used to characterize the area between Central Square and MIT. However, while not all local businesses and residents are opposed to the notion of an evolving neighborhood, the changing landscape of Central Square undoubtedly involves an element of gentrification. The neighborhood is likely to transition from “a place that has lots of stuff that caters to working-class Bostonians, or Haitian immigrants” towards “a place that’s interesting to MIT students and upper-middle-class tech professionals,” notes gentrification expert Richard Lloyd.

**Socially produced space**

The construction of the five-story research facility was stalled by a petition to downzone Central Square, a process that involves shrinking the size of parcels of land that are available to developers. Downzoning has the ultimate effect of lowering the density of an area by making land less suitable for large-scale development. A Central Square activist leading the downzoning petition summarized the groups concern in an article in *The Boston Globe*: “Having watched the march of big glass buildings down Main Street, we don’t want to see it turn the corner.” A blog post on the Cambridge Community

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11 Williamson, “Will high-tech steal Central Square’s gritty soul?”
Television site offered a competing view point, noting that while downzoning “might preserve the physical form of some of the neighborhood, it fails to bridle the forces that the petition acknowledges are transforming Cambridge.”

Although at the time of writing the petition has been withdrawn, the contest over how Central Square is zoned is a contest over what Henri Lefebvre defined as “representations of space” that is, the conceptualized space of “scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers.” As Richard Dennis describes, Lefebvre’s representations of space are part of the “discourse of the powerful” which dictates “how space should and will be organized.” The downzoning petition was an attempt to influence this discourse – space, as Lefebvre puts forth, is not an abstract concept, but is something that is socially produced. As illustrated by the Central Square downzoning debate, a various social forces are at play in shaping urban space, and representations of space are one of three components that Lefebvre outlines which are involved in this process. A second component to Lefebvre’s triad, “spatial practice,” embodies the association between “daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality.” Spatial practice relates to how a space is perceived – how the uses of a space are presupposed, and enacted by a society. The changes in representations of space will ultimately affect the

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15 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38.
16 Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*, 2.
18 Ibid., 38–40.
spatial practices of the neighborhood, altering the routines of those who work in, reside in, and frequent Central Square.

The third component, representational spaces, is the space that is “directly lived through its associated images and symbols” by its “inhabitants and users.” It is space as it is experienced, space “which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate.”19 As discussed, images of place certainly exist beyond the realm of the powerful, the politicians, and the planners. Every individual who lives in, works in, or travels through Central Square, while they might not voice it publically (or politically), carries with them an image of what the neighborhood is, and perhaps an image of what it should be. The contest between zoning can be seen as a contest between two images of Central Square held by its inhabitants: one that incorporates the gleaming, glassy structures of high-tech industry, and one that is tied to its grittier past – a similar, yet less radical contest than the one that occurred over the inner-belt highway plan in Central Square in the sixties. These images of Central Square that emerge from personal experiences with the neighborhood are part of the representational space as defined by Lefebvre. Dennis argues that “the diversity of spatial practices in cities conceptualized in the representations made by government, planners, reformers and ideologues” can be “challenged in the representational spaces appropriated by novelists, artists and a variety of marginalized or subaltern urban populations.”20 The production of media about Central Square by its inhabitants can thus be thought of as embodiments of representational space. Lee

19 Ibid.
20 Dennis, Cities in Modernity, 348.
Humphreys, in a study examining geotagged "notes" that were produced in an urban context, argued that:

The note as a form of communication through place becomes a means through which the place is revealed as spatial practice. The note as part of the story and self-presentation becomes the symbolic aspect of sociality, communication, and narrative, thus representing Lefebvre's representational space.\(^{21}\)

While everyday place-based media are unlikely to explicitly challenge representations of space in the same manner that a petition might, the creation and dissemination of images of the city can certainly be seen as an appropriation of a space as it is planned from above, and as a result, have potential implications for how this space is "produced" by the society which inhabits it.

**Everyday practices and presentations**

Central Square, as a mixed-use urban neighborhood, is the site of ongoing social, cultural, and political processes. However, Lewis Mumford wrote that in addition to an institution and an economic organization, the city could also be understood as a "theater of social action":

The city fosters art and is art; the city creates the theater and is theater. It is in the city, the city as theater, that man's more purposive activities are focused, and work out, through conflicting and cooperating personalities, events, groups, into more significant culminations.\(^{22}\)

Mumford argues that the "physical organization" of the city "must be subservient to its social needs."\(^{23}\) The city, as defined by Mumford, is unique not just because of its physical form, but also more importantly, because it is home to a specific set of social (or

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\(^{21}\) Humphreys and Liao, "Mobile Geotagging," 417.

\(^{22}\) Mumford, "What Is a City?", 94.

\(^{23}\) Ibid.
spatial) practices. From an everyday perspective, Nigel Thrift describes the “skills of expression” which are constantly deployed in the city, which “include all the everyday means of negotiating the city – driving the car, walking the pavement, crossing the street – and the knowledge stemming from those encounters.” “In turn,” describes Thrift, “these skills produce a city which is in constant flux.”

The skills of negotiating the contemporary city additionally involve the negotiation of digital information, for example, using Google Maps to orient oneself, browsing Yelp to find a restaurant, or searching Twitter to see why the subway is delayed.

The production and consumption of this media content are activities of the “cooperating personalities” of the city that Mumford describes. As discussed, these snippets of information (urban images) are produced not just by professionals and institutions, but by inhabitants as part of their everyday interactions with the city. Ben Highmore describes that in its basic sense, the term of “everyday” points “(without judging) to those most repeated actions, those most traveled journeys, those most inhabited spaces that make up, literally, the day to day.” The everyday as an “imaginative fiction” for “approaching social life,” elaborates Highmore, a fiction that “points to something unavoidable and inescapable, but it also points to something that in crucial ways is unformed.” It is along these lines that the term “everyday” is used in this project, describing media that are not well formed, but are products of daily urban routine.

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26 Ibid., 32.
Along with Lefebvre’s spatial triad, it seems useful to frame place-based media within other theories that stress the everyday as a “site of resistance, revolution and transformation” in order to hint at their broader implications. Michel de Certeau defined everyday practices as “ways of operating” that “constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users reappropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production.” As with Lefebvre’s representational spaces, de Certeau’s notion of everyday life involves the appropriation of space that is organized from above. He describes the practices “talking, reading, moving about, shopping, cooking,” as “tactical in character,” that is, practices which use and manipulate spaces. Most famously, de Certeau wrote of walking in the city as a practice that functions to subvert (or enunciate) the panoptic representations of the city as a planned and ordered space. Walking, he describes, is a process of “appropriation of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian.”

These “tactics,” as de Certeau defines them, function in resistance to “strategies” which are the plans of institutional actors, such as city maps, zoning schemes, and architectural blueprints (similar to Lefebvre’s spatial representations). Strategies, he describes, serve to “produce, tabulate, and impose” spaces. While de Certeau argues that everyday practices resist these strategies, Highmore speaks to the need to qualify resistance as it is used in de Certeau’s work:

while de Certeau does see some of the practices as inventively defiant, it would be more in keeping with de Certeau’s position to compare everyday life to ‘inner-speech’; that never-quite-heard rambling, conjuring up memories, and an uncensored response to life around us.

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27 Ibid., 17.
29 Ibid., 97.
30 Ibid., 30.
It is ultimately this notion of resistance in the everyday that I find most applicable to place-based media. Place-based media are resistant in the sense that they, unlike many other representational forms of the urban environment, often emerge as an uncensored response to an interaction with a place.

Along these lines, my approach towards place-based media is influenced by non-representational theory, a theory put forth by cultural geographer Nigel Thrift that calls for a focus on “practices, mundane everyday practices, that shape the conduct of human beings towards others and themselves in particular sites.”\(^{32}\) Thrift describes non-representational theory as concerned with the “performative ‘presentations’, ‘showings’ and ‘manifestations’ of everyday life.”\(^{33}\) Larsen defines a non-representational approach to media studies as one that:

moves the focus from consumption to how ordinary people, as creative, expressive, hybridized beings, use media technologies and produce media products, such as telephone calls, emails, music, film, web-pages and photographs.… It suggests that we also speak of people not only as consumers or audiences but also as producers.\(^{34}\)

As described by Catherine Nash, Thrift is advocating for a direction in cultural geography that moves “away from the analysis of texts, images and discourses” and towards an exploration of “micro-geographies of habitual practices.”\(^{35}\) The practices of producing placed-based media, however, are physically indistinguishable from the practices of producing other forms of digital content. Ultimately, from non-representational theory, I borrow a focus on ordinary, everyday practices of media production. I conceptualize

\(^{32}\) Thrift, “The Still Point,” 127.
\(^{33}\) Ibid.
\(^{35}\) Nash, “Performativity in Practice,” 654.
instances of place-based media as “presentations” rather than “representations” of the everyday, and aim to understand what they articulate about an individual’s relationship with place. Argues Anne Galloway, “theories of everyday are also better able to account for the increasing pervasiveness of communications technologies in everyday life.”

The spectators and producers of the city street

The practices of spectating and producing images of the city have certainly evolved alongside the changing nature of the city itself. Dana Brand argues that when London was recognized to have become a metropolis in the 17th century, it also became “suitable, in itself, as a subject for representation.” London, he describes, had become an “immense human and material spectacle,” that it at this point it “existed as something to be looked at and represented in and of itself, as something whose image would have meaning.” To illustrate this, Brand cites the emergence of a series of urban genres in London during the late 16th and early 17th century. These included “urban panorama books” which were encyclopedic descriptions that were meant to provide a “coherent map” of the city, as well as a serial urban genre consisting of installments written by “a detached wanderer.” In each episode this “wandering spectator” would relay something in the city that was “randomly encountered in the time since the last installment.”

Along similar lines, Eric Gordon argues that the 20th century American city has been shaped by emerging practices of “possessive spectatorship,” defined as “as way of looking that incorporates immediate experience with the desire for subsequent...

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37 Brand, The Spectator and the City in Nineteenth Century American Literature, 16.
38 Ibid., 27.
The media technologies and forms he cites – handheld photography, urban actuality films, and online databases, among others – have not only influenced the way Americans have experienced their cities, Gordon argues, but in certain cases, designed their cities as well, as “urban plans were drafted to meet the expectations of a spectator eager to take control of the city’s assembly.” He states that in the 21st century “individual spectatorship is just as likely to be informed by content on Flickr, YouTube, Google, MySpace, and Twitter as it is by official tourist guides or even architecture.” Ultimately, both Brand and Gordon argue that the very concept of what a city “is” is dependent on how it is represented, and how these representations are created and consumed.

Practices of urban spectatorship are often described as characteristic of the flâneur, a specific class of urban inhabitant. A French term that is understood to mean “stroller, idler, walker,” the figure of the flâneur was created by Charles Baudelaire to represent a “passionate spectator” of city crowds, for whom, describes Baudelaire “it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home.” While it was Baudelaire who “created” the flâneur in the 19th century, as noted by Gregory Shaya, it was Walter Benjamin who transformed him into...

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40 Ibid.
41 Ibid., 25.
an "object of scholarly interest" in the 20th.\textsuperscript{44} Benjamin’s flâneur was, among other things, "a figure keenly aware of the bustle of modern life, an amateur detective and investigator of the city."\textsuperscript{45} For Benjamin, the archetype of the flâneur embodied the life of the metropolis, and more specifically, Baudelaire’s Paris. Benjamin describes that the practices of flanerie, strolling and spectating, as made possible due to the rapid changes to the Parisian landscape enacted by Baron Von Haussmann during the later part of the 19th century, who had been commissioned by Napoleon III to modernize the European capital. Haussmann’s ongoing program of renovation saw districts of old, cramped, yet intimate neighborhoods replaced by large boulevards, monuments, and parks. "Before Haussmann wide pavements were rare," wrote Benjamin, "and the narrow ones afforded little protection from vehicles. Strolling could hardly have assumed the importance it did without the arcades.” According to Benjamin, it is in the world of the arcades, the iron and glass covered passages created during Haussmann’s renovation, in which “the flâneur is at home,” free to stroll and take in scenes of city life.\textsuperscript{46}

The practice of the flâneur goes beyond that of a mere spectator, as he can be a producer of urban texts as well. Benjamin describes an urban literary genre, popular in Paris during the 1840’s that took the form of “modest-looking, paperbound, pocket-size volumes called ‘physiologies’” These volumes “investigated types that might be encountered by a person taking a look at the marketplace,” writes Benjamin: “From the itinerant street vendor of the boulevards to the dandy in the foyer of the opera-house.” He ultimately states that “the leisurely quality of these descriptions fits the style of the

\textsuperscript{44} Shaya, “The Flaneur, the Badaud, and the Making of a Mass Public in France, Circa 1860-1910,” 47.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
flâneur who goes botanizing on the asphalt.” Brand asserts that according to Benjamin, “the flâneur, as a journalistic and literary type, originated in the 1830s” when the writers of these psychologies “began to represent city life with the same elegant, detached, and leisurely tone they used in their theatrical and literary reviews.” Ultimately, Benjamin’s flâneur, notes David Frisby, is one that “transcends the role of mere spectator, stroller or observer in favour of the production of images of the metropolis, its artifacts, its populations.”

Ultimately, it is this conceptualization of the flâneur as a producer that is useful in understanding the practices of creating and sharing images of the urban environment: In the 21st century, we perhaps have a new version of the flâneur one who, as Elizabeth Churchill describes, is an individual who “lyrically and playfully adopt new location-based technologies, engaging in dialogues with each other and with places themselves, not those who simply navigate from A to B.” Like the figure of the Parisian arcades, the practices of the 21st century flâneur are tied to the infrastructures and technologies of the city. In the following chapter, I will explore the means by which digital urban texts are produced and accessed by those who chose to engage in dialogues with the places they travel through.

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48 Frisby, *Cityscapes of Modernity*, 53.
49 Churchill, “Today’s Flâneur: From HCI to Place-Based Interaction and Human-Place Interaction,” 66.
Chapter 3
Media Technologies and the City

On an early morning in Paris in 1976, French director Claude Lelouch strapped a camera to the front of a sports car and raced through the mostly empty city streets with the film rolling. The resulting 9-minute movie speeds the viewer down several Parisian boulevards (originally built by Haussmann), as the driver runs through red lights, races around the Arc de Triomphe, through the Louvre, and finally stops his car to meet up with a woman at the Sacré-Cœur. Originally titled “C’était un rendez-vous,” the film became a minor cult classic, and was recently rediscovered and released in digital form.¹

The film can be classified as a contemporary version of an actuality film, a label given by film scholars to short, non-fiction films that were popular in the early years of the medium.² Actuality films recorded aspects of daily life – while racing a car through Paris certainly isn’t an everyday practice for most, the film itself presents a fast-moving panorama of an otherwise unremarkable Parisian morning. Many early actuality films similarly traveled through city streets, as the emergence of more portable cameras around the turn of the century allowed them to be placed on trams and trolleys.³ For example, in the 1906 film “A Trip Down Market Street” by the Miles Brothers, a camera on a cable

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² “Overview of Edison Motion Pictures by Genre,” http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/edhtml/edmpfr.html
³ Ibid.
car travels along Market Street in San Francisco and records the busy street life shortly before a major earthquake decimated the city.⁴

The technology available to Lelouch, his car and his stabilized camera, were far more advanced than their earlier actuality counterparts – the Market Street trolley on which the Miles Brothers mounted their camera moved at approximately 10 miles an hour – and created a much different type of representation of Paris than the writings of the archetypal 19th century journalist-flâneur who wrote about the goings-on of the Parisian arcades. This range of practices, however, illustrates how the relationship between media technologies and urban infrastructure manifests itself in various representations of the city. The wide boulevards of Paris and the San Francisco cable cars, designed to facilitate transportation, were repurposed as camera tracks used to film scenes of everyday urban life. While changes to the physical infrastructure of the city played helped enable these media practices, in the past decade or so, it has arguably been the evolution of information communication infrastructure that has most changed our interactions with the urban environment.⁵ “Communication technologies are not simply superimposed upon the environment of city, street, home, and office,” notes Susan J. Drucker and Gary Grumpert, “rather they are reciprocal agents of symbiotically related change.”⁶

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⁶ Drucker and Gumpert, “The Urban Communication Infrastructure: Global Connection and Local Detachment,” 51.
As the car, the road, the Parisian arcade, and the San Francisco cable car were part of the evolving social life of the city, so are infrastructures such as cell towers, public Wi-Fi routers, and broadband cables.\textsuperscript{7} These technologies transmit information, and in the case of place-based media, are used to share content about the very places that assist their dissemination. Just as Lelouch’s used of the roads of Paris to film the city, place-based media can be thought of as an appropriation of urban infrastructure for media production. Unlike Lelouch, however, the production of place-based media doesn’t require any spectacular actions, such as illegally racing a sports car through city streets. It is an everyday practice enabled by progressively accessible digital media tools, most notably, the modern mobile device,\textsuperscript{8} which is designed to be carried on one’s person at all times – while place-based media can be created through a variety of means, it in many ways is driven by the increasing mobility of our interactions with media. Every online platform I have mentioned thus far is designed to support some degree of interaction (including the creation of content) through a mobile application. Computationally advanced, aware of the location of its user, and featuring high-quality audiovisual recording hardware, the mobile device is a ubiquitous media production tool that is well integrated into the daily routines of the urban environment.

**The cell phone and the city**

Writing in the year 2000, Anthony Townsend predicted that the introduction of the cell phone into city life would fundamentally rewrite the “spatial and temporal constraints

\textsuperscript{7} Sheller and Urry, “The City and the Car.”
\textsuperscript{8} Mobile device is a generic term for a handheld computation device. In a contemporary context, it generally refers to cell phones and tablet computers.
of all manner of human communications” by creating a myriad of “new interactions and potential interactions between individuals.”\textsuperscript{9} A handful of years later, William Mitchell proclaimed that the “trial separation between bits and atoms”\textsuperscript{10} was over, as digital information became interwoven into the city landscape, due in part to the proliferation of small, ubiquitous, networked objects, such as the cell phone. Notes Mitchell, “functions that were once served by architecture, furniture, and fixed equipment are now shifting to implanted, wearable, and portable devices.”\textsuperscript{11}

In the decade or so since they began to appear on a widespread scale, mobile devices have become more or less fully integrated into everyday life, and as predicted by Townsend and Mitchell, these devices affect our interactions with each other and the built environment. We use them to negotiate both our personal social networks as well as the city streets. However, along the same lines as Drucker and Grumpert, Mizuko Ito calls for a reciprocal understanding of the relationship between society, culture, and technology – according to Ito, this relationship

\begin{quote}
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\textit{is not one of a foreign object of technology “impacting” and “transforming” social life and cultural patterns, but is rather more organic and co-constitutive. Technologies are objectifications of particular cultures and social relationships, and in turn, are incorporated into the stream of social and cultural evolution.}
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In Ito’s exploration of mobile phone use in Japanese cities in the early years of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century, at which point it was already “well integrated into social and cultural life,” she noted that the “low-profile and portable characteristic of Japanese mobile phone use is related, in turn, to a street level presence that melds with pedestrian urban ecologies.”\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{9} Townsend, “Life in the Real-Time City,” 89.
\textsuperscript{10} Mitchell, \textit{Me++}, 3.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 58.
\textsuperscript{12} Ito, “Personal Portable Pedestrian: Lessons from Japanese Mobile Phone Use.”
For Ito, “pedestrian” in this context defines the “on-the-street dimension” as well as the “mundane character” (or everydayness) of mobile communication. In a city setting, we can think of the mobile device as a technology that easily integrates into pedestrian routines, such as the wandering, spectating, and chance encounters that characterize urban social life. For example, in Ito’s research on cell phone culture among Japanese teenagers, she found that “emergent social practices coordinated to the rhythms of youths’ motion through urban space” often relied on “the non-disruptive modality of text communication.” Teenagers would make use of text-based communication such as text-messages and mobile emails to coordinate gatherings, as well as work against feelings of “urban anonymity” by maintaining a measure of “ongoing and lightweight contact though messages with their peers and loved ones.” The cell phone of the early 21st century, whose communication capabilities were for the most part limited to voice calls and text messages, was incorporated into the daily interaction between its users and the city.

Along similar lines, Adriana de Souza e Silva notes that the mobile technologies both change and reflect “existing tendencies and patterns of sociability” in urban public spaces, which, citing influential urbanists Jane Jacobs and William Whyte, she defines as a world of random sociability. She argues against theories that claim mobile devices as responsible for an invasion of public space by private space, instead, conceiving of them as “physical instantiation of the constantly negotiated understandings of how public

13 de Souza e Silva, Mobile Interfaces in Public Spaces, 79.
14 Both Jacobs and Whyte were notable for advocating for a “place-based, community-centered approach to urban planning, decades before such approaches were considered sensible.” See: “Jane Jacobs,” Project for Public Spaces, http://www.pps.org/reference/jjacobs-2/
15 de Souza e Silva, Mobile Interfaces in Public Spaces, 54.
Mobile devices, like other portable media technologies, states de Souza e Silva, are used by people to "interface their relationships with other people and the space around them," and in using them, "individuals are able to enact a more controlled form of engagement with the stimulation of urban spaces." Part of this controlled engagement in the contemporary city involves accessing and creating content that is related to one's location.

**A media-producing “phone”**

In the decades since they first were seen on the street, the mobile phone has reached widespread adoption globally. In the process, the capabilities of the mobile phone have evolved far beyond that of a "mobile telephone." A 2012 study by the Pew Research Center found that 48% of all adults living in urban areas owned smartphones, which are generally understood as mobile phones that support high-speed Internet connectivity, run advanced mobile operating systems, and feature high-quality cameras and multi-touch screens. Internet-enabled mobile devices provide users with constant access to the wealth of information and rich-media available online, but also allow them to instantly disseminate content as well. Since cellular networks first began supporting Internet connectivity, connection speeds have increased dramatically, often rivaling wired broadband networks – this is especially true in urban areas, where newer cellular

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16 Ibid., 52.
17 Ibid., 27–28.
infrastructure is first deployed before it is rolled out to less populated areas. In addition to increases in connectivity speeds, computational power, and screen size, the quality of cameras found in smartphones has dramatically improved from those found in earlier mobile devices. Smartphone cameras have come to rival standalone point-and-shoot digital cameras, both in terms of popularity as well as quality. A study by the NPD group in 2011 reported that more than a quarter of all photos and videos taken on any camera were taken on a smartphone camera, and smartphones took more than half of photos and videos that captured “fun, casual, spontaneous moments.” The proliferation of smartphone photography is evidenced on Flickr, where as of the time of writing, the most commonly used cameras on the site are those embedded within various models of Apple’s iPhone.

The evolution of the mobile device has not been driven just by hardware improvements, but advancements in mobile software as well. Modern smartphone operating systems, such as Apple’s iOS and Google’s Android, feature digital distribution channels (or application stores) on which 3rd parties can publish native mobile applications. Participatory platforms such as Yelp, Twitter, and Flickr not only provide mobile applications, but also are often designed around some degree of mobile interaction. For

23 Erica Ogg, “How we’ll know when Google Play really has caught up to the iOS App Store,” February 5, 2013, http://gigaom.com/2013/02/05/how-well-know-when-google-play-really-has-caught-up-to-the-ios-app-store/
example, Instagram, an immensely popular photo-sharing platform, was created specifically for use on smartphones. While Instagram photos can be shared anywhere online, they can only be created through the Instagram mobile application.\textsuperscript{24} Similarly, Vine, a video-sharing platform acquired by Twitter, allows users to share 6-second video clips taken on their smartphones using the Vine mobile application.\textsuperscript{25} The combination of Internet connectivity, media capturing capabilities, and 3rd party applications makes the modern mobile device a media production tool that ties the practices of creating content directly to the platforms on which that content is ultimately distributed. In addition, mobile devices are also able to sense aspects of their user’s context, most notably perhaps, location.

\section*{Location-awareness}

On May 1, 2000 the United States military suspended the intentional degradation of GPS service, allowing commercial products to determine their geospatial coordinates with accuracy within 10 meters. Handheld GPS devices designed for outdoor enthusiasts and GPS-supported car navigation systems helped import the notion of precise, measured location from military and scientific environments into everyday life.\textsuperscript{26} As mobile devices began to replace traditional landline telephones, the FCC created regulations that required them to feature more accurate location-sensing abilities for emergency purposes. Mobile devices began including GPS receivers in order to assist older, less reliable methods of location sensing.

\textsuperscript{24} https://instagram.com/
determining location.\textsuperscript{27} The mobile device was becoming not just ubiquitous, but increasingly context-aware, a term originally coined by Bill Schilit to describe technologies that “examine and react to a user’s changing context in order to help promote and mediate people’s interactions with each other and their environment.”\textsuperscript{28} Galloway sees location-awareness as central to pervasive computing technologies, such as mobile devices, stating her belief that “information infrastructures must be able to shift from periphery to center, and to recognize and respond to actual contexts of use. Context-aware computing therefore relies primarily on two types of information: physical location and user identity.”\textsuperscript{29}

Along these lines, as mobile devices now generally include location-based technologies, and allow for a range of 3\textsuperscript{rd} party applications, location-based services – consumer services that provide relevant information to an individual based on their location and personal preference – have become commonplace. For example, Yelp provides a mobile application that allows users to search for nearby restaurants and businesses based on their location. Waze, a turn-by-turn navigation app, is built around user submitted geolocated information on traffic jams and other driving obstacles.\textsuperscript{30} Foursquare, one of the first location-based social networks, has users “check-in” to establishments, alerting their friends as to their whereabouts and activities. Foursquare additionally partners with businesses in order to give tangible rewards to users who check-in most often, and aims

\textsuperscript{27} Bellavista, Kupper, and Helal, “Location-Based Services,” 85.
\textsuperscript{28} Schilit, Hilbert, and Trevor, “Context-aware Communication,” 47.
\textsuperscript{29} Galloway, “Intimations of Everyday Life: Ubiquitous Computing and the City,” 389.
\textsuperscript{30} http://www.waze.com/
to provide "personalized recommendations for places to go." While Foursquare was designed around location-based interaction, other popular social networks have also come to include location. In November 2009, Twitter announced a new API that would allow 3rd party clients to geotag tweets, and in June 2010, geotagging was incorporated directly into the platform. This new functionality was promoted by Twitter in the context of the ongoing World Cup in South Africa – a post on the Twitter blog stated that when "turning to Twitter to keep up with the current game, it helps to know where a Tweet is coming from." Geotagged media can be thought of as digital information that is overlaid on the physical environment, accessible through location-aware mobile devices.

Eric Gordon and Adriana de Souza e Silva describe:

The simple reality is that locally contextualized data is useful and convenient. It naturalizes a connection that was only metaphorical before... The street is no longer limited to the perceptual horizon of the person walking down it. A network of information that is accessible through a mobile device augments it.

Jason Farman similarly asserts that location-based media “have made the process of navigating everyday space that is informed by digital media a seamless, day-to-day activity for many mobile technology users. This is the new interface of everyday life.”

**Digitally referencing place**

The modern mobile device can be used to create and share rich-media on a vast number of online platforms, described by the location of where it was created. However, few

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31 See: https://foursquare.com/
people would be able to make any sense of raw geographic coordinates – location (in this context, geographic coordinates) needs to be translated in some way into a human readable format. One of the common ways of presenting geotagged content is to visualize it on a map, which is made possible by a variety of mapping platforms available online. Google Maps was one of the earliest mapping services to provide an API, enabling 3rd party developers to make use of their mapping and geospatial technologies. While its user interface was notable for being more fluid and easier-to-use than earlier online maps, the Google Maps API, which allowed developers to easily integrate dynamic maps into their own sites, was arguably more important in driving forward location-based platforms.

Since Google Maps was released, many more online mapping services and technologies have emerged, several of them free and open source. OpenStreetMap, for example, is a worldwide map that anyone can edit or contribute to, much like the online dictionary Wikipedia. OpenLayers, which is part of the Open Source Geospatial Foundation, provides open libraries that, similar to Google Maps, make it simple to embed dynamic maps into any site. As mobile devices became location-aware, they also began featuring mapping services integrated into their operating systems. Like on the web, these services are made available to 3rd party applications, and are important features of mobile devices. Apple’s botched deployment of their own mapping service for iOS was viewed as a

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36 API is short for “Application Programming Interface,” and refers to a feature of software systems that allows other systems to easily communicate with them. See: “Definition of: API,” PC Magazine, http://www.pcmag.com/encyclopedia/term/37856/api
37 Gordon and de Souza e Silva, Net Locality, 28–30.
38 http://www.openstreetmap.org/
39 http://openlayers.org/
grievous enough error that Tim Cook, the company’s CEO, personally apologized to the company’s customers.\textsuperscript{40}

Measured location and interactive maps are certainly important factors in contemporary, mediated interaction with place. People use online maps, or maps embedded in mobile devices, to navigate unfamiliar areas, find content relevant to their location, and geotag media that they create. However, these are only a part a broad technological ecosystem involved in the relationship between place and digital media. While geotagged media can be presented to a user based on their location, as discussed, content about place can be also be discovered through searching on keywords or semantic tags based on the name of a place. A photo posted on Twitter containing the text “Central Square” still contributes to the overall image of Central Square – the audience of the photo familiar with the Boston area would understand that “Central Square,” refers Central Square, Cambridge. Additionally, to someone unfamiliar with a given neighborhood, the exact location of a photo might be unnecessarily detailed – depending on one’s familiarity with an area, precise coordinates could simply function to reference a city, a state, or even a country.

As described before, media that happens to be geotagged within the border of that place does not necessarily communicate anything about that place, and media that is in conversation with place may not be geotagged. Ultimately, place-based media connote an intended context – the context of a place that is explicitly referenced by the user. Geotagging is an action that ties content to location, but does not necessarily imply an intention to comment on place. However, there also exist “placetagging” services that use

coordinates to suggest nearby places to tag content with. This is a form of reverse geocoding, a term which describes the process of translating a location into a human readable street address or place. Placetagging ties content to a place, be it a business, a public space, or in the case of Central Square, a neighborhood. The Foursquare mobile application, for example, presents a list of nearby places that a user can check-in to or comment on. Foursquare makes its database of places available through an API, as does Google, Yahoo, and a variety of other information-oriented companies.

Instagram is one of many participatory platforms that makes use of these place-based services. In Instagram, after a photo is taken, the application presents the user with the option to add their photos to their own personal “Photo Map,” which geotags the photo. Instagram then uses the Foursquare API to allow a user to select a place to tag the photo with. A place can additionally be created by the user and submitted back to the system, at which point it will be made available to other users. The list of places suggested when in Central Square starts with “Cambridge, MA,” followed by Whole Foods, and some other popular Central Square establishments. “Central Square” itself shows up further down. The selection (or “creation”) of a place is an intentional action by the author to relate their photo to a place. Within the Instagram application, users can browse all of the photos submitted to a given place in a grid, representing a place as a dynamic tableau of images.

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On Twitter the relationship between geotags, place, and content varies based on how a tweet is composed. On Twitter’s mobile application, a placetag is auto-generated when a user geotags a tweet. Within a Twitter stream on the main site, this placetag is displayed below the tweet itself, and links to a Google Map that shows the precise location of the tweet. When composing a tweet on Twitter’s website however, the user chooses from a list of places provided by the platform. In Central Square, for example, the list is simply “Cambridge, MA, Somerville, MA, Boston, MA.” A geotagged tweet on Twitter results in a placetag that is the name of the city in which a tweet was produced.

As I described, at its most basic, creating place-based media could simply involve captioning a photo with the name of a place. However, increasingly, a specific model of place is incorporated into platforms built around user-generated content. The underlying features, and the design of the user interface are part of the affordances of a platform, which as defined by Donald Norman, refers to the “perceived and actual properties of the thing, primarily those fundamental properties that determine just how the thing could possibly be used.” 43 Affordances, describes Norman, “convey messages about their possible uses, actions, and functions.” 44 A user presented with the option to name the place where a photo was taken in Instagram realizes that he is associating a photo with a place. In addition, a user who browses the photos placetagged with “Central Square” on Instagram likely understands that by placetagging their own photos with “Central Square,” it will become part of the same public gallery. In these instances, the act of photographing a place is followed by the act of digitally attaching a photograph to a place

44 Ibid., 82.
(or, perhaps, attaching a place to a photograph). Placetags in some ways can be thought
of an attempt to formalize place-based media, and the manner in which place is modeled,
represented, and “used” in online platforms affects the how media about place is created,
accessed, and understood.

There exist a large number of online platforms that are designed around place-oriented
content. The city of Boston created a mobile application called Citizens Connect that
residents can use to “alert the City of Boston to neighborhood issues such as potholes,
damaged signs, and graffiti.”

Hyperlocal sites like Wicked Local and Patch supply
local news and spaces for discourse about community issues. Other platforms, like Yelp
and Foursquare, aim to provide useful information about local establishments, and offer
rewards for creating content. Yelp, for example, invites well-respected reviewers to
become part of the “Yelp Elite Squad.” As is described on the Yelp site: “Members of
this exclusive, in-the-know crew reveal hot spots for fellow locals, act as city
ambassadors, and are the true heart of the Yelp community, both on and offline.”

Ultimately, the place-based media I am concerned with is media that emerges from the
day-to-day life of the city. While the two platforms I primarily focus on, Twitter and

45 “Citizens Connect: Making Boston More Beautiful,”
http://www.cityofboston.gov/doit/apps/citizensconnect.asp
46 http://www.wickedlocal.com/cambridge
47 http://www.patch.com/
48 The way in which Yelp filters reviews has generated a fair amount of controversy, and it has been
accused of arbitrarily hiding positive reviews for businesses that choose not to advertise with the
company. Whether or not these allegations are true, this should serve as a reminder that place-based
platforms, as with online platforms in general, are influenced by various commercial, political, and
institutional interests that can affect the content that is produced, and the content that is seen. See: Lauren
Orsini, “Yelp’s Rocky Relationship with Small Business,” PBS MediaShift, January, 29, 2013,
http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2013/01/yelps-rocky-relationship-with-small-business029
49 http://www.yelp.com/elite
Instagram, incorporate place or location based features, neither is designed around a specific type of place-based media, such as restaurant reviews, nor do they offer any tangible rewards for creating content. They allow for the observation of a variety of media produced in conversation with urban places. Both platforms are built around a simple form of content – Twitter, 140-character snippets of text, and Instagram, small, square photographs – and are designed to integrate into daily routine. While civic-minded or commercial content is certainly shared on both platforms, these more “purposed” forms of place-based media exist as part of the large stream of snippets of urban life that are disseminated on these platforms everyday.
Chapter 4
Tweeting as an Urban Practice

As mentioned, searching Twitter on any given day with the phrase “Central Square” or the hashtag “#centralsquare” will bring up a variety of content about the neighborhood. For example, on February 6th, 2013, a local realtor posted an ad for an apartment:


A couple of personal recommendations were given:

“Boston/Cambridge folks, Asmara in Central Square is pretty good. Teensy bit pricey, but good Ethiopian food. Went this weekend, enjoyed it.”

“A good place to meet players is Pandemonium books and games in Central Square. If you want to jam a few games, I would be down”

A comment about the neighborhood itself was made in response to a news item:

“T delay due to crack found in Red Line rail near Central Square? Pssh, tell me when you don’t find crack in central. #fb”

And an event was promoted by Cambridge resident:

“Get yourself over to #centralsquare #cambridge for the new pop up winter farmer’s market! :) @C2WMarket”

Although the majority of the content found from these searches referenced Central Square, Cambridge, tweets about other “Central Square’s” were mixed in as well – a picture from the Central Square of Zagreb was posted, as was a tweet about the Central

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1 https://twitter.com/cambridgepads/status/299251488688070657
2 https://twitter.com/sujal/status/299209627801886720
3 https://twitter.com/TanzenDantz/status/299252911194648576
4 https://twitter.com/jlaurendi/status/299186087992111104
5 https://twitter.com/lotuspad/status/299263365639974913
6 https://twitter.com/pctvdlin/status/299123606401728514
Square area of the University of York campus, and a Foursquare check-in from a Central Square in Ukraine. Regardless of which Central Square is being discussed, these tweets express an aspect of a relationship between an individual (or an institution) and a place, and while they are distinct in nature – some are mini-narratives, while others are more informational – each is in dialogue with a specific place. Over the course of a month and a half, from September 12th until November 2nd 2013, I collected tweets that referenced Central Square in Cambridge. This time period allowed me to follow the neighborhood through a variety of events, as it was mentioned in many contexts. As a result, I was able to observe a wide range of place-based tweeting practices. All of the tweets collected can be conceived of as part of the same discursive space around Central Square, contributing to the broader image of the neighborhood.

**Twitter in context**

Since its launch in 2006, Twitter seems to have developed an aura of being the digital repository for mass sentiment on any given topic. In 2010, the Library of Congress announced its intention to store every tweet, the 140-character snippets of text of which Twitter is composed, from the beginnings of the platform until present day. The library stated their belief that archiving tweets “follows in the Library’s long tradition of gathering individuals’ firsthand accounts of history.” In a 2013 white paper, they further described their project as one that would provide a “picture of today’s cultural norms,

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7 [https://twitter.com/bayb3emel/status/299268071439355904](https://twitter.com/bayb3emel/status/299268071439355904)
8 [https://twitter.com/hello_helloh/status/299153697513041920](https://twitter.com/hello_helloh/status/299153697513041920)
The tweet, the building block of Twitter, is composed through a variety of mobile and web-based applications that are designed to encourage constant use and real-time interaction. In Twitter applications, tweets are displayed in never-ending streams, with the most recent ones appearing first. Twitter as a microblogging platform ultimately falls somewhere between instant messaging and blogging, and the volume of content generated by its users is immense – as of October 2012, the platform saw, on average, approximately 500 million tweets get created a day, making the library’s archival project a daunting task. The data collected from 2006 until 2010 alone contains “approximately 21 billion tweets, each with more than 50 accompanying metadata fields.” These fields, among other things, include information about the author, linked media content (such as websites, photos, and videos), geographic location, and semantic tags.

After the 2013 Super Bowl, a blog post by the Twitter team measured the events of the game that generated the most activity. For example, the power outage that occurred during 3rd quarter of the game resulted in 231,500 tweets being posted per minute. Dhiraj Murthy states that microblogging, more than other types of web-based content, is an event driven practice. Tweeting is quotidian in nature, argues Murthy, and through Twitter, we learn about “people’s daily rituals, habits, happenings, and the places they

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12 “Update on the Twitter Archive At the Library of Congress.”
Because of the brevity of tweets, the simplicity in creating them, and the focus on mobile devices (60% of users access Twitter through their mobile phones), tweeting (and more generally, microblogging) is often a mobile practice well suited to everyday routine. People use Twitter to comment on and share information about their lives, including the places they interact with. Nicholas Diakopoulos and David Shamma describe tweeting during a television event, such as the Super Bowl, as an annotative act, stating that when these tweets are “mined for their affective content,” they can “identify parts of the video that gained interest or proved controversial.”** Place-based tweets can similarly be thought of as affective responses to interactions with place, or in another sense, manifestations of the relationship between the author and a place.

**The audiences and practices of Twitter**

Alice Marwick and danah boyd note that in every form of mediated conversation, participants maintain a sense of their audience. However, they argue that this audience is often an imagined one that is “constructed by an individual in order to present themselves appropriately, based on technological affordances and immediate social context.”** Twitter uses a non-reciprocal follower/followee mechanism to connect its users — individuals choose to “follow” other accounts, such as those of friends, celebrities, news organizations, and local businesses. The tweets of followed accounts become aggregated

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17 Diakopoulos and Shamma, “Characterizing Debate Performance via Aggregated Twitter Sentiment.”
and displayed to into a single stream on a user's homepage. While the primary audience of a tweet is ultimately the followers of a user, Marwick and boyd discovered that Twitter users have varying conceptions of who their audience is, and are influenced differently by their imagined audiences. Some users, generally the more followed, tweet more strategically to engage their audience. Those who envision their tweets as written primarily for themselves or close friends, are less concerned with fitting their content to their audience.

Regardless how these differences in real and imagined audiences affect the content of tweets, Marwick and boyd note that in general, Twitter is used for creating and presenting a self-image and a self-narrative. Henry Jenkins similarly describes the core functions of Twitter as either “Here it Is” or “Here I am.” “Here it Is” describes the use of the platform to share “links and pointers to other places on the web,” however, the “Here I am” function of the platform is more fundamental, argues Jenkins, and relates to the sharing everyday experiences. Jenkins states that this function ultimately strengthens the “social and emotional ties” to other members of one’s community. When a tweet references the place in which it was created, the “Here I am” aspect of the platform becomes quite literal, and these social and emotional ties become framed by, and color the places which they reference.

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19 Marwick and boyd, “I Tweet Honestly, I Tweet Passionately.”
Given the vast quantity of content created, a wide range of computational and engineering challenges have been overcome in order for Twitter to function as it does.\(^{21}\) However, the practice of sharing experiences from daily life, as users often do on Twitter, has a long history predating the computer. Humphreys et al. describe the similarities in content, form, and style between tweets and diary writings from the 18th and 19th century. They note that similar to Twitter, accounting diaries that documented “travel or everyday events in the household and community” were popular in the early to mid 19th century. They emphasize the fact that these accounting diaries, and even the more introspective diaries that would emerge later in the 19th century, were “semi-public,” and written to be shared with the authors friends and family.\(^{22}\) The comparison between microblogging and Victorian-era diaries of course has its limitations - the conversational nature, the scale, and the rapidity of communication are unique properties of modern, online platforms. However, in terms of practice, tweeting can similarly be thought of as the creation of semi-public media to be shared with one’s friends. While tweets are public and are accessible widely online, due to the sheer volume of tweets, most of them will only be seen by the author’s followers.\(^{23}\) Marwick and boyd note that Twitter users with fewer followers were more likely to conceive of their audience as “friends,” and the vast majority of Twitter users, 81.1 percent, have fewer than 50 followers.\(^{24}\)

\(^{21}\) For example, the Twitter engineering teams describes some of the challenges in determining relevance in search results here: “New Twitter search results,” February 6, 2013, http://engineering.twitter.com/2013/02/new-twitter-search-results.html

\(^{22}\) Humphreys et al., “Historicizing New Media.”

\(^{23}\) Twitter additionally has a retweet feature, which allows users to share a tweet from someone else with their own followers. However, only about 6% of tweets are retweeted. See: “Replies and Retweets on Twitter,” September, 2010, http://www.sysomos.com/insidetwitter/engagement/

\(^{24}\) Marwick and boyd, “I Tweet Honestly, I Tweet Passionately,” 118.
Catherine O’Sullivan argues that diary writing became a “ritual of the bourgeoisie” in Victorian-era England due to the emergence of a “distinct middle class.” She specifically discusses the emergence of travel diaries, which became common due to a rise in “pleasure excursions” by the middle class, noting that these diaries often “exceeded the simple recording of objective observations to construct subjective narratives of place and identity.” O’Sullivan cites the travel diary of John Fox, a nineteenth-century solicitor, in which he described the landscapes and inhabitants of places he visited during his walking tours. During a trip through Derbyshire, Fox wrote an entry describing some of the individuals he encountered:

“I met about 17 or 18 good vulgar Manchester and Dublin men and their wives with a son and a flippant daughter or two. There seemed to be but one south countryman a wanderer and an idler of some place near London a dark bilious eyed man…”

O’Sullivan ultimately argues that these sorts of diaries “bear witness to developing conceptions of local and national identity.” The use of Twitter in chronicling experiences within a city can similarly be thought of as subjective narratives, as individuals use Twitter to comment on places with which they in some way identify. However, the tools for producing tweets and other small bursts of media are generally contained within mobile devices, which as Mizuko Ito described, meld with the “pedestrian ecologies” of the city. In contrast to John Fox and the flâneur of the Parisian arcades, who purposefully set out to write about the places they traveled through, the life of the city is captured and shared incidentally by a vast number of people, who have complex media producing devices on hand during their errands, commutes, and other

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26 Ito, “Personal Portable Pedestrian: Lessons from Japanese Mobile Phone Use.”
daily activities. Ultimately, these everyday media practices may also be seen as expressions of local identity, which are potentially evolving alongside the technologies involved.

Culley describes 19th century diaries of well-to-do men's as often “imbued with a sense of public purpose or audience.” Similarly, although the follower/followee relationship is central to the Twitter, the notion of audience on the platform extends beyond these explicit ties. Twitter itself is fairly open – with the exception of protected accounts, whose tweets can only be seen by approved followers, tweets are public and can be viewed without an account. They are searchable from external search engines, and are accessible through Twitter’s API, which gives services and projects access to Twitter’s data. The vast majority of tweets will likely not be seen by anyone except the followers of the author, yet the Twitter hashtag has the potential to create discussion around a specific topic. The page “Best Practices for Hashtags” on Twitter’s developer site provides the following definition of a hashtag:

Hashtags mark keywords or topics in Tweets. They are composed of a single word or phrase beginning with a "#" and with no spaces or punctuation. You'll see them around Twitter in a variety of locations—including in trending topics. Clicking on one will lead you to a search featuring Tweets with that same hashtag. Think of it like choosing what a Tweet is filed under. Hashtags were originally created by Twitter users and have become a way to participate in global conversations.

A hashtag search page looks like any other stream of tweets, and allows for users to follow tagged content. Tagging is not just a means to categorize content, but is a practice

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driven by a desire to share with others. Axel Bruns and Jean Burgess describe how the use of hashtags on Twitter results in the formation of “ad-hoc publics” around topics or events, noting that “following and posting to a hashtag conversation makes it possible … to communicate with a community of interest … without needing to go through the process of establishing a mutual follower/followee relationship with all or any of the other participants.” They further state that the use of a hashtag by a user has the potential to influence their follower network to join the community created around a hashtag topic. The “#centralsquare” hashtag likely did not emerge in response to a specific event, but has the potential to engender conversation about topics and events relating to the neighborhood. For example, tweets by the Central Square Business Association and an account named “IndieRetailersCambMA” used the hashtag to promote a cause:

- “Support a socially, culturally & economically diverse #CambMA, Say NO to downzoning #CentralSquare. Sign the petition. http://www.change.org/…”

While a Cambridge resident tags a tweet asking for information about an event he is witnessing:

- “Police activity on Prospect Street (Venus?) in #CentralSquare #Cambridge right now...anybody know what's up?”

The “#centralsquare” hashtag can thus be used to spread, as well as solicit information about a neighborhood. While hashtags can create communities and spur discussion around topics, Bruns and Burgess note that they are also often simply used for emphasis.

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30 Bruns and Burgess, “The Use of Twitter Hashtags in the Formation of Ad Hoc Publics.”
31 https://twitter.com/go_centralsq/
32 https://twitter.com/IndRetailCambMA
33 https://twitter.com/go_centralsq/status/253473432505827328
34 https://twitter.com/IndRetailCambMA/status/253216252548509698
35 See: Appendix A
For example, the following tweet uses the same hashtag in a much different manner than the tweets above:

“Bumfight! #centralsquare”

The simplicity of the tweet is an assertion that a bum fight in Central Square isn’t noteworthy enough for a more descriptive treatment, and also speaks to the fact that the audience of the tweet would perhaps be able to relate to it without additional information. Ultimately, residents and institutions alike use “#centralsquare,” and regardless of its function, Bruns and Burgess note that including a hashtag “is a performative statement.” Tweets with the “#centralsquare” hashtag both explicitly and implicitly become part of a larger conversation about the neighborhood. The practice semantic tagging, while perhaps not as precise or quantifiable as measured geographic information, is an important factor in the relationship between new media platforms and place.

Tweets can be searched for by place, but this functionality is hidden in the “Advanced Search” page. The Twitter API documentation states that the location-based search method “returns tweets by users located within a given radius of the latitude/longitude,” but if a tweet is not geotagged, it will fall back to location information provided in a users Twitter profile. On average, fewer than 1% of tweets are geotagged, and the location that users provide in their profile is unreliable: “Sixty-six percent of Twitter users don’t give an actual city as their ‘location’,” notes Nicholas Jackson in a blog post on The

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36 https://twitter.com/sousatweets/status/299254879195648000
37 Bruns and Burgess, “The Use of Twitter Hashtags in the Formation of Ad Hoc Publics,” 8.
38 “Advanced Search,” Twitter, https://twitter.com/search-advanced
39 “GET Search,” Twitter, https://dev.twitter.com/docs/api/1/get/search
In their profiles, Twitter users describe themselves as living Gotham (New York), Nawlins (New Orleans), and El Lay (Los Angeles). While the followers of a user would understand these colloquial city names, it would be more difficult for a computational algorithm to make this association. In addition, the place that a user writes in their profile could have no relevance with the tweets that they compose.

Ultimately, as Nate Ricklin describes, “catching a stream of tweets coming from a geographic area is notoriously difficult, and there’s no clear good way to do it yet.” Due to the complexity in how location and place are determined and assigned to tweets, users of Twitter are likely unaware of how the relationship between place and their tweets is determined when geotagging. Unlike hashtags, the potential for discourse around geotags and placetags is limited. However, similar to hashtags, geotagging is a performative action that changes the nature of the data created—on the official mobile Twitter applications and on the Twitter site, adding any sort of location information always requires user action. While geotags and placetags are not currently exploited to their fullest potential, the building blocks for creating formalized, place-based communication channels are present in the Twitter platform.

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42 Ricklin, “Twitter Big Data + Geolocation = Massive Insight.”
Twitter and the city

A study by the Pew Research Center conducted in 2012 reported that “Urban-dwellers are significantly more likely than both suburban and rural residents to be on Twitter,” with 20 percent of the urban interviewees stating that they used the platform.\textsuperscript{43} As it is designed around mobile interaction and event-driven in nature, tweeting is a practice well suited to the urban environment. Additionally, while Twitter has the potential to connect people across vast distances, it is often used to connect those who are geographically close. In a study analyzing the influence of geographic distance on Twitter ties (accounts connected by a “follow” relation, both asymmetrical and symmetrical), Yuri Takhteyeva, Anatoliy Gruzd, and Barry Wellman found that “two fifths of ties (39 percent) connect users within the same regional cluster, typically the size of a metropolitan area.” In their dataset, they additionally reported a “substantial concentration of users in a relatively small number of specific local clusters,” which were all major urban centers. The five clusters with the most users were New York, Los Angeles, Tokyo, London and San Paulo, and the percentage of local ties in these urban areas was higher than 50 percent, with the exception of London, in which 48% of the ties were local. In San Paulo, approximately 78 percent of ties were local ties.\textsuperscript{44} This study illustrates that often, Twitter users living in a city use the platform to connect their fellow residents. We can think of Twitter ties as often connecting individuals who are near to one another, and who know one another. The generally local and familiar nature of ties on Twitter affects the imagined audiences of Twitter users, and in turn, the manner in which urban places are


\textsuperscript{44} Takhteyev, Gruzd, and Wellman, “Capturing Context: Integrating Spatial and Social Network Analyses.”
referenced. Everyday, place-based tweets, while they can be accessed externally, are often created to communicate aspects of the internal image of a place to an audience that has some familiarity with that place.

Attention has been given to Twitter's role in disseminating information from and within cities during extraordinary events. Zeynep Tufekci and Christopher Wilson, for example, researched the role social media played during the Tahrir Square protests in Egypt in 2011. They noted that Twitter, alongside Facebook and other forms of blogging, was used to document events and share information about the protests with their social network as well as the outside world. A New York Times blog post similarly describes the use of cellphones and social media in the Occupy movement. On Twitter, hashtags such as "#OccupyLondon, #OccupyTokyo and #OccupySidney" were used by protestors to share developments about the movement in their respective cities. In a more everyday context, the volume of data generated by Twitter makes it a platform well suited for urban analytics. Ferrari et al., for example, analyzed 13 million tweets from New York City in order to “identify the routine behaviors with which people move and cluster across the city.” They characterize these tweets as “life traces” that “describe the way in which people live and interact in their own city,” and use these tweets to identify hotspots and map recurring crowd behaviors in Manhattan.

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45 Tufekci and Wilson, "Social Media and the Decision to Participate in Political Protest.”
47 As defined by the City Science Lab at the MIT Media Lab, urban analytics is a discipline that “focuses on data-driven analyses of economic activity, urban perception, human behavior, mobility patterns, and resource consumption to inform the city design process.” See: “Why Cities?,” http://cities.media.mit.edu/about/cities
48 Ferrari et al., “Extracting Urban Patterns from Location-based Social Networks.”
datasets of tweets to create unique representations of the city. James Cheshire, Ed Manley and Oliver O'Brien mapped 8.5 million New York City tweets, color-coded by language, in order to visualize multilingualism throughout the city.\textsuperscript{49} Eric Fischer used Twitter to "plot the flow of people in terms of favored paths" in New York by analyzing 30,000 point-to-point trips on Twitter.\textsuperscript{50} Here, tweets served as markers that signifying the beginnings and ends of trips through the city (Figure 4-1). The most traveled paths, as might be expected, aligned with the main arteries of New York.\textsuperscript{51}

\textbf{Figure 4-1. Erick Fischer's visualization of New York City travel paths}

These projects use Twitter data to visualize the city in a manner that illustrates aspects of daily life in New York City, such as the paths people take to commute through the city,

\textsuperscript{49} Rogers, "Twitter's Languages of New York Mapped."
\textsuperscript{50} Eric Fischer, "Is this the structure of New York City?," http://www.flickr.com/photos/walkingsf/6747484741/in/photostream
or the languages an individual is likely to encounter in various neighborhoods. Coming down from these totalizing representations to the street level, a handful of these tweets are intentioned comments about places in city, instances of place-based media. Invisible Cities, a project by Christian Schmidt and Liangjie Xia, also visualizes paths of tweets within Manhattan. However, in this case, these paths do not represent the movement of individual people, but are connections between people based on the topics they are tweeting about. Schmidt and Xia state their objective was “to visualize the collective memory of a city,” conceptualizing the links between tweets as narratives of urban space told by multiple people. While the tweets in Invisible Cities do not necessarily comment on place, the project speaks to the emotional and communal aspect of producing media while moving through the city.

**Tweeting Central Square**

I used the basic search functionality of Twitter to collect tweets about Central Square, searching on two terms: the phrase “Central Square,” and “centralsquare,” which would also match the hashtag “#centralsquare.” I collected 481 tweets that contained one of these terms, or that replied to another tweet that mentioned Central Square. Tweets advertising apartments were not included, as they are automated in nature. As noted earlier, “Central Square” (both the phrase and the hashtag) is inherently ambiguous, so I used accompanying meta-data, such as geotags and placetags, to determine whether or not the tweet was about Central Square, Cambridge. If this information wasn’t provided, I examined the content of the tweet and the profile of a user, sometimes relying on my

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52 Schmidt and Xia, “Invisible Cities.”
53 These tweets are made available in Appendix A.
knowledge of the area, to determine if the tweet was related to the neighborhood. Out of the 481 tweets, 71 tweets contained the hashtag #centralsquare,” and 75 of them were geotagged.

Characters, events, and stories

Tweets referencing Central Square, by hashtag or by name, were often direct statements about the neighborhood. These tweets generally took the form of an observation or an opinion about Central Square. For example, comments on the general atmosphere of the neighborhood were shared:

“Central square will forever smell like pizza”

“Central square smells like ramen seasoning and i want eat it. EAT IT ALL UP!”

“#DirtiestPlacesInMassachusetts Central Square”

“Out of all the MBTA stations, I get hit on at Central Square more than anywhere else. There are some close seconds.”

Or feelings about Central Square that derived from personal experience:

“‘Sketchy deals’, I see those being negotiated in Central Square more than I want to.”

“Central square is the homless gauntlet of Boston #hell” (sic)

Users took to Twitter to complain about various transportation-related issues:

“I almost got hit by a bicyclist running a red light at Central Square this morning. He didn't slow down at all. Pedestrian helmet time!”

“Sitting on the T...still in the central square station... Really, Red? I'm tryna be early here #commuting”

“No matter how many times I drive through Central Square, it will *always* be a frightening experience.”
While others simply wanted to voice their general dislike of the neighborhood:

“I also absolutely despise central square.”

“I hate central square more than anything in existence at the moment #centralsquare is #effingnasty”

“Y'all niggas dont even know how much I hate Central Square.”

Some were far more positive about the area, such as this user who posted a photo of the graffiti wall:

“There's so much beauty in Cambridge beyond MIT and Harvard - #CentralSquare http://t.co/6YKtOjHc”

A handful of users reminisced about living in Central Square:

“@imaniperry My grandparents lived in Roxbury circa '78, and I always hung out in Central Square Cambridge.”

(in reply) “@snelsonus That's the part of Cambridge that has held onto it's soul the most, I think. That and the Port... I still love #thebury”

And in one case, a user mentioned the person, by Twitter screen name, that the neighborhood reminded them:

“It is impossible to be in Central Square without desperately missing @beached!”

Tweets such as these explicitly relayed the author’s thoughts about Central Square, or their personal connection to the neighborhood. However, not all of the content collected was as intentioned a comment on the square.

Central Square is recognized for hosting an eclectic population, as well as a large number of homeless people. Many of the comments about the neighborhood made reference to its inhabitants.

“Lots if 'interesting' people in Central Square.”

(in reply) “by interesting you mean batshit insane? RT: @Secret_Boston_ Lots if "interesting" people in Central Square.”
“Central square is full of some characters.”

Some stated their preference for people watching in Central Square:

“Hahah, who the fuck is blaring nsync in central square. I love it. And best life decisions to live here because I can people watch for days.”

“People watching in central square is the best”

Others were more specific, and as John Fox did in his 19th-century diary, described individuals they observed or encountered when traveling through the area:

“I'm in Central Square so of course I saw a woman wearing a tail.”

“Girl with no eyebrows #CentralSquare”

“Russian woman in Central Square asking everyone about a middle eastern restaurant called baby-shoes-shop. Sorry, lady. #noidea”

“Asked to watch a homeless mans cart in #centralsquare. Yes sir I'm sure ppl are dying for that bag of trash#gottalovecambridge#backtomyroots”

Often, these encounters were accompanied with direct or overheard quotes:

“This guy was peeing next to a car and when I walked by he said ‘what's up’..only in Central Square”

“All right, all right, all right! Take it easy, Don't work too hard!’ - Homeless guy at the bus stop #centralsquare

“Old Man: GIVE ME A QUARTER. Me: I don’t have a quarter. OM: FUCK YOU!! Stay classy Central Square.”

One individual wrote a fictional quote to generalize about the younger, “hipper” residents of the square.

“'Let me write a poem about my vegan bicycle and get it tattooed on my neck’ - take on the people at Central Square”

Many users seemed less concerned about making a statement about the square, and simply tweeted to share an interesting or out of the ordinary event. A pair of musicians
performing in the Central Square T stop during several morning commutes inspired many tweets:

“This morning two guys in Central Square played Toxic by Britney Spears on violin... Awesome!”

“A violin rendition duet of "Call Me Maybe" in the Central Square T station -- pretty great.”

“There's 2 violinists playing "Eleanor Rigby" in Central Square station.”

Approximately a week after these musicians were first mentioned on Twitter, one user posted a YouTube video of them performing, to which one of the musicians themselves replied: “Thanks for listening and posting! :))”

These encounters, quotes, and events, while brief in length, are a form of storytelling. Their primary purpose is to share unique and noteworthy experiences, often involving local actors, with an online audience. By explicitly mentioning Central Square by name, they also function as commentary about the neighborhood itself. Central Square in these tweets is characterized as a place where one finds “characters,” “interesting,” or “batshit insane” people. Some people simply describe what they saw and emphasized that it took place in Central Square. Others were more direct in pointing out the relation between their observations and the neighborhood, using phrases like “Stay classy Central Square,” “only in Central Square,” and “#gottalovecambridge.” In addition, as illustrated by the musicians, these stories are not just personal narratives, but narratives that involve other neighborhood inhabitants.

54 “Boston Subway violinists play The Beatles Eleanor Rigby,”
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tuXcdImabEU
Online, place-based storytelling predates social media platforms like Twitter – the site *Overheard in New York*, which began in 2003, is a simple curated blog that posts quotes that (as the title makes obvious) were overheard in New York City.⁵⁵ Each post contains a single quote submitted by a reader, or heard by one of the site's contributors:

Skinny hipster girl: I'm telling you, the Polish delis around here are old-school!
Skinny hipster guy: Yeah? How come?
Skinny hipster girl: Cause they've been here for, like ... 20 years.

—Williamsburg⁵⁶

While the site seems to have fallen into disrepair (it is still being updated, yet many of the links lead to broken pages), in 2006 it was getting “4 million page views a month, mostly from people who don't live in the city.” The creator of the blog, Morgan Friedman, called it “a love letter to New York.”⁵⁷ Sam Anderson, in an article on *Slate*, describes the appeal of the site:

I like to think of Overheard in New York as an immense grass-roots sociological experiment, a deeply profound (and yes, often moronic) verbal profile of the 21st-century urban-American street. In an information society that promises complete access to, and exhaustive analysis of, every piece of data in existence, there's something magical about overheard conversation. It is irreducibly mysterious, fragmentary, anonymous. Even the most vile fragment can be as suggestive as a line of poetry.⁵⁸

While some of the quotes simply relay an ignorant, obscene, or bizarre conversation, much like the storytelling tweets about Central Square, they are a reflection on the neighborhood in which they were overheard. The quote from Williamsburg, for example, speaks to the perceived ignorance of the hipster population, as well as on the rapid gentrification that the neighborhood underwent. Although the site itself is no longer

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updated frequently, the practice of posting “overheard in New York” quotes continues online – one can find a seemingly never-ending collection of them by searching Twitter for the hashtag “#overhearing.”

Cornelia Cody describes the stories that New Yorkers tell about their daily lives as “socially situated” and “geographically sited” personal narratives that “direct attention the struggles of everyday urban life within the larger performance of New York City.” She additionally argues that tales themselves and the act of telling them become “part of the city and its performances.” Like many of the Central Square tweets, these stories generally occur in public spaces, highlighting negative attributes of the city. Cody cites one particular story, in which a woman humorously tells her friends about how she impersonated a cop over the telephone in order to get a van driver disciplined. Stories like this, argue Cody, are designed to "to share, shape, and make sense of an event experienced in New York," and ultimately to, and affirm ones role as an insider. “New Yorkers,” explains Cody “are proud not only of their ability to survive adversity, but also of adversity itself.”

Similar qualities can be observed in tweets about Central Square. Potentially dangerous situations and encounters with strange characters are shrugged off as everyday occurrences:

“Verbally assaulted and threatened by looney tune in Central Square. It must be Thursday....”

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59 See: https://twitter.com/search?q=%23overheardinny
61 Ibid., 234–237.
“Central Square multitasking is one cop arresting the punk in a Tap Out shirt while other cop stops for snacks at CVS. #CambMA”

Tweets such as these similarly serve to affirm the insider status of their authors. Central Square is not only the backdrop for these mini-narratives, it is used to construct a self-image that incorporates the neighborhood. Additionally, as Cody also notes, personal narratives become part of the larger narrative of place, which are now perpetuated and categorized on digital platforms.

**Social lives and Central Square identities**

Twitter was often used for more functional social purposes, the most basic of which were “check-in” tweets. These tweets, posted from Foursquare, simply declared presence in a location.

“T'm at Rendezvous Central Square (Cambridge, MA) w/ 3 others”

“I'm at MBTA Central Square Station (Cambridge, MA) w/ 2 others”

One user checked in frequently to the Central Square T station, always including the song he was listening to, sharing his own personal soundtrack as he commuted through the neighborhood:

“Rocket by @SmashingPumpkin (at MBTA Central Square Station)”

While check-ins are simple, as Jenkins notes, that even the smallest amount of information can strengthen social ties. Like other mundane details posted on Twitter, they are (quite literally) part of the “Here I am” function of the platform that he describes. In addition to check-ins, people used tweets to interact more explicitly with their social network, for example to make plans, or inform others of their plans in Central Square:

62 Jenkins, “The Message of Twitter: ‘Here It Is’ and ‘Here I Am’.”
“Anyone around Central Square want to get lunch in an hour? Let me know.”

“Headed out to the Cantab Lounge in Central Square! Hope to see some friendly faces!”

“Also, someone come to Veggie Galaxy in Central Square with me. I want vegan breakfast”

“if u wanna get down I'm gonna puke all over central square tonight”

Some asked for recommendations for places to eat or drink:

“I'm about to go find food in central square where should I eat”

“Quick! Favorite place to drink in Central Square?”

While others gave recommendations, both unsolicited as well as in response to specific queries:

“Want diner food as vegetarian/vegan in a diner setting? Now you can. Try Veggie Galaxy in Central Square. Good place for good veg food.”

“@shelley1005 Go to Central Square. Lots of them there. Neighborhood has a Middle East atmosphere a little. @SoxObsessed1”

Check-ins and recommendations posted on Twitter, like the more narrative tweets about Central Square, serve to depict the author as an insider – a person who socializes in the neighborhood, or is familiar with local businesses. In one instance, inhabitants of Central Square took to Twitter to express anticipation over a yet-to-open branch of the popular chain restaurant Chipotle:

“A Chipotle in Central Square. God has answered my prayers!”

“WAIT, is Chipotle in Central Square open yet?!“

A handful of users asked the company directly for additional details, and Chipotle’s official Twitter account obliged:

“@ChipotleTweets is there an opening date for the central square location in Cambridge?”
“@blondiegirl1012 If all goes according to plan, it will open around Halloween time. See you soon! – Joe”

And once the restaurant opened, the excitement was also shared on Twitter:

!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! RT @LavishJaay: FUCK YESSSSSSSSS !!!! RT @ChynereVaughn: the Central square Chipotle is open now!!! @KaylahMontimes

**Neighborhood news and advertisements**

While individuals often took it upon themselves to promote neighborhood spots and events, various institutions, businesses, and organizations of Central Square also made use of Twitter for promotional means:

“Grand Opening of Harvest Cambridge in our new location at 580 Mass Ave in Central Square at 1 pm - Come by for Raffles and samples!”

“Nominate us for best gallery in Cambridge! Use the fill in! http://t.co/F4kOE6Ah #bostonarts #centralsquare @digboston”

In one case, a Central Square restaurant, Cragie On Main, promoted a neighboring establishment:

“Love our #centralsquare neighbors. Especially Brick and Mortar for some cocktails!”

One Cambridge resident was forthcoming about his role as a promoter:

“this tweet is brought to you courtesy of the newly hired entertainment promoter of river gods in central square. hello, am i cool yet? no.”

Often, however, performers such as DJs, musicians, and authors promoted their own events.

“The sun is shining! The birds are singing! Tonight’s Fantastic Erotica reading in Central Square is on schedule! http://t.co/XS04TP7q”

“@BrickMortarLtd i’m coming for you tonight! #sazeracs and #turntables #centralsquare”
"Playing at the Cantab Lounge in Central Square tonight with the Chicken Slacks. Classic R&B & Funk, come check it out! http://t.co/CdqcP6Nf"

Politically oriented causes, such as the petition against the downzoning of Central Square mentioned earlier, as well as more general news about the neighborhood were shared on Twitter by various organizations and interested users (an example of the "Here it is" use of the platform). For example, *Curbed Boston*\(^63\) reported on the result of a Planning Board vote on the downzoning Central Square issue on Twitter:

> "And the fight goes on: Vote kicks Central Square downzoning idea down the road  http://t.co/5cY76OMW #CambMA"

While a Twitter user who describes himself as a "Proud Cambridge Resident" in his profile shared thoughts from his own experience at the hearing:

> "Participated in a very thoughtful and productive hearing on the future of Central Square this evening at City Hall. #CambMA #Yanow #MApoli"

The news that Central Square had been named a state-designated cultural district, first posted on Twitter by the *Cambridge Chronicle*, prompted several prideful responses:

> "#CambMA #CentralSq now state-designated cultural district! http://t.co/kmZK6PSO @go_centralsq @cambridgearts @CambridgeUSA @CDDat344"

> "My old hood is coming up in the world! Cambridge's Central Square named one of four state-designated cultural districts http://t.co/KDLkLBAQ"

Ken Reeves, a Central Square City Councilor and former mayor of Cambridge, joined in the conversation as well:

> "Meeting with the mayor to celebrate Central Square as the new cultural district. Such a well deserved accolade for this wonderful area!"

Later that day, a photograph from his meeting with the Mayor was shared:

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\(^63\) *Curbed* is a national real estate and neighborhood blog with a Boston-specific site. See: http://boston.curbed.com/
“Ken Reeves and Henrietta Davis celebrate Central Square's designation as an official Cultural District! http://t.co/SxjaEZ4G”

Soon after the meeting, a photo of a banner celebrating the designation (“Welcome to the Central Square Cultural District”) that hung across Mass Ave was posted by one of its designers:

“The banners we designed for gocentralsq are up all along Mass Ave!! Huge congrats for bein @ Central Square http://t.co/BzKh5bP7”

This series of interrelated tweets illustrate that news and promotional content, while not necessarily representative of the same mobile and event-driven practices described earlier, still functions as part of a larger place-based discourse about the neighborhood – as seen with the T stop musicians, on a platform like Twitter, events unfold through multiple voices, both institutional ones as well as the voices of individuals who identify in some way with the neighborhood. As conceptualized by the Invisible Cities project, these tweets, linked by topic, can be thought of as contributing to the same overarching narrative of Central Square, an ongoing narrative that continuously reflects the daily life of the neighborhood.

**Place-based photography on Twitter**

As demonstrated by the photos of the banner over Mass Ave, and those of the Mayor and Ken Reeves, one of the most common reasons individuals tweeted about Central Square was to share photos taken of the neighborhood. Some photos were posted from Twitter directly, which allows users to attach photos to their tweets. Others were linked in from other photo-sharing sites, the most common of which was Instagram (as described, other platforms often allow users to directly share content on Twitter). One user was more
ambitious and shared an entire photo series about Central Square that was posted on his blog. In an analysis of all of the geolocated tweets from Hyde Park, London, Juliet Sprake and Peter Rogers noted that “tweets embedded with URL links to photos were more likely to describe the location they were in and the activity happening there.” Tweeting photos about a place is a contemporary form of amateur street photography, which as a practice, has been a part of the city streets since soon after the photographic process was invented. As will be explored in the next chapter, photography has continued to maintain a unique relationship with the urban environment.

Chapter 5
The City Photographed, from Atget to Instagram

Increasingly accessible and portable cameras have encouraged a greater number of people to point their lenses towards the city street in an attempt to capture the urban landscape, and snippets of daily life that occur within it. A vast number of online photo-sharing platforms have emerged in the past decade, such as Flickr, that allow people to store, categorize, share, and discuss photographs online. However, street photography has a history that extends nearly to photography’s inception. The coevolution of modern media technologies, (like the smartphone), and contemporary urban photography practices, bears resemblance to the rise of amateur street photography that occurred at the turn of the 20th century. Similar to how the smartphone camera has further cemented photography’s role as a part of daily routine, at the turn of the 20th century, photography went from being a serious hobby for a dedicated few to a popular practice. New types of portable cameras and an increasingly simple photo development process aided amateurs in capturing urban images more candidly than was possible before. Both time periods illustrate a sharp increase in the “everydayness” of photography, and are helpful in understanding the relationship between media production practices and the city.

The origins of street photography

William Henry Fox Talbot, one of the pioneers of photography, once wrote: “If we proceed to the City, and attempt to take a picture of the moving multitude, we fail ...
in a single fraction of a second they change their positions so much, as to destroy the distinctness of their representation."¹ Talbot’s frustration is useful as it highlights the interrelation between practice and technology in an urban context — the calotype process that he had pioneered in the middle of the 19th century had exposure times too long to create suitable representations of pedestrians and street crowds, who would turn into ghostly blurs in his images. His statement also shows the pull of the city on the camera, as alongside the invention of photography emerged a desire to use it to capture street life.

It didn’t take long for photography to catch up to the bustle of the street. In 1877, John Thomson, a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society who well known for his photography of the Far East, published Street Life in London, a work documenting the poor and working class inhabitants of his hometown.² In its preface, Thomson praised “the precision of the photograph,” stating that its “unquestionable accuracy” would allow him to present the London poor in a manner that would shield him from accusations of “exaggeration” or “underrating.”³ Thomson photographed the multitudes of London’s poor, but they certainly weren’t moving. The collodion process he used “emphasized sharpness at the expense of other qualities,” and encouraged him to pose his human subjects.⁴ The limitations of his technology likely didn’t bother Thomson — Colin Westerbeck notes that the “ideal to which Thomson’s street photography aspired was less the candid observation of life than the observance of properties.”⁵

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¹ Quoted in Westerbeck, Bystander, 67.
² Newhall, The History of Photography, 103.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Westerbeck, Bystander, 73.
⁵ Ibid.
Linley Sambourne, an illustrator and cartoonist for Punch magazine, was similarly focused on the street life of London. Like many amateurs at the time, he took up photography as an aid to his art. Initially photographing models in his home studio for later reference, in the last decade of his life, his practice moved from into to the street. Unlike Thomson, Sambourne was interested in candid depictions, and in a much different type of subject: fashionable women. He began setting out with his camera to capture both the Edwardian styles of London, as well as women’s fashion abroad during his travels. Sambourne’s project was perhaps not borne from a cause as noble as Thomson’s, yet by modern standards, his photographs were certainly more accurate – in order to photograph his subjects, Sambourne used a concealed camera.\(^6\) The women in his photos were unaware that they were being photographed, and thus, un-posed. Unlike Thomson, Sambourne was not an established or commercial photographer, but an enthusiastic amateur. It seems likely that his street photographs were, if anything, for reference purposes (or given some of his more explicit photography habits, perhaps something more prurient).\(^7\) He was photographing at the turn of the 20\(^{th}\) century, decades after Thomson, and had access to a technology that Thomson did not. Much had changed in the world of photography between Thomson’s posed social critique and Sambourne’s eccentric (for the time) hobby. His photographs now serve as vivid records of everyday city life and fashion, yet also illustrate the evolving practices and aesthetics of street photography.

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The rise of snapshot culture

At the turn of the 20th century, photography was pushed forward by rapid technological innovation. More portable and easier-to-use cameras were being invented and produced on a large scale, introducing photography to broader audiences, and further into everyday life. Alongside this, amateur photographers were being encouraged towards the street. Walter Welford, editor of the *Photographic Review*, exclaimed “What a wealth of subject lies [in the streets of London] … the thousands of things we see and know so well in our daily life.” Wet-plate technology, such as the collodion process used by Thomson, required experience, cumbersome equipment, and chemical mixtures. The dry techniques developed as replacements required almost none of these, allowing people to “take” pictures as opposed to making them. In addition, dry photographic technology cut exposure times drastically, allowing film to more easily and accurately capture objects in motion.

With the introduction of the Kodak camera in 1888, all that was required was the ability to press a button – “You press the button—we do the rest,” was a well-known slogan of George Eastman’s Kodak Company. With the Kodak series of cameras, box-shaped cameras that were sold pre-loaded with roll film, Eastman introduced a simplicity that had been lacking from photographic practice in the decades before. There were no viewfinders to look through, or mechanisms to adjust aperture or shutter speed. The user simply pointed the camera at a subject, and as the slogan said, pressed the button. After the roll had been exposed, the whole camera was sent off to Kodak to be processed. The

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8 Quoted in Nead, “Animating the Everyday,” 71.
camera was then refilled, and returned alongside with the exposures, offloading the complex processing procedure from the photographer to the labs of the company.\textsuperscript{10} Thanks to the popularity of models such as the Brownie, a $1 box camera, Kodak had sold over 1.2 million cameras by the end of 1905.\textsuperscript{11}

The Pocket Kodak, and later the Folding Pocket Kodak, were small-form cameras that were largely successful, and a later Kodak ad would recommend for people to “Put a Kodak” in their pocket to have it “ready for the unexpected that always happens.”\textsuperscript{12} The Kartridge Kodak was a model designed to fit squarely on the bar of a bicycle.\textsuperscript{13} With portability also came secrecy, and miniature detective cameras, a type of hidden camera, also saw great popularity. These cameras were either small hand cameras to be worn under clothing, or disguised within ties, vests, handbags, and briefcases, among other objects. As illustrated by Sambourne’s photographs, hidden cameras were well suited for candid street photography. A camera called the “Pic-Nic Basket Detective Camera” was specifically advertised to be well suited for “thronged thoroughfares.”\textsuperscript{14} Welford, who celebrated wealth of subjects found on the city street’s, additionally suggested various tricks to distract these subjects from noticing that they were being photographed. For Welford, secrecy was essential to street photography, and he defended the use of hidden cameras.\textsuperscript{15}

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\textsuperscript{10} Jenkins, “Technology and the Market.”
\textsuperscript{11} West, Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia, 41.
\textsuperscript{12} Gordon, The Urban Spectator, 59.
\textsuperscript{13} West, Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia, 41.
\textsuperscript{14} Quoted in Nead, “Animating the Everyday,” 72.
\textsuperscript{15} Gordon, The Urban Spectator, 58.
\end{flushright}
The term “snapshot” originated before the first Kodak camera was introduced, but the mass popularity of the Kodak line of cameras brought snapshot culture to new levels. Snapshotting meant not being concerned with the preparation and arrangement that previously had been required (and encouraged) in photography, but instead, using the camera in moments of instantaneity and spontaneity. Hand-cameras and snapshot culture presented a far different view of urban scenes than the more picturesque images professional photographers had striven for before. Photographs from smaller and less conspicuous cameras were ultimately able to represent the elements of street life as they naturally occurred, capturing people candidly, in unexpected and fleeting moments.

Aside from the street photographs that have survived, both from unknown amateurs and more established (or perhaps in the case of Sambourne, eccentric) photographers, other evidence of the mass popularity of portable cameras in urban life can be seen. In 1889, The New York Times and the New York Tribune reported a remarkable increase in the popularity of photography. “Chicago has had many fads whose careers have been brilliant but brief. But when amateur photography came, it came to stay,” remarked an essay in the Chicago Tribune in 1891. Only a couple of years after the first hand cameras had been released, city newspapers were remarking on the amateur photography craze, which seems to have been at its the onset, a distinctly urban phenomenon. Various

16 West, Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia, 35.
17 Coe, The Snapshot Photograph, 9.
18 Ibid., 11–12.
19 Eskildsen, Street & Studio, 10.
21 Quoted in West, Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia, 41.
amateur photography clubs were active in cities throughout the U.S. and Europe, such as the “New York Society of Amateur Photographers” of which the street photographer Albert Stieglitz, was a part. Stieglitz was an influential New York street photographer who fiercely self-identified as an amateur, and represented the blurred line between serious amateurs and commercial street photographers at the time. As described by Eric Gordon, amateurs, both in formal camera clubs and independently, were “pointing their lenses at everything from skyscrapers to crowds to the individual expressions of strangers.”

The craze of amateur photography in cities in the late 19th century is also evidenced from the controversy it generated. Bourgeois New Yorkers frequently suffered “annoyances” at the hands of amateur photographers, and felt that they had to be on guard constantly, for at any moment, an amateur photographer could capture them in an embarrassing moment. It seems that they had a right to be concerned, as photographs of celebrities and prominent personalities became a popular commodity, sold at various “junk” shops littered throughout the city. The city had become a place to be photographed, and a place to access photographs. There were less-than-reputable reasons to photograph a person secretly, but as evidenced by Welford and Talbot, there was also was a desire to accurately represent street life. In Paris, there had been a ban on street photography until 1890. However, describes Westerbeck, “the encouragement that Eastman Kodak gave to hobbyists to think of all aspects of everyday life” helped remove the stigma attached to

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22 Westerbeck, Bystander, 89–91.
23 Gordon, The Urban Spectator, 57.
25 Ibid.
26 Westerbeck, Bystander, 96.
taking photographs in the street. Argues Ute Eskildsen, “The idea of the city as a self-generating source of images ... became a reality after the invention and general use of instantaneous photography in the late 1880s.” At the turn of the 20th century, accessible cameras and snapshot culture were embedding photography into the pedestrian ecologies of the city street.

**The smartphone photograph**

The dry techniques that revolutionized photography at the turn of the 20th century have now been replaced by techniques that require no chemistry at all, and photography has become a larger, and increasingly unavoidable part of everyday life. Yet, the development of digital photography isn’t simply a continuation of a century-old trend towards more mobile and accessible cameras. Notes Jonas Larsen, “Digital photography is a complex technological network in the making rather than a single fixed technology.” Infinitely reproducible and instantly transmittable, the digital photograph has a life completely unlike that of the Kodak print. In addition, as cameras have become standard in cell phones, they have increasingly become integrated into daily routine – no one has to be reminded to put a Kodak in his or her pocket, because it is always there.

As discussed, the practices of photography have continued to evolve alongside the technology, namely the smartphone camera, which even more so than the hand camera, is suited to the everyday. In an empirical study of image sharing on Flickr, Nancy Van

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27 Ibid., 99.
House noted “with cameraphones, people often captured mundane images reflecting the texture of their daily lives.” She observed four main social uses of photo-sharing. The first was the use of photos to create a narrative and sense of identity, similar to what was observed by Marwick and boyd on Twitter.³⁰ By posting both ordinary and “exceptional” pictures, describes Van House, users were acting to create an “easy chronology of images for memory, identity, and narrative.” Secondly, to maintain relationships, users shared “images of friends or social events,” as well as photos of things that they “wanted to show or talk about with their friends, or that they thought their friends would find amusing or interesting.” Third, people used Flickr for self-representation, posting photos to “manage their image in the eyes of viewers via pictures of themselves, their lives, friends, events, and possessions, as well as those demonstrating their aesthetic or humorous sense.” Lastly, Van House found that photographing was often an act of self-expression, reflecting “the photographer’s unique point of view, creativity, or aesthetic sense.”³¹

Photos can still be captured in an instant, but they now are “developed” immediately as well. On the modern smartphone, as discussed, they can also be shared almost as soon as they are taken. The sequence of these steps is perhaps nowhere more obvious than in Instagram. Ian Crouch, in a New Yorker article on April 10, 2012 mentions how the photo-sharing application has passed the web “verb” test: “to ‘Instagram’ something is to take a picture with your smartphone, run it through one of the application’s photo filters (making it appear extra-vibrant, or overexposed), and then send it out to your friends and

³⁰ Marwick and boyd, “I Tweet Honestly, I Tweet Passionately.”
³¹ Van House, “Flickr and Public Image-sharing.”
followers.”32 The verb test isn’t unique to the digital age – a 1890 article in *Photography* had similarly discussed the how “Kodak,” a once meaningless word, would likely develop its own verbal, adjectival, and adverbial forms, such as “This picture looks kodakky,” and “I shall dak this morning.”33

Instagram, which was acquired by the social-network giant Facebook for approximately one billion dollars in early 2012, reported that its users had shared ten million photos during thanksgiving of the same year.34 At the peak, 226 thanksgiving photos (photos that had thanksgiving themed words in the caption) were shared every second. Instagram seems to be reaching a level of popularity unlike anything other photo-sharing application, but is also evidence of the larger trend towards the smartphone camera becoming the most commonly used camera. Instagram wasn’t the first application to combine the act of taking photos with the process of editing them, nor was it the first to encourage the instantaneous sharing of photos on social networks. An article on *Mashable* written in 2009 (a year before Instagram launched), bemoans the lack of built in picture sharing in Twitter (which has since been remedied), directing users to alternative ways to share photos quickly from their mobile devices.35 However, as described by Crouch, Instagram combines all of practices of popular digital photography into a simple process, and Instagram’s success seems to stem from its simplicity.

A photo is captured, edited, and shared (to Instagram’s own online platform, and optionally, to other popular social networks such as Facebook and Twitter) through a quick series of screens. In Instagram, there is no notion of “saving” a photo, a photo taken is a photo shared. The company describes their popularity as a result of the “intimacy and immediacy of the Instagram experience,” and it seems that Instagram has become the standard bearer of a new type of snapshot culture. Photos in Instagram are formatted to the same square size during the editing process, and organized into never ending streams – lists of photos with the newest photos at the top – rather than albums, galleries, or sets. The photograph in Instagram, and social networks like it, is understood to be not just a document of a past event, but a form of real-time communication. There is also a notion of playfulness built into Instagram, as photos shared by the application are recognizable by the square format and vintage-camera inspired filters provided. Like the practice of snapshotting that began in the Kodak era, “Instagramming” is a modern form of play.

Photography and the connected street

The nature of modern popular photographic practices and technologies, similar those in the late 19th century, are uniquely suited to the city street. Like the visualizations of tweets in New York City, a web-based project called This Is Now aims to capture “a city’s

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38 West, Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia, 38.
movement, in a fluid story.” 39 The project itself features about a dozen cities, each with their own page. Using Instagram’s publically accessible data, the site uses the geographic coordinates of photos to aggregate and display all Instagram images taken in the last several seconds in a given city. The photos on each city page are displayed underneath a clock showing the local time, in a large animated grid that constantly flows by (Figure 5-1). Many of the photos that appear, such as self-portraits, and photos of meals, have little to do directly with the city itself. Yet images of prominent buildings, skylines, and crowds of people also emerge constantly – candid, place-based images of street life. *This is Now* is unique in its presentation, but as discussed before, searching by location on Flickr, or by hashtag (e.g. “#newyork”) in an Instagram search engine, such as Webstagram, 40 brings up similar collections. The Instagram application itself allows users to browse all content created tagged with a specific hashtag or placetag. *This is Now* is illustrative of a contemporary notion of the city as constant “generator” of images. However, it’s important to again note that these visualizations are made possible by the everyday, interrelated practices of taking candid street photographs, geotagging and placetagging them, and sharing them on online platforms with friends and the wider world.

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40 http://web.stagram.com/
Instagram photos, like user-content on other platforms, are captioned, commented on, described and organized by tags, and spread to other social networks and online platforms. A captioned Instagram photo functions much the same way as a tweet with an attached photo does, and there is a strong overlap between Instagram and Twitter. Much of the Instagram platform seems to have been inspired by (or borrowed from) Twitter.\(^\text{41}\) It uses the same follower/followee mechanism to connect users, and it allows for private feeds in the same way that Twitter does. Importantly, Instagram makes use of Twitter’s hashtag notation for semantic tags. As with Twitter, I collected 178 Instagram photos taken of Central Square over the course of a month, from November 29\(^\text{th}\) 2012, to January

\(^{\text{41}}\) The relationship, however, isn't one sided, nor is it completely amicable. Instagram stopped allowing its photos to be embedded directly within Twitter. In addition, Twitter added filters that can be applied to photos created on their mobile application, signaling their desire to compete more directly with Instagram. See: Nathan Ingraham, “Instagram CEO feels Twitter card removal is 'the correct thing for our business' but calls changes 'really confusing' to users,” *The Verge*, December 5, 2012, http://www.theverge.com/2012/12/5/3731134/instagram-ceo-twitter-card-support
2\textsuperscript{nd} 2013. These photos were either semantically tagged with the hashtag #centralsquare, which I found via the Instagram search engine Webstagram, or using the search engine Worldcam,\textsuperscript{42} which allows for searching by placetag. The #centralsquare hashtag in Instagram is also used in reference to various places. My personal knowledge of the area again allowed me to determine which photos tagged with #centralsquare were taken in Central Square, Cambridge.

The everyday images of Central Square

Morning was a popular time to photograph Central Square, as was dusk. This was likely because of the quality of the light at these times, but also due to the fact that Central Square is a major commuter hub. The act of commuting itself was the subject of a handful of photos – a shot of the Central Square subway tracks was captioned with "#morningcommute #mbta #redline #centralsquare." Rainy nights also seemed to inspire many photographs, as the wet pavement would reflect the numerous streetlights and headlights characteristic of the area. Images of Central Square holiday decorations – banners of holiday lights that stretched across Mass Ave – were posted soon after the decorations themselves were put up, and were consistently shared throughout the month. One photo captured the newly added holiday decorations alongside the not-yet-removed Halloween decorations with the caption “make up your mind.” A handful of candid photos of people on the street were shared, and are comparable to the observations of people and overheard quotes posted on Twitter, functioning as mini-narratives. A photo shared of a middle-aged man in women's jeans and high-heel boots, for example, relayed

\textsuperscript{42} http://worldc.am
an encounter with a more eccentric member of Central Square's community. A
photograph of a woman arguing with police was captioned with: “No shoes on New
Years fist fighting her boyfriend, good start to the new year. She won cause she's not in
the cop car #2013 #nye #newyears #centralsquare #cambridge #classy #domesticabuse.”
The tags of the photo indicate that it is not just a comment on a couple fighting, but
additionally, on Central Square as well.

Although Central Square arguably lacks a definitive visual image, such as a skyline or a
landmark, certain structures and vantage points were photographed frequently. The
intersection of Mass Ave and Prospect street, at which sits the First Baptist Church
Cambridge, a historic gothic church, was a the subject of many photographs (Figure 5-2).
A photo of the church at midday, with the sun reflecting sharply off of the windows, was
captioned “Central Square!!! My Home, My City!!!” A photo from the same location but
looking instead down the main stretch of Mass Ave was captioned “The square I called
home for 2 years. #centralsquare.” Another nearly identical photo is captioned with
“Story of my life #centralsquare #cambridge #redline.” These photos are visually similar
to many others posted throughout the month, but their captions reveal the motivations,
and indeed the emotions, behind the act of photographing – in instances such as these, the
authors put forward photos which they personally felt best represented the neighborhood,
or best illustrated their personal relationship with Central Square.
Along these lines, public art – most notably, *The Wall* and its alleyway – was one of the most photographed subjects in the neighborhood. While some photographers attempted to capture the colorful chaos of the alley in its entirety, others focused on individual pieces. A large, anthropomorphic pig (described as “piggirl” and “pornstar piggy” in captions), and an adjacent stylized pigeon (often called an “eagle” or a “falcon”) drew attention. One shot down the alley, showing the colored overhang and the full graffiti wall, was captioned with “#centralsquare is so cool.” Another photo, a close-up of the pig and the pigeon, proclaimed “That’s a pornstar piggy to the right of the pigeon. Hip shit #CentralSquare” (Figure 5-3).

The relationship between Central Square and art that was presented extended past *The Wall*. A photograph of colored markers was captioned with “I love art stores #centralsquare.” These photos, expressive works in their own right, reflect the perception of Central Square as a place friendly to artistic expression, as well as illustrate the pride
that Central Square inhabitants take in the colorful nature of the neighborhood – one photo of a vintage Volkswagen backgrounded by a large, colorful mural was posted with a caption that confidently stated “This is #Central Square.”

**Events and the real-time photograph**

Similar to Twitter, Instagram photos were posted in reaction to events happening in (or to) Central Square. A Cambridge-wide blackout on November 29th prompted a number of photos. One photograph of the darkened Central Square subway station was captioned with “Power outage in central T station.” another shot down Mass Ave, lit only by car headlights, was captioned “#Cambridge goes dark.” These handful of photos illustrate photography's emerging role as a real-time communication tool, however, they do more than simply inform. The photos taken in the blackout capture a side of Central Square that isn't seen very often. In some ways, these can be seen as documentary practices that aim to preserve an uncommon image of a place. One photograph of the blackout had the simple caption “Central Square, Main & Mass Ave,” yet the photograph itself is far more expressive, showing the normally bright intersection lit only by a handful of headlights. A similar photo from the other side of the square, showing a large mass of pedestrians backlit by car headlights, has a more descriptive caption: “Eerie dark in Central Square” (Figure 5-4). Central Square, known for its perhaps garish lights and busy streets would take on a far different character in a blackout, encouraging people to share images of a drastic change to a familiar place. Not all of the events captured were as dramatic as a blackout – a snowstorm at the end of December, the first major snowstorm of the year, inspired nearly as many photographs.
Social and promotional images

Again, like tweets, individuals took Instagram photos to share their social activities within Central Square. Some photos were taken in private residences, such as a photo of a group of friends at a party that was captioned: “That party last night was awfully crazy, I wish we'd tapped it #cambridge #centralsquare.” These photos communicate images of personal social events, but the practice of tagging them with “Central Square” and “Cambridge” also serve to characterize the neighborhood (and the city) as places where “awfully crazy” parties happen. Photos such as these also speak to the fact that Instagram photos are directed towards ones followers, which similar to Twitter, is a group that often contains people who are personally known.
Other photos were taken in bars, restaurants, and stores, sharing images of the decor, food and drinks, and ongoing events of various Central Square establishments. A photo of the liquor selection at The Field was shared with the caption “Saturday in Cambridge at the field #cambridge #boston #centralsquare #beer #bar #liquor #taps #guiness #soccer” (Figure 5-5). A close-up of two cocktails specifically mentioned the friend in the caption (by Instagram username) who was accompanying the photographer. One user posted a handful of photos of electronic music events. These photos are again affirmations of insider status, communicating a familiarity with the neighborhood. They also serve as implicit recommendations, highlighting the dishes, drinks, atmosphere, and events of various establishments.

A couple of businesses themselves made use Instagram for promotional purposes. The Mariposa Bakery posted a photo of one of its employees with the caption “Horace in action.” The thrift store Boomerang posted photos that were more conventional
advertisements, such as a photo of various winter articles of clothing captioned with
“Great #holiday #gift idea: scarves! Starting at just $2 each in Central Square. #thrift
#thrifting #shopboomerangs #boston #cambridge #centralsquare #vintage #itemoftheday
#wool #knits.” While this photo’s purpose is to advertise, it also presents the
neighborhood as friendly to thrift stores and vintage clothing.

Simply put, photos posted on Instagram tagged as "Central Square" by placetag or by
hashtag were generally images of the institutions and public spaces of Central Square, or
of individuals in Central Square, friends and strangers alike. While all photographs on
Instagram can be seen as acts of expression, as noted by Van House, camera phone
photography also performs various social functions. Like other forms of place-based
media, these photos collectively communicate a sense of place of Central Square. They
are visual representations of the neighborhood, but are also presentations of the personal
perceptions of their authors.

The photograph as a document
In the fall of 2012, The Art Gallery NSW in Sydney asked, via tweet, “Are you the
Eugene Atget of Instagram?”43 The museum was advertising a competition that asked
participants to be “inspired by Atget and photograph the streets of Sydney”44 using
Instagram. The question posed by the tweet, although tongue-in-cheek, perhaps
highlights the evolution in urban photography. Many more are now able to practice

43 https://twitter.com/ArtGalleryofNSW/status/254073744132292608
44 "Atget Instagram competition," accessed December 15, 2012,
photography in the spirit of Eugène Atget, who at the turn of the 20th century, meticulously documented Paris's streets, structures, and people. The Art Gallery NSW was inviting people to photograph Sidney, but as seen, people need no such invitation. During Atget’s time, photography was similarly becoming a larger part of everyday city life, but Eugène Atget himself was no everyday character. Between the years of 1899 and his death in 1927, he systematically set out to document his hometown of Paris, taking approximately five thousand negatives in the city.  

Although hand-cameras were flourishing in the city street, Atget displayed little concern for advances in photographic technology, or snapshot-style shooting – he was committed to using the equipment and practices familiar to him. Atget carried a bulky large-format wooden camera through the streets of Paris, along with glass plate negatives, a tripod, and other equipment, which all together would have weighed approximately forty pounds. Unlike the snapshot craze that was going on around him, Atget’s photographic process had slow exposure times and mandated patience, requiring the arrangement of his camera on a tripod and the careful handling of fragile glass negatives. However like Thomson before him, the limitations of Atget’s equipment seems not to have been an issue for him, as it supported his style of photography. 

The details of his life are spotty, but it is known he had been painter who originally took up photography when he realized that there was a demand from his fellow artists for photographs as reference documents. His personality and unique practice likely fed into

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45 Harris, *Eugene Atget*, 2.  
the popular myth of Atget as a naïve, “tramplike” photographer who was unaware of the value of his own work.\textsuperscript{47} He had no formal training in photography, and his images often reveal “a total lack of reference to traditional conventions in framing and composition and an unusual interest in subjects which were not strictly ‘artistic.’”\textsuperscript{48} He certainly didn’t refer to himself as an artist, or even a photographer, and the sign on the door to his office continued to read “Documents for Artists.” Although he had a utilitarian take on his practice, he certainly wasn’t naïve, and was most definitely aware of the value of his work. In 1920, he wrote to the director of the Beaux Arts asserting the value of his vast collection of negatives. At the end of the letter, he remarked: “I can say that I possess all of Old Paris.”\textsuperscript{49} Atget was photographing at a time of great upheaval in Paris, during Haussmann’s vast program of renovation. This both drove Atget’s practice, and enabled him to capitalize on an emerging interest in preserving “Old Paris.” Various historical and preservationist societies arose, providing Atget with a “core of institutional clients.”\textsuperscript{50} Yet, notes Laure Beaumont-Mallet, his clients, both institutional and otherwise, “cannot explain everything that Atget chose to photograph: subjects such as rag-and-bone men, vagrants and general detritus probably never found any buyers.”\textsuperscript{51}

Atget said little about his own practice, but from his images, it seems that his photography was both a focused attempt to document a rapidly changing urban landscape, and although he wouldn’t admit it, a form of personal expression. Describes David Harris, “Atget interpreted the purpose of architectural and urban photography as

\textsuperscript{47} Reynaud, \textit{Eugène Atget}.
\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Eugène Atget}.
\textsuperscript{49} Quoted in Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{50} Harris, \textit{Eugene Atget}, 10.
\textsuperscript{51} Beaumont-Maillet, \textit{Atget’s Paris}, 18.
creating a progressively unfolding description." Atget’s distinct practice of street photography had little to do with technological innovation. Instead, it was a product of his unique personality and the context of the city he was busy photographing. His practice was routine, but it wasn’t everyday in the sense of being commonplace – it is obvious that the Kodak brownie’s and smartphone applications alone are unable to turn the amateur street photographer into Eugène Atget. However, there are similarities between Atget’s work and modern, amateur street photography. He was a commercial photographer, but didn’t observe the professional or artistic conventions at the time. He sold his photographs to his clients, but “he photographed only what he pleased” and could “legitimately be considered an amateur too.” He was a documenter of the city not just by profession, but by nature.

He had a passion for categorizing which was a precedent to the perhaps tagging-obsessed practices of contemporary photography – photos of Old Paris monuments, Parisian passageways, and street trades each fell into distinct categories (or series). Collectively, we photograph (and categorize our photographs) of the city far more systematically than Atget could hope to, but his active preservation of Old Paris is a reminder of the cultural value of photographs as documents. Importantly, however, Eugène Atget serves as an example of a relationship between a city and a man with a camera. He obsessively attempted to preserve elements of a changing urban landscape, but his photographs also

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52 Harris, Eugene Atget, 30.
53 Reynaud, Eugène Atget.
54 Westerbeck, Bystander, 48.
reveal an uncritical interest in street life. His practice serves a heightened example of an impulse realized within the city street – to capture it.

Instagram photos are used to capture everyday life, and incidentally, capture the life of the city street. However, as evidenced by Atget, urban photographic practices can be less a result of accessible technology, and more the product of committed individuals. Ingrid Erikson describes one of the main motivations behind sociolocative broadcasting, which she defines as the “act of sharing geo-referenced digital media with others,” as a “desire to create a lasting documentary of a place.” In her analysis of documentary practices by Flickr users, she states that, much like Atget, photographers who were committed to photographing their urban environment “indicated … that their shots were meant to preserve features of a place or location that was in decaying state or subject to demolition.”

The Wall, while not in any present danger, is a self-contained space of constant change – graffiti pieces appear and disappear, are overwritten and modified. While photos of the wall were sporadically shared on Instagram, more committed attempts at documenting the wall’s evolution can be seen elsewhere online, such as the Flickr group discussed earlier, “The Wall at Central Square.”

At the time of writing, 2,021 photos of The Wall have been posted to the group. Like the ones shared on Instagram, many of these photos focus on individual pieces of graffiti, while others show The Wall in its entirety. Some photos show the artists themselves working. The main gallery of “The Wall at Central Square” is itself a wall of images that

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55 Erickson, “Documentary With Ephemeral Media,” 389.
56 “The Wall at Central Square,” http://www.flickr.com/groups/wallatcentralsquare/
document the evolution of a street art project, and thus, the evolution of a piece of Central Square. Other, more personal projects about The Wall exist online as well. A Tumblr blog titled “Modica Way: Street art in Central Square” is the work of a self-described “Non-professional fan of street art” who posts photos of the wall weekly. Similarly, a post on a personal blog titled “An Urban forest” describes a unique graffiti piece, as well a bit about the author’s personal relationship with the public art project:

For years I’ve been photographing the ever-changing assortment of street art on the Wall at Central Square in Cambridge, Massachusetts, but this is the first time I’ve ever seen an urban forest of graffiti trees there. Usually, the trees I see outlined on brick walls are painted by shadows, not by spray cans.

While these more purposed photographic practices are not as widespread as “Instagramming,” individuals such as these are far more committed to capturing and sharing images of the life of a city, as well as preserving elements of a changing urban landscape. While there are similarities to be found between Atget and contemporary amateur street photographers, it is unlikely that anyone will be as systematic or obsessive as he was. However, Atget’s work and methods, in the context of a rapidly transforming Paris, give insight into urban photographic practice. Individuals like Atget, and his modern equivalents – those who contribute to Flickr groups or run street photography blogs – speak to the complex relationship between a city, those who feel compelled to photograph it, and the images they produce.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

Whether they are the result of habitual practices, such as the ongoing documentation of *The Wall* that is carried out on Flickr, or discrete acts that are part of an individual's ongoing use of a social media platform, place-based media are a modern byproduct of everyday interactions with place. Contextualizing them within historical media practices, such as travel diary writing and amateur street photography, helps to better illustrate the evolving relationship between urban inhabitants, media technologies, and the built environment. However, user-generated content has a life unlike its analog antecedents. Digital media, as discussed, is disseminated far more quickly and widely than before, and is discovered not only by the content itself, but by how that content is described with metadata. Increasingly, the production and description of content is tied to the platforms on which it is ultimately shared, which in turn dictates who sees it, how it is perceived, and how it is accessed.

As described, Twitter and Instagram both incorporate some notion of place and location into the production and consumption of content, yet are not designed around a specific type of place-based interaction. While Instagram is a photo-sharing platform and Twitter is primarily text-based, there was a fair bit of overlap the manner in which they (and other platforms mentioned) were used in mediating dialogue with place. The practices observed on these platforms as well as others mentioned can variously be described as acts of:
Narrating
Storytelling that creatively relays some event or occurrence that happened in a place. On Twitter, for example, mini-narratives took the form of overheard quotes, or short descriptions of an encounter with a stranger.

Perception-sharing
Sharing an opinion or general observations about a place. Yelp reviews can be broadly characterized as acts of opinion giving, both about individual establishments, as well as about the neighborhood in which they are located. However, they can also have a narrative quality to them.

Documenting
This can involve an ongoing, active documentation of a place as it changes, as illustrated by “The Wall” group on Flickr. However, it can also be a more discrete reaction to an unusual or unique event in place, such as documenting a massive snowstorm, a blackout, or a celebration.

Socializing
Using online platforms to make plans with others in a specific place, or sharing content from an ongoing social gathering or event.

This list is not meant as a rigid or exhaustive taxonomy, rather, it is a set of overlapping characterizations meant to illustrate the patterns in why and how individuals reference urban places online.

Participatory city brands
In a study about the Notting Hill area of London, Graham Martin explores the “place-image” of the neighborhood held by its inhabitants. Martin describes the image of Notting Hill from various popular media accounts (such as the 1999 film Notting Hill) as “dominant portrayals” which present a sanitized “re-imaging from above” of the neighborhood as a trendy, diverse area. While the Notting Hill’s shifting image has increased tourism and perhaps further gentrified the neighborhood, the interviewed

residents showed little concern for these issues, or for how the neighborhood was popularly represented. They instead were interested in Notting Hill’s “material aspects” such as its “convenience, facilities, [and] safety.”

Central Square is similarly described as a trendy, diverse area, home to a wide variety of people, businesses, and institutions. It is also in a state of transition, as high-tech commercial and economic interests are transforming parts of the neighborhood. Yet, the place-based media about Central Square, while often referencing the diversity of the neighborhood, rarely made any mention of the overarching issues that were affecting it. Similar to the interviews with the residents of Notting Hill, they were generally reflections of everyday affairs, sharing social plans, encounters with strangers, appreciations of public art, or personal recommendations. On Twitter, interest in the new Chipotle was seemingly more pronounced than interest in the downzoning petition. This is in part due to the nature of place-based media on the platforms I examined, which is supported by technologies and platforms that are designed to integrate into daily routine.

It is also important to note that those who take to online platforms or use mobile devices to comment on an urban neighborhood are likely a small percentage of those who identify with that neighborhood, and the perspectives that emerge may be from a small, vocal minority. It could be that those who stand to benefit most from a changing Central Square are those who are most likely to post content about it online. However, the practices of producing place-based media, while not broadly representative of the population of a place, are still a part of the “everyday” of a given place. Additionally, these practices will

2 Ibid., 67.
likely become increasingly commonplace as the media technologies involved become more accessible, and as online platforms that integrate place-based and location-based functionality continue to be developed.

Alberto Vanolo, in researching how cities brand themselves as “creative” in order to attract “creative” professionals, notes that promotional policies and urban branding ... may be considered as a set of practices of selective “storytelling” aimed at trying to manage what sort of understanding and impression potential visitors, investors or even inhabitants might get. Of course, branding is not constructing tabula rasa narratives; rather, it epitomizes a long articulation and framing process that must have a certain basis in the local identity and debates.3

As opposed to top-down branding initiatives, or representations in popular media, place-based media can be thought of as bottom-up images of the city. However, collectively they can similarly be envisioned as “selective storytelling” that articulates aspects of local identity. Vanolo made the distinction between internal images that are “reproduced by local actors” and external images that are made by (and for) those who are “extraneous to local life and symbols.”4 Place-based media complicates this binary, as it can be produced by internal or external actors (for example, tourists), and shared with individuals both external and internal to a place. Regardless of their authors or audiences, however, the place-based media I observed are uniquely quotidian representations of the urban environment that travel beyond the borders of the places that they are in conversation with. It is time when, to again use the phrase from Ben Highmore, people’s "uncensored response" to everyday life in a place is made widely accessible, and could

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4 Ibid.
potentially be seen as part of an evolving notion of what a “brand” of a city or city neighborhood is.

The evolution of place-based media

As I have argued, these media practices have a reciprocal relationship with the places they reference, both reflecting as well as contributing to the image of a place. How people perceive a place and communicate those perceptions – a tweet about feeling unsafe, a review of a trendy restaurant, or an image of a public art project – plays a part in influencing who moves to, visits, or opens a business in a given neighborhood. I defined place-based media as user-generated content that intentionally references place in some way, and this broad definition means the practices involved can be observed on a seemingly endless number of platforms. While online content can potentially be accessed anywhere in the world with an internet connection, as mentioned earlier, the majority of user-generated content is likely directed towards, and seen by, a relatively small, and generally local audience. Yet, as digital objects, they are described through metadata, persisted in massive data sets, and made often accessible through APIs which allow them to be easily queried.

These properties allow online content to be aggregated across platforms and inputted into algorithms that attempt to characterize places based on various parameters. Data-oriented sites, such as Neighborhood Scout, let users browse neighborhoods as they are ranked in different categories. On the site, Central Square scores low for safety, but highly in the
category “Young singles upwardly mobile.”5 The site Walkscore rates urban areas on how walkable they are, calculating a score for any given address based on how easy it is to walk to amenities and run errands on foot (it additionally allows people to submit “Neighborhood Photos” of local places). Central Square, for example, receives a score of 95 out of a 100, which earns it the title of “Walker’s Paradise.”6 Neighborhood Scout and Walkscore make use of large, numerical datasets, yet it is also possible quantify and analyze user-generated content using various techniques. Just as tweets have been used to evaluate viewer sentiment during televised events,7 a study by Lewis Mitchell et al. used a set of approximately 10 million tweets to “measure the overall average happiness of people located in cities” by searching for a large set of words that had themselves been ranked by their “happiness.”8 By their methodology, the happiest city was Napa, California, and the saddest, Beaumont, Texas.9 These representations are certainly reductive in their approach to the richness of user-generated content (the study notes the difficulty in “determining the emotional content of small texts”),10 however they help illustrate the potential implications of how the massive amounts of data created about urban places everyday could, in turn, affect the perception of those places.

Additionally, while the focus of this project has been platforms that support a wide range of practices of media production, place-based or otherwise, online sites continue to emerge that are specifically designed around urban places. As described, Yelp and

5 http://www.neighborhoodscout.com/
6 http://www.walkscore.com/score/central-square-mid.dash.cambridge-ma-02139
7 Diakopoulos and Shamma, “Characterizing Debate Performance via Aggregated Twitter Sentiment.”
9 Ibid., 5.
10 Ibid., 2.
Foursquare operate along these lines, yet they are for the most part concerned with establishments, rather than neighborhoods as a whole. However, more neighborhood-oriented platforms have also been launched that aim to be more than local news sites. The site Everyblock, for example, which was founded in 2008 and shutdown soon after it was acquired by NBC in 2012, was designed to be host a wide range of hyperlocal content. A CNN article detailing the site’s closing noted that on Everyblock, “You could see Flickr photos, recent muggings, local news stories and home foreclosures on your street, viewed as a map, list or RSS feed” of various neighborhoods throughout major metropolitan areas in the US.\(^\text{11}\) A Boston-based startup called BlockAvenue has similar aims, aggregating data and user-generated content about neighborhoods from other platforms. The site additionally encourages residents to converse with neighbors, rate their block (with a grade of A through F), and report local problems to “authorities.” BlockAvenue explicitly advertises itself as a way for people moving to a neighborhood to “Search and discover neighborhoods, block-by-block,” and to “Connect with locals to see what it’s really like to live there."\(^\text{12}\) Everyblock and Block Avenue can be seen as unique, or as evidence of a larger trend towards online platforms where local residents are encouraged to share information and expressive content alike.

As the technologies and infrastructures of the city continue to evolve, so will the media practices that define city living. Place-based media platforms will continue to proliferate, utilizing massive datasets of user-generated content and urban statistics to serve as neighborhood-oriented resources. However, regardless of how the practices of producing


\(^{12}\) http://www.blockavenue.com/
media about place are formalized, there will always be spaces online for uncensored, affective content that reflects the dynamic texture of urban life. Representations of the urban environment will continue to influence how we perceive it, and mobile technologies how we traverse it, but perhaps now, more than ever, the everyday practices by which we express the city as part of daily our routines will affect the lives of the urban places with which we identify.
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Appendix A
Tweets of Central Square

Tue, Sep 11th 2012, 9:13:56 pm
Good thing I was vigilant, because UPS just left them on the porch at 9pm, without ringing the bell. This is CENTRAL SQUARE. Don't do that!

Wed, Sep 12th 2012, 5:10:40 pm
Overheard woman on phone in Central Square: "My love tank is empty!" I hear ya, sister.

Wed, Sep 12th 2012, 5:34:27 pm
New @MittRomney ad in Central Square? #CambMA http://t.co/HurxHwdog

Thu, Sep 13th 2012, 9:58:45 am
Cambridge pol: Central Square development being 'hijacked' http://t.co/exluw0tQ #CambMA

Thu, Sep 13th 2012, 11:35:45 am
In Central Square, one INEVITABLY purchases a pizza slice whose flavour/quality do not meet expectations set by delicious aromas/high cost.

Thu, Sep 13th 2012, 4:59:53 pm
Cambridge City Council: Support a vibrant #cambma Oppose the Downzoning of Central Square http://t.co/splGldwnD via @change

Sun, Sep 16th 2012, 9:02:15 pm
Red line, Central Square. http://t.co/SneVXadS

Mon, Sep 17th 2012, 12:21:33 pm
This guy wrapped this piece up while I was there. #graffiti #streetart #modica #modicaway #centralsquare #ca http://t.co/yu8iRWb3

Tue, Sep 18th 2012, 4:56:38 pm
And now it rains.. @ Central Square http://t.co/tfgyIIMS5

Wed, Sep 19th 2012, 11:34:25 am
I'm in Central Square so of course I saw a woman wearing a tail.

Wed, Sep 19th 2012, 1:33:20 pm
#CentralSquare #Cambridge #UrbanArt http://t.co/q2AjbigP

Wed, Sep 19th 2012, 4:47:43 pm
Central square is the ultimate homeless Gauntlet #vom

Wed, Sep 19th 2012, 5:12:06 pm
Central Square Cambridge #citygirl #nofilter http://t.co/CPyo48CF

Wed, Sep 19th 2012, 5:59:22 pm
People watching in central square is the best
Wed, Sep 19th 2012, 6:46:00 pm
MBTA's half-functional escalator named in honor of former city councilor Hyman Pill might be the most #CentralSquare thing that exists.

Sat, Sep 22nd 2012, 8:22:15 am
nikkif6l0: Oh Central Square I love you. Barbie looks so determined to get where she's going but she's held i... http://t.co/1pKXp3CG

Sat, Sep 22nd 2012, 11:05:25 am
Love it when Central Square smells like Junior Mints. Thank you Cambridge Tootsie factory!

Sat, Sep 22nd 2012, 3:32:27 pm
Central Square #graffiti #Cambridge #streetart http://t.co/UrJQjX6o

Sat, Sep 22nd 2012, 5:03:43 pm
Everytime I go through the central square McDonald's all I can think about is the night in the sotos car @keeganmurphy @mkellerrrr

Sat, Sep 22nd 2012, 6:04:02 pm
A Chipotle in Central Square. God has answered my prayers!

Sat, Sep 22nd 2012, 8:54:55 pm
Just your regular bus ride up Mass Ave. to Central Square. http://t.co/W0AbaoTP

Sat, Sep 22nd 2012, 9:15:22 pm
It is impossible to be in Central Square without desperately missing @beichel!

Sun, Sep 23rd 2012, 12:43:11 am
Living in a ground floor studio on the sidewalk has a few benefits, number one being awesome couple fights. #imnotkidding #centralsquare

Sun, Sep 23rd 2012, 3:24:16 pm
Just posted a photo @ Wall At Central Square http://t.co/i8HqFE3r

Sun, Sep 23rd 2012, 7:47:59 pm
Zioncology @ Wall At Central Square http://t.co/tjnL4tpb

Sun, Sep 23rd 2012, 10:10:33 pm
Zioncology @ Wall At Central Square http://t.co/FZGx7uXA

Mon, Sep 24th 2012, 10:11:17 am
Sweet. Verizon LTE works in the Central Square Red Line station.

Mon, Sep 24th 2012, 3:54:34 pm
Love the Clouds of America @ Central Square http://t.co/dD5HiSoC

Mon, Sep 24th 2012, 7:38:49 pm
Headed out to the Cantab Lounge in Central Square! Hope to see some friendly faces!

Tue, Sep 25th 2012, 8:58:44 am
Central square is the homless gauntlet of Boston #hell

Tue, Sep 25th 2012, 12:56:23 pm
Central Square http://t.co/2oAGehcf
Tue, Sep 25th 2012, 1:39:08 pm
Central Square http://t.co/RSLazOyE

Tue, Sep 25th 2012, 2:40:53 pm
Central square is full of some characters.

Tue, Sep 25th 2012, 3:30:07 pm
Central Square #BostonTPeople http://t.co/ORYwKFcL

Tue, Sep 25th 2012, 4:32:45 pm
Overheard, Central Square: "If Batman landed right here, right now, he would FREAK out." I'm betting this was the Adam West Batman she meant

Tue, Sep 25th 2012, 5:34:29 pm
Z Rant in Cambridge's Central Square Has Closed. http://t.co/lVTHDiHR via @hiddenboston

Tue, Sep 25th 2012, 11:24:24 pm
There's so much beauty in Cambridge beyond MIT and Harvard - #CentralSquare http://t.co/6YKtOjHc

Wed, Sep 26th 2012, 9:59:09 am
RT @andreagarvey: Need restaurant for Mon. night w/private room for 25 people, preferably near Central Square. Any suggestions?

Wed, Sep 26th 2012, 12:58:47 pm
Color blocking. @ Central Square http://t.co/FNM1fOIp

Wed, Sep 26th 2012, 3:44:38 pm
Quick! Favorite place to drink in Central Square?

Wed, Sep 26th 2012, 4:13:47 pm
Just posted a photo @ MBTA Bus 1 (Central Square) http://t.co/bN9u4U5N

Wed, Sep 26th 2012, 8:02:14 pm
Russian woman in Central Square asking everyone about a middle eastern restaurant called baby-shoes-shop. Sorry, lady. #noidea

Wed, Sep 26th 2012, 8:25:59 pm
@imaniperry My grandparents lived in Roxbury circa '78, and I always hung out in Central Square Cambridge.

Wed, Sep 26th 2012, 8:27:38 pm
@snelsonus That's the part of Cambridge that has held onto it's soul the most, I think. That and the Port... I still love #thebury

Wed, Sep 26th 2012, 9:05:18 pm
<3 <3 central square <3 <3 Welcome to the age of electronic: Central Square takes the EDM scene by storm http://t.co/dMgOxaTk via @sharethis

Wed, Sep 26th 2012, 9:54:01 pm
Out of all the MBTA stations, I get hit on at Central Square more than anywhere else. There are some close seconds.

Thu, Sep 27th 2012, 9:16:30 am
What happen to the days when you could find anything you needed in #entralsquare. Use to be like Flatbush. Cambridge is too #uppity
Thu, Sep 27th 2012, 10:12:43 am
New surveillance camera mount in Central Square #MBTA station. No camera in it yet. MOAR CAMERA
MOAR http://t.co/AozhkZVO

Thu, Sep 27th 2012, 4:27:21 pm
Hahah, who the fuck is blaring nsync in central square. I love it. And best life decisions to live here because
I can people watch for days.

Thu, Sep 27th 2012, 8:23:07 pm
Verbally assaulted and threatened by looney tune in Central Square. It must be Thursday....

Fri, Sep 28th 2012, 8:21:01 pm
Girl with no eyebrows #CentralSquare

Fri, Sep 28th 2012, 9:42:13 pm
@BostonDrunks, I'm wearing argyle in Central Square at this hour. Is this just like asking to get stabbed?
I love it. And best life decisions to live here because I can people watch for days.

Sat, Sep 29th 2012, 12:07:27 am
I hate central square more than anything in existence at the moment #centralsquare is #effingnasty

Sat, Sep 29th 2012, 11:50:03 am
#cambridge #nofilter #centralsquare http://t.co/3K9fGkW7

Sat, Sep 29th 2012, 5:11:36 pm
Want diner food as vegetarian/vegan in a diner setting? Now you can. Try Veggie Galaxy in Central
Square. Good place for good veg food.

Sun, Sep 30th 2012, 12:58:59 am
On the bus! @ Central Square http://t.co/idJMNTGI

Sun, Sep 30th 2012, 9:14:35 am
“@MsBunz617: In bum city aka Central Square” aint worse than mattaphan sq lol

Sun, Sep 30th 2012, 1:58:57 pm
It's a beautiful, rainy day in #boston @ Central Square http://t.co/TyhDeLUS

Sun, Sep 30th 2012, 9:52:22 pm
#DirtiestPlacesInMassachusetts Central Square

Sun, Sep 30th 2012, 9:57:37 pm
I saw a bunny in Central Square, and I wanted to show everyone, but no one was paying attention. Which
was probably better for the bunny.

Sun, Sep 30th 2012, 9:58:21 pm
Care about keeping Cambridge affordable to all? Consider signing this petition to prevent downzoning in
Central Square: http://t.co/UUNprkW9

Mon, Oct 1st 2012, 5:05:21 pm
White #whale #graffiti #modicaway #centralsquare #cambridge #streetart #boston #igersbost @ Central
Kitchen http://t.co/9Y3CDgJd

Mon, Oct 1st 2012, 5:05:26 pm
Photo: White #whale #graffiti #modicaway #centralsquare #cambridge #streetart #boston #igersboston...
http://t.co/nN4Zgetn
Mon, Oct 1st 2012, 5:08:27 pm  
#arabic #graffiti #modicaway #centralsquare #cambridge #streetart #boston #igersboston #i @ Central Kitchen http://t.co/ecbGL6qF

Mon, Oct 1st 2012, 5:08:32 pm  
Photo: #arabic #graffiti #modicaway #centralsquare #cambridge #streetart #boston #igersboston #instagrafite... http://t.co/Rif4qFP4

Mon, Oct 1st 2012, 6:01:43 pm  
Trying out Central Kitchen restaurant in #CentralSquare #Cambridge tonight!

Mon, Oct 1st 2012, 6:30:42 pm  
#centralsquare #cambridge #graffiti @ Central Square http://t.co/lei1Jwrq

Mon, Oct 1st 2012, 11:50:16 pm  
Central Square multitasking is one cop arresting the punk in a Tap Out shirt while other cop stops for snacks at CVS. #CambMA

Tue, Oct 2nd 2012, 1:42:33 am  
This is going to be one of my favorite places to photograph. Its a graffiti wall in Central Square!!!! http://t.co/bSjbj2XV

Tue, Oct 2nd 2012, 8:11:51 am  
The wall at the All Asia Restaurant in Central Square http://t.co/jftTMquG #pinstagram

Tue, Oct 2nd 2012, 11:02:41 am  
Disparate Youth by Santigold (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/fpZp0piT

Tue, Oct 2nd 2012, 1:55:50 pm  
Learn to DJ in the heart of Central Square!! http://t.co/DvIKlIhVr ... classes almost full for the year!

Tue, Oct 2nd 2012, 3:10:51 pm  
Thank you, whoever left these hot pink hearts on this rooftop over the weekend. #officevie @ Central Square http://t.co/hEW1S9F9

Tue, Oct 2nd 2012, 3:33:53 pm  
Support a socially, culturally & economically diverse #CambMA, Say NO to downzoning #CentralSquare. Sign the petition. http://t.co/k81XRDBD

Tue, Oct 2nd 2012, 4:16:08 pm  
My hub (@ Central Square) [pic]: http://t.co/Vyeyj2VQ

Tue, Oct 2nd 2012, 5:29:28 pm  
Black Mirror by Arcade Fire (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/wevFzcbB

Tue, Oct 2nd 2012, 6:38:02 pm  
Red Line OB experiencing 15-20 min delays due to a disabled train at Central Square Station. 10/2/2012 6:36 PM #mbta

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 12:56:20 am  
Planning Board votes to not adopt downzoning petition in Central Square http://t.co/Vp2xztwt

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 8:21:30 am  
THERE IS AN ALIVE RAT IN THE TRASHCAN IN FRONT OF TOSCANINI'S
Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 8:24:02 am
@kfan the central square rats are YUUUUUGE too

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 8:35:50 am
Planning Board votes to not adopt #CentralSquare downzoning http://t.co/sD55C1RO via @sharethis
Support C2 future here http://t.co/zCNeiuDs

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 9:30:32 am
And the fight goes on: Vote kicks Central Square downzoning idea down the road http://t.co/5cY760MW
#CambMA

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 9:52:40 am
Central Square http://t.co/nxeYlw8I

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 9:58:19 am
Cambridge news @CurbedBoston: And the fight goes on: Vote kicks Central Square downzoning idea down the road http://t.co/GXKXiNJ9

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 10:02:19 am
Redline clusterfunk this morning at Central Square - felt sorry for drivers trying to run safely with SPTO @mbtaGM http://t.co/sdCDHpBX

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 10:52:30 am
Middle-income housing proves elusive in Cambridge's Central Square. http://t.co/3OFempNh

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 10:52:55 am
Sitting on the T...still in the central square station... Really, Red? I'm tryna be early here #commuting

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 11:08:53 am
Grand Opening of Harvest Cambridge in our new location at 580 Mass Ave in Central Square at 1 pm -
Come by for Raffles and samples!

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 12:37:08 pm
@SoxObsessed1 I've learned there are many many falafel places near my work...this is dangerous knowledge

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 12:42:13 pm
@shelley1005 Go to Central Square. Lots of them there. Neighborhood has a Middle East atmosphere a little. @SoxObsessed1

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 1:09:15 pm
Davis and Central Square for one last round of putting up #filmshiftfestival fliers #grassrootsyo

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 2:32:43 pm
Music to follow tonight’s Debate by Central Square’s The Mmmmaven Project hosted by David Day
http://t.co/gko3rOLx

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 3:17:09 pm
Tf Someone's mad excited for Halloween □ lol #centralsquare #smh #onlyinlynn http://t.co/MgwsW3wd

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 3:45:07 pm
Freddy Krueger is at central square.. He's freaking me the fuck out
Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 4:06:48 pm
@JonMSchwarz @90pluscellars like @ChefLouieNight we decide on the wine that am. But our wine is available all over MA, where do you shop?

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 4:09:58 pm
This is what my heart looks like when it is breaking. @ Central Square http://t.co/9sXX8flg

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 4:11:49 pm
Anywhere in central square, Cambridge. Haven't seen it there yet. Found some at Pace's on the waterfront @90pluscellars @ChefLouieNight

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 4:19:55 pm
Speaking out against downzoning Central Square. #CambMA (@ Cambridge City Hall) http://t.co/Z76w2moB

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 4:47:44 pm
CurbedWire: Rating Hub Landlords; Central Square's Family Values http://t.co/2QCyoOb6 #CambMA

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 5:38:21 pm
The shit you see in Central Square ...almost equivalent to Dudley smh

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 5:44:11 pm
Asked to watch a homeless mans cart in #centralsquare. Yes sir I'm sure ppl are dying for that bag of trash#gottalovecambridge#backtomyroots

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 5:58:30 pm
Pleasant little surprise, bumping into @lifeoffbi while waiting to meet @patticus #CentralSquare

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 7:21:37 pm
 Participated in a very thoughtful and productive hearing on the future of Central Square this evening at City Hall. #CambMA #Yanow #MApoli

Wed, Oct 3rd 2012, 7:56:19 pm
Boston locals: That plaque at the Central Square T station that says "HYMAN PILL FRIEND TO ALL MANKIND"... that's a joke, right??

Thu, Oct 4th 2012, 12:46:07 pm
I'm at MBTA Central Square Station (Cambridge, MA) http://t.co/3VCGIDA

Thu, Oct 4th 2012, 1:18:27 pm
But more importantly, it's National VODKA Day! Check our #Cambridge's hot drinking spots: http://t.co/h5sJJRID

Thu, Oct 4th 2012, 1:18:52 pm
Just had coffee at Cafe Luna in Central Square w a dear college buddy. The years keep adding up yet I'll always see the youth in his eyes xo

Thu, Oct 4th 2012, 1:29:34 pm
WAIT, is Chipotle in Central Square open yet?!

Thu, Oct 4th 2012, 2:23:49 pm
@nancybaym I'm a big fan of the Salvation Army shelter in Central Square.
Thu, Oct 4th 2012, 3:33:56 pm
@OrdQuelu I’d try Jimmy’s Shoe repair i Central square for info on custom boots

Thu, Oct 4th 2012, 4:02:48 pm
So excited to go see looper tonight with da co-werkerz!!! #looper #boston #wor @ Central Square Dance Party http://t.co/aYjrzEYW

Thu, Oct 4th 2012, 7:04:54 pm
Why do I ever think that sending Rxs to the central square walgreens is a good idea? Sigh...

Dumbo at a bar in Central Square http://t.co/XyzLVnhm

Fri, Oct 5th 2012, 12:07:39 pm
Cheers to @lukeoniel47 for a cogent highlight of Central Square’s cocktail scene in @BostonPhoenix. Nice to see credit where credit is due!

Fri, Oct 5th 2012, 4:48:25 pm
Whenever I see the Peter Pan bus rolling down Mass Ave I want it to take me away. #centralsquare #wellesley #alumproblems

Fri, Oct 5th 2012, 4:56:02 pm
A marching band is playing 'Don't Stop 'Til You Get Enough' #centralsquare

Fri, Oct 5th 2012, 5:23:40 pm
Chaotic Noise in Central Square! http://t.co/s9Mnhvs9

Fri, Oct 5th 2012, 6:02:50 pm
Lots if "interesting" people in Central Square.

Fri, Oct 5th 2012, 6:07:35 pm
by interesting you mean batshit insane? RT: @Secret_Boston_ Lots if "interesting" people in Central Square.

Fri, Oct 5th 2012, 7:13:47 pm
Waitin for bus hate travelin at nite but gotta do it just runnin to central square quick ill survive lol

Fri, Oct 5th 2012, 9:01:55 pm
Just posted a photo @ MBTA Central Square Station http://t.co/sSGQryQt

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 12:25:02 am

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 12:33:48 am
@ToddAlstrom Welcome to Central Square. ;-)

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 6:50:12 am
“@Secret_Boston_: Lots if "interesting" people in Central Square." There always seem to be!

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 10:40:47 am
@TequilaGirlProb Harvard square , central square, southie, the north end and central square are all really nice !! Check them out :)

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 4:12:38 pm
Fall is creeping up on us @ Central Square http://t.co/HhZ2cTJs
Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 5:59:06 pm
Oh, Central Square. Some guy’s getting patted down and possibly arrested across the street from my bus stop.

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 6:44:56 pm
No matter how many times I drive through Central Square, it will *always* be a frightening experience.

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 8:08:17 pm
@Lugz_Powers Central Square is for lovers.

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 8:21:42 pm
@MK_Dixon Central Square is where people want to go to get hit by a car.

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 9:08:03 pm
partyarty #nofilter @alliesuro @ Central Square http://t.co/CznOXNJ

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 9:10:21 pm
I’m at Rendezvous Central Square (Cambridge, MA) w/ 3 others http://t.co/WiSRddI8

Sat, Oct 6th 2012, 11:06:56 pm
Chillin in Central Square for a bit so if you want come thru

Sun, Oct 7th 2012, 9:19:46 am
RT @smith_lex New things coming to @aletheiaboston kids service! Come at 11 to the Central Square YMCA to find out! #Boston #Cambridge

Sun, Oct 7th 2012, 10:05:11 am
So I’m stuck fucking walking around central square.

Sun, Oct 7th 2012, 11:17:38 am
I miss sitting outside #mariposa sipping #coffee with my favorite little #dove ! #centralsquare #cambridge http://t.co/XNYqViSZ

Sun, Oct 7th 2012, 11:30:22 am
I’m about to go find food in central square where should I eat

Mon, Oct 8th 2012, 11:32:42 am
I almost got hit by a bicyclist running a red light at Central Square this morning. He didn’t slow down at all. Pedestrian helmet time!

Mon, Oct 8th 2012, 12:16:03 pm
“you got a deep voice” - My boyfriend is insulted by THE toughest guy in Central Square.

Mon, Oct 8th 2012, 1:09:40 pm
@ChipotleTweets is there an opening date for the central square location in Cambridge?

Mon, Oct 8th 2012, 1:55:22 pm
Just posted a photo @ U-Haul Moving & Storage at Central Square http://t.co/Rq4zT29W

Mon, Oct 8th 2012, 1:58:16 pm
Awesome photo! :) ^AA “@GiovanniGiacoia: Just posted a photo @ U-Haul Moving & Storage at Central Square http://t.co/qH8mbfWA”
Mon, Oct 8th 2012, 3:09:39 pm
this tweet is brought to you courtesy of the newly hired entertainment promoter of river gods in central square. hello, am i cool yet? no.

Mon, Oct 8th 2012, 5:52:43 pm
@blondiegirl1012 If all goes according to plan, it will open around Halloween time. See you soon! - Joe

Mon, Oct 8th 2012, 6:11:47 pm
"how bout I smack that pizza outta your hand right now?" -Central Square's #1 ruffian will spare NO ONE

Mon, Oct 8th 2012, 6:44:33 pm
@ChipotleTweets cool thanks!

Mon, Oct 8th 2012, 11:02:08 pm
So tempted to get a grape leaves roll-up from Moody's now. #centralsquare #cambridgema

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 8:53:33 am
"All right, all right, all right! Take it easy, Don't work too hard!" - Homeless guy at the bus stop #centralsquare

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 8:57:28 am
China by Graves (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/WDDTKSvu

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 2:34:55 pm
Kalpana, graffiti in Hindi. #centralsquare #cambma http://t.co/n1EKqaUF

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 2:35:16 pm
RT @kaaashif: Kalpana, graffiti in Hindi. #centralsquare #cambma http://t.co/ZMtnQbzU

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 3:46:43 pm
When a guy stares at you the whole bus ride to central square. #creepedout

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 4:11:52 pm
@wildparadox I've never used danger! awesome since I have my own laser cutter but I hear good things. it's in central square.

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 4:14:51 pm
I'm at MBTA Central Square Station (Cambridge, MA) http://t.co/4Nk0fl56

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 4:34:01 pm
I'm at Central Square (Cambridge, MA) http://t.co/aCt3vRGp

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 4:43:35 pm
gettin down at @JASSlive @PhoenixLanding2 tonight!! #jass #centralsquare

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 4:58:49 pm
I'm at MBTA Central Square Station (Cambridge, MA) http://t.co/psb9dzqF

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 4:59:52 pm
Kalpana graffiti http://t.co/n1EKqaUF in central square was done by Nepali Artist Sneha Shrestha https://t.co/GiqGD9xgA
Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 5:29:30 pm
At MBTA Central Square Station — http://t.co/1CCN2HOU

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 8:22:46 pm

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 10:59:12 pm
I don't know why, but I have never been to Cantab in Central Square. I need to amend this. I want to go during the week and on the weekend.

Tue, Oct 9th 2012, 11:47:59 pm
Photo: Central Square T. (Taken with Instagram) http://t.co/ALfsHSXM

Wed, Oct 10th 2012, 10:19:15 am
First pumpkin spice latte of the season....I know it took me a while (@ Starbucks Mass Ave Central Square Cambridge) http://t.co/1g7rMkH9

@heyheatherr it's right in central square a little past bank of america and tavern in the square

Wed, Oct 10th 2012, 12:59:41 pm
Round 2: Fight. @ Central Square http://t.co/KXH8GXsd

Wed, Oct 10th 2012, 2:29:25 pm
THANKS #bostonarts #centralsquare http://t.co/5JcJTbG9

Wed, Oct 10th 2012, 2:53:21 pm
|| Cuchi, Cuchi | Central Square http://t.co/JpcDaqRI

Wed, Oct 10th 2012, 3:44:53 pm
Can we get a #GivingCommon plug from Central Square? @tosci is helping us reach our goal! http://t.co/uW5xJ9iu @censquare @go_centralsq

Wed, Oct 10th 2012, 4:35:47 pm
Just saw a sushi place called "Thelonious Monkfish" in Central Square. Happy Birthday, Mr. Monk?

Wed, Oct 10th 2012, 4:58:22 pm
anyone know where I could watch the debate in harvard or central square tonight w/ sound?

Wed, Oct 10th 2012, 5:56:24 pm
@mbtaGM What is going on at central square? Inbound trains stuck in the station...

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 5:39:00 am
Close up of Future Now Idol- Central Square MA Photo by Patrick Lenz http://t.co/w2uzhPCp

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 8:45:40 am
Pube post wants to send me cash. So legit. @ Central Square http://t.co/GEbBYZdV

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 9:00:05 am
A little person had ALOT of fun last night #mini #bench #fall #nips #crunk #ti @ Central Square Dance Party http://t.co/tkXMYjp6
Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 9:15:48 am
Two awesome fiddle players at central square #mbta this morning. "Eleanor Rigby," "Toxic"?

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 9:24:42 am
@BrendanJKearney It was "Bad Romance" when I was in there.

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 1:18:32 pm
#Bianchi #bicycles always make me think of @jdevincole & @iamdezisme now. :) #cambridge @ Central Square http://t.co/QgkSxCBw

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 1:59:26 pm
@choplikekarate it's on mass ave now in central square, above rodney's books!

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 2:18:16 pm
@IStayHigh365 they sell them in central square... Indian restaurant near the tavern

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 3:55:19 pm
I'm at Central Square (Cambridge, MA) http://t.co/v6fFQE0F

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 4:56:37 pm
@JMaddenMass Oh but man, imagine what a casino would do for Central Square!!! ;-) 

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 5:00:41 pm
bench number 2. someone's been feeding the rats with wings @ Central Square http://t.co/wDZzOqZF

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 5:45:18 pm
Central square has pumpkins on the lamp posts! #halloween #pumpkins @ Central Square http://t.co/xVeahvMh

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 5:55:13 pm
Aww, cheer up little guy, there are worse sidewalks! #itgetsbetter @ Central Square http://t.co/9aDug7KM

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 5:57:27 pm
Boycotts in central square, Cambridge Ma...Revilution spreading like a Virus...more like a Virus scanner #NexusWave http://t.co/KA6hlwsR

Thu, Oct 11th 2012, 6:02:45 pm
Playing at the Cantab Lounge in Central Square tonight with the Chicken Slacks. Classic R/B & Funk, come check it out! http://t.co/CdqcP6Nf

Fri, Oct 12th 2012, 8:41:06 am
Cambridge, again: Homeless person in Central Square huddles under a Periodic Table of the Elements blanket. Guessing it's secondhand. #fb

Fri, Oct 12th 2012, 9:39:02 am
It's a Fall Friday morning!!!! #tgif #morning #walk #boston #weekend #5hoursun @ Central Square Dance Party http://t.co/eMxWrFGq

Fri, Oct 12th 2012, 11:47:51 am
San Francisco explained for Massholes: all the roads are Central Square in Cambridge, and the transit makes the MBTA look competent.

Fri, Oct 12th 2012, 12:10:19 pm
Central Square named one of four state-designated cultural districts #CambMA http://t.co/OMXn2Ox7
They're playing a sick rendition of Bad Romance in the Central Square T stop. @ MBTA Central Square Station http://t.co/rWj162sL

Today I had the honor of accepting the Culture District Designation for Central Square, MA. #CambridgeMA http://t.co/9bKCZN75

More on today's naming of the Cultural Art District: http://t.co/NMli4FVj #CambridgeMA

Breaking GOOD News: Central Square Cultural District http://t.co/rX3T4unM @go_centralsq @CambridgeArts @CambridgeUSA @CDDat344 #centralsq

In the window @IBGoreFest and @djmogo #CentralSquare #Comedy http://t.co/9lQy5nuL

Mos Eisley RT @cambridgechron: Central Square named one of four state-designated cultural districts #scum #villainy http://t.co/9xYEpvNvU

Exciting news from Central Square - congrats! Re: Central Square Cultural District http://t.co/wdvRHGeN @go_centralsq @CambridgeArts

@saffarip Exciting events ahead! Save 5/18/13 closing #Massave for event marriage of Together Fest & Central Square Worlds Fair @together

#graffiti in the #centralsquare #alley #nofilter @ Central Square http://t.co/vlfghrg

#nice @go_centralsq!! "The MCC just voted and we are the first Cultural District in Cambridge: The Central Square Cultural District!"

Great Breaking News! Central Square receives Cultural District Designation Today! More exciting news coming soon.... h...http://t.co/VKC8mnnwx

Turned out to be a beautiful day after all!! Yahoooo!!! Perfect weather for a @ Central Square Dance Party http://t.co/BEgNbGgl

I just carried this to my apt from Central Square. It is huge. http://t.co/CKHgClnr

Waahhhooo!!! Central Square an OFFICIAL Cultural District! @go_centralsq @CambridgeArts!! http://t.co/EKQIoRlA

BIG! RT @daviday Waahhhooo!!! Central Square an OFFICIAL Cultural District! @go_centralsq @CambridgeArts!! http://t.co/jLDmnEYJ
Fri, Oct 12th 2012, 5:12:06 pm
@BrickMortarLtd i'm coming for you tonight! #sazeracs and #turntables #centralsquare

Fri, Oct 12th 2012, 6:24:01 pm
RT @daviday Welcome to the Central Square Cultural District! #prettycool @go_centrlsq @CambridgeArts @JSDG_ http://t.co/9PR8VeNY

Fri, Oct 12th 2012, 8:07:22 pm
Congrats to everyone who shares Central Square with us! We are now a state recognized "Cultural District" http://t.co/ZA1Gzf3H

Fri, Oct 12th 2012, 10:34:22 pm
"Let me write a poem about my vegan bicycle and get it tattooed on my neck" - take on the people at Central Square

Sat, Oct 13th 2012, 9:28:36 am
Congrats Central Sq! RT @cambridgechron: Central Square named one of four state-designated cultural districts #CambMA http://t.co/ASDJIi4Z

Sat, Oct 13th 2012, 10:30:37 am
My old hood is coming up in the world! Cambridge's Central Square named one of four state-designated cultural districts http://t.co/KDLkLBaQ

Sat, Oct 13th 2012, 12:13:37 pm
Only in Central Square will all this fuckery

Sat, Oct 13th 2012, 1:21:01 pm
HUGE PARTY IN CENTRAL SQUARE. Because @together. http://t.co/fWD4SF7y

Sat, Oct 13th 2012, 4:41:49 pm
Old Man: GIVE ME A QUARTER. Me: I don't have a quarter. OM: FUCK YOU!! Stay classy Central Square.

Sat, Oct 13th 2012, 9:01:05 pm
Central square is lively tonight! So happy to open for @criscab

Sun, Oct 14th 2012, 12:34:02 am
Just had another great meal at @RendezvousCS in #CentralSquare. U gotta try the Mamie Taylor, swordfish & lemon buttermilk pudding.

Sun, Oct 14th 2012, 9:42:24 am
Nice ice cream store distribution! And of course the one in Central Square on Main St remains on top http://t.co/boXCYs8 @toscannis
Free Masons in Cambridge started in the Hovey Tavern in Central Square. Things we're learning on our Free Mason tour.

Photo: Happy Halloween in Central Square! Not sure if I agree with the color choices but I guess it's nice...
http://t.co/3kCO6dZg

Cambridge's Central Square named one of four state-designated cultural districts | @scoopit
http://t.co/vT50bFnb

All of Central Square, myself included, may have just witnessed a carjacking and none of us did anything

Razors and TOOTHBRUSH HEADS are on lock down at #CVS in #centralsquare. And Zicam is age-restricted. #paininmyass

Dug there often. #DontSleep RT @DartAdams Over there is Cambridge. In Central Square that's where the records are...
http://t.co/zOxYfVdr

Don’t forget, Bostonians: @niemanlab happy hour tonight at The Field in Central Square, starting at 6.
http://t.co/NJg55VuO

I just posted Banksy in Boston: Visitors getting photos with the NO LOITRIN piece on Essex St in Central Square, Cambridge, read it here:...

Monday blues? Tell us about it, while drinking to blues and soul music @brickmortarltd tonight after 9 pm. Central square, #Cambridge

Bought some cake. Don't fucking touch it. @ Central Square http://t.co/0L1E02JK

Our home, Cambridge's Central Square, was named one of four state-designated cultural districts!
http://t.co/4D7vvnPZ

http://t.co/w1RQRqeb Banksy in Boston: Detail of the NO LOITRIN piece on Essex St in Central Square, Cambridge

Haile Selassie by Bright Eyes (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/JzBdPDap

Cambridge's Central Square named one of four state-designated cultural districts http://t.co/vcsXWZtL
Does anyone know what time the meters end in Central Square? 6? or 8? #icantremember

Cambridge's #CentralSquare named one of four state-designated cultural districts: http://t.co/RWCd2Pqa

A friendly reminder: TNT is in two days @1369coffeeshouse central square! Come pour some gorgeous drinks and drink with some gorgeous folks!

Walking through Central Square for lunch and seeing so many people wearing purple heralds today's release of Dance_Central 3.

@ramsel_lara where you be steppin? I'm in central square :O

mothership connection #funk hittin with the urban nerdz tonight! @PhoenixLanding2 #centralsquare #boston #tonight

Have you seen this ridiculously colorful graffiti in Central Square? http://t.co/Fv4sg4E0

It just took me 45 min to get home from central square what a joke. #fucktraffic △△△△△

At MBTA Central Square Station — http://t.co/iBYqaS

@ericaleedixon oh an s.o to #CentralSquare #youKNOW

Was there just an earthquake in Central Square, or did an 800 pound man just run down the hallway?

@CandySez no shit! I just felt something over at #CentralSq.

RT @sinanaral: Earthquake? Boston? >> sure felt like it here in Central Square...

@joshcorman @csoandy I felt it in Central Square. The whole house shook.

#earthquake felt in central square. Quick grab some gin

Definitely felt tremors in Central Square Cambridge #earthquakeboston

Just smoking some cigs and drinking straight from the bottle in the T station. #centralsquare

This guy was peeing next to a car and when I walked by he said "what's up"..only in Central Square
"Sketchy deals", I see those being negotiated in Central Square more than I want to.

Why weed in the area! #centralsquare #cambridge

I hate central square but fuck it I need breakfast http://t.co/0FLnJhP9

I also absolutely despise central square.

The constantly changing street art near my apartment is a major #centralsquare perk. http://t.co/Sq9Q84EY

Just saw the ghettoist car in AMERICAAAA driving through Central square! LOL #Comedy

Central square will forever smell like pizza

Love our #centralsquare neighbors. Especially Brick and Mortar for some cocktails!

 Tonight: TNT @1369coffeehouse in central square! 7pm sign up 8pm pour. Stoked to see y'all there! http://t.co/xTeycKUJ

Off to @VIMFitSpaSalon in Central Square #cambridge - great gym!

Thanks for the shout out! :) RT @lotuspad: Off to @VIMFitSpaSalon in Central Square #cambridge - great gym!

Another perfect Central Square resto. Organic everything. (@ Life Alive) http://t.co/DEu0biNj
Thu, Oct 18th 2012, 5:46:48 pm
At MBTA Central Square Station — http://t.co/jhiOEws4

Thu, Oct 18th 2012, 9:22:29 pm
Merging is really not that complicated. It should not take me 20 minutes to get from Central square to newbury street.

Thu, Oct 18th 2012, 9:32:16 pm
I'm at MBTA Central Square Station (Cambridge, MA) w/ 2 others http://t.co/gaLsGhff

Thu, Oct 18th 2012, 9:36:43 pm
I saw #oomf walking with a friend in central square today. And honestly she is very beautiful

Thu, Oct 18th 2012, 11:48:48 pm
Central. Square. http://t.co/ziiJZk3v

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 4:28:33 am
Visiting Central Square - http://t.co/4XJ4044l

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 7:51:39 am
There's 2 violinists playing "Eleanor Rigby" in Central Square station.

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 8:31:13 am
Two Berklee students shreddin' fiddle at Central Square T this morning #mbta #Beatles: http://t.co/H4SR1AO7 via @youtube

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 9:00:27 am
Flightless Bird by Dana Kletter (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/Q3PI8Ihj

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 9:22:37 am
Everyone knows Central Square is for lovers. #CambridgeTweets http://t.co/00SZCBTB

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 9:29:00 am
A violin rendition duet of "Call Me Maybe" in the Central Square T station -- pretty great.

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 9:29:40 am
My neighborhood, Central Square, as featured on http://t.co/t5242NRO. http://t.co/0SFnT8bn

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 9:45:43 am
This morning two guys in Central Square played Toxic by Britney Spears on violin... Awesome!

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 12:33:35 pm
@stretchandmayo south end, fort point, and central square

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 6:05:08 pm
Nominate us for best gallery in Cambridge! Use the fill in! http://t.co/F4k0E6Ah #bostonarts #centralsquare @digboston

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 6:45:51 pm
if u wanna get down I'm gonna puke all over central square tonight

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 6:57:40 pm
At MBTA Central Square Station — http://t.co/exMkg1U
Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 7:22:15 pm
@cznz @ziusik @mistresscurvy I want a sketchy phoenix place! (Isn't there one of those in Central Square?)

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 7:40:38 pm
Get down to the Cantab in central square right now for Kelly and Nick's birthday show http://t.co/cn2rbJoo

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 8:48:56 pm
I'm at Central Square (Cambridge, MA) http://t.co/P7LlgR9z

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 8:57:33 pm
Parking for shows in central square is evil. Looking cool waiting for @8MinuteAbbs for a minute outside veggie galaxy

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 9:04:08 pm
Sometimes you just need to sit in Central Square and listen to Robyn by yourself.

Fri, Oct 19th 2012, 10:56:48 pm
Just posted a photo @ Wall At Central Square http://t.co/IDoNkLwB

Sat, Oct 20th 2012, 1:28:51 am
@mbtaGM @mbta_alerts. On board of bus 83 to rindge ave. from central square. 18 minute delay! It was supposed to leave Central at 1:10.

Sat, Oct 20th 2012, 9:30:24 am
@FitcorpFitness Life Alive in Central Square has great vegetarian/vegan options!

Sat, Oct 20th 2012, 2:34:57 pm
I'm at The Goodwill Store (Central Square) (Cambridge, MA) http://t.co/ax2Muv3j

Sat, Oct 20th 2012, 5:51:08 pm
The #pumpkins have arrived to #centralsquare and have mounted the street lamps in order to terrorize our cit http://t.co/6ExR9RNK

Sat, Oct 20th 2012, 7:06:20 pm
In case you missed it; new blog post about the new Chipotle getting cozy in Central Square. #CambMA http://t.co/eInYcrLr

Sat, Oct 20th 2012, 9:55:26 pm
#CentralSquare is for fuckers.

Sat, Oct 20th 2012, 11:47:37 pm
House show in Central Square, Cambridge -- Daniel Levi Goans. Check out http://t.co/iS7gEcee http://t.co/IDoNkLwB

Sun, Oct 21st 2012, 3:01:48 am
Tomorrow night I'm buying a bottle of barefoot moscato and I'm kicken it wit my central square niggas

Sun, Oct 21st 2012, 7:34:45 am
The Great Pumpkin Tower @ Central Square http://t.co/nggJtAOa
Sun, Oct 21st 2012, 12:55:29 pm
GOTV (@ Elizabeth Warren For Senate Central Square Office) http://t.co/YxDLAS1B

Sun, Oct 21st 2012, 4:27:29 pm
So tomorrow I'm working in central square. In the apartment right above my ex boyfriends. Grrreat.

Sun, Oct 21st 2012, 5:13:03 pm
Construction on the new Novartis building in Central Square. #Cambridge #MA @ Central Square
http://t.co/buqjX96w

Sun, Oct 21st 2012, 9:45:33 pm
I'm at Central Square (Cambridge, MA) http://t.co/guwZYfeo

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 8:26:44 am
Some badass street musicians are destroying in the #centralsquare t stop. Right now they're killing #BritneySpears Toxic.

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 8:29:37 am
3 packed trains later and I'm still waiting. #needmoretrains #mbta (@ MBTA Central Square Station)
http://t.co/wCbUIXo7

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 8:52:42 am
La Llorona by @beirutband (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/0LIIE6HD

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 9:43:58 am
Keep seeing videos and photos of these #Berklee kids rocking out on violins at #MBTA Red Line stops.
http://t.co/S1NcLPzk

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 10:50:42 am
@steveannear saw/heard them this AM in #centralsquare - one of the better morning commute music experiences I think!

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 11:20:32 am
MT @mafarmmarkets #Boston Central Square #farmers market is open today 12-6! Start ur wk right w/healthy local produce! http://t.co/JaHN0Gjq

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 11:54:55 am
@ChipotleTweets When will the Cambridge, MA Central Square location be open? We are all anxious to stop patronizing Picante!

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 4:04:39 pm
Super paranoid right now. I blame the water in central square.

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 4:31:57 pm
Meeting with the mayor to celebrate Central Square as the new cultural district. Such a well deserved accolade for this wonderful area!

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 5:18:26 pm
Ken Reeves and Henrietta Davis celebrate Central Square's designation as an official Cultural District!
http://t.co/SxjaEZ4G

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 5:26:20 pm
I'm at MBTA Central Square Station (Cambridge, MA) http://t.co/NJTkNxL9
Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 5:26:37 pm
At MBTA Central Square Station — http://t.co/2VQhHwas

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 9:16:44 pm
I'd rather have the bums in Central Square run the US than Romney. Just sayin...

Mon, Oct 22nd 2012, 11:34:48 pm
spotted a darlingside poster in central square. @ Life Alive http://t.co/LWsbupvf

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 5:52:49 am
WHICH COSTUME for CHARITY TWISTER? Stay tuned. We are closing in on the revealing at 10am. BE THERE CENTRAL SQUARE! http://t.co/l20FS2Nt

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 9:04:22 am
Thirteen by Big Star (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/CDZs5pAM

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 9:18:57 am
Reserved parking and charging station for electric cars in Central Square, Cambridge. Nice! http://t.co/snDXfJMb

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 11:19:46 am
Cambridge's Central Square named one of four state-designated cultural districts http://t.co/TKd6vOM via @WickedLocal http://t.co/lp5k3Qje

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 12:34:23 pm
Tuesday is Toto wrap day at Dado's! #cambridge #centralsquare (@ Dado Tea) http://t.co/90syAgde

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 2:11:51 pm
@ChipotleTweets what's up with Central Square, Cambridge MA?

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 2:37:23 pm
@LuisSandovalJr Moody's falafel palace was pretty good while I was there. http://t.co/J3ReAqkB This might be easier in an e-mail

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 5:46:19 pm
At MBTA Central Square Station — http://t.co/OqL14x0n

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 7:08:31 pm
This is fucking funny an cool as hell haha! #obama #dragqueens #LGBT #cambridge #centralsquare #boston #mass http://t.co/r60j3RN1

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 10:58:44 pm
Photo: at Central Square http://t.co/VgEol05U

Tue, Oct 23rd 2012, 11:15:23 pm
spotted a @darlingside poster in central square. #stoked for this show! http://t.co/NPuTZGre

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 7:14:17 am
Lost Mac book air near #centralsquare in #cambridge ... Found it?

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 8:44:02 am
Y'all niggas dont even know how much I hate Central Square.
Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 8:54:13 am
New Partner by Palace Music (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/JERuX5sx

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 10:15:13 am
Central Square, Cambridge http://t.co/HpmC9SbB

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 10:41:25 am
Keep Cambridge Cosmic @ Sound Museum (Central Square/EMF) http://t.co/9h1M0UjS

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 1:28:45 pm
Had my first open mic in a couple weeks and a homeless man brawl broke out in the street and the bar cleared during my set. #centralsquare

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 1:30:10 pm
... and now for a small gallery, and some nighttime pics of my sweet sweet #CentralSquare #Cambridge. :) http://t.co/YnV3u3Wg

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 4:45:56 pm
Oh awesome, there are Krishnas giving out books in Central Square. If you are lucky you will get a copy of the cookbook!

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 5:25:15 pm
The banners we designed for gocentralsq are up all along Mass Ave!! Huge congrats for bein @ Central Square http://t.co/BzKh5bP7

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 5:35:38 pm
Central Square..why? Why not! http://t.co/TzmrfHrk

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 5:36:03 pm
RT @jesssicaa The banners we designed for @go_centralsq are up along Mass Ave! Huge congrats Central Square! http://t.co/oSh09oMi

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 5:45:37 pm
At MBTA Central Square Station — http://t.co/KA4P5B2j

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 8:34:29 pm
"I'll puke all over your mother's sneakers. Then have sex with her." -- Homeless guy in Central Square 2012

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 10:12:52 pm
Central square freak daddies

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 10:32:29 pm
Photo taken by me and edited by me taken in #centralsquare http://t.co/O9HLig3K

Wed, Oct 24th 2012, 10:39:28 pm
@digitalmiss a restaurant in central square when the header refers to Boston. I actually do think that lots of ppl in Cambridge are+

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 6:10:57 am
Come to a free event on 11/14 in Central Square to learn about SBS and meet great people! RSVP here http://t.co/7SagfMV1
Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 8:42:50 am
Performing at Central Square T stop from 8:45-9:45am. Hope to see you all there.

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 11:30:37 am
Walking to central square is honestly such a hassle.

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 11:32:49 am
Cambridge land grab: 6 properties, 5 parking lots for sale in Central Square #CambMA http://t.co/WjbDY8Pd

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 11:46:33 am
HUGE opportunity for enhancing #CentralSquare with sizable property available http://t.co/LyvfwLPR #CambMA @ABetterCambMA

Parcels for sale in #CentralSquare present opportunity for Yanow petitioners to acquire and preserve property http://t.co/LyvfwLPR #CambMA

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 11:49:21 am
"@FawziaNur: Walking to central square is honestly such a hassle." East Boston?

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 12:53:05 pm
@yess_fatumaaa ... Central square is in Cambridge....

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 12:58:25 pm
"@FawziaNur: @yess_fatumaaa ... Central square is in Cambridge...." ow there is central square everywhere..

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 1:36:30 pm
Deadline to enter Central Square’s Central Scare Window Painting Contest! http://t.co/Raln4ruO

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 2:26:40 pm
@FATHERJOHNMISTY while you're in Boston, eat at Veggie Galaxy -- it's in Central Square in Cambridge. 50's vegan diner! SEE YOU TONIGHT!

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 5:05:15 pm
Central square smells like ramen seasoning and i want eat it. EAT IT ALL UP!

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 5:57:05 pm
Sweeet! Chicken Slacks in Cambridge tonight! 9:30 at the Cantab in Central Square. Come on by! http://t.co/CdqCP6Nf

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 6:50:01 pm
@sprint no service in almost 10 hours here in Central Square cambridge, ma. 02139. Data is working, but no phone or text. Answers?

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 6:52:40 pm
@sprintcare no service in Central Square cambridge, ma. 02140 all day. Data good, but no text and or calls. Answers?

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 7:02:14 pm
Spliffolian will be playing at TT the bear's tonight from 8:30PM Come Thru! #centralsquare #cambridge #boston
Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 7:06:39 pm
REMINDER: On Tuesday, Pandemonium is breaking out in Central Square! Me, @fselkirk, @ceciliatan reading at 7 PM. http://t.co/XS04TP7q

Thu, Oct 25th 2012, 11:56:12 pm
Central Square is for lovers. #humanpreyingmantisatthebar

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 1:00:44 am
they’re making junior mints in the central square candy factory right now which everyone knows is mad auspicious

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 11:02:30 am
Anyone around Central Square want to get lunch in an hour? Let me know.

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 11:31:15 am
Cambridge land grab: 6 properties, 5 parking lots for sale in Central Square http://t.co/oSIaOTSv

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 11:36:32 am
Anyone in Central Square want to grab lunch? I’ll be down there for a bit around 12:30 - 1pm.

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 12:02:45 pm
Discover Central Square #CambridgeMA http://t.co/2Q0lKdv

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 12:11:53 pm
#FuckThisTraffic.... I could have walked o Central Square faster...

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 2:41:30 pm
The Mystical #Marileta making #Magnificent #MusicForTheMasses in #CentralSquare #Cambridge #BostonLiveMusic http://t.co/8wh5mWHv

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 4:16:42 pm
Walking home from central square #AdventureTime

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 5:52:29 pm
La la la the result of our long walk from #CentralSquare to #DavisSquare with @keepingupwitht @ Davis Square http://t.co/3te6ZoKi

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 6:12:42 pm
.@MBTAGm Mother was separated from her baby on Red Line @ Central Square this evening. Operator refused to open the door Please investigate.

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 6:19:44 pm
hey @MBTAGM - why was a mother separated from her baby in a departing Red Line train at Central Square tonight?

Fri, Oct 26th 2012, 7:13:46 pm
Random Cambridge art #art #illustration #drawing #draw #TagsForLikes.COM #picture #photogra @ Central Square http://t.co/30DlsKAz

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 11:03:54 am
10 Central Square restaurants are selling street side mocha, dumplings, falafel between 1 and 3 pm today. http://t.co/tey2WCUS

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 11:44:09 am
Central Square, #Cambridge #streetartistry http://t.co/Lq5NQa87
Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 12:02:42 pm
WTF MT @erinnmcheepett: Mother separated from baby @ Central Square this evening. Operator refused to open the door // cc: @steveannear

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 12:14:37 pm
Blanc Gallery Central Square Tonight! What are you dressing up as? http://t.co/oK20FUzw

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 12:43:50 pm
FUCKING AWKWARD MOMENT WHEN A BIGASS BLACK DUDE HITS IN ME AT CENTRAL SQUARE EWWW

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 1:22:55 pm
#graffiti #centralsquare #street #art http://t.co/148YcMVP

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 1:28:27 pm
#graffiti #art #centralsquare #street http://t.co/x5Bjoc4M

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 1:29:09 pm
Central Square #Cambridge Attacked by a pigeon! #streetartistry http://t.co/kPWH05Hj

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 2:03:52 pm
Adorably festive Halloween lamp posts in Central Square http://t.co/4jFn1VXZ

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 3:39:39 pm
chatting central square bars with a lawyer. relevant.

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 8:22:47 pm
...new pigeon piece in Central Square. http://t.co/4lR95fW5

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 9:39:14 pm
#LifeAlive at #centralsquare #vegan #organic #yum highly recommended http://t.co/FLIyhdSR

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 9:43:35 pm
The streets are full of amateurs in Central Square, #Cambridge tonight. (premature)#Halloween

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 10:07:10 pm
Central Square, Cambridge, MA, USA: The Machine Shafts Those who trust it as ...

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 10:32:45 pm
Central Square is crawling with people in costumes >> it crazy how far they'd go but its cool and funny to watch.

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 11:21:26 pm
Just saw SCUL heading down Mass Ave towards Central Square!

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 11:46:21 pm
Peter Pan & her Lost Boy! <3 #halloween #party #costume @ Sound Museum (Central Square/EMF) http://t.co/ORSy0pP1

Sat, Oct 27th 2012, 11:57:05 pm
Currently. @ Central Square http://t.co/OPQPjsy7

Sun, Oct 28th 2012, 2:15:13 am
Just posted a photo @ Central Square http://t.co/V1ruM2AU
Sun, Oct 28th 2012, 11:49:50 am
@andwegotothesea oy. I guess Central Square is pretty much at sea level. Still, that seems unlikely, right?

Sun, Oct 28th 2012, 12:08:03 pm
@TMatlack I work in Central Square and now that you say that......yeah and there is Harvest and yeah if u want regular oreos

Sun, Oct 28th 2012, 1:19:47 pm
Central Square bus stop poetry. http://t.co/b19epmab

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 7:00:52 am
#Boston Central Square #farmersmarket will be closed today due to the predicted extreme weather and Gov's state of emergency. Be safe!

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 10:50:04 am
CENTRAL SQUARE REPORT: Yoki is open? And I think I saw a couple breaking up in front of Supreme Liquor. NEITHER SNOW NOR RAIN NOR etc

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 10:52:45 am
Brookline Street @ Central Square http://t.co/UREXztgD

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 11:11:26 am
@katieferg I shooed the neighborhood meth addicts out of frame

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 1:41:45 pm
. @1369coffeehouse is a bustling hub of activity in an otherwise empty and frakenstorm-blown Central Square.

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 1:47:32 pm
@ellenbowie the best dance party in town!!! #centralsquare

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 2:00:12 pm
Central Square wind tunnel is fierce today!

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 2:09:10 pm
Oh no. A tree just fell on a car in front of our house by Central Square. cc @BostonDotCom http://t.co/Sg5JNDzQ

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 2:41:44 pm
@lmennies @ChowderBoston People's Republik in Central Square is open.

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 2:45:40 pm
@EaterBoston People's Republik in Central Square Cambridge. #OpenInBOS

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 2:58:51 pm
Holy Mitt! - Big Bird on the run in Central Square, #CambridgeMA http://t.co/SiN2lJeH

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 3:10:41 pm
Sandy is Here ▶️ @ Central Square http://t.co/w7e0x35U

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 3:31:38 pm
Oh no! Pls don't be mine :“@crushgear: Oh no. A tree just fell on a car in front of our house by Central Square. http://t.co/cxQI1uXC”
Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 3:44:26 pm
@universalhub @lhtobos Mine is fine near Central Square, for what it's worth.

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 9:32:39 pm
Thursday, November 8 @ 12:00 noon The Dance Complex 536 Mass. Ave., Central Square, Cambridge Free, but... http://t.co/6NfYdcdp

Mon, Oct 29th 2012, 10:31:17 pm
Live Webcam Hurricane Sandy Central Square - Cambridge, MA - Webcam http://t.co/Q9yotroL

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 9:20:59 am
Also, someone come to Veggie Galaxy in Central Square with me. I want vegan breakfast

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 10:40:08 am
The day after the storm #sandy #boston @ Central Square http://t.co/3GZwLtNQ

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 10:56:08 am
Central Square included MT @BostonTweet: Caffeine Charge: Starting today, 17 Boston @Starbucks will offer wireless smartphone charging.

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 11:32:11 am
The sun is shining! The birds are singing! Tonight's Fantastic Erotica reading in Central Square is on schedule! http://t.co/XS04TP7q

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 1:31:16 pm
@kabobii @inurashii @Ligeri @vegas0zero This is why Central Square has a CVS across from a Walgreens. For you, and also for the meth cooks.

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 2:53:26 pm
90% of the compliments I get on my hair come from homeless people in Central Square.

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 3:02:08 pm
Central Square's @craigieonmain and Salts made it on our #50Best list: http://t.co/6lppL1vj

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 6:10:39 pm
Help us fund Blanc! http://t.co/LSwzNyC2 #bostonarts #cambridgearts #centralsquare @bigredandshiny #juxtapozmag @bostonglobearts RT!!! THX!

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 6:20:29 pm
#curved #walkway I like lines @ Central Square http://t.co/Q79dNliJ

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 6:27:45 pm
Shit like this gets me excited #climb #to #high #places @ Central Square http://t.co/J7S6U4ck

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 6:30:03 pm
#apartments are complicated. #repetition is another thing I love @ Central Square http://t.co/dBBn5g61

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 6:32:11 pm
I love to purposely #defocus. It creates cool #effects and makes shit grungy-er @ Central Square http://t.co/C64HdJNo

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 8:29:55 pm
Didn't look like rain when I left for this run... @ Central Square http://t.co/P6kYZsDG
Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 9:49:23 pm
@kielvanhorn :D RT @KevinFranck: Firefighters have Central Square blocked off, dropping hose down a manhole.

Tue, Oct 30th 2012, 10:35:40 pm
@blancgallery Are you in the EMF building?? #centralsquare #cambridge #graphic #design #typography #landmark #mecca

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 8:54:25 am
Central Square sunrise. http://t.co/BKVWAiWg

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 8:59:10 am
Rocket by @SmashingPumpkin (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/fHQOR7cp

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 8:59:42 am
Funny... #ironicfairygodmother good right in at central square...Kendall... #notsomuch

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 9:34:43 am
"@FevenA: For Halloween I'm going to be a central square bum, catch me with the Old English" Im dying that you said for Halloween. Thats you

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 1:20:23 pm
Experience The How and the Why @ Central Square Theater #boston #fun - - http://t.co/mI1IFu1

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 1:50:32 pm
For real though how can anyone claim that Central Square doesn't have good food options. Bizarre.

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 2:02:55 pm
Happy #HALLOWEEN be safe out there and I'll see you tonight at the #middlesexlounge #centralsquare #dance #f http://t.co/L2teCE8x

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 2:03:07 pm
@inurashii Of all the restaurants in Central Square, I actually like... two and a half of them. Plus the ice cream place.

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 2:04:39 pm
Police activity on Prospect Street (Venus?) in #CentralSquare #Cambridge right now...anybody know what's up?

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 2:07:14 pm
@ChipotleTweets I was truly hoping for my #Boorito today but sadly the Central Square Chipotle has yet to be set free. http://t.co/6EnzGf6g

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 2:33:48 pm
Sandy Update, Election Day Sprint, Central Square Named Cultural District and more in my latest newsletter #cambpoli http://t.co/8QL8kZTC
Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 6:21:42 pm
If any Boston furs can get to Central Square around 7p, gonna be there. Would like to see people to keep my head above water.

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 8:53:02 pm
Imma go see how Central Square does Halloween. Who's out? #Halloween

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 10:14:45 pm
White ppl wildin for respect in central square. Iiight coolio

Wed, Oct 31st 2012, 10:27:09 pm
@IndustriousPimp I saw the same folks in central square. Fun to see all the costumes.

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 1:30:26 am
I was just attacked by an old drunk guy in Central Square. He threw several punches, didn't land any. Onlookers just stood there & onlooked.

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 8:30:25 am
Halloween werk Partee !!! #halloween #werk #officelyfe #party #lumberjack #dino @ Central Square Dance Party http://t.co/cUmoJUUi

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 8:55:45 am
The New World by Damon & Naomi (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/4tX3gNxw

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 12:58:37 pm
Performing live tonight at #EMWBOOKSTORE in Central Square, MA! 8pm #THADDEUSLOWE

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 2:19:12 pm
Niggas @ Central Square be aggy af. Every time I come here, some nigga's like 'yo mah, can I get some of them french fries?' -.-

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 2:31:56 pm
Follow Central Square Business Association blog! http://t.co/T9p7z4Iz

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 2:50:15 pm
Looking forward to The How and the Why @ Central Square Theater #boston #fun - - http://t.co/qrTRgEyl

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 3:30:18 pm
true story: i do all my best work in central square. #cambridgewins

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 3:31:14 pm
I swear. Central Square has the illest derelicts.... I have NEVER seen anyone be drunker than these folks at all hours of the day!

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 3:32:33 pm
Aftermath of Sandy! #centralssquare #cloudporn #cloud #cambridge #boston #massav @ Central Square Dance Party http://t.co/Pfra0D4J

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 3:39:07 pm
Boo-t-i-ful! Window painting in Central Square, #CambridgeMA http://t.co/PMaSaOXk

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 4:42:41 pm
Homeless woman just told me I'm insufferable. #cambridge #centralssquare
Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 4:55:40 pm
Only in Cambridge.. Pepto pink? #pink #car #bmw #318 #3series #cambridge #mass #boston #mur @Central Square http://t.co/9Fnfr1UK

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 6:07:26 pm
At MBTA Central Square Station — http://t.co/nETWtGev

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 7:28:14 pm
Playing at the Cantab Lounge in Central Square tonight with the Chicken Slacks. Classic R/B & Funk, come check it out! http://t.co/CdqcP6Nf

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 9:05:13 pm
NEVER BEEN HERE (@ Rendezvous Central Square) http://t.co/iztlwYhm

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 9:12:27 pm
@britishphill IT USED TO BE A BURGER KING

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 9:22:07 pm
The desserts at Rendezvous are quite delicious #centralsquare

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 10:40:08 pm
I swear the voice coming out of the speaker at the red line Central Square subway stop is announcing "Sensual Square." Every time.

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 11:17:21 pm
the Central square Chipotle is open now!!! @KaylahMontimes

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 11:21:17 pm
FUCK YESSSSSSS !!!! RT @ChynereVaughn: the Central square Chipotle is open now!!! @KaylahMontimes

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 11:31:37 pm
!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! RT @LavishJaay: FUCK YESSSSSSS !!!! RT @ChynereVaughn: the Central square Chipotle is open now!!! @KaylahMontimes

Thu, Nov 1st 2012, 11:38:23 pm
“@Bedlam_ShowOff: I'm at Central Square (Cambridge, MA) http://t.co/eG7TdAqa”

Fri, Nov 2nd 2012, 12:31:56 am
stace_nicole waiting for T. #boston#subway @ Central Square http://t.co/ZPCojRxi

Fri, Nov 2nd 2012, 8:31:56 am
Thanks Creative Futures @CFSMFA for recommending Central Square Biz @go_centralsq #FF @mmmmvaven @together @CambridgeArts @CambridgeUSA

Fri, Nov 2nd 2012, 9:13:59 am
Narrow Way by Bob Dylan (at MBTA Central Square Station) — http://t.co/jEtLSRgH

Fri, Nov 2nd 2012, 9:59:28 am
DON'T MISS CHEMISTRY SATURDAYS @ CLUB NAGA 450 MASS AVE CENTRAL SQUARE CAMBRIDGE DOORS @10PM ENTERTAINMENT: DJ... http://t.co/DjrtNtI2

Fri, Nov 2nd 2012, 10:02:26 am
DON'T MISS CHEMISTRY SATURDAYS @ CLUB NAGA 450 MASS AVE CENTRAL SQUARE CAMBRIDGE DOORS @10PM ENTERTAINMENT: DJ... http://t.co/QDFK0L9m
Fri, Nov 2nd 2012, 10:15:25 am
@BostonTweet @b_good_ UMMM HELLO come to @Harmonix in Central Square!

Fri, Nov 2nd 2012, 10:16:08 am
Inspiring wall art. #centralsquare http://t.co/KclufqMu

Fri, Nov 2nd 2012, 1:12:15 pm
@BostonTweet @b_good_ the Journal of Visualized Experiments in Central Square!
Appendix B

Instagram Photos of Central Square

Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 5:01:06 pm

"#Cambridge goes dark"

Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 5:02:46 pm

"The only lights in the city are red and blue. #poweroutage #hashtagsareawkward"

Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 5:12:07 pm

"Eerie dark in Central Square #blackout"
Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 5:34:21 pm

"Power outage in central T station"

Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 5:41:28 pm

"Central Square, Main & Mass Ave"

Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 5:59:03 pm

"this car on fire is blocking my bus. #centralsquare"

Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 6:00:49 pm

"#centralsquare dark and smoke-filled."
Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 6:31:39 pm

"Car fire on Prospect"

Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 7:50:01 pm

"Have you eaten your goddess today? #lifealive #maestro #buddah #boston #centralsquare #beanie #organic #chefstatus"

Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 8:16:55 pm

"make up your mind"

Thu, Nov 29th 2012, 10:25:52 pm

"#centralsquare is so cool. #cambridge #massachusetts #ig_newengland #graffiti #brick #buildings #alley #colors #windows #bright #people"
Fri, Nov 30th 2012, 12:24:57 am

"#lightsout #nopower #boston #cambridge #centralsquare"

Fri, Nov 30th 2012, 7:59:30 am

"#centralsquare #cambridge #boston #massachusetts #tag #color #alley #glass #angles"

Fri, Nov 30th 2012, 8:10:10 am

"يحفظكم الله ، الحديقة عروسة مهج تلذين بسم الله نانب"

Fri, Nov 30th 2012, 3:46:57 pm

"another picture from #centralsquare, #cambridge, #massachusetts. #ig_newengland #igscout #instagram #instalove #art #graffiti #people #focus #light #color #blur"
Fri, Nov 30th 2012, 5:20:08 pm

"Lights on"

Sat, Dec 1st 2012, 12:34:08 am

"Central Square!!! My Home, My City!!!
#Sun#Sky#Clouds#Skyline#Church#CentralSq#Cambridge#617#Love#My#City#TagsForLikes#TFLers#Tweetagram#Webstagram#Instagramer#InstagramHub#InstaHub#IgDaily#IgAddict#Igers#Igersboston#tbt#jj
#Pic#Picstitch#PicOfrheDay#BestOfTheDay#Photo#PhotoOfTheDay"

Sat, Dec 1st 2012, 6:33:10 am

"#momingcommute #mbta #redline #centralsquare"

Sat, Dec 1st 2012, 9:22:18 am

"stay adorable #cambridge #centralsquare #veggiegalaxy #breakfast"
Sat, Dec 1st 2012, 11:52:17 am

"December First Two Thousand Twelve"

Sat, Dec 1st 2012, 1:00:16 pm

"#centralsquare #cambridge"

Sat, Dec 1st 2012, 2:51:01 pm

"First (real) Snow + hanging christmas lights + Saturday + Nighthawks at the Diner = chili in a bowl."

Sat, Dec 1st 2012, 3:43:25 pm

"Saturday in cambridge at the field #cambridge #boston #centralsquare #beer #bar #liquor #taps #guiness #soccer"
Sat, Dec 1st 2012, 5:12:07 pm

"High quality thrifting finds"

Sat, Dec 1st 2012, 10:24:18 pm

"Roomies!"

Sun, Dec 2nd 2012, 12:19:47 am

"Only the best"

Sun, Dec 2nd 2012, 1:43:00 pm

"#atomiccafe in #centralsquare, #cambridge"
"Sunday afternoon book hunting in Central Square."

"Hangin' out #365project (No. 238) w/ @veronicamagan @sstinagiordano @elizabethwcarey @emilyshearing @leahstacy"

"#grafitti #boston #centralsquare #art"
"Good morning, central!"

"Make-your-own ramen vs. greyhound."

"'Tis the season!"
"Central Square smells of Pot."

"Lost hawk"

"Good morning Central Square! #goodmorning #central #Cambridge #prospect #commute #wednesday #cloudporn #sun"

"Office in the sky."
Wed, Dec 5th 2012, 11:20:11 pm

"#holidaysquare #centralsquare"

Wed, Dec 5th 2012, 11:27:03 pm

"new-ish temporary digs located here. Derp."

Thu, Dec 6th 2012, 7:53:07 am

"#love #TagsForLikes #instagood #tweegram #photooftheday #iphonesia #instamood #church #clouds #igers #picoftheday #iphoneonly #instagramhub #igersnewengland #central #webstagram #picstitch #nofilter #boston #iheartboston #igersboston #sun #instagramers"

Thu, Dec 6th 2012, 11:41:38 am

"Bracelets make great stocking stuffers. These #beaded #bangles our just $2 each! #thrift #thrifting #thriftstorefinds #holiday #gift #thriftyourgift #centralsquare #cambridge #boston #boomerangs #itemoftheday"
"#tillvonsein Till Von Sein #phoenixlanding #reset #cambridge #centralsquare"

"@djbtips #centralsquare #cambridge #sohood #pittsburgh"

"Central Square in Cambridge MA!"

"My neighborhood decked the halls pretty well..."
Thu, Dec 6th 2012, 6:44:38 pm
"#centralsquare #lights"

Thu, Dec 6th 2012, 6:45:58 pm
"#centralsquare #dancers #lights"

Thu, Dec 6th 2012, 7:39:17 pm
"#christmas #tree #lights #centralsquare #cambridge #ma #night #Hipstamatic #Salvador84 #Sugar"

Thu, Dec 6th 2012, 9:26:35 pm
"Peacelove&loccococo #centralsquare #lifealive #terrerium #crunchy"
Fri, Dec 7th 2012, 8:37:02 am

"Designer Breakfast :D #Cambridge #boston #starbucks #christmasblend"

Fri, Dec 7th 2012, 4:54:40 pm

"#centralsquare #graffiti in pink!"

Fri, Dec 7th 2012, 4:56:51 pm

"#centralsquare #graffiti"

Fri, Dec 7th 2012, 4:58:26 pm

"#centralsquare #graffiti"
Fri, Dec 7th 2012, 5:23:39 pm

"#centralsquare #music"

Fri, Dec 7th 2012, 9:29:31 pm

"Serendipity: finding something good without looking for it. #igersboston #iheartboston"

Fri, Dec 7th 2012, 10:28:55 pm

"@ilovelucius woo encore! Lol please though"

Fri, Dec 7th 2012, 11:26:47 pm

"#Echer #Enamel #Sneaz"
"Good intentions. Poor grammar."

"#centralsquare #ma #cambridge #boston #graffiti #streetart #tag"

"Not sure if that's an "n" or a "v"?? #cambridge #centralsquare #boston #ma #redline #streetart #graffiti"

"Whoever this is is wicked awesome, I loved the pigeon!! #boston #cambridge #centralsquare #redline #ma #graffiti #streetart #tag"
"Rex #cambridge #centralsquare #boston #ma #redline #graffiti #streetart #rex"

"Lucius"

"Graffiti wall in Central Square. ❤️ urban art. #graffiti #art #centralsquare #Cambridge #urbanart #colorful"
Sat, Dec 8th 2012, 5:04:22 pm

"#centralsquare #cambridge"

Sat, Dec 8th 2012, 8:31:09 pm

"#"

Sat, Dec 8th 2012, 9:27:29 pm

"Some fancy schmancy drinks with @chelseakanewhitton at #Brick&Mortar in #centralSquare :)

Sun, Dec 9th 2012, 9:01:57 am

"Horace in action #centralsquare"
"The simple things in life: a good French roast and a croissant on a Sunday morning. #coffee #simple #sunday"

"Killer jazz trio at Thelonius Monkfish #cambridge #centralsquare"

"Helpful"

"Frenzy"
"Christmas lights #christmaslights #lights #christmas #centralsquare #igchristmas"

"A gem of a day with @merkthose #piggies #falcons #centralsquare #cambridgelegalwall #bowz #pigeonshit"

"#bowz #centralsquare"

"#CentralSquare"
Sun, Dec 9th 2012, 4:59:29 pm

"#christmas #centralsquare"

Sun, Dec 9th 2012, 8:22:29 pm

"That's a pornstar piggy to the right of the pigeon. Hip shit #CentralSquare"

Mon, Dec 10th 2012, 1:45:00 am

"Streets are shining #reflection #rain #boston #iheartboston #teamelyte #teamnosleep #streetshots #snapshotswhiledriving"

Mon, Dec 10th 2012, 8:37:00 pm

"Felt like cooking again~ side dish: potato and corn salad with asian vinaigrette :)"
"I blame Cory for giving me this idea of making chicken alfredo though ended up making cheesy shells with chicken~ :D"

"#urban #camouflage photo by #metagasm from #boston #model: @laur_ly #street #graff #graffiti #writer #girl #paint #mcrib #centralsquare #mit #wellesley #art #photography #disappear #woman #catsuit"

"#cambridge #centralsquare #firstbaptist #church #steeple #contrails #chemtrails"

"Great #holiday #gift idea: scarves! Starting at just $2 each in Central Square. #thrift #thrifting #shopboomerangs #boston #cambridge #centralsquare #vintage #itemoftheday #wool #knits"
"Central square cwoulds"

"Let's go! I'm hungry... ☑"

"#central #square #cambridge"

 Tue, Dec 11th 2012, 4:39:10 pm

 Tue, Dec 11th 2012, 4:48:09 pm

 Tue, Dec 11th 2012, 10:47:49 pm

 Tue, Dec 11th 2012, 10:55:06 pm
"#centralsquare #graffiti #boston #drunk"

Wed, Dec 12th 2012, 7:27:37 am

"#cambridge #morning #centralsquare"

Wed, Dec 12th 2012, 3:52:18 pm

"A really #Artsy #Alleyway at #CentralSquare in #Cambridge #Massachusetts months ago. #Andrography #Phonetography #Photography #StreetArt #Urban #Colorful #Rainbow #beautiful #UrbanArt #Graffiti #GraffitiArt"

Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 7:24:04 am

"#morning #centralsquare #cambridge"
Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 10:47:40 am

"New office space #precon"

Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 12:40:53 pm

"Some #holiday cheer from #strightangular last nite at #middlesex #nofilter #centralsquare"

Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 2:00:08 pm

"The pigeons have chosen their leader and plot the destruction of the human race. "Hiel Lord Pigeon!""
Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 3:20:48 pm

"Pig girl #graffiti #graffiti #pig #piggirl #redhead #streetart #centralsquare #cambridge #boston #ma #redline"

Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 3:28:23 pm

"Loveless #loveless #graffiti #graffiti #streetart #cambridge #centralsquare #ma #boston #redline"

Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 3:31:09 pm

"Is it a pigeon?? #bird #pigeon #graffiti #graffiti #streetart #cambridge #boston #ma #centralsquare"

Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 3:34:05 pm

"#graffiti #graffiti #streetart #cambridge #centralsquare #boston #ma"
Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 3:36:05 pm

"It's back? #graffiti #grafitti #streetart #cambridge #centralsquare #boston #ma #itsback #redline"

Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 3:43:29 pm

"Lisa"

Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 4:20:14 pm

"Story of my life #centralsquare #cambridge #redline"

Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 4:21:41 pm

"Dosa factory #centralsquare #cambridge #ma #boston #dosafactory"
Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 4:22:41 pm

"Dosa factory decorations #dosafactory #centralsquare #cambridge #ma #boston"

Thu, Dec 13th 2012, 4:45:28 pm

"The power of an eagle. #AmazingArt #CentralSquare #cambridge #graffiti #eagle"

Fri, Dec 14th 2012, 12:57:11 am

"Ben UFO #middlesex #cambridge #centralsquare"

Fri, Dec 14th 2012, 4:01:46 pm

"I love art stores #centralsquare"
Fri, Dec 14th 2012, 6:05:18 pm

"Ben UFO #benufo #centralsquare #middlesex #cambridge"

Fri, Dec 14th 2012, 9:14:35 pm

"Yes, old banana peel on the subway, you get it. It's been one of those days."

Fri, Dec 14th 2012, 9:20:35 pm

"Disco Christmas #christmas #centralsquare #cambridge #tree #discoball #sparkle #decorations"

Fri, Dec 14th 2012, 9:31:33 pm

"yay centrlal!"
Sat, Dec 15th 2012, 12:46:54 pm

"Why I love Boston #art #streetart #perfect"

Sat, Dec 15th 2012, 3:16:03 pm

"Annie's first tomato 'n egg~ nom nom nom :D"

Sat, Dec 15th 2012, 8:57:36 pm

"Birthday party in central :)

Sat, Dec 15th 2012, 10:43:56 pm

"#centralsquare #cambridge #dusk"
"That party last night was awfully crazy, I wish we'd tapped it #cambridge #centralsquare"

"A couple waiting for the T in Boston with matching broken leg boots. I have so many questions."
Sun, Dec 16th 2012, 11:43:41 pm

"Brunch: per Annie's suggestion~ turnip greens, corn, mushrooms, and a sprinkle of cheese quiche... Fun-size :D"

Mon, Dec 17th 2012, 10:02:09 am

"#graffiti #art #cool #awesome #rad #bird #creative #boston #cambridge #centralsq #centralsquare"

Mon, Dec 17th 2012, 11:08:00 am

"Rainy midnight in Central Square. #cambridge #centralsquare #midnight #rain"

Mon, Dec 17th 2012, 11:38:42 am

"35mm over thanksgiving #35mm #film #blackandwhite #graffiti #streetart #wires #centralsquare #filmphotography #nofilter #chickenfillet #iwantfood #mondayfunday #2kvlt4skoo"
Mon, Dec 17th 2012, 7:18:44 pm

"Central Square. Like no other place on earth."

Tue, Dec 18th 2012, 2:54:21 pm

"City Art #Graffiti #urbanlife #cityliving #art #hoodlife"

Wed, Dec 19th 2012, 11:06:01 am

"$2.50 to ride the T??"

Wed, Dec 19th 2012, 4:36:19 pm
"Cambridge in the rain"

"Chocolate in a tiny box its so cute #chocolate #tiny #box"

"Teeny tiny saucer or 'UGE middle finger? #datenight #japfood #miniatures #klepto #centralsquare #sushi #muffin"

"Morning in Central Square #centralsquare #cambridge"
Wed, Dec 19th 2012, 11:22:46 pm

"#holidayspirit #lights #centralsquare #Cambridge"

Wed, Dec 19th 2012, 11:56:28 pm

"Merry Christmas! Love from Boston, Horton and Angie #merrychristmas #bestlookingcouple #allhandsdown #boston"

Thu, Dec 20th 2012, 9:57:30 am

"GMorning!!! #bundledup #chilly #coffee #walking #centralsquare #Cambridge #sky #whiteclouds #city #goodmorning #tired #blonde #sunglasses #winter #peachezgomez #Thursday #lipgloss #sunny #curly"

Thu, Dec 20th 2012, 12:57:06 pm

"Redline □→□ going inbound #centralsquare #cambridge #boston #redline #city #subway #transit #mbta"
Fri, Dec 21st 2012, 2:08:36 pm

"End of the world? neeh, just a crappy new england day #endoftheworld #boston #newengland"

Fri, Dec 21st 2012, 3:47:00 pm

Fri, Dec 21st 2012, 4:00:30 pm

"#clouds after the #rain"

Fri, Dec 21st 2012, 4:17:53 pm

"We love the city life. @maggie9321"
Fri, Dec 21st 2012, 7:50:54 pm

"#centralsquare #cambridge #massachusetts #truck #massave #prospectstreet #clouds #sky #sunset #igers #igersnewengland #iphonesia #photooftheday #bestoftheday #sun #reflection"

Fri, Dec 21st 2012, 9:40:59 pm

"Art by Mr. #mr #centralsquare #cambridge #massachusetts #art"

Fri, Dec 21st 2012, 11:26:06 pm

"#rivergods #centralsquare #cambridge"

Sat, Dec 22nd 2012, 3:43:30 pm

"Saying whaddap to the Cambridge apt and its cranky old signs with @nomoavocado"
Sat, Dec 22nd 2012, 8:49:00 pm

Sun, Dec 23rd 2012, 10:56:07 am

"Back to the #MotherLand #cambridge is do #missyou"

Sun, Dec 23rd 2012, 4:37:56 pm

"The square I called home for 2 years. #centralsquare"

Sun, Dec 23rd 2012, 6:09:58 pm
Sun, Dec 23rd 2012, 8:27:21 pm

"Preparando a ceia...."

Mon, Dec 24th 2012, 12:14:53 am

"Another shot I took of this lovely work of art. And I still don't know who did this. #centralsquare #cambridge #massachusetts #art"

Tue, Dec 25th 2012, 3:32:28 pm

"Some pictures from my run today. #boston #asics #run #running #bostonmarathon2013 #bostonmarathon #skyline #smoots #massave #cambridge #somerville #ma #Massachusetts #massavebridge #centralsquare #kenmore #harvardsquare #portersquare"

Tue, Dec 25th 2012, 9:31:49 pm

"#dancing #centralsquare #rainywindow"
Wed, Dec 26th 2012, 9:37:19 am

Thu, Dec 27th 2012, 8:53:18 pm

"@lifealive #vegan #dinner #vegetables #brownrice #tofu #healthy #Cambridge #centralsquare #nutritional"

Sat, Dec 29th 2012, 8:37:03 pm

"#centralsquare #snowing#winter #boston #vacation #cold #tree #nature #night #follow"

Sat, Dec 29th 2012, 8:50:49 pm

"I came to get down (if you're wondering I know every word)"
"More snow than all of last winter."

"Snowy walk home"

"Wet snow"

"'Wintry mix' blows. #boston #cambridge #snow"
Sun, Dec 30th 2012, 6:59:58 pm

"#hammock time, thanks to @airbnb!"

Sun, Dec 30th 2012, 7:43:50 pm

"Duck boot twins @iamgregorydavis"

Sun, Dec 30th 2012, 8:36:12 pm

"This is #CentralSquare"

Mon, Dec 31st 2012, 2:38:38 am

"Gonna use an Instagram filter to make these old migrated servers that we took out of service look even more retro."
"Snow doesn't stop real #graffiti artists #cambridge #alillouder #central"

"#centralsquare #graffiti green!"

"#centralsquare #graffiti star"

"booze jet packs"
"No shoes on New Years fist fighting her boyfriend, good start to the new year. She won cause she's not in the cop car #2013 #nye #newyears #centralsquare #cambridge #classy #domesticabuse"

"She rides all winter"

"Built 1890 #architecture #centralsquare #cambridge #blue #red #sunrise"