Liquid Urbanisms: Dublin's Loose Networks and Provisional Places

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Abstract

My PhD thesis contributes to the disciplines of Geography and Urban Studies by adding the vocabulary, typology and conceptual framework of what I call 'Liquid Urbanisms' (LU). My LU typology invites scholars to investigate a range of provisional places and projects in their city initiatives, largely overlooked in the 'temporary urbanisms' literature, including autonomous social centres and direct-action occupations, and highlights the need to include these lesser-known projects in our understandings of how the neoliberal city is made and how groups, artists and activists contribute to the complex and fluid timespaces of the lived, rhythmic city and emphasises the nuanced everyday experiences of those creating more liveable spaces in post-austerity cities. It introduces an innovative methodological approach which I describe as a 'Flexible Activist Case Study Approach', which includes mixed qualitative methods across numerous case studies over a period of three years, to capture a range of case studies. The fourteen case studies I examined in the PhD varied, but I classified them into three broad types: Creative, Community-Based and Autonomous Liquid Urbanisms. These case studies include: a pop-up urban park, a squat, a networking group, community urban gardens, exhibitions, occupations, an art and cultural centre, projects in annual festivals, among others. I also identified four tributaries, or characteristics, which intersect and flow with the types of LU: networks and place, timespaces and rhythms, use value and urban commons, and political beliefs and institutional relationships. When combined, the LU types and tributaries form a typology and illustrate the ecology of provisional places in Dublin.

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Abbreviations[1]

AH = Apollo House

APC = A Playful City

ATS = Art Tunnel Smithfield

AU = Autonomous Urbanisms

BFF = Bloom Fringe Festival

BH = Bolt Hostel

BT = Block T

CBU = Community-Based Urbanisms

CC = Creative Cities

CtDs = Connect the Dots

CU = Creative Urbanisms

DB = Dublin Biennial

DCC = Dublin City Council

EU = European Union

GFC = Global Financial Crisis

GG = Grangegorman Squat

GP = Granby Park

IAC = Irish Arts Council

IHN = Irish Housing Network

LU = Liquid Urbanisms

MACG = Mary's Abbey Community Garden

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[1]For a full list of details about interviewees for this study, please see Appendix 3.

MU = Maynooth University

NAMA = National Assets Management Agency

PAH = Plataforma de afectados por la hipoteca Madrid

SDZ = Strategic Development Zone

SS = Seomra Spraoi

TBI = The Barricade Inn

TU = Temporary Urbanism

UaT = Upon a Tree

VSL = Vacant Sites Levy

Chapter 1: From Creative Cities to Liquid Urbanisms

> 'What made Exchange unique was it's organisational structure . . . Every meeting was open to anyone to not only attend, but to participate in all decisions affecting the space. . . Exchange was genuinely democratic . . .
>
> It was open, and non-commercial, relaxed and energising. It attracted tens of thousands of people - from locals to tourists, professional artists to the homeless. Visitors were not passive spectators, they made things, put on events, learnt how to dance, paint, tell stories . . .[it] opened up possibilities in the city.
>
> Unfortunately, Exchange was always in conflict. Temple Bar Cultural Trust quickly decided that a space it could neither understand nor completely control was unwanted in Dublin's largest supermarket … Dublin City Council . . .couldn't quite come to grips with a collectively run space . . .
>
> Ruthlessly commercial cities like Dublin will always seek to extinguish any unprofitable distraction, but Exchange was and is proof that even a place as cold as Dublin, [can] be the warmest city in the world'.
>
> -- Gareth Stack, member of Exchange Dublin, blog post, 2015.

1.1: Introduction

Cities are constituted of a multitude of divergent places and spaces of varying types, and this PhD thesis focuses on the users and creators of projects, offering a new 'liquid urban' approach to analyse the complex and fluid timespaces of the city and urban life. Exchange Dublin 'one of Dublin's most innovative and important independent spaces' (Provisional University, 2014c: n/a), for example, was a shared cultural space in Temple Bar, open from 2009 to 2014. Exchange Dublin offered users 'a different way of valuing the city and a different way of making decisions about how it should be used and for whom' (Bresnihan, 2014: n/a). As the above

quote shows, it was run democratically, with decisions about the space being made by its users. Further, as a place, Exchange Dublin offered people a supportive social environment where they could practice their art or creativity, whatever form that may have taken; for Stack, a member of Exchange Dublin, it had 'a profound impact on my life', including his professional career development, and perhaps more significantly, on who he became as a person.

Despite such positive responses from many of the users and supporters of Exchange Dublin, the centre was closed in February 2014, following formal complaints about 'anti-social behaviour'. Although attempts were made to save the space (Provisional University, 2014c; Stack, 2015), including 5,000 people signing a petition (McGrath, 2015), these were unsuccessful. During the same week that Exchange Dublin was closed, a public forum was held by Dublin City Council (DCC) called 'City Limits: Inventive Uses for Urban Space', which focused on imaginative ways to use vacant or underutilised space (Dublin City Council, 2014). At this event, the 'Vacant Sites Levy' was mentioned; a proposed levy to tax vacant land to encourage site development, passed into law in 2015 and in action from January 2019. In addition, so-called temporary use projects like the pop-up Granby Park (2013) were praised. In another ironic twist, a talk was given at the 'City Limits' event by Ray Yeates, a DCC Arts Officer; as interim CEO of the Temple Bar Cultural Trust, Yeates was also landlord of Exchange Dublin and therefore involved in its closure. Yeates gave a talk about the 'Vacant Spaces' program, run by the Arts Office of Dublin City Council to which Exchange Dublin applied to secure a new space, but were unsuccessful.

This above series of events highlights a tension between what DCC are claiming to do (through initiatives like the Vacant Spaces program and the aforementioned talk) and what actually happens in practice (Provisional University, 2014). Firstly, DCC's entrepreneurial approach to urban planning has broadly adopted 'creative city' policies (O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015). By facilitating certain kinds of creative Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Urbanisms, such as Granby Park, but not others, like Exchange Dublin, DCC is creating a narrow form of urbanism that only includes projects and users that they believe will not negatively affect their wider economic goals and urban development objectives (Provisional University, 2014a). As we shall see, even labelling projects such as Granby Park using the 'Creative Cities' lexicon undermines the complexity and contributions of those initiatives (Till and Mc Ardle, 2015). Secondly, closing The Exchange based on the allegation of 'anti-social' behaviour is exemplary of what Kenna et al. (2015: p. 115) have described as the 'development and instrumentalisation of "anti-social behaviour" as a new urban discourse' in Ireland, with antisocial behaviour described as 'a loose term that is applied to any form of social activity that is deemed inappropriate' (p. 126). In contrast, 'appropriate' behaviour is signalled by DCC's positive response to certain types of 'creative' projects in the city. Thirdly, similar to Urban Studies or Geography scholars, DCC might label both The Exchange and Granby Park as 'temporary uses', but as I argue in this dissertation, such a classification, in prioritising an economic and managerial logic, is too reductive and does not include the lived experiences of the users and makers of these projects.

Through artistic, cultural and activist initiatives such as Exchange Dublin, urban inhabitants get the chance to know themselves, other people, and to

encounter others whom they never would normally interact with. These urban places and spaces have unique rhythms (Lefebvre, 1992) which affect those living in a city. Cities are of course affected by capitalist dynamics and the processes of creative destruction, spatial fixes and accumulation by dispossession (Marx, 1887; Harvey, 1989), yet, the lived city is also created by the timespaces (Crang, 2001), networks, values and urban commons, and specific political beliefs – significant qualities that I maintain have not been adequately researched.

The aim of this PhD thesis is to create an ecology of provisional places and projects in Dublin to synthesise and analyse the similarities and differences between overlapping types and tributaries of what I call 'Liquid Urbanisms'. Theoretically, I outline Liquid Urbanisms (LU), the meta-theory of which I claim better encapsulates the range of places and spaces existing in the neoliberal city. Building on Bauman's Liquid Modernity, LU is marked by individualisation and flexibility, but also by alternative forms of community and networks. This study offers an alternative way to think about the post-crisis austerity city than existing capitalocentric accounts which focus more on economic interpretations of the crisis in an urban setting. My project examines the significance of alternative initiatives in the neoliberal city by analysing three types of overlapping projects: creative, community-based and autonomous, in Dublin from 2013-2017. In a more comprehensive way than studies of temporary urbanisms, this PhD thesis aspires to understand the everyday experiences of the makers and users, in particular their networks and connections, which go into the making of their initiatives. Liquid Urbanisms are understood not as lesser to economic or political processes taking

place in the city, but as having implicit value, illustrating the urban as simultaneous, multiple and always emerging.

My empirical research consists of fourteen case studies over four years, which I organised into a LU typology of three aforementioned types and four interconnected tributaries: networks and place, timespaces and rhythms, use value and urban commons, and political beliefs and institutional relationships. I sought to clarify the complex timespaces of everyday life in the neoliberal city. I developed a flexible activist case study approach, an innovative research design and methodology that enabled me to gain as much insight into the experiential nature of these places over a four-year period, as many of the projects closed, relocated, re-emerged in a different form, and/ or were tied to festivals and other cycles during this time. Unlike comparative case study research designs, I analyse provisional projects in Dublin at a comparable level using a range of qualitative methods. In particular, my use of social media analysis, together with volunteer work and observation, revises and extends more traditional methods such as interviews.

This PhD offers other scholars a more comprehensive vocabulary, typology, and research design, to understand an urban ecology of provisional places than current research in so-called temporary urbanisms. Empirically, the research intends to illuminate projects and places not well studied in the city, including squats, direct action occupations and autonomous social centres, to highlight the need to focus on so-called marginal uses, as these autonomous LU are already existing significant places and spaces in the neoliberal city.

The main objectives of my PhD thesis are:

- To focus on the users and makers' motivations and perspectives in the city through the everyday scale of these projects and places.
- To create an innovative and flexible activist case study research design that uses different qualitative methods of data collection to cumulatively build an understanding of how these projects connect at the city scale across timespace.
- To uncover the types of networks and quality of connections that exist within and between these projects.
- To devise an innovative iterative analysis that combines both synthetic and analytic forms of data analysis.
- To classify different types of provisional use, including autonomous and anarchist types, to facilitate understandings of differences and connections between types of provisional use in the neoliberal city.
- To extend lexicons in Urban Studies and Geography to include the new perspectives I have uncovered, and to incorporate non-capitalist understandings of value when discussing the neoliberal city.
- To overcome binary thinking about permanence and the temporary, and exchange and use value, allowing for scholars to understand these projects and places more holistically.

In order to understand these dynamic timespaces of cities, I sought to answer four broad research questions:

- How do the users and creators of so-called ‘alternative’ and ‘creative’ urban spaces describe their reasons for making these places, projects and networks?
- What are the creators’ and users’ experiences of these initiatives and of the lived city more broadly?
- How might scholars use this local expert knowledge to conceptualise the places and spaces of the neoliberal city differently?
- What might the specific expressions of these initiatives in Dublin allow us to learn about other ‘post-crisis’ cities?

In the chapters that follow, my thesis seeks to understand places like Exchange Dublin and the perspectives of its users and makers such as Stack’s, as well as to theorise the contribution these places make to the city. Rather than merely ‘temporary’ forms of urbanism, I argue that the range of projects created and enjoyed by urban residents give scholars opportunities to rethink and reconceptualise how we as academics theorise cities and processes of urbanisation. Thus this study critically interrogates the language used by urban professionals and scholars to describe projects such as Exchange Dublin and Granby Park. I maintain that the city is not only the site where people live, or the locale where amenities are based, but includes a progressive sense of place which is unbounded, multiple and processual (Massey, 1994).

To clarify what I refer to when I allude to ‘mainstream approaches’; I indicate dominant discourse and accepted norms in urban geography. Structuralist and Marxist approaches in urban geography are examples of this mainstream approach. When critiquing neoliberalism, structuralists would focus on the

underlying logics of capitalism, for example, production, social production, consumerism, and crises of accumulation, without paying adequate attention to non-capitalist forms of these processes. Although I find this work useful, such as David Harvey's contributions which I have heavily leaned upon, I still find this over reliance on the political economy of cities to be reductive. Mainstream approaches do not typically consider the everyday experiences of cities in any detail- the lived realities of urban makers and users everyday experiences, providing detailed nuances of local and embodied scales.

In contrast, my work brings structural and experiential approaches together. I use the critical urban approach to theory, described by Brenner et al. (2009), as a 'critical branch [that] can be usefully counterposed to "mainstream" or "traditional" approaches to urban questions' (p. 179). I understand the city from political economy perspectives while I pay particular attention to the everyday scale. One example from my work is how the global financial crisis, which led to austerity urbanism and the homelessness crisis, can be understood through studying the lived responses of activists. Rather than focus on the role of capitalism as traditional perspectives may have done, I acknowledge the positive, activist outcomes of squatters challenging the system of capitalism. Thus, my PhD thesis confronts the limited view present in traditional approaches, to more fully illustrate the complexity of urban life.

In this chapter, following a brief introduction to my key theoretical contributions in Section 1.2, I situate the empirical context of the project, discussing neoliberal (post)austerity Dublin in Section 1.3. In Section 1.4, I then frame my contributions also according to the Temporary Urbanism (hereinafter TU)

literatures. At the end of the chapter, in Section 1.5, I outline the chapters that follow and briefly introduce the case studies of this dissertation.

1.2: Introducing Liquid Urbanisms

Liquid Urbanisms (LU) is the foundational conceptual framework of this PhD thesis. As meta-theory, LU provides scholars the language, research design and methodology necessary to discuss alternative projects and provisional places in their cities; a gap I encountered when I began my research on so-called 'temporary urbanisms'. Essential to LU is Bauman's description of Liquid Modernity (LM) as a deregulated world marked by individualisation and privatisation. Yet while aspects of LM were echoed by my research participants, Bauman ignored the urban commons, networks, the significance of place, and alternative values that also exist in cities. My discussion of LU advances Bauman's theory of LM, by providing a conceptually rich framework. I developed the LU typology, consisting of overlapping but distinctive types and tributaries, through an iterative analytical process of interpreting literatures of LM, alongside synthetic interpretations of codes resulting from the empirical data from case studies. Thus, the LU typology I present adds a complexity to understandings of liquidity within the social sciences, extending geographers' understandings of the city as fluid, multiplicitous and co-constitutive.

In this PhD thesis I examine fourteen Dublin-based projects as forms of what I call 'Liquid Urbanisms', highlighting the user's and creator's experiences of these places, networks and initiatives, rather than measure their success on the basis of monetary profit. As l show in the next chapter, I agree with Koyama (2017) that

transitional and flexible uses of space are demonstrative of the 'liquid' world described by Zygmunt Bauman (2000). Bauman's depiction of a deregulated, privatised world marked by individualisation was the same world my research participants described, and for this reason I developed Bauman's concept of Liquid Modernity to consider the urban lifeworlds of the people and projects of this study. Sociologists and Geographers had already mined the late modernity concepts offered by theorists Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck. Yet little had been done to advance Bauman's ideas, even though his work more fully conceptualised the conditions I saw in my research: I felt I could see the settings of liquidity he described in Dublin. At the same time, following a literature review, I realised that Urban Studies and Geography scholars didn't draw upon Bauman's concepts partly because of Bauman's underdeveloped spatial imaginary: his focus on the sociological imagination differs from that of the geographical.

In this PhD thesis, I have sought to develop Bauman's theory of Liquid Modernity from a geographical theoretical perspective and through rich empirical research based upon Dublin. I extend Bauman's work through the creation of my own concept of 'Liquid Urbanisms' (LU). Liquid Urbanisms pay attention to how inhabitants encounter the city's timespaces, which are flowing, multiple, and rhythmic, as well as highlight the practices used by people in their making, experiencing and use of particular places and shared urban spaces. Ideas and projects emerge through loose networks that connect the peoples and places involved in creating and using urban projects and spaces; they offer 'real', lived alternatives of what they envision their city is and might become.

This PhD thesis proposes Liquid Urbanisms as a new analytical approach to understanding the complex and fluid timespaces of the city and urban life. Rather than describe these initiatives according to neoliberal agendas as 'pop up phenomenon [sic]', or flurries 'of short-term activity' that are 'logical outcome[s] of the economic crisis' (Harris and Nowicki, 2015: n/a), I argue that Liquid Urbanisms are more temporally complex than descriptions of temporary 'micro-spatial urban practices' (Iveson, 2013: p. 941) suggest. This study also challenges the classification of these projects according to the 'Creative Cities' (CC) rhetoric. As I discuss in Chapter 3, CC are defined by the '3t's': tolerance, technology and talent (Florida, 2002). Yet the DIY Urbanisms, pop-up and CC discourses fail to account for the user and creator perspectives on Liquid Urbanisms as I illustrate in the empirical chapters of this study. Moreover, more politically radical uses of urban space, such as squatting and occupations, are not included in the literatures of DIY Urbanisms, pop-ups and CC, which often focus on one particular scale only, such as an area, community or project, or a single city. The exclusion of these important Autonomous Urbanisms means that the full range of different 'types' of projects are underresearched in scholarly and urban policy and planning literatures.

I examined Liquid Urban spaces and practices in austerity Dublin through a qualitative case study approach analysing fourteen artistic and activist initiatives, which I introduce later in this chapter; although each case study had different timelines, I completed most of my research from 2013-2017. Stemming from a rich empirical analysis of these case studies, I describe three different types of Liquid Urbanisms according to their unique mix of temporalities, networks, places, forms of exchange, values, shared spaces and political goals, that, when taken together,

constitute the lived city. This dissertation therefore also seeks to provide a new conceptual framework according to LU 'types' and what I call 'tributaries' or key qualities, as outlined in Table 1.2 below and detailed in Chapter 3, that may offer scholars a different way to think about the neoliberal, post-austerity European city.

There is a critical distinction between types and tributaries: the 'types' help us to understand the geographies of LU, whereas the tributaries enable us to flesh out the spatial nuances associated with each type. As described in Chapter 4, following preliminary research and a literature review, I found that the existing Urban Studies literatures (see below) failed to identify important nuances of many projects; these would be lost if I imposed already existing concepts too narrowly onto the case studies. In particular, I found that the literature treated space as location and time according to calendric dates, did not acknowledge significant non-capitalist aspects of projects, overlooked the role of social capital and the complexities of networks, narrowly defined creativity, and glossed over the contributions made by and to communities. In addition, more politically radical initiatives that have existed in European cities for quite some time, such as squatting, were not present in the literature at all.

Therefore, in order to fully understand my LU typology outlined in Chapter 3, I created three broad overlapping analytic classifications, or types, Creative, Community-Based and Autonomous Urbanisms, but to further recognise the similarities and differences between them, four groupings of synthetic categories emerged from all the qualitative data I had gathered and iteratively coded. These became the four LU tributaries, which are not uniformly present across the types (see Figure 8.1). The distinction between types and tributaries allows scholars not

only to recognise the geographies of LU but also to ascertain what tributaries are streaming into that type. These projects all have flexible temporalities, are created and maintained through networks and places, and operate according to non-monetary-based value systems that are complementary and parallel to, or exist outside of, commercial spaces. They may also produce new urban commons. LU practices are necessarily mobile, in that they are responsive to, yet also constitutive of what is happening in the neoliberal city (in terms of politics, economies, resources, institutions, values). Consequently, the specific political beliefs of the creators and users of LU influence their relationships to existing institutions.

In the next section, I set up the context for my thesis. Firstly, I contextualise my study by elaborating on the processes of neoliberalisation and the entrepreneurial mode of governance introduced above for Ireland and specifically Dublin. I argue that Dublin City Council (DCC) has been entrenched with neoliberal ideals since at least the 1990s with the Temple Bar renewal project (O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015; Lawton and Punch, 2015), and that the Creative Cities agenda is merely the most recent manifestation thereof. In contrast to these literatures, I introduce 'The Right to the City' literature, which is cited by some of the activists and artists in this study as a different way of imagining their city. Secondly, I analyse the 'Temporary Urbanism' (hereafter TU) literatures and I divide these into two categories, the first category based on studies in urban planning and the second category comprised of concepts which challenge the first category. I indicate that these critical literatures of the second category do not go far enough empirically for they do not include urban practices like squatting, which my proposed concept of Liquid Urbanisms does. I argue that ultimately, per above, the TU literature is too

narrow to understand LU in their complexity because it ignores the user's perspective, is too narrow in scale, uses a limited understanding of time, and does not include projects which are openly radical, by which I mean pursuing an overtly political agenda. I maintain that much of the TU literature skims over or ignores projects which challenge neoliberal agendas; indeed TU projects often work in tandem with local governing agendas promoting real estate development. In the last section of this chapter, I conclude by illustrating the layout of the PhD thesis, and present additional specific research questions related to the proposed concept of Liquid Urbanisms, as well as introduce the fourteen case studies discussed in the empirical chapters.

1.3: Neoliberalisation and Austerity Urbanism: The Case of Dublin

Ireland was initially proclaimed as the success story of what neoliberalism could do for small, open economies (Kitchin et al., 2012). *Neoliberalism* occurs alongside a shift from managerialism to entrepreneurial forms of governance, and was recognised as a new form of late industrial capitalism more generally by Harvey in 1989. 'Neoliberal ideology is the belief that open, competitive and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal model for economic development' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: p. 350). Neoliberalism is implemented through the combined processes of privatisation, liberalisation and deregulation. From the 1990s, the Irish state embraced free market processes and 'aggressively courted' foreign direct investment (Kitchin et

al., 2010: p. 5). There was a shift in Ireland from low-skilled manufacturing to highly skilled manufacturing, a growth in the service sector and consumer base (ibid). By the time of the Celtic Tiger in the 2000s, neoliberal ideals were firmly entrenched in Irish politics (Kitchin et al, 2010; Ó Riain, 2004). The Celtic Tiger boom (mid 1990s to late 2000s) resulted in a huge increase in construction, property prices, employment and overall living standards (Kennedy, 2001). I should note here, however, that McCabe (2013) argues that Ireland's recent economic problems are more deeply rooted, going back to the start of the twentieth century with the foundation of the Irish state, when Ireland was recast as a 'small, open and deeply globalised' country (Boyle and Wood, 2017: p. 85).

The Global Economic Crisis of 2008 and subsequent bank bailout illustrated the extent to which neoliberalism had become deeply rooted in Ireland. *Neoliberal urbanism* is 'not a unified, homogenous formation of urban governance, but rather represents a broad *syndrome* of market-disciplinary institutions, policies, and regulatory strategies' (Brenner, 2015: n/a: emphasis in original). As a 'modality of urban governance' (Brenner and Theodore, 2005), neoliberalism structures contemporary urban policy, which Peck and Tickell (2002) argue would be better understood as 'neoliberalisation' to include its processual nature, rather than imply that neoliberalism creates an end state. 'Roll-with-it neoliberalisation' (Keil, 2009) refers to the entrenchment of neoliberalisation which has already happened. The 2008 crisis, related crises of regulation, and austerity measures in some countries such as Ireland, showed the extent to which financialisation and neoliberalisation had become entwinned (O'Callaghan et al., 2015). The 2008 crisis in Ireland was caused by the interdependency of financial markets in Ireland on European banks,

which resulted in the freezing of lending from European banks having an overall effect on Ireland's economy.

Financialisation is the growing presence of financial institutions and speculative transactions, which are high risk transactions which the buyer hopes will become profitable in the future, in the overall capitalist economy. A key facet of financialisation is 'short-termism', meaning a focus on short-term manipulation of financial investments are now preferred by shareholders over long-term goals (Kus, 2012). 'Corporate, financial and state power are now stitched together with barely any trace of a seam' (Merrifield, 2013: n/a). So, what does neoliberal urbanism and the process of neoliberalisation look like in Ireland?

As always, the process of neoliberalisation is mediated specifically through different places (Brenner, 2015), and Ireland's was influenced by European Union structural funds and social partnerships (O'Callaghan et al., 2015), amongst many other institutional pillars. In 2009, Dublin was called the 'poster child' of neoliberalism (Allen, 2009), a model for the rest of Europe about the 'right' way to accept the EU bailout. But very soon 'the poster child of globalised capitalism became the sick man of Europe' (Boyle and Wood, 2017: p. 86). To briefly summarise, the 2008 global crisis was triggered, in part, by a breakdown in the US economy, upon which Ireland was heavily dependent (Allen, 2009; Murphy and Devlin, 2009), and also, Ireland's dependence on European lending sources. After the crash, the Irish state's subsequent decision to guarantee all assets and nationalise the liabilities of Irish owned banks (O'Callaghan et al., 2015), resulted in the setting up of the National Assets Management Agency, or NAMA, in 2009, as a 'bad bank', and an EU funded bank bailout loan.

To meet the harsh standards necessitated by the EU bank bailout which facilitated the bank guarantee, Ireland introduced several rigorous austerity budgets, cutting money in areas like health, community and education (Hearne, 2013). *Austerity* is 'neoliberalism on steroids' (Stobart, 2011: n/a). Used to manage the economic crisis, austerity is about 'off-loading costs, displacing responsibility; about making *others* pay the price of fiscal retrenchment' (Peck, 2012: p. 632: emphasis in original). Austerity solidified an extremely conservative expression of neoliberalism in Irish politics, and the measures introduced in austerity budgets exacerbated the inequalities which neoliberal politics had already begun to cause before the 2008 crisis (Fraser et al., 2013). *Austerity urbanism* as a form of governance leads to institutional change, such as by cutting most public services to 'manage the budget', thereby intensifying the inequitable processes of neoliberalisation (Stobart, 2011).

The political atrophy of neoliberalism in Ireland has meant that the government simply repeated past policies (Stobart, 2011). Neoliberalism, in other words, was the cause of the problem, but also was used as the 'solution' (ibid; Aalbers, 2013). O'Callaghan et al. (2015) argue that the bank bailout was neoliberal in three ways. Firstly, in how the banking crisis was redefined into a public crisis through the bank bailout and the subsequent loan from the International Monetary Fund. This process meant that secondly, the blame was shifted from private stakeholders onto the general public. Finally, the European Union and the Irish government did not analyse the causes of the failure but instead focused on dealing with the aftermath. In recent years, neoliberalisation has once again become

invisible in Irish politics, having been briefly visible in the aftermath of the crisis (ibid).

The social-spatial injustices of austerity measures in Ireland became quickly felt. In 2010, the gap between the richest and the poorest in Ireland increased by 25% (Hearne, 2013) and unemployment levels increased massively, to 15.9% in 2011 (Burke-Kennedy, 2018). Dublin is now the third most expensive place to live in Europe, with numerous empty buildings and huge levels of homelessness (9,891 in July 2018 according to Focus Ireland (2018)). Moreover, critics argue that the establishment of NAMA, the quasi-state asset management agency, was 'the worst decision ever made by an Irish government' (Fraser et al., 2013: p. 41) because, guided by the logic of austerity urbanism, NAMA sold large parcels of land to international investors at heavily subsidised rates rather than provide social housing to those in need.

At the urban scale, since the 1980s urban planning in Dublin has been dominated by a neoliberal landscape as I suggested in my introduction (see also: Moore-Cherry and Vinci, 2012; Kelly, 2009; Lawton, 2008; O'Callaghan and Linehan, 2007; MacLaran and Mc Guirk, 2003; Punch, 2009; Lawton and Punch, 2014). Processes of neoliberalisation and austerity urbanism have forced Dublin City Council (DCC) to become increasingly competitive, which is visible through the following development imaginaries in the past few decades: The European City, The Design City and, most recently, The Creative City. The 'European City' ideal emphasised the dense development of cities (Lawton and Punch, 2014). The 'Design City' emphasised the visuals of a city and is exemplified through Dublin's bid to be World Design Capital in 2014, known as Pivot Dublin (O'Callaghan and

Lawton, 2015). The 'Creative City' policy is showcased through Dublin's failed bid to be Europe's Capital of Culture in 2020, which specifically focused on creativity in the daily lives of people (Dublin 2020, 2015).

This last policy was heavily influenced by Richard Florida's ideas of the Creative Class, as mentioned above, and included a visit from the academic in 2007, for which Florida was paid €60,000 by DCC. Florida previously used Temple Bar as an example of a city region that is already proving his thesis (Boyle, 2006). In 2011, the then Lord Mayor of Dublin Andrew Montague explicitly referred to Florida in his inaugural speech, and said that 'by concentrating on our core role of making Dublin a great city in which to live we will attract talented and creative people to live in our city and as a result as . . . Florida has identified we will attract investment to our city' (Dublin City Council, 2011: n/a). Yet Florida and Tinagli (2004) previously noted that based on their 'Euro Tolerance Index', Ireland is one of the least tolerant and least cosmopolitan countries in Europe, even though its creative industries have been growing in comparison with other countries.

The CC discourse is connected to increased discussions of vacancy. DCC launched 'Pretty Vacant' in 2010, as an attempt to make vacant private properties open for cultural and artistic uses, with DCC acting as the mediator (O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015). This developed into the 'Vacant Space Scheme' (ibid). The 'Vacant Sites Levy' (VSL) first mentioned in 2014 (and noted above), was an attempt to prevent land hoarding (Kelly, 2015). The then Lord Mayor, Oisin Quinn, supported the VSL using Floridian language of what was good for the city: the 'productivity and innovation potential of the city . . . gives us a great competitive advantage' (Quinn, 2013: p. 3). The language he used implies that vacant land in

Dublin is only problematic when not economically viable. This suggests that the levy, although potentially a good development for the city, has become part of the neoliberal entrepreneurial landscape that DCC has developed since the 1980s. Crucially, DCC land is exempt from the levy (Kelly, 2015). In theory, DCC taxes landowners who leave lands vacant with no development plan in place through the VSL, which was introduced as part of the Urban Regeneration and Housing Act 2015; owners will be charged for sites from January 2018 onwards. Reusing Dublin (2018) was established in 2015, as a crowd-sourced web mapping tool to chart vacant and underutilised spaces, as part of the European Union TURAS project (Transition to Urban Resilience and Sustainability) (Crowe et al., 2015).

Ireland is now supposedly in a 'post-crisis' context, with the 2018 budget being the first year where the budget has balanced since 2007 (Beesley, 2017). The government arguably only achieved this balance through a 'tsunami of austerity' policy (Hearne, 2014: p. 18). For now, Dublin is in the unique situation of having gone quickly through boom, bust, and supposed recovery periods, which has brought a housing crisis (O' Callaghan et al., 2018) and a homelessness crisis (Irish Housing Network, 2018). I argue throughout this thesis that the context of Dublin has led activists and artists to claim their right to use, live and imagine the city, through the places and projects I outline in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Their claim of the 'right to the city' can be attributed to work of Henri Lefebvre, who first used the concept, *La Droit á la ville*, in 1967, in response to the civil unrest created by those excluded from the benefits of the welfare state (Marcuse, 2014). The phrase has since 'become a slogan . . . and has passed into general usage' (Kofman and Lebas, 1996: p. 6), used by both academics and

activists. Lefebvre describes the city through a Marxist humanist lens, arguing that cities should be about more than exchange value. Lefebvre (1967: p. 158) argues that a 'right to urban life' is both 'a cry and a demand', more than a set of political or state mandated rights, as the 'users' of the city and urban residents, have rights framed by civil society which are part of 'an urban reality which cannot be defined by capitalist speculators, builders and technicians' (ibid: p. 168) according to exchange value. Use values include rights 'to urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses', that enable 'the full and complete usage of these moments and places' (ibid: p. 179).

With Harvey (2008) and others, I see the rise of Lefebvrian ideas by activists and some scholars in Ireland and elsewhere as a reaction against neoliberal urbanism. Marcuse (2009) claims that the 'demand' comes from the genuinely oppressed whose material needs are not being met, and the 'cry' from those who feel alienated but are not oppressed like the former group (p. 190). Mayer (2013) argues, similarly to Marcuse, that there are two disparate groups, those most oppressed and suffering from real inequality and then middle-class activists who wanted to create a better world because of their political beliefs but who do not necessarily suffer in the same way. Yet unlike Marcuse, Mayer blames the context of austerity urbanism for merging these two formerly different groups; austerity urbanism has caused more people to feel both alienated and oppressed, resulting in new alliances amongst social groups of people from a variety of backgrounds and classes. As I demonstrate in the empirical chapters, pop up parks to direct actions are often made up of many different groups working together that may result in new coalitions, in part as a response to deepening neoliberalism. The resulting

coalition-building and emergence of several different groups shows the importance of creating networks by activists. These activists are claiming not only a right to the city, but through the formation of loose networks, to use the logo of a recent movement in Dublin, they seek to actively 'Take Back The City' (Take Back the City Dublin Facebook page, 2018).

1.4: Temporary Urbanism

Scholarly and professional literatures often label initiatives such as Exchange Dublin or Granby Park as examples of 'temporary use'. Recent examples like 'Space Pioneers' in Berlin (Overmayer, 2007; Till 2011; Colomb, 2012); 'Spacified' in Belgium, the Netherlands and France (De Boer 2014); 'Meanwhile Spaces' in the UK; 'Gap Fillers' or 'ReNewcastle' in New Zealand; or the 'Pop Up City' blog in European countries, all form part of a discourse describing so-called 'temporary use'. Similarly, there has been a renewed focus on issues of vacant spaces in cities (Crowe et al., 2015; DeSilvey and Edensor, 2012; Németh and Langhorst, 2014).

However, short-term and other alternative uses of space have always existed in cities (Till, 2011a; Bishop and Williams, 2012). At least for the case of Dublin, Kearns (2015) has insightfully shown that vacancy levels have remained reasonably consistent since the nineteenth century, arguing that vacant spaces are essential to the process of capitalist accumulation, both as a by-product of creative destruction (Harvey, 2006) and in terms of speculation. In addition, the vast literature on shrinking cities in post-industrial landscapes in North America and Europe (Martinez-Fernandez, 2012; Großmann et al., 2013), as well as work done

by O’Carroll and Bennett (2017) on the Dublin docks, or Gandy (2015) on the ‘Brachen’ or wastelands in Berlin, shows that vacancy is not new. Nonetheless, the years following the recent global financial crisis has merely presented an opportunity to pay more attention to these transient uses and vacant spaces, as planners and architects view projects as filling an economic ‘vacuum’ between old and new uses (Bishop and Williams, 2012: p. 25), which has contributed to the sense that there is an increased intensity in the rate and number of temporary projects (ibid).

In order to sort the multitude of TU terms while acknowledging the historicity of such practices in European cities, I have divided them into two broad categories according to the interpretation of the respective authors listed below: ‘Temporary Use as Strategic Planning’, and ‘Alternatives: Critical of Temporary Use’ (Table 1.1). The former refers to the terms predominantly used in the planning and architectural literature while the latter indicates what I consider to be more nuanced understandings of how urban space and time are used by the city’s inhabitants. I argue that the literature interpreting ‘Temporary Use as Strategic Planning’ is problematic, for three reasons. Firstly, these concepts, are not discussed from the experience of the user or the creators of these projects. Secondly, TU focuses on a singular scale, either one example, place or city, and does not view places relationally as Massey (2005) encourages us to do. Thirdly, TU have been incorporated into neoliberal imaginaries, like the Creative Class thesis, and thus are ideologically loaded and troublesome. For the concepts I have labelled as ‘Alternatives’, included on the right-hand column of Table 1.1, while often critical of the former, these authors do not include radical political uses of urban space, such

as squatting. While I acknowledge that my classification here is a generalisation, the main impetus for organising the TU literatures in this way highlights the lack of attention to squats, occupations and direct actions.

Table 1.1: Classification of Temporary Urbanisms Literatures.

Temporary Use as a Form of Strategic Planning	**Alternatives: Critical of Temporary Use**
Pop-Up City (2018)	'Indeterminate' Spaces' (Groth and Corijn, 2005)
Second Hand Spaces (Ziehl and Oswald, 2015)	Guerilla Urbanism (Hou, 2010)
Temporary Urbanism (Urban Pioneers, (Overmayer, 2007); Urban Catalyst (Oswalt, Overmeyer and Misselwitz, 2013))	Makeshift Urbanism (Tonkiss, 2013)
Temporary City (Bishop and Williams, 2012)	Informal Spaces (Hudson, 2015)
Temporary Urban Space (Haydn and Temel, 2006)	Interim Space (Till, 2011a)
Urban Acupuncture (Lerner, 2014)	Improvisational City (Till and Mc Ardle, 2015)
Everyday Urbanism (Chase, Crawford and Kalisky, 2008)	
Meanwhile Uses (Bradley, 2012)	
Interwhile Uses (Reynolds, 2011)	
Do-It-Yourself Urbanism (Iveson, 2013)	
Tactical Urbanism (Lydon et al., 2011)	

The concepts I include in the 'TU as Strategic Planning' side of Table 1.1 fit into the mainstream neoliberal rhetoric of cities, including commercial uses, such as 'Pop Up City' (2018), 'Pop Up People' (Thompson, 2012), and 'Second Hand Spaces' (Ziehl and Oswald, 2015). Overall these texts are written by urban professionals and planners and consider TU as 'a good way to deal with the city at this very moment

in time' (De Boer, 2013: n/a). Three key texts are referred to by urban professionals seeking to implement temporary uses in their city or projects: 'Urban Pioneers' (Overmayer, 2007), 'Urban Catalyst' (Oswalt, Overmeyer and Misselwitz, 2013), and 'The Temporary City' (Bishop and Williams, 2012). The first two volumes are related and offer numerous examples of temporary use and ways in which these can be adopted, focusing on Berlin in the first volume (Colomb, 2012; Till, 2011a), and, building on that success, from cities across Europe in the second. The authors of all three volumes, employ loose classifications (such as informal) which, as I argue in later chapters, fail to grasp the complexities of the processes and practices which go into creating these spaces. Moreover, the terms used in these texts are defined by urban policy and governance understandings of the city (i.e. planned spaces in contrast to unplanned ones, systematic or permanent structures as opposed to short-term ones).

These texts have 'professionalised' temporary use into mainstream planning discourse, which is perhaps most clearly shown in *The Temporary City* (Ferreri, 2015). In their book, Bishop and Williams (2012: p. 43) suggest that flexible masterplans should allow for TU at the same time that long-term developments are being built, which suggests valuing the everyday experiences of a space as opposed to only the end goal of a build; they describe this as 'twin track' activity. Hadyn and Temel's (2006) book *Temporary Urban Space* is another example of a TU textbook. Lerner's 'Urban Acupuncture' (2014) interprets small scale interventions as applying 'medicine' to cities, due to their 'knock on effects' that creates physical changes, like transport or water, which is both limiting and idealistic. 'Everyday Urbanism' (Chase et al., 2009) likewise focuses on the everyday, but is rooted in traditional

understandings of public space from planning and city authority perspectives. 'Meanwhile Spaces' (Bradley, 2012) implies waiting until the market picks up again, and then, when 'normal' market relations resume, the TU disappears, and Bradley is quite critical of 'meanwhile use' as a concept, although it has been taken up by and used by city authorities. 'Interwhile Uses' (Reynolds, 2011) builds on this by suggesting a transitional use plan is put in place amidst a larger development plan, which is similar to the 'twin track' activity of Bishop and Williams above.

Some concepts have been used to pursue neoliberal urbanist agendas. 'DIY Urbanism' has been critiqued for supporting CC ideals (Deslandes, 2012). Similarly, 'Tactical Urbanism' (Mould, 2014), which initially referred to uses with fluid perceptions of legality, such as 'chair-bombing' (putting up chairs in areas where there is no seating, without the necessary permissions), now has become a branding tool of neoliberal governments, and part of the CC agenda of cities, as mentioned above. The CC discourse fits well into already existing place marketing strategies, liveability strategies and city image making (Lawton et al., 2014, Lawton and Punch, 2014). Although widely critiqued (Boyle, 2006; O'Callaghan, 2010; Peck, 2005), with even Florida himself recently admitting that he was 'overly optimistic to believe that cities and the creative class could, by themselves, bring forth a better and more inclusive type of urbanism' (Flordia in Tranum, 2017: n/a), CC remains influential in many European and North American cities, fitting neatly into neoliberalisation processes.

Overall, then, the Strategic Planning literatures frame TU as a stopgap measure while the economy recovers and the 'normal' workings of capitalist systems of property and space management returns, meaning that the focus

remains only on the lifetime of the use (Colomb, 2012; Ziehl and Obwald, 2015), while ignoring the perspectives of city inhabitants. TU terms have been critiqued for being used as a 'magic solution' for all urban issues (O' Callaghan and Lawton, 2015: p. 181), a 'panacea' which offers quick solutions (Ferreri, 2015: p. 183). From a political economy point of view, this literature contributes to or reifies neoliberal agendas, supporting processes of gentrification, or more broadly failing to address uneven development. Tonkiss (2013: p. 318) adds that 'temporary projects are integrated into an austerity agenda so as to keep vacant sites warm while development capital is cool', a position which is often precarious for the creators of the space (Ziehl and Obwald, 2015). While experimental and at most 'marginal' to mainstream development (Ferreri, 2015: p. 186), TU has become accepted by urban policy makers, planners and developers because capitalist development can continue uninterrupted. Overall the concept is now rooted in mainstream, economic understandings focusing on potential exchange values of cities.

In contrast, the column on the right-hand side of Table 1, 'Alternatives: Critical of Temporary Use', include concepts that are critical of the terms I have already described. Some authors include the user's perspective and may focus on the makers of specific projects, providing nuance to discussions of short-term uses in the city, as these concepts all grasp the provisionality of timespaces. 'Indeterminate spaces' (Groth and Corijn, 2004) are spaces left out of time and space as a consequence of deindustrialisation and the shrinking city, spaces in the post-Fordist era which do not fit neatly into being controlled by urban planning agendas, and so exist outside of these. 'Guerilla Urbanisms' (Hou, 2010) consider the ways citizens have momentarily reclaimed urban space from private and

corporate interests, for example artistic collective Rebar's Parking Day where a parking space is transformed for a day into a game, park or garden. 'Makeshift Urbanism' (Tonkiss, 2013) is a concept which explores urbanisms existing in the 'margins' and 'cracks' of the city that gain power in small, incremental ways, seeing value in these uses, even if for a limited time. 'Informal Spaces' (Hudson, 2015) are projects created in apparent wastelands or derelict sites, highlighting the potential of these spaces. 'Interim Space' (Till, 2011a) is a concept which embodies the relational values of urban space and time that the creators of projects working 'in-between' utilise. For them, interim spaces are not merely containers to be used in times of economic downturn or as a filler, but are meaningful spaces with multiple temporalities that make the city, and have benefits for the makers and users of these spaces. The 'Improvisational City' concept (Till and Mc Ardle, 2015) builds upon the concept of interim spaces, using a jazz metaphor to grasp the fluidity of cities, as constituted by multiple temporalities and spatial rhythms. The improvisational city describes places created by people 'making do' with the resources and people available to them.

Although these more nuanced concepts offer alternatives to understanding the timespaces of the city, as well as also pay attention to the makers and users of these projects, these works do not grasp the entirety of more radical uses, such as squatting and direct action that have existed historically in the city. Even though squats, autonomous social centres and occupations may appear to be ephemeral, as I discuss in Chapter 7, these radical ways of living in the city have specific histories, and unique timespaces and rhythms, which also vary in different cities. Yet these important contributions to urban living are not included in any of the

literatures listed above, which tend to focus on artistic interventions and creative initiatives. As I argue in this PhD thesis, the non-linear temporal organisation of autonomous and anarchist spaces is critical to any understanding of the city, as well as their provisionality and adaptiveness, and therefore I include autonomous and anarchist urban geographies in my understanding of Liquid Urbanisms.

To summarise, I found the provisional nature of the concepts on the right-hand side useful in developing my understanding of what I call the ‘transitory topographies’ of the liquid city, even as my proposed conceptual LU framework extends this work by seeking to understand squats and occupations as central, rather than marginal, to the city. Following O’Callaghan (2017), we should aim for theory to be ‘provisional’ and always mediated by specific contexts. Similarly, Marcuse (2015) argues that urban researchers need to critically interrogate the language we use in our analyses by systematically going through the language already in use to avoid reifying the existing problems with this literature. This thesis seeks to do so by listening to and conceptualising alternatives.

1.5: The Anatomy of Liquid Urbanisms

As this introduction has argued, the urban is not fixed, nor is it only a site where capitalist processes take material form: ‘they are also arenas in which the conflicts and contradictions associated with historically and geographically specific accumulation strategies are expressed and fought out’ (Brenner et al., 2009: p. 176). Lefebvre’s work highlights the calls and strategies to claim the city, but so too does the spatial practices of the creators and users of the Liquid Urbanisms I discuss

in this PhD thesis. As I further deliberate in the next chapter, I found that Zygmunt Bauman's theory of 'Liquid Modernity' encapsulated the settings described by my research participants: living in a deregulated, privatised world marked by individualisation, but with the potential to make alternative possibilities through fluid and changeable networks and connections. My concept of Liquid Urbanisms (LU) translates Bauman's ideas in an urban context following the 2008 crisis, by also drawing upon the insights of numerous geographers and urbanists.

In the next chapters, I propose an alternative 'liquid urban' approach to understand urban initiatives in supposedly vacant or 'temporary spaces' in the city. In seeking to answer the general questions I introduced above, once the LU analytical types emerged for this study, I began to develop more specific research questions:

- How does 'liquid' urbanisms allow us to capture the 'lived' city, both the diversity of types of urban spaces and the variety of experiences of city dwellers?
- In the empirical context of Dublin, what broad types of LU are evident and why these types of urbanisms? How are the types of Liquid Urbanism distinctive and how are they similar?
- What are the main qualities of Liquid Urbanisms that are shared across the different types? Are these particular to Dublin?

Rather than develop a theory of LU and then find examples to illustrate this theory, my LU typology discussed in Chapter 3 emerged through an iterative methodological process, which I discuss in Chapter 4. I generated and analysed primary data using different qualitative methods (participatory research, volunteer-

based observations, participant observation, interviews, surveys), as well as social media analyses, to understand participants' goals and spatial practices for the fourteen case studies and several additional projects.

The PhD thesis thus offers an innovative conceptual framework of Liquid Urban 'types' and 'tributaries' for understanding more nuanced everyday experiences and social-spatial relations of urban life in Dublin from the perspectives of the people who make and use the city. I propose three 'types' of Liquid Urbanisms: Creative Urbanisms, Community-Based Urbanisms, and Autonomous Urbanisms. ***Creative Urbanisms*** (CU) are projects that use imaginative methods to create a better city, and range from a more artistic city, a greener city, a more playful city, a more sustainable city, or a more artful city. CU include projects, landscapes, mobile spaces, and events that emerge from different groups of local actors with unique motivations but who generally seek to invite residents to get involved in changing the spaces they live or work in, and thereby create positive change in the city. ***Community-based Urbanisms*** (CBU) are initiatives tied to a specific locale, which Agnew (1987) defines as a facet of place, such as a neighbourhood, geographic location, or particular area of a city. For the purposes of this research, these locales form the basis of 'communities', whereby people seek to create change in geographically defined areas as part of their claim of belonging to a particular place that has a distinctive set of qualities, or 'sense of place' (both material and imagined/desired). ***Autonomous Urbanisms*** (AU) are distinctive in that they offer alternate forms of belonging and political organisation in the city, existing independently from the mainstream capitalist system of titled property and exchange and seeking to function beyond the reach of neoliberal forms of urban

management. The distinctive ways people live in and create spaces, places and projects based on horizontal structures of organising, and independence from governmental control are not considered in the TU literatures I outlined above.

In Chapter 3, I also identify **four LU 'tributaries'**, which cut across the types of LU in varying amounts: networks and places, timespaces and rhythms, values and urban commons, political beliefs and institutional relationships. I understand the creation of loose ***Networks and Places*** by the makers of LU projects as interconnected. By ***Timespaces and Rhythms***, I refer to the multiple and specific timespaces of LU, and the rhythms of the creators and users of these projects, as well as their interactions. ***Values and Urban Commons*** contribute to community and diverse economies, and shared spaces in the city, which, for some, have become even more important against the background of entrepreneurial urban and global financial interests. Finally, I pay attention to specific ***Political Beliefs*,** which exist on a continuum from a progressive sense of place to agonistic politics to anarchist and anti-capitalist geographies that inform the ***Institutional Relationships*** LU types have to existing organisations and government agencies.

Table 1.2: Typology of Liquid Urbanisms According to Types and Tributaries.

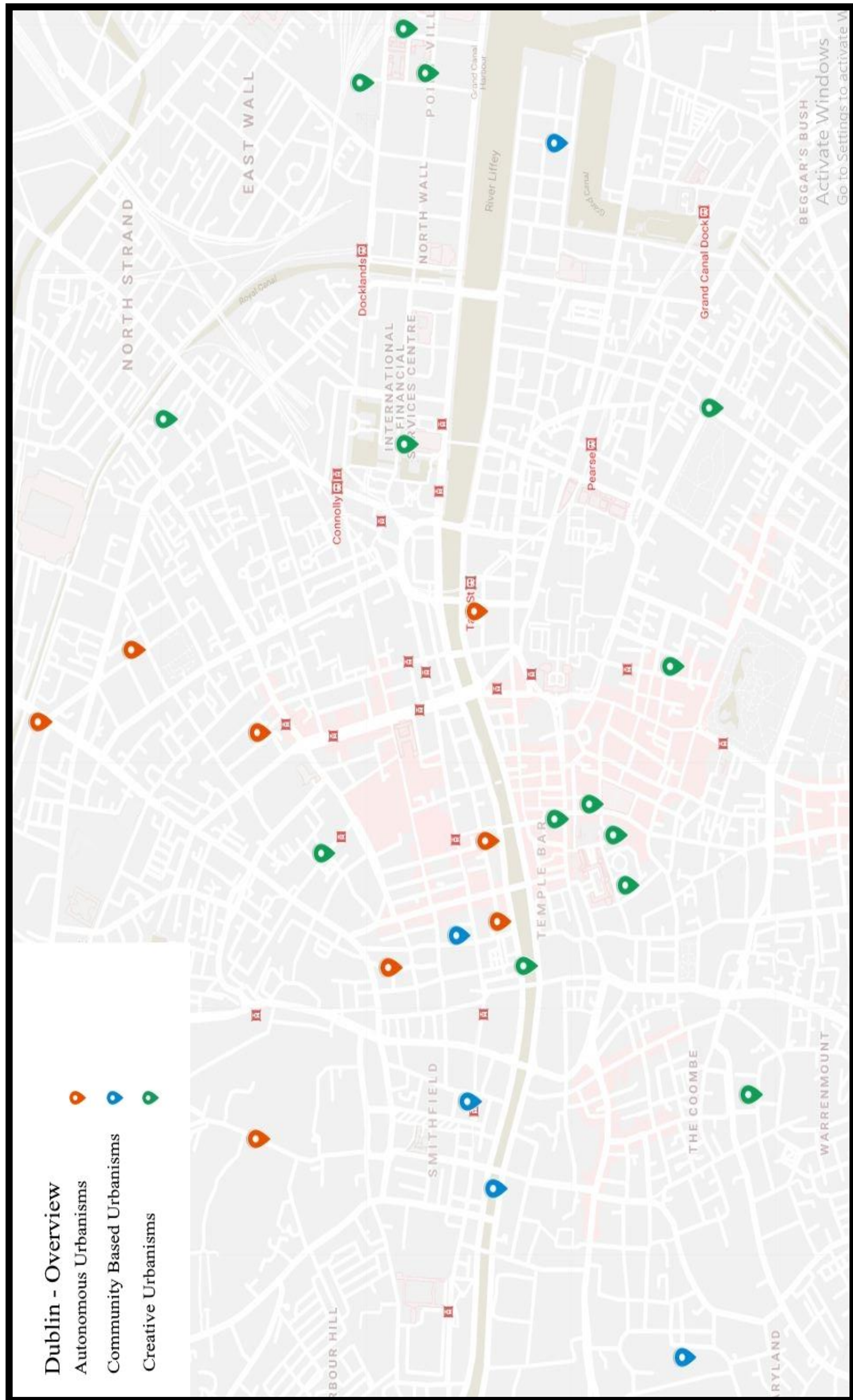
Tributaries				
Types of Liquid Urbanisms	Networks and Place	Timespaces and Rhythms	Value and Urban Commons	Political Beliefs and Institutional Relationships
Creative Urbanisms	Place and networks as rhizomatic	Depends on rhythms of organisers and others	Alternative Values: Tied to (artistic) capacity to create	Progressive sense of place and agonistic politics
Community-Based Urbanisms	Place and social capital	Move from one space to another	Community economy	Progressive sense of place and agonistic politics
Autonomous Urbanisms	Ideal sense of place	Different rhythms across different spaces	Alternative values: Solidarity, mutual aid and self-organisation	Anti-capitalist and anarchist

Table 1.2 shows us the characteristics which define each case study according to the LU types. The four LU tributaries are listed on the vertical axis, and the three LU types are defined on the horizontal access based on the tributaries, as I discuss in Chapter 3. Chapters 5 to 7 are the empirical chapters and are organised according to the three types of Liquid Urbanisms described above. Table 1.3 indicates the specific case studies analysed in these chapters, according to these three types.

Table 1.3: Case Studies Organised According to Types of Liquid Urbanisms.

Types of Urbanism	***Case studies***				
Creative Urbanisms *Chapter 5*	Dublin Biennial (DB) (2012-2014)	Granby Park (GP) (August-September 2013)	Bloom Fringe Festival (BFF) (2013-2017)	Connect the Dots (CtDs) (2015-ongoing)	A Playful City (APC) (2016-ongoing)
Community - Based Urbanisms *Chapter 6*	Block T (BT) (2010-ongoing)	Art Tunnel Smithfield (ATS) (2012-2014)	Mary's Abbey Community Garden (MACG) (2014-ongoing)	Mabos (2012-2014)	
Autonomous Urbanisms *Chapter 7*	Seomra Spraoi (SS) (2004-2015)	The Grangegorman Squat (GG) (2013-2016)	The Barricade Inn (TBI) (March 2015-February 2016)	Bolt Hostel (BH) (July 2015)	Apollo House (AH) (December 2016-January 2017)

Below I briefly introduce the case studies according to the types discussed in Chapters 5-7. Before doing so, I would like to point out that the case studies can fit into more than one type, and their classification can change over time. For example, Granby Park (GP) is listed as a Creative Urbanism but, at the time of its opening and beyond, GP was rooted in a particular locale and so became a Community-Based Urbanism for a particular period in time (July-September 2013), and moved back to a CU afterwards, even though offshoots continued on as CBU. In this study, I classify GP as a CU, as this was the type the case study most dominantly expressed during the time of the study.



Map 1.4: Map of all Liquid Urbanisms together.
Source: Author.

1.5.1. Creative Urbanisms

In Chapter 5, I discuss five Creative Urbanism case studies, as described below.

• The Dublin Biennial (DB), a bi-annual, international, art exhibition, with included related arts events, was held in unused commercial urban spaces in July 2012 and again in July 2014. It did not continue in 2016 due to lack of funding and support by mainstream arts institutions and policy makers, even though the main founder had hoped it would continue. The goal of DB was to bring art out of traditional art gallery spaces and therefore to non-traditional audiences. This is shown through the choice of location of the Biennial; for example, in 2014, it was held in the Custom House Quay building, a shopping centre in the Docklands that many commuters use as a thoroughfare to get to the Irish Financial Services Centre (IFSC) but at the time had many areas there were not in use by businesses. It used business/office spaces held by NAMA or by developers that were empty at the time of DB2014. Similarly, DB2012, a 'pop up' event, was held in an unused office ground floor building in The Point Village. As of 2014, the spaces used in DB2012 still had no businesses or vendors. Today, in 2018, both areas are commercially used and are being developed further.

• Granby Park (GP) was Dublin's first pop-up park, and officially open to the public for one month in summer 2013 in the Dominick Street area of North Dublin. It was granted 'festival' permission and security support from Dublin City Council (DCC) and run by the artistic collective 'Upstart'. The goal of the project was to create an urban park, a place of imagination, which challenged the narrative of vacancy in post-crisis Dublin, with a larger aspiration of encouraging future pop-ups around the city. As part of its remit, it included a youth reconciliation project with

the local Brádog Regional Youth Services staff and young people, and a partner youth group in Belfast. Even though its duration formally was only for one month, the planning and outcomes of the project have been longer-lasting, as discussed elsewhere (Till and Mc Ardle, 2015).

• The Bloom Fringe Festival (BFF) was an annual gardening festival with the goal of increasing the greenery of the city centre and to bring gardening to people outside of the gardening world. It aimed to bring people away from the more commercial Bloom Festival, located slightly outside of Dublin City Centre, and back into the heart of the city centre, with many cheap or free events. BFF worked with many outside groups, including community gardeners and Connect the Dots below, and one of the organisers was involved with GP. It ran on the June bank holiday weekend, beginning in 2014, and ending in 2017, changing form in 2018 which I discuss more in Chapter 5.

• Connect the Dots (CtDs) is a grassroots turned commercial facilitator that generates conversations, using an alternative approach based on crowdsourcing insights from potential attendees. The project developed in 2014, as the two founder's practice-based thesis from the MA in Design Practice awarded by the Dublin Institute of Technology and the National College of Art and Design. CtDs believe that they have established a co-creation framework, which they state can be applied to many topics. They aim to 'being people and sectors together around topics that matter to them and make an impact' (Connect the Dots, 2018). This project is ongoing, and the various topics discussed range from vacancy (2015) to creating a more playful city for youth (2017-18). One of the co-creators of CtDs was

involved with GP, and CtDs is part of the initiative now known as A Playful City (APC).

• A Playful City (APC) is a new initiative, launched in 2017, that aims to bring play into cities and to make Dublin a more play-friendly place for children. It is a joint initiative between Upon a Tree (one of the co-creators is a founding Upstart member and key GP coordinator) and CtDs. The aim of the group is to create more playful cities, through installations and activations that highlight and change how the city can be more fun from the perspective of a child. To date, the group has held an international conference in September 2017, and in September 2018, the group launched a new installation at the Spencer Dock, which resulted from ideas at the conference and working with groups involved in A Playful Street, a series of four half-day, community play events that ran in 2017 and 2018 in the Sheriff Street community, and most recently APC have installed a seating area at Spencer Dock, named the ‘zigzag’, a collaboration with a local technology company in the Docklands.

1.5.2. Community-Based Urbanisms

For Chapter 6, I researched four CBU case studies as described below:

• Block T (BT) is an art studio which was based in Smithfield from 2013-2016. In March 2016, it downsized, and moved to Basin View in July 2016. BT is ongoing, albeit on a smaller scale. Founders claimed the move to another location was inevitable, as they saw rents increasing in the area, a trend which some say BT contributed to. It is now based in a different community, but crucially still maintains

links with the local authority, Dublin City Council, who helped them get the newer site and approved of the move.

- Art Tunnel Smithfield (ATS) was a garden and art exhibition space centrally located in the Smithfield area that ran from 2012-2014. Organisers and community members did not want ATS to close and were unsuccessful in requesting additional support from DCC. ATS's aim was to bring art out of the studio, similar to DB, and to bring a diverse community together around a shared topic.

- Mary's Abbey Community Garden (MACG) was created in 2014 by the head organiser of ATS, is also located in Smithfield, and is ongoing. MACG is located close to the former ATS site. Similar to ATS, MACG is run by the local community, but is more closed off; the fence surrounding it is generally closed and it is tended to by a very small number of people, who inherited it off the people who initially campaigned for it, and is funded by DCC.

- Mabos was an artistic collaborative space in the Docklands community that developed from the Kings of Concrete Festival. It opened in 2012 and had to close in 2015 as rents increased in the area. It was a multipurpose site, which worked with the local community and aimed to bridge the gap between the newer community working in the area and the older indigenous community, in traditional neighbourhoods. This was done through the practice of 'The Meitheal Initiative', which is an Irish word for a traditional cooperative working system which historically existed in agriculture. The initiative was based on local residents and businesses cleaning up the area.

1.5.3. Autonomous Urbanisms

Finally, in Chapter 7, I analyse five case studies which I consider examples of AU:

• Seomra Spraoi (SS) was a legal autonomous social centre, started in 2004, run by an anti-capitalist collective and was closed in 2015 due to increasing rents. The group wanted to show what an anarchist social space looked like in practice, and aimed to practice autonomy, mutual aid, and non-hierarchal organisation, key tenets of anarchist thought. The collective provided cheap or free space to activist groups, which they felt was lacking in Dublin's cultural landscape. There were diverse facilities at the space, beyond being a meeting space, it also provided a cinema, music venue, library, craft zone, bicycle repair workshop, and an information centre with wireless internet access. Unfortunately, the cheapness of events held there eventually affected the collective as they could not afford to keep paying rent and the space closed in 2015. The building is now called Jigsaw, and runs similarly as a meeting space for activists' groups, although it is not explicitly anarchist or political.

• The Grangegorman Squat (GG) was an open squat in Grangegorman, an area between Stoneybatter and Smithfield that occupied NAMA land. It had two phases, from 2012-2014, and 2015-2016. Unlike SS above, the squatters did not pay rent and purposely saw using vacant land as a political statement. More than that, the GG squatters chose to occupy NAMA owned land as a statement about vacant land, which was in the hands of a semi-public body (and had been empty for the 15 years preceding the occupation). There were several facilities on the site, including a community garden, some performance space hosting circuses, plays and poetry, a 'free shop' which allowed people to reuse unwanted items, as well as residential

spaces where people lived (see Mc Ardle, 2016). The squatters were kicked off the site in 2014, returned in 2015, and were once more evicted in 2016.

• The Barricade Inn (TBI) was a squatted social centre that grew out of the gap between the two phases of GG and involved many of the same people. It was open for several months in 2015 before being forced to close on the grounds of safety. Similar to SS and GG, TBI provided a cheap or free space in Dublin, which activist or community groups could use. Unlike SS, it did this illegally, and did not pay rent, again as a political statement arguing against the capitalist system of rent and the extortionate rents in Dublin in particular.

• Bolt Hostel (BH) was an illegal occupation of a vacant building that was used to house homeless people or those in insecure housing situations, for three weeks in July 2015 by the Irish Housing Network (IHN). The IHN planned this occupation and very quickly the media heard about the story and many tradespeople got in touch with the IHN to help out, for example plumbers and builders. The Bolt Hostel showed how easily a small intervention or direct action could have a huge impact on the people it involved. BH was not organised by explicit anarchists, unlike the former three examples, but was still politically motivated. The IHN is premised upon the principle that those most affected by the housing crisis should be the ones to lead the campaign.

• Apollo House (AH) was an illegal occupation of a vacant building held by NAMA, which was formerly a social welfare building, to house the homeless over the winter. Home Sweet Home (HSH) organised this project, which included housing activists from the IHN, celebrity artists, and trade unions (Mandate and Unite). The project was declared illegal and residents and activists left after

negotiations with DCC, and some, but not all of the homeless residents were housed by city authorities.

1.6: Conclusion

> 'Exchange served as a beacon of hope in the city. It's impossible to describe exactly the feeling of the space. Institutions have their own timbre, like pieces of music . . . I know so many people who do what they do today . . . because Exchange let them release their potential' (Stack, 2015: blog post, n/a).

As the above quote shows, places like Exchange Dublin are places of hope in cities, and have powerful impacts on the lives of those who interact with the project. Even with the closure of Exchange Dublin, there is still a lot to be learned from the project and other projects like it. Stack noted 'I was a better person in that space, and I keep a little of it with me' (2015), which clearly shows what an impact Exchange Dublin had on him. Solnit (2016: p. 101) reminds us that new stories of hope are likely to begin in the marginal zones, where 'every act is an act of faith'. We need to see acts of activism as already victories in themselves, not aiming for some end state but rather seeing the journey itself as celebration (ibid).

In this chapter I have provided the context for my PhD thesis and in Section 1.2 I introduced the concept of Liquid Urbanisms and my new conceptual framework which seeks to understand the significance of projects like Exchange Dublin from the perspective of the inhabitants and users of these urban places, spaces and networks. In Section 1.3 I discussed the setting of neoliberal Dublin, and in Section 1.4 I considered the current literature on Temporary Urbanisms as a means of situating the new approaches my work about LU contributes to these debates. Finally in Section 1.5 I introduced the anatomy of LU, the spine which runs

through this thesis and forms the basis of Chapters 5-7, as well as the case studies for this study. I conclude by considering why stories of hope in Ireland matter and how my research in Dublin might contribute to discussions of the contemporary city.

Despite the portrayal of Irish people passively accepting neoliberalism and austerity, there has been ongoing contestations (Hearne, 2014), with the 2015 anti-water charges actions signalling a 'new social movement' (Hearne, 2018). I would add to that important movement activism related to the two controversial referenda in Ireland in recent years: The Marriage Equality vote in 2015 and repealing the Eighth Amendment in 2018, which gave safe access to abortion for women and child bearing people. In addition, the activism supporting the right to housing through a range of forms of direct action and organising have been ongoing and even more apparent in mainstream media as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. These activist movements and projects have emerged as direct responses to austerity urbanism, and the 'parasitic' nature of capitalism (Merrifield, 2013; Bauman, 2009).

In response to the current situation of capitalism, Chatterton has demanded a city that does not yet exist, 'an unfinished, expansive and unbounded story' (Chatterton, 2010a: p. 234). Within Bauman's 'liquid' world, the urban landscape is 'restless', 'the built environment is both the product of, and the mediator between, social relations' (Knox, 1991: p. 182). Even though the injustices created by the process of neoliberal urbanism remain in Dublin, people still feel empowered to create change through the places and projects they are making. Looking at Ireland, and Dublin in particular, gives us a unique look into a city that went from being the

golden child of neoliberalism, to undergoing extreme austerity, and now, in a post-crisis context, witnessing the emergence of these initiatives. Throughout this PhD thesis I argue that doing any project or initiative, in the context of neoliberalisation and austerity Dublin, is radical and demands empirical research by Urban Studies scholars as much as those projects that support neoliberalisation.

Overall my dissertation makes three specific contributions. Firstly, I extend and spatialise Bauman's theory of Liquid Modernity, by developing a new theory of and conceptual framework for Liquid Urbanisms. Secondly, I use an innovative analytic and synthetic methodological approach that resulted in the creation of a LU typology. This framework is empirically based, emerging from a multiple case study approach of fourteen different initiatives. Finally, I illustrate the types and tributaries of Liquid Urbanisms, to enable scholars to discuss key spatial practices and characteristics. In Chapter 8, I conclude the thesis by considering what contributions my Liquid Urbanisms conceptual framework makes to urban theory, while focusing also on the distinctive contributions that an Irish, Dublin based empirical study makes.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: From Liquid Modernity to Liquid Urbanisms

> 'Modernity means many things, and its arrival and progress can be traced using many and different markers. One feature of modern life and its modern setting stands out . . . as the crucial attribute from which all other characteristics follow. That attribute is the changing relationship between space and time' (Bauman, 2000: p. 8).
>
> '[T]he intuition of a radical change in the arrangement of human cohabitation and in social conditions under which life-politics is nowadays conducted, is the fact that the long effort to accelerate the speed of movement has presently reached its "natural limit"' (ibid: p. 10).
>
> 'Liquids, unlike solids, cannot easily hold their shape . . . neither fix space nor bind time' (ibid: p. 2).
>
> -- Zygmunt Bauman, 2000: *Liquid Modernity.*

2.1: Introduction

Not all forms of urban life and everyday practice, as I have suggested in the last chapter, are legible through existing concepts and tools in Western urban theory and analysis. When I began my research, I found that an appropriate vocabulary to describe the city spaces and types of urbanisms I proposed to study in Dublin was missing from traditional Urban Studies literatures. In undertaking the search for suitable conceptual tools, I found sociologist Zygmunt Bauman's (2000) concept of Liquid Modernity, with modification, to be the most useful concept for my research. The above quotes from Bauman's (2000) *Liquid Modernity* capture the essential essence of his thesis: the idea that we have entered a new phase of modernity, a

‘liquid’ phase, which has dramatically changed how we experience space and time. Space and time are two concepts key to geographer’s understanding of the world, and in this chapter, I explore why I find Bauman’s concept of Liquid Modernity (LM) helpful in enhancing scholarly understandings of modern Western timespaces.

Bauman argues that if late modernity, which he defined as liquid, is characterised by processes of privatisation and deregulation, the only constant part of LM is change, and the ever-increasing speed of change. In this chapter, I outline Bauman’s theory and why I used LM as a key concept for my theoretical framework. Following a review of Bauman’s work, engaging en route with contemporaries of his like Ulrich Beck (1997), Anthony Giddens (1990) and Frederick Jameson (1984, 2002), I present Bauman’s theory of LM and why I find his theoretical approach useful for my research. Crucially David Harvey’s conceptualisation of the differences between Fordist Modernity and Flexible Postmodernity is very similar to Bauman’s concept of Solid Modernity and Liquid Modernity, and I reflect on these resemblances. Table 2.1 shows the theoretical transitions, from modernity to postmodernity to late modernity theory, and includes some of the theorists I refer to in subsequent sections (Lash, 1993; Beck, 1997; Giddens, 1990; Bauman, 2000).

Table 2.1: List of Theorists.

Early Modernity Theorists	**Post Modernity Theorists**	**Late Modernity Theorists**
Henri Lefebvre	David Harvey	Ulrich Beck
Marshall Berman	Michel Foucault	Anthony Giddens
Georg Simmel	Jean Francais Lyotard	Scott Lash
Walter Benjamin	Ed Soja	Schmuel Eisenstadt
	David Ley	Ibrahim Kaya
	Derek Gregory	Zygmunt Bauman
	Michael Dear	

In Section 2.2, I situate theories of late modernity in the lineage of modernity and postmodernity theories. I introduce late modernity and consider its general arguments. Then in Section 2.3, I focus on Bauman's theory of Liquid Modernity, highlighting key themes which I found relevant to my work. In Section 2.4 I investigate critiques of LM, and Bauman's spatial imagination. In Section 2.5 I reinterpret Liquid Modernity from a spatial perspective, introducing and developing my own theoretical contribution to discussions of Western cities in the phase of late modernity: Liquid Urbanisms (LU). I argue that Bauman's sociological approach, by concentrating on the individual's relationship to modern society, does not engage fully with the relational, experiential, lived geographies of the city, including the particular shifting and unequal power geometries (Massey, 1993) resulting from urban capitalist processes. In contrast, my spatial approach to Liquid Modernity, Liquid Urbanisms, focuses on the meanings and experiences of, and relations between, users and creators of past, present and future types of urban places and projects. By highlighting the liquid, fluctuating rhythms, networks, places and shared non-capitalist spaces of the city, LU pays attention to the geographies and timespaces of the lived city. I conclude the chapter in Section 2.6.

2.2: Late Modernity Situated

2.1.1. From Modernity to Postmodernity

The definition of modernity is ambiguous and much-debated, a 'matter of multiple processes and meanings' (Nash, 2000: p. 13), and as such remains a contested concept (Jameson, 2002; Linehan, 2009). The general definition of modernity is

threefold; modernity is: a distinct form of temporality; a social and aesthetic experience linked to capitalism; and an unfinished project (Benko, 1997). There is a tacit agreement that three interlinked, yet specific, historical moments contributed to the rise of modernity: the Enlightenment and the Renaissance period (Linehan, 2009; Nash, 2000), the crucial intertwining of modernity and capitalism (Simmel, 1902; Berman, 1982) including specific political, cultural, technical and mechanical effects and logics (Benko, 1997), and the development of modern nation-states (Linehan, 2009). Taken together, these moments help us understand the development of modern, Western European institutions of capitalism, industrialism, urbanism, democracy, and human rights, as 'articulated to a particular cultural imaginaire in which progress and rationality play central roles' (Beck, Bonss and Lau, 2003: p. 10).

Modernity is usually understood as an era rather than a process, what Harvey (2014) calls Fordist modernity (Harvey, 2014), or what Bauman (2000) describes as 'solid modernity', typified by mass production and assembly line industrial methods introduced by Henry Ford in the early twentieth century. This era was characterised by production, industrialisation, mechanisation, and the Keynesian welfare system. Industry was heavy, and capitalism was rooted in place by the focus on production of substantial machinery; factories were too bulky to be moved quickly, which tied capital and labour into a dependent relationship, as workers also had little mobility and were secured to the same factories. Socially and economically, permanency and collectivity were guiding principles, and the state played a huge role in maintaining the status quo.

Postmodernity emerged, initially from 1960s anti-modern political movements, including the contemporary contexts of independence and decolonisation, civil rights movements, anti-war campaigns, as well as environmental and feminist actions. These, combined later with events, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, and end of the Cold War, contributed to the sense that modernity as a project had failed. Postmodernity theorists like Jameson (1984) argued that the contemporary tools were no longer adequate to appropriately understand the current context. The recognition of the failure of modernity as a project came with awareness of the infallibility of human reason.

As a process, modernity was not only a period of economic restructuring, but also signalled changes in contemporary culture. Whereas in the time of early modernity, progress, and a straightforward life path was common, by postmodernity this was no longer the case. Under postmodernity employment is flexible and precarious and there is a breakdown of traditional ties (Jameson, 1984; 1981). This fluidity was also illustrated through literary and other cultural forms and fragmentation, contradictions and dystopias become common. LM emerges within this context of new cultural norms, where expectations and beliefs about life are short-term, conflicted and imbued with new understandings of the multiplicitous nature of society.

For Harvey, postmodernity is the link between the emergence of flexible modes of accumulation, postmodernist cultural forms and changes in the organisation of capitalism (1990). Harvey's spatial awareness is useful here as he described these changes as symptoms of broader variations in the system of

capitalism, namely, the move from Fordist Modernity to Flexible Postmodernity. The move to flexible modes of accumulation or postmodernity took place because of the 'inability of Fordism and Keynesianism to contain the inherent contradictions of capitalism' (Harvey 1990: p. 143). Fordism had worked so well that the capitalist system became rigid and the 'only tool of flexible response lay in monetary policy' (Harvey, 1990: p. 144). Loose monetary policy led to a sharp recession in the 1970s in the US and UK, resulting in: unemployment, a restructuring of the labour market, and a roll back of trade union power, accompanied by the liberal welfare governments of Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the US. In addition, there was a notable increase in short-term flexible contracts for workers, a move to less developed, informal, or underground economies, and a growth in service employment and women working, which is often exploitative and racialised. The breakup of Fordist-Keynesianism resulted in a period of rapid change, growth and flux, marked by fragmentation (Harvey, 1990).

2.1.2. Late Modernity

At the turn of the twenty-first century, scholars again rebranded the modern (Jameson, 2002) as a phase of 'late modernity', infused with the recognitions which postmodernity theories highlighted, and including feminist, non-capitalist, left-wing and other non-mainstream versions of modernity. Late modernity was thus a combination of modernity and postmodernity theories and inevitably this juxtaposition is at times jarring. Late modernity has been imagined in different ways and I briefly touch on these debates. All late modernity theorists agree that the world is now defined by individualisation and globalisation, as opposed to the

nation-state and territory as it was in the past. In addition, fluidity and multiplicity, which has its roots in earlier discussions of postmodernity (Soja, 1989) are key to conceptualisations of late modernity. Before I outline my reasons for focusing on Bauman, I want to explore the other late modernity theorists that were his contemporaries.

Sociologists Anthony Giddens, Ulrick Beck and Scott Lash (1994) introduce the notion of 'Reflexive Modernity' or Second Modernity; a late modernity concept which argues that the world is characterised by the individual, risk, and uncertainty. It builds on Beck and Giddens's work on the risk society. While acknowledging that this concept has more depth than I have time to delve into here, the basic argument is that society's increased access to knowledge has caused it to become obsessed with mitigating against hazards and insecurities. It was also intended as a way of reassessing the purpose of sociological investigation. The focus is on the process of modernisation, and the changes this has brought. Lee (2006) critiques these theorists for not moving beyond modernity theory but remaining concentrated on its negative aspects, like individualisation. With respect to my own research, I find that Beck's emphasis on cosmopolitanism and globalisation remains too broad as it excludes the range of 'power-geometries' (Massey, 1993) and differential experiences for the people living, working and visiting Dublin that I have researched and worked with.

As Table 2.1 shows, many late modernity theorists are sociologists, who have been used extensively in Geography and Urban Studies. I focused on Bauman for two reasons. Firstly, the work of Giddens and Beck has been excavated in Geography numerous times, and I felt these theories held no conceptual value for

my PhD thesis. Secondly, the concept of 'liquidity' that Bauman presents was more applicable to my research and described the same conditions my participants were outlining. While Bauman's sociological imagination, which I discuss in Section 2.3, meant that the spatial, or geographical, understandings of his theory were not so well developed, I still found his interpretations of the world of LM as a more suitable conceptual framework for my research.

Overall the geographies and timespaces of Late Modernity need to be better researched and conceptualised. However, before moving onto a more detailed examination of Bauman, I should first note here some important critiques of modernity theories. As the temporal aspects of modernity are prioritised over the spatial (Withers, 2007), other late modernity theorists, including Eisenstadt (2000) and Kaya (2004), who theorise 'multiple modernities' as a response to late modernity, critically challenge the hegemonic position of the West as the only place where modernity authentically takes place. Similarly, Roy (2009) calls for new geographies of theory which pay attention to non-dominant narratives of modernity. Multiple stories and multiple modernities call into question dominant hegemonic narrative structures of Western European modernity, such as colonialism and ideas of progress (Eisenstadt, 2000; Kaya, 2004). Many authors also argue that thinking about modernity geographically, which means considering modernity as more than a Western project, means that rather than assume modernity to be inherently progressive project (Linehan, 2009; Wagner, 2001), scholars should pay attention to its highly uneven processes (Harvey 1969-2014).

I certainly agree with these critiques. However, because the multiple modernities concept still emphasises a political economy perspective to examine

changing spatial structures of capitalism, I did not find it useful in my main goal of documenting the lived, experiential views of Dublin. Rather than adapt the theoretical debates about multiple modernities for this study, which would be a different project, in this PhD thesis I am seeking to theorise the multiple timespaces of the post-austerity neoliberal city. At the same time, I agree with feminist and postcolonial scholars who contend that to spatialise modernity we should understand its multiplicity and move away from the traditional focus in Western thought of one grand narrative of homogenous modernity. Thus, although I acknowledge Dublin's position as a developed post-colonial city (Kincaid, 2006), my current project offers new empirical research about the neoliberal city through a focus on multiple case studies that provide nuanced detail and question existing theories that privilege structural Marxist approaches to late modernity only.

I find Bauman's work on Liquid Modernity helpful because he prompts scholars to concentrate on what is new about the contemporary situation, including how capitalism is currently changing and working, and the ways the world is becoming liquid, while also offering empirical, local (rather than global) examples. As Liquid Modernity has not yet been fully analysed, discussed, or used in Geography, in the following section, I introduce Bauman's concept, and the reasons I think Geographers can learn more about the city if we can mobilise Bauman's theory spatially.

2.3: Liquid Modernity

Rather than Berman (1982) and Foster's (1983) uses of Marx to describe postmodernity as 'all that is solid melts into air', Bauman argues that in a phase of Liquid Modernity, 'all social forms melt faster than new ones can be cast' (Bauman, 2005b: p. 303). For Bauman, LM emerged after the end of 'solid modernity', similar to Harvey's conceptualisations of Fordist modes of accumulation. LM is defined by flexibility, neoliberalism and a society of consumers and 'change is the only permanence and uncertainty the only certainty' (Bauman, 2011: p. viii). Similar to the other late modernity theories, LM focuses on the role of individualisation. Yet LM offers a view of the 'liquidity' of the world'; its inability to hold shape for very long. The catalyst for this transition has been the separation of power from politics, or in more geographical terms, deregulation and privatisation. In the era of Liquid Modernity, capital becomes light, and everything is now fluid and transient. Nation states are increasingly unable to deal with problems as they did in the past welfare state era when states had authority; the rate of change is so quick that none of these entities stay in government long enough to assert any real power. The former sovereignty of states is now in 'the anonymous realm of global forces' (Bauman, 2005a: p. 45), with states no longer in charge of cultural, economic, or security concerns, which have all become privatised. In LM, power is now extraterritorial and is not bound through physical space. Capital is more mobile and able to move anywhere globally (Harvey, 2014), and is now 'impatient' (Van Loon, 2016; Kelly, 2017), marked by short-term loans, investments and high-velocity finance.

LM is defined further by two major changes: globalisation and individualisation, both of which have had a massive role to play in the rise of neoliberalism. Although no explicit link was made by Bauman to neoliberalism in his book *Liquid Modernity* (2000), he does describe the same process, using different language. Under LM, capitalism is more predatory. With globalisation, capital as a process is no longer fixed in place (Harvey, 2014). Deregulation under the European social welfare state has allowed the expansion of capital to go into other parts of the world and remain footloose. Bauman argues that governments today are focused on securing capital in place, as was the case traditionally under solid modernity, however because of liquid modernity, 'power rules *because* it flows, because it is *able . . .* to *flow away*' (Bauman, 2003: p. 15, emphasis in original). Processes of capitalism only stay in a certain location as long as they are able to leave so paradoxically, governments offering incentives like deregulation, low taxes and a flexible labour market enable companies to remain 'light' and be able to leave at any time.

Bauman also mentions the rise of Thatcher and her mantra of 'there is no such thing as society' (2000: p. 30), and he contends that neoliberal processes have encouraged individualisation as a process, which drives profit. Foucault's metaphor of the Panopticon no longer adequately describes the power relationships that currently exist, as now power is more likely to exist in a synoptican style, 'it is now the many who watch the few' (Bauman, 2000: p. 85). Social norms are achieved and maintained through us watching each other and ourselves, rather than coercion. Yet one part of individualisation has meant that individuals are expected to solve socially created problems, which inhibits collective action (Bauman, 2008).

Similarly, for Bauman, ethics and morality are bound up in our present-day obsession to be consumers (as opposed to producers, which he claims we were historically defined by); the emphasis on the individual has rendered people to be rarely capable of sympathising or helping others, as doing so would distract from our primary task - which is to consume.

Bauman and Harvey clearly agree about the inherently contradictory nature of capitalism, even if the language used differs. For example, Bauman (2009 p. 56) writes that the 2008 global financial crisis was caused by an exhaustion of 'virgin lands', and, as capitalism has no new frontiers to conquer, the crisis was merely the latest chapter in capitalism's 'snake-eats-its-tail drama'. Similarly, Harvey discusses the inability of capitalism to avoid its own internal contradictions, its 'cannibalistic' and 'predatory practices' (Harvey, 2004: p. 75 and 74). Although Harvey does not go as far as ratifying Liquid Modernity, he does acknowledge and theorise the mobility and fluidity of power in the contemporary context (Gregory, 2006).

So, what does the 'Liquid' in LM actually mean? 'Liquid' is a careful choice by Bauman, choosing to separate himself from the other Late Modernity theorists already mentioned like Beck. The most inherent quality of liquid is that it does not hold any shape for very long; it is fluid, movable, flowing and mobile, therefore light in a way that solids cannot be. 'Fluids do not keep to any shape for long and are constantly ready (and prone) to change it' (Bauman, 2000: p. 2). Under LM we experience a permanent state of temporariness, full of 'unfinishedness, incompleteness and undetermination . . . risk and anxiety' (Bauman, 2000 p. 62). Liquid Modernity is filled with feelings of 'fragility, temporariness, vulnerability and inclination to constant change' (Bauman, 2011: p. viii), and is far from a uniform

process. LM is meant as a call for us to respond, deliberately providing many more questions than answers.

Bauman's five chapters in *Liquid Modernity* are: Emancipation, Individualisation, Time/ Space, Work, and Community. These five themes are the building blocks of LM, and as Bauman argues, the ‘present-day situation emerged out of the radical melting of the fetters and manacles rightly or wrongly suspected of limiting the individual freedom to choose and to act. *Rigidity of order is the artefact and sediment of the human agents’ freedom*. That rigidity is the overall product of 'releasing the brakes': of deregulation, liberalization, 'flexibilization', increased fluidity, unbridling the financial, real estate and labour markets, easing the tax burden, etc.’ (2000: p. 5: emphasis in original). Therefore LM, or this increasing liquidity begins with this apparent emancipation, hence why it is the beginning chapter. The processes which caused this freedom are processes of neoliberalisation. I briefly outline some of the most pertinent key ideas to this study below.

2.3.1. Emancipation

Following Durkheim, Bauman argues that freedom can only be gained by following the ‘norm’, or what is being done by most people, as there is ‘no other way to pursue . . . liberation’ but to ‘submit to society’ and to follow society’s norms. Freedom cannot be gained against society’ (Bauman, 2000: p. 20), as the act of individualising is ‘re-enacted daily’ (ibid: p. 31). One aspect of LM which is worth emphasising is that the emancipatory freedom envisioned by the project of early modernity has not been achieved, which is an example of how LM has been imbued

with postmodernity rationales. As explored above, society no longer holds the traditional role it did in the time of Fordist-Keynesianism when society was structured not around the individual but the collective. To gain freedom, now we must begin the 'incessant activity of "individualising"' (ibid: p. 31), which has transformed identity from something inherent within us, or historically pre-given based on class or gender, to something which needs to be constantly performed. Individuals do not as easily bond over shared issues anymore, according to Bauman, as individualisation has changed our perceptions and made us feel like everyone must deal solely with their life projects, which he argues has resulted in the breakdown of social ties.

2.3.2. Individualisation

Building on Simmel's (1903) work on early cities, Bauman contends that the urban is increasingly defined by strangers living together, which has contributed to the breakdown of communities and their replacement with networks; a move he views as negative. Simmel outlined that the early metropolis was always a site fraught with risk and Bauman's sees this increasing with expanded levels of urbanisation. 'Closeness, proximity, togetherness, and mutual engagement' (2005c: p. 135), he argues, have been replaced by a 'never-ending sequence of connections and disconnections' which 'replace determination, allegiance and belonging' (Bauman, 2011: p. 14). The individual is taught to be critical of any collective cause, and 'the individual is the citizen's worst enemy' (Bauman, 2000: p. 36). For Bauman, interacting through networks has made solidarity more unlikely, as people struggle to connect with each other beyond a superficial way. I disagree with this particular

point, alternatively seeing the growth in networks as providing potential, which I elaborate on in Chapter 3.

2.3.3. Community

Bauman sees community linked to the aforementioned increase in urban fear, which is a cyclical process which reproduces the original fear as the less people interact with other people, the more these skills are affected and the fear is reproduced. Bauman refers to Zukin (1995) and Davis's (1991) work on urban fear, as well as Sennett's (1998) work on the restricted nature of communities. The communities that do exist have been strengthened as a result of this, as in order to ensure the community remains, boundaries are drawn, and a community of similarity breeds 'the unholy 'trinity' of uncertainty, insecurity and unsafety' (Bauman, 2000: p. 181). As I mentioned, Bauman argues that people now interact through networks (often random), rather than communities.

2.3.4. Liquid as Life

Liquid life is the life lived under LM (Bauman, 2005a) and liquid modern life is ruled by the ideas of flexibility, and plans therefore are designed to be short term, labyrinthine, full of surprises, wrong turns, and unpredictability. Liquid life now has no end destination, as the future is open and undetermined which brings possibility as well as fear. Those who are best at living a liquid life have an 'acceptance of disorientation, immunity to vertigo and adaptation to a state of dizziness, tolerance for an absence of itinerary and direction, and for an infinite duration of travel' (Bauman, 2005a: p. 4). Looseness of attachments and lack of engagement mark all

areas of liquid life; for those who can afford to do so, they try not to attach to places, people and things.

2.4: Critiques of Liquid Modernity and Bauman's Spatial Imagination

2.4.1. Critiques of Liquid Modernity

Jacobsen states that many of Bauman's interpreters claimed that his recent LM books are pessimistic and apocalyptic, reflecting an attitude of 'tacit ambivalence' (Jacobsen, 2004: p. 84). Moreover, Bauman's texts are focused on a theoretical articulation of a cultural moment and only partially gesture towards empirical problematics (Davis, 2013), and more empirical research, such as this study, is needed to consider the strengths and weaknesses of his work.

Although I find Bauman very useful, based upon my research, I found some of his concepts to be inadequate in acknowledging the potential of the very characteristics he critiques. One example is his pessimistic view on networks as I discussed. Bauman states that networks have replaced community as the ways in which we connect. He calls for us to consider the ways we interact with each other but fails to see the potential benefits that exist in networks, including the creation of places, which I discuss in the next chapter. In my research, it has emerged that the ties that do exist in networks are critically important in creating places and projects. His praise of social relations based in traditional communities ignores the possibilities that other forms of social interaction may also be strong. This is, in part, because Bauman understands community as only based only on spatial

propinquity and location, such as neighbourhoods or boroughs, which is a very bounded and limited way of understanding community, as I describe in Chapter 3. So, while Bauman calls for change in the LM society in which we live, he does not accept fluid links connecting citizens to each other. Bauman is at times quite derisive of networks and harks for a return to communities as he believes that they are the only way social bonds can be reconnected, admitting that friendships and networks of solidarity are more needed now than ever, but never goes as far as to conceptualise networks as effective means of social engagement.

Bauman's utopia is a self-constituted and independent society where citizens are engaged and involved in politics, rather than hiding in places like gated communities, in fear. He argues that we have lost faith in grand meta-narratives – 'there is no captain at the ship', as Bauman would say, which means for him that the separation of power and politics has meant that there is no faith in the state to change everything. Bauman is critical of this LM attitude because we are more hostile to utopian ideas than we were in the time of solid modernity. Jacobsen (2004) traces the so-called demise of utopian thought in the social sciences since the rise of postmodernity. Modernity (and ideas of progress) brought the rise of utopian thought, and with late modernity, Bauman believes there has been a collapse in utopian thought in sociological studies because there has been too-heavy a focus on traditional notions of utopia, with a failure to see utopia as a constant part of the human condition. As I discuss in Chapter 7, however, there are alternative ideas of progress offered by autonomous and anarchist projects that can indeed be considered utopian.

LM as a theory has been critiqued for not being an all-encompassing theory in the same way as those created by renowned sociologists like Giddens, Bourdieu and Habermas are (Gross, 2009; Jacobsen and Poder, 2008). Bauman doesn't use 'definite and self-proclaimed theoretical testament[s]' or 'interwoven set[s] of essential theoretical analytical concepts' (Jacobsen and Poder, 2008: p. 2). If Bauman is taken and judged in terms of 'doing' sociology, he does not succeed at this task, as he is lacking in empirical and objective work to back up his arguments (Davis, 2013). Bauman has been critiqued for not making the methodological process apparent (Junge, 2008). He has also been critiqued for not making the definition of what 'liquid' is clear enough, and therefore a firm meaning of liquefaction is difficult to ascertain (Junge, 2008). Davis does soften his critique however, by seeing the choice to use the word 'liquid' rather than 'post' modern as an artistic one, thereby labelling Liquid Modernity as a metaphor that changes and flows, like liquid, rather than maintaining an existing static condition (2013). Bauman's sociology posits a search for further reflection rather than providing concrete answers (ibid). I agree with Davis and take this as one of the starting points for this PhD thesis.

As Bauman's work is not well known in geographical studies, save a brief mention by Del Castillo's (2014) research on the Indignados movement, my use of his concepts may be of interest for urbanists and geographers alike. I posit that geographers have overlooked Bauman, even as the concepts of other sociologists like Beck and Giddens were used, because of the lack of a spatial imagination in his work. This is the main theoretical contribution of this PhD thesis – to contribute to Geography and Urban Studies the language necessary to make LM a useable

concept, and I argue that Liquid Urbanisms does this. Before offering my own concept of Liquid Urbanisms, I first identify the ways that Bauman used spatial concepts, with respect to cities in particular, in his work.

2.4.2. Bauman's Spatial Imagination

A key work in which Bauman does delve into cities is his article *City of Fears, City of Hopes* (2003). He refers to theorists like Lewis Mumford (1961), Steve Graham and Simon Marvin (2000), Jane Jacobs (1961), Max Weber (1921), but leans heavily on geographers Edward Soja's (2000) *Postmetropolis* and Manuel Castells' (1989) *The Informational City*. From Soja, Bauman agrees that cities are sites of frequent change, acknowledging Soja's arguments about how the rate of change has increased exponentially in postmodernity, resulting in increasing feelings of uncertainty. Bauman also relies on Castells' work to discuss the interdependency of global and local forces in the city. Castells described how local politics are increasing in a world which is structured more and more by global processes. The 'space of flows' is the new global hierarchy which is set up as global elites remain extraterritorial, and can flow (Castells in Bauman, 2003). On the opposite side of the spectrum, Castells' 'spaces of places' are spaces rooted in place, described as fixed, powerless, and local.

Cities therefore are the site of contradictions for Bauman because, following Castells, spaces of flows must interact with its opposite, spaces of places, in order to survive. The spaces of flows need places to provide for human needs and conversely, the spaces of places need flows for people to be attracted to cities. Here is one area where a geographical intervention would be helpful, but, similar to

other sociologists, Bauman's understanding of place is largely reductive and results in spaces as sites or locations rather than a geographically rich understanding of the dialectical tensions between space and place. Doreen Massey (1993, 2005) and urbanist Rosalyn Deutsche (1996), among others, offer a relational view of place that does not see a contradiction between space and place: the two are mutually dependent. I further discuss this relational approach in the next chapter.

Another geographical concept Bauman briefly introduces is public space. Calling for Ellin's 'integral urbanism', Bauman (2005a: p. 77) defines public spaces as 'the creative and life-enhancing value of diversity, while encouraging the differences to engage in a meaningful dialogue'. Bauman wants an urbanism to be created which is focused on communication, celebration and connection. He calls on architecture and urban planning to create spaces which are open and allow for this integral urbanism. Yet I think the idea of open urbanism can be extended to include the ways city inhabitants and guests create inclusive places, as provided by the multiple types of LU in this study. Similarly, my discussion of LU tributaries below and in the next chapter extends Bauman's understandings both of networks, to include loose networks as sites of sociality and resources for place-making, and of communities, as being more than bounded locations.

Bauman never fully developed a systematic spatial reading. In this study, I extend some of Bauman's LM concepts to cities and provide the vocabulary to spatialise Bauman's work through my conceptual framework of Liquid Urbanisms. I now introduce my working definition of LU. As described below and in the next chapter, my work extends LM to make it theoretically useful for Urban Studies scholars and Geographers.

2.5: Liquid Urbanisms

Liquid Urbanisms (LU) is the main contribution of this thesis. In this section, I define Liquid Urbanisms as places and/or projects which are loose, but networked, and through these networks, connected to each other, in fluid, flexible ways. I have chosen the word urbanism as an attempt to grasp the dynamism and flow of these initiatives, as a natural response to the liquidity of cities. 'Urbanism' comes from Louis Wirth's (1938) classic definition of 'that complex of traits which makes up the characteristic mode of life in cities' (p. 7). Empirically, Wirth outlined three interrelated perspectives of urbanism; firstly, as a physical structure with certain features such as a high population (which does not fully grasp urbanism as a way of life); secondly, as a system of social organisation with structures and institutions, and pattern of social relations; and thirdly, as a set of attitudes, ideas and behaviours. Wirth concludes by conceptualising key points to defining cities (number, density of settlements and degree of heterogeneity), but as Wirth was writing in the 1930s, at the time of early modernity, we need to update his idea of urbanism in a phase of LM. For Wirth, a workable definition of urbanism should lend itself to understanding what all cities have in common, but also to acknowledge the variation that exists between places.

Debates in post-colonial theory and on planetary urbanisation have enriched this debate about urbanism in more recent years. Robinson and Roy (2016: p. 182) usefully describe urbanisms to 'signify theory (always a multiplicity) as a proliferation of imaginative projects inspired by and productive of the great diversity of urban experiences'. The authors indicate this definition includes the

generality and 'unruly materiality of the urban' (ibid). Further, Robinson and Roy (2016) have called on scholars to rethink the Euro-American legacy of Urban Studies. Building on Roy's work on multiple modernities, which I mentioned above, the authors argue the need to 'consider the relational multiplicities, diverse histories and dynamic connectivities of global urbanisms' (Robinson and Roy, p. 181). Rather than seeing cities in the Global South as different versions of the urban forms that exist in Western cities, Robinson and Roy (p. 181) advocate a renewed attention to these cities, expanding Urban Studies beyond its basis of 'a handful of iconic cities in the Global North'. In a similar way, through LU I call attention to the parts of cities which are less focused on. Liquid Urbanisms therefore concentrate on the lived, experiential nature of cities, with attention to the capitalist processes affecting this experience.

Central to the understanding of LU is liquidity, and thus I assert my perception of this. Within urban and cultural geography, liquidity is often used to denote non-physical flows of money in economic terms, such as liquid assets (Aalbers, 2009; Dixon, 2011). I argue that the metaphor of liquidity can be expanded to refer to the experiences of people and places within cities under liquid and late modernity. I am attentive to more than static understandings of liquidity, as liquids inherently flow and change form. LU processes are layered and built up, not only horizontally but also vertically. Liquids may appear to solidify for a short time, such as when frozen, but if they melt, they may refreeze, or become liquid again, and some properties of the liquid are altered through this process. The shapes and textures of the liquids may have changed, indicating a change within the

quality of the liquid, or LU, or the container the liquid is placed in, which we can understand here as the city.

So, what exactly are Liquid Urbanisms? LU are the ways of living in cities under Liquid Modernity, emerging because of and within this context. LU allow scholars to activate 'our imaginative engagements' (Robinson and Roy, 2016: p. 182) with Bauman's liquid world. LU are places or projects, which fulfil the function of making cities better places to live, with what 'better' is as defined by the particular group or project, but an example would be a more artistic, or equitable city. LU is defined by uncertainty, flexibility and fluidity, where change is constant, but also includes the practices, initiatives, goals and timespaces that people use to create urban places, networks, and events, generally with the intentions of creating a better city to live and participate in. LU pays attention to the users and makers of places and projects. I also understand the spatial practices and timespaces of LU as mutually constitutive, plural, mobile, and based on the everyday and experiential. LU initiatives are often alternative, adaptable and responsive to the availability of people and resources as they randomly occur rather than use the terms of strategic temporary urbanism planning (formal/informal, planned/unplanned, and so on). Individualisation and globalisation processes inherent in LM can make urban inhabitants feel powerless. Instead of viewing this negatively however, LM should be conceived as both a challenge and an opportunity, and LU are responses to this context.

What LU offers us as a concept, which is not present in Temporary Urbanism literature, or political economy perspectives on the city, is an attention to the specific timespaces of these projects; their rhythms which add to city life and run

alongside more economically or political centred narratives of the city. To focus on LU is to broaden understandings of city life, to begin to grasp how people create, use and experience these initiatives, and I do this through emphasising user perspectives rather than only the position of places within capitalist modes of production. Following Lefebvre (1967), there has been a concentration on the production of space, which while not without merit, often does not look at the temporal. LU offers urban scholars the chance to look at broader temporalities than those normally looked at in Urban Studies. In a similar way to the concept of everyday urbanisms, LU call on us as urban scholars to investigate urban space from the vista of everyday life.

Furthermore, LU networks are different from common social science understandings of networks as placeless. Instead, LU networks solidify the importance of place-making in the understanding of how networks are formed and maintained. LU also feature non-monetary forms of value which are often not considered, focusing on use value over exchange value, which contributes to LU often creating urban commons in cities, giving scholars an opportunity to reconsider cities, as these value systems often exist and indeed must exist within the context of more normative systems which lean towards exchange value as the dominant characteristic in evaluations. Finally, LU have unique political beliefs, existing on a continuum from a progressive sense of place to, at the other end, anarchist beliefs, and these political beliefs fuel the motivations and goals of the creators of LU and affect their relationship to institutions, from local authorities to businesses.

I argue that terms such as vacant land or temporary use are overutilised in Urban Studies, without a thorough engagement of the histories, meanings and/or geographical contexts of these concepts. We need new conceptual language to understand cities today, and my PhD thesis begins to provide these tools. LU as a conceptual framework transforms the way we look at so-called residual spaces to claim that they are not in fact 'left over', but are 'normal' to the existence of the city and have real and implicit merit. Instead, LU recentres the dynamic potential of places and projects, and through the particular case studies I have explored, demonstrates the politics of the creators and makers.

Other concepts which I considered as the conceptual lens for this research project include the concept of 'assemblage' or Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 2007). Assemblage is 'both orientation to the world (eg a form of thinking about urban policy production) and as an object in the world (eg an urban policy, house, or infrastructure)' (Mc Farlane: p. 652). Yet what this definition illustrates is how assemblage is a 'one-size-fits-all' concept, and as it is so versatile, it lacked the specificities I needed to talk about the details of my work, and it is this universal utility I struggled with. I perceived assemblage as a difficult concept to pin down, a critique echoed by Brenner et al. (2011), who claim that 'there is no single 'assemblage urbanism'' (p. 225), and thus no need to argue for or against the theory as a whole, but rather its specificities. Taking this advice, I argue that assemblage as a concept is too flat. In attempting to avoid structure, it 'deprives itself of a key explanatory tool' (ibid). Instead, I understand the lived geographies of the city and aimed to create an image of the ecology of Dublin, according to Liquid Urbanisms. I prefer a more interactive visualisation of these projects and places I

was researching. I favoured focusing on the interactions between these projects and people at the scale of the everyday. The concept of Liquid Urbanisms allowed me to more fully explore this than assemblage would have, by highlighting the connections, movements and rhythms of the city, spatially and temporally, which I don't believe assemblage theory would have allowed me to do.

The practices of LU vary, as there are at least three types of LU, which I describe in the next chapter. LU practices therefore may include: pocket gardening, outdoor art exhibitions, networking events, cultural spaces, art studio spaces, community gardens, children's play areas, direct actions, squats, occupations and autonomous social centres. LU are mobile and responsive to wider city dynamics, and by necessity they exist within a neoliberalising city, even as they may actively contest this, or alternatively, work within this system and use the system to their advantage. Even within LU types, the politics can vary from project to project. Yet, even when critiqued for being neoliberal, or for not having an openly political agenda, LU can still be radical, for enabling urban scholars and inhabitants to think differently about cities and our pre-given understandings of them. Even when they are within a capitalist system, LU are still flickers of hope, which allow us to envision what the city is and could be.

2.6: Conclusion

In this chapter, I have illustrated why I was drawn to Bauman's concept of Liquid Modernity, as I felt LM more fully explained the types of places and projects I was researching for my dissertation. Many sociologists have been analysed and used by

geographers, such as Giddens and Bourdieu, but Bauman has not. I suggest that the lack of use is in part caused by the difference between sociological imaginations in comparison to geographical ones. For the former, C. Wright Mills (1959: p. 8) describes the sociological imagination as the ability to grasp 'the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals'. Clearly within sociological thought there is a focus on time, and the connections between the individual, institutions and social groups.

I have argued in this chapter that Bauman's approach is limited by his sociological imagination, as Bauman rarely deals with place and space in depth; when using these concepts, he leans heavily on geographers. This is because, as Gregory (1994: p. 203-204) asserts, place, space and landscape are central in the geographical imagination; 'our imaginative geographies (inside and outside the academy) are global as well as local. They articulate not simply the differences between this place and that . . . but they also shape the ways . . . we conceive of the connections and separations between them'. Bauman, however, did not consider the shaping of connections in his conceptualisation of LM, as this PhD thesis seeks to do, which means, therefore, that LU can be considered to reassert and deepen the role of the spatial in Bauman's work.

LM can offer the discipline of Geography a useful theoretical lens, and through my conceptualisation of Liquid Urbanisms, I have contributed new terminology which can enable Geographers to be able to use Bauman. I have developed Bauman's ideas of temporality and liquidity, to focus on the rhythms and timespaces of the users and creators of the places and projects I am researching. Further, I agree that the pervasiveness, and randomness, of networks needs to be

outlined, and I describe the connections of networks to place-making processes. At the same time, unlike Bauman, I consider networks as potential pathways and connections for solidarity, based upon the perspectives of the 'Liquid Urbanists' studied for this project. I illustrate the alternative values of LU, and how these contribute to the formation of urban commons, which are not considered in Bauman's work. Finally, I note the political beliefs and resulting relationships to institutions, to argue that local politics can have an impact, contrary to Bauman's argument. LU further enhances Bauman's discussion of the LM contexts and processes of privatisation and deregulation, making it more geographically nuanced.

I contend that LU works in two ways. Firstly, the concept itself is a new tool for transforming the way Urban Studies and Geography views so-called temporary or residual uses of land, as outlined in Chapter 1. Secondly, and I elaborate on this in the following chapter, the LU typology, which consists of types and tributaries, provides categorisations of LU that can be used to apply to other cities. In the next chapter, I offer a typology and framework for understanding and analysing Liquid Urbanisms, which includes three types and four tributaries that result from my empirical and theoretical research. I describe three 'types' of LU: Creative Urbanisms, Community-Based Urbanisms and Autonomous Urbanisms; and outline four 'tributaries' of LU, which cut across the types: networks and place, timespaces and rhythms, value and urban commons, and political beliefs and institutional relationships. As I outline in Chapter 4, this typology of LU emerged from an iterative, immersive, methodological process, leading to the development of types

and tributaries, which were then reflected onto the case studies, to see how and if they fit the empirical data.

In the next chapter I further expand readings beyond Bauman to include radical, feminist, relational and poststructuralist readings of the city, as a means of detailing the LU types and tributaries. LU therefore makes LM more powerful as both a sociological and geographical concept.

Chapter 3: Liquid Urbanisms: Types and Tributaries

> 'I met a few key people at that [Offset Conference of Design and Creative Industries] . . . and then we [Bloom Fringe Festival creators] tried to get some of them involved: some we did and some we didn't. I made some good friends through that process, and bandied around those with really good ideas, and got into kind of what they used to call "DIY Dublin", which was, like, young people who stuck it out and stayed in Dublin through that bad recession [post-2008 times]. And so, for all of us who are an older generation [in our 40s], it's really good for us to be able to tap into that'.
>
> -- Bloom Fringe Festival creator, interview with the author, Dublin, June 2016.

3.1: Introduction

The above quote is representative of the main theme of this chapter, which is how various actors are involved in creating different types of Liquid Urbanisms (LU) by engaging with key spatial processes and practices that I refer to as LU tributaries. In this above passage, the interviewee describes how some of the projects and collaborations associated with the Bloom Fringe Festival (BFF) happened, whereas others did not, showing the unpredictable nature of initiatives in our fluid urban world. For this BFF urban creative, there is a valuable pool of resources available in Dublin, which needs to be 'tap[ped]' into, to create new urban projects. Numerous informal and more formal *networking* practices feed into annual projects, either before they are begun or when they 'take place', which may start through offhand encounters at a conference, or by a friendship that developed from meeting at an event the year before. The interviewee above mentions how that 'process' of

interacting with other creative people, working with some other initiatives and/or by creating loose networks, was helpful in clarifying his/her ideas and meant new ideas for the Bloom Fringe Festival in Dublin. In other words, the complex *timespaces and rhythms* of LU are highlighted, both in terms of the timing of events but also through intergenerational connections with other urban creators, including with a 'DIY' younger generation of makers and activists. The places and projects these makers and activists create often exemplify non-capitalist systems of *value,* which exist alongside normative understandings of exchange. In addition, national economic and political contexts also clearly affect the availability of people to engage in local expressions of LU (even as some of the people who leave may later return with new networks). Indeed, as the opening quote indicates, because many different LU are happening simultaneously, large events, such as the conference mentioned, give the creators of LU opportunities to connect, collaborate, and make new networks, which, in turn, may influence future LU projects.

In the previous chapter, I outlined the theoretical framework of Liquid Modernity and defined my contribution of Liquid Urbanisms. In this chapter, I introduce the conceptual framework structures of LU. LU '***types'*** overlap and are shared across several projects and people, through what I call '***tributaries***', spatial processes and practices that feed into LU. These tributaries simultaneously affect and are affected by the types of LU. In Chapter 4, I fully describe how I developed this typology. It is helpful nonetheless here to mention that the LU 'types' and 'tributaries' emerged from an iterative process of pilot research, multiple sessions of open coding for pilot research and again with the full data set, and (re)reading literatures in Geography, Urban Studies and related fields. The types of my LU

conceptual framework in particular emerged from the initial phase of open coding from the pilot phase of research, which I later verified with the full data set. I began with what were ‘Creative’ types of case studies, and as I expanded my range based upon snowballing and other forms of survey research, I noticed how the two other main types existed: the Community and Autonomous Urbanisms. As I outline more fully in Chapter 4, following open coding of the main phase of research, similar themes began to emerge across types, which I typified as ‘tributaries’ to reflect the larger characteristics of liquidity for all LU.

This PhD thesis presents Liquid Urbanisms as a powerful contribution to urban and cultural geography. The LU typology compels us to rethink urban theory: to focus on the provisional and everyday experiential scale. In an insightful piece, Latham and Mc Cormack (2004) call on geographers to ‘rematerialize’ the urban, arguing that ‘to think about the enfoldings of culture within the very thereness of the urban requires a quite fundamental rethinking of how we understand both terms’ (p. 718). For these authors, conceptual vehicles allow scholars to grasp ‘the multiplicity, the structuredness and the productiveness of urban life’ (ibid). Consequently, the LU typology I created allows scholars to comprehend the multiplicity of urban and cultural life, through renewed attention to what is usually considered provisional or marginal in urban life, and to pay more attention to the lived, experiential realities of the makers and users in the city. This distinct meta-concept contributes a diverse conceptualisation of provisional projects and places and highlights the need to open out our understandings of what is marginal within Urban Studies and Geography. The authors argue, and I agree, that what is

fundamental to a city is its plurality; and the LU typology I created captures this diversity.

In this chapter, in Section 3.2, I introduce the three ‘types’ of LU: Creative Urbanisms, Community-Based Urbanisms, and Autonomous Urbanisms, a discussion based largely on the findings of my empirical research in Chapters 5-7. In the second, longer section of this chapter, Section 3.3, I identify and explain the four ‘tributaries’ of LU: networks and places, timespaces and rhythms, values and urban commons and political beliefs and institutional relationships. As all tributaries are present across the three LU types, in more or lesser degrees, I discuss these spatial characteristics in depth as well, after which I provide specific examples for each type in the empirical chapters.

3.2: Liquid Urbanisms Types

In this section, I define three distinctive ‘types’ of urbanisms: Creative, Community-Based and Autonomous Urbanisms, and examine the goals, practices, and timespaces common to each type. This section results from the empirical research I conducted, which I further detail in subsequent chapters, and considers relevant literatures that extend the discussions from previous chapters.

3.2.1. Creative Urbanisms

Creative Urbanisms (CU) are imaginative ways of getting people to think about, use or engage with their city by creating unique experiences and environments for users and creators of cityspaces to re-encounter the places they live in, use and

work. In contrast to the literatures about temporary use and creative cities, I use the term creative following geographer Harriet Hawkins to encompass the 'range of different approaches and forms of creativity. . . whether neoliberal, revolutionary, or as a politics of local possibility' (2014: p. 1). As I expand upon in Chapter 5, CU include projects, landscapes, places, and events that emerge from different groups of local actors. Such initiatives emerge from creatives with unique motivations and are not necessarily tied to private interests. Creative Urbanists (CUists) generally seek to invite residents to think about cities in a new way.

CUists use innovative approaches to look at various issues that affect the quality of life in the city, calling attention to, for example, green spaces, recycling, vacancy, public art, public spaces, play, mobility, community, climate change, or sustainability. CUists use many practices: outdoor art studios; yarnbombing (covering amenities or structures with decorative materials, such as wool); 'Parking Day' (which turns public car parks into playgrounds, games or art installations for the day); reusing 'underutilised' or 'vacant' spaces; creating mobile networking places; making new places for children and play; and bringing more greenery or art into places.

I argue throughout this PhD thesis that the timespaces of LU are not fully considered, and as can be seen from Table 1.1, I find the label of 'temporary' and 'permanent' too reductive, as these perspectives often define CU by their timeframe only, and in terms of neoliberalism. CU are judged on the public time they are open (including hours, a day, a weekend, month, throughout the year, annually or even biannually) and are labelled 'short-term', 'transitory' or 'pop-up'

events and festivals, which ignores the huge amount of work which goes into the creation and maintenance of projects before, during and after the event proper.

Even though often not the intention of project creators, CUists are critiqued for contributing to neoliberal agendas, so, therefore, I want to distinguish CUists from Richard Florida's Creative Class argument (CC) (2002), mentioned in Chapter 1. His concept rates a city based on how 'creative' it is, and many policymakers and city authorities globally have taken it on board, focusing on attracting 'creatives' based on the 3 T's': technology, talent and tolerance. With other geographers, I argue that these 'creative indices' indicate a new form of urban entrepreneurialism that pits cities against each other in obtaining regional, national and international developing funds. Rather than attracting tourists, the CC policy tries to attract people working in the creative industry and hi-tech innovation industries that result in creative districts.

As Pratt (2008) has argued, CC is not new, but a revival of place marketing, itself based on a reductive understanding of places (cf section on 'Networks and Places'). McCann (2007) and O'Callaghan (2010) agree that the CC discourse has solidified several other effective policy responses, such as liveability. 'Creativity is universally seen as a positive characteristic' (Pratt, 2008: p. 113), an 'elixir' expected to cure all problems for all people (O'Callaghan, 2010: p. 1609). These critiques indicate how the CC concept ignores the geographical specificities of places, advocating for a one-size-fits-all approach which 'deadens place and flattens culture by conscripting them into a global template' (O'Callaghan, 2010: p. 1615), and is applied by city authorities onto already existing neoliberal urban strategies (ibid; see also Peck, 2005). Florida's concept is critiqued for failing to assess locational

factors such as stage of the lifecycle, salary, housing and other personal factors (Boyle, 2006; Murphy et al., 2015; Lawton et al., 2013; Murphy and Redmond, 2009). Thus, Boyle (2006: p. 410) describes Florida's arguments as a 'lightweight academic work'.

I raise these critiques to separate the work of CUists from Florida's creatives, even if some CU may be critiqued for assisting neoliberal agendas. My research illustrates that there is a disparity between how much the projects can be said to be neoliberal, which can change from project to project, even if the same people remain involved. Thinking of CU initiatives as examples of Hawkins's 'critical creative spatialities' enables both locals and academics 'to think (and practice) [urban] space differently' (2011: p. 468, my addition in brackets). If CU are thought of solely in terms of terms of their association to neoliberalisation processes, we ignore the benefits and complex timespaces of CU.

3.2.2. Community-Based Urbanisms

Munck warns that we need to deconstruct the sociological myth of community as a 'cozy, consensual milieu', where power differentials are unproblematised (2014, p. 19), and Barnett describes community as a 'set of spaces beyond the university that speaks of collective interests and a public sphere', and he acknowledges that it is an ephemeral, diffuse and varied term (2014: p. 188). As suggested in the last chapter, I use a looser version of community than Bauman does and I refer to the people living and using the places LU projects are associated with, rather than define community only according to spatial propinquity per se. As Martin (2003: p. 730) argues, 'location does not, in itself, make a community'; she refers to the research

of other geographers who have also explored community beyond location (Cox and Mair, 1988; Alinsky, 1989; Davis, 1991). To develop my understanding of Community-Based Urbanisms (CBU), I draw upon geographical literatures and scholarship and practice in community-based art and Community-Based Research (CBR).

While Knight and Schwarzman (2006) describe 'community' as a hard concept to define because community is seen as ubiquitous, I refer to Agnew's (1987) discussion of locale. I understand community as sometimes based in a geographically defined area, but also, more significantly, including people having a 'sense of place' and belonging in a locale, which may be either geographically-based or networked. As Knight and Schwarzman explain, community is 'an interdependent group of people defined by a common place, intention, tradition or spirit' (p. xvi), which captures the symbolic element often missing from definitions of community which are solely location based. Community-Based Urbanisms thus include any project, often tied to place-making or – enhancing that uses community-based practices to make that neighbourhood or area better places to live, use and enjoy. Similar to some forms of community-based art, I understand CBU as emerging 'from a community' and which 'consciously seeks to increase the social, economic and political power of that community' (Knight and Schwarzman, 2006: p. xvi).

The goal of CBU is enhancing already existing places, through green spaces, artistic or cultural events and venues, socialising centres, or others. CBU can range from: community gardens, outdoor art exhibitions, and artistic and cultural studios. Often underutilised plots in the community are used as the location for CBU projects. CBU are located in specific areas for significant periods of time and

therefore the relationships between, and the roles of, residents, users, volunteers, guests and workers in that area are significant for the creation, support and maintenance of such projects. CBU, like community-based research, may include projects that are potentially transformative rather than instrumental, because the community member is considered the expert, based on skills, knowledge, and expertise (Munck, 2014).

In terms of timespace, CBU have an interesting position, as, even though they generally last longer than a festival or a weekend and often seek to become permanent or semi-permanent interventions in the city, the combination of funding, space and resources means they are still not necessarily recognised by city authorities and even some residents in the area as established groups and projects, in the way that more traditional, locational based community projects would be. Like other LU, CBU are fluid insofar that they can only stay in places if resources and economic and political contexts allow. Ironically, in many ways, CBU are even more beholden to the changeable property market in Dublin than other LU, as the development of projects are linked through time and space in a particular area. For this reason, in Chapter 6, I discuss the local political-economic context for the specific initiatives studied in more detail.

3.2.3. Autonomous Urbanisms

Autonomous Urbanisms (AU) are distinctive from the previous two types in that they offer alternate forms of belonging and political organisation in the city by having the goal of existing independently from the mainstream capitalist system of titled property and exchange. It does not mean an absence of structure, but the

rejection of a state structure (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006). My understanding of AU draws upon a looser definition of autonomous geographies than proposed by Pickerill and Chatterton (2006) because I include not only groups which are self-defined as anarchist, but also initiatives and projects that reject the status quo of neoliberal urban governance. I nonetheless use their definition of *autonomous geographies* as relational, multi-scalar forms of solidarity between groups, which 'weave together spaces, and times, constituting in-between and overlapping spaces' (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006: p. 730), but are also defined by the following beliefs: anti-capitalism, non-hierarchal structures of organising, and independence from governmental control (I explain these in more detail below).

AU are largely anti-capitalist, based upon a belief system that advocates replacing capitalism's hegemonic position as the dominant economic system with alternative economic and social enterprises. These alternatives are rooted in the radical potential of everyday political and social life. AU often secure locations through squatting or occupying buildings illegally, although some AU do engage with processes of rent in cities where autonomous politics have been ongoing for numerous decades. AU can have many forms, from occupations, social centres, to squats and communal living areas, or can be a combination of some/ many of these, or have many different practices taking place across locales. Common practices (similar to other LU) include: gardening, creativity (art, cinema, film), and socialising and meeting areas, but also often alternatives to capitalist variations of these: alternative forms of housing, co-living, and economic exchange (through barter), forms of direct action, strategic occupations and forms of protests. Often AU are arranged according to non-hierarchal organisational structures, meaning

issues are talked about until consensus is achieved collectively: while there are discussion facilitators, all voices should be considered equally in decision-making. Inevitably, individual power dynamics, gender relations and other roles, can affect the creation, maintenance and longevity of these initiatives. In addition, long meetings can be difficult to maintain in practice, as no individual responsibility means no one is held accountable (Adamovsky, 2006), showing there can also be disadvantages to horizontal organising forms.

Although AU may not survive in the long term, similar to all LU, the material and ‘immaterial infrastructures’ (O’Callaghan and Di Felciantonio, 2017) of these projects, such as people, connections, physical remnants, experiences, and memories, do survive. As the legal status of AU is generally tenuous, these infrastructures are particularly important; when some places or centres close and new ones open, those legacies are passed onto new and existing members by those who squatted in the now-closed physical structures through collective rituals, objects, and organisational history. These projects are not only affected by capitalism by interrupting the normal workings of capitalist processes, as Marxist geographers would have us focus on, but AU also interact with the experiential everyday rhythms of the peoples and places involved in these alternative forms of urban life. More empirical research is needed to understand the timespaces of these LU, especially from the perspectives of AU inhabitants and visitors.

3.3: Liquid Urbanism Tributaries

Having identified the key types of LU, I now describe the spatial practices and constellations that emerged from my qualitative analysis of a range of urban projects in Dublin from 2013-2017. There are four tributaries of Liquid Urbanisms that I identified: networks and places, timespaces and rhythms, values and urban commons, and political beliefs and institutional relationships. While each tributary is important for each type, some tributaries are more important for some types than others, a point that I explore in the final chapter of this thesis.

3.3.1. Networks and Places

I agree with Pierce et al. (2011), that scholars need to do more empirical research to bring the geographical concepts of place, networks and politics into conversation with each other. I draw upon Massey's understanding of a global sense of place (2005), McFarlane's discussion of loose networks (2011), and Pierce, Martin and Murphy's (2011) understanding of relational place-making as a networked politics of place. From my own research and based on the connections that I argue exist between networks and places, in Chapters 5-7, I highlight the significance of understanding: networks as loose, rhizomatic, malleable and always changing as new members join; place as a process tied to network creation; and social capital, resulting from networking and place-making processes, as critically influencing network continuity, but also given structure by power geometries.

If the city is understood as processual, inhabited and fluid, and the urban as a 'relational constitution' (McFarlane, 2011: p. 662), then, as a context for actors,

networks, as spatial processes, can be considered 'loose' (ibid), nodal, multiple and transitory. By loose I mean these networks move and change as circumstances and resources become available. Networks are nodal as they are centred on particular places or actors. They are multiple as they are not specific to one place and overlap, and finally, they are transitory, impermanent structures which are fluid and responsive to the demands of the actors involved.

McFarlane's (2011) understanding of networks as 'loose' is helpful in that it recognises and emphasises 'the depth and potentiality of sites and actors' (2011: p. 154) who participate in and make urban networks (and the city as a whole). Networks are understood as connected, but diffuse, and therefore unpredictable. If, as McFarlane argues, cities are not just made but are constantly remade, this processual nature means that networks emerge in historically specific contexts, such as through overlapping place-based 'traces' (Anderson, 2010; Till, 2005), contributing to the dynamic and ever-changing nature of the city. To further clarify my discussion of how loose networks are related to place, I consult debates on relational place-making.

The urban network literature largely ignores the role of place-making according to Pierce et al., (2011). I understand place-making as the social, political and material processes through which people continually create and recreate the geographies they are situated within (ibid). This is particularly useful for understanding community as explored in CBU above. 'Places are crucibles within which meanings are forged and ways of life are shaped. As such they exist in dialectical tension with nationally, regionally, and globally scaled practices of economy, culture, and politics' (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2009: p. 191). I draw upon

Massey's understanding of place as processual, multiple, and unbounded. When conceived as 'temporary constellations' (Massey, 2005: p. 153), place can be empirically analysed according to how 'bundles of space-time trajectories [are] drawn together by individuals through cognitive and emotional processes' (Pierce et al. (2011, p. 58, drawing on Massey, 2005, p. 119). Furthermore, a 'sense of place' is never only local, it must also be global, because place consists of 'articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings' (Massey, 1994: p. 7).

For Massey, clearly, there are parallels between the concepts of place, space and networks, as all emerge through our practices and are simultaneously affected by them. Massey has had a major influence in geographers' understanding of the spatial, but her conceptualisation of place has been criticised for being undertheorised by Pierce, Martin and Murphy (2011). I agree with their critique, as Massey is making a case *For Space*, and her conceptualisation of place is explained within that context. Pierce et al. extends Massey's discussions to argue that through bringing together heterogeneous 'bundles of space-times,' which include physical features, individuals, and connections between groups, *people create places*, by choosing raw materials in their everyday choices and actions, either consciously or unconsciously.

I find Massey's notion of momentary space-time constellations, or 'bundlings', which Pierce et al. draws upon, to be similar to the notion of place as 'gathering' proposed by the phenomenologist and philosopher of place, Edward Casey (1993). Casey understands place as gatherings of people, emotions and discourse. Further, I argue that David Seamon's (1994, 2005, 2018) understanding

of place as process is compatible with Massey's notion of space-times bundlings, even though he is critical of her work. Seamon draws on Casey's discussion, as he defines place as 'spatial fields that gather, activate, sustain, identify, and interconnect things, human beings, experiences, meanings, and events' (2018, p. 2). In his most recent book, *Life Takes Place* (2018) he defines his approach to place as one of 'synergistic relationality' (p. 5), conceptualising place as an integrated whole, rather than separate parts. The synergistic power of place is in activating, combining, and interconnecting these parts, and in sustaining these relations, all of which, in turn, result in strong feelings of identification and attachment. Thus, place is 'multivalent, complex and dynamic' (Seamon, 2014: p. 11). Moreover, because humans and other lifeforms are always 'emplaced', for Seamon, and other geographers, such as Edward Relph (1976), or phenomenologists like Casey, place is not merely a physical location, but provides the context for human experience, and thus includes our emplaced imaginations and memories. Seamon further notes the potential for people to have both negative and positive experiences in place, something Relph discusses in his work on placelessness.

Ben Anderson's (2010) work on place is useful here as well, as he describes traces as material or non-material marks or remnants left in place by cultural life (see also Till, 2005). Traces are produced and are built up, which illustrates the processual nature of place-making, which is useful for me to think about how people make connections in place and link up to create networks, or not. Finally, Anderson's understanding of place encourages us to take a critical perspective on static notions of networks, as they are not homogenous, nor inherently positive. This is similar to Massey's point about places being situated in spatial power-

geometries and resonates with Alan Pred’s (1984) discussion of the paths, projects and power relations resulting in places.

Pred (1984) introduces the complex role power relations and histories play in place and networks when considered as spatial processes. He highlights that place is always the result of human production, and so is a ‘historically contingent process’ (p. 279). Unlike Seamon, Pred understands human production as dominant over place and so his focus is permanently on the human element in place. He argues that place is always simultaneously a process, and affected by power relations so that in order to fully understand place, scholars need to investigate place from the everyday scale. However Pred does note that the everyday is rarely focused on in the structuration tradition, to which his work contributes. ‘*Paths’* are the actions individuals take, and have both spatial and temporal aspects, meaning that a person’s biography can be understood as their journey through space-times, mediated by other structural aspects which may help or hinder this passage. ‘*Projects*’ are tasks undertaken to reach a goal. Place is made up of paths and projects, which makes both inseparable from the everyday. Paths and projects become layered in place, so that everything which happens occurs both in the present and as a product of the past. Certain institutional projects, however, may become dominant, and these are affected by the spatial division of labour and social divisions, which are rooted in age, class, ability, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. The unwritten rules, and the capacity to define projects and who is involved in them, determines those power relations. In other words, there are ‘geographically and historically specific power relations between individuals, collectives and institutions’ (Pred, 1984: p. 286).

Finally, Pred's interpretation of power as fundamental to place relates in an interesting way to Pierce et al. 's (2011) discussion of 'relational place-making', which include the politics of place and networked politics. Understanding place as relational, and politics as networked, allows the authors to break new analytical ground by considering place and networks together conceptually and empirically. Per above, they describe space-times bundles as resulting from and providing the contexts for our choices and actions, what they understand as 'networked place'. The authors emphasise that these bundles derive from our contextual (or emplaced) relationships, meaning that our choices can be simultaneously structural and agentic, a point that echoes Massey and Pred. The space-times bundles or gatherings that constitute place change over time as people's understandings, experiences, and therefore choices for 'raw materials' to bundle, change. As historically contingent processes, places are defined by the past as well as the present and power geometries affect place. Place-making may lead to a 'networked politics of place' as place-making is 'an inherently networked process' (Pierce et al., 2011: p. 54), conceptualised as the combination of place, politics and networks.

3.3.2. Timespaces and Rhythms

In considering the timespaces of LU types above, I have already drawn attention to the multiple ways in which city spatialities are 'constituted by intricate mixtures of rhythms' (Schwanen et al., 2012: p. 2066) and different notions of time. I present two arguments in relation to this tributary. Firstly, LU are affected by the rhythms of the everyday lives of those involved in creating them. Secondly, that timespaces of LU are multiple and processual. To make these arguments in the empirical

chapters, I describe how Human Geography has prioritised the spatial over the temporal (May and Thrift, 2001), after which I describe my understanding of temporality.

Until recently, the temporal has only been addressed as an aspect of the urban experience under capitalism, following Harvey (1989). In the late 1980s to early 1990s, in disciplines like Anthropology and Sociology, there was a rediscovery of temporality (May and Thrift, 2001), which did not carry over to Geography (Dodgshon, 2008) due to the renewed debates about spatiality, the 'cultural turn', and debates about postmodernity. Massey (2003, 2005), Harvey (1989), May and Thrift (2001) and Crang (2001), along with social theorists before them, such as Bakhtin (1981), and Lefebvre (1992), agree that the dualism between space and time is unhelpful; this dualism was not always the case in Geography. In the 1970s, for example, Hägerstrand's (1970, 1973, 1975) seminal work on *time-geography* played a fundamental role in how geographers interpreted the intersection of time and space (Davies, 2001), as well as Buttimer's (1976) work on humanistic Geography, which argued that rhythm offered a way of representing time and space (Mels, 2004).

Hägerstrand and other time geographers wanted to use 'time' as an analytical method (Lenntorp, 1999), to develop socio-economic web models. Time-geography advocated focusing on individuals as a way of better understanding the collective. Two key concepts he outlined are 'paths' and 'projects', which influenced Pred's work on structuration theory, as I mentioned in the above section on 'Networks and Places'. For Hägerstrand, an individual's movement/stasis rhythms are synchronised in place every day (Lager et al., 2016).

Responses to time-geography have been outlined by Mels (2004) using an interesting presentation of four 'conjunctions' between time and space in Human Geography, which I follow here. The first conjunction is humanistic geographical understandings of time-space, through Buttimer's work on the dynamism of lifeworlds, which used *rhythms* as a conceptual tool (Mels, 2004). Buttimer defined the phenomenological concept of lifeworld as 'the culturally defined spatiotemporal setting or horizon of everyday life' (Buttimer, 1976: p. 277). Buttimer stated that rhythms were the way to ascertain insight 'into the dynamic wholeness of lifeworld experience' (p. 279), and the very tensions between rhythms at different scales is indicative of the relationship between place and space. Buttimer turned to Hägerstrand's time-geography as its 'ontology was inherently dynamic' (Mels: p. 15) and time-space rhythms as a conceptual tool were underdeveloped in Geography in that period.

The second junction was the newly emerging *structuration theory*, put forward by sociologists Giddens (1979) and Bourdieu (1984); based on the belief that structures and practices are equally real, and that the agentic and structural was missing from earlier debates, in favour of individual experiences (Giddens, 1979, 1981; see also Bourdieu, 1977; Bhaskar, 1978; Moos and Dear, 1986). Pred (1984) introduced time-geography to structuration theory, to argue that the everyday was missing in these debates. His concept of place is as 'a historically contingent process', embedded within power relations, and he theorised the interrelations of place, power and institutional structures, and this concept continues to be relevant to recent studies, such as mine.

Thirdly, time is used in debates on capitalism by Marxist geographers, and Harvey's concept of *'time-space compression'* remains critical to urban geographers' conceptualisations of time and space. Time-space compression is the shortening of spatial and temporal worlds (Harvey, 1989), a 'radical readjustment in the sense of time and space in economic, political, and cultural life' (Harvey, 1989: p. 260). Capitalism solves its inherent contradictions by moving the problem through time and space, or both (Harvey, 1989).

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, Massey's (1994, 2003, 2005) work on *relational conceptualisations of space* has also been influential in the way geographers' think about time-space. Massey reasserts the importance of the spatial in conceptions of time-space in her work (2003). Space is relational, multiple, and processual for Massey. She argues that paying attention to the multiplicity of space prevents space being subsumed by time, and that temporality should be analysed for how integral it is to the spatial (2005). While Massey contends that temporality has been examined, I agree with Crang, that geographers have not looked at the concept adequately, which is why I have drawn more heavily on Crang's concept of 'timespace', which I return to below.

The fourth and last conjunction following Mels' model draws upon Henri Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* (1992), who was a key theorist in developing a humanistic Marxism. Rhythmanalysis is one of Lefebvre's theoretical frameworks that helps us to perceive the multiplicity of timespaces (Tartia, 2017). Lefebvre calls on us to understand time as lived in the same way he appealed for space to be understood as lived (Elden, 2002). For Lefebvre, rhythm is the repetition of a movement, in a stronger or weaker way. There are two types of rhythms, cyclical or

rhythmic, and linear (Lefebvre, 1992). The *cyclical* originates in nature, so examples would include lunar cycles, months, and sea tides (ibid). Cyclical processes are infinite, and examples include breathing, and our eyelids opening and closing (Lefebvre and Régulier, 1985). *Linear* time is the repetition of similar patterns and practices based on social reproduction processes. Human activity has created linear rhythms, which are monotonous and routine for example 'the fall of a drop of water, the blows of a hammer, the noise of an engine' (ibid).

We can analyse the ways that linear and cyclical rhythmic times interact with each other (Lefebvre and Réguiler, 1985), through such effects as 'spacing, timing, movement, sensation, energy, affect, rhythm and force' (Merriman, 2012: p. 21), but, they also interfere with each other constantly; these types are dialectical, an 'antagonistic unity' (Lefebvre, 1992: p. 8). Lefebvre's advice is not to emphasise the temporal and forget about the spatial, as 'all rhythms imply the relation of a time to a space . . .or . . . a temporalized space' (Lefebvre and Réguiler, 1986: p. 89). So, for Lefebvre, rhythm is not only repetition and routine, but also the potential for the emergence of unexpected movements and the creation of altogether new rhythms. Rhythms are important because 'human beings have always been rhythm-makers as much as place-makers' (Mels, 2004: p. 3). Rhythms can only be understood through measure and memory; we only know that rhythms are slow or fast in comparison with other rhythms we recall from past experiences, as rhythms are relational.

Extending Mels' model, I include Crang's (2001) concept of *timespace.* Crang sees time and space as co-constitutive, and he intends his term to be disassociated with the hyphenated time-space of Marxist geographers. Neither time nor space

are containers or frameworks. Instead, timespace for Crang is defined by space as becoming, an eventful happening, and time as the fluid which makes spaces come alive as action, performance and practice (Crang, 2001: p. 187). 'Timespace' allows for a more thorough conceptualisation of the temporal that includes the multiplicity of the spatial, what Massey defines as the 'simultaneity of stories-so-far' (Massey, 2005: p. 9).

With Crang (2001) I prefer the 'time-soaked place of Lefebvre', perceiving timespace as multiple, and anarchic, and calling for 'a pluralised and eventful sense of lived timespace' (Crang, 2001: p. 207). Crang sees four circuits in his study of temporality which has some echoes in the Mels' model. Firstly, he wants to locate the everyday through the study of temporality, looking at multiple rhythms and temporalities of urban life, following Lefebvre. Secondly, he aims to concentrate on the role of individuals and groups in making the city. Thirdly, he sees a need to expand upon experiential timespace and phenomenological accounts. Fourthly, he wishes to problematise understandings of the everyday as stable. I focus on the first of Crang's circuits as the most relevant to this study, and as extending Mels' discussion of rhythms, while I acknowledge the overlapping nature of all four.

Crang tracks how time historically relates to social scientists' understandings of urbanisation, as the urban is where multiple temporalities collide (Crang, 2001), including cyclical rhythms, and 'quieter' times, such as the experiences of a white, middle class, male's working day, versus the less dominant rhythm of someone who does not fit into place such as a migrant homeless person, who is left out of time and space. For Crang, 'a multiplicity of temporalities, some long run, some short-term, some frequent, some rare, some collective, some personal, some large-scale,

some hardly noticed – the urban place or site is composed and characterised through patterns of these multiple beats' (ibid: p. 189-190). Building on the aspect of rhythms at a city scale, Crang also focuses on the 'pulsing formation[s] of . . . collective groups' describing their 'intensities', 'affinities' as well as 'their dissolution, fragmentation and reformation'. These affinities are not following the image of stable, traditional communities, but are 'transient, episodic affinities and comings together', which can be positive, but can also create 'shattered and fragmented times' where power geometries can affect the lifeworlds and rhythms of some disproportionately, for example, women (ibid). By power geometries, I refer to Massey's (1993) conceptualisation of the ways spatial processes can be unequal based on power differences in society, affected by factors such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, as well as many others.

If timespace is plural, with multiple temporalities co-existing and clashing with each other (Dodgshon, 2008), then urban geographers need to consider more than one dominant temporality in urban space. Rhythms, are dynamic and produce ever-changing timespaces (Edensor, 2010). For McCormack (2002: p. 471), a focus on rhythms for his work on urban assemblages allows an object 'to become a kind of emergent happening, a movement of lines that take off in different directions and with different speeds'. Rhythms allow us to understand the networked and fluid nature of cities, as well as the inseparability of time and space (Simonsen, 2004). In my study, I want to extend this way of thinking about rhythm to thinking about how the city and places intersect and flow.

3.2.3. Values and Urban Commons

The third tributary has two sources: values, and urban commons. In the empirical chapters, I forge two arguments in relation to this tributary, firstly, that LU use and/or create systems of value which run alongside hegemonic neoliberal systems of value. Secondly, and connected to the first point, LU create and form urban commons, and alternative value systems are a vital part of these urban commons.

Value according to Smith (1995) is a difficult concept to pin down but refers to the material or monetary equivalence in exchange for something, and, more abstractly, to the relative quality of something. Many LU creators aim to widen the understanding of value beyond the capitalist circulation of money, which Harvey and other Marxists would measure as 'socially necessary labour time' (2011: p. 105). Similar to McCarthy (2005), and feminist geographers JK Gibson-Graham (1996), I contend that we should be sceptical of viewing capitalism as hegemonic when we know that alternative systems do exist and are used by most people regularly, for example: self-employment, co-operatives, voluntary labour and surplus sharing. How we frame and talk about the economy influences how we act, and when we look at value through a capitalocentric (Kruger et al., 2018) lens, it is equated to the economy and reductively equated to capitalism (Gibson-Graham, 2017). Capitalocentrism marginalises non-capitalist development possibilities and makes capitalism difficult to overcome in people's imaginations (Gibson-Graham, 1996). Only by understanding value and exchange as plural can we make a non-capitalist future realistic rather than utopian (ibid).

Using feminist and post-structural theory, Gibson-Graham (2017) argue for a politics of plurality, whereby we understand systems of value and exchange as

multiplicitous. Gibson-Graham most eloquently put forward the idea of the 'diverse economy framework' and the 'community economy'. The diverse economy framework is a way of presenting the variety of economic relations that make up the world. 'Representing the diverse economy is a deconstructive process that displaces the binary hierarchies of market/nonmarket and capitalism/noncapitalism, turning singular generalities into multiple particularities' (Gibson-Graham, 1996: p. x). The community economy 'is a recognition that there's no way not to be communal, not to be implicated with one another' (Gibson-Graham, 2006a: p. xv), recognising the interconnectedness of associations of exchange, which leads to forms of interacting with each other that are relational and ethical. The political imaginary that thus emerges has place as the site of becoming, the subjects as central, spatiality and power as uneven and negotiable, and temporality as everyday and changeable (Gibson-Graham). The opposite opinion can be seen in work done by Bishop and Williams (2012), who argue that planners should pursue twin track activity, which entails having some activity ongoing in a building development at all stages of development. This idea problematically favours an understanding of cityspaces as only valuable in times of economic downturn, in addition to ignoring the place aspects noted above, and users and creator's perspectives – points that I critique in this PhD thesis.

Based upon my research, I argue that the creators of LU initiatives aim to create values such as: belonging, responsibility, leisure, productivity, work, place attachment and autonomy as intrinsic to urban life, as well as offer settings for enjoyment and pleasure for visitors to these places in the city. Such goals become more clear and analysable when using Gibson-Graham's diverse economy

framework and community economies, as the authors also advise looking at urban projects relationally. I consider community economies moreover to include 'people as infrastructure', which leads to material and 'immaterial infrastructure' (O'Callaghan and Di Felciantonio, 2017), as previously mentioned and which I return to below. When using a diverse economy framework, scholars begin to pay attention also to non-monetary forms of exchange, which for all LU include: bartering, volunteering, the exchange of skills, building social capital, sharing resources, and empowerment, as well as professional development training, which for LU participants include: community building practices, place-making, initiative sustainability, and the creation of conditions allowing for more LU projects to be made in the future. These values are tied to diverse and community economies, and network creation, and exist alongside, and sometimes in opposition to, the neoliberal economy.

In terms of the 'community economy' perspective, Eizenberg (2012) argues that as urban scholars we should consider an alternative set of values when assessing projects such as community gardens. She contends we should contemplate their *use value* rather than the *exchange value* of the project, to consider the worth it has, as a garden rather than as part of the capitalist landscape of the city, which it actively avoids becoming part of. Following Gibson-Graham's work, if we understand capitalism as a unified, singular system, we limit the chance to change capitalism (Kearns, 2015; Till and McArdle, 2015).

Simone's (2004) concept of people as 'infrastructure' is complementary to the diverse and community economy frameworks of Gibson-Graham. Simone highlights the 'ability of residents to engage complex combinations of objects,

spaces, persons and practices' (p. 407-408) to describe how people become aware of various spatial, residential, economic and transactional contexts. Building on this concept, O'Callaghan and Di Felciantonio (2017) outline how bonds and connections can be made which are not necessarily tied to physical places, but are embedded in the creation of projects, such as transnational contacts or solidarity, which includes the involvement of people who may have not been previously involved in direct actions. This unpredictable process can produce unforeseen lifeworlds (O'Callaghan and Di Felciantonio, 2017). LU value systems include multiple forms of assessment, including networks and place-making, diverse forms of timespace, and economy and exchange.

Secondly, emerging from the above points, this LU tributary includes existing and new forms of *urban commons* for inhabitants and guests of a city. Historically, the commons were a key practice of resistance in the struggle against enclosure; in the past as in the present, and can be considered a 'spatial motif', a complex social and political ecology (Chatterton, 2010b: p. 901). Traditionally the commons were agricultural plots of land with no ownership, which belonged to no one and therefore to everyone (Eizenberg, 2012). These plots of land existed since the beginning of agricultural production, and in the UK were commonplace until processes of enclosure bound and removed them, from the sixteenth century onwards (Lee and Webster, 2006), as agriculture changed, and industrial forms of production increased. In contrast to the Global North, the practice of collective resources remains an everyday behaviour in many parts of the Global South (Huron, 2015).

The commons, as a way of holding onto space against mainstream privatisation, is a complex process, an ongoing, continuous action, and not a static thing (Linebaugh, 2009, cited in Huron, 2015). Further, the commons is a 'crucial socio-spatial practice in the struggle for a better world' (ibid). More than a physical entity of shared assets for a group or community, the commons is a practice, a way of organising communities (Eizenberg, 2012). Commons are therefore not just 'things, spaces or networks' (Hodkinson, 2012a: p. 437), or forms of resistance, but rather, they are also defined by alternative social relations, where individual desires are less important than the collective experience.

New commons emerging around ideas, knowledge and culture (Huron, 2015) include urban commons. Urban commons have four characteristics. Firstly, they are produced (Bresnihan and Byrne, 2015) and continuously reproduced (Harvey, 2011). Secondly, they offer livelihood qualities such as 'dwelling, open space, recreational and social space, movement in space, and control over space to name just a few' (Eizenberg, 2012: p. 766). Thirdly, the urban commons fulfils the two aforementioned social characteristics as well as others 'in a non-commodified way' (Eizenberg, 2012: p. 766). Finally, the ethos of urban commons is based on collaboration, cooperation and communication (Hardt and Negri, 2005, cited in Eizenberg, 2012). Taken together, Asara (2018) notes how commons are not examples of supposed 'temporary' urbanism but strive to make long-term interventions, fuelled by an understanding of shared inhabitancy and urbanism. The urban commons is 'characterized by particular groups of people devising practical ways of escaping the forms of "enclosure" which limit what can happen in the city'

(Bresnihan and Byrne, 2015: p. 36), in other words, mainstream capitalist dynamics of property and organising.

(Re)Claiming an urban commons outside of property systems of value means that those involved may still participate in capitalist processes and exist within a capitalist urban landscape, so the process of urban commons creation is still 'beholden to capitalism' (Huron, 2015: p. 970). Harvey has highlighted that processes of enclosure have always been part of the capitalist system, central to how capitalism accumulates land (2009). Enclosure 'enshrined and ideologically embedded the ultimate cultural value of capitalist society' (Hodksinson, 2012: p. 504), and is a 'midwife of the capitalist city' (ibid: p. 500). Urban commons are attempts to resist these processes of enclosure and create independent or semi-independent forms of survival from the system of enclosure (Hodkinson, 2012b: p. 516). The main challenge of the urban commons, then, is to: 'weave new networks of trust and care amid the alienating pressures of the capitalist cityscape' (Huron, 2015: p. 977).

There has not been enough work done to fully theorise or empirically document the urban commons, but some notable exceptions do exist (Huron, 2015; Eizenberg, 2012; Bresnihan and Byrne, 2015; Hodkinson, 2012b). Eizenberg's (2012) work, already mentioned, is an example of urban commons, as she adopts Brenner and Theodore's (2002) concept of 'actually existing neoliberalism' to contend that the urban commons is also actually existing, defined by multiple modalities, mechanisms and effects. The commons thus serve as a tool for an alternative way of thinking. Harvey has studied 'different but loosely interconnected seedbeds for transformations of capitalism towards an anti-capitalist future. How they might be

put together is the question' (2014: p. 163). I argue that the first step towards Harvey's utopian goal would be the coming together of urban social movements through the creation of commons, and an example of an attempt to create commons is Harvey's engagement (2013) with Lefebvre's right to the city concept, which I explored in Chapter 1.

3.2.4. Political Beliefs and Institutional Relationships

Across LU, the political motivations for creating initiatives vary, as does their relationships to institutions. This tributary, therefore, is more like a continuum; there is disparity even within the types. I suggest considering political belief systems as related to different types of urbanisms, ranging from 'progressive', which relates to a 'progressive sense of place' and change, to agonistic politics, which pertains to reconceptualising public spaces, to anarchist and anti-capitalism beliefs and related geographies. Here I emphasise two points: firstly, that political motivations across LU vary for those creating and participating in initiatives (by individuals, collectives, communities and groups); and secondly, that these political motivations inform the relationships LU types have to existing institutions.

As already mentioned, some LU are explicitly political, while others are not. I first must define what I mean by politics and the 'political'. *Politics* is defined as governmental or authorities' decisions made about a country and is usually associated with 'party politics'. Traditionally, *the political* described this sphere. In contrast to these, I am choosing to use Mouffe's (2016: n/a) broader understanding of the political to refer to 'the antagonistic dimension which is inherent in all human societies'. Mouffe explains that whereas politics are the practices of the

political as defined by dominant political discourses, 'the political' can exist in many forms and is always contested. This broader understanding of the political is useful for my understanding of LU, because although some LUists do seek political change through their work, most often this is through the everyday rather than traditional processes of party politics. Therefore, I also include 'cultural politics' in this broader conception of political values because culture is the expression of dominant political beliefs. In describing ongoing debates since the 1960s which suggest that 'cultural politics' are always limited in comparison to 'politics proper' because the former allegedly focuses on lifestyle alone, Rycroft (2009: p. 433) argues instead that cultural politics can involve 'very real political struggles and tactics that do indeed demonstrate a conscious articulation of the root causes of alienation and oppression'. Moreover, Rycroft (2009: p. 432) outlines how 'cultures of resistance' can act as agents of 'political and economic change', such that 'cultural politics and spatial politics are mutually constitutive' (ibid: p. 434).

With these working definitions in mind, I now turn to the range of political beliefs and institutions as related to the city. I consider *progressive* political beliefs associated with the previous discussions on place by Massey (2003, 2005). Taylor (1999) suggests that following from Massey, progressive politics have been increasingly used by socialist, feminist, green, and anti-imperial scholars. When we consider varied power geometries and their histories, we can develop a better politics based on Massey's understanding of place as processual, unbounded, multiple and conflicting, and unique (1993). A *progressive sense of place* recognises that place can only be understood dialectically as local and global. Other geographers' work also advances a progressive sense of place as belonging to the

realm of the political. Kearns's (2008) concept of 'progressive geopolitics' questions assumptions in conservative geopolitics which argue that only states and violence structure interactions in the world. He contends we should instead focus on neglected practices to better understand the role power plays in the everyday context. Interestingly, Staeheli and Mitchell (2009) outline that the domain of the politics of place is not exclusive to oppressed people, and that people with more resources and power can also engage with place-making.

'Place is inherently political' and 'the politics of place are always contested' (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2009: p. 190 and p. 192). Staeheli and Mitchell (2009) advocate for a relational 'progressive potential for a politics of place' which is local (p. 185; cf Massey, 2005). The political belief of a progressive sense of place means the creators of LU are changing their local places, rooted in the everyday, sometimes using their influence and connections. Attempting to implement small change rooted in the everyday moves Massey's ideal of place as progressive to the spatial practices of many LU creators. While this progressive sense of place can be said, in some cases, to support neoliberalism, as the 'type of place' created might not necessarily be connected to geographical and historical communities, as I have mentioned above in the section on CU, even if the agenda is neoliberal, the political beliefs are not necessarily so.

Moving through this continuum, I now move to look at *agonistic politics*. Laclau and Mouffe (1985) claim that in order to fully understand the political, scholars must grasp 'hegemony' and 'antagonism'. Firstly, hegemonic practices are 'practices of articulation through which a given order is created, and the meaning of social institutions fixed therein' (Mouffe, 2016: n/a). But, we should acknowledge

the contingency of hegemony, and therefore its ability to be changed and challenged, through processes such as art and using public space (Mouffe, 2007). Secondly, Mouffe (2016) argues that recognising antagonism enables us to imagine alternative models of democracy, including '*agonistic politics'*. Rather than trying to eliminate conflict, she explains that the aim of democratic politics should be to transform antagonism into *agonism*. Agonism creates 'an opponent' 'with whom we share a common allegiance to the democratic principles of "liberty and equality for all" while disagreeing about their interpretation' (ibid: n/a).

Thus, agonistic politics allow for difference and contrasting opinions on political decisions to sit together. Mouffe argues that society is now in a 'post-political' era, building on the work of other radical philosophers such as Slavoj Žižek and Jacques Rancière. 'Post-politics' is the emergence of global consensus after the post-cold war period. For Mouffe, this has resulted in most of Europe being defined by a lack of radical differences, and dissensus, and thus, the normalisation of the idea that neoliberalism has no alternative (2013). Thus, agonistic politics allows for voices to be heard which are usually silenced by hegemonic structures (Imas and Weston, 2016). We can see how there has been a recent 'citizen awakening' in numerous European countries in response to the lack of agonistic politics, which is especially pertinent in the post-crisis context when new politics begin to appear. This is exemplified in the rise of protests and the SYRIZA political party in Greece (Mouffe, 2016). Agonistic politics as a model of democracy challenges traditional understandings of public space by setting a hope for a future democratic sphere based on the 'possibility of a democratic co-existence in spite of. . . power and conflict factuality' (Ince, 2016: p. 1). LU offer opportunities to glimpse what public

space would look if it was agonistic rather than traditional understandings of public space. Carmona (2015) advises re-theorising our understandings of public space considering the contemporary context, claiming that public space is never straightforward but full of complexities which defy restrictive categories. Rather than seeking an 'idealised blueprint' approach to urban planning (Carmona, p. 398) we should acknowledge the multiplicity of cities and work towards an agonistic politics of place.

Similar to the protests I have just mentioned, the final part of the continuum I turn to look at is anarchist and anti-capitalist political values and related geographies that allow for links between various people, places and ideas outside of normative capitalist or hegemonic systems of identity and belonging. Anarchist and anti-capitalist projects and forms of organising are rooted in bringing together people involved in similar struggles. *Anarchism* is a belief system which advocates creating systems without control, and started with Proudhon's publication *What is Property?* in 1840, which defined anarchism as anti-capitalist and anti-state. Anarchism posits the creation of a world outside of any institutional control, advocating instead for a society based on non-hierarchal systems of organising. Unlike my previous discussion of values and diverse and community economies, anarchists desire a system of organisation completely outside of the state, imperialism and capitalism, all of which are recognised as processes of violence (Springer, 2012). Anarchism is a political theory which is at risk of becoming a 'fuzzy concept' (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006: p. 3), because it is used by a wide variety of political groups including autonomous Marxists, social anarchists, and anarcho-syndicalists. Springer (2012: p. 1605) reaffirms this in his work on 'anarchist

geographies', which he describes as 'kaleidoscopic spatialities that allow for multiple, non-hierarchal, and protean connections between autonomous entities, wherein solidarities, bonds, and affinities are voluntarily assembled in opposition to and free from the presence of sovereign violence, predetermined norms, and assigned categories of belonging'.

Geographers acknowledge the work of Kropotkin (1885) and Reclus (1905) in popularising anarchism in our discipline. Kropotkin most famously argued that Geography should be anarchist, as the discipline's colonial past made the need to create networks of solidarity even more urgent. For him, anarchism was not a process, but an ongoing project, which is fluid and unfinished, in opposition to capitalism, which he saw as solid and fixed. Reclus also significantly advanced the discipline of Geography in the understanding of the public (Kearns, 2009), and stressed the relationships between society and the environment, insights that were later used by the environmental movement (Castree et al., 2013).

Springer tracks the 'long and disjointed history' of anarchism and Geography, 'characterized by towering peaks of intensive intellectual engagement and low troughs of ambivalence and disregard' (2013: p. 46). Two 'towering peaks' include the nineteenth-century work of Kropotkin and Reclus just mentioned, and, secondly, the countercultural movement at the end of the 1970s that led to the creation of radical geography. Even though anarchist thought influenced the rise of radical geography as a subdiscipline, overall, radical geography has favoured Marxism (Springer, 2013). For Springer (2014), anarchism, unlike Marxist approaches, is based on more than just opposition to the state, and is instead a call not to replace the state with something state-like, as Springer would argue Marxists

want to do, but to completely change the system of organising, based on the everyday (Springer, 2013; cf Harvey's response, 2017).

A common belief of anarchists but not limited to anarchists is *anti-capitalism*. Anti-capitalism activists include Marxists as well as anarchists, in addition to other activists opposing socioeconomic inequalities resulting from capitalism. Campaigns are rooted in specific issues, such as the worldwide anti-globalisation movement. Chatterton (2008) argues that local context is important for activists involved in opposing capitalism. Anti-capitalist activists accept that politics are impure, and chose to focus on everyday realisable actions, rather than thinking about beliefs or why they are engaging in that action, because 'anti-capitalism. . . means different things to different people' (ibid: n/a).

Keeping in mind this continuum of political values, I conclude this tributary by mentioning LUists relationships to institutions, which also varies across the types. Some LU may fit into or use neoliberal institutions and develop good working relations. They can often have sponsors, and these supporters can range from multi-national corporations to smaller local companies. Even when the same people who are involved in one project have taken a specific step to exist outside of this system, when involved in another project, their approach to institutions may change; a decision which is often made based on the specific circumstances of the project. Some LUists often want to generate positive change, and so will do what's necessary to implement new projects which reflective their ethos. Other LUists may have an ambivalent relationship with institutions. They use them when necessary and are not afraid to do so but are often not implicated in the same way as those that choose to work more directly with government, official and corporate

institutions. They may be sponsored in the beginning by an institution or authority, but then have control over the project after the starting point. Or, they may receive ongoing funding from an outside body, but that may be marginal in comparison to their financial needs. Again, variation exists within types. For other LU this relationship is negative, with the state and other institutions as part of the problem their work seeks to0 challenge. The goal of existing outside these institutions is directly tied to their political motivations, including their anarchism and anti-capitalism. They desire to create an alternative in practice and to directly show their political beliefs through opposition.

3.4: Conclusion

In this chapter, I defined Liquid Urbanisms by outlining three types, Creative Urbanisms, Community-Based Urbanisms and Autonomous Urbanisms. In my definition of each type, I paid attention to the respective practices, goals and timespaces for each, as well as reflected upon existing relevant literatures. I also described the 'tributaries' feeding into each type of LU: networks and places, timespaces and rhythms, values and urban commons, and political beliefs and institutional relationships. The three types of LU form the organisational basis of the empirical chapters (Chapters 5-7), wherein I describe how the types interact with the tributaries.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the vocabulary of LU was not available to me in Urban Studies or in Geography when I began my research, and the main contribution of this chapter has been to provide the necessary language and

tributaries for scholars to recognise and evaluate Liquid Urbanisms. This chapter and the type and tributaries I have presented herein are an attempt to add depth and richness to Bauman's concept of Liquid Modernity (LM), to conceptualise Liquid Urbanisms. For example, using Bauman's understanding of networks, I wanted to reflect and build on this and hence I discussed networks in relation to place-making processes. LU are not only affected by the world of LM but are also responses to this uncertain, flexible liquid world. The LU types and tributaries develops Bauman's ideas in a spatial capacity. The types and tributaries are categories which help scholars understand LU and thus, the liquid modern world.

I hope that future work will be done to apply my LU types and tributaries framework to a multitude of different 'liquid' cities, places, and projects in Europe and beyond. In keeping with the idea of LU, I suggest that the interface of theoretical and empirical research done on cities should remain 'provisional', relating to how theory should be mediated through specific contexts and be multiple (O'Callaghan, 2017). Given the inherent fluidity of LU, my framework here is therefore not exhaustive but offers new insights that future scholarship can extend and revise.

In the next chapter I describe the flexible activist research design of the project, which enabled me to create the LU types and tributaries. I provide insight into the steps taken to create the typology and describe how this methodological process was both analytic and synthetic.

Chapter 4: Flexible Activist Research Design and Methodology

4.1: Introduction

O' Callaghan (2012: p. 1934) advises us to think 'contrapuntally' about the city to consider how independent geographical areas work 'harmonically' with other parts, allowing 'us to indicate those crevices, ruptures, and particles that fall outside of mainstream explanation in urban geography'. Taking this advice, I have used a flexible research design, which allowed me to investigate parts of the city which are rarely considered together. Using a broader scope than is usual in Urban Studies, this allowed me to see how flexible, non-mainstream aspects of the city are worthy of investigation, such as the tributaries of Liquid Urbanisms: networks and places, timespaces and rhythms, values and how they contribute to urban commons, political beliefs and how they affect institutional relationships. As I discussed in Chapter 3, I have created a typology to capture 'Liquid Urbanisms' based on an iterative, not prescribed, process which I outline in more detail below.

In the introduction, I clarified my position in relation to mainstream political economy approaches in urban theory. In contrast, my PhD, while acknowledging these views, advocates a research focus on the lived, experiential realities of the makers and users in the city. I claim that scholars need to focus on the marginal and everyday aspects of cities, to more fully illustrate the urban through paying attention to non-economic values, at local and embodied scales. The LU typology provides scholars with the conceptual framework to be able to do this. My flexible

activist case study approach highlights how academics can investigate the everyday scale of a range of Liquid Urbanisms.

In the next section, I delineate the project's case study research design, which I consider as a 'flexible activist case study approach' that looks at Liquid Urbanisms (LU) in Dublin from 2013-2017. In Section 4.3, I describe the creation of the typology and the selection of case studies, which began with insights developed through empirical research for my Master's thesis about one of my case studies, Granby Park, in 2013-2014. This included a survey stage at the start of my PhD research in 2014-15, a pilot phase of data gathering by conducting a general survey of other possible case studies, and another phase of research, as well as iterative rounds of coding and qualitative analysis (the latter running from 2014 to 2018). I provided the outcome of this iterative process in Table 1.1. In Section 4.4 I discuss the range of qualitative methods I used to answer the general and more focused research questions I introduced in Chapter 1. I also mention ethical concerns I had prior to beginning the research. I conclude in Section 4.5 by considering how my research design contributes to Urban Studies and Geography, and by identifying areas of potential future research.

4.2: Research Design: Flexible Activist Case Study Approach

I used qualitative methodologies to answer my research questions, through a flexible case study and activist geography research design. Qualitative approaches generate and analyse 'thick' data, which, following anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) is description which allows scholars to investigate and refer to the diverse

contexts, actions, and emotions that research participants and actors experience in a situation, and context of place, as well as other structural aspects that offer limitations and possibilities (Kitchin and Tate, 2013). Qualitative researchers focus more on understanding than scientific explanation, prioritising the experiences of people as local experts, and how their knowledges' can help researchers learn about the lived contexts of the places they make and in which they live (Till, 2009; Balsiger and Lambelet, 2014; Luker, 2008). Martin (2003) argued that more research is needed to highlight the role of place as a discursive site of action within activism, while Adams (2014) and Anderson et al. (2010) note the difficulties of being a researcher looking at place, with the latter insisting that place should no longer be viewed as a passive backdrop.

Caiani (2014) advises that when looking at social movements, researchers should focus on the flexibility of the networks in order to understand the fluidity of the groups (similar noted by Balsiger and Lambelet (2014) who disagree with the reification of social movements as homogenous). For practical reasons, flexible qualitative research designs are more suitable approaches for studying mobile and transitory, multi-sited, and non-continuous fields of study, such as social movements (Balsiger and Lambelet, 2014). Although most of the groups I studied are not social movements per se, they are likewise not fixed social objects, but instead evolving phenomena; the research design, therefore, had to be flexible as a result. As a researcher of these groups, I similarly had to be open and adaptable to the random timing of activist events, which do not happen on a typical 9-5 work schedule. I had to match the Liquid Urbanists' (LUists) fluidity with changeability in my research design of studying LU as processes and practices. As I have argued in

Chapters 1-3, LU are more complex than current Urban Geography categories allow, and therefore an adjustable research design was essential.

I chose a comparative case study approach due to its strength in allowing scholars to generate multiple sources of data to answer a single research question (Hearne and Till, 2015). A case study is 'a detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event' (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007: p. 91-92). As Flyvbjerg (2006: p. 27) eloquently argues, case studies strengthen a discipline, as 'it is worth repeating the insight of Thomas Kuhn that a discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed case studies is a discipline without systematic production of exemplars, and that a discipline without exemplars is an ineffective one. In social science more good case studies could help remedy this situation'. For both single and multiple case study research designs, there are six stages: determining the research questions, selecting the cases and the data gathering methods, preparing to collect the data, collecting the data, evaluating the data, and writing findings based on the data (Yin, 1984). My single case-study research about Granby Park in North Dublin for my MA thesis (Mc Ardle, 2014) yielded initial insights and contacts that led to me forming the PhD project; subsequent pilot research led to the development of my research aims and objectives. I adopted a comparative case study approach, which grew to fourteen case studies as the research developed. I chose to do this, rather than another single in-depth case study, or series of say three case studies, because it allowed me to look at four to five alternative projects for each LU type. The initial phase of research illustrated to me the variety of case studies that existed in Dublin and I

wanted to include as much of this as possible, to enrich what was later the LU typology. I discuss the selection of case studies in the next section.

The perspectives, contexts and lifeworlds of the participants I studied were of key importance. My research design included a participatory approach, as far as possible, which Routledge (2009: p. 7) defines as 'geographical inquiries marked by the embodied participation of researchers in the lifeworlds of their research subjects, and/or participation of those research subjects in the production of geographical research'. These methods are usually common to a Participatory Action Research (PAR) project (Kindon et al., 2009). The co-production of research projects and outputs, common to PAR, was beyond the scope of my PhD thesis, due to the transitory and liquid nature of the projects I was researching, and the number of case studies chosen. However, when possible, I became involved in the initiatives I studied in some capacity, in order to better understand the perspectives of those who created and participated in the places, by partaking in the projects myself. My participation varied from volunteer to facilitator, to regular visitor, to a more distant observer, as outlined in Table 4.2 (see Section 4.4).

I chose to get as involved as possible in the projects and events of my case studies also for ethical reasons. In terms of the importance of volunteering to LU more generally, while I have anonymised most interviewees, in one case (Bloom Fringe Festival in Chapter 5) I decided to make the gender clear, to point to the gendered nature of care work, a topic that warrants further study but is beyond the scope of this PhD thesis. Researchers should feel ethically responsible to make a difference through their research as they have a social responsibility (Fuller and Kitchin, 2004). Mc Menamin et al. (2010) found that academics benefit by working

with communities as they are able to link academic theory to practice, which Glass and Newman (2015) echo. Gourley (2012) notes that although universities are built on three pillars: research, teaching, and service, there is a tendency to focus on the first two only. Boland instead advocates that we see community engagement not as separate to, but as a way of doing teaching, learning, and research (2012), paralleled by Cuthill (2012) and Bawa (2014). In the Irish context, the launch of the National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030 calls on higher education institutions to recognise civic engagement as a useful and worthwhile process, and legislation such as this provides national backing to participatory and engaged pieces of research.

I understand my research therefore as contributing to activist geographies and methodologies, whereby theory is grounded in, and informs, action, 'concerned with action, reflection, and empowerment in order to challenge oppressive power relations' (Routledge, 2009: p. 7). For Routledge, participatory and activist geographies, while sharing many similarities, diverge, as activist geographies are engaged in the politics of social justice, while participatory research focuses on collective engagement. While activism is 'most commonly associated with collective or group action by ordinary people, usually volunteers, who come together to change what they consider to be unacceptable or unfair circumstances' (Takahashi, 2009: p. 1), Routledge warns against privileging some forms of activism over others. Thus, I concur with Routledge (2009: p. 9) that 'everybody is an activist', and that activism research should not concentrate on the scale of the actions but on the intention for change. Many geographers, myself included, are also both activists and researchers, and see an importance in both roles. This project contributes to

the range of activist geographical research designs, rather than study the geographies of activism themselves (after Takahashi, 2009).

However, Routledge (2009) warns us of the difficulty of being both an academic and an activist. I had to admit and reflect on how this research increased my social capital, through career opportunities and education. These roles require different identities, and therefore Routledge stresses the importance of the process of reflection, and ethical responsibility. My dual role necessitated me thinking about my position as an academic and an activist, which Gillan and Pickerill (2012) also explore, noting that the very choice of research topic can be telling of a researcher's beliefs and politics. Gillan and Pickerill (p. 140) note the fluidity of identity, and that as researchers, we may evolve and grow in the research period, and therefore we need 'to reflexively critique and adjust that positionality' as the research progresses. The process of critical reflexivity adds validity to empirical data. Therefore, all the qualitative methods which I outline more in Section 4.4, require the researcher to think critically about their role (Emerson et al., 2011; Till, 2009; Routledge, 2009; Balsiger and Lambelet, 2014; Charmaz, 2006; Dey, 2005).

4.3: Creation of Typology and Selection of Case Studies

My fluid research design was echoed in the malleable LU typology, which I created through an iterative process involving different phases of research, which led to the types and tributaries of LU outlined in the last chapter. I first illustrate the different phases of research which I carried out, as well as discuss how I selected the case studies, and then I concentrate on how I specifically created the LU types and

tributaries. In Table 4.1 below, I introduce brief descriptions of the artists and activists involved in each case study.

Creative Urbanisms *Chapter 5*	Dublin Biennial (DB) (2012-2014)	Granby Park (GP) (August-September 2013)	Bloom Fringe Festival (BFF) (2013-2017)	Connect the Dots (CtDs) (2015-ongoing)	A Playful City (APC) (2016-ongoing)
	One, white Irish female artist in her 30s.	Mixture of 10-15 people, male and female, mainly white Irish, in late 20s. Various artistic/ cultural background.	Core team of four women, all white Irish, in 30s-40s. Architectural / landscape background.	Two white women, Irish and international, in early 20s. Various artistic/ cultural background.	Mixture of men and women in 20s/30s, mainly Irish. Various artistic/ cultural background.
Community-Based Urbanisms *Chapter 6*	**Block T (BT) (2010-ongoing)**	**Art Tunnel Smithfield (ATS) (2012-2014)**	**Mary's Abbey Community Garden (MACG) (2014-ongoing)**	**Mabos (2012-2014)**	
	Mixture of genders, in 20s and 30s. Various artistic background.	One female professional in her 30s. Architectural/ landscape background.	One female professional in her 30s. Architectural / landscape background.	Team of a few white Irish males in 20s. Various artistic/ cultural background.	
Autonomous Urbanisms *Chapter 7*	**Seomra Spraoi (SS) (2004-2015)**	**Grangegorman Squat (GG) (2013-2016)**	**The Barricade Inn (TBI) (March 2015-February 2016)**	**Bolt Hostel (BH) (July 2015)**	**Apollo House (AH) (December 2016-January 2017)**
	More diverse, mixture of men and women of many nationalities in 20s and 30s. Mixed background, some previous experience of activism.	More diverse, mixture of men and women of many nationalities in 20s and 30s. Mixed background, some previous experience of activism.	More diverse, mixture of men and women of many nationalities. Mixed background, some previous experience of activism, in 20s and 30s.	Mixture of men and women in 20s/30s, mainly Irish. Some people not involved before/ some involved in other direct actions.	Mixture of men and women in 20s/30s, mainly Irish. Some people not involved before/ some involved in other direct actions.

Table 4.1: Description of Liquid Urbanists.

4.3.2. Phases of Research

When I started in 2014, I wanted to extend the PAR ethnographic work I had undertaken for my MA on Granby Park (GP) (2013-2014), and GP is one of the case studies of this thesis. Building on this work, I aimed to extend the research to think about other so-called alternative and 'temporary urbanisms'. To begin my research, I conducted an initial survey phase of investigation to create a long list of potential case studies; at this time there were twenty options. The choice of case studies was comprised of events, initiatives and places, which I either discovered myself or were described as significant, by urban scholars, professionals, and/or local experts. Some of these were no longer viable because they closed, such as Exchange Dublin mentioned in Chapter 1, and the people had moved on or the data was no longer available.

The first step I undertook when finding and choosing case studies to focus on was to use social media searches as well as contacts developed from prior research, a process I return to below. Following this survey phase of pilot research (September 2014-August 2015), I did an open coding of these examples, which with subsequent research, helped me develop the three types of LU. I also narrowed my choice down to ten case studies, which grew to fourteen as the work progressed, as some unexpected case studies emerged which strengthened the typology of Liquid Urbanisms, and which I could not have foreseen when I began my research. I began a literature review of Bauman's work (1998-2013), and other scholars working on neoliberalism and late capitalism to clarify the development of my concept of LU.

During a second phase of research, from September 2015 - January 2017, I used mixed qualitative methods to gather additional secondary data and to

generate primary data for studies selected, as outlined in the next section. I began a new cycle of open coding, during the last six months of this research phase, and noted clear common strands cutting across the types. With further data generation as part of the third phase of research, these would later become the four tributaries discussed in Chapter 3. With the third, final phase of research (July 2017 - July 2018), there was some movement in the selection of case studies, which ended up being fourteen, and a narrowing down of cross-cutting strands from six to four.

4.3.3. Selection of Case Studies

Case study approaches are critiqued for being ungeneralisable and unrepresentative (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007). However, qualitative research is not done to achieve the goal of being all encompassing and objective, but rather to enhance understanding of phenomena about which not enough research has yet been conducted. My research design focused on identifying relevant case studies to understand a particular phenomenon and then analyse common patterns emerging from the data produced. As I have argued, the current literature on Temporary Urbanism is problematic and little research has been done from the perspectives of users and participants of these projects. Rather than make a claim of selecting a ‘representative sample’ of all LU in Dublin and Europe, the goal is to be open and listen to the multiple perspectives of local knowledge producers, so that a deeper understanding of the people, places and contexts of the study becomes possible (Till, 2009; Charmaz, 2006; Dey, 2005).

Briefly, I consider the chronology of case study choice, based on the case studies in Table 1.3. As I later discuss, Granby Park (GP) was the primary case study

of my MA thesis (2013). After GP, I learned of Connect the Dots (CtDs), co-created by a GP intern. CtDs' basic premise was networking events bringing together diverse stakeholders, and throughout 2015 at these events, I became aware of Bloom Fringe Festival (BFF), Seomra Spraoi (SS), and Art Tunnel Smithfield (ATS). Through word of mouth, I heard of Block T (BT). At the end of 2015 and into early 2016, I began the fieldwork phase of my research. Through SS I began to investigate the Barricade Inn (TBI) and the Grangegorman Squat (GG). From the ATS creator I became familiar with Mary's Abbey Community Garden (MACG). Simultaneously, through the networks of colleagues, I was informed of Dublin Biennial (DB) and Mabos. Towards the end of the fieldwork stage of my research project, in December 2016, Apollo House (AH) took place and I was at this time already interested in the work of the Irish Housing Network (IHN), and this led to me to look historically at Bolt Hostel (BH), in order to better understand AH. Also in 2017, CtDs merged with Upon a Tree to become A Playful City (APC) and thus APC became a case study. This slightly unorthodox process was a type of LU snowball sampling.

As indicated in Tables 1.2 and 4.1, each LU type has four or five case studies. Over the four years of research, I became aware of case studies in at least three ways. Firstly, I relied upon social media and new scholarly work to choose some case studies. For the Community Based Urbanism (hereinafter CBU) Mabos, for example, I became aware of its significance through literature (The Provisional University, 2014a and Bresnihan and Byrne, 2015).

Secondly, through existing research contacts and snowballing, I became aware of possible case studies. One of the CBUists from Granby Park, for example, set up Connect the Dots (CtDs). I was invited by that person, as a result of my

Participant Action Research (PAR) work in my MA thesis, to participate in a CtDs event. CtDs began working with the Bloom Fringe Festival (BFF) and asked me to facilitate a workshop involving the BFF, and my study included all three of these case studies. Social media is also tied to snowballing and word of mouth contacts. I became aware of Art Tunnel Smithfield (ATS) through a CtDs event, which I followed up on social media. Through an interview with the ATS creator, I discovered Mary's Abbey Community Garden (MACG). CtDs later (2017) became part of A Playful City (APC), which became another case study. Another series of case studies resulted from word of mouth and snowballing. I heard about Block T (BT) through word of mouth, and at a CtDs event, I learned of Seomra Spraoi (SS) and the Grangegorman Squat (GG). Once I was aware of these projects I followed a 'link' online, which one of the case studies would upload, and this led me to another case study, from GG to The Barricade Inn (TBI). In December 2016, when I thought I was finished the participant observation phase of my research, Apollo House (AH) appeared as an important case study, and to understand AH, I also had to examine Bolt Hostel (BH).

Thirdly, I became aware of projects through more formal social networks, mainly through the existing research projects of other Maynooth Geography lecturers and postgraduate students. Gaining new contacts from related research projects with other academic geographers engaged in activist, creative and political urban research meant sharing relations of trust across networks in academia and civil society. For example, for GP, the research team was comprised of geographers from Maynooth University (MU) (Karen Till and Gerry Kearns) and University College Dublin (Niamh Moore Cherry), who worked with the Upstart and GP

volunteers on different projects. As part of the MU GP research team, I ran two surveys, working with my then MA supervisor on a visitor survey project that also included participant observation, and with another staff member and GP research member on a volunteer study. The responses from visitors and volunteers were the most successful output of the GP research team (Mc Ardle, 2014). An informal follow-up survey by MU Geographer Cian O'Callaghan, working with MA Geography students, asked about the impact of GP with local businesses and people in the area a year later (cited in Till and McArdle, 2015). Or, for example, I am still working on an Apollo House (AH) research team, which includes MU geographers and activists from the Irish Housing Network (IHN), on a survey and interviews with volunteers.

For a different project, my PhD supervisor, Karen Till, worked as a curator with the Dublin Biennial (DB) in 2012. Till and I decided to write an article together about the 'Improvisional City' for a special issue of Irish Geography that Moore-Cherry edited about 'Post-Crisis Dublin', that brought together our shared and individual research on GP, and also included DB as a minor case study (see Till and Mc Ardle, 2015). For my PhD thesis, DB emerged as a formal case study in February 2015, when I co-interviewed the project's head curator, producer and organiser.

As should be clear from the above discussion, not all the fourteen case studies emerged through the same approaches, but the result is a broader range of examples than would be the case through a limited phase of 'recruitment' and/or snowballing. Nonetheless, I should note here that GP and AH are notably different from the other examples as I was, in the case of the former, and still am, in the case of the latter, involved in research teams for both case studies.

4.3.4. The Creation of Liquid Urbanism Types and Tributaries

Table 1.2 and Chapter 3 have outlined the LU conceptual framework as having both 'types' (Creative; Community-Based; and Autonomous Urbanisms), and tributaries (networks and places; timespaces and rhythms; value and urban commons; and political beliefs and institutional relationships). I created this typology through an iterative process of triangulation and open coding. Triangulation is the process of using multiple sources of data (primary and secondary) and evidence to develop an argument, which contributes to the rigour of the research (Hearne and Till, 2015), facilitating reflection and aiding in the process of critical reflexivity, making the research more accurate. Triangulation allows any ideas or theories that researchers learn from pieces of data to be verified by another source (Mosca, 2014), therefore the resulting data is more robust and veracious. For example, triangulation in social activism research allows the researcher to focus not on one single event, such as a protest march, but to create a more holistic picture of the social phenomenon being looked at, including the innovation, flexibility, and resourcefulness of the activists (Ayoub et al., 2014). Researchers can triangulate data by investigating different case studies (ibid). In my research, I completed the latter type of methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1989), and I then used the specific data from the case studies to verify or check how the data 'spoke back' to the theory.

Across the types, I noted what patterns were consistent, and also what made each type distinctive from each other. I coded all the information I gathered through the primary and secondary methods I outline in Section 4.4. Coding is an 'analytical practice used to identify patterns, elaborate upon insights, and refine ideas' (Till, 2009: p. 629), a way of making sense of data through categorisation and

connections (Kitchin and Tate, 2013). Coding emerged historically from the sociological tradition of grounded theory, but ethnographers now also use a less structural form of analysis to understand the meanings and practices of participants contextually (Watson and Till, 2010; Till, 2009). Coding creates categories, which is a processual way for the researcher to develop and refine ideas, providing an opportunity to notice and begin to analyse patterns which emerge from the data. Coding therefore shapes the analytic frame of the study (Charmaz, 2006; Dey, 2005). This is different than forcing data into a classification; the data needs to be worked with until the categories seem obvious and cannot be divided any further (Kitchin and Tate, 2013). Dey (2005) advises researchers to think of coding using an omelette metaphor, breaking the data into small pieces and bringing the pieces back together, with the result being significantly different than what the researcher began with, highlighting the need to be flexible and have a fluid research design.

Coding is an iterative, analytic practice, which allows the researcher to break the materials down, to relate them and combine them (Watson and Till) and is often used in conjunction with other methods. Charmaz (2006), who draws upon grounded theory and ethnographic approaches, outlines two types of coding: firstly, initial coding, which is reading everything to help you begin to conceptualise your ideas, and secondly, focused coding, which enables you to process and understand large amounts of data. Charmaz (p. 48) notes that initial codes are ‘provisional, comparative and grounded in the data’. At this stage the amount of coding can seem overwhelming (Emerson et al., 2011) but allows researchers to begin to recognise patterns, which can then be verified through a second round of

focused coding, which forces researchers to look at the data anew to zone in on the relevant parts of the large amount of data preliminarily coded (Charmaz, 2006).

In my study, I used both initial and focused coding until I felt that the LU types emerging from the data had settled down and would not dramatically change from further data collection. At this stage, I had a preliminary definition of what they meant. I then went back to the data and again conducted multiple rounds of open coding of my primary data (fieldnotes, transcripts, and informal conversations) and secondary data (web pages, urban policies, and other data). For this second phase of coding I was looking for emergent themes that worked across types. After the initial round of coding, thirty eight overall characteristics emerged, with some similarities between these. I then conducted three successive rounds of focused coding, deleting smaller codes and combining similar ones as I went. I noticed from this first round of focused coding that some characteristics appeared more frequently for certain case studies than for others. I placed the codes onto a large sheet and I banded together similar patterns or aspects. For the second round of this process, I then moved some of the features together and deleted some which were not consistent. I narrowed the dominant themes to five, with varying characteristics ranging from three to eight. The back and forth process required me to move between the meta-theory I was creating, the empirical data, and the larger theoretical literature. For the final round, I again put the information on a large sheet and chose which themes were the strongest, which became the four tributaries presented in Table 1.2.

Inevitably with fourteen case studies there was an abundance of information, and so I limited the choice of which case studies to discuss by

organising the empirical chapters according to which tributaries are strongest for a certain type. Then, I used the case study or case studies which best highlights LU spatial practices. While there is variation in the degree to which any given tributary is present for a type (discussed in Chapter 8), this is not to say that the tributary is not present for all the case studies or all the types in some way.

4.4: Methods for Generating Primary and Secondary Data

As listed in Table 4.2, I used three main methods to generate and analyse primary and secondary data: social media analysis (searches, data collection, and analyses); ethnographic observation and participant observation (including informal conversations); and formal interviews (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007; Routledge, 2009; Luker, 2008; Mosca, 2014; Seidman, 2006; Balsiger and Lambelet, 2014. As I have discussed, these methods were flexible and dependent on the generally fluid nature of the projects themselves.

Table 4.2: Methods used for each case study according to LU Types.

Types of Urbanism		
Creative Urbanisms DB, BFF, CtD, GP, APC	**Community-Based Urbanisms BT, ATS, MACG, Mabos**	**Autonomous Urbanisms SS, TBI, GG, BH, AH**
Social media analysis for all	Social media analysis for all	Social media analysis for all
BFF: Volunteer and participant (3 years) CtDs: Facilitator and occasional participant at events (2015-2018) GP: Volunteer and research team member; involved in meetings prior to park's opening (2013) and conducted a volunteer survey after its closure (2014).	BT: Weeklong observation period (November 2016); informal conversations with organisers (Oct-Nov 2016).	GG: Attended three events (2016); informal conversations AH: Volunteer for over 15 days of the 30-day opening (2016/7); attended meetings after it closed. Involved in an IHN volunteer survey a year after closure (2017-18).
DB: Face-to-face in-depth interview with organiser. Co-author of article using DB as minor case study (Feb 2015). BFF: Face-to-face in-depth group interview with 2 organisers (June 2016) CtDs: Face-to-face in-depth interview with one organiser (July 2016). GP: Face-to-face in-depth interview with one organiser (Oct 2016). Part of GP Research team, with other academics and activists (May 2014 - September 2015).	BT: Online in-depth interview with one organiser (Nov 2016). ATS: Face-to-face in-depth interview with creator (Sept 2016). Mabos: Online in-depth interview with one organiser (Sept 2016). MACG: Face-to-face informal conversation with person now running the place (Sept 2016).	TBI: Online in-depth interview with resident (Sept 2016). GG: Face-to-face in-depth interview with one resident (Jan 2017). AH: Semi-structured interview with one volunteer; access to other structured and semi-structured interviews as part of research team (Jan-July 2017). Part of AH Research team, with other academics and activists (2016 - ongoing).

4.4.1. Secondary data: Social media analysis)

I used social media analysis in conjunction with investigating primary data generated from more traditional methods, namely interviews and participant observation. My research is innovative as it uses a range of different data sets in varying degrees and thus it contributes to a shift in the methodological toolkit of geographers. The growth of digital technologies has changed qualitative research. Increasingly, digital methods are being used by qualitative researchers in addition to more conventional methods such as interviews. This 'newer' technique provides geographers a means to access online spaces, and to assess 'over longer temporalities and shifting spatialities. . . heightened understandings of the nuances, repetitions, differences and paradoxes of identities, encounters, and politics' (De Jong, 2015: p. 211). As part of my 'flexible activist case study approach', I used Facebook and social media as a means of accessing participants for interviews, and also as a tool of inquiry itself. Social media analysis allows for ways of knowing which are not perceptible through traditional means (ibid), but also enables scholars to access communities which are traditionally hard to contact through other methods. In other words, I used digital technologies as a way of interacting with social groups and communities, as a site of methodology (De Jong), not an object of study.

Similar to De Jong, I chose to use my own Facebook page to contact participants, rather than a purposefully created professional page. My decision was an attempt to minimise the power relationship between me as the researcher and them as the researched, which can create more intimate exchanges as a result. Consent was thus dualistic; my participants gave consent to me to look at their

pages, but I also allowed them to look at my personal page. De Jong discusses how as part of the decision to join the social media network of Facebook, consent is automatically given for the public to look at your online profile. This approach raises questions about the role of University Research Ethics Boards in the future, but this is an issue beyond the scope of this PhD. Overall I endorse the 'potential contribution online research tools can make to qualitative research' (De Jong, 2015: p. 219), and my research supports this work.

Following Mosca (2014) I used the internet as a 'source' rather than an object, as I used it as a tool to get information about the groups and people I was observing and so was focused on its processual nature, rather than as an end product. Through Google searches, web pages of groups, and in particular, Facebook, I found preliminary information about numerous initiatives, some of which I selected as formal case studies. Once I identified the case studies, I used social media analysis to determine a project's goals, proclaimed ethos, and the audiences they had. Facebook was a useful tool, as I could see who 'liked' the page, events planned, posts shared, as well as connections between pages, which alerted me to collaborative relationships between case studies. As I displayed in Table 4.2, I completed this for all the case studies, from 2014-2017.

In general, I used multiple ways to contact the groups: website, social media, email, going to the location, or, more commonly, a combination of these. I found Facebook to be the most useful method. Mosca recommends using your institutional email when making the first introduction to the initiatives, but given the underground nature of some of the case studies I was approaching, especially for the Autonomous Urbanisms type, I sensed this would not work. Instead, I

decided to approach these prospective participants on Facebook. In at least three cases, I messaged the main group's Facebook and was later contacted separately by the administrator's private page, taking the conversation to a more confidential realm. I thus also had to be aware of my own page, as activists can be reassured by similar pages or mutual friends, but also put off by significant political differences, shown through pages or posts (Mosca, 2014). Quick replies also signify a researcher's interest, and I had to ensure I was available after contacting them to respond in an appropriately fast manner.

There are limits and challenges to online research, as the researcher must ensure the data is archived and maintained well, to capture information as it existed at the time, in case this data later changes (Mosca, 2014). Both Mosca and Jensen (2011) maintain that 'older' methods of data collection still work well when looking at online data. Consequently, I coded the internet-sourced information as I would any traditional data source and wrote reflective memos throughout the process.

4.4.2. Primary Ethnographic Methods: (Participant) Observation, Fieldnotes and Interviews

Following the preliminary broad search, I began doing pilot observations of case studies using the ethnographic methods of observation, participation observation, and writing fieldnotes and memos. Ethnographic methods are praised for making power relations, processes, and types of knowledge production explicit and for generally embodying a more ethical research approach (Till, 2009). Ethnography does not claim to investigate the truth but to uncover the multiple truths that exist

in others' lives, not claiming to be objective in a traditional scientific way (Emerson et al., 2011). Through ethnography, researchers become aware of, and potentially involved in, the everyday geographies of people, to learn how they experience their world (ibid). Ethnographic methods exist on a continuum, and Luker (2008) differentiates full-scale ethnography as living and breathing another culture, typically done by anthropologists. However, ethnographic methods and research designs have also been used by sociologists (Luker, 2008) and geographers (Till, 2009).

(Participant) Observation (PO) enables researchers to document 'practices' (Luker, 2008: p. 158), which help us to build and fine-tune initial theory (Luker, 2008; Till, 2009; Emerson et al., 2011). Wellington and Szczerbinksi (2007: p. 80) posit a spectrum of observation, from a complete participant to participant as observer, to observer as participant, to complete observer. A 'complete observer' is detached, the 'observer as participant' watches for brief periods of time, the 'participant as observer' is a friend and neutral researcher, and the 'complete observer' is wholly absorbed into the group being researched (Balsinger and Lambelet, 2014: p. 160). Yet, these same authors note that any researcher can play these roles simultaneously in the same site or across multiple sites.

PO gives researchers insight into both 'what people say and what people do' (Balsiger and Lambelet, 2014: p. 166). Through observation and PO, researchers can study: events, activities, online and offline interactions, meetings, informal conversations, and individual/group emotional responses leading up to these events, and begin to capture age, gender, and other dynamics or lines of division that are not usually visible to an outsider and sketch the diversity of groups and

socioeconomic positions and power structures within social movements. PO can be overt or covert. In my research role, I varied from complete observer to complete participant, at different times with different groups, while always remaining overt, where possible. Two exceptions to overt research are the Grangegorman Squat (GG) and Apollo House (AH). In both of these situations my role as a researcher would have been problematic and potentially could have prevented me from gaining initial access. Unlike the other case studies, I did not make my position as a researcher clear from the offset, as I was attempting to contact groups who I presumed would be opposed to input from researchers (Gillan and Pickerill, 2012).

There are strengths and weaknesses to using PO. First, as this method can range from full-scale ethnographic immersion for several months, to attendance at an event once every few months, the length of time observing may result in specific types of challenges. The former is time intensive (Till, 2009) and the observer can be constantly overwhelmed with new information and data; the latter can lead the researcher to miss nuances (Luker, 2008). Another potential risk is that when the researcher knows the phenomenon that they are trying to observe well, they may overlook important sources of data which they take for granted (ibid). Finally, a strength is that the informal, emotional and unconscious aspects of groups are sometimes unknown by the participant or not something they would feel comfortable sharing in an interview, and PO offers a chance to experience these aspects (Balsiger and Lambelet).

Fieldnotes are the primary method for recording PO and are a fundamental part of ethnographic practice (Emerson et al., 2011). Till (2009) notes that all fieldnotes should be a part of the practice of discovery rather than objective reports

in and of themselves, as the latter assumes that researchers can have an ‘objective’ distance from what they are studying, an assumption which is now understood to be wholly problematic (see also Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007). Nonetheless, qualitative researchers organise their fieldnotes according to three types – descriptive, interpretative, and reflective – and write longer memos during the writing up/organising of fieldnotes to reflect on these (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007; Emerson et al., 2011). Memos are analytic essays whereby ethnographers ‘reflect, interpret, and record their responses to situations and the research process’ (Till, 2009: p.626). Memos are also written to question one’s assumptions, reflect upon emerging themes, and identify distinctive and shared aspects of case studies, groups and places studied (Watson and Till, 2010). All fieldnotes and memos are later coded (Charmaz, 2006).

Descriptive fieldnotes are the first step in writing fieldnotes and require the researcher to accurately record all the factual details they can, for example, the sights, smells, and people they encounter. As the researcher gets to know a site, these notes tend to reduce, while the other two increase. Reflective notes, according to Moon (2004), (and I would add interpretive), goes beyond mere description, and the material is more than pure factual writing and involves a critique of the self and other’s actions and biases. Reflective writing requires thinking about the research process with critical distance and being conscious of the non-neutral nature of research. The emotional state of the researcher can affect fieldnotes, and fieldnotes provide a non-critical venue to consider personal feelings and thoughts about the research as it is ongoing and is therefore

invaluable. Interpretative fieldnotes build on reflective fieldnotes, and tend to contemplate the overall project.

Fieldnotes move iteratively from description to reflection and interpretation, imitating the research process. When a researcher first begins ethnographic practice, descriptive fieldnotes will be the longest and most detailed, and then as time passes and the researcher learns more about the phenomenon the reflective and interpretive fieldnotes will increase. Each time a new person is introduced, or a new event occurs, there might be a need for more descriptive fieldnotes on that occasion, and ethnographers see the writing process as an ongoing process existing on a continuum.

There are many challenges for the practice of fieldnotes. Emerson et al. (2011) note the tension researchers feel between trying to stay in the moment and the desire to write fieldnotes. Acknowledging that one hour of observation can take five hours to type up, Luker (2010) and Watson and Till (2009) also stress the need to reflect on what is the most appropriate time to take these notes. For example, scribbling shorthand notes on site to be fully written out later, so-called 'jottings' (Emerson et al., 2011: p. 29), is different than taking breaks from PO and finding a quiet time and place to take notes. I made sure to write the notes before I had spoken to anyone, so as not to instinctively impose a narrative or interpretation on my primary data (Luker, 2010; Till, 2009; Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011).

Using ethnographic research methods in a study that is not a complete ethnography brought challenges to the research (Till, 2009; Emerson et al., 2011). Given the transitory nature of the initiatives I was looking at, I could not do a full-scale ethnography, which meant that any PO I did was limited in time and scope.

Nonetheless, as my work focused on comparisons between the case studies, the lesser PO version of ethnography suited my research design. In fact, I would suggest that the participant observation component of my research turned out to yield more insights than the in-depth interviews. For Balsiger and Lambelet (2014: p. 146), ‘participation and observation conducted with reflexivity, combined with other methods for triangulation, produce data that are confident enough for extrapolation’.

As can be seen from Table 4.2, I did varying amounts of PO for each case study, which was mediated by whether the place was still open, the access I had, and the events they held. I did extensive participant observation of Granby Park (June-September 2013) and Connect the Dots (April 2015-present) and was a participant of A Playful City event (September 2017). I was a participant and facilitator with Bloom Fringe Festival from 2015-2017. I held informal conversations with the organiser of Mary’s Abbey Community Garden in September 2016 and undertook a week-long observation of Block T (7th November- 10th November 2016) and had informal conversations there (throughout this week). I had informal conversations with people involved with Seomra Spraoi. I went to the Grangegorman Squat three times (April- August 2016) and had informal conversations there. I had informal conversations with people involved at other events there (2015-2016). I spent two weeks in Apollo House (December 2016-January 2017).

Interviews were another method I used, ‘a flexible, emergent technique’ (Luker, 2008: p. 29) which can change based on the participants responses. Interviews allow us to understand people’s behaviour and actions in context

(Seidman, 2006). Interviewing allows the participant to tell their story, and Wellington and Szczerbinski (2007: p. 81) note that interviews are useful because they allow the researcher to investigate and talk about something they cannot observe, either through document or media analysis or observation: namely an interviewee's thoughts, values, prejudices, perceptions, views, feelings and perspectives. Interviews can range from structured, like a questionnaire, or unstructured, which is loose like a conversation. The middle ground between these is semi-structured interviews, and I chose to do these, which meant having a checklist of questions but also being open and flexible to the interviewee changing the conversation (Seidman, 2006). Researchers must remain attentive without imposing their own views or interests (ibid). Luker (2010) recommends making the language accessible to the interviewee, and writing down initial impressions as soon as possible after the interview, in a similar way to fieldnotes.

A sample set of interview questions is included in Appendix 2. Overall, I carried out eleven interviews: eight in person and three online. Details of this are included in Appendix 3. The eight in-person interviews were for the case studies of Bloom Fringe Festival (two of the same person), Connect the Dots, Granby Park and A Playful City (the same interviewee was involved in both projects), Dublin Biennial, Art Tunnel Smithfield, Grangegorman, and Apollo House. For the in-person interviews, each lasted on average between an hour and 90 minutes, some slightly more or less. For BFF, I contend that volunteering (2015 and 2015) made the organisers (two of the directors, and co-founders, of a team of four) receptive to a later interview with me (in 2016). As some of the places and projects had closed, online interviews were the only option for other case studies. The three online

interviews were for Mabos, Block T and Seomra Spraoi. Interviewing a participant online can make building rapport and trust more difficult (Hine, 2000). Yet online interviewing also provides the interviewee more time to reflect on their answers, so they can give more insightful responses (Mosca, 2011). This was particularly helpful if the project had ended a long time ago, as it enabled the participant to have some critical distance.

Tartia (2017) notes that the choice of in-depth interview provides rich qualitative data, and enough scope for general themes to be drawn from the research. I had originally planned to do more interviews, aiming to stop when I had reached saturation point (when a researcher starts to hear the same information with no new value added) (Seidman, 2006). However, I found that for many of the projects that had closed, project creators had moved on and were difficult to find, or were unwilling to speak if the project had ended negatively for them. For this reason, the ethnographic observation element became more important than I had initially conceived. In most cases, by the time of the interviews, I had reached data saturation point, but in a non-linear fashion.

4.4.3. Ethical Statement

Before I began my fieldwork phase, I successfully completely university ethical approval (October 2015) (Appendix 1), which allowed me to think through issues such as: getting the consent of the participants; making inclusion in the study always voluntary; mitigating the risk to participants; and maintaining participants' anonymity as much as possible. Throughout my research, I had to respect the relationships I had built up from previous work and related projects, and the new

relationships created, as indicated in my discussion about the selection of case studies in Section 4.3. At the same time, I also had to maintain a critical distance, which Balsiger and Lambelet (2014) warn can be difficult when you know a group already and recommend imagining yourself as an outsider to the group and then assessing your feelings. The Autonomous Geographies Collective (2010: p. 260) similarly note the 'mess[iness]' of research in terms of 'emotions, ethics, positions, boundaries, uncertainties and inconsistencies'. Further, Balsinger and Lambelet warn that academics must be wary that even if they are unofficially accepted by a group, uneven power relations still exist (also Campus Engage, 2014).

Several ethical issues came from the process of working with activists who were generally time and resource-poor, and one way I tried to mitigate against risk was by being involved in the projects, so I was not parasitically drawing on local expert knowledge (Fuller and Kitchin, 2004). I also ensured to tell a group as early as possible that I wanted to research them, and my role was usually clear through introductions and/ or informal conversations. However, Gillan and Pickerill (2012) have noted the difficulty of consent in activism, and a difficulty I encountered was with the non-hierarchal organisation of Autonomous Urbanisms, meaning there was no specific leader to ask 'permission' from. I asked the group generally, but often I experienced and at times maintained a distance, as I never wanted to conduct covert participation, and reflection has been a key way of working through ethical issues.

As Appendix 1 shows, I asked participants for their consent and made it as clear as possible that their participation was voluntary and could be removed at any time. The information sheet provided to participants in Appendix 1 informed

participants that the data will be kept a secure location at Maynooth University, and on an encrypted computer. And also that 'the data will be retained for comparative studies or follow-up projects. The results will be used for the researcher's scholarly articles, academic presentations and educational purposes'.

4.5: Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the methodologies through which I carried out my research. In Section 4.2, I discussed the research design of the project, which I consider to be a flexible activist case study approach. Then, in Section 4.3, I explained how I created a LU typology. I outlined the phases of research I conducted, and how I selected the fourteen case studies. Next, in Section 4.4, I detailed what methods I used to answer my research questions. The nature of researching activist, community and creative groups entails that the researcher must be able to embrace a flexible research design, to be adaptable, which I learned as my plan did not always occur the way I had envisioned. I also considered ethical concerns in this section.

Overall, I wanted to get more primary empirical data from some groups, such as interviews, or wanted to do more work as an activist, but because projects were always moving targets, with some closing, some opening and others ongoing, I found that people's priorities and resources were understandably elsewhere. I felt that those places which had closed against the desires of the organisers and often despite their efforts, I had to respect the emotional burden an interview would place on participants and make the best possible use of other data sources at my disposal. Also, in terms of my comparative case study research design, another

choice I made was between an in-depth approach using participatory action research (PAR) and/or ethnographic methods, focused on fewer case studies, or a broader one, with many case studies, drawing upon different methods. I chose to undertake the latter option, as I believed investigating several case studies enabled me to make connections between the case studies at a city scale. This allowed me to see patterns and types emerge which informed my LU typology. If I had chosen to do a closer study of fewer case studies, I would not have achieved my larger research objectives.

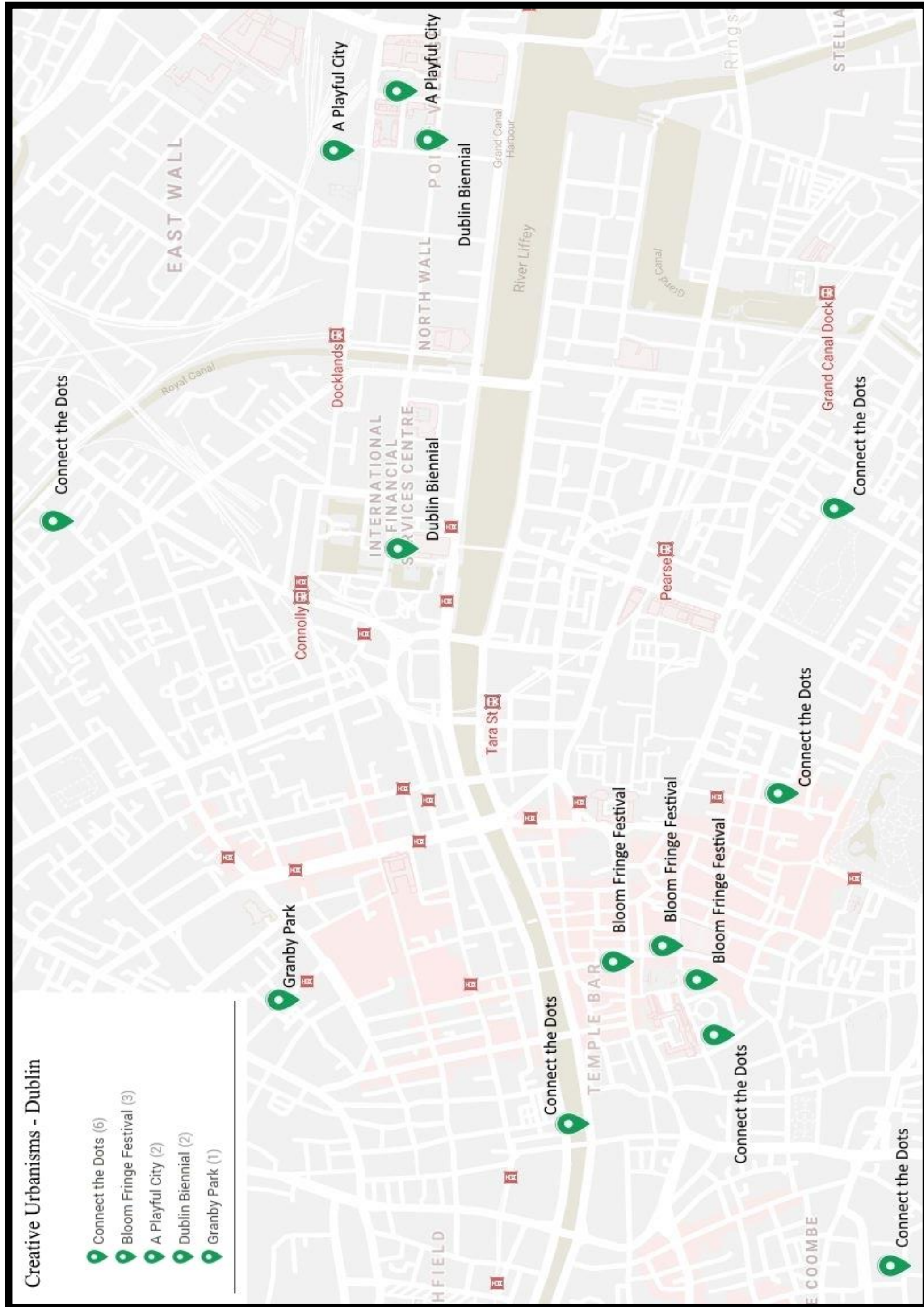
Having said that, the fourteen case studies described in this dissertation are not the only examples of LU in Dublin, as indicated in Chapter 1. While those that I chose to analyse all fitted in well with my design, and provided rich data, I cannot claim that they are necessarily representative of the complexity of Dublin's Liquid Urbanisms, highlighted by the addition of four case studies as the research was ongoing. I could have added even more case studies, but chose to limit the typology to the case studies I have presented. If I had added more, the veracity of the data would have been lost. Undoubtedly there is room for further research, not only based in Dublin but using the LU framework in other cities.

My research design enabled me to answer the larger research questions and to create the LU typology. This typology is a conceptual and methodological contribution to Urban Geography by providing a way to study urban life which does not currently exist in Urban Studies. The language of Liquid Urbanisms allows me to explain the interim spaces, places, groups and activities I have researched. The typology provides other scholars with the language to assess the liquid natures of

their own cities, and possibly create new vocabularies (types and tributaries) that this study of Dublin does not capture.

In the next three chapters, Chapters 5-7, I now look at the three types of Liquid Urbanisms, and how the tributaries interact across the types. Starting with Chapter 5, I first build on my definition of Creative Urbanisms, before describing the most important CU tributary: networks and places. I outline how Creative Urbanisms networks' are rhizomatic. For Chapter 6 and Community-Based Urbanisms, I explore alternative value systems and how these contribute to urban commons, as the most important tributary. Then in Chapter 7 on Autonomous Urbanisms I focus on networks and places as the most important tributary. Also in Chapter 5 I describe Creative Urbanisms timespaces and rhythms, and political beliefs and institutional relationships. Less important tributaries for Community Based Urbanisms are networks and places, and timespaces and rhythms. For Autonomous Urbanisms I further explore networks and places, and political beliefs and institutional relationships. I conclude in Chapter 8 by reflecting on shared characteristics across the three types, as well as considering what Liquid Urbanisms can teach us about our cities.

Chapter 5: Creative Urbanisms



Map 5.1: Map of Creative Urbanisms.
Source: Author.

> 'It was really nice to do [to create Granby Park in 2013], and we [the core Upstart team] are all still doing it [artistic interventions], but we are not doing [it] under one umbrella . . . I think Upstart is no more . . . I know from the core end we'd love to quite happily give it away to . . . anybody [who] needs to use it as a vehicle . . . because it's done stuff and, like, it's hard to get your foot in the door - so use it!. So, it's there . . . as a name for taking if anybody wants. So, if you want it! [Laughs and gestures towards me jokingly]'.
>
> -- Upstart co-founding member and A Playful City co-founder, interview with author, Dublin, October 2016.

5.1: Introduction

In Chapter 3, I defined Creative Urbanisms (CU) as projects or initiatives which create positive change in the city, varying between a more artistic city, a greener city, a more playful city, and a more artful city. CU projects are sometimes organised by individuals but more frequently by teams of people or collectives. In the above passage we can see how a founding member of the Upstart artistic collective still describes her/himself as part of the larger 'umbrella' of Upstart, even if (s)he no longer feels directly tied to the group. We can also see the weight carried with the name of the Upstart collective, which largely resulted from the success of Granby Park in 2013, once again demonstrating the discourse of place branding I reflected upon in Chapter 1. Years later the Upstart name is considered to be a 'vehicle' for other artists and creatives 'to get your foot in the door', to create institutional and community relations that might lead to more opportunities for funding and support to create new interventions in the city. Both characteristics - the collaborative nature of Upstart and using the name for further opportunities -

exemplify the first and most significant CU tributary I analyse in this chapter: networks and places.

Through the social capital created in these networks, CU makers, such as the person quoted above, often aim to create inclusive places which empower citizens to use places and get involved with them. CU projects may provide the backdrop for: encouraging interaction between diverse types of people, bridging divides between these groups, and/or inspiring people to use their city and (re)shape the city the way they want. The creators of these projects are motivated because they are passionate about: the topics they engage in; the social groups and communities with which they work; remaking the city more generally; or a combination thereof. They often do not expect monetary compensation from the work they do, although there has been increased sensitivity around discussions of paid and unpaid labour amongst CUists in recent years.

I describe some of these themes through a discussion of case studies I have classified as CU in this chapter, specifically:

- Granby Park (GP) (August-September 2013): a pop-up park in Dublin City Centre created by the artistic collective Upstart (which drew upon the experiences of the Happenings collective) (Section 5.2);
- Connect the Dots (CtDs) (2014-ongoing): a networking initiative bringing together different voices around various topics, such as vacancy and sustainability (Section 5.2);
- A Playful City (APC) (2017-ongoing): a joint initiative between CtDs (above) and Upon a Tree (UaT), that create outdoor play areas for children, and

focuses on bringing play and children's perspectives back into cities (Section 5.2);

- Bloom Fringe Festival (BFF) (2014-2017): an urban gardening festival (Section 5.3); and
- Dublin Biennial (DB) (2012, 2014): a biannual experimental art exhibition (Section 5.4).

As I argue in Section 5.2, CU place-making is a process tied to the creation of networks, which is the strongest LU tributary of this type. To illustrate this, I interpret Upstart as a 'rhizomatic collective', analysing its organisational structure, offshoot networks and projects, and possibilities for network members to create a new project or initiative. As I describe, some Upstart members have created new CU, including CtDs and APC, and still others are involved with Liquid Urbanisms beyond the scope of my project, such as Upon a Tree and Happenings, which I mention below. Interpreting how this dynamic collective brought together members from different networks and groups, and how members created offshoot projects and new networks allows for a different interpretation of Upstart and its projects, such as GP, then would be the case if limited according to the 'opening dates' of the latter only.

In Sections 5.3 and 5.4, I turn to the other two tributaries that constitute Creative Urbanisms. In Section 5.3, I highlight the specific timespaces and rhythms of CU that are not generally considered in the 'timeline' used for official project evaluations, or considered in critiques of CU projects by city authorities, from DCC to the Arts Council of Ireland. Rather than use the language of 'temporary urbanisms' or 'pop-ups', which ignores the work put in by organisers and the effects

of projects on users and volunteers, I use the concept of rhythms and everyday timespaces introduced in Chapter 3 to study CU. As an example, I propose that the Bloom Fringe Festival (BFF) has five specific rhythms, resulting in unique urban timespaces that would not be considered if we look only at the dates that the fringe festival is open. Specifically, the varied and intersecting rhythms of the creators, and the urban community gardeners that BFF organisers work with, are outside the 'official time' of the festival. Through the local authority, BFF interacts with Dublin City Council's governance structures and its temporalities. BFF offshoot and legacy projects highlight other rhythms. Finally, the rhythms of BFF are displayed through the development of the project into another initiative, Green Edge.

In Section 5.4, I consider the political beliefs and institutional relationships of CU, focusing on the Dublin Biennial (DB) as an example. I make three interlinked points about the political beliefs of the creator and how these relate to DB's relationship to institutions. Firstly, I state that DB's choice of location demonstrates that the DB creator aimed to produce a more progressive sense of place. Secondly, these goals meant that DB was not a traditional art exhibition, which meant that DB did not fit neatly into existing categories for grants, in part defined by capitalist neoliberal categories. Thus DB was excluded from many funding streams, despite generating significant revenue for the economy. Finally, I argue that the effects of relationships of projects such as DB to institutions and between institutions needs to be considered when examining CU projects. In this case, because official Arts Council approval has a legitimising local effect, despite international attention, groups and institutions use this mainstream 'stamp of approval' as a reason to support or deny new initiatives.

5.2: Networks and Places: The Rhizomatic Collective

In this section, I assert that CU networks are especially malleable, versatile and rhizomatic. CU networks are fluid because they change as established existing members leave - based on the member's availability, personal circumstances, motivations, resources and the viability of the project - and members join - bringing fresh ideas, connections and motivations. Network fluidity results in unexpected and organic place-making processes. As different projects tied to an 'umbrella' network develop, people may remain involved, others may not (but may come back for a future project), new volunteers arrive, and unpredictable collaborations may occur. I demonstrate these related processes of network building and place-making with the example of Upstart.

I understand the networks initiating and emerging from the Upstart artistic collective as rhizomatic. The rhizome is a botanical structure, which grows underground through roots and comes to the surface when it is adventitious for these roots to grow above ground. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) base their idea of the rhizome using this botanical metaphor for understanding multiplicity as 'a-linear, multiple, spread out, all proliferating and without boundaries centres/margins or limits' (cited in Mambrol, 2017: n/a). Deleuze and Guattari contrast the rhizome with the hierarchal nature of the tree structure that has one big trunk from which smaller branches and then even smaller twigs grow. In contrast rhizomes 'are abundant; if weeded out in one place, they will definitely show up somewhere else. Rhizomes are endless' (Kallenberg, 2001: n/a). Further, rhizomes 'can be connected with any other at any point [of its structure]' (ibid).

The rhizome as a metaphor allows us to think of the city not according to dualities, but in terms of multiplicities, following Massey (2005). For Daskalaki and Mould (2013: p. 1), the rhizomatic metaphor engages 'with the urban topography in new and innovative ways' as 'a fluid, emerging process'. Deleuze and Guattari, in other words, ask us to recognise the city as non-linear, with multiple possible forms. They encourage us to move away from the binary understanding of cities according to centres and peripheries of capitalist processes, and instead ask us to understand the connections between and across subversive practices, following the unpredictable movements and proliferations of the rhizome. This section seeks to do so by considering the unfoldings of the Upstart collective according to the group's connections, mulitiplicity and break away groups. My data for this section includes social media and mainstream media analysis, in-depth participant observation, and interviews (2012-2016).

5.2.1. Upstart (2011-ongoing) As a Rhizomatic Collective

Upstart is an artistic collective that has produced two interventions in the city: putting up satirical versions of election posters in the 2011 Irish general election (Cronin, 2018; Upstart, 2011), and Granby Park (GP) in 2013. GP was considered successful by users and network members (Till and Mc Ardle, 2015), and, as indicated in Chapter 1, has been used to promote Dublin City Council (DCC)'s creative cities discourse. The initial core team of Upstart was three to four central members, which for GP grew to fifteen core members overall. For the GP project three of these members were interns who volunteered specifically for this project. In addition it is estimated that over 1,000 people volunteered at the park (either

formally or informally) when it was open to the public in August-September 2013 (ibid). GP was created by recycled and donated materials, used volunteer labour only, and yet had many features not available in North Dublin inner city public spaces, including: an amphitheatre, a library, a children's playground, a polytunnel with outdoor seating and tables, artistic installations, and many other features. The amphitheatre was built through a youth exchange between Bradog Youth Services and a youth group from Belfast (NEELB Belfast); the park launched the Dublin Trade School (2015), and through the Grazier café, chefs got recognition for their healthy food offered at cost only. Overall the project resulted in amazing outcomes for the community and beyond as I discuss elsewhere (Till and Mc Ardle, 2015).

GP was critiqued by academics for contributing to DCC's neoliberal agenda (O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015; Provisional University, 2014a). These artist-activists were typified as taking away resources from other groups and artistic initiatives, and some artist and activist groups argued that Upstart exploited the volunteer labour of the network's members. Further, GP is often only described in Urban Studies literatures as a temporary urban park in North Dublin which was open for one month only in the summer of 2013. While I do not discuss this in detail, I wish to acknowledge here that these critiques do not recognise another LU tributary, the timespaces and rhythms of Upstart, which included many years of planning, fundraising, and a prior failed community garden project. Further the legacies, use values, and institutional relations created through GP by Upstart are significant and also not limited to the time the park was open (Till and Mc Ardle, 2015).

I understand Upstart as a rhizomatic structure. Deleuze and Guattari (1987: p.2) describe rhizomes usefully as 'fluid groups that remain scattered temporary

formations, moving between different sites of urban expression'. They outline six rhizomatic principles: connection, heterogeneity, multiplicity, asignifying rupture, cartography and decalcomania. In attempting to understand Upstart, here I consider its connection, multiplicity, and asignfiying ruptures as essential qualities of the network. Firstly, rhizomatic CU can be analysed according to their shared connections between different people in the network through various projects. I illustrate how CU networks are based on connection by linking Upstart to another artistic collaborative, Happenings, the latter of which, while not a case study in this thesis, is another example of a CU and important to understanding the success of the former. Secondly, through Upstart's multiple networks and connections, unexpected collaborations occur, resulting in new offshoot projects, as illustrated with Connect the Dots. Thirdly, I describe how Upstart is linked to another recent CU project, A Playful City (APC), which also emerged from GP and CtDs networks, exemplifying the continuous nature of the rhizome. While APC signifies a change in the rhizome of Upstart, I argue it is not necessarily the network's end.

5.2.2. Upstart's Fluid Connections

I contend that understanding Upstart as a *collective* of creatives, each with his/her skills and networks, is crucial to the creation of projects, both initially and in an ongoing way. A collective is a group of people tied together by similar interests and projects, but not linked via a shared geographical location. The fluidity of the Upstart collective can be seen in the comments of one of its founding members:

> 'What started with my kind of hair-brained, very impractical, idea became not my idea anymore. And the lads [genderless reference to the collective] all took it and added [to it], and it became something

> profoundly different to what it was in the original phone call. And then it started as Upstart . . . And that's kind of the genesis of it' (Upstart 1, interview with author, October, 2016, hereafter Upstart 1).

In this passage, one of the collective's co-founders describes the unpredictable nature of how Upstart began: (s)he reached out with a kernel of an idea, and the idea was further developed collaboratively, taking root and creating a momentum of its own.

When talking about the different members of the team and how the collective grew, the same person reflected on the contributions each person made:

> '(s)he was just kind of constantly knocking the edges off what we were doing . . . Break it down into 30 seconds, what are you doing . . . (S)he just had ability to it and so did [they, the other members] . . . Everybody was good at what they did, and it was just everybody [who] brought a little kind of human touch to it . . . (S)he introduced [another future member] to the group who (s)he felt was, like, a really nice fit' (ibid).

This quotation shows that the collective was open and unpredictable, with people given tasks based on their distinctive skills. This Upstart member observed the collective growing through personal connections, a 'human touch'. (S)he also noted that for the project of GP, the 'core was . . . from 8 - 20 people' (ibid). The open and collaborative nature of how work was shared with an altering core group of members was reflected in my fieldnotes. As part of my fieldwork for GP, I attended weekly planning meetings from June 2013 to September 2013, and it was only in August that I knew which members of the team were Upstart's original 'core' members and which ones were the 'core' members for GP.

Upstart's members were, and are, also now involved in at least three further Creative Liquid Urbanisms: *Happenings,* Connect the Dots (CtDs) and A Playful City

(APC) (the latter two are discussed below). *Happenings*, another artistic collective, consists of two founding members of GP who were also founding co-members of the Upstart collective. Happenings continue to create 'spontaneous, meaningful, cultural events in Dublin . . . an alternative to pub based entertainment. We run events in public spaces, taking advantage of good weather and instant communication' (Happenings, 2017). Its public events include Street Feast, where neighbours come together to create lunches on their streets; weekly outdoor yoga; ad hoc outdoor cinema screenings; and other projects depending on sponsorship. Happenings also respond to calls for consultations from DCC, which I outline below in my analysis of Connect the Dots, who co-organised one such event.

Happenings played a key role in the success of GP as the Upstart team was able to use the resource of volunteers that Happenings had already built up. The quick use of social media by Happenings was an effective way that Upstart advertised its GP FundIt campaign and sought volunteers. The loose and fluid connections of networks are not easily quantifiable, but certainly GP was aided by being able to access the pool of Happenings volunteers and its media outreach.

Also, the achievements of GP were only possible because of the open dialogue, and at times, support from, specific individuals in DCC, relationships facilitated by already existing contacts. Happenings organisers had pre-existing relationships with DCC, such as when planning and gaining permission for outdoor events. That experience led to Upstart getting a 'festival' event permission for GP as a 'limited' project, and security support from DCC, all of which was critical for the success of GP. According to Upstart members, this experience and their personal links with individual members of DCC made planning GP easier and allowed Upstart

to be more ambitious in their preparation. The interrelationships between Upstart and Happenings show how the rhizome structure is based on connections.

5.2.3. Offshoot Projects: Connect the Dots and A Playful City

Upstart's creative processes have resulted in multiple and unexpected points of growth: 'unlike the roots of trees, rhizomes can connect any multiple points of differing characteristics and traits' (Deleuze, 1994, cited in Daskalaki and Mould, 2013: p. 9). Connect the Dots (CtDs) is one Upstart offshoot, co-created by a GP intern (who was involved with Happenings), and someone involved in Exchange Dublin, mentioned in Chapter 1. CtDs is a networking group that resulted from a practice-based Master's project of its two co-founders in 2014. Rather than place-based projects, CtDs create events in different venues that 'connect' CU projects and place-makers. The fundamental principle is to bring together different people interested in a certain topic, finding 'diverse stakeholders and all kinds of angles on the issue . . . and bringing them all together in one room' (CtDs co-founder, interview with author 2016, hereafter CtDs1). The original vision of CtDs was grassroots and focused on community interests like vacancy, sustainability and Direct Provision. Since the beginning of 2017, CtDs has become more formalised as a small business, and subsequently become more commercial to support themselves, as well as their not-for-profit community events.

The GP offshoot CtDs draws upon its own networks in these events; many Upstart members participate in CtDs events as facilitators. Because of my familiarity with a co-organiser through my GP participatory research, I was invited to also facilitate some events. As part of my participant observation for CtDs events, I

noted many occasions where other members of Upstart were present (personal fieldnotes, 17 November 2017). Some participants of CtDs events also knew about the events through Happenings (personal fieldnotes, 4 June 2016). Others learned about the work of CtDs through a DCC event in 2017 about the proposed new pedestrian area at College Green in Dublin City Centre; DCC asked Happenings and CtDs to organise this event. I was invited by CtDs to be a voluntary facilitator and in my fieldnotes for the day, I observed that people from GP were there, including:

> 'the GP core team, and it was great to see them. I was struck by how much of a connection these people have . . . These cool things that are going on in the city all involve the same people, which I think is really interesting . . . These people all came together to form this event. Their groups work together, like CtDs and Happenings. I think that this is really interesting in terms of the ways in which these projects get started. I also think that DCC choosing Happenings and CtDs to host the event really speaks to the reputation they have, and the relationship they have built up with DCC, which begun with GP [through Happenings]' (personal fieldnotes, 14 November 2016).

When in 2017, CtDs changed from a voluntary to a commercial organisation, they described themselves as 'event architects' who work with various businesses, such as Accenture (Connect the Dots, 2017). On their webpage and promotional materials, this change was reflected in the language they used, for example, from referring to 'attendees' of events to 'clients'. One co-founder explained that CtDs has now two threads, the community and the commercial. They are hoping that the latter thread would make the former sustainable, as CtDs had to become financially viable for them to continue their work. The co-founder said: 'Ideally . . . we get enough corporate events to allow us then do our other ones for free' (CtDs1). In other words, the Connect the Dots model of networking, collaboration and co-creation remains the same, but the audience, participants and projects have

changed. I argue that this transition shows how the collective of CtDs is unlimited and unpredictable, only loosely defined by its creators and subject to their changing circumstances. Thus, Upstart as a network is multiple and can have many variations and mutations, including transitioning into commercial ventures.

A second Upstart offshoot is A Playful City (APC), established in 2017, based on a collaboration between Connect the Dots and *Upon a Tree*, the latter of which includes an Upstart founding member who was responsible for the youth-based projects in GP. As that member noted in an interview with me in 2016: 'That was like the biggest success of the park for me -- was how children impacted upon the whole dynamic [of Granby Park]'. For this interviewee, in addition to initiating the North Dublin-Belfast youth exchange project and getting funding for it, the GP play area was the highlight of his/her experience: 'What I've come to understand is a child-friendly city designed approach, and that for me is where I have gone in my direction after that [Upstart]' (Upstart 1, 2016).

Building on this formative experience, this founding Upstart member worked with the founding partner responsible for creating *Upon a Tree* (UaT), a non-for-profit group which has as its goal, sustainable free play areas for children, based on natural materials like wood rather than generic playgrounds (Upon a Tree, 2017). DCC hired UaT as play consultants to create a five-year plan with its City Parks Department. UaT decided to bring their idea of a city centred on child-friendly play together with the CtDs way of networking and co-creation. As members of the two collectives already knew each other, they brought their experience and expertise together to create APC. When discussing what (s)he learned working with young people through GP, UaT and APC, this CUist stated that: 'A child is a child and

they do their own thing! So stop designing them to fit your vision of what a child should be' (ibid).

We can see that APC is a second-generation offshoot inspired by GP, with the personal connections for APC made in 2013, and a new network of networks founded, such that by 2017-18, APC really started to thrive. APC aims to create child-friendly playful areas in cities and includes young people as stakeholders in discussions with local authorities (A Playful City, 2017). APC held consultations with local communities, as well as a conference in October 2017 (see image 5.2), a series of events for 'A Playful Street' to encourage play on the streets in the Sheriff Street community, working with festivals, and a hackathon which led to the 'ZigZag' (a seating area at Spencer Dock, held in September 2018), as well as international consultations and visits. The APC example demonstrates how the Upstart rhizome is continuous. APC can be traced to the original personal connections made through the Upstart collective, but its emergence was unpredictable, developing years after GP, a project shared by some of APC's members in 2013.

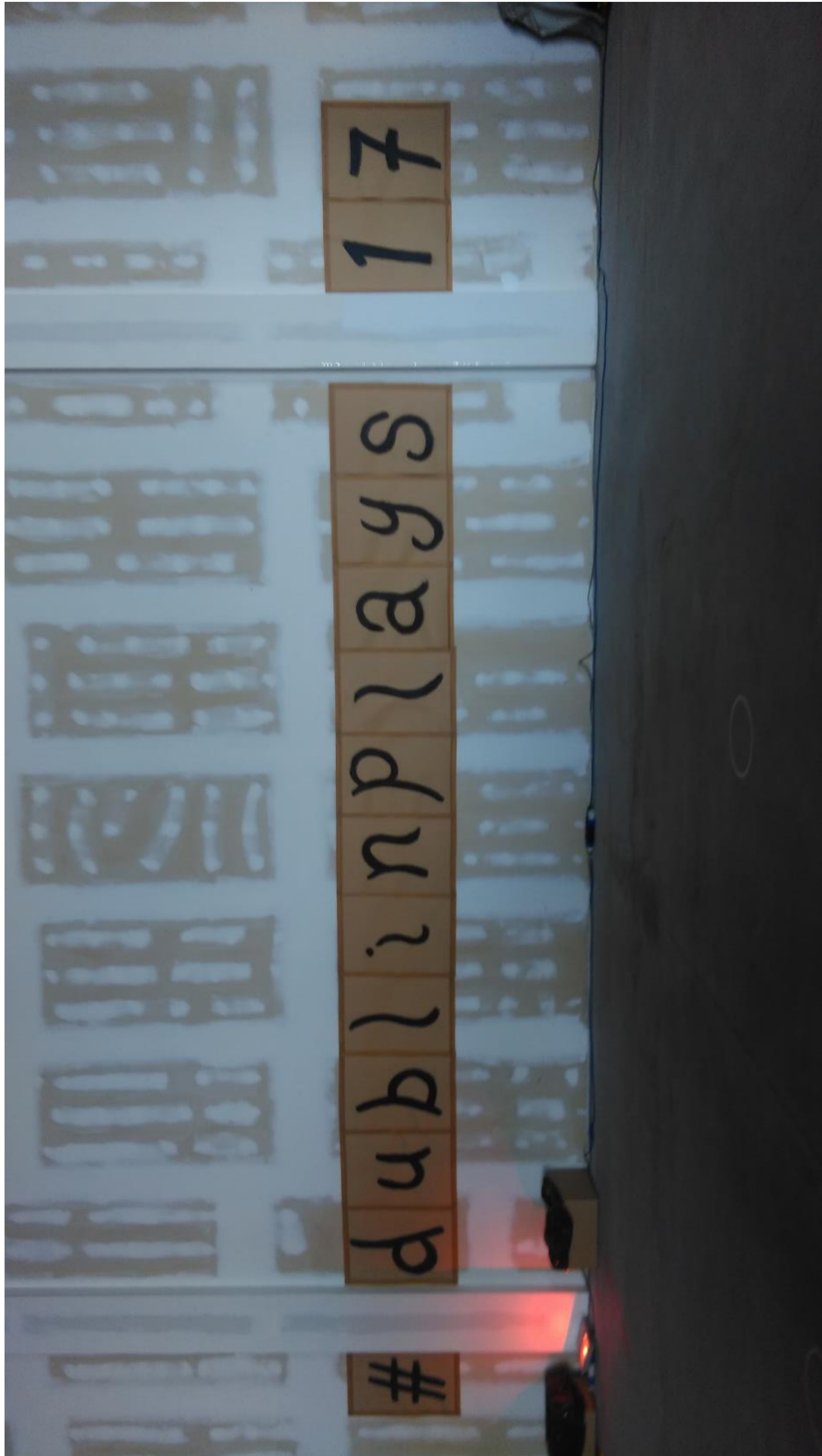


Image 5:2: APC Conference.

Source: Author.

5.2.4. Rhizomatic Ruptures

Daskalaki and Mould remind us that 'the rhizome does not become any less of a rhizome when it is severely ruptured' (p. 10). Rather rhizomes are always changing and becoming: 'ruptures' do not destroy the rhizome; instead the latent spores or roots - such as talent and motivation - remain underground, waiting for the right circumstances to be able to grow and even blossom again. For CUists, examples of these advantageous circumstances can include: a career break which provides time off, parental or caring leave, funding opportunities, a new collaboration, or the chance benefits of serendipity. There is no end to CU networks, as they are all linked by the fluid structure of the rhizome.

To illustrate this quality of Upstart's rhizomatic structure, I mention here another three smaller examples of how a network goes 'underground' for a period of time, only to resurface in unexpected productive ways. In August 2014, one core member who ran the community outreach work of GP was a founding member of a new CU, *the Dublin Feminist Film Festival* (Russell, 2014), that now runs annually in November. A second GP intern became a founding member of the Irish Housing Network, another collective discussed in this PhD thesis, which co-organised the direct-action projects of Bolt Hostel and Apollo House, case studies outlined in Chapter 7. In December 2017, I discovered that the path of another Upstart intern lead her/him to work with *Dublin Culture Connects National Neighbourhoods* programme; (s)he directly contributed this job in an established organisation to his/her earlier experiences with GP.

These small examples provide evidence of Upstart's rhizomatic qualities; even when considered 'finished', the network continues to provide new growth and

opportunities. Overall, Upstart has a rhizomatic organising structure which is connected, multiple and continuous. A large, fluid team of people organised GP through their own connections and networks. Even though GP 'took place' in one part of the city, the rhizomatic connections of people and projects through Happenings, Upstart, CtDs, and APC, as well as others, such as the Dublin Feminist Film Festival, are ongoing. When GP was 'over', and after a pause to recover their emotional and physical resources, Upstart members continued to spawn and/or become part of new projects.

I conclude this section by identifying three key aspects about collectives and place-making, but also indicate some critical points for future studies of rhizomatic structures. Firstly, I have demonstrated how collectives play a key role in creating new CU projects. Not only are the links between CU visible through the formal case studies above, but also to other LU outside of the scope of this study, such as Happenings and Upon a Tree. Secondly, I have illustrated how the collective develops in unpredictable ways. After GP there was no plans for new networks and projects, such as CtDs or APC; these developed unexpectedly based on links made between people in the same network. In 2013 after GP it was hard to imagine what projects Upstart would make and there is no way of knowing what projects may be created by those once involved in Upstart in another 5 years. The collective is fluid, unpredictable, and rhizomatic, as it is multiple, spread out, and can remain in the roots until the correct conditions exist for it to grow.

Thirdly, the concept of a rhizomatic 'collective' can also be considered as tied to place-making processes, bound not only to the creation of material, physically located projects, such as GP, but also, as outlined by Pred (1984) and

Buttimer (1976), as dynamic and composed through heterogeneous parts. GP illustrates the complexities of place-making and illuminates how collectives, such as Upstart, may be crucial to place creation or even to the enhancement of a sense of place for already existing places, such as the residential area around GP. Certainly, even years after its closing, the young people involved in the park felt a sense of pride in what they had given to their community (Till and McArdle, 2015). Once again this section illustrates Pierce et al.'s claims about relational place-making in action, with people connecting through the collective and its networks, each group with its own politics, which may or may not affect future projects. In addition, each individual brings their unique 'bundles of space-time trajectories' (2011: p. 141) to a project which strengthens the collective, as one person may have the key connection to a person that enables a project to begin.

Although the scholarly literature using the rhizomatic metaphor is largely celebratory, including my analysis above, there are some critical points that warrant future study. I have observed that rhizomatic organisational formats can be somewhat more exclusive than the qualities of multiplicity suggest. Newer people can feel 'outside of' what they may perceive to be already established connections and relationships; if there are already successful projects, a new person's impact on the sense of place of a project might remain unexplored or ignored.

However, and this is a second point, exclusion can happen in conjunction with core structural decay: the same people in the network often commit to doing most of the work all the time, leading to burnout for them. Burnout is related to a third point. One critique that could be levelled at Upstart is that their goal of ***creating a GP legacy project --*** a pop-up park toolkit, with lessons learned from GP

to help other groups recreate a similar park ***in their own neighbourhoods --*** never came to fruition (Barry, 2013). Part of the original GP vision was that the initial park would inspire pop-ups all over the city, with the Toolkit as a guide of how to replicate the GP model. This creative publication, envisioned as an online resource, did not happen due to high levels of burnout among the organising team (personal fieldnotes, 2014), some of whom a year or so later, informally felt as though they had to attend to their family and personal lives, as many core members had young children or career changes during this time. This notion of a toolkit, nonetheless, has been mentioned by both CtDs and APC as projects they may pursue. The seed of an idea, even though not realised at one moment in time, may resurface through the rhizome, to blossom at another point in time.

5.3: Timespaces and Rhythms: Creative Urbanisms' Multiple Temporalities

In this section, I explore how timespaces and rhythms interact with CU. I consider the multiple and processual temporalities of Bloom Fringe Festival (BFF), an annual 'pop-up' gardening festival which occurred on the June Bank Holiday weekend from 2013-2017, the same weekend as the commercial Bloom Festival in Phoenix Park. BFF's goals were to green the 'grey' city centre, and this can be seen from images 5.3- 5.5. I claim that the 'timespaces' of BFF, are not considered if we look at the duration of this festival as one weekend only.

As introduced in Chapter 3, Crang understands 'timespace' following Lefebvre, and Lefebvre argues that there are two types of rhythms: the linear and

the cyclical. Linear rhythms are constant reproductions of similar rhythms and are tied to human production, whereas cyclical rhythms are rhythms found in nature, such as seasons, tides, and everyday dawns and dusks. Both types of rhythms are interlinked and interact constantly. I analyse BFF's own rhythms, beyond this weekend, in five ways. I highlight the need to focus on the temporal as well as the spatial and to assert that even though BFF officially 'only' happens once a year, it has and creates intersecting rhythms and temporalities beyond the depiction of the festival as a singular event in city-marketing discourse.

For this section, my qualitative data on BFF resulted from social media analysis, ethnographic participant observation and semi-structured interviews (see Table 4.2). I briefly describe my experiences as a volunteer for BFF in 2015, a facilitator and participant in 2016, and a participant in 2017, to illustrate the unfolding and fluid nature of CU participants, partnerships, and rhythms, but to also highlight the importance of volunteering. As a participatory research method, volunteering meant I was able to hold informal conversations with other people attending, volunteering at, and organising the festival. I also had informal conversations with the organisers at other events as well. Volunteering allowed me, moreover, to become sensitive to the complex rhythms of those involved with BFF.

In 2015, I helped the volunteer team from 7am to help set up Dublin City Centre for BFF. This preparation intersected with other rhythms of the city, which changed with the times of the day. For instance, at first, I helped with the physical set up (putting up bunting, setting up stands) but as the city got busier, with people coming into the city to spend the day there, I interacted with tourists, shoppers, and teenagers as I handed out fliers promoting BFF events. Another example stems

from volunteering for a BFF 2016 event on a Saturday afternoon which ran into early evening, which CtDs (discussed in the last section) organised. CtDs asked me to be a facilitator of a group discussion. As a facilitator, I had the opportunity to work with the public, take in what was happening and observe, while allowing the conversation to happen. On the same Saturday, before facilitating, I participated in the morning events as a normal visitor at BFF. This engagement allowed me to see partnerships, legacy plans and connections of BFF. It also showed me how BFF were using the audience of CtDs and simultaneously advertising CtDs in a symbiotic relationship. On the Sunday I was once again a participant in the event, and in 2017 I was an attendee for the full weekend which allowed me to consider the festival as an outsider would.

Overall, I had multiple informal conversations with attendees, volunteers, community gardeners, facilitators as well as the directors. Of course, my dual role was difficult at times as I noted in my fieldnotes: ‘it was hard to go between the role of participant and observer, and this was made doubly hard by the role with CtDs, when I was neither fully participant or observer, as I was acting in the role of facilitator’ (personal fieldnotes, 4 June 2016). I also completed social media analysis before and after the weekend from 2015-2017, and intermittingly as other events materialised, which I describe in more detail below.

CONSERVATION
WORKS
BUG
HOTEL

#BLOOMFRINGE
DUBLIN

Images 5.3-5.5: BFF 2017.

Source: Author.

5.3.1. Bloom Fringe Festival's Rhythms

There are at least five ways the linear and rhythmic times of the festival intersect; each BFF rhythm reveals multiple intersecting timespaces in the city as a whole. Firstly, the BFF does not 'take place' for one weekend in one venue for only those visiting and working at the festival and instead festival directors work with groups throughout the year building networks. Planning is time consuming: for example, planning for the June 2017 event began in July 2016. The linear time of the festival intersects with the rhythmic lifecycles of directors (a core team of three people); affiliated group members; and festival participants in distinctive ways. Focusing on the directors, as volunteers they must organise their paid work around their festival work, coordinating their daily, weekly and monthly schedules of their paid and other nonpaid work as well as those of their families. An interviewee stated that when she became involved with the more commercial Bloom Festival, she did not realise how much the pressure of her volunteer work with BFF would impact her paid employment and her family life:

> 'all I could think of was my spouse is going to kill me if I start a new project because we have got three kids, and it [child care] all falls onto my spouse. Because at that stage I had already done three show gardens at Bloom, so s/he knew what the workload would be like. It's horrendous, it's horrendous' (BFF founder 1, interview with the author, 2016, hereafter BFF1).

The interviewee noted her frustration at the voluntary aspect as it multiplies the pressures of parenthood: 'I'm not at home making my kids lunch or doing the shopping or whatever. We are foregoing stuff that needs doing in order to do this'

(BFF1). The cyclical routines and linear schedules of family life intersect with the rhythmic times of the festival, not only during BFF but also throughout the year.

Secondly, the BFF also works beyond the timeframe of the weekend through being a showcase for community urban gardens, relationships which are made and maintained throughout the year. The festival advertises the gardens, and subsequently, the community gardens hold open days as a festival event. As one director told me:

> 'Bloom Fringe gives us an umbrella to let loads of people showcase what they are doing. So, what we found is that the people came out of the woodwork -- you know people are doing stuff over the year and they don't really get to see -- all these people [are] doing really good work in the community . . . you know we create our map so they get put on the map' (BFF founder 2, interview with the author, 2016, hereafter BFF2).

Relationships and rapport are built up through face-to-face encounters and personal and group activities which exist outside of the festival's official timespace. Also, the inclusion of urban gardens 'on the map' illustrates how the BFF's rhythms may have at least some influence on some of the livelihoods of the gardeners, which, unlike for BFF volunteer-directors, may be a full-time occupation. Both examples show not only how rhythmic and linear time intersects, but how their intersections shape new rhythms.

A third way in which BFF's multiple rhythms exist in the city is through BFF's relationship with the local city authority, Dublin City Council (DCC). DCC has been very cooperative with BFF and has been a partner since BFF started by helping to fund the festival. But one interviewee said:

> 'I said to Dublin City Council, why aren't you doing that [funding the types of projects done by BFF]? They [said] we can't afford it, and we are already strapped. And I realised that the conversation [had been]

> going on for years [among] them . . . I realised [that there was a] space there to do something . . . rather than just . . . [saying] "look at what they are not doing"' (BFF1, 2016).

This quotation shows that, rather than complain about the situation, the BFF director decided to do something to change what was happening. Yet as scholars, we need to be critical of why a local authority is so helpful towards a project that falls under the creative cities umbrella (O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015), as opposed to other LU.

As described in Chapter 1, DCC has followed an entrepreneurial mode of urban governance (ibid; MacLaran and Kelly, 2016). Moore Cherry and Bonnin (2018) state that the success or failure of urban redevelopment agendas is dependent on what temporal frame we privilege, and we limit our understandings of what success is if we frame it by economic measures only. I similarly argue that DCC limits the potential of the city when they privilege certain types of interim uses like BFF, without acknowledging the huge amount of work done by its creators. Further, if 'events' are only allowed to occur because of their economic success, we limit our understandings of what the city can be and look like. Instead networks and partnerships, with their complex timespaces, should be supported.

For example, one of the main legacies of the BFF project is located at the end of Georges Street, in Central Dublin, at a busy intersection nicknamed the 'Why go bald square' because of a historic neon advertisement located there. BFF used this square as a pop-up park for 2 years from 2014-2016. The pop-up was well used and supported by locals and visitors and BFF demonstrated the power of a small change in an underutilised location. In 2016, DCC provided permanent infrastructure on the square, including colourful seating and bike storage, and the

spot is described now as having been ‘brought to life’ (Dublin Town, 2016: n/a), better able to cater for both pedestrians and cyclists. This tangible outcome would not be linked to BFF if a singular linear timeframe of the project only was considered.

The fourth way we can view BFF’s many rhythms is what BFF1 referred to as the ‘offshoots’ and legacies of the festival, which are not limited to the June Bank holiday weekend. The idea of offshoots resonates with the discussion above, and for BFF include, among other events: Parking Day on 15 September 2017, Body and Soul Music and Arts Festival in June 2016, the St Patrick’s Day festival in March 2016, the ‘Christmas under the Clock’ event organised by DCC on December 22 2015, and an exhibition/workshop at the Dublin Science Gallery, through Trinity College Dublin, on June 27 2015 (Bloom Fringe Festival, 2018). If we look only at a rigid festival calendar these ‘dates’ and locations are outside of that formal schedule. Further, these examples show how the intersection of the festival’s multiple rhythms may result in new rhythms that are unpredictable. BFF directors themselves noticed this randomness: ‘We couldn't predict it, we really couldn't. Like the St Patricks Festival thing -- it's good, it's exciting!’ (BFF1, 2016).

I finally look at the legacies of BFF which are unquantifiable when using reductive understandings of time and space. One interviewee asked a simple but pertinent question:

> ‘How can you assess the impact a gardening festival has on someone? How can you measure whether they begin to garden more in their lives and if so, the potential effect this can have?’ (ibid).

This CUist indicates how important creative practices are for participants in terms of wellness and quality of life, factors not captured by narrow measures of project

success according to participant numbers, hotel stays, jobs created or even 'improvements' in the built environment. Another example illustrates her point. As part of BFF 2017, BFF held a Grey's Anatomy 'hospital type event' called 'Green's Anatomy'. Their 'clinic' had new plant life being 'born' by being seeded, the participant then took their new plant 'baby' home. Participants could make appointments or drop by and bring 'sick' plants for advice; the public could be passing by and see and learn about the impact of pollinators on plants. As one interviewee said, 'if you plant some flowers . . . you have just affected one person's life and then they tell their neighbours' (BFF1, 2016). All participants, on a busy bank holiday weekend at a central location in Dublin City Centre (Barnardo's Square, to the left of City Hall), took plants home. While the number of participants could be counted, their experience with human and non-human life, and what role this interaction had in their lives, cannot be tallied: these significant legacies are not 'measurable' in a traditional economic way. Nor is the presence of plants in a city that has few accessible green areas for young people, especially in central and north Dublin. 'If you have one person to start planting more . . . that's legacy because they have seen you do that … we can't quantify that' (ibid). These offshoots show that even though short-term, temporary uses can have an important impact and legacy (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014; Till and Mc Ardle, 2015).

Another legacy element is the BFF projects which are left in-situ after the festival. This is dependent on approval from government authorities and thus upon BFF directors identifying opportunities. In 2016, and in collaboration with the recycling company Thornton's, BFF created big planters out of former skips which also doubled up as public seating. After 2016 these moved around the city. Another

example, also in 2016, was BFF offering a public basket-weaving project in Dublin Castle, the outcomes of which remained on the grounds for months after. The basket was woven by over 200 attendees and members of the public over one weekend (personal fieldnotes, 4 June 2016). Both tourists and locals alike could experience this live performance as well as see the outcome – what became of their creative project -- for weeks after in a public venue. For this project, festival directors worked with the Office of Public Works (OPW), a key heritage organisation that manages the castle and its environs, to facilitate both the project and its 'longer than normal' time frame. However, this was made easier by the prior connection to, and approval of, Dublin City Council.

Another example, also part of BFF 2016, was a project which included participants planting potatoes in the grounds of Dublin Castle; this was the first time in 150 years this had happened. In 2017 a community garden harvested and allocated the potatoes, resulting in another creative sharing of this innovative project. The examples I have noted here demonstrate how numerous intersecting temporalities and rhythms (re)create new city practices, practices initiated by the BFF and its partnership with urban gardens, the OPW and DCC. By analysing the intersections of rhythmic and linear times, and the different rhythms of the individuals, groups, place-based projects and events of the city, we can come to know also the past and the future city through the present moment, where these multiple temporalities coincide (compare Crang, 2001; Till and McArdle, 2015).

Finally, and an example of the fifth rhythm, is the development of BFF into another project. BFF did not happen in 2018, which I initially thought might be a sad ending to an innovative project. But instead, I learned that BFF has developed into a

new initiative, the 'Green Edge' (GE), which is described as 'BloomFringe's big sister' (Green Edge, 2018b: n/a). GE's goals are 'greening our hometown of Dublin City' (Green Edge, 2018a: n/a), which they do through: 'Connecting place to space /Exploring the power of temporary use to showcase how we can make cities more liveable thru change' (Green Edge, 2018b: n/a). After launching in April 2018, GE were involved in 'Cruinniú na nÓg' in June 2018, 'a national day of creativity for children and young people' organised by Dublin Culture Connects (Dublin Culture Connects, 2018b: n/a). The unexpected progression of BFF into another, connected project shows the unpredictable nature of the timespaces of CU. As I have argued here, scholars as well as government authorities need to look at all BFF rhythms to understand the project as a whole.

Following Crang (2001), in this section, I considered the everyday, various rhythms of timespaces in Dublin. Similar to Moore-Cherry and Bonnin's (2018) work on urban regeneration of a heritage site and Till and McArdle's (2015) research about the complex improvisional nature of cultural and artistic 'pop up' projects based in Dublin, I illustrated how a plurality of temporalities coexist and intersect through an analysis of Bloom Fringe Festival. I looked at how the BFF directors and collaborators experience the festival's intersecting rhythmic and linear times beyond the timespaces of the festival (Lefebvre and Réguiler, 1985). I also considered how BFF interacts with neoliberal urban governance temporalities, how it evolved into a different project, and how specific elements of the project have legacy aspects.

This research contributes to recent work on urban temporalities (Kwan, 2013; Merriman, 2012) confirming critical geography as a domain where 'the

multiplicity of both the spatial and the temporal are placed on an equal footing' (Schwanen and Kwan, 2012: p. 2046). Timespace is not intended as a way of reading time only but also as a way to rethink space (Crang, 2001). Through one CU, and my focus on multiple urban rhythms and temporalities, I have identified narratives of the city which are usually not considered and may be overlooked from a more narrow spatial perspective. This recalls Hägerstrand's work on the 'paths' and 'projects' of people (Pred, 1984) who always bring former experiences to current and future projects. Cityspace is composed of people experiencing multiple temporalities, as activity defines urban space, not stillness (Crang, 2001); the dynamic rhythms of the city produce ever-changing, multiple experiences of timespace (Edensor, 2010). I consider space and time as equally important, interconnected and multiple (Crang, 2001; Kwan, 2013). We need to look at the plurality of rhythms, and not alone at the temporalities spilling from the capitalist system of production.

5.4: Political Beliefs and Institutional Relationships: Motivations of and 'field' Creative Urbanisms are based within

In this section, I claim that CU have specific political beliefs which often fall into the category of a 'progressive' sense of place (Massey, 2003, 2005; Kearns, 2008; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2009). As I introduced in Chapter 3, a progressive sense of place is both global and local, based on Massey's (1993) conceptualisation of place as processual, unbounded, multiple and affected by power geometries. I argue that CUists focus on implementing change at the scale of the everyday to make better

places to live. Although CU can aid neoliberal agendas, the spatial practices of CUists may not be aligned only to neoliberalism and many CUists self-identify as changemakers. Using social media analysis and an interview with the creator of Dublin Biennial (DB), a biennial experimental outdoor art exhibition that ran in 2012 and 2014, I claim that the DB's creator's choice of location was influenced by his/her progressive beliefs. Further, the relationship of DB to other institutions was affected by DB's categorisation, which was partly determined by this belief system.

5.4.1. The Dublin Biennial and Fostering a 'Progressive' Sense of Place

The first DB took place in 2012 in the Point Village, and, following its success, the second was in 2014 in the Custom House Quay shopping centre in the Dublin Docklands. Both were underused (i.e. not finished, empty and/or not rented) spaces at the time of the DB. The creator noted how there are few 'raw space[s]' of that size in Dublin, which is especially important for an art exhibition, where some of the pieces are massive and do not fit into a smaller area (DB interview with Author, 2015, hereafter DB1). Further (s)he added that, 'one of the benefits of looking at alternative spaces is that you're allowed do things you wouldn't normally be allowed to do, that you couldn't do in a gallery' (ibid). The 'alternative' nature of these spaces between development cycles allowed the creator more freedom in what the project could be. For the venue in 2012, (s)he said, 'people were overwhelmed when they walked in and they saw the expanse of work in that space'. In 2014 the venue was particularly effective at accessing audiences outside of the gallery, a key part of the ethos of DB. As (s)he explained:

> 'What was great about the CHQ was again [like the Point 2012 location] it's still a bit in the city. It's such a huge thoroughfare with people coming off one side of the Liffey; then they walk to the train station at the other end. So they have over 1,000 people a day walking through that space . . . It was phenomenal every day -- just watching the amount of people every day! Everybody stopped to look at it, enjoyed it . . . if you don't get outside the gallery walls or outside the museum, when are they [the general public] ever going to experience art like that? In terms of art, I think it was very successful and I think that is one of the main reasons for choosing an alternative space' (DB1, 2015).

The DB producer/curator also noted the costs involved in changing an unfinished and/or unoccupied business or office space into an alternative art gallery. The 2012 location was not 'free', but was not 'cost prohibitive' and did not require as much preparation (ibid). For DB 2014 the site was 'donated', but was more costly in terms of how much work was needed to get the site to an acceptable standard:

> 'We had to pay the lighting costs, to paint and clear out the entire space. There was a lot of debris and actually we cleared out the entire space. We painted the entire space. We swept the entire space, [and] put in lighting. So it was about €12,000 to prep the space. And it hadn't been used in about 5 years maybe, so you can imagine the debris on the walls and everything; it cost a lot of money to do that. And then any overtime [costs we had to pay], because the space closed at seven o clock. So if we wanted to be open [later] for openings or any of our receptions, we had to pay for that. We had to pay for electricity [for the entire time of the biennial]' (ibid).

As indicated above, both venues were located in the north Docklands area of Dublin and this signifies a purposeful choice by the creator not to locate in a gallery. The creator wanted the location to be somewhere not only that could hold alternative art pieces but more importantly than that somewhere where people might happen upon it and feel welcome in the location, as many may not feel that way in a museum or gallery.

DB1 explained his/her decision, as related to the ethos of the project. The DB 'does cater specifically to drawing in people that would not go to museums and go to galleries' (ibid). (S)he further explained the reason for doing so in detail:

> 'I think that taking the shows out of those spaces and into alternate space, really breaks down those barriers that people feel. I've walked into shows where I felt alienated or not welcome or like I had to "put on my art hat" now. And I've been going to shows for 30 years' (ibid).

I assert that this quote highlights the belief the DB creator has in CU as promoting a progressive sense of place. As someone involved in the art world for 30 years, (s)he noticed the problem of a lack of access for most people and wanted to create a more inclusive place which does not exclude people or create boundaries: 'What this show [DB] was offering that some of the more established venues don't, I think -- and this is intentional -- it appeals, it's a popular show' (ibid: emphasis added).

The DB creator directly contrasted the biennial with 'high art' shows and events that may be more narrowly defined according to international high art standards, and thus critiqued the latter for not actively seeking to embrace a more mainstream and local public. DB instead, for this CUist offered an alternative which had:

> 'more of a feel of community. And it's for everybody here and it's not intimidating and it's inclusive; I think that's all of those thing are often missing in the art world. I think that something's important, and that those barriers have to be broken down' (ibid).

The decision to attempt to break down these barriers shows the need the creator felt to produce better places for art and for an artistic encounter than (s)he had experienced, a desire to make an inviting artistic experience, or a 'progressive' CU place, which was inclusive for all.

DB also had many tangible benefits for the artists as they were able to make new connections to both people and arts galleries, some of which would buy and sell their art. The DB creator heard back from one artist who said: ‘We need an outlet like this, as a chance to meet other international artists -- it’s such a great connector’. Another artist got in touch with the DB creator with news of a gallery in New York who bought his/her work following DB. Yet there was also controversy around DB 2014, as there were critiques that international artists had to pay to showcase their work. The creator explained that while this was a standard way that biennials and other shows ran, it was not the ideal situation. However, because an important goal of the DB was to highlight the work of Irish artists and offer them the possibility of participating in an international art exhibition without having to pay the fee, this creator charged international participants. If (s)he had gotten more financial support, then there would not have not been this need to charge and more international artists could have been involved.

DB was not only trying to be more accessible to Irish artists, but also to make art more accessible to the Irish public, which it did in two ways. Firstly, the Irish and international artists involved in the show were at DB itself, and this created an interaction between artists and the visiting public. The result was that visitors talked to and engaged with the ‘real, normal’ people who created the art works on display. These conversations, along with special events that included artist talks and activities, broke down the perceived ‘barrier’ between the public and artists: ‘It’s the interactive aspect of it [DB] that really breaks down barriers. All of the Irish artists were present for the launch, and the media got to speak to every single artist, and I think it was a real celebration of Irish art’ (DB1, 2015). The DB

founder also made curatorial decisions to encourage a range of Irish artists and art forms, including practitioners 'from all aspects of society in these shows'. (S)he described her selection of participating artists as a 'tactical decision', which 'pushes boundaries and breaks down barriers' (ibid).

As an alternative exhibition, DB struggled to get funding as it did not neatly fit into the categories prescribed by Dublin City Council's Arts or Irish Arts Council funding. DB received festival funding, and funding from a discretionary fund from DCC as well as from the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht. Despite noting how helpful DCC was as an organisation -- 'they were very supportive of the show. The entire department was very good' -- the DB creator noted that unofficially, (s)he was told not to apply for arts funding, as what (s)he was doing 'just didn't fit into that' (ibid). This could be because of DB's position of creating a '"popular" art show, for which the Arts Council had no category. There wasn't a format for that kind of thing. Things have to be within a certain category' (ibid). Because what DB was doing was experimental, it defied simple categorisation and was, therefore, cut off from certain types of funding which had unanticipated consequences.

The institutional relationships played an important role for sustainability; the interviewee noted how vital the stamp of approval of the Irish Arts Council (IAC) was for the longevity of the project. (S)he felt that the lack of the Arts Council endorsement prohibited DB from creating further connections and continuing beyond the two events. The importance of institutional approval was also noted by the Upstart Founder in Section 5.2: 'as soon as Dublin City Council got involved, Dublin City Council were on the top line [of supporters]' (Upstart 1, 2016). Upstart 1

felt that the approval of DCC would make others more likely to say yes, so Upstart tried to highlight that they had already received this approval. Other businesses and initiatives are more likely to collaborate with new initiatives with city and national organisational approval. For the DB creator: ‘one of the biggest problems, when I look back on it, was because the Arts Council hadn't funded me. I hadn't had that Arts Council stamp of approval, [so] people were then perhaps reluctant to help’ (DB1). The relationships to institutions then affected further potential connections to other businesses and projects. The interviewee also noticed this was an unspoken, but clear understanding. (S)he stated:

> ‘they [other prospective supporting businesses and organisations] intimated to me that [approval mattered]. They didn't say specifically, [but] they had asked me if the Arts Council had funded me, and I said ‘no’, and they intimated to me that that was a problem’ (ibid).

In other words, the group of supporters that DB was trying to connect to was almost afraid to express directly the unofficial rules of the game.

Despite the lack of higher level DCC Arts and IAC support, the DB creator remarked upon the noteworthy amount of money the art exhibition brought in for the economy, even when using traditional forms of success. Combining 2012 and 2014, the DB creator estimated that: ‘the two together brought in just under a million. [There were] 270 international visitors and they all spent at least 10 days, because they come for the opening and stay for the end as a lot of them bring their work home with them. So, we can calculate the amount of beds’ (DB1).

The discussion about official support and measures of success is exemplary of Bourdieu’s (1985) concept of ‘field’, as tied to social capital. Bourdieu argues that there are four types of capital: economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital. Each

one is distinct but transformable into another type and the types therefore exist on a shifting continuum. Social capital is the value of the social relations and networks between individuals and the groups they are involved in. Social capital, and how much social capital a project has, can influence the future success, of a project like the DB. The social 'field' is a multi-dimensional space, separate to economic fields (Bourdieu, 1985) and is defined by agents and groups of agents who hold different positions on the field. Power relations affect the relationships as some agents hold more power than others. Thus, power comes from the different forms of capital.

> 'The position of a given agent within the social space can thus be defined by the positions he occupies in the different fields, that is, in the distribution of the powers that are active within each of them. These are, principally, economic capital (in its different kinds), cultural capital and social capital, as well as symbolic capital, commonly called prestige, reputation, renown, etc., which is the form in which the different forms of capital are perceived and recognized as legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1985: p. 724).

Power relations are visible through who gets to name and define what is important. The Irish Arts Council, because of their mandated role as the distributor of state monies in the area of the arts, holds a significant amount of economic, cultural and social capital, and, significantly, has the 'most' power in the field of play. As DB was not able to get their explicit approval, other players in the arts field did not want to be associated with DB as that would potentially be damaging to their own position on the field. As a new enterprise DB lacked social capital itself. The IAC holds the ability to create the categories for funding, to decide who gets to apply for funding and, because they decided that DB did not fit into their categories, they showed their position as holding the power in the field of play. 'If

they can't pigeonhole you, or label you, then you can't get funding' (DB1). B was restricted by these power constraints.

Other art exhibitions, such as Dublin Contemporary, had IAC funding and this afforded them more opportunities, even though Dublin Contemporary did not continue after its first year and was arguably less successful than DB. Thus, DB had less access to opportunities because it did not have this initial approval. Despite the huge success of DB 2012 and 2014 in bringing art outside of the gallery as well as the substantial financial contribution to the economy, DB did not go ahead in 2016. The DB creator commented that 'the politics wasn't something I was prepared for. It was shocking to me'. Even though (s)he was involved in the art world, this artist, producer and curator was still surprised by how deeply-rooted the 'rules of the game' were and how much of an effect this had on trying to create a new project. Tied to his/her political beliefs, (s)he stated that 'from a personal standpoint, I don't need to own this, I don't want to own this! I would gladly hand it over to a much larger institution or establishment that could take it to the next level'. But without IAC and DCC Arts approval, this did not happen.

At the same time, what is clear from the example of DB is that political beliefs of CUists are of key importance. Even though CU are not overtly political, they can still be radical and push boundaries. The choice and type of location for DB highlighted the creator's ethos and belief in a progressive sense of place. Further, the relationships of CU to institutions and between institutions illustrates the field of play and different types of capital. For DB this was demonstrated through the way that DB was locked out of certain funding streams and collaborations because it did not correspond to a designated category created by the entity that held more

power. I would suggest that the DB was very successful in realising its goals, and that the overall result of not continuing the DB was a loss for Irish artists, citizens, and the artworld, as well as visiting Dublin artists and tourists.

5.5: Conclusion

The economic crisis in Dublin resulted in broader possibilities for creative projects in the city, as well as increased risk of closure. Often CU were the best type of Liquid Urbanism at fitting into the neoliberal city. CUists regularly developed positive working relationships with Dublin City Council as the city authority, sometimes gaining funding for their work. If the CUists did criticise DCC, they usually separated DCC as an institution from the individuals within DCC whom they worked with and problematised the institution and wider governance structures of DCC. As I later outline, many CU know the 'language' of DCC, as they are proficient at using the types of bureaucratic terminology which city authorities use, and CUists build on past work to maintain positive relationships with DCC.

From DCC's perspective, CU fit easiest into their neoliberal agendas, ideal examples of Florida's Creative Class idea, and these projects and places justify DCC's policies of privileging certain types of artistic uses of urban space, like CU, which they believe do not challenge or interrupt the normal workings of capitalism. Thus, CU fit very easily into already existing power structures, allowing for DCC to easily support them financially and rhetorically. As CU are the most amenable to the neoliberal policies of DCC and already existing governance structures, CU projects in my research usually lasted the longest within the city.

Yet CU still reflect broader changes in the city. In 2013, when Upstart created GP, they intended to make a toolkit to help other groups to build urban parks in Dublin. Due to the levels of burnout of the Upstart collective after the project this never happened, but five years later, Dublin has changed to such an extent that this seems very idealistic. As O'Callaghan (2019) has noted, 'Dublin has been redeveloping faster than we can critically reflect on' (: n/a). With the current housing and homelessness crisis, it is inconceivable now to talk about creating pop-up parks across Dublin, and this very small example demonstrates how these initiatives reflect and respond to changing conditions in the city. For city authorities, the use of vacant projects after the financial crisis was seen as a way of reigniting entrepreneurial forms of urban governance (ibid). Yet CU are adaptable, and their change in focus illustrates how they represent the fluid dynamics within the city.

In this chapter on Creative Urbanisms, I outlined three tributaries that interact with CU. Firstly, and most strongly, CUists use networks in place-making processes. These networks are rhizomatic and shift as new members join and use the opportunities of existing members based on resources, previous experiences, connections, personal circumstances and opportunities. Using the collective Upstart, I showed that the network created for the Granby Park project tapped into the network which had already existed through Happenings, and, in the years after GP, snowballed to create Connect the Dots and A Playful City. This rhizomatic network is loose and flexible and dependent upon the members' resources coming to fruition at the correct time to create new projects. Similar 'offshoots' also existed for other case studies, such as Bloom Fringe Festival.

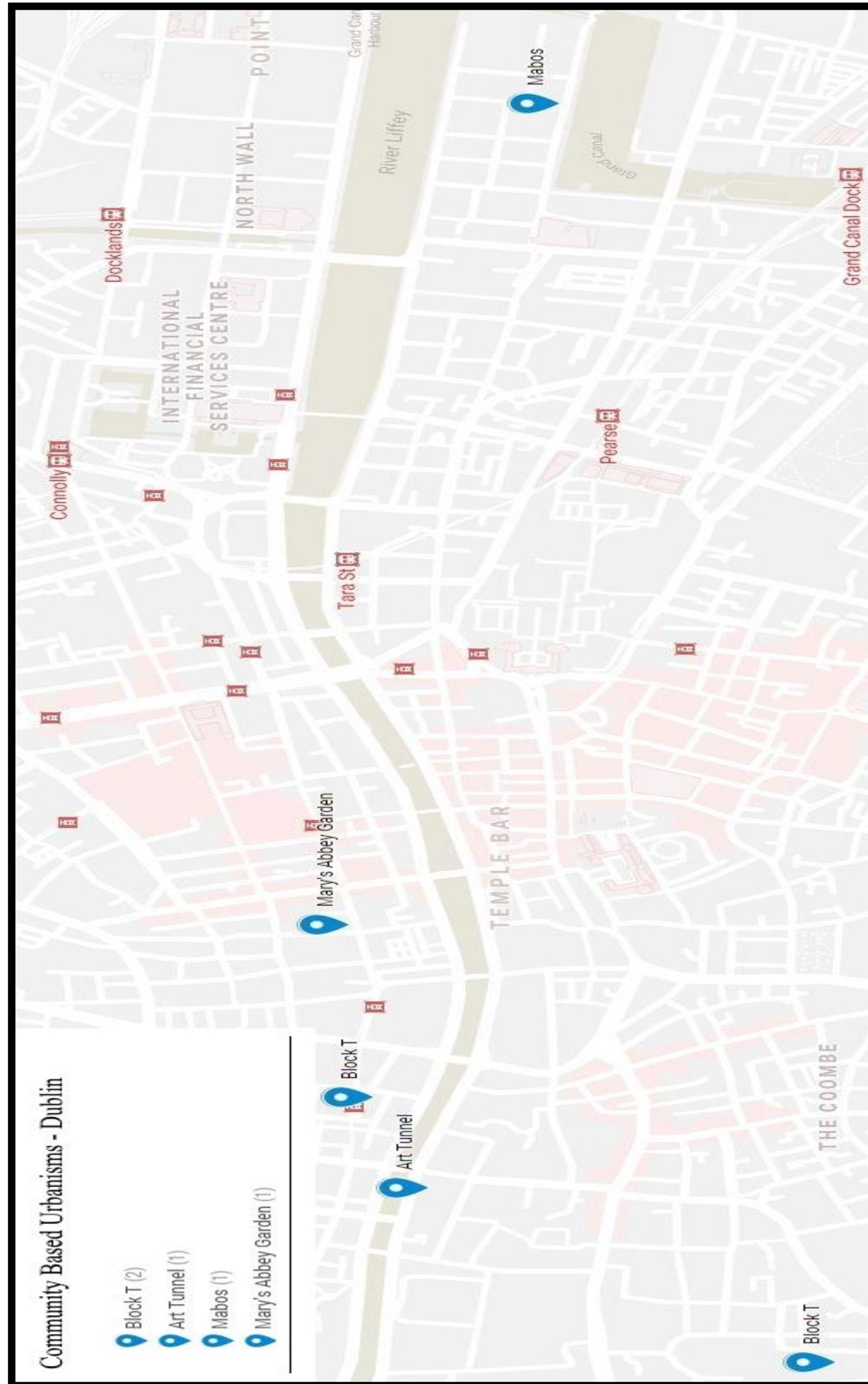
Secondly, I argued that the timespaces and rhythms of CU were broader than are currently understood in Urban Studies literature. Liquid temporalities have different values, legacies and rhythms, are 'emergent' and '[embrace] the possibility of multiplicity (Massey)' (Crang, 2001: p. 205). When looking at timespaces and rhythms, I showed that BFF has rhythms that extend beyond the time of the festival itself, and that we can only understand the timespace of BFF if we include these supplementary rhythms. Finally, I argued that although CU can be flexible in their allegiances and can be said to be contributing to a neoliberal agenda, CUists still have specific political beliefs and relationships with institutions that need to be included to fully understand CU. I illustrated that the Dublin Biennial's progressive sense of place and relationship to the Irish and Dublin City's Arts Councils impacted it as a project.

CU offer opportunities to urban scholars to reconceptualise how we frame our studies, as well as offering material and emotional benefits for city inhabitants. Temporary Urbanism (TU) literature does not go far enough in helping us to understand CU, even though many CU could fall into the remit of temporary use or Creative City (CC) discussions. For example, if we consider GP as a TU we would fail to include the emergence of Dublin Tradeschool, the number of international volunteers who participated in GP, and the youth exchange programmes (Mc Ardle, 2014; Till and Mc Ardle, 2015).

CU projects offer significant interventions in the cultural landscapes of Dublin by inviting people to think about their city differently. I argue that empirical research, from the makers and users of CU, allows us to see the rhizomatic networks and place-making processes; the complex timespaces and rhythms; and

the progressive sense of place beliefs and relationships to institutions. These features do not fit the description of the CC I outlined in Chapter 3. Artists tell stories through their work which allows them to rebuild cities (Bain, 2006) and through artistic and creative practice we can reimagine what our cities can be. With Chatterton (2000: p. 392), my research calls on urban scholars not to have 'reductionist and simplistic understandings of the process of urban and regional development', but instead to look at creativity differently, as rooted in the everyday. Using CU we should increase our understanding of how creative methods are tools and spatial processes that can make positive changes for some and be progressive when they open out the range of possibilities for alternatives, even if their work is not politically radical in the sense of completely challenging or rejecting the status quo.

Chapter 6: Community-Based Urbanisms



Map 6.1: Map of Community-Based Urbanisms.
Source: Author.

> 'Much so-called development is motivated by profit. Mabos was motivated by labour of love activities. Any area needs a lot more of that'.
>
> -- Mabos member, interview with author, Dublin, September 2016.

6.1: Introduction

In the above excerpt, the interviewee describes Mabos, which was based in the south Docklands from 2012-2014 and which I have typified as an example of Community-Based Urbanisms (CBU). This quote demonstrates how alternative value systems are intrinsically linked to community building. The motivations for CBU are not 'profit' like so many other developments in the city. Instead, the goal of CBU is to create better places and communities in which to live. Further, CBU challenge us to question how we interpret projects. We must assess CBU not based on economic development or neoliberal versions of creative output, like CU which I explored in the last chapter, but interpret projects for the effects they have on communities. There are some similarities between CU and CBU, but the opening quote illustrates that the focus of CBU is not necessarily place but alternative value systems in an 'area'.

Unlike CU, however, CBU are projects or initiatives based on geographical and/or symbolic designations of communities whose members try to create better places in which to live, work or use. Mc Millan and Chavis (1986) discuss community as based upon four aspects: membership, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and shared emotional connection. Munck et al. (2012) similarly define community as combining the qualities of social cohesion, quality of life and cultural enrichment. Following these authors, as well as Tuan (1979), who states that places

are based on more than location, I understand community to be more than simply geographical location and proximity. As I describe here, CBU may be: based on a creator or a group's attachment to a neighbourhood, locale and/or city more broadly; organised by one person or a team of people, including both volunteers and professionals; and encourage old/new members of a community living and working in an area undergoing socioeconomic change to share sites by working on projects together. The motivations for CBU vary, but common expressions include providing a community with: a low-cost studio in areas with little access to such; a garden for local use; public gathering spaces for use by local residents for different purposes; outdoor art projects; theatre and exhibition spaces; community exchange spaces; and other initiatives that attempt to create a united sense of community.

Critical to the implementation of CBU is access to plots of land for communities of interest and communities tied to neighbourhoods. Often community members in parts of the city where little public space exists seek to take advantage of what are perceived to be vacant, derelict, or underutilised lands in their neighbourhoods. CBU organisers may seek contracts and short-term leases to use these sites, deploying personal and group connections to enable projects to stay in a community for a set amount of time, or for as long as possible. For this reason, CBU tend to last longer than CU or Autonomous Urbanisms (which I explore in Chapter 7). Although CBU projects may relocate to another geographical area, they can remain linked (across timespaces) through legacies, creators, users, social networks, memories, as well as projects and specific cultural outputs.

Nonetheless, CBU projects are embedded in power relations that influence current and future projects, and for the cases described below, all received funding

and were affected in some way by Dublin City Council (DCC). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the conditions of power in relation to any project's context are threefold; knowing the 'unstated rules' of the game (per Bourdieu, 1979), having the capacity to define what projects are created, and having these first two conditions accepted and therefore normalised. As described in the last chapter, Bourdieu's understanding of field remains critical for understanding CBU, as those who have the capacity to define the rules of play and boundaries of the field have more power.

The four CBU case studies I describe in this chapter each lasted a minimum of two years:

- Mabos (2012-2014): a multi-purpose art and cultural centre in the south Docklands area (Section 6.2);
- Art Tunnel Smithfield (ATS) (2012-2014): an outdoor art and exhibition space in Smithfield (described in Sections 6.2 and 6.3);
- Mary's Abbey Community Garden (MACG) (2014-ongoing): a community garden, located in Smithfield (Section 6.3); and
- Block T (BT) (2010-ongoing): an art studio launched in Smithfield that downsized and moved to Basin View in South Dublin city centre in 2016 (Section 6.4).

In this chapter, I describe how these CBU are not created to generate profit, but to produce places which urban citizens can use and enjoy. At the same time, I acknowledge the tensions resulting from the *political goals* of CBUists' -- of creating sustainable, longer-term community projects -- and the reliance on *institutional*

relationships to provide land and support. For this reason, I focus on the other three main LU tributaries, while mentioning the fourth across these.

In Section 6.2, I contend that CBU are motivated by non-economic *values* and contribute to the creation of *urban commons*, which I discuss as the most relevant tributary for this type of LU. Drawing upon Gibson-Graham's (1996) discussion of community and diverse economies, I argue that CBU have alternative value systems which are focused on use value and not exchange value, an ethos which can lead to the development of an urban commons. These goals provide a strong challenge when access to public space and funding limit the work of CBUists. I make these arguments using the case studies of Mabos and ATS, both of which began with DCC funding. For Mabos, I look at how the creators' values influenced their ethos, best displayed through a community project known as the 'Meitheal Initiative'. I also describe the communal aspect of ATS to illustrate its function as an urban commons.

In Section 6.3, I explore the tributary of *networks and places*, using ATS and MACG as case studies to outline my argument that the experiences and contacts from working collectively on a project can influence how and what a person or group might create in the future. Building on the discussion of social capital (Bourdieu, 1979) in the last chapter, I argue that the links between people that enable society to function efficiently function as a key resource in the creation of CBU. The networks of the ATS and MACG creator are described to highlight the connections between ATS and MACG, both physically and symbolically. The creator's perceived success with one project led to contacts being created, and, through this community project, other communities requested that (s)he make a

similar project for theirs. However, due to the reliance on DCC as a critical part of these links, there were limitations imposed on place-making that restricted access and openness.

Finally, in Section 6.4, I describe CBU *timespaces and rhythms*, using Block T (BT) as an example. Each CBU has unique *rhythms* that we need to study to fully understand that place's *timespace*. I examine how, despite moving locations, BT was temporally connected through emotional attachments, various artists' rhythms, and projects stretching between the two locations which were rooted in the community. The *relationships* between BT and existing institutions such as DCC emphasises the need to focus on the temporality of urban governance, as highlighted by Moore-Cherry and Bonnin (2018).

6.2: Values and Urban Commons: How Use Value Contributes to an Urban Commons

In this section, I argue that scholars need to pay attention to the alternative, non-economically driven values CBU can bring to a city. To do so, I examine how CBU initiatives create value in the city based on non-monetary values using the case studies of Mabos in the Dublin Docklands and Art Tunnel Smithfield as examples. To understand these initiatives better, in this section, I draw upon Gibson-Graham's (1996) concept of community economy, outlined in Chapter 3, which I find particularly useful for thinking about use values, and acknowledging the need to appraise certain ethical merits of relational and communal initiatives. The use values of CBU, following Gibson-Graham, should not be considered 'lesser' in

comparison to profits deriving from capitalist markets. Instead, use values exist as parallel forms of exchange, despite dominant narratives used by city authorities, planners, theorists and even residents that define worth according to economic value only. My qualitative data for this section stems from social media analysis (2014) and a semi-structured interview of one of Mabos' members (2016), as well as social media analysis of Art Tunnel Smithfield (2014) and a semi-structured interview of the ATS and MACG creator (2016). I begin by first introducing each case study, and how the projects' relationships to existing state institutions enabled and limited possible outcomes. I then discuss community and use values to highlight the contributions these CBU made to Dublin.

6.2.1. Introducing Mabos (2012-2014), Its Institutional Relationships and the Changing Economic Landscape of the South Docklands

Mabos was located in a 'regenerated warehouse space' that supported numerous uses, both cultural and artistic, where the activities would constantly change so that 'you would never experience the space in the same way' (Smith, 2013: n/a). It was located on Hanover Quay in the South Docklands from 2012-2014, and grew out of the Kings of Concrete Festival (Byrne, 2014). This annual skate-board festival ran for seven years in the same area, from 2005-2012, with financial help and support from Dublin City Council (ibid; Murphy, 2012). The creators of Mabos rented a building in 2012 to function as the permanent home for the Kings of Concrete festival, and DCC funded office and workshop space (Bresnihan and Byrne, 2015). The creator of Mabos argued that the government's funding and development of 21 skateparks around the country demonstrated the growing support for skating as an activity,

and was a ‘clear example of the power of our collective voice’ (Smith, 2013: n/a). The festival developed from this and valued ‘creativity for the sake of creativity’, and a ‘sense of ownership and duty of care to our city’ (ibid). As scholars we must question the motives of city authorities here, as given the context of austerity urbanism described in Chapter 1, this support of the festival may not have been as holistic as the creator assumes and could be conceived of as a tool of governing youth energy, rather than creativity for creativity’s sake.

In its later years, Mabos grew from being based on skating to include art installations and other sports (Dwyer, 2013). According to its founder, Mabos was an interactive place, which ‘defies categorisation’ (Smith, 2013: n/a). Indeed, Mabos held a wide range of events, including ‘courses, corporate promotions, Halloween parties, meetings, film shoots, private parties, exhibitions, talks, workshops, etc.’ (Mabos Interviewee (M1), 2016). Members and users had access to facilities such as: a skating half pipe, a games room with consoles, a music and cinema room, artist’s studio space, an herb garden, many games tables (for ping-pong, chess, and dominos), and upcycled pallet seating areas (Gray, 2013). Mabos also facilitated professional as well as creative development.

Despite having significant connections and relationships in the community, and DCC funding for some of its functions, Mabos was not able to retain its location. In a similar way to Block T discussed in Section 6.4, the context of post-crisis austerity allowed Mabos to rent cheaply in a prime location, but this was also Mabos’s undoing once the economy improved. Even though Mabos kept up with its rent, once Ulster Bank repossessed the building (when the company that owned it

went into receivership after 2008), the 'commercial market turned' and the building sold in 2015 for more than €30 million (Mullally, 2016: n/a).

During this time, the Strategic Development Zone (SDZ) was introduced in the Docklands in 2014. Previous docklands masterplans included the Custom House Docks Development Authority (CHDDA) (1986) and the Dublin Docklands Development Authority (DDDA) (1997). The CHDDA and the DDDA devised masterplans for the Docklands, which set out appropriate themes and uses (Kelly, 2016). The CHDDA took control from Dublin Corporation (now DCC) and vested it in a special purpose body. In 1997 it was replaced by the DDDA, which did not have complete power like the CHDDA had, but could fast-track development. Under the DDDA, 20% of development in the Docklands had to be social and affordable housing (ibid). The DDDA was phased out and replaced by the SDZ (Provisional University, 2014d). The SDZ does not have the same requirements, yet when the DDDA succeeded in 'delivering holistic social, economic and physical development', 'it was largely down to the community participation structures' (ibid: n/a). The SDZ has also been drawn to exclude many working-class communities, a process the Provisional University have likened to gerrymandering.

The concept of a customs-free industrial zone, which later developed into the SDZ, was first introduced globally in Shannon, which according to Kincaid (2006) meant the opening up of Irish borders. However, Kearns' (2006: p. 180) challenges Kincaid by arguing that setting up a low corporate tax regime shaped Ireland's national space as well because 'international companies transfer to its national space the profits they would rather not declare elsewhere', which meant that 'consequences flow from the re-creation of national differences'. Indeed, we can

see how this international economic strategy marginalises residents of the city, and resulted in negative consequences for communities and CBU like Mabos. SDZ's do not have to go through a regular planning process that includes public participation and feedback. Under the SDZ plan, DCC became the area's development agency; their planning scheme for the Docklands area was approved by An Bord Pleanála in 2014, despite extreme criticism from local community groups and An Taisce. Not only do areas designated as a SDZ not have to go through as rigorous a planning process as normal, the SDZ basically removes any right of appeal by local communities or other stakeholders from the planning process, to ensure 'fast tracking' development post-crisis. SDZ 'designation is intended for lands where, in the opinion of the Government, specified development is of economic or social importance to the State' (Grangegorman Development Agency, 2018: n/a).

The National Assets Management Agency (NAMA) has welcomed the introduction of an SDZ in the Docklands, where it holds significant amounts of property (Byrne, 2014). NAMA has used the SDZ designation as 'a tool for marketing its development lands to investors' (Moore-Cherry and Tomaney, 2016: p. 243). While the Docklands example is similar to Smithfield in relation to the process of gentrification, the SDZ status gives developers an easier path to implement new property plans, which often leads to increased market prices, often pricing out local residents and businesses. For example, the closest neighbourhood to Smithfield, Grangegorman, which was declared an SDZ in 2012, most likely influenced the increased property prices in that area in the last five years. For the Docklands, the SDZ replaced previous planning vehicles that had been in place, such

as the Custom House Docks Development Authority and the Dublin Docklands Development Authority.

Even though the Docklands SDZ plan includes a remit to develop the area as a cultural hub, Mabos was not saved or relocated. This example demonstrates that successful and essential community projects are not deemed important in neoliberal cities that valorise exchange values, where processes such as financialisation and gentrification are ubiquitous (MacLaran and Kelly, 2014; Kus, 2012; Van Loon, 2016). However Bain (2003) warns us not to fall into the trap that many geographers often do, of only discussing the role of creators of cultural and artistic projects according to an early phase of gentrification, followed by redevelopment and regeneration. Doing so, she argues, ignores their artistic practices and outcomes. I argue it also ignores the contributions of their community economies and geographies, to which I now turn.

6.2.2. Mabos' Community Economy

CBU prioritise the use values of projects and places over their potential commercial and/or real-estate value. Mabos is an excellent example of Gibson-Graham's (1996, 2017) community economy. The project recognised ethics and the relational aspect of living together, which we can see from its practices. M1 described Mabos as 'an Irish art space not restricted by genre', celebrating its openness in cosmopolitan terms, describing it as 'Berlin mixed with Barcelona and Silicon Valley. A party place for active and imaginative people. Acoustic rather than linear' (ibid). This interviewee further described Mabos as 'an artistic and cultural space: A meeting place of established and emerging professionals', 'a real creative and busy

grassroots space that centred around positive activities . . . A non-cynical development' (ibid).

For the creator, Mabos was also conceived of as 'a space which doesn't remain within its own walls, its grows and filters out into its community' (Smith, 2013: n/a). Mabos creators demonstrated their commitment to alternative values and to creating an urban commons through their work with local residents. The Docklands community currently has a mixture of residential populations. Some community members have lived and worked in the same neighbourhood for generations. Once the Dublin Docks changed and expanded as a result of containerisation and related technology changes (Moore, 2008; O' Carroll and Bennett, 2017; Sweeney, 2017), these long-term residents have witnessed a newer, generally younger and more affluent generation moving in to work in the new technology firms such as Google and Facebook, that came to replace the previous economy based upon warehousing, transportation and processing functions.

The creator of Mabos said that they noticed that the Hanover Quay location had 'a very densely populated corporate audience and a very densely populated residential audience, sandwiched between two very old communities. . . [there is a] strong disconnect between them' (Smith, 2013: n/a). A goal of Mabos was to try and bridge the gap it saw between these two sets of people, to break down social barriers and begin to forge consonance in rhythms. One way this was done was through encouraging interaction between different users of the space through the forms of entertainment already mentioned (Dwyer, 2013). An additional method was holding workshops and events for the local community and involving businesses as part of these events. For example one workshop Mabos held was

based on how to use small locations for urban living, which affected both communities.

Another community practice described by the interviewee was the practice of 'Meitheal', whereby 'volunteers cleaned and maintained the local area' (M1). This project was the 'Meitheal Initiative', which implemented a community and business effort to clean up the local area, which resulted in two different groups engaging and interacting with one another. It asked for volunteers from local companies, as well as Mabos members, to clean the Docklands area and bridge the gap between its longer-term residents and more well-to-do corporate workers. The initiative included pop-up activities, such as seating, plant life and games to encourage an interface between the communities, creating 'a [public] space for chance encounters' (Smith, 2013: n/a). M1 remarked upon an enjoyable experience on a pop-up project they had while working with two Turkish volunteers 'who worked in a local tech company', where they painted a mural together. Another memory (s)he had was of being involved in 'scores of exhibitions', including 'one group show that I was involved with here was my most enjoyable one so far'.

A strong communal ethos related to the existence of Mabos is clear from these examples. With Gibson-Graham, I analyse places and projects such as Mabos according to non-capitalocentric categories. Rather, the example of Mabos made a non-capitalist future a reality rather than a utopian dream, and their alternatives to capitalism created through these projects should be documented and included in our understanding of the city. Places like Mabos prove what non-capitalism and alternatives to capitalism can look like in practice, as rooted in the everyday. According to M1 Mabos provided 'Informal, cultural, support' to people 'doing and

making things'. It was not only a social project, but also a location for professionals to create and exhibit their work.

Arendt (1959, cited in Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006) advises that we need to engage more with the everyday and not base our beliefs on a future utopian ideal but on the imperfect present. For Ruddick et al., (2017) the everyday is where a new political imaginary can emerge from, rooted in the urban context. Mabos provided urban citizens in Dublin with the ability to see potential in a non-capitalist future through presenting the public with an actual example of unconventional, non-commercial values in practice. This is a theme that I pick up in more detail in the next section and in the following chapter.

6.2.3. Introducing Art Tunnel Smithfield (2012-2014), Its Institutional Relationships and Smithfield's Transitional Economic Landscape

ATS was built by a landscape architect who specialises in transforming underutilised locations into places for community participation, with the aim of 'bring[ing] art into the public realm' to 'create a community pocket park at low cost with local communities, businesses and the Council's support' (Art Tunnel Smithfield, 2014: n/a). The motivation for ATS came from a prize-winning garden project the creator displayed at Bloom Festival in 2009, which is the more commercial version of Bloom Fringe Festival I discussed in the last chapter. The creator fabricated the sustainable garden from recyclable or natural materials and won a 'Residential Landscape Award' from the Irish Landscape Institute in 2009 for his/her garden titled 'The Recession Prosperity Garden' (Fieldwork and Strategies, 2016a). According to the creator, 'The Recession-Prosperity Garden fulfils everything an inner city family

garden requires. Using traditional Irish building methods it is sustainable and easy and cheap to build' (Fieldwork and Strategies, 2016b: n/a). As part of the garden, the creator held weekly workshops and gave out DIY manuals to teach people how to garden, using their newly gained free time (free from Celtic Tiger constraints of work) (ibid). Using recycled supplies and *cheap* materials, the landscape architect sought to encourage ordinary people (people who did not identify as gardeners) to acquaint themselves with gardening as a response to the economic recession. (S)he intended the garden to be a direct contrast to the gardens (s)he saw at Bloom Festival, which, as show gardens, were never meant to be real gardens (Fieldwork and Strategies, 2016c).

The creator admitted finding it remarkable that (s)he put so much effort into a garden that would only last a few days (the length of the festival), which was contrary to the sustainable nature of the garden. Therefore, (s)he approached DCC to ask for a location where the garden could be exhibited, and spoke with the City Architect as part of this process. However, no site was found within the timeframe. A few years later, a local business owner in Smithfield approached the creator, as the person felt that a neglected site near his/her business was an eyesore. The City Architect mediated with the site owner to get short-term usage of the location (similar to the site acquisition approach for Granby Park discussed in the last chapter) for ATS to use the property for free. Another local business sponsored the insurance and repairs to the site, while DCC provided labour, equipment and plants. A local artist studio, The Complex, painted the fence, and a festival gave some sponsorship money. A 2012 'Fund It' campaign was organised for the rest of the

money needed reaching 122% of the desired goal (Art Tunnel Smithfield interview with author (hereafter ATS1), 2016). ATS signed a lease in 2012 for two years.

At that time, Smithfield was fast becoming a booming ‘creative hub’ of development and gentrification, described as ‘simmering in the primordial stages of a cultural quarter’ (Murphy, 2015: n/a). In addition to ATS (2012-2014), other new creative ventures opened there, including: Block T (2010-ongoing), the Complex Theatre (opened in 2009, in several sites, including one in Smithfield, before permanently locating there in 2015), the Joinery (opened 2007, closed in 2014), the Lighthouse Cinema (opened in 2008-ongoing), and Brown Bag Films (opened in 2007-ongoing). An interviewee from Block T (2016) said that when first in Smithfield, (s)he felt that (s)he was ‘contributing significantly to the cultural landscape of Dublin at the time’, hinting at how Smithfield was only beginning to become the cultural hub it is now.

While ATS was open (2012-14), different groups used the garden in ATS in many ways. Local schools planted vegetables; residents created a community garden in this inner-city area that had few green areas, gardens, and places to hang out and socialise informally; and artists used the place as an art exhibition space. As an exhibition space, the ATS had the unique location of being beside the red Luas line, and the outdoor, non-traditional gallery aspect made it more desirable and accessible for artists to break into the arts scene.

By 2018, Smithfield was described as the next ‘property hotspot’, and these innovative art, design, and cultural projects were seen as having contributed to the desirability of the area for development investments, leading to rising property prices (Sweeney, 2018: n/a). Mullaly (2015b: n/a) described this period of

Smithfield as 'the setting of a type of developer-led gentrification which has rendered the immediate area unrecognisable in just 20 years'. With increased rents many successful projects relocated, such as Block T (discussed below), or closed, like ATS, despite their requests for further support from DCC to stay open. The ATS creator believed the success of the project would mean that it would be renewed in 2014, stating: 'I mean I knew it wasn't going to be forever, but I really didn't expect it to be only two and a half years' (ATS1, 2016). When the lease was not renewed, (s)he made the decision to leave without protest, as one of the main goals of the project was to make Dublin more hospitable to interim use. Although there was considerable local support for the project, largely because the site was well used for various activities, the creator also made the decision to vacate because: 'really, the mood was there to get cross about it, and say no we want to stay … *The Irish Times* covered it and made a big film on the closing … But you see, if I had done that, no one ever ever ever with any vacant site would have given [it]over to temporary uses' (ibid). (S)he did not want ATS to become an example of a temporary use that failed, or that the creators of the project misbehaved, that people would use in a debate against interim use. (S)he made the decision to leave, hoping that the use of a vacant site would encourage other similar uses. As (s)he explained: 'I thought it really important because . . . I wanted it [ATS] to be an example of how you can use these vacant spaces interim' (ibid).

6.2.4. Art Tunnel Smithfield's Community Economy

Similar to Mabos, ATS was also an example of Gibson-Graham's community economy. Firstly, by prioritising the relational shared experience through practices,

ATS aimed to be a place not centred on economic worth, but on the experiential and lived processes of people in place. As previously mentioned, the desire to create ATS came from another garden which (s)he built for Bloom Festival. The interviewee noted the 'waste' of that festival: 'I was amazed, at the expense of the gardens that were built there for three days' (ATS1, 2016). The creator said (s)he 'was obsessed with putting it somewhere as a model garden that people could then come and look at' (ibid). We see that the creator of ATS wanted to construct a site, not for commercial purposes, but for the use values gained by local people when learning the techniques of gardening themselves. 'I thought it would be really nice to build a garden . . . that is really cheap to build with lots of materials; there's no concrete, with lots of sustainable elements in it. And hand out leaflets of how people can build it themselves at home' (ibid). Thus, ATS was created for its communal worth and the enhancement of life for those in the area, goals which stand in direct contrast to the commercial, exchange-based value of the gardens at Bloom.

Secondly, by contributing to the creation of a community's landscape of interim use, the ATS creator envisioned what a city not founded primarily on commercial activity might look like. The ethos of ATS was not only to add tangible benefits to people's everyday quality of life beyond an exhibition, but also to call attention to the importance of producing community spaces in which residents and visitors were active participants. ATS illustrated how any person could produce projects outside of the mainstream capitalist expectations of property as fulfilling a commercial purpose. 'It was really nice, you know, people could see and could really appreciate it' (ATS1, 2016). (S)he says that in general citizens in Dublin expect

initiatives to be created by DCC: 'people in the cities are quite used to having the Council, you know, take care of it' (ibid). In the interviewee's opinion, this makes people reticent and unlikely to go about conceiving projects like ATS on their own. As I outline in the next section, ATS was followed up by MACG, and even if the latter is not fully aligned to the creator's initial vision, ATS's positive contributions to this community's landscape generated a legacy of interim use in Dublin.

6.2.5. Mabos and Art Tunnel Smithfield: Creating Urban Commons

Both Mabos and ATS exemplify how the alternative value systems which I have explored contribute to the creation of an urban commons. If the defining characteristics of urban commons are that they are produced, offer access to space, are non-commodified, and based on collaboration, then we can see these four qualities for both Mabos and ATS. Firstly, Mabos was constantly recreated as it responded to the desires of its users and makers, which the creator explains: 'It is my city. It is our city and both individually and collectively we have a very strong voice in the way our city moves' (Smith, 2013: n/a). Mabos was an artistic and cultural place and enabled the work of artists as a studio, as well as being a more open cultural place for public members. Similarly, ATS was open to gardeners, local schools, as well as residents and artists.

In addition to providing professional skills training, both projects offered opportunities for recreational activities and leisure. Moreover, both were not-for-profit as highlighted above. Mabos was sustainable and used profits from events to pay for rent, but was not focused on earning and increasing profit, as we can see from the opening quote to the chapter. Also, 'it was never about the money, cause

there never was any, it was about camaraderie and the connectivity of that journey' (Smith, 2013: n/a). The priority was the use values of the place, not the potential profit of the building. ATS did not generate a profit, and again focused on how people used the place.

Finally, both projects were based on collective processes. Mabos was a place where people could come together, 'a wonderful meeting point. Very unique to Dublin and Ireland. A lot of people who worked in the area went there' (M1). The ATS creator (2016) told a story of people throwing artwork over the fence,

> 'Yeah people kept throwing artwork over the fences . . . It's been so amazing the whole experience . . . There was just a little sign saying: 'We are homeless, who's going to take me home!' It was really cute, and people actually took them away, and someone actually threw this Mexican artwork over the fence, and little pieces of artwork and I still have some. We had this exchange market during the summer once a month and people could come and just exchange their goods, I got really nice stuff from there it was really good [Laughs]'.

This story demonstrates the synergetic nature of ATS, and we can glimpse the cooperative conviviality of the project.

6.2.6. The Significance of Interim Community Based Urbanisms

This section has clarified how we as academics need to focus on community and use values to support claims by residents to the right to the city. Rooted in the everyday, ATS, Mabos and other interim community uses provide scholars with evidence for successful non-capitalist alternative approaches to the city, rather than treat CBU as a distant utopian goal. Had my analysis only described how the relationships of these projects were limited by DCC, SDZ and other state neoliberal agendas, or changing real estate markets, the tangible social outcomes and legacies

of these CBU, including the innovative urban imaginaries offered by these residents and creators, would not have been documented and analysed.

I argue that scholars must create a new language of assessment in Urban Studies to include these community use values not as marginal but as warranting assessment. More work needs to be done to consider fully the positive effects and contributions these projects make to the city and the quality of life of its inhabitants. Based on the arguments I have presented here, Mabos and ATS, and in some ways all the CBU discussed in this chapter, illustrate the realities of lived urban commons that celebrate the use values of communities and project members over the values of development and property promoted by Dublin City Council and the National Assets Management Agency.

6.3: Networks and Places: Social Capital

Unlike CU networks, CBU networks are focused on communities (and sometimes individual) interactions. In this section, I illustrate how the webs of relationships amongst urban creators perform a significant role in the process of community-based networking. I refer to two projects, ATS and MACG, which were created by the same person in Smithfield, North Dublin. MACG was launched in 2014 and has remained open at the time of writing in 2018. Data for this section includes analyses of a semi-structured interview conducted with the creator of ATS and MACG, informal conversations and site visits, and project webpage and local authority (Dublin City Council (DCC)) document analyses (years 2014-18). As I describe, CBU creators and collectives are embedded in social networks which give them access to a wide range of contacts, but these links remain mediated by

institutions of power. Similar to the political relationships with government agencies explored in Chapter 5 and introduced above, even though social capital has value, the ‘rules’ of the game and the power of certain ‘players’ on the field, endures.

6.3.1. Introducing Mary Abbey Community Garden (2014-ongoing)

Less than a kilometre down the red line Luas track, a five minutes’ walk from ATS, is Mary’s Abbey Community Garden (MACG). MACG opened in October 2014 and was ongoing in 2018. Described as a ‘natural wonderland’ (O’Connell, 2018: n/a), MACG is a garden full of greenery and colourful flora in an area of the city centre where there are few green spaces. Its proximity to a prime retail area in Dublin makes this contrast clear; it is a welcome difference to the nearby commercial area of Capel Street and Mary Street. It’s a small, pocket park that would go unnoticed if not for the Luas line going by it. It was created because the community saw the success of ATS and wanted to leverage this to establish a community garden.

One crucial difference between ATS and MACG is that MACG does not include an outdoor exhibition space. Moreover, unlike ATS, MACG was community - rather than individually -- initiated, with local residents in the area approaching the landscape architect to create the garden. The lack of an exhibition space at MACG means that the project is significantly different to ATS. It is a community garden rather than a multi-purpose community space. From informal conversations, I understand that the aim of the community was not to create an interim use of space, as had been the goal of ATS, but to transform the derelict site that had existed before.

However, this attitude also contributed to a slight apathy on the part of the community. Once the ‘problem’ of the derelict site, which previously had syringes and anti-social behaviour associated with it (Barry, 2014), was ‘solved’, the community was not committed enough to make this space into a place. Pitt (2014: p. 84) argues that community gardens are not in and of themselves therapeutic, but that ‘what people do is as significant as where they are’. Therefore it is not only the presence of the garden that increases wellbeing or having a ‘passive presence’ in the garden, but also place-making and forming place-based attachments, such as ‘through moving in ways conducive to intensely focused moments of absorption in skilled rhythmic activities’ (Pitt, 2014: p. 89).

As described in the next section, I outline the differences between place-making and place as a design element to consider why ATS was more successful than MACG. ATS was originally a curated space with a goal of creating community and environmental change. Only when it began to include community involvement did a dynamic process of place-making as a form of community empowerment happen. This is different than soliciting a community garden aimed to tidy an area. Without the goal of creating participation and stewardship through place-making, beautifying a site through urban design alone only temporarily improves the built environment of an area but does not lead to the longer-term community values associated with place-making that includes an ethics of care (Till, 2011b, 2012). In the next section, I make three broad points about the significance of place that highlights the interconnected nature of networks and places with respect to ATS and MACG.

6.3.2. Networks and Places of Community-Based Urbanisms

Firstly, if we consider Pred's (1984) argument, that places are processual, then we should pay attention to individual biographies of places and their social and environmental reproduction, as entwined, mutually supportive processes. Although ATS was initiated by an 'outsider', the *community-based* social capital resulting from ATS became apparent to me in the relatively short timeframe of our interview. When I interviewed the creator in 2016, two years after the project had ended, we met across from the ATS venue. During this time, three people recognised and approached the creator, who they knew quite well, and commented that they missed his/her presence in the community. Given the context, I finished the formal interview, and they invited me to remain while they reminisced and socialised, resulting in an hour long formal interview, with an extended three to four hour informal conversation that followed. What was clear from the community-led interactions and discussions that were had, was that not only was ATS missed in the community but also that the ATS creator had become part of the community through her/his considerable connections, networks and friendships in the area.

Although not quantifiable, the connections between these people had and has real and implicit merit, a point that ties into Pierce et al.'s (2011) concept of relational place-making as discussed in Chapter 3. As Staeheli and Mitchell (2009: p. 186-187) have said, 'because places are interlinked, changes in one place will have effects on other places'. The linkages between ATS and MACG are clear, not only through the shared creator of both projects, but through other examples of continuity between the projects. A story about the labour that went into making ATS and MACG resulting from a chance encounter illustrates the localised process

of networked place-making. The ATS creator told me the story of how, as (s)he was building the community space, (s)he met someone, who turned out to be the Haymarket Probation Services (HPS) director and offered to help build ATS. As (s)he explained:

> 'You know the Probation Services, at Haymarket? There was a . . . [person] from Probation Services smoking - [s(he)] actually gave up since - and (s)he was going for a little walk, and (s)he was watching us build. And (s)he said, "Don't you need [help?] Some of my clients could come and help you".' (ATS1, 2016).

The probation group then helped build ATS. The relationship that resulted led to a successful partnership for future projects as well, as the same group helped build MACG. In addition, after two years, the trees from ATS were transferred to MACG and the pallets on which the gardens and exhibition space stood were transferred to another garden that was founded by the ATS creator.

In the broadest sense, networks are spatial processes through which people make connections to one another. In addition, individual's space-time trajectories combine and are mediated by the specific contexts of power (Pierce et al., 2011), which may result in 'knots' (Ingold, 2011) that can become a place of meaning for those individuals, a point I return to. ATS and MACG were tied together through 'socially, politically and economically interconnected interactions among people, institutions and systems' (Pierce et al., 2011: p. 59), as demonstrated by the material legacies between the two sites, such as the trees, that resulted in the material qualities of one place contributing to the possibilities of another. Moreover, I argue that individuals who are already embedded in multiple networks and projects associated with historically contingent (Pred, 1984) and located places, such as a neighbourhood or region in a city, gather networks of relations through

their involvement and investments in projects over time. Their intersecting individual pathways affected the collective possibilities of both ATS and MACG, demonstrating how individuals create networks through places, which may, in turn, influence future projects.

However, and secondly, when considered in terms of the continuity of community gardens, not all places created have the same resonance. The presence of trees alone does not make a place. Based upon my analysis, I would contend that MACG is not as successful as ATS, and this is not primarily because it is smaller than ATS or even because it is not multi-purpose. If we measure success based on its use value for the community, which includes leisure, well-being and social interaction, and according to the presence of people daily using the space as a community garden, based upon ten observations of MACG between 2016-2017, in comparison to reports about ATS, MACG was not thriving. For each of the ten visits I made, there was no community member using the space, with the exception of a prearranged observation visit with MACG1 in 2016. One critical reason, and one hinted at by the ATS creator, was (and continues to be) the lack of 'openness' of MACG. The garden is fenced and locked. Although in informal conversations I was told that you would only have to request the code from a contributor, the physical barrier of a gate symbolically makes the garden appear off-limits even if this was/is not the case. As the creator put it: 'the best thing someone said to me [about MACG] was: "how do you get into this place unless you're a Pigeon?"' (ATS interview with author, 2016).

The gate was a requirement by DCC to prevent 'anti-social behaviour' when MACG was established: 'One of the rules DCC gave them was that the door had to

be closed after them, to avoid unwanted antisocial behaviour' (MACG1, 2016). In reality this rule stops *most* behaviour happening in the area. I return to the role of power relations momentarily, but here wish to refer to Pitt's insight (2014) that 'those who lack influence over their community gardening are less likely to benefit from flow as their sense of control is reduced' (p. 84). Pitt calls on scholars to acknowledge the relations and factors across multiple scales which contribute to an individual's sense of control. For Pitt, if people cannot exert control over a garden, the benefits they can receive from it are diminished. Arguably, the lack of control people feel about MACG, has affected their interest and contributed to a lack of engagement with the space (especially in comparison to ATS).

When communal space is not open but fenced, the users of this garden need a real dedication for it to be made and survive as a place. For the ATS creator, (s)he thought the difference in use value for the community was based on the transient nature of the residents that lived in the area. The people who had originally campaigned for the park are not the same people who now live there; the change in population could be due to the rising rents in the area (Guinan, 2016). 'So you see Mary's Abbey was instigated by different people to who signed the lease . . . [it is an] *unwanted* inheritance' (ATS1, 2016, my emphasis). As this quote demonstrates, the current group on the garden's lease inherited a project that was not theirs, and thus do not have the same enthusiasm for the project. ATS1 noted the possible downfall of this history, as it is difficult to make someone become a caretaker of an ongoing project. A lot of the motivation for the original project must have come from a desire for change, without which the project may fail. While the relationships and reputation made from one project, ATS, resulted in the creation

of a follow-on project, MACG, new networks, beyond those made from the original project, remain, nonetheless, critical in sustaining a project's existence and development from a space into a place.

Thirdly, as Pred explains, places are only fully understandable if we know the power relations flowing into and out of the area. Again, Bourdieu's (1979) notion of the 'rules of the game' and the 'field' resonate. The role of DCC in relation to ATS and MACG are worth reflecting on. For ATS, the City Architect, the same person who helped Upstart get the Dominick Street site for GP, was instrumental in attaining the site. ATS was created by someone already embedded in networks, which connected that person to the more powerful players of the 'game', the local authority. Further, the perceived success of ATS influenced the MACG project. As the people living near Mary's Abbey could see ATS, keeping in mind the physical closeness of the sites, they were motivated to try to negotiate a community garden for themselves. However, for MACG, when the local community approached DCC about the project, the local council was supportive but required that the project be a closed garden with a gate. This resulted in limitations being placed on the project, and MACG is arguably not as vibrant as ATS once was.

Recently, DCC awarded MACG a modest amount, €300, for an 'environmental' project for a 2018 community grant (Dublin City Council, 2018), which signifies ongoing support in practice. Nonetheless, little has been done to change the restrictive physical barriers and perception of the garden as being closed rather than open. As institutions such as DCC affect the power relations of the process of place-making, Pierce et al.'s (2011) insistence that we include politics

in our understanding of places and networks is fundamental to analysing relational place-making or the lack thereof.

6.4: The Plurality of Community-Based Urbanisms: Timespaces and Rhythms

In this section of the chapter, I assert that understanding the plurality of timespaces in a city means to view CBU projects according to their intersecting geographies, temporalities and rhythms. I use Block T (BT) as a case study to illustrate the timespaces of CBU. BT is an art studio in Dublin established in 2010, which moved from Smithfield to Dublin Central in 2016. I argue that if Block T were to be evaluated according to one location only, the movements, rhythms and unfoldings of BT as a place in the intersecting timespaces of the city would be lost. The case of Block T demonstrates how the project's first and current locations are linked in at least three ways. Although the address and building of Block T has changed, the material and embodied connections made through the physical and emotional links between the two locations are a significant part of the project's larger ethos and the contributions to the city and two communities it effects. Secondly, I claim that the rhythms of the artists who use/d the BT's studio/s intersects in diverse ways with the rhythms of the project. Thirdly, and like the Bloom Fringe Festival example from Chapter 5, the ambivalent relationships between BT and the local authority, DCC, illustrates the complexity of urban governance. DCC's own motivations for supporting BT need to be unpacked and directly contrasted with BT's goals of creating a community for artists. I argue that the multiple temporalities of city

governance must be considered to understand the contributions and possibilities of community-based LU.

The research for this case study began with social media analyses of BT publications in 2014 (Table 4.2). Although unable to interview founding members before the 2016 venue closure, I interviewed a founding member of BT who continued working in the new venue (BT1) and conducted a week of participant observation in November 2016, which included informal conversations with short-term and longer-term BT members. Below I refer to my formal and informal discussions with: BT1, a founder and core member; BT2, a studio member turned core member; BT3 a studio member; BT4, a studio member and community activist; and BT5, a hot desk user and graphic designer (see Appendix 3).

6.4.1. Introducing Block T (2010- ongoing)

Block T is a not-for-profit art studio with a range of different facilities such as: studio space, hot desks for freelancers, workshops and classes to help up and coming artists using various media and forms, including still-life drawing and pallet making. BT was originally located in Smithfield (like ATS and MACG) from 2010 to March 2016. In April 2016 the collective downsized and moved to a new location, at Basin View, on the south side of Dublin (Dublin 8). I assert that the nuances of the BT narrative need to be fully included to understand the project and the specific and multiple rhythms of BT.

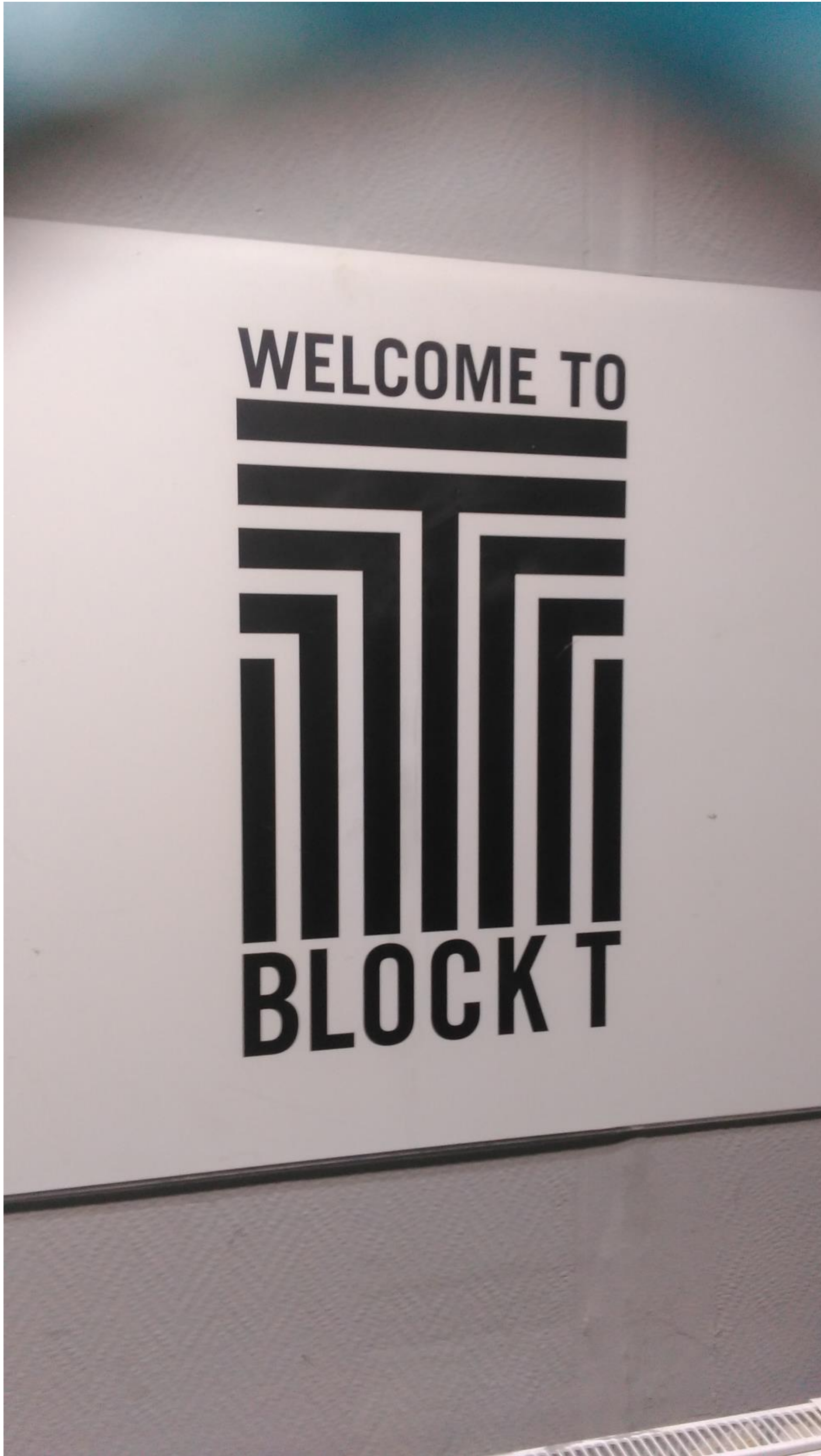
The move in venues occurred because the BT collective was no longer able to meet rising rents in the Smithfield area. As previously mentioned, Guinan (2016) stated that cultural and artistic places, including BT, directly influenced the rise of property prices and the costs of rent in the Smithfield area, making the case that

prices increased the closer one got to the main cultural hub where BT was originally located. The original BT space and time is noteworthy, as BT was set up during the recession and was one of few studio spaces to survive the tough economic period, as places like Mabos, Exchange Dublin and many others closed in different parts of the city. BT breathed new life into, and played a role in, the cultural regeneration of the Smithfield area, and also contributed to the increased prices of rent in the area, which harmed BT itself (Guinan, 2016). Yet the recession also provided the unique opportunity of affordable locations in Dublin's city centre, something which the core members themselves suspected wouldn't be sustainable for the longer-term (BT2, 2016).

At the time of the closure, there was ambiguity over whether BT would open again at all. When I discovered BT was to close in March 2016, I attempted to contact the organising collective, consisting of seven core founding members (Block T, 2016). I wanted to capture this transitional time; however, I learned that many had already moved before the closure of the Smithfield venue, which implied the contributing artist members were aware of the merit (socially or otherwise) in moving onto another project. BT did reopen, even though many members felt forced to find new studio sites between the closure of the Smithfield site and the opening of the Basin View venue. After BT moved to Basin View, only one core member remained, with another studio member taking on more responsibilities to create a team of two core members. For comparison, when that same studio member had joined BT as one of six interns, the team included seven staff (BT2, informal conversation with author, 2016). The new location has twenty studio

spaces, with extra room for workshops, in comparison to seventy studio spaces at the original site. The downsizing ‘is making sustainability an issue’ (BT1, 2016).

In November 2016, BT invited me to observe and spend the week at the Basin View venue, and I used one of the ‘hotdesks’, a facility for freelance workers, which enabled me to talk to core members, studio members, and other hotdesk users. BT has workpods, hotdesks, and workshop spaces. I had the chance to blend in for the week and to interact with others using the hotdesks. Images 6.2 and 6.3 of the new BT site were taken during this time. For example, I had informal conversations with a graphic designer who used a hotdesk (BT5), as well as those using the other spaces, through a shared kitchen and communal area. Thus, I was able to fit into the rhythms of those using and making BT. As the workshop space is located beside the kitchen and communal area, it was very easy to interact with BT members when the workshops were ongoing. I also interviewed one of the core members and attended one of the workshops as an observer (5 October 2016). The informal conversations I had with the workshop leader were useful because this person rented one of the workpods which allowed me to gain greater insight into this perspective.



Images 6.2 and 6.3: BT site at Basin View.

Source: Author.

6.4.2. Block T's Rhythms

There are substantial rhythms which exist across and connect both BT venues, and in this section I focus on three. To begin with, the aspirational goals of BT appear to be consistent through the emotional rhythms across the timespaces of both venues. One BT member described BT as a 'petri dish where new hopes and dreams for the future are given a chance to start incredibly small in order to become something that grows big enough to shape the culture of a city. Our practices interact with each other' (Reimer, 2016). Reimer also stated that: 'BLOCK T is a generous place. A dreamer's place. A culture maker's place' (ibid). BT has a hospitable, open ethos of supporting artists and artistic work in the community. In addition to studio space and workshop training, it also offers an annual grant scheme to one recent art graduate, in conjunction with Fingal County Council, which includes studio space for one year and a solo exhibition at the end of the year. A BT member noted that any revenue collected by BT is reinvested back into the studio (BT2, informal conversation with author, 2016).

Clearly, the motivations of BT to be a place for artists is reflected in this language and opinion of its users. When I observed the current BT venue at a changing time, I noted this optimism expressed for the future, especially by the less experienced members, such as the intern-turned-core member, BT2, and new members participating in workshops and renting hotdesks at BT. All were quite positive about the future of BT. My personal fieldnotes echoed this; I found a palpable 'openness and an inclusivity to the space . . . Everyone was happy to be there and just seemed like positive, friendly people' (personal fieldnotes, 5 October

2016). I noted this enthusiasm to be there a month later, when I reflected on the generosity of BT's studio members:

> 'I think it is very striking that BT1 gave me the keys and allowed me use of this space. This kind of generosity, openness and trust is striking but is certainly part of the ethos of BT, at least it seems to me. This space seems open and accommodating' (personal fieldnotes, 7 November 2016).

In contrast, a founding core member, BT1, spoke about the potential success or failure of BT in ambivalent terms when I was there, which I believe was based on that member's greater experience of the precarity of art studios with short-term leases in Dublin (personal fieldnotes, 7 November 2016).

As this discussion suggests, the two locations are connected across timespace through the openness of BT's artistic practices and inclusive philosophy. BT's creative ethos moreover is not limited by physical buildings and absolute locations. For example, symbolically and materially, the presence of the past is part of the 'new' BT. When visiting the Basin View BT in November 2016, I noticed a sign (image 6.3) which is 'a cardboard cut-out and is black lines drawn on a white background and says Block T. BT2 member told me that this was drawn by an artist they *used* to work with [in Smithfield] who *used* to be part of BT' (personal fieldnotes, 11 November 2016; emphasis added). Further, I noted that in my fieldnotes:

> 'I think that there is a line here [association between the two places]: even if the location has changed, it [BT] is still using all of these connections and attachments, and just morphing them to fit into the new site' (11 November 2016).

Between the old and new locations of BT there are tangible links, such as furniture, tools, signs, as well as intangible infrastructures, like the connections between

different artists. Moreover, even though the core membership team dropped from seven to two as part of the move, all the former studio members still can use the BT name, which carries institutional merit and social capital, and the associations they made in founding BT. These networks and associations, in other words, are available to all members in the past and present.

Secondly, I argue that the distinct rhythms of the artists who work there interact with and beyond the locales and communities of BT. The artists as individuals all have their own life rhythms and careers, and how much they use BT as a tool to sustain themselves varies. For example, BT1 and BT2 depended on BT for their full income, while BT3 was balancing their work at BT with a 9am-5pm internship. BT3 used one of the workpods, which ranges in cost from €150 and €350 per month, so this was not inexpensive by any means, and implies that BT3 was investing is his/her future career. These artists may also live in a variety of residences in the city while maintaining their membership and involvement in BT.

BT also has members who offer commercial- and community-enhancing workshops. The different commercial workshops BT offer range in price from €145 to €300, with discounts for the unwaged/students available. One workshop leader taught a sewing course at both BT locations that ran from 2015 to 2017. Alongside the commercial practice, the workshop leader also created a community knitting and crocheting circle group that was voluntary and free, called ‘C Squared’. C Squared was a ‘community and creativity project aimed to provide intergenerational affordable programs that would help inspire shared dreaming for a collective future’ (Reimer, 2018: n/a). The C Squared workshops were based in the Smithfield community and began in 2015 because, as the workshop leader

explained to me, (s)he wanted to create the group as a bridge between what they saw as two very different communities resulting from the upheaval in Smithfield as a result of gentrification (BT4).

The main aim of the group was to build community. Historically Smithfield was a working-class area of north Dublin where people traditionally remained for a long period of time, and increasingly, rising rents are coupled with new middle- and upper- class residents moving in, with migrants and younger people living in the transitional residential spaces resulting from renewal and property development. This workshop leader strongly believed that art and creative practice can bring people together, and s(he) chose knitting and crocheting as tangible ways to connect these diverse groups. S(he) noted that 'creativity is a great way to create community, as it gives a shared language and breaks down barriers' (BT4, 2016). This is also notable for the way a skill can bridge gaps that may exist based on language and class. The workshop leader has since emigrated (in 2017), and the C Squared group itself no longer exists, but other offshoot groups formerly connected to C Squared continue, such as the Dublin Knit Collective (C Squared, 2017; The Dublin Knit Collective, 2018). This example overall highlights how the multiple threads, timeframes and rhythms of artists' lives intersected with BT as a community-based Liquid Urbanism in diverse ways not limited to the original building.

The third way to consider the multiple rhythms of BT is through the initiative's changing relationship to DCC. BT aims to create a sustainable model of an arts studio that, while contributing to the local community in which it is based, does not rely on public funding (Block T, 2016). It does, however, acknowledge it

has used public funding in the past (BT1, 2016). For the new Dublin 8 site, DCC agreed with the move and helped BT negotiate and secure a lease with the Basin View landlord, who is also very open to the work of BT (BT2, 2016). Yet we must be critical of why DCC would be positive and encourage the move to Basin View, which could have been a negative move for BT, as the fear of sustainability already mentioned above indicates. This is also a loss for the Smithfield community and its residents.

In addition, BT had to learn to be within and become part of a new residential community. Basin View is a completely different socio-economic area than Smithfield, which was acknowledged by BT1, who, in 2016, said that working with the community in Basin View required different skills. Further, BT1 said:

> 'Basin view is very different in comparison to Smithfield, it is less known [in the cultural community] and is more community orientated with a larger emphasis on social housing and development. This will give BLOCK T a new challenge and we are currently exploring how best to integrate into this community here' (BT1, 2016).

Yet BT1 also commented that BT's 'main strong point is its ability to adapt to change'. For this member, in Smithfield the actual site facilities enabled BT to be a more community-based space, as there was a 'small coffee shop, a networking /common room space, a gallery, an event space, and other facilities. This was great for us in terms of visibility and public engagement' (ibid).

Yet Basin View has 'a more collaborative and open workspace attitude which is good for community *within* the building' (ibid; emphasis added). This observation implies that the move to Basin View has entailed an isolation of sorts within the existing local community, even though one future focus the founder has

is ‘to ensure they remain within communities once the market changes’ (ibid), a lesson learned from the Smithfield experience.

I argue that the goals of BT are and remain to create both a community-based LU and a community for artists (Kapila, 2016). As I acknowledged in the introduction, community can also be thought of in a more expansive way, as not only based on geographical nearness. If we consider that the goal of BT is sustainability, or to remain open, we can see how this desire reflects a dual goal, to create a community for artists and culture makers, as well as creating a continuous cultural space within a local community. Yet both BT1 and BT2 admitted such a goal was difficult. One reason may be because there is a divergence between this motivation and the interests of DCC. BT aims to support artists and ‘advocate a self-sustainable model achieved through private partnerships, self-generated revenue and minimized dependence on state funding’, evidenced through only 2% of BT’s income coming from state finance (Guinan, 2016: p. 28). Yet BT’s investment in local and artist’s communities and sustainability appear to be directly in contrast with the goals of DCC as a landowner in the city. If BT at Basin View were funded by DCC to become a new cultural hub in the way Smithfield did, DCC would expect that BT would bring the real estate benefits to Basin View that Guinan (2016: p. 7) argued it did for Smithfield, as ‘contemporary Irish planning policy privileges the economic value of space over its public use value’. By bringing in new cultural and artistic uses as gentrifiers, studios like BT can change an area, even as they ‘may be complicit in displacing low-income communities in their capacity to regenerate areas and raise the market value. However it is necessary to note that the fiscal

situation of artists in Ireland also renders them victims of such regeneration' (Guinan, 2016: p. 15).

If artists can be both instigators and 'victims' of this process then who benefits in a city dominated by financialisation? DCC's relationship to studios like BT proves that Dublin has a 'climate whereby art', and I would add, community, are 'supported for its[their] economic rather than intrinsic values' (Guinan, 2016: p. 37). Overall the BT example shows that there are many personal, project-based, communal and development rhythms, timespaces and legacies in the city, which intersect and with unpredictable outcomes. However, the contributions of BT for artists and community groups, such as studio spaces, workshops and groups generated by C Squared, are not acknowledged if we look at BT in terms of economic values.

Place attachments are also not limited to a location or building. For Tuan (1979: p. 417) 'emotion felt among human beings finds expression and anchorage in things and places'. BT created a sense of continuity as a community for artists and creatives even as locales changed. BT's 'sense of place' as open and affirming for less experienced artists, and as contributing to building community bonds during a time of dramatic socioeconomic change, was made available to members of its different venues and continued in Smithfield following its closure there. In other words, BT is not defined by a building or singular studio space.

Following Crang (2001), the case studies discussed here have led me to advocate for a broader understanding of urban timespaces, which encapsulates not only economic uses of the city, but also the lived, experiential nature of CBU. To do this, I have discussed three rhythms: the material, emotional and immaterial

infrastructural connections of BT through time and space; the various interacting rhythms of artists within and beyond BT as a place; and the changing relationship between BT and DCC. Thus the multiple timespace of BT requires us as scholars to consider the links created by artists to other artists and members, audiences, community groups, and governing bodies.

6.5: Conclusion

Similar to Creative Urbanisms (CU), Community-Based Urbanisms (CBU) also fit into neoliberal governance structures in the city. However, unlike CU, CBUists tended to be more openly critical of DCC, and while they admire the assistance they were getting from DCC on one hand, they also critique the broader structures which prevented them being able to develop or stay in an area. Thus, CBU fit into a continuum, with Creative Urbanisms supporting/ not as openly objecting to neoliberal policies, and Autonomous Urbanisms on the other end, actively opposing this same agenda, with CBU in the middle of these two.

CBU have an ambivalent relationship with city authorities. CBU do use funding and approval of city authorities, and their work is often cited by DCC as successful examples of collaboration with communities, as CBUs can fit into the policy objectives and the existing norms within a city. However, the very nature of CBU and their position as beholden to the property market often does raise questions about how alternative projects can fit into a property context and a neoliberal setting which seems determined to kill any type of artistic and creative

expression which does not fit neatly into already existing neoliberal agendas, resulting in a ‘dearth of arts infrastructure in the city’ (O’ Callaghan, 2019: n/a)

In this chapter, I have looked at three of the four LU tributaries to provide an understanding of CBU according to use values and urban commons, networks and places, and timespaces and rhythms. Cutting across all three was the tributary of political beliefs and relationships to existing institutions, in particular with DCC. Building on my discussions above, we can extend our thinking of these tributaries through the other case studies. For example, I could have explored ATS according to timespaces, as connected to MACG and other gardens, by following the linear and rhythmic lifecycles of the creators, gardeners, users and DCC. BT can also be conceptualised as a networked place, connected through the different artists and communities involved in the two locations.

I have argued in this chapter that through CBU practices, communities and creators legitimate their projects as places of activism through which they can realise relational and community-based values in their everyday lives. Though DCC aims to help community groups, often they manage these initiatives in a problematic way, such as the fence example for MACG. Mabos, is a particular example explored in Section 6.2 for its alternative values and commons creation, which also illustrates the other tributaries. The founder of Mabos used the original BT location in Smithfield until 2016. The network of Mabos, like ATS, was based on the social capital of the creators, but also broadly structured by the more powerful institution of DCC. As Staeheli and Mitchell (2009: p. 187) point to, ‘the politics of placemaking, it seems, are characterized by the same power relations as society at large; they often reinforce those power relations, rather than challenge them’. We

can see how Mabos, along with the other CBU, aimed to challenge normative place relations through their placeframes, but still existed within the context of DCC and property markets, and this often necessitated close relationships with DCC, even if the project was critical of it as an institution.

Another example was BT, which, for Bresnihan and Byrne (2015) is one of many examples of Dublin's great enclosure, which entailed a commodification of art spaces. Yet processes of 'enclosure' may lead to the creation of new commons, and we can take the attempts of BT to create a sustainable model of financial independence from DCC as a step towards the goal of commoning. Similarly, places such as Mabos and Dublin Biennial from Chapter 5 also defy easy categorisation. When DCC attempted to get Mabos to fit into a certain structure, it illustrated that 'only those with money are allowed to play in the public realm . . . that is a fundamental flaw with the current structure' (Smith, 2013: n/a). As Mabos was facing closure, its creator made a TED talk, ending with a call to change the way we view these types of places and projects: 'This is not about our project anymore. This is now about your project' (ibid).

Smith's statement above, that 'only those with money are allowed to play', is similar to Bourdieu's notion of 'field' and 'players', as introduced in the last chapter, and this helps us understand the power relations involved in CBU. But Smith also makes a call to action. Buser et al. (2013) have explored how the role of cultural activism, defined as the combination of art, activism, performance and politics, is a vital part of place-making, and this is shown through the examples of the CBU I have examined in this chapter. Based upon my analysis of the case studies above, this chapter begins to move beyond the language within Urban Studies or

Geography about community projects to be able to fully understand CBU. We need different vocabularies, for I do not think that use values are less important than exchange values: indeed, the opposite is often the case. As Kearns (2006: p. 180) has argued 'if we are to understand the dangers of the current neo-liberal moment, then, the urban spaces we must study need to be animated by city life and not just fixed by city plan'. We must include use values and not allow city plans to be dictated solely by exchange values. Within the literature, to stake my position, I need to discuss values as non-dominant, or other, to contextualise it as separate to the more dominant, mainstream understandings of values as economic. This reifies the very problematic capitalocentric literatures and vocabularies that I am critiquing. Until Urban Studies and Geography accept and improve its utilisation of language, our conceptualisations remain trapped by this dilemma.

When discussing who is empowered to create, manage and benefit from CBU projects in neighbourhoods such as the south Docklands and Smithfield during a time of post-crisis austerity, one approach might be using place-frames and collective action framing. Martin (2003: p. 733) defines place-frames as 'how individuals organize experiences or make sense of events', and collective action framing is how a group's actions show their 'values, beliefs, and goals for some sort of change'. Place-frames pay attention to how people view places and can push them into acting on these motivations. Martin (ibid: p. 730) further argues that 'place provides an important mobilizing discourse and identity for collective action' (p. 730), as place-based collaborative activities require defining problems and goals of collective action. In this chapter, I was not able to explore such an approach because only two case studies were still open when I began research; MACG didn't

have regular users. I only had the opportunity to see how Smithfield residents responded to seeing the ATS creator during an interview, and experiencing the second iteration of Block T. This meant that my CBU research was somewhat limited, for, as described in Chapter 4, when trying to get at richer approaches to understand place-based meanings and synergies, participant observation and fieldnotes yield richer results than interviews. Nonetheless, my discussion of LU tributaries is a step forward in understanding the significance of the community-based work of these projects by paying attention to the meanings and experiences of CBU creators and users.

Chapter 7: Autonomous Urbanisms

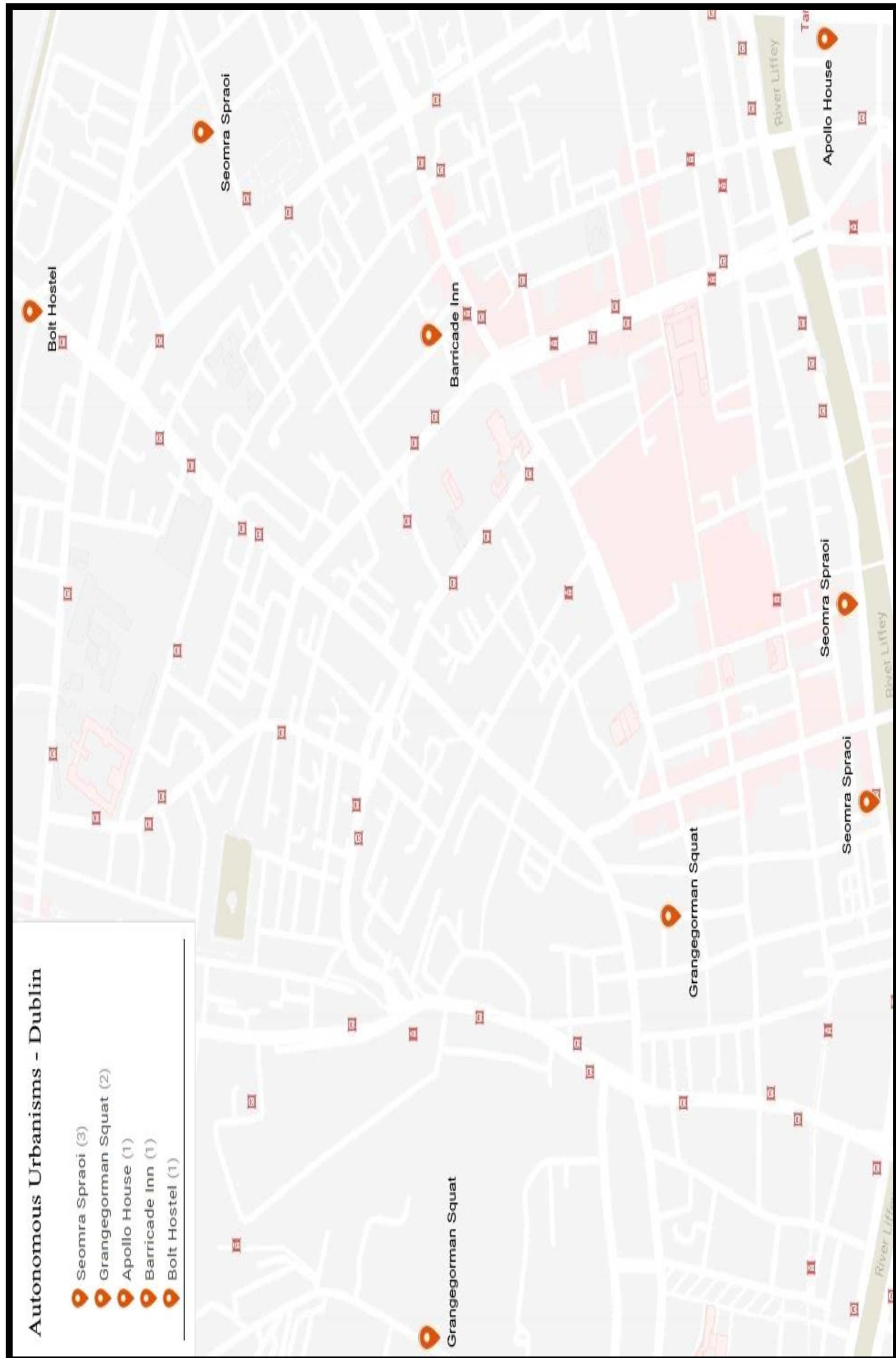


Image 7.1: Map of Autonomous Urbanisms.
Source: Author.

> 'These groups and everything, they do pop up again, they don't go away. That is what I mean with the "Whac-A-Mole" thing: they are brewing underground'.
>
> -- Grangegorman Squat interviewee, interview with author, Dublin, January 2017.

7.1: Introduction

In this quote above, a member of the Grangegorman Squat described the 'groups' (s)he is involved in, and how their presence remains even if the 'everything' they created is gone: as (s)he emphasises squats, people, activities 'don't go away' but remain 'underground'. By using the 'Whac-A-Mole' metaphor to discuss the process of network creation and place-making, (s)he refers to an arcade game, where the player hits a mole in one location, only for it to appear in another location, in a pattern unknown to the player. This metaphor epitomises the fundamental theme of this chapter: that networks are essential to the creation of the places that typify Autonomous Urbanisms (AU). Networks in this understanding might be the gameboard, an ongoing, variable, and even unpredictable field of connections. Members of the network can signify the holes, as they facilitate the rising of the moles, which represent the projects, activities and sometimes places that occur because of the existence of the holes. The 'moles' pop up for a while, disappear and can reappear elsewhere later on. The players can signify city authorities and landowners, often closing or hitting the moles away. Even if future projects are not obvious, they are still 'brewing underground', often through social media, as symbolised by the sound of the moles moving under the visible gameboard. As the player gains experience or a new player tries her/his hand, the mole will rise again

elsewhere. For this interviewee, places such as the Grangegorman Squat were important because they enabled network creation, which in turn led to the making of more places. It is this co-constitutive linkage between networks and places that will be one of the focuses of this chapter about Autonomous Urbanisms.

I argue that AU are the most unique type of Liquid Urbanisms. As suggested in Chapters 5 and 6, the Creative Urbanisms and Community-Based Urbanisms share some similarities, and there is a limited scholarly discussion of examples of these urbanisms, albeit without the specific focus of LU. In contrast, as I defined in Chapter 3, AU are independent places and projects which are organised outside of government and state control. Unlike CU and CBU which tend to have working relationships with institutions by necessity, and are at least somewhat recognised by some governing authorities, AU explicitly critique state structures for not carrying out necessary functions such as creating housing and social spaces for all residents. For Pickerill and Chatterton (2006) autonomy is a form of organising which looks outside of the government as a coordinating structure. Autonomous geographies weave together spaces and times, are relational, and create solidarity between groups across multiple spaces (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006). Chatterton (2010b), Vasedevan (2017), and Asara (2018) also explicitly relate autonomy to the commons, which I explore in Section 7.4. For Chatterton (2010b: p. 899), autonomy is always a partially fulfilled struggle, ‘a rejection of hierarchy and authoritarianism, and a belief in collective self-management’. ‘Autonomy’ means independence from control.

Perhaps for this reason, AU are largely not recognised by planning authorities and in many theories and models of the city. Within Ireland, there is

very little research about AU: ‘Autonomous geographies or autonomous social centres are not usually found in Irish urban landscapes and are not widely known by the Irish public’ (Carvalho, 2014: p. 450). However, my research demonstrates that there are always AU present in the city, as evidenced by the multiple autonomous social centres, squats and occupations in Dublin during the time of this study.

In this chapter, I examine AU as a type of Liquid Urbanism that is connected socially, temporally sequenced, and is spatially multi-nodal. AU are usually organised by groups of people or networks, and are connected to a wider shared activist landscape. Network members may move across urban spaces and call upon a diverse group of people when needed, such as in the event of the closure of a centre or squat; to prevent an eviction; or call attention to a political-social issue. AUists' motivations are diverse and include: creating spaces of solidarity and mutual support; connecting a range of people; to include resources and places; and using and building loose networks and relatively porous places to realise their goals which may span these networks. In other words, AU are not only physically present in the city, they have been already making, as well as imagining, an alternative to the existing neoliberal city.

The following five case studies are examples of the Autonomous Urbanisms thread described in this chapter:

- Seomra Spraoi (SS) (2004-2015): an autonomous social centre, located at Belvedere Court, which paid rent, had numerous facilities and had an anarchist political alignment (Sections 7.2 and 7.4);

- The Barricade Inn (TBI) (2015): an illegal squatted social centre, open while the Grangegorman Squat (GG) was temporarily closed and used as a meeting space for activist groups (Sections 7.2 and 7.4);
- The Grangegorman Squat (GG) (2012-2016): an illegal residential and open squat near Stoneybatter, on a site then in the remit of NAMA (Sections 7.2 and 7.4);
- Bolt Hostel (BH) (July 2015): an illegal occupation by the Irish Housing Network (IHN) to highlight the problem of homelessness and housing precarity in Ireland (Section 7.3); and,
- Apollo House (AH) (December 2016- January 2017): another illegal occupation to allow for the housing of homeless people, by a collaboration known as 'Home Sweet Home', consisting of the IHN, trade union members and artists (Section 7.3).

In this chapter I discuss these case studies according to three tributaries and how they intersect with Autonomous Urbanisms.

In Section 7.2, I outline the strongest AU tributary, *networks and places*, and highlight two connected features about autonomous centres and squats. Firstly, networks of people provide collective and personal resources, such as memories and legacies, which function as and/or influence these individuals' social capital. Secondly, their social capital, when taken together, may result in an ideal 'sense of place' which is not limited to one location, but represents a broader sense of belonging within autonomous anti-capitalist networks. I describe the interrelated AU network creation and place-making processes that led to the creation of SS, TBI and GG. Even though these three places were distinctive autonomous social centres

(SS and TBI) and squatting initiatives (GG), their existence offered continuity for members through a common political ideal of living autonomously in the city that was shared across a broader network. This ideal sense of place was linked through a common network and manifested through different spatial contexts across time.

Then in Section 7.3, I outline the tributary of *values and urban commons*. I argue that past work on projects contributes to future successes of initiatives in at least two ways. Firstly, through lessons learned, particular experiences, new knowledges produced, and multiple connections, 'immaterial infrastructures' (O'Callaghan and Di Felciantonio, 2017) are brought from previous occupations to new projects. These infrastructures are not necessarily tied to physical expressions of timespace, but create new bonds and connections which activists bring to a project. I illustrate this argument through the example of the Irish Housing Network, which created BH, and, through the lessons learned with that project, launched another, subsequent project, AH, which was more successful. Secondly, I contend that through these infrastructures and also through anti-capitalist agendas, urban commons may be created. Again I turn to the interrelated case studies of BH and AH to discuss how these commons were founded, produced and reproduced through collaboration, and offered livelihood qualities based on alternative value systems rather than the commodification of property.

7.2: Autonomous Centres and Squats: Shared Networks and The Creation of an Ideal Sense of Place

For Gastone (2008: n/a) autonomous social centres are 'an oasis' within the 'desert' of capitalism. They offer 'strategic glimpses' of what an anti-capitalist future can look like (Chatterton, 2010d: p. 1219). Hodkinson and Chatterton (2006) note the long history of autonomous social centres in Europe, in particular in Italy (Di Felciantonio, 2016, 2017; Mudu, 2009), Spain (Martínez and San Juan, 2014), Germany (Holm and Kuhn, 2011), and Greece (Arampatzi, 2016), most of which can be traced back to the 1970s and the Italian 'Autonomia' movement which emerged as a result of social deprivation and the occupation of disused factories (Hodkinson and Chatterton).

Autonomous centres in the UK are explicitly linked to Bey's (1991) concept of the Temporary Autonomous Zone (TAZ) (Hodkinson and Chatterton, 2006), which raise some themes I describe below for the case of Dublin. Bey describes the TAZ as temporary spaces that are outside of state control and which exist based on non-hierarchal structures. A TAZ is 'an uprising which does not engage directly with the State, a guerrilla operation which liberates an area . . . and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it' (Bey: p. 3). Similar to the opening quote of this chapter and the autonomous centres I describe below, the TAZ will reappear in a different form elsewhere before the state can destroy it. However, central to the concept of a TAZ is that it has a temporary but actual location in both time and space. This multiplicity is similar to Crang's notion of timespace. The TAZ 'embraces the dynamic power of the ephemeral' (Ingham et al.,

1999: p. 289), as TAZs are not meant to be necessarily permanent but to provide the potential for change.

In Chatterton and Pickerill's (2010) survey of autonomous social centres in the UK and Ireland, Seomra Spraoi (SS) was the only Irish case study included, illustrating its importance as an autonomous space in Ireland. Below, I extend this scholarly research about European autonomous centres through my focus on two autonomous centres, SS (2004-2015) and The Barricade Inn (TBI) (March-November 2015). I also discuss one of the largest squats in Europe, the Grangegorman Squat (GG) (2013-2016). These three case studies embody what Vasudevan (2015) described as the autonomous city, a city formed by squats and social centres that exist as: a housing practice, social movement of sorts, and set of identities. I argue that these non-capitalist and activist social places emerged from iterative place-making processes, and provided continuity for members through networks across time, even though the actual locations and material expressions of these political-social-economic spaces varied.

My data stems from in-depth interviews, social media analysis, participant observation and informal conversations during 2014-2018. Firstly, I claim that AU members may create, squat or occupy different locales at different moments in time, which result in different social venues that become associated with a single network. Secondly, although AU venues may be short-lived, the values, meanings, memories and symbols of their shared homes and alternative communities existing in non-capitalist spaces remain, thereby contributing to a larger over-arching shared 'sense of place' (Agnew, 1987). Finally, the experiences and symbols of AU

places contribute to an ideal political sense of belonging for a network's or movement's members.

7.2.1. Dublin's Autonomous Social Centres and Squats

The definition of an autonomous social centre is 'a point of contact, a source of resources and information and a base for skills and knowledge sharing' (Indymedia, 2007: n/a). This definition, however, does not indicate that AU centres may shift venues, yet maintain continuity with members and shared goals, a common shared AU spatial quality I found in Dublin.

Seomra Spraoi (SS), for example, was an autonomous social centre and collectively organised social space that existed in multiple venues in central Dublin for more than ten years. First opened in 2004 in Ormond Quay (Dublin 7), SS existed in three locations, moving to Mary's Abbey (Dublin 1), and finally to its main location, Belvedere Court (Dublin 1). In July 2015 SS was no longer able to pay its rent (which it had gathered from holding social and fund-raising events there) and closed. A remnant of SS still exists in the alternative community centre Jigsaw in North Dublin, which is located in the former SS Belvedere Court location. Many of those involved in establishing, organising and running SS had previously worked together through the Dublin Grassroots Network, an anarchist alliance which protested the EU summit in 2004 (Indymedia, 2008).

SS was the location for many activist groups to hold their meetings, over 20 groups according to Indymedia (2008), such as the: Abortion Rights Campaign, Workers Solidarity Movement, Revolutionary Anarcha-Feminist group, Anti-Racism Network, Shell to Sea, and the Dublin Basque Solidarity Committee, among others.

Donations from groups for using the space were welcome, but groups were not penalised because of a lack of money. While open, SS offered many facilities for members and guests in each of its three venues, including: a vegan café, cinema, a music venue, bad books library, crafts space, bicycle repair workshops, internet access and an anarchist information centre. Fundamental to SS and connected to the anarchist principles of mutual aid and cooperation (which I outline in Section 7.4), was the creation of 'networks of support and friendship' (Seomra Spraoi, 2015a: n/a). In other words, the social and cultural spaces of SS were created in response to a perceived sense of 'growing alienation [by its members] from the soulless expansion of the city and the commercialisation of urban space' (Provisional University, 2014: n/a).

From March 2015, when SS was facing eviction, another centre, The Barricade Inn (TBI) was organised (Seomra Spraoi, 2015a). A group of SS members, including people who were part of the Grangegorman Squat described below, occupied a former guesthouse called Neary's Hotel on Parnell Street, which, in 2015, had been vacant for 12-13 years (The Barricade Inn Squatters, 2015).[2] Similar to SS, TBI was a radical autonomous social place, maintaining many of the same functions, including: an open social space for activists, vegan café, film screening space, computer rooms, a library, anarchist information shop, free shop (an exchange programme of bringing unwanted items and/or swapping for other unwanted items), bike workshops and squatter information nights. TBI was also

[2] The building was historically important, used by Irish volunteers in the 1916 Rising as a 'discreet safe house' (The Barricade Inn Squatters, 2015: n/a), and there are accounts of Michael Collins visiting there in February 2016 (Good, 1914-1916).

similar to SS by offering squatters in Dublin ‘a base’ to meet up and create networks of support through engagement (Squatters at the Barricade Inn, 2015; McDermott, 2017: n/a). When TBI closed in November 2015 on the threat of eviction, some of the squatters moved to the Grangegorman Squat, contributing to ‘the young and ever-growing squatting movement’ in Dublin (Squat.net, 2015: n/a).

The Grangegorman Squat (2013-2016) (GG), nicknamed ‘Squat City’, was a mixture between an autonomous social centre and a squat, in that it included a residential area but also functioned as a social centre with open days and public events. GG was described as ‘the truly most interesting thing happening in the city right now’ (Mullaly, 2015: n/a), and this is clear from Images 7.2 to 7.5, how GG was a vibrant space full of life. Similar to the examples of SS and TBI, GG offered an alternative to the profit-driven model dominating Irish public space (Power and Phoenix, 2017). It was described as ‘an anomaly in the heart of Dublin, a breath of fresh air’ by one member (Grangegorman Squat Interview with the author, 2017, hereafter G1).

Images 7.2-7.5: Grangegorman Squat (2016).

Source: Author.

Squat City had three distinct phases:

1. August 2013-July 2015: GG was possibly one of the largest squats in Europe at the time, according to Squat.net (2016), a website for squatters, showing how well-known GG was in the European squatting scene at that time. It was home to approximately 30 people before they were evicted, following which security was installed on the site by Luke Charlton, the receiver who oversaw the site on behalf of NAMA (Healy, 2015).
2. Early 2016-August 2016: Despite the security measures, GG squatters moved back in, as they knew that the injunction which had formerly been in place was now rendered void by the change of ownership. The squatters tried to repair some of the facilities damaged during the eviction to restart the functions the squat previously had.
3. 29 August 2016: After being evicted a second time, some residents moved to Halston Road, about a kilometre away from their previous home at Grangegorman, to squat in an old debtor's prison owned by the Office of Public Works (OPW) (Workers Solidarity Movement, 2016b). They left less than two weeks later on threat of eviction and on the grounds of safety.

During the first two phases of its existence, the GG squat had many cultural facilities and, similar to SS and TBI, was a venue for activists and grassroots groups to meet. Residents living nearby ran a community garden on the site.

In addition, GG offered the general public services, such as access to gig space, a free shop, and an art gallery, and provided acting workshops. GG also interacted with the local population through open days that included circuses, acting, and spoken performances called 'Words in the Warehouse'. GG was liked by

neighbours, even if their politics were not understood (McDermott, 2017). The squat was described as 'buzzing with potential. And I don't mean for property developers. I mean as a genuine creative hub' (Power and Phoenix, 2017: p. 217). The authors continue: 'there was a vitality there—something missing in the glittery, profit-oriented, consumerist hellhole that is so much of Dublin—and it won't be easily stamped out' (ibid).

7.2.2. Loose Networks and Relational Place-Making in Dublin's Autonomous Landscapes

I make two arguments about the networks and places of autonomous centres and squats. Firstly, AU networks are 'loose' (Mc Farlane, 2011), meaning they are open and responsive to the political motivations of its members. Moreover, while the creation of loose networks can be irregular, the place-making processes which emerge from these supportive coalitions have symbolic value that exceeds their most recent articulation as a squat, occupation or social centre. Secondly, and this is a connected point, the previous connections, politics, materialities and memories, or AU 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1984), also influence how that new place is made. Any 'new' place has an already 'familiar' sense of place for network members. Each iteration of AU builds on previous centres and squats, as lessons learnt and connections made from one project are brought to the next initiative, creating an idealised place that depicts a radical alternative way of urban living, namely, in solidarity with others. The AU described above are all examples of relational place-making in action.

To argue the first point, I call attention to the succession of autonomous spaces and squats in relation to each other; as each tries to fill the gap left by the closure of the last project a sense of continuity is established. Before the opening of SS, for example, the Grassroots Alliance had created the Magpie Squat in the early 2000s, an autonomous space located in a building on Leeson Street that had been empty for 10 years. The squat facilitated meetings for a number of groups, housed the Bad Books Library (later reopened at SS and TBI), and was a creative venue for performances and a garden. When the Magpie Squat closed in 2004, the Dublin Grassroots Alliance moved to the Una Warehouse, which had similar facilities, all of which would later be modelled in the SS structure. In other words, members of the Magpie Squat and the Grassroots Alliance learned lessons about supporting non-capitalist ways of life and maintaining positive well-being for residents while open, but also about the importance of solidarity in relation to eviction attempts (Indymedia, 2004). Many individuals who lived in the Magpie Squat and then the Una Warehouse brought this knowledge and experience to the creation and running of SS. In turn, SS, influenced the existence and future of autonomous centres in Dublin.

My research provides evidence that SS created a safe and supportive environment for those involved in squatting and anarchist practices: people could gather, socialise, and learn from one another, as well as meet indviduals affiliated with other groups. At SS, people informally encountered acquaintances and friends, as well as strangers, over coffee or a meal, or by attending cultural events and workshops. For its members and guests, SS was an alternative to the pub-based culture so prevalent in Ireland. It offered:

> 'a focal point for social movements, and a resource centre for people who are trying to make the world a better place . . . It is a centre for debate and the exchange of ideas. In a society where people are increasingly isolated and exploited, it can be a space of creativity and a hub of positive resistance. It is a point of contact for anyone interested in reclaiming the ability to shape our society' (Seomra Spraoi, 2015a: n/a).

At the time, SS was one of the few autonomous social venues in Dublin offering people a range of cultural, social, economic and political opportunities, or 'space-time bundles' (Pierce et al., 2011), through which they could feel supported. People were also able to network in ways that furthered their individual and affiliated group's goals. In the context of both the Celtic Tiger years and following post-crisis austerity, the presence and support of SS was, and remains for those who experienced it, unusual: few sites exist(ed) that were inexpensive, even free if necessary, for groups and members to use. SS created 'a sense of ownership – it's kind of like the space belongs to everyone and no one' (Provisional University, 2014b: n/a). Although there was often a core team involved, 'in all cases there is also a wide network of people without which spaces would simply not happen. So what you're talking about is creating collectively, or creating in common' (ibid). Not only were the core team essential to the creation and maintenance of projects, but wider networks supported their larger goals. When SS closed, I argue that TBI, and later GG, filled the lacuna left in the anarchist and activist landscape of Dublin.

Between the first and second stages of GG outlined above, TBI was created and many of the first GG evictees became involved in TBI in the interim period: 'the group went to The Barricade Inn or many of them would have opened The Barricade Inn at the top of O'Connell Street' (GG1, 2017). The move of people from TBI to GG exemplifies how autonomous networks are mobile and multi-nodal, but

maintain continuity. AU places, in other words, are not tied to place through a particular location, but through the network of squatters and activists who share social spaces, or locales, and a sense of solidarity. Members understand that squats exist as material expressions in different locations at different times, even as squatters admit they: 'don't know where and when we shall pop up again, but expect us! ' (Resist Grangegorman's Eviction Facebook Page, 2016: n/a). AU members also look 'forward to future struggles and adventures with many new friends and comrades we've made' (ibid). These quotes from the statement released at the end of the last phase of GG show the fluid but enduring nature of a sense of collectivity that emerges through a shared network, not one location: their place is where their 'comrades' are involved.

GG was also a beacon for activists more broadly in Dublin. As I noted in a previous blog post (Mc Ardle, 2016), I attended an event at the Violet Gibson Centre at GG. The Violet Gibson Centre was at the time Ireland's newest autonomous social centre, and the squatters wanted it to run independently from the residential function of GG, and to build on the lessons of SS and TBI (Grangegorman Squat, 2016). Once again we can see the link to other autonomous spaces being made explicit by the squatters. While there, I attended a film screening of *United in Anger,* a documentary about ACT UP, an HIV/AIDS activist group and their work in the US in the 1980s and 1990s (personal fieldnotes, 16 April 2016). The main outcome of the night was the relaunch of ACT UP Dublin, a group dedicated to fighting the HIV/AIDS crisis, which was (and still is) focused on getting the preventative drug PREP available publicly in Ireland. The GG squat allowed not only squatters but also supporters to attend events like this film screening and

launch, and to be used by not-for-profit projects to bring people together around important issues, such as, in this example, the HIV/AIDS crisis.

All three case studies mentioned above, SS, TBI and GG, provided a supportive venue for activists to use for little or no money before, during and after the times that they occupied physical structures. These AU offered residents a link to a 'network of underground escape tunnels from the beigeness' of the rest of Dublin (Mullaly, 2015: n/a). These initiatives also provided an open venue for discussion about squatting, giving people an opportunity to make connections. Indeed, many of the GG squatters originally met at SS, or TBI, or prior to these centres, through other groups like the Magpie Collective. Following their closure, GG and TBI were noted as holding nostalgia for all Dublin squatters, as almost everyone in the squatting community 'retains some link to the place' (McDermott, 2017: n/a).

Whereas residential squats are limited, as they, by necessity, must remain under the radar, limiting who can visit (GG1, 2017, interview with author), autonomous social centres, such as SS, TBI, and the Violet Gibson Centre at GG, are not and instead provide a venue for a broader public to socially interact in non-capitalist venues. Free or cheap locations to use, as I have previously noted, are increasingly rare in Dublin (cf Mullaly, 2015), and in my own activism, having attended meetings in buildings lent by city councils, in NGO buildings, in pubs and in cafes, I have noted this lack of availability.

One notable exception is Jigsaw, in the former SS building. This is the latest permutation in the narrative of autonomous spaces in Dublin. Jigsaw continues to serve as a key social space for members of the Irish Housing Network (IHN), a group

I discuss in Section 7.3, as well as for other activist, radical, and social justice groups. Similar to SS, Jigsaw is open for gigs and meetings, such as the independent newspaper Rabble, the online radio station Dublin Digital Radio, and other groups supporting migrant and refugee rights. It is run by one person who is not explicitly anarchist.

Shaw has highlighted how alternative spaces shift and reappear in the city, and this is part of their power (2005). Even as legal and financial pressures have forced the closure of these case studies and related projects mentioned above, the network remains, as well as the ideal type of place, the autonomous social centre, and this is key to the future of places such as SS and now Jigsaw. The autonomous social centre and/or squat does not exist as a location in Cartesian space nor according to a linear concept of time, but rather, reappears, like the 'mole' in the opening excerpt, in unexpected ways, locations and moments. Members' use of social media (Squat.net and Facebook) not only protects the privacy of these projects but also necessitates that you would have to be 'in the know' to recognise the location of these places. Thus, the network is both virtual and physical, which makes it easy to contact large masses of people quickly, in times of eviction, calls for solidarity *or* when creating new initiatives.

Secondly, the memories, connections and links between the places contribute to the ideal sense of place and belonging. One interviewee went to TBI as a visitor and felt compelled to get involved: 'I had been hanging around there [TBI] with friends regularly and eventually decided that I might as well directly participate in the running of the Barricade [Inn] rather than observing from the sidelines' (TBI member, interview with author, hereafter TBI1, 2016). As the

participant used TBI, (s)he became enticed to get involved more, and contributed to the ongoing making of the centre as a porous place. (S)he noted first hearing about TBI through his/her involvement with the Worker's Solidarity Movement (WSM), an anarchist organisation that extensively covers the entire range of anarchist actions in Ireland through social media (Workers Solidarity Movement, 2018) and which held their meetings as TBI (and now do so at Jigsaw). As part of his/her work with WSM, (s)he visited TBI, made connections, and got more involved with TBI. This member began organising and living there, and became active in contributing to that place, as an autonomous centre. TBI, as founded upon network creation, speaks to Seamon's concept of place as a 'synergistic relationality', whereby the distinct aspects of a place become related to its other aspects, which together build up to create a particular sense of place. Pred's work (1984) on how the historically contingent paths of individuals (here this person's own activism with the WSM) may intersect with networks (TBI) and the paths of larger projects (autonomous centres in the city) is also a way of understanding relational place-making.

This participant also mentioned the continuity of traces (Anderson, 2010; Till, 2005), including material items, social spaces and symbolic presences, and lived experiences connecting autonomous centres. Often activists bring physical parts or remnants of the older place to the new place as a kind of landmark for the shared sense of place which furthers the symbolic and memory connections between places (Pierce et al., 2011). (S)he noted that a lot of the TBI furniture came from SS; after TBI ended the squatters gave this furniture to Jigsaw. TBI squatters took the facilities for the vegan café and supplies for the library from SS, also later giving these to Jigsaw when TBI closed. The interviewee mentioned that the gig room at

TBI was called the 'disco disco' room, but that s(he) couldn't remember why. From other sources, I later learned that this name referred to the Disco Disco Squat, created in 2003 by a historic group of activists, 'Autonomous Community Spaces', who occupied a building on Parnell Street which had been vacant for 11 years. Many of the people involved in 'Autonomous Community Spaces' later became involved in the Magpie Squat and Seomra Spraoi (Indymedia, 2008). The memories of projects, networks and members therefore continue through these objects physically in current and future AU spaces and places.

There was a network of people involved not only in creating a particular AU project, such as TBI, but also in supporting and contributing to it. For example, TBI and SS were funded entirely by volunteers and donations collected at gigs and specific fundraisers. One person involved in TBI noted that:

> 'We found that most people are happy to donate their money. Some little, some quite a lot. Tangential to this, lots of people enthusiastically offered their skills, time, or various materials. People will willingly contribute to something they think is worthwhile' (TBI1, 2016).

This quote shows the importance of the connections between people in and beyond AU, which are created through the choices individual actors make; those choices affect the distinct conditions Auists exist in (Pierce et al., 2011). Moreover, as these members explain, networks are relational, ongoing and lived (Mc Farlane, 2011). For this interviewee,

> 'It [TBI] was a political project because we saw it as much more than occupying a building for ourselves or for cultural enrichment. We saw it as part of the wider struggle against all the systems of power which ruin people's lives, such as capitalism, the state, sexism, racism, queerphobia, and ableism' (TBI1, 2016).

This quote demonstrates how TBI as ‘a political project’, as ‘part of the wider struggle against all the systems of power’ was rooted in its connections to other social movements. TBI was about more than creating a safe place for squatters or activists, it also responded to broader injustices in the city.

This TBI interviewee further described the links of AU to the broader activist movements in Ireland. When mentioning Bolt Hostel (which I discuss in Section 7.3 of this chapter), (s)he described the ‘*Zeitgeist*’, which is related to what I would consider the ‘sense of place’, associated with the squatting and housing activist scene:

> ‘That [The Bolt Hostel] hints at what was going on in Dublin at the time, the *Zeitgeist* of housing struggles, which hasn’t ceased since. Of course I particularly felt this was the *Zeitgeist*, myself being embedded within the squatting scene! But this was the time when housing activism was really beginning to kick off. I remember predicting in 2014 that housing would be the next big grassroots and direct action movement after the water charges, and the torch was being passed at this time, though the water charges struggle was in full flight . . . There really was a feeling that the political wheels were turning and people in Ireland were fighting back. Other big events included the Marriage Referendum being won [in 2015], and the subsequent Dublin Pride’ (ibid).

Those involved in autonomous social centres were often also participating in the housing movement, and this is the ‘Zeitgeist’ the activist discusses here. This quote illustrates that alliances between AU, which build up networks of solidarity and people, are shared across various sites as a distinct sense of belonging and of creating a unique shared ‘sense of place’ together.

Similar to SS and TBI, GG provided a venue for community and activist groups to meet, ‘where they could just go and do their thing without having to pay for it’ (GG1, 2017). GG was successful because it created an ideal autonomous

Squat City. ‘Within Dublin a lot of the other squats in Dublin would have used it as a place to meet. It had 20 other squatters there as well and they would have been involved in other places themselves before that and after it’ (ibid). GG acted as a place where these squatters with shared interests could come together and discuss related issues. This former Grangegorman squatter also noted how (s)he missed the sociality and connection of the squat: ‘I am in a squat now but it is just a residential thing. It looks like a normal house and you kind of miss the social aspect’ (ibid). For this interviewee, GG helped ‘create a culture, in the DIY fashion, to make squatting acceptable and stuff, and to encourage people’ (ibid). For this Auist, (s)he saw the project of making squatting acceptable, of creating a distinctive culture, as ongoing.

Although each of the projects I discussed here were created either immediately before or after another initiative closed, I understand this sequence of moving venues as providing continuity for an ideal AU sense of place: there was never a time from 2004-2016 where there wasn’t an example of autonomous geographies in Dublin. In some way, this continues into 2018 with Jigsaw as I have suggested above, as well as with other squats and centres that I am not familiar with. For Seamon, the power of place is rooted in the connection between different parts of places, or bundling of space-time trajectories, that, when taken together makes places so dynamic. The squat/autonomous centres described above provide important social, economic, political and cultural places in the city, which people miss when these places are no longer present. The closure of any AU project leaves a cultural and artistic void not only for squatters but also for supporters and activists who also enjoy the co-presence of members and guests, as well as the access to resources Auists created. SS, TBI and GG were alternative places of

belonging in the city, connected through shared networks and an overall ideal of an autonomous place. This ideal is not tied to a location per se, but to the continuity of these networks and the energy and politics resulting from the iterative process of AU place-making by its members.

7.3: Values and Urban Commons: Immaterial Infrastructures

My discussion about the importance of networks, shared resources and an ideal sense of place for AU has already introduced the significance of alternative values and shared spaces. In this section, through the lens of a network and two of its projects, I emphasise the tributary of alternative values and urban commons using Bolt Hostel (BH) (July-August 2015) and Apollo House (AH) (December 2016-January 2017) as the case studies. Both BH and AH were occupations organised by the IHN, the Irish Housing Network, who were influenced by and had direct contact with the PAH, *Plataforma de afectados por la hipoteca Madrid*, movement in Spain. The IHN is an umbrella organisation formed in May 2015, encapsulating over 21 grassroots housing activist groups that share a common goal of tackling the housing crisis by combating both housing precarity and homelessness. These member groups include organisations based on: location, for example in North Dublin the 'North Dublin Bay Housing Crisis Committee'; by at risk populations, or those more likely to be negatively affected by austerity and thus more vulnerable to housing insecurity, for example, 'S.P.A.R.K.' (Single Parents Acting for the Rights of our Kids); or national groups trying to end the housing crisis, such as 'Homeless fightback'. Many of these groups were already formed when the IHN was established. The IHN has eight basic

principles, and argue that housing is a right, regardless of income, and that individuals most affected by housing issues should be the driving force behind the movement (Irish Housing Network, 2017).

Two of the IHN's larger projects were BH and AH, both which carved 'temporary permanences' (following Harvey, 1996) in the neoliberal landscape of Dublin during a time defined by austerity politics. After introducing each, I make two main arguments in this section. Firstly, I argue that the work on BH contributed to the success of AH as a project. The IHN learned lessons from the volunteer network and the choice of building, as well as smaller aspects such as the investments of a social media presence and security. For example, both buildings were strategically selected due to their previous formal use as part of the Irish social protection system; both remained vacant in 2017 following the occupations. Secondly, I interpret BH and AH as urban commons. Evidence for this section emerged from in-depth participant observation of IHN, semi-structured interviews and a volunteer survey conducted by both myself and the Irish Housing Network research team, ethnographic participant observation at AH, and social media analysis from 2015-2018.

7.3.1. Bolt Hostel and Apollo House as Strategic Activist Housing Occupations

Bolt Hostel (BH) was a direct action occupation with an explicit goal to provide housing for homeless people. The building activists targeted to take over was 'Bolton Hostel', a former Dublin City Council (DCC) hostel for homeless people that closed in 2011 and was empty for more than three years when the IHN occupied it. The renamed 'Bolt Hostel' was open for three weeks in July 2015, and housed

homeless people on an ad hoc basis, but the IHN admit that this did not happen on the scale they had hoped (Kavanagh, 2016).

As public support grew for BH, DCC started a dialogue with the IHN to ascertain their demands. The IHN stated it wanted the building used to house homeless people, or if this was unacceptable, for another building to be found (Farrell, 2015). In response, DCC tentatively agreed to a possible partnership in the future; after a fire inspection, they declared the building dangerous and threatened to bring an injunction order against members of the IHN on the grounds of the health and safety of the building. The IHN left BH in August 2015.

In December 2016, the IHN followed up BH with the occupation of Apollo House, located in the former Department for Social Protection building, which at the time was managed by the NAMA which I discussed in Chapter 1. AH was similarly appropriated to shelter homeless people, but this time the IHN worked with the trade unions Mandate and UNITE, and artists Hozier, Glen Hansard, Jim Sheridan and Damien Dempsey, to create a collaboration known as 'Home Sweet Home' (HSH). HSH successfully housed over 40 people a night for almost 30 days, provided for many more outside the facility in terms of non-housing resources, and succeeded in securing 6-month beds for 76 people. AH was orchestrated entirely by a large volunteer network, which relied on donated goods and money (Holland, 2017), and included people who were not members of the core HSH groups.

Partly influenced by the overwhelming public support for AH, the Irish government promised AH residents adequate accommodation in negotiations. The residents agreed to leave after an injunction order against AH residents was granted, but with a stay of execution to allow adequate accommodation to be

found. Many AH residents felt that the accommodation offered them was unsuitable and returned to AH. This led to a standoff that lasted until January 11 2017 (images 7.6-7.7), when the residents were rehoused in suitable temporary accommodation.

A FREE COUNTRY
IF YOUR RICH ENOUGH
HOME APOLLOHOUSE
#SWEET #SIMPLESIMON
HOME

Images 7.6-7.7: Outside of AH on final day, January 2017.

Source: Author.

7.3.2. The Material and Immaterial Infrastructures of Bolt Hostel and Apollo House

The IHN credit the success of AH to their network, which had been built up since its foundation in May 2015 and soon resulted in BH in July 2015 (Broadsheet, 2017). Both projects highlighted the incongruity of vacant buildings during a housing and homelessness crisis, which homelessness levels at 5,000 at the time of BH, with 90,000 on housing waiting lists (Costelloe, 2015).

The IHN highlighted how simple a solution could be, by using the network of volunteers to get both buildings habitable. The projects were realised by a shared network of supporters, and had similar experiences with media, security and choice of building. For example, when BH opened in July 2015, volunteer tradesmen became involved very quickly to bring the building to a safe standard for low cost: 'the IHN hadn't a cent to put into the Bolt, everything was donated' (Conlon, 2015: n/a). The result was that with volunteers, the IHN:

> 'made a building that [was] disused [and] vacant for over 3 years liveable, they decorated the rooms, got furniture for the rooms, electricity worked throughout the building, there was running water throughout the building, working showers with hot water, cookers and they helped house homeless people' (ibid).

This example demonstrates also practices of anti-capitalism. For Solnit (2016: p. 17), 'vast amounts of how we live our lives is non capitalist or even anti-capitalist'.

As already mentioned above, the IHN brought the successful lessons of the original project to the later project. AH was built by a network of supporters and activists, some of whom became involved in the IHN through their volunteer work from the BH. In a similar way to BH, people started to volunteer to work at and offer resources to AH once the word spread about the occupation. Overall 4,000

people signed up to volunteer (Holland, 2015). The direct action of occupying, renovating and volunteering while projects were open also brought people together in solidarity for both projects. According to one BH member: 'We have learned hard tasks can be achieved by people when they come together and fight and struggle for it'; and 'the Bolt brought people together in struggle against the state' (ibid). Other commentators wrote that BH stood as an 'emblem of resistance in the face of the worst housing crises Ireland has seen in decades' (Costello, 2015: n/a).

Some interviewees mentioned their previous work with the IHN, either through BH or in other ways. One example of this is AH volunteer interviewee 2, who had been involved with the IHN for a year before AH happened. This person set up a housing group in their own area after hearing about the IHN, explaining that:

> 'There's one [member group] from North Wicklow, there's one from Galway, and so those [groups] are keen to actually get involved in the housing network; it gives us [the IHN] a wider base. Primarily we were Dublin-based, and then we had one group in Wicklow and one group in Kildare and that was essentially the spread of the network. Now we have interested groups in Cork and Belfast and so on. So, there's a capacity for us to grow in that respect' (AH2, 2017).

The IHN modelled the structure of AH on BH, as they drew from direct experience of security aspects and choosing residents (Murphy and Kapila, 2015). Also both BH and AH were run non-hierarchically (Bowman, 2017), but of course this cannot always be the case in reality. Occurrences of this were noted in my personal fieldnotes. One example included a particularly stressful incident between two volunteers that led to a heated discussion regarding authority and power within AH. Yet shortly after, I noted the same two people embracing:

> '10 minutes later, with no apology as far as I could see, they were hugging. It was a highly tense situation. They were just blowing steam off at each other, but still cared about each other a lot' (personal fieldnotes, 9 January 2017).

Another interviewee agreed that AH had to be loose, but noted that without a hierachical structure, there were downsides to that (AH4, 2017). Though the project was not perfect, the network delivered an effective intervention into the housing crisis in Ireland. Through BH and AH, members and volunteers became aware of an inclusive, open network and were given a chance to contribute to a national housing movement. People felt a sense of fellowship from this, as the following quotes illustrate: '[I]t was just absolutely lovely, like, just "Wooooowwwww, we're all together in this!"' (AH1, 2017). Or: '[I]t just kind of exploded, loads of people wanted to take part and like myself just said I'll come down and lend a hand and it was massive within a couple of days' (AH3,2017). This inspired many people:

> 'I think the legacy is that anything is really possible when ordinary people come together and care about each other . . . it actually was a privilege to be part of it, you know, that's what I felt. Not only was it kind of history in the making . . . it was kind of an opportunity to just feel "My god, we're all in this together, we're all in the one boat!" And if we look out for each other . . . solidarity . . . and if we look out for each other something can happen and there's still magic' (AH1, 2017).

Further some volunteers felt empowered: 'Friends who weren't necessarily political beforehand -- it definitely helped politicise them in some way' (AH2, 2017). Other volunteers who had more previous experience of activism mentioned their experience in the water movement (AH3 and AH4, 2017), with one mentioning how the movement was not *just* about water, which signifies that this involvement, and

the later work with AH, was a broader contestation against austerity urbanism in Dublin.

A clear lineage in drawing upon the experience of BH to AH was the careful choice of building for an occupation. For BH, choosing a former DCC hostel meant that: ‘It’s about showing up Dublin City Council. We take a building ourselves, put it in good condition, fix it up, show that it can be done, even with very limited resources like ours’ (Agnew, 2015: n/a). The building remained empty in August 2018 (Kapila, 2018). For the AH building, which was vacated in 2015 (Duffy, 2016) and managed by NAMA, the decision by HSH to occupy it was to highlight the number of buildings held in semi-public ownership at a time that homelessness was on the rise. AH was ‘not exactly owned by NAMA but NAMA owned the loans against it, they were secured. So, in essence, the taxpayers owned it’ (AH1, 2017). Similar to the strategic selection of BH, the choice to occupy this building by the IHN was deliberate, including: ‘the fact as well it was on top of the old social welfare office. That was a nice little poetic irony’ (AH2, 2017). In media reports and social media activity, the occupation of this building drew attention to the level of vacancy and underutilised space in Dublin, with the levels of homelessness passing 7,000 by January 2017 (Brennan, 2017).

In addition the IHN learned from BH about the value of media presence and exposure at the early stages of the project to gain public support. As one interviewee commented: ‘I think the media did something positive, it got this issue in the public’ (AH4, 2017). However, one major difference between the occupations was the formation of the HSH coalition for AH. The involvement of celebrities meant that AH hit the national media much sooner and in a more impactful way

than BH. The celebrity endorsement of HSH certainly helped bolster volunteer and public support for the campaign. As one volunteer noted, AH:

> 'had an awful lot of unexpected support from different quarters and particularly the amount of people that were ringing up and . . . I remember different stages going in to AH and when you'd go in, any car that was passing, any people that were passing you'd always get the thumbs up and it seemed like the whole city and not just the city, all over, was all behind it' (AH1, 2017).

This is not to say that this collaboration of HSH was flawless; indeed there was many criticisms levelled at HSH in terms of funding accountability and the celebrity aspect (Mannix Flynn, in Ní Aodha, 2017). Moreover, not all collaborating organisations had similar goals and ways of organising, which inevitably led to some conflicts. Although AH had its critics most of the media reports were overwhelmingly positive (Holland, 2017; Bowman, 2017; Workers Solidarity Movement, 2016b and 2017; Finnan, 2017; Mullaly, 2017; CNN, 2016; Al Jazeera, 2017). Overall, commentators noted at the time that AH was well received by the Irish public: '[O]ccupations have sprung up and fizzled out over the past year . . . but with . . . the big names behind it, this one could have staying power' (Fitzgerald 2016: n/a).

I have argued that the IHN took lessons from BH and applied these to AH, which contributed to the latter's success. Lynch (2017: n/a) pointed to the importance of the IHN in the process of creating this project, and convincingly claimed that:

> '[T]he occupation of Apollo House did not come out the blue, but grew out of years of experience of similar occupations and resistance . . . Strong social movements such as this do not materialize out of thin air. Instead, they are the results of the slow, painstaking work of organizing and movement-building, and the construction of

> allegiances between networks of pre-existing groups with similar goals and aspirations'.

This quote indicates how the immaterial infrastructures built over months and years by IHN, through BH and other actions, resulted in the success of AH. IHN members, city inhabitants, and other volunteers learned how to work together in a positive way through past collaborations (Simone, 2004: p. 407-408) and brought these links to a new project. This knowledge is shared by doing, a process that Simone highlights by referring to the role of people as 'infrastructure', which is the 'ability of residents to engage complex combinations of objects, spaces, persons and practices' (p. 407-408).

People are aware of various spatial, residential, economic and transactional contexts and can learn how to work within these contexts through: 'traces of past collaboration and an implicit willingness to interact with one another in ways that draw on multiple social positions' (Simone, p. 408). People learn to use the resources and possibilities available to them, which are mobile, provisional and unevenly distributed. This 'immaterial infrastructure' remains invisible unless we broaden our understanding of what infrastructure is, to include use values, social capital, emotional labour, and other forms of people power.

7.3.2. Bolt Hostel and Apollo House as Urban Commons

Vasudevan (2015, 2017) argues that activists create new lifeworlds through the radicalisation of infrastructures, and I would include here immaterial infrastructures as outlined above. For example, volunteer labour and non-capitalist economies were critical to the successes of BH and AH. Anti-capitalist networks such as the IHN

often practice autonomy as a way 'to find creative survival routes out of the capitalist present' (Chatterton, 2010b: p. 899). Moreover, the IHN effectively brought various different activists into contact with each other, and, although they may not have agreed on all topics, the network brought 'fragments of social movements together under one roof where a process of dialogue, contamination and greater unification can take place' (Hodkinson and Chatterton, 2006: p. 310).

Creating new lifeworlds includes the process of commoning, which Bresnihan and Byrne (2015: p. 36) describe as 'people collectively finding ways of opening up space in order to do what they want' (p. 36). According to the authors, the specific motives informing this practice can vary, but individuals collectively work together to look beyond existing institutions and spaces, and to create practical alternatives to meet a need that is missing in a city. Drawing upon these insights, I argue that BH and AH created urban commons to provide housing for those in need. While Bresnihan and Byrne focus on projects that participate in the processes of rent and the specific characteristics of those spaces, I find their conceptualisation of urban commons very relevant for my discussion. Below I use Bresnihan and Byrne's triad to interpret BH and AH as urban commons according to: owning in common, producing in common, and organising in common.

Firstly, Bresnihan and Byrne (p. 44) explain that: 'The spaces [of commons] first and foremost belong to those who participate in and make use of them'. Guests of BH and AH did not pay rent (which Bresnihan and Byrne note contributed to their 'underground' nature), and indicated their shared anti-capitalist ethos, which included a rejection of the current housing market leading to homelessness and a housing crisis. The non-hierarchal organising and volunteer nature of the

projects by the IHN demonstrated how the occupied buildings were owned theoretically by the public, and in practice were owned in common by the networks that supported them, as well as the inhabitants living there, belonging to no one and everyone at the same time.

Secondly both occupations were produced in common by network members, which involved 'a wealth of everyday, non-monetary exchange and circulation' (ibid: p. 45). The way in which each building was transformed from a vacant site to a liveable space using few monetary resources and based solely on volunteer labour, materials and donations, demonstrates how these residences for those in need were created collectively. The authors also specify how the very material intervention of transforming urban space directly into commonly owned and produced places contributes in a physical, tangible way to the more intangible transformation of the neoliberal urban political economy. The IHN's intervention into the system of capitalism which the authors describe as 'Dublin's great enclosure' (Bresnihan and Byrne: p. 39), is even more significant in the context of 'the privatization/financialization of urban space and the commodification of urban life' (see also Chapter 1). Indeed, urban commons are often created in moments of crises (McGuirk, 2015) and this was and remains true for the case of Dublin's ongoing housing and homelessness crisis.

Finally BH and AH were organised in common, through the IHN for BH and the collaboration of HSH for AH. Organising in common is often noted to be 'messy' by Bresnihan and Byrne (2015: p. 46), who explain that different people bring varying 'capacities and tempos' (ibid: p. 47), as the example I gave on the disagreement between two people at AH demonstrated, and as one would expect

from a collaboration of two different trade unions, a housing network that had more focused goals, and individual celebrities not as experienced in working with those affected by housing insecurity. Overall both BH and AH exemplify urban commons because they '[found] creative ways to use the powers of collective labor for the common good' (Harvey, 2011: p. 107), which I illustrated through their immaterial infrastructures and values, as well as the way they were owned, produced and organised in common.

7.4: Political Beliefs and Institutional Relationships: Anarchist Geographies

In this section, I return to the case studies of Seomra Spraoi (SS), The Barricade Inn (TBI) and the Grangegorman Squat (GG) to demonstrate the tributary of political beliefs and institutional relations. I have already indicated how AU are purposefully outside of the control of the state, and thus anti-capitalist. One interviewee described TBI as 'an anarchist autonomous zone, a red and black flagpole staked in the centre of the capitalist city' (TBI1, 2016). This quote highlights how those involved in autonomous social centres were trying to spread awareness of their politics as a form of everyday practice. The same person continued: 'When you squat an abandoned building, you show this concept [anti-capitalism] in practice. This act can challenge people's prejudices about property and stimulate them to consider the assumptions about the world they live in (including the person squatting)' (ibid). Similarly, an interviewee from GG said: 'I mean we are all anti-capitalist, many, many people recognise it as an immoral or unjust system' (GG1,

2017). Carvalho (2014: p. 448) also noted the anti-capitalistic nature of SS members: 'many participants would consider themselves anti-capitalists and affirm that the main cause of environmental and human crisis is capitalism itself'. Both autonomy and anti-capitalism are interwoven into anarchism.

I make two arguments in this section. The first is to highlight the existence of anarchist everyday geographies in the autonomous city in practice, including mutual aid, non-hierarchal organisation, and solidarity. Secondly, I discuss the relationship existing institutional organisations have to anarchist projects in Dublin, which ranged from toleration to more aggressive evictions and closures.

7.4.1. Anarchist Geographies

Autonomous social centres are generally explicitly anarchist in their political alignment. Anarchism is a political belief in the philosophy of anarchy, which means freedom from systems of control (Springer, 2012). Like Marxists, anarchists believe that capitalism as a system should be replaced, but unlike Marxists, anarchists further regard *both* the state and capitalism as problematic. Anarchists favour non-horizontal, non-hierarchal ways of organising based on 'mutual aid, horizontalism, direct action, voluntary association, self-management, and prefigurative politics' (Springer, 2014: p. 307), somewhat similar to the example of AH in the previous section. Anarchism is rooted in praxis through everyday changes, and common anarchist practices not usually associated with anarchism include: childcare co-ops, peer-to-peer file sharing, tenant associations, and community kitchens (Springer, 2014).

The anarchist members involved in TBI, SS and GG illustrated these beliefs through many practices. Even if there are differences within the specificities of anarchism, at TBI: 'almost everyone in the core organising group was an anarchist throughout their lifetime' (TBI1, 2016). The interviewee clarified the variety of beliefs within anarchism,

> 'Anarchism has several strands. I am an anarchist communist, and several other people there [at TBI] were too -- this is the predominant anarchist tendency globally by the way. Some people involved were more individualist or egoist anarchists, or primitivists. Therefore, in the collective there were significant ideological differences' (ibid).

Despite these differences, this TBI member felt that their centre was an 'anarchist fortress'.

I consider here how the three case studies show their anarchist politics in the following ways: mutual aid, non-hierarchal organisation, and solidarity. Mutual aid is the idea that all members should simultaneously benefit, with an ethos of 'we should all work together'. Mutual aid was one of the seven defining principles of SS: the centre was created 'to support and practice solidarity within our community, as well as with other people and groups with similar principles, who are trying to resist and change the oppressive system in which we live' (Seomra Spraoi, 2015b: n/a). An example of mutual aid was the bicycle repair workshop run by SS, that continued in TBI after SS closed (Murphy, 2015), and continues in Jigsaw. Unlike an ordinary fee-paying service, at the workshop, you do not get your bike fixed but instead you learn how to fix the bike yourself. Thus, you became self-sufficient in your transportation and mobility in the city from the knowledge gained through the

workshop. Ideally, you would pass on those new skills to others or help someone else out if needed. According to one interviewee from TBI, the bike workshop was,

> 'A small oblong room chock full of bike equipment and bikes. People could come once a week . . . and learn how to fix their bike. I deliberately said the word "learn" rather than "and get their bike fixed". Again, this is part of the anarchist ethos of people taking responsibility for their lives and being capable of doing things themselves. Also you got a nice co-operative atmosphere with people fixing their bikes together' (TBI1, S2016).

In interviews with users and activists of the SS bike repair workshop, Carvalho (2014) noted that the skill transfer was initially difficult for people to understand, as it was not based on monetary exchange, but focused on the circulation of knowledge:

> 'The coordination of a project in an autonomous geography context does not mean they are in a hierarchically superior position, it means that they have been involved in the project for longer, are experts on bike mechanics or are professional of this field. Whoever decides to become a volunteer in the bike workshop does not necessarily need to have a working knowledge of bike mechanics, but just willingness to learn how to fix a bike' (p. 443).

This example demonstrates how anti-capitalist's and anarchist's principal of mutual aid might come together through non-hierarchical organisational principles and community economies, as described in the previous chapter.

Another example of mutual aid was the community garden at the GG squat, which was not only used by the squatters living on the site but was also open to the local community and residents living nearby. More research in the Global North is needed to examine the role of AU community gardens in providing what Tornaghi (2014) calls a critical geography of urban agriculture that calls attention to '*alternative models for a critical envisioning of post-capitalist, de-growth inspired urban living'* (p. 562: italics in original). Similar to the bike workshop example, the

GG community garden was 'a collective effort and one that relies on the sharing of information, tools and expertise' (Joyce-Aherne, 2016: n/a). Community gardens also function as 'a buffer against the negative health impact of stressful life events' (Van den Berg et al. 2010: p. 1203) through the local gardeners' relationship to 'skilled rhythmic activities' (Pitt, 2014, p. 89). Thus, when the squat was closed, the shared 'therapeutic' (Pitt, 2014: p. 89) green space of the garden was lost not only for GG members, but also for a larger community that included local residents and participants.

Another key tenet of anarchist thought is <u>non-hierarchal organisation or horizontality</u>. Horizontality refers to 'cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid' (Hodkinson and Chatterton, 2006: p. 311) wherein discrimination along any grounds is not accepted. Rather than top-down decisions from a leader or organising team, decisions are based on consensus, and it is a collaborative process, even though someone or a team will facilitate a meeting. Meetings are run based on expertise and experience, but the goal is to increase the knowledge of everyone. As one interviewee described the organisation of TBI: '[T]here were no leaders or managers. Instead, the project was run by direct democracy and consensus (at least in theory). Everyone was formally equal. It was run as a co-operative. That's the anarchist way of organising' (TBI1, 2016). Carvalho (2014) described this process from SS in detail:

> '[O]ne person acts as a neutral facilitator of the group, then he or she writes the agenda on a white board, takes the minutes of the meeting and organises the sequence of speakers. When a topic is discussed, the participants use hand signs to impart agreement or disagreement with a point made, so no one interferes verbally when someone is speaking. The hand signs used are: a) raise hands if one wants to talk b) shake hands in the air if one agrees with a point

> made c) make the hand sign of the horns if one thinks a great point was made d) make a sign of block with the arm if one does not agree with what was said' (p. 447).

Carvalho also noted a crucial point: '[A]t all times, they discussed the topic in a non-personal way, clearly exposing their arguments forward or against the issue. At the end of the meeting, consensus was reached' (p. 448).

Solidarity is another important characteristic of anarchist geographies, and I point to two examples of this. Firstly, squatters demonstrate this solidarity through acting as teachers for other people wanting to squat. As explored in Section 7.2, these squats and social centres were some of the only places were squatters could come together, network, and discuss squatting openly. TBI held practical squatting workshops to teach the very basics of how to squat, such as how to locate, enter and secure a building, how to access water and electricity services (Thompson, 2015). A second example of solidarity is from 2014 when the GG squat held the 'International Squatters Convergence', which is referred to as the anarchist 'World Cup' (Gray, 2015: n/a). This was a European event, and GG hosting it illustrated the growing presence of Ireland on the international squatting scene. According to Gray many of those who travelled over for the festival stayed due to the high levels of vacant buildings in Ireland. Locally, the Squatters Convergence 'was a fertilisation moment for Grangegorman' (Gray, 2015: n/a).

Through the examples described above, I have aimed to show how anarchism is grounded in change at the everyday level, and entwined with the beliefs of autonomy and anti-capitalism. Ultimately, Asara (2018) argues that it is from the everyday scale that radical imaginations are shaped and changed. As one TBI squatter said to an interviewer: '[Y]ou should squat too' (Thompson, 2015: n/a).

Such a comment reflects anarchists' goal of changing the everyday and making anti-capitalism and non-hierarchal forms of power the norm. This radical imagination is a 'collective, transversal process of bridging multiple imaginations to forge common imaginaries, reshaping subjectivity and everyday life' (Asara, 2018: n.p). Such a spatial imaginary can eventually 'infiltrate dominant social imaginaries and in some cases lead to some reshaping of the instituted order' (ibid). As one interviewee explained to me: '[I]t is about changing the ordinary' (GG1, 2017)

However, Asara (2018) argues, following De Angelis (2017), that autonomous centres and commons can never be fully achieved because they remain always entangled with capital and the state, and must exist within the pervasiveness of the capitalist system. Yet I believe that this viewpoint is too dismissive, based upon the positive experiences and projects described in this chapter. Rather than hold the standard for AU as requiring a complete overhaul of the system of capitalism, which most AUists would admit we are still some stage away from, activists and scholars can do a better job of documenting the everyday existing successes of smaller, incremental ways that an anti-capitalist world and city is being imagined and created.

7.4.2. Autonomous Urbanist Relationships to Institutions

I briefly want to reflect on how the anarchist, autonomous and anti-capitalist beliefs I have outlined here affect the relationships these AU had to formal institutions. SS was interesting for, although politically aligned to anarchism, it was a project that nonetheless participated in the capitalist process of rent, and therefore the relationship it had to any institution was ambivalent. In other words,

this autonomous centre was 'tolerated' by existing authorities and institutions as long as this rental payment was made.

In contrast, TBI was an 'illegal' squat that occupied a building without paying rent. Its anarchist members and occupants understood the Irish government as the problem, which was highlighted by one interviewee who mentioned: 'the absurdity of capitalism in producing the homeless crisis' (TBI1, 2016). The same interviewee said, 'the state are very keen to nip such shenanigans in the bud also. If people catch onto this irreverence towards private property, well, there could be anarchy!' (ibid). TBI directly positioned itself in opposition to the government, which was evident in their perspective of evictions:

> '[W]hat almost always happens is that a court injunction is granted, and when the squatters leave the building, it returns to its former disuse. It's a really frustrating fact: you see the state go to great lengths to kick squatters out just so whoever holds the piece of paper which says they own it can keep it empty' (ibid).

Similarly, a member of Squat City said:

> 'I know no single step will make capitalism better or tolerable, but it [change] is comprised of baby steps, none of which alone will do it. But if you are talking about the Irish housing market, it seems very evident to me that there is a need, and we already have the resources' (GG1, 2017).

This squatter's annoyance at the lack of response by the Irish government was made clear to me: '[Y]ou would almost need to believe in the impossible to demand justice' (ibid). But, the same interviewee recognised the need 'to play the game as well, I know politics is dead serious, life or death, but there is a game aspect to it in terms of strategies' (ibid).

This quote returns me neatly back to the opening quote, when the same interviewee likened the process of squatting to playing a game of 'Whac-a-mole'.

Autonomous movements often embrace ‘contradictory, chaotic outcomes’ (Chatterton, 2010b: p. 903). Although AUists tend to have a negative relationship to state and capitalist institutions in general, the members I interviewed and studied always also had a realist recognition that because the non-capitalist utopia they worked for was not yet reached, squats and autonomous social centres must somehow exist alongside of and within capitalist structures.

7.5: Conclusion

Of the types of LU, AU are the most publicly critical of neoliberal governance structures in the city. Indeed, many AU are actively trying to work against neoliberal agendas in the state. AU do not fit into the wider governance structures of the city, and these groups actively contest the normative policy objectives of city authorities, which they see as hugely problematic. They hold the state and city authorities accountable for failing to provide basic needs for its citizens, and thus they see the necessity to provide these basic accommodations themselves, which they feel are rights. They criticise wider speculative private property markets by contributing real-life examples of how public housing can be provided cheaply, or for free, and through this everyday praxis, they illustrate the failings of the neoliberal state. Through their work, housing insecurity and austerity is more recognised, enabling innovative class-cutting alliances and new subjectivities (Di Felciantonio, 2016). Brenner et al. (2009) have asked scholars to focus on how alternative projects within the city go beyond capitalism as a structure of politics, society and economy. The AUists’ projects and direct battle with urban governance

structures illustrates the deficiencies of urban governance, and offer alternative values and possibilities.

In this chapter, I have described a series of case studies ranging from autonomous centres to squats to strategic housing occupations in Dublin. What makes autonomous centres distinctive from residential squats or other alternative forms of housing is the simultaneous act of claiming space while resisting the neoliberalisation and enclosure of urban space (Hodkinson and Chatterton, 2006). Occupations, squats and social centres, all examples of AU, represent a new claim to and way of living in the city, one that I argue is more politically engaged than scholars' interpretations of Lefebvre's right to the city I outlined in Chapter 1.

Connections between AU result in both little and larger networks. Little networks are connections between different movements that are linked but not necessarily connected through places. One example of this would be the Irish Housing Network (IHN) creating the idea for BH in TBI (TBI1, 2016; Squat.net, 2015; The Workers Solidarity Movement, 2016). Bigger networks are affinities between groups which are rooted through 'relational place-making'. As place is multiple, unbounded and processual (Massey, 2005), I have demonstrated the distinct ways that people's space-time bundles were mediated through an idealised sense of place. For example, SS, TBI and GG were examples of a bigger loose network connected through sequential place-making, such as the creation of autonomous centres and anarchist squats in the city, even as the locations of those centres and squats were mobile and processual. Networked members were creating a shared urban commons at the same time that they were critical of the neoliberal status quo: '[O]ne person can own a huge factory or office and make money off of other

people's work. This is the basis for capitalist exploitation, hence poverty and massive concentration of power in the owning class' (TBI1, 2016).

Though the motives differ, SS, TBI and GG members presented squatting as a way of life. One interviewee explained it for me in this way: '[S]quatting is about common sense . . . Don't let the idiocy and cruelty of capitalism with its silly laws get in the way . . . [I]t's very liberating: you feel in control and are acutely aware of humanity's potential to change things at any moment' (ibid). While anti-capitalism was a practice for this squatter, as well as for some IHN activists, the contrasts between SS, TBI and GG and the projects of the latter was that BH and AH were strategic occupations that both communicated a larger political goal -- housing as a human right – in ways that would reach a broader public as a means of advocating for change. Both forms of occupation, the autonomous centre or squat on the one hand, and direct action on the other, show us that these activist movements may result in cross cutting alliances.

Having said this, I would argue that the neoliberal goals of Dublin and Ireland more broadly do not support the formation of such cross-cutting autonomous, anti-capitalist and anarchists connections. Ireland is a country generally intolerant of squatting or autonomous social centres, due to the celebration of strong property rights that favour the property owner. As well as this, the media coverage of the importance of builders and 'supply' of structures to the economy reifies this view. There is also a lack of awareness about squats and social centres in general. Although there is a history of squatting practices in Ireland, it is rarely acknowledged by the Irish public or mainstream media. In recent years, only Apollo House, and, in 2018, the Summerhill Occupation, which was tied

to a new movement, Take Back the City, which I mention in the next chapter, were the only well-known examples of direct action occupation projects.

My consideration of AU is important for three reasons. Firstly, Irish examples of autonomous geographies add to and deepen the literature on AU. Even in a context which is inhospitable to AU, there are still examples of direct actions, squats, autonomous social centres and occupations and we can consider these as reactions to the post-crisis austerity context, and compare this to other European cities. Secondly, Dublin's AU landscape reignited political imaginations of what a city is and can be. For example, AH was described as a 'call to action, and it brings with it the promise of a better future' (Workers Solidarity Movement, 2017: n/a). Not only do AU provide an actual physical place for activists, but these non-capitalist interventions also provide a supportive sense of place and solidarity to reimagine the city. Following Lefebvre's (1968) right to the city, the right to the city AUists pursue is the right to imagine what cities *can* and *should* be. Finally, AU also show the importance of the LU typology, as AU are rarely considered together with Urban Studies discussions about creativity and community. Moreover, squatting is often marginalised in discussions of direct action and vice-versa. Considering AU in terms of their networks, their non-commodified values, and political beliefs and relations to institutions allows urban scholars to reconsider the contributions AU make to the city, not as marginal but as centrally significant places and projects.

Chapter 8: Conclusion: A Provisional Theoretical Approach to Urbanism

It's not the waking, it's the rising
It is the grounding of a foot uncompromising
It's not foregoing of the lie
It's not the opening of eyes
It's not the waking, it's the rising

It's not the shade, we should be past it
It's the light, and it's the obstacle that casts it
It's the heat that drives the light
It's the fire it ignites
It's not the waking, it's the rising

It's not the song, it is the singing
It's the hearing of a human spirit ringing
It is the bringing of the line
It is the baring of the rhyme
It's not the waking, it's the rising

And I could cry power (power)
Power (power)
Power
Nina cried power
Billie cried power
Mavis cried power
And I could cry power
Power (power)
Power (power)
Power
Curtis cried power
Patti cried power
Nina cried power

-- Hozier, featuring Mavis Staples, 2018, Nina Cried Power.

8.1: Introduction

These lyrics from a 2018 song by Irish artist Hozier, called 'Nina Cried Power', are dedicated to the spirit of protest. The song is about the 'rising' of activism, and

mentions the names of many international activists. Named after singer and activist Nina Simone, it also features vocals from civil rights activist Mavis Staples, leading feminist cultural critic Una Mullally (2018: n/a) to call Hozier the 'bard of the risen people'. In the music video of this song, Hozier paid tribute to numerous Irish activists, including Panti Bliss, Christina Noble, Joe Caslin, Bernadette McAliskey, Eamonn McCann and many others. Hozier himself was part of the Apollo House occupation and 'Home Sweet Home' (Chapter 7), and in 2018 performed for the 'Stand for Truth' protest of the Pope's visit to Dublin. Hozier, for Mullally (ibid), belongs to a 'generational shift [of people] . . . in Ireland who want to broadcast a message of progress out into the world'. Mullally further described this shift as a *Zeitgeist* of activism, echoing what one of my respondents mentioned in the previous chapter about anarchist geographies.

To fully understand Liquid Urbanisms, we must conceptualise them in the context of activities contesting neoliberal governance in everyday life, through provisional places in the city, including through popular culture and music. I make a useful comparison here to Punch's (2006) analysis of Dublin during the 1990s. He describes the 'street protest and resistance to docklands development proposals', which illustrates how 'locales were at the forefront of the interlocking processes of globalisation, neoliberalism and regeneration over the past few decades' (p. 195 and 194). I would argue that this has continued into the present. One of the most interesting recent interventions in the city happening at the time of my writing and revising this PhD thesis has been the 'Take Back the City' campaign. This project began on August 7, 2018 when housing activists took over a building in Summerhill in central north Dublin 1. Activists explained the reasons for this occupation:

‘Housing and community activists have occupied the property of Summerhill Parade because of rent hikes, evictions, poor housing conditions – enough is enough, and we are taking action’ (Summerhill Occupation Facebook page, 2018: n/a). Following an injunction order against the activists, the activists left Summerhill, moving to another location on North Frederick Street on August 16, which was followed by subsequent occupations in different parts of Dublin and beyond.

The Summerhill occupation began with seven strategic groups, including: Dublin Central Housing Action (DCHA) (one of the founding and most active groups of the Irish Housing Network (IHN)), Take Back Trinity (‘a group of Trinity students who oppose the introduction of loans, increased fees, or anything that would limit access to education’ who have identified housing as one of the issues adversely affecting students (Take Back Trinity Facebook page, 2018)), Dublin Renters Union, the North Dublin Bay Housing Crisis Community (part of the IHN), the Brazilian Left Front, the Blanchardstown Housing Action Community (part of the IHN), and the Migrants and Ethnic-minorities for Reproductive Justice. By the time they left Summerhill, the movement had grown to approximately 15 groups, including Dublin North West Housing Action and Dublin West Housing Action, both also part of the Irish Housing Network.

The Summerhill building which the activists took over was one of many buildings where young Brazilian migrant residents had been illegally evicted by the landlord. Residents were given 24-hour notice only, during a Bank Holiday weekend in May 2018 and evicted by strong-armed men hired by the landlords. Even though they were up to date on their rent, on May 3 2018 the landlord ordered them to leave the property with two hours’ notice (Eagleton, 2018). The migrants had lived

in undesirable conditions, up to ten to a room, with faulty plumbing and electricity. The landlord evicted them on health and safety grounds. Housing activists attempted to aid the evictees but were unsuccessful, and the same landlord then proceeded to evict eighty people from his properties around this building in the same area.

Both the Summerhill homes and the North Frederick Street buildings were held in private ownership. Take Back the City activists deliberately choose to highlight the increase in what the IHN calls ‘slum landlords’, ‘exposing this type of exploitation that has been happening, the conditions that they’re living in, how much money is being made, who actually are the landlords, who owns the properties and what connections have they got to the higher establishment’ (Summerhill activists, 2018: n/a). Rather than a temporary protest for the activists, this new action resulted in a rolling set of occupations, resulting in a ‘festival of direct action’, which began in the month of August, and continued into September and October 2018. A spontaneous rally on the 11 September, after the forceful (and illegal) eviction of activists from North Frederick Street, brought city traffic ‘to a standstill’ (Mc Dermott, 2018: n/a) due to a sit-in of activists. Others were inspired by these occupations, leading to occupations of empty social housing units in north Dublin, Kildare and in Wicklow, as well as rallies and occupations elsewhere in Ireland, including Cork. A more recent action was the occupation of the Airbnb offices in Dublin (13 October 2018). The reason Airbnb is a target is that it ‘appears to have rapidly colonised vast amounts of our city, locking people out of homes’ (Take back the City, 2018: n/a Finally, activists coordinated a ‘Raise the Roof’ rally, which included a new ‘Raise the Roof’ political alliance of Sinn Fein, the Labour

Party, People Before Profit, Solidarity, the Social Democrats and the Green Party, Independents4Change and others (SIPTU, 2018). This rally resulted in over 10,000 people, including many younger people, involved in street protests in central Dublin and other cities such as Cork and Sligo.

Take Back the City highlights not only the inequalities of the housing market but also the government's insufficient solutions to address the huge level of vacant buildings in Ireland. As the participation of student groups in Trinity, Maynooth and elsewhere suggests, as the crisis deepens and spreads the diversity of those involved increases. According to Eagleton (2018), the Summerhill Occupation is notable for the alliance of students, migrants and unions, voices that had previously been marginalised in discussions of homelessness. Ultimately, these 'flickers of resistance' illustrate how 'the coalition has been assembled and more groups are likely to join', 'reinvigorat[ing] the struggle against Ireland's neoliberal housing policies' (Eagleton, 2018: n/a).

Overall, and as Hozier's opening song lyrics demonstrate, different citizen-led forms of activism are increasing in Ireland, first gaining mass momentum through the water charges movement (2014), the Marriage Equality referendum (2015), the abortion rights campaign (over decades leading to the repeal of the Eighth Amendment in 2018), and the housing rights movement, beginning in the 2000s as I indicated in the last chapter. Liquid Urbanisms (LU) must be considered within this larger context of direct action and protest against the neoliberal state and austerity politics, and LU importantly highlights the contributions of these activists.

In the next section, I consider the contributions of this thesis and reflect on what Dublin as a case study can teach us about other cities. I then examine what contributions LU as a conceptual framework makes to urban theory more broadly. I highlight especially how my work extends Gibson-Graham's work on the diverse economies perspective by providing a European example to their work in the U.S. and Australia. In Section 8.3, I consider LU, both the tributaries and the types. Then in Section 8.4, I deliberate upon what the implications of LU are on planning and governance policy, before musing on future areas of research. Finally in Section 8.5, I conclude by proposing a provisional understanding of theory, which does not subscribe to binary thinking.

8.2: Contributions of the Thesis

One of the main contributions of this PhD thesis is to refocus scholarly attention to the scale of the everyday and to illustrate how this renewed attention yields fruitful avenues of inquiry. In Chapter 1, I referred to mainstream structuralist conceptualisations of urban processes according to political economy understandings and how my work instead highlights the everyday perspectives of users and makers within the city. Structuralist approaches have informed my views, but I argue that as urban scholars we need to also focus on the everyday experiential scale of cities. Doing so more fully grasps the range, fluidity and multiplicity of provisional places, inherent to cities and acknowledges the role urban inhabitants have in shaping the city.

Austerity Urbanism, as a modality of neoliberalisation, is mediated differently in each country (Boyle, 2011). Austerity is described as 'a political choice made by the government, state and financial elite' (Hearne, 2013: n/a), resulting in fiscal cuts to the social welfare state to bridge the economic gap caused by the global financial crisis (GFC). Following 2008, governments pursued different paths to dealing with the banking, mortgage and other crises, including nationalising debt and obtaining loans by the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. So what can an Irish, Dublin based, empirical study teach us about other cities?

A focus on LU means to acknowledge not just extreme forms of neoliberalism in response to crisis, but also the provisional places of the city that have always existed. In Ireland, following eight successive harsh austerity budgets, described as a 'tsunami of austerity' (Hearne, 2014: n/a), the country witnessed different forms of anti-austerity politics, as best exemplified through the Irish Water protests, 'one of the largest protest movements in modern Irish History' (Hearne, 2018: n/a) that was also grassroots based. The approach of LU in a country that embraced neoliberalism but also had numerous forms of anti-austerity politics can teach us about how provisional urban spatial imaginaries exist through everyday practices, which can be compared both to other European post-crisis cities like Athens and Barcelona, as well as to model 'creative' cities like Berlin and Hamburg who had different experiences to the GFC. My thesis contributes to these larger discussions in Urban Studies by illustrating the ways that people have challenged or worked against these structures of neoliberal urban enclosure (Bresnihan and Byrne, 2015). Connections can be drawn between the case studies I

have explored here and many European examples. To begin with, the inclusion of squatting initiatives, which ‘have emerged as political collective responses to the housing crisis, challenging neoliberal institutions and power relations’ (Di Felciantonio, 2016: p. 1222), is a critical intervention into literatures considering so-called Temporary Urbanisms. Squatting and occupations have not only been part of the history of Europe, but also increased in North American cities as a reaction to the global financial crisis (Vasudevan 2015, 2017). Vasudevan (2015) argues that although an individual squat may not survive, the logic of occupation lasts. As presented in the previous chapter, Irish examples of autonomous geographies are often not researched, and my discussion of five different case studies makes a major contribution to this empirical and theoretical literature.

My discussion also contributes to understanding Dublin as a means of understanding Irish expressions of urban modernity. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, Kincaid makes a significant contribution to examining Dublin through postcolonial theory. Kearns (2006, p. 181) argues that while Kincaid identifies significant 'geographical and postcolonial dimensions of Irish society and economy', further research is needed to understand ‘the relations between imperial and colonial ideologies, on the links between liberalism and social control in modernist planning, and finally on subjectivity and the spaces of everyday life'. These topics are related and my PhD thesis has begun to contribute to the final area of research needed to understand the intersections of neoliberal and (post)colonial Dublin. With Kearns, I have highlighted the importance of the lived, everyday timespaces of the cities to argue that urban scholars need to empirically 'explore the constitution of spaces not only by planning fiat but also by everyday practice. We must consider the

subjective elements of urban life alongside their apparently objective, material correlates' (ibid).

The largest contribution of my work is to re-centre what some perceive, or what is otherwise considered as, marginal urbanisms. The research began with examining the literature on ‘Temporary Urbanisms’, but the empirical research challenged the implicit binary thinking of this work as I discuss further in Section 8.5. In the introduction, moreover, I asserted that the ‘Temporary Urbanism’ literature at a basic level does not include user benefits or consider the experiences of the makers of these urbanisms, and therefore is too ideologically loaded to be of use to urban scholars who wish to include the voice of the city’s inhabitants. Allowing the research to speak back to the theory at all stages of the project resulted in the LU typology which is empirically and conceptually more robust than current TU debates. The LU typology also illustrates the voices of activists, users and makers of these LU, perspectives which are often treated as peripheral by urban scholars.

Robinson and Roy (2016: p. 181) contend that greater attention should be paid to cities in the Global South, those places which the authors themselves describe as ’off the map’ in Urban Studies. But what if we consider those places, projects and voices which are ‘off the map’ within cities in the Global North as I have sought to do in this study? Indeed, scholars need to contemplate the ‘relational multiplicities, diverse histories and dynamic connectivities of global urbanisms’ (ibid: p. 181) that are not documented and researched within Europe. I have argued that rather than focus on projects from a political economic perspective, by re-centring the city according to those making and using different

‘liquid’ urbanisms, binary ways of thinking are broken down. I return to this point below to argue that we need a ‘renewal and vitality of concepts and methodologies of the urban’ (ibid: p. 185)

Another contribution of my PhD thesis is methodological: the ‘flexible activist case study approach’. As a researcher, I had to become comfortable with the random timing and alternate timescales of activists’ and artists’ lives. Given the fluidity of LU types, moreover, I needed malleable methods, which meant including a blend of traditional methods such as participant observation and interviews, in addition to the newer method of social media analysis. Like De Jong (2015), my work contributes methodologically to Geography by illustrating how digital technologies can be used as a way of overcoming issues of fear, privacy and lack of access to communities, in particular in my work, activist, autonomous, squatter and more radical or underground communities.In addition, I had to mediate my role as an academic and an activist, a challenge I reflected upon in Chapter 4. The case study aspect, and more specifically choosing fourteen case studies, allowed me to describe an ecology of LU in Dublin, in a way that fewer case studies would not have enabled me to do. This research design embodies more fluid understandings of the research project and more fully captures the real, lived experiences of those involved, by offering a more holistic approach.

Throughout this dissertation, I have explored multiple empirical examples of groups and individuals trying to create a better, more creative, more community-based and more autonomous city. My work extends Till and Mc Ardle (2015)’s concept of the ‘Improvisional City’, and one of the arguments of this PhD thesis is that the dichotomy of ‘temporary’ and ‘permanent’ are problematic distinctions in

Urban Studies. In the context of Dublin, local authorities have pursued an entrepreneurial, creative led mode of governance, but despite this neoliberal context, contestations and new projects have still grown. These provisional places and interventions are not being fully theorised by existing lexicons, and this highlights my theoretical and empirical contribution to discussions of these places and projects in Urban Studies.

To offer a theoretical and conceptual framework which does include these contestations and the experiences of actors and makers in the city, in Chapter 2, I developed Bauman's theory of Liquid Modernity. When situating his theory within the lineage of modernity and postmodern theories, I brought in geographical literatures to introduce a spatial understanding to his approach. Turning to Massey's and Harvey's work, foundational spatial thinkers, I developed my own concept of Liquid Urbanisms (LU) and, in Chapter 3, outlined a new 'typology' of types and tributaries of LU. I want to reflect on the contribution of LU to Urban Studies and Geography as disciplines. Firstly, I have extended Bauman's theory of Liquid Modernity through the development of my own theory of Liquid Urbanisms, making LU applicable by providing a useable conceptual framework. Secondly, I have undertaken an innovative synthetic and analytic methodological approach when creating the LU typology. I briefly reflect on these two contributions.

Bauman's description of the world as 'liquid' is relevant to the world many European urban inhabitants live in today. When I encountered his concept, I immediately perceived it as factual; this was the context my participants were describing, a deregulated, privatised world, marked by increased individualisation and globalisation, only exacerbated by the increase of technology and social media.

Yet, when I investigated further, Liquid Modernity was not being used by geographers in a systematic way, unlike other sociological late modernity theories. Bauman's conceptual framework was not only not explored by geographers or Urban Studies scholars even though it has become more relevant to today's contemporary context than it was in 2000 when it was first written. The processes Bauman described have continued and increased. Bauman died in 2017 but co-authored a book in 2014 with Carlo Bordoni entitled State of Crisis. The authors trace the roots of the financial crisis to longer social and historical trends (similar to Mc Cabe, 2011 on the Irish context). We need to learn about LM, and what it is, to have any hope of improving the current situation. Thus, by understanding LM we can conceptualise the current situation of our world better. LU begins to provide these conceptual tools, as the types and tributaries provide the language necessary to understand LM in a spatial context.

Secondly, based upon empirical research and iterative qualitative analysis, my typology of types and tributaries brings together two types of Kantian classification: analytic and synthetic. Analytic classification is prescribed onto the data, whereas synthetic data is contained within a concept, letting the classification emerge from the data itself (Kant, 1781). For Proops (2005: p. 3): 'an affirmative analytic truth is a judgment whose truth is owed to the obtaining of a relation of containment between the subject and predicate concepts, while an affirmative synthetic truth is an affirmative judgment whose truth is not so explained'. Kant himself explained the difference between these forms of knowledges as the variance between the statements 'bodies are extended' in contrast to 'all bodies [that] are heavy' (Kant, 1781: p. A7). For the former, our understanding is based on

the statement itself: we think of a body in space that can be extended out to other similar bodies (analytic). For the latter, we must envision both 'body' and the 'heaviness' or depth of data, and synthesise the information to create new categories of understanding (Rey, 2018). Analytic processes are 'judgments of clarification', while synthetic processes are 'judgments of amplification' (Kant, 1981: p. A7/B11). For Proops, analytic classification adds something to knowledge (the types of LU), while the latter breaks down a concept to make it knowable and therefore adds to our existing knowledge of that concept through new forms of classification (the tributaries of LU). Analytic can be considered as a way of reading data, whereas synthetic involves breaking data down to create classifications that are emergent from the data itself.

The typology of Liquid Urbanisms, which I discuss in Section 8.3, is both synthetic and analytic. This process was analytic because I created analytical categories as 'types' of LU. I produced these types based on a review of TU literature and initial pilot research with some of the case studies. When I began my research, I noticed that there was no clear 'type' within the literature that included what I classified as Autonomous Urbanisms (Chapter 7), which seemed a major gap in the lexicon. Therefore, I created three loose types of LU to enable me to investigate further. Yet, simultaneously, this process was also synthetic. As based on initial assessment of open-ended research, I began to create a conceptual framework grounded in the qualitative data I was gathering from the range of case studies that arose. I further allowed the concepts to emerge from an iterative reading and rounds of open coding of the data and the literature. I also chose to focus on the perspectives of city inhabitants and makers of LU, which ensured the

direction of the typology was not prescribed by me from the role of researcher. Instead, by including the experiences of LUists, I allowed the tributaries to develop from the data I gathered about these places, peoples and projects. From triangulating this data using the different methods I outlined in Chapter 4, I found four LU tributaries that cut across the three types. Thus, I combined analytic and synthetic ways of processing information.

Another theoretical and empirical contribution of the research has been to augment discussions about the diverse economy framework and community economies, by providing an European and Irish example to complement Gibson-Graham's original work in Australia and the U.S. Other diverse and community economies research includes Chiodelli and Tzfadia's research (2016), exploring geographies of informality in the Global South. The authors argue against reading informality as an economic dichotomy, of informal versus formal, and instead claim that informality exists on a much more fluid continuum, which is 'often elastic and mobile' (2016: p. 3), with formality and informality both co-existing as part of a single system, which is similar to the diverse economy framework with multiple perspectives. They claim that if we broaden our understandings of informality to 'normal' rather than illegal or illegitimate, we begin to recognise how public institutions are more open to informality than is currently theorised (and indeed such practices are allowed). In other words, for Chiodelli and Tzfadia, a relationship exists between these two entities, which is plural and diverse. Whereas McFarlane (2012) disagrees with Chiodelli and Tzfadia, and asserts that informality and formality are on a continuum as interlinked but distinct processes, he nonetheless understands the dichotomy as a 'meshwork', or interweaving of different processes

of the urban world, a relationship which is multiple and changes over time, and is 'always in formation' (p. 101). Both understandings, despite their differences, capture the multiplicity of the diverse economy framework, which my work contributes to. My work provides an Irish, European empirical example of diverse and community economies.

Liquid Urbanisms are an expression of a cultural and political moment, facilitated in part by the context of neoliberal austerity in Europe and beyond. Yet austerity urbanism is not 'top-down'; power does not work in a singular direction but creates the conditions for creativity and alternative politics to become expressed by groups who explicitly react to, reject, and become empowered by this context to imagine better futures. 'Alternative culture is not unchanging, it is an ephemeral phenomenon' (Pixová, 2013: p. 228). Although alternative cultures exist historically, the politics, society and spatialities of the time affect their expression. LU allow us to understand the contexts in which they are created. Rather than marginal forms of urban life, LU instead enable us to vision Liquid Modernity as expressed through a range of different types of projects and initiatives. I argue that the typology of LU, based on the empirical evidence I presented in Chapters 5-7, theorises provisional places in the city which I claim will become more common in the future.

8.3: Liquid Urbanisms

Building on my explanation of Liquid Urbanisms in Chapter 3, I outlined and defined the three types of Liquid Urbanisms: Creative Urbanisms (CU), Community-Based

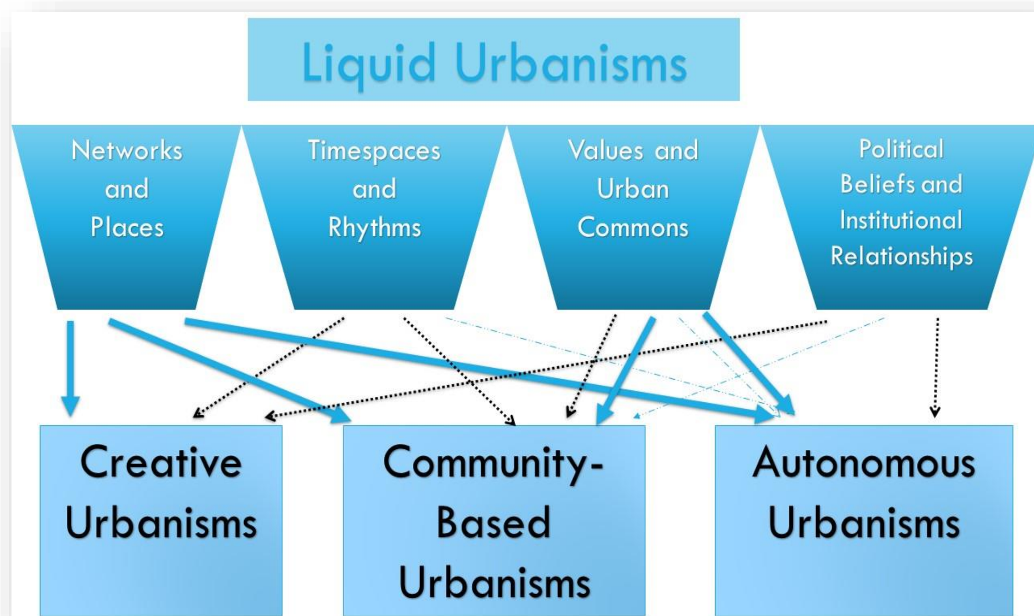
Urbanisms (CBU), and Autonomous Urbanisms (AU). I also described and situated the four tributaries of Liquid Urbanisms: networks and places, timespaces and rhythms, values and urban commons, and political beliefs and institutional relationships. The typology has both types and tributaries, which are meant to be understood as flexible and fluid, as the title Liquid Urbanisms embodies and as can be seen from Figure 8.1. The thicker blue lines indicate the strongest tributaries, while the thinner black lines designate lesser connections for the different types and the light blue dotted lines indicate tributaries which are not as important for that type and which I did not explore, but which are still present.

As Figure 8.1 shows, for Creative Urbanisms (Chapter 5), networks and places is the primary tributary, followed by the tributaries of timespaces and rhythms, and political beliefs and institutional relationships. In Chapter 6 Community-Based Urbanisms, the most relevant tributary is values and urban commons, followed by networks and places, and timespaces and rhythms. Political beliefs and institutional relationships cuts across all these tributaries. For the third type, Autonomous Urbanisms, discussed in Chapter 7, there is a strong prevalence of networks and places, but values and urban commons are also critical, followed by political beliefs and institutional relationships to a lesser extent.

CU offers a new perspective on creativity and differ from debates on creative cities because it enables considerations of creative places and networks as ‘rhizomatic’, and focuses on the unique timespaces of creative urbanists from the perspectives of users and makers. CU allows us to understand creativity as a progressive tool to make a better city rooted in the everyday. CBU assist scholars in reimagining communities as not based only on physical location, but also material

or networked communities. In addition, CBU shows us new ways of appraising community-based projects as the case studies I explored indicate that we should review so-called alternative values and thus broaden our understanding of cities. AU build on and extends the literature on occupations, squats and direct actions, through the exploration of an ideal type of place and a constant presence of a landscape of autonomous geographies.

Figure 8.1: Diagram of LU types and tributaries.



Indeed, my research contributes to 'the continuing importance of place in Ireland' (Linehan, 2006: p. 183), and my PhD thesis reflects the importance of networks and places, even if their significance cannot be quantified by existing frameworks. This highlights the need for a new set of tools, which LU has begun to provide. The 'pluralised and eventful sense of lived timespace' is clear from Chapter 5, when considering the rhizomatic collective of Upstart. This example

demonstrates the ‘gatherings’ of place. By paying attention to the timespaces and rhythms of places and projects, scholars gain insight into new lifeworlds. From Chapter 6 we can track the unexpected development of Block T into another space, while the collective remains connected and linked to the original building through rhythms. The tributary of values and urban commons highlights the need to focus on non-dominant narratives of the city, as contestations against the neoliberal imaginary, but also as always existing parts of any city, through people as infrastructure, immaterial infrastructure, use value and forms of solidarity, among others. Finally, the political, as I argued using Mouffe (2016) can exist in many forms, and is always contested, even if these contestations are not associated with traditional party politics. I argue that all of the LU case studies I have investigated are in some way ‘political’, interacting with these tributaries to make changes in the everyday.

As I explored in Chapter 2 and 3, I based the concept of Liquid Urbanisms on Bauman’s Liquid Modernity. However, my engagement has not been uncritical. I argue that while his diagnosis of the general contemporary context is very helpful in strengthening our understanding, his assessment is incorrect at times, or does not fully engage with conceptual frameworks, instead skimming over them which he has been critiqued for doing, as I described in Chapter 2. This contributes to his lack of use in Geography or Urban Studies. One area I especially disagree with Bauman is his view on communities and networks. For him, communities are based on spatial propinquity, which I demonstrated was not valid for my case studies. Networks, Bauman contends, are a negative outcome of Liquid Modernity, in his view it is symptomatic of a collapse in social bonds: ‘The difference between a community

and a network is that you belong to a community, but a network belongs to you' (Bauman, 2016: n/a). Yet, as I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, there are different types of networks, from rhizomatic to loose networks, which allow for different possibilities of relational place-making.

Figure 8.1 illustrates that across the three types, the tributary of networks and places was important. For CU, networks were rhizomatic, for CBU networks were based on social capital, and for AU, networks were tied together to create an idealised 'type of place'. Each type illustrated networks as significant, which proves that contrary to Bauman's narrow view of networks, links and connections by users across places can have positive impacts by resulting in the projects I described in this PhD thesis. Networks, when understood as multiple, fluid and open to change, better suit my discussion of Liquid Urbanisms, which offer a versatile and flexible framework for understanding the related concepts of community, traces, meshwork, and assemblages. Many of the individuals researched in my thesis were linked through a range of loose connections that allowed them to change and adapt as new opportunities presented themselves. Not to say this freedom is homogenous, but at the core of the networks I have studied is the importance of place-making and its role in allowing people to create networks.

Pierce et al. (2011) acknowledged that a clear lack of empirical work existed to document the theoretical work about the co-constitutive processes of places and networks, a gap this PhD thesis addressed. While there are many similarities and differences of networks and places across the types, which I have explored in Chapters 5-7, all participants I talked to considered networks or networking important in some way to the success of their LU projects. That is not to create a

uniform picture, as the individual rhythms and timespaces of the initiatives can have positive and negative effects as described in this PhD thesis. Yet when taken together, overall LU have contributed to alternative urban commons that provide forms of use value beyond capitalist measures. Their specific political beliefs and relationships to institutions often motivate liquid urbanists to challenge the status quo of existing urban power geometries of the city and to create new modalities of relating to others through the projects described.

I would like to note here that the types exist on a continuum, as one LU can change from one type to another as time goes on. For example, Granby Park (GP), which I classify as a CU, functioned also as a CBU for some of its related smaller projects before, during and after the official time of its opening as a pop-up park (September 2013). This was because GP was rooted in a particular locale, collaborated with community partners, and involved existing CBU youth and social workers, and generated new volunteers for these. Block T (BT), which I have classified as a CBU, remains in a transition stage and if it became more insular and focused on creative practices, could be reclassified as a CU in the future.

The Liquid Urbanisms I have explored in this thesis are place-based and locally rooted, but have global resonance for conceptualising the way people understand social movements, 'providing an entry by which struggles from the margins can influence power relationships at the centre' (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2009: p. 185; also cf Massey, 1994). In other words, what appears to be a 'smaller', provisional local project must actually be understood as occurring at multiple scales. Place, in other words, provides an entry to understanding these scalar relations (ibid). I concur with Staeheli and Mitchell (2009) that the politics of place

link everyday struggles to larger processes that shape our world. Often it is too simplistic to say that capitalist understandings of cities dominate urban narratives because such a statement ignores the contingent politics of place. For these authors what we need is a 'mobile sense of place' (ibid: p. 190). Crucially, this understanding of place, which complements my discussion of loose networks, acknowledges the importance of an ideal sense of place, while also embodying the liquid nature of the world around us. We need to consider not only what LU are and look like, but what the broader implications of these projects are for cities and scholarly theories of the city.

8.4: Policy Implications and Areas of Further Research

Urban governance is historically structured around what Bauman referred to as 'solid modernity'; past modes of modernist governance which no longer fits the contemporary context. Instead, urban governance needs a fundamental revision to respond to the realities of the 'restless urban landscape' (Knox, 1991, p: 181). One recent way of viewing the city is through the lens of the 'Smart City' (Kitchin, 2018), the latest version of entrepreneurial governance. Even though neoliberal agendas posit the idea that smart cities are beneficial for citizens, in reality, the smart city framework increasingly views urban inhabitants as 'data points' and the right to the smart city in reality is the right to be a consumer (Kitchin, 2018: p. 2). For a truly smart city, Kitchin argues that firstly, the inequalities that capitalism causes need to be addressed, and that secondly, we need to move away from neoliberal forms of organising towards socially democratic ideals.

I assert that LU are undertaking both of these tasks. As I have demonstrated throughout, we need a new vocabulary that understands the practices and projects I have explored as significant. What does urban governance look like in the age of LU? I argue that understanding LU are even more important in this context and that further research needs to be done to answer this question. One interesting point to note is the potential for city authorities to change. In 2016 Dublin City Council set up Dublin Culture Connects, which developed from the 'temporary' group working to bid for Dublin to gain the 'European City of Culture' 2020 bid. While the bid failed, the research was strong enough that the city has continued their work, which has engaged with what 'culture' means for the citizens of Dublin through art, music, theatre and many other creative activities, focusing on a variety of community-based groups. Interestingly, DCC noted in the agenda for Dublin Culture Connects that 'Dublin City Council have also adopted the UNESCO definition of culture, broadening their previously "narrow arts-focused definition"' (Dublin Culture Connects, 2018a: n/a). This recognition of the problematic perspective of DCC to arts and culture could signify a potential area of change in city governance inhibited by the 'creative cities' rhetoric.

Liquid Urbanisms – and even Liquid Modernity – are still new conceptual frameworks. The LU typology I have offered here provides scholars with the possibility of looking at their cities in a new way, and to consider if these types and tributaries exist there. I have stated that this is the major significance and contribution of the PhD thesis. However, the typology I have created is not an exhaustive list. There are alternative elements from various cities which can be

added to strengthen and extend the typology in other cities. Further research could uncover other types and tributaries which would enhance the concept of LU.

8.5: Conclusion

This PhD thesis offers an ecology of provisional places and projects in Dublin that synthesises and analyses case studies according to types and tributaries of Liquid Urbanisms. The meta-theory of Liquid Urbanisms enables scholars to discuss and conceptualise alternative places in neoliberal cities by providing the concepts, research design, and methodology necessary to do this, which was lacking when I began my research project. The LU types and tributaries allow comparisons to be made so that the ecology of provisional places in Dublin can be compared and contrasted to other cities. This PhD thesis provides an insight into the particular context of the post-austerity period in Dublin, breaking new empirical ground by focusing on the everyday experiences of the people creating and using provisional places, flexible spaces and rhizomatic networks. It also includes more radical uses of the urban, such as squats, autonomous centres, and direct-action occupations which are often missing from Urban Studies or Geographical literature about so-called 'temporary urbanisms'. The study offers an innovative methodological approach, through the 'Flexible Activist Case Study Approach', and synthetic and analytic ways of interpreting these initiatives. The main contribution of the research is to highlight these uses of the city as always existing, simultaneous and not as lesser to economic or political processes taking place in the city.

I want to conclude by arguing that we need to understand the city as dialectical, restless and processual and thus understand urban theory as provisional. I argue throughout this PhD thesis that my research on the liquid timespaces of the lived city problematizes taken-for-granted, normative assumptions about the city prominent within Geography and Urban Studies. There are many examples of static thinking in Urban Studies, with the logic of binary reasoning as limiting possible spatial realities and imaginaries. One example is seeing analytic and synthetic forms of knowledge as oppositional. Another example is seeing the use of urban space as temporary or permanent. In addition, there are two visions of the city, one of a more traditional, Marxist critique which reifies the importance of the built environment. The other focuses on the rhythmic, lived, and experiential nature of cities. Rarely are the two brought into conversation as I aimed to do in this thesis. This once again exemplifies a binary, dichotomous way of viewing these concepts and the urban.

Instead, I posit, following O'Callaghan (2017), that we consider urban theory and the spaces it conceptualises as 'provisional', a view that challenges the idea that there can be a universal meta-theory about the city which fits all contexts. Instead, theory encounters different contexts in geographically specific ways. O'Callaghan develops Robinson's (2011) call for comparative methodologies to create relational urban research which is 'experimental, but with theoretically rigorous foundations' (p. 1). Provisional approaches to the city enable scholars to emphasise the connections between the local and the global and to engage more directly with urban politics. Likewise, Marcuse (2015) invites us to interrogate the language used in urban policy, and I contend that we should expand his provocation

to all areas of research, to question how 'standard urban research and writing have a problem' which is 'rarely confronted', namely, of using a 'language replete with slippery words, phrases and formulations, taken at face value and unquestioned' (p. 152). As scholars, we must broaden our frameworks of understanding by challenging the use of language and discourse.

In addition, Ruddick et al. (2018) have highlighted the tremendous importance of focusing urban debates on the everyday. For those authors, the new debates on planetary urbanisation (Brenner and Schmidt, 2015) point to the need for new urban theory, but those current debates are not yet what is needed. Peake (2016), as a feminist scholar, problematizes the debates on planetary urbanisation, which she argues, is part of neoliberal discourse and thus privileges masculinist forms of knowledge. It further exemplifies the 'limits of totalizing discourse' (Robinson and Roy, 2016: p. 185), the binary logic which I critiqued as problematic. Ruddick et al. (2018) claim that because crisis and protest are not included in planetary urbanisation, the ontological struggle around the everyday is missing.

Ruddick et al. further support the contributions of queer, postcolonial and feminist scholars in the understanding of the urban; the right to the city could be reimagined as a right to difference. The everyday context, with an emphasis on difference, becomes the key focus from which a new political imaginary can emerge: 'Urbanisation is an open process determined through praxis, by actual people making the world they inhabit' (Ruddick et al., 2018: p. 399). These authors claim that it is only through concentrating on the everyday that we will be able to fully reconceptualise the urban. This fits in very well with my PhD research, as LUists are creating new alternatives, rooted in the ordinary, everyday context,

which demonstrates that LU offers scholars new ways to conceptualise the urban and learn from these projects, places and initiatives.

I conclude this PhD thesis by challenging the use of language and discourse and asking that scholars broaden our frameworks, and offer LU as one way to achieve this. The 'liquid modern world . . . [is] pulling ever new surprises out of its sleeve, daily inventing new challenges to human understanding' (Bauman, 2010: p. 4). Liquid Urbanisms can act as these new surprises, and if we take seriously the provisional, yet everyday spaces of the city, and the places and networks made by a range of LU creators and users. Their calls for change invite us to reconceptualise our languages and understandings of the city, as I have sought to do through my conceptual framework of the LU typology. Through the types and tributaries of LU typology urban scholars can begin to acknowledge the multiplicity of, and values within, cities from the perspective of the urban inhabitants themselves.

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Appendix 1: Examples of Ethical Information and Consent Form, and Ethical Approval

Rachel Mc Ardle: Maynooth University, Department of Geography and NIRSA
Consent and Information Form for Research Project
'Temporary Urbanisms? A case study approach looking at temporary artistic initiatives in Dublin from 2013-2016'

My name is Rachel Mc Ardle and I am a PhD student in the Department of Geography and the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, at Maynooth University. I would like to invite you to participate in a study about your involvement with temporary artistic initiatives and spaces in Dublin. This information sheet provides an overview of the project and my contact details.

I am interested in learning more about your experience in terms of these initiatives. I would like to interview people involved in the running of these spaces and events about their experience of the space/event. I would like to observe in these artistic spaces, if possible and interact with the various groups and specific people involved. I also want to track the history of these artistic spaces, as well as the linkages between them, and the impact they perceive they have on the city.

As a person relevant to the project in some way, I would like to ask for your voluntary participation in this study. I would like to talk to you about what is mentioned above, in an interview setting. If you would like to participate, I will ask general questions, such as how did you become involved with group/event, when did this involvement take place, what has your interactions been with other groups, if any, been like, and what is your perception of your groups impact on the city.

Participants can use their real name if they wish. As with any small community, it can be difficult to guarantee complete anonymity, and pseudonyms will be offered to all participants. If a participant chooses to not use a pseudonym, attributions to the individual's work position will be used instead, such as 'organiser 1', 'member 1', etc. However the name of the organisation or initiative will be used.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You can answer as many or as few questions in any way you wish. As these will be open-ended discussions, you can also talk about related topics and ideas. If there are any questions you cannot or wish not to answer, that is fine; we will move on to the next question. Please also ask me questions. At any time you can decide to discontinue the interview. Your consent can be withdrawn at anytime of the research.

If you wish to participate, please read the rest of this sheet and sign two copies of the consent form below. One form you can keep and the other I will keep for my records. Please indicate if you give permission for your name and images to be used and if I have permission to record the interview.

I will do my best to maintain confidentiality and anonymity during the research process and in subsequent research outputs unless you wish your name to be identified. Otherwise all personal information for the study will masked. I will modify any photographs so that you cannot be identified, unless you decide otherwise. We will keep the data in a secure place at the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, at Maynooth University, on an encrypted computer. The data will be retained for comparative studies or follow-up projects. The results will be used for the researcher's scholarly articles, academic presentations and educational purposes. I am happy to send you a digital copy of these outcomes if you provide me with your address, and you are free to use this material if cited correctly.

It must be recognized that, in some circumstances, confidentiality of research data and records may be overridden by courts in the event of litigation or in the course of investigation by lawful authority. In such circumstances Maynooth University will take all reasonable steps within law to ensure that confidentiality is maintained to the greatest possible extent.

If during your participation in this study you feel the information and guidelines that you were given have been neglected or disregarded in any way, or if you are unhappy about the process, please contact the Secretary of the National University of Ireland Maynooth Ethics Committee at research.ethics@mumail.ie or +353 (0)1 708 6019. Please be assured that your concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner. You may also contact me any time:
Rachel Mc Ardle, e-mail: Rachel.mcardle.2011@mumail.ie;
Address: National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, Iontas building, Maynooth University, Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Ireland.

CONSENT FORM

I have read the information form provided and agree to participate in this study.

Name (printed)

Name (signature)

Name	Please check here to consent
I would like my real name to be used OR	
I would prefer to have a pseudonym used OR	
I would prefer to be labelled as 'organiser 1' or 'member 1'	

Recording consent	Please check here to consent
I agree to have the interview digitally recorded [Please note that after the interview is transcribed, your name will be masked unless you chose to use your real name (as above)]	

Taking photos/recording	Please check here to consent
I agree to have pictures and video taken of my contributions/participation to the project OR	
Pictures and videos may be taken, but please mask my identity	

Thank you for your generosity in participating in this study! Rachel Mc Ardle.

MAYNOOTH UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
MAYNOOTH UNIVERSITY,
MAYNOOTH, CO. KILDARE, IRELAND

Dr Carol Barrett
Secretary to Maynooth University Research Ethics Committee

29 October 2015

Rachel Mc Ardle
NIRSA
Maynooth University

RE: Application for Ethical Approval for a project entitled: **Liquid urbanisms: Transitory topographies in the city**

Dear Rachel,

The above project has been evaluated under Tier 2 process, Expedited review and we would like to inform you that ethical approval has been granted.

Any deviations from the project details submitted to the ethics committee will require further evaluation. This ethical approval will expire on 31 October 2017.

Kind Regards,

Dr Carol Barrett
Secretary,
Maynooth University Research Ethics Committee

C.c Professor Mark Boyle, NIRSA
Dr Karen Till, Department of Geography

Reference Number
SRESC-2015-078

Appendix 2: Sample Interview Questions

Interview Questions: Granby Park

1. Can you tell me a bit more about your background and how that led you to create Upstart?

2. First, How had Upstart and its' membership changed since the poster campaign in 2011? Second, Can you tell me more about how the idea for GP developed? How/why did Upstart want to create Granby Park?

3. How would you describe GP to people who had never heard of it before? To European people? To international people?

4. Can you tell me and what were the original goals? Who came together for this project? [Be sure to ask if he doesn't mention it how the initial idea for a community gardens elsewhere didn't work out. Ask why not, and then ask why the idea for a community garden changed to a pop up park, etc.]

5. Can you tell me about the project from the planning to realisation phases? Were there any surprises? What aspects did you expect? How did you face challenges (expected and unexpected)?

6. In general: What social groups did GP work with and how did that happen? Can you discuss an example of when that worked well? When it didn't work so well?

7. You developed the youth reconciliation project, which Ricky later helped lead. Can you discuss how that started and why you wanted to include this aspect?

8. Can you reflect on what the broader context of the city was at the time, what kind of things were happening?

9. As a unique cultural space, what links did GP have to other cultural groups in Dublin, at the time?

10. In that context and in terms of the location of GP: what were the benefits GP offered for residents of the North Inner City area?

11. Can you reflect upon what benefits GP had for inhabitants of the city more generally? For guests to the city?

12. What benefits did GP have for you personally? What are your most cherished memories of the project?

13. What projects are the project's founders involved in now? What are you involved in now?

14. When the park ended, what were your expectations of what the future would be? Has this surprised you or is it what you expected?

15. Have you thought about the legacy of the project?

Finally:

16. Is there anyone else that you would recommend I talk to, that was involved with GP?

17. Is there anything else you would like to add?

18. Do you have any questions for me?

19. Would you be interested in a possible group discussion on this topic in the future?

Appendix 3: List of Interviews

AH1	Apollo House volunteer 1, interview with Irish Housing Network research team, January 2017.
AH2	Apollo House volunteer 2, interview with Irish Housing Network research team, April 2017.
AH3	Apollo House volunteer 3, interview with Irish Housing Network research team, May 2017.
AH4	Apollo House volunteer 4, interview with author as part of the Irish Housing Network research team, July 2017.
ATS1	Art Tunnel Smithfield creator, interview with author, 22nd September 2016.
BFF1	Bloom Fringe Festival organiser 1, interview with author, Dublin, 29th June 2016.
BFF2	Bloom Fringe Festival organiser 2, interview with author, Dublin, 29th June 2016.
BT1	Block T founder and core member, informal conversation with author, Dublin, 11th November 2016 and interview 28th November 2016.
BT2	Block T studio member turned core member 1, informal conversation with author, Dublin, 5th October 2016.
BT3	Block T studio member, informal conversation with author, Dublin, 5th October 2016.
BT4	Block T studio member and community activist, informal conversation with author, Dublin, 5th October 2016.
BT5	Block T hot desk user and graphic designer, informal conversation with author, Dublin, 7th of November 2016.

CtDs1	Connect the Dots Interview with author, 27th of July 2017.
DB1	Dublin Biennial organiser, interview with author, February 17th 2015.
GG1	Grangegorman squatter interview with author, 30th of January 2017.
GP1	Granby Park Interview with author, 5th of October 2017.
M1	Mabos member interview with author, 22nd September 2016.
MACG1	Mary's Abbey Community Garden member, informal conversation with author, 8th of September 2016.
MU	Maynooth University.
TBI1	The Barricade Inn squatter interview with author, 13th September 2016.