2020a), which emphasised the importance of mixing commercial and non-commercial uses. This urban planning strategy aligns with the 'foundational economy' approach's focus on vital everyday activities, which have often been overlooked by policymakers.

The foundational economy approach (Bärnthaler et al. 2021; Foundational Economy Collective 2018) stems from a comprehensive understanding of economic activities and the actors involved in working and consuming. It concerns the local provision of essential basic goods via the interrelationships among individual consumption, public services and infrastructure, both material (e.g. energy, transport, water) and social (e.g. education, healthcare). The Covid-19 crisis revealed that both types of infrastructure are crucial to daily living; they are so essential to everyday life, in fact, that they were excluded from closure during lockdowns. The foundational economy – as well as what is called the 'overlooked economy' of non-essential local provisions, such as restaurants, hairdressers, culture and the arts – not only forms the everyday economy but is also an integral part of civilised life (Krisch et al. 2020). Therefore, this paper aims to understand its structure and components.

To achieve this aim, we present a case study of Favoritenstrasse, a Viennese pedestrian zone, and explore how the provision of foundational goods, services and infrastructure shapes everyday life. As the foundational economy includes various socioeconomic activities, we selected one sector from each of the following three categories: food provision via supermarkets and a local market, mobility in and around the pedestrian zone as an example of public infrastructure, and cultural initiatives as a (only apparently) non-essential service. The research is based on statistical data, the analysis of policy documents, and qualitative interviews with 25 local stakeholders across various fields, including administration, politics, economics, social services and civic initiatives. The interviewees were asked about recent trends at Favoritenstrasse and possible measures to improve its potential.

First, we provide an overview of the general characteristics of the research area and the people living around Favoritenstrasse. Second, we describe the use of its five squares with a focus on food retail, mobility and cultural initiatives. Based on our empirical findings, we discuss how the foundational economy can be fostered more effectively in Favoritenstrasse to improve polycentric city life.

Research area: Favoritenstrasse

The research area is a 1.3-kilometre-long section of the Favoritenstrasse and its neighbourhoods, located in Favoriten, Vienna's 10th and most populous district (207,193 residents in 2020). The research area has repeatedly been referred to as the 'Centre of Favoriten' (WKO Wien 1999) or the 'Favoriten Central Area' (WKO Wien 2015), located between Sonnwendplatz and Reumannplatz on one side and Laxenburgerstrasse, Sonnwendgasse and Herndlgasse on the other.

Over the last 20 years, the composition of Favoritenstrasse's inhabitants has changed considerably, as many migrants have come to Favoriten. However, the most prominent ethnic groups have remained those originating from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia. Since the admission of Eastern European countries to the European Union in 2004, there has been a significant increase in migrant populations, particularly those from Romania, Poland and Bulgaria. Most recently, refugees from Syria have begun to settle in Favoriten, which is now home to many different nationalities. Between 2001 and 2019, the proportion of people with Austrian citizenship in the research area dropped from 70 per cent to 46 per cent.[1] As this figure includes immigrants who have gained Austrian citizenship, the actual share of autochthonous Austrians is even lower. The conditions for settling in Favoriten are favourable for new arrivals. Due to its history as a working-class district, the cost of accommodation is significantly lower than in other areas (WKO 2011; WKO 2020). Furthermore, since different migrant groups already live there, it is easier for newcomers to find their way around (Knierbein 2016). Importantly, however, not having Austrian citizenship excludes migrants from municipal and national elections, reducing the bargaining power of significant parts of the local population vis-à-vis public authorities.

The research area is an old neighbourhood built between the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of World War I. Its population density (330 residents per hectare) is five times higher than the average of its district (60 residents per hectare) (Gruber and Jauschneg 2016, 13). Recent population growth started only in 2011, increasing the population by 15 per cent in the last 10 years. This can, according to interviewees (1, 9), be attributed to families moving into the homes of elderly people following their death or those of people who had moved to newly constructed buildings in Sonnwendviertel, one of Vienna's nearby urban development areas. There are no private gardens and only a few green and small public spaces in the vicinity. Per local

policy, 4 m² of public space per resident should be available within 500 metres of walking distance. At Reumannplatz, the biggest square in the research area, this value is only 0.54 m² (Gruber and Jauschneg 2016, 20). As the rest of the area has even less green and open space, residents rely heavily on the public space of the pedestrian zone and its squares.

Inhabitants in this area have limited financial resources; net income is the third lowest in Vienna, and the unemployment rate is above average. Recent years have seen substantial gentrification, induced by the opening of the new main railway station in 2014 – and, in turn, new hotels – reducing living space. Two adjacent urban development areas, one already largely completed (Sonnwendviertel) and the other in its final planning phase (Neues Landgut), attract financially stronger residents, potentially exacerbating displacement according to some interviewees (7, 17, 18).

The pedestrian zone

The pedestrian zone in Favoritenstrasse is one of Vienna's longest shopping streets and the district's social and commercial centre (Figure 11.1). Within a short distance there are five squares: Reumannplatz, Viktor-Adler-Markt, Keplerplatz, Columbusplatz and Sonnwendplatz. Each has unique functions in everyday life. While the upper part of Favoritenstrasse is highly frequented, the lower part is less so. In the most recent pedestrian count carried out by the Vienna Economic Chamber, four times as many pedestrians were counted in the upper section than in the lower section (see Table 11.1).

Table 11.1: Overview of the characteristic features of the squares

	Reumannplatz	**Viktor-Adler-Platz**	**Keplerplatz**	**Columbusplatz**	**Sonnwendplatz**
Size	27,000m²	6,600m²	5,000m²	5,500m²	3,400m²
Section	Upper section			Lower section	
Pedestrian zone	Since 1975			Since 2005	
Number of pedestrians[2]	64,799	47,716		15,039	
Main building	Amalienbad	Domenig House	Church, district office	Shopping centre	Bahnorama (demolished)

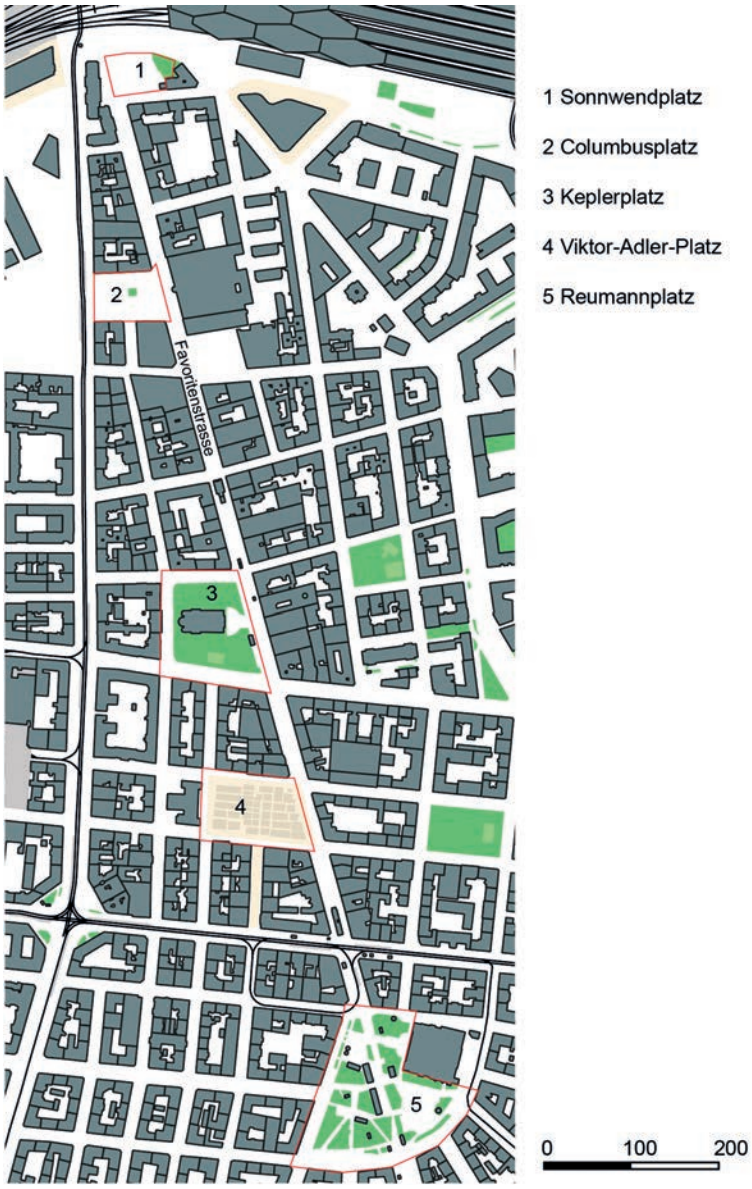

Figure 11.1: The pedestrian zone of Favoritenstrasse and its squares.
© Birgit Hausleitner

Reumannplatz

Reumannplatz is a public transport hub and the largest square in the district – 27,000 m^2 larger than the other four squares combined. Its shape resembles a slice of cake, with an extensive arched boundary in the south that narrows in the north into the centre of Favoritenstrasse. Due to its size, it is hardly perceptible that it is a central public transport hub with an underground station, two tramway lines, several regional coach-line termini, and an underground parking facility. Instead, its dominant feature is its design as a park with lots of trees and benches (Figure 11.2). The eastern side of the square features *Amalienbad*, a large public bathing establishment. When it was built in the 1920s, it was the most modern public bath in Europe. On the western edge of the square, there are several established shops, including *Tichy*, an ice cream shop known throughout Vienna and one of the few remaining longstanding local businesses. Alongside it are a pharmacy, a hairdresser's shop and a jewellery store, all of which have a longstanding presence.

Conflicting interests meet at Reumannplatz, as demonstrated by its recent remodelling. On the one hand, local business together with the Vienna Economic Chamber presented a plan for establishing an 'upscale gastronomy', including a prosecco bar, with the desired side effect of keeping 'dubious audiences' away from the square. On the other hand, a citizens' initiative mobilised against these plans,

Figure 11.2: Benches alongside trees at Reumannplatz. © David Pujadas Bosch

referring to a socio-spatial analysis and a proper citizen participation process whose findings were published in another report, acknowledging that Reumannplatz is already a very intensively used square. Therefore, the square must maintain its non-commercial functions (Gruber and Jauschneg 2016).

The square has a diverse user base. In particular, it is a popular meeting place for young men with a migrant background, regardless of the lack of public sports facilities and adequate shelter from the elements. Since 2014, the girls' group 'Girls for Favoriten' has been active at the square with support from Local Agenda 21, a publicly funded organisation supporting civic engagement, organising events at the square and in its vicinity.

The remodelling of the square concluded in 2020 and featured a 'girls' stage', the first public stage in Vienna exclusively reserved for girls. Notably, the remodelling did not entail a gastronomic zone. This planning conflict illustrates emerging gentrification dynamics and efforts to displace less influential, partly marginalised groups from public space, as well as successful resistance and the capacity of weaker social groups to articulate their interests.

Viktor-Adler-Markt

Only 250 metres into the city, Viktor-Adler-Platz is a large marketplace with fruit and vegetable traders, butchers and grocers trading in spices, fruits and foreign delicacies. There are also a few restaurants and clothing shops at its edge. It is the third most densely built-up market in Vienna, with narrow paths between the market stalls, contributing to an intimate atmosphere. The farmers' market in a Viktor-Adler-Markt side street is advertised as a unique feature of the district, with the most original and loudest sellers in Vienna (Figure 11.3) providing a unique market experience (Otto Immobilien 2020, 70).

At the corner of the square is the Domenig House, the only building of architectural significance in the pedestrian zone due to its expressive facade of curved stainless steel panels. It was built in the 1970s as a bank branch and cultural centre. On account of bank mergers and several ownership changes, the building is now being converted into a hotel. However, according to interviewee no. 12, it would be ideal for use as a district cultural centre.

Viktor-Adler-Platz is a popular meeting place for the autochthonous population and migrants alike, as the market is well known for its low prices. In recent years, the average number of customers has

Figure 11.3: Farmers' market in Leibnizgasse. © Peter Gugerell

dropped by at least a third[3] despite other Viennese markets enjoying rising popularity. One explanation for this trend may be that many of the market's goods are also available at four supermarkets within walking distance. These supermarkets also offer organic fruits and vegetables – products not found at the market (Troppmann 2015, 30). At the same time, however, some stall traders stock products that are unavailable in supermarkets but in demand among migrant communities, such as pita bread. Some of the butchers at the market also enjoy great popularity, with their shops often featuring long queues.

The many nations represented at this market have inspired cultural initiatives. For example, the association 'Mitten-in-Favoriten' organises food tours, on which one can get to know ethnic cuisine and dishes. Caritas Vienna, a non-profit organisation run by the Catholic Church, is in charge of a market stall – Stand 129 – that doubles as a cultural and art space. This space features films, exhibitions, cooking rounds, choir rehearsals, and workshops for children during school holidays. Subsidies from various public bodies help both organisations offer their events free of charge, bringing people together and promoting (cross-cultural) exchange.

Keplerplatz

A stone's throw away from Viktor-Adler-Platz is Keplerplatz, featuring a church at its centre. The primary symbol of the square is the Kepler church surrounded by a park. There are plenty of benches around

Figure 11.4: Church (foreground) and district office (background) at Keplerplatz. © David Pujadas Bosch

the church and a walkway to a pedestrian zone (Figure 11.4). On one side of the square runs Gudrunstrasse, a very busy street with two bus stops, and a pedestrian crossing. (Until the 2000s, people could not cross the street, needing to use the pedestrian subway. As more and more people started to jaywalk across the street, a safe crossing was provided with traffic lights.) Behind the church is the district's administrative centre – the district office – which hosts a school and a kindergarten. Children and youth groups use the playground and the football cage at the square. A group of alcoholics who linger at the edge of the pedestrian zone in front of the church have repeatedly given rise to complaints. Measures such as an alcohol ban or a lack of seating have not been implemented so far, as this would also mean implementing restrictions on other, less problematic groups.

Columbusplatz

Nearby is Columbusplatz, in which restaurants and cafes take up a considerable share of public space. In the early 2000s, a shopping centre was constructed with a glass front and parking lot beneath the square (Figure 11.5). As a consequence, large, shady chestnut trees gave way to newly planted trees, which can no longer take deep roots and will never reach the size of the old trees, making Columbusplatz appear empty. As a result, this area constitutes one of the city's heat islands (ORF 2019). The former tram stop was also relocated to the

Figure 11.5: Parking entrance beneath Columbusplatz, behind the glass front of the shopping centre with glass front. © David Pujadas Bosch

adjacent Laxenburgerstrasse. The square is busy and frequented by locals due to the area's high population density and the lack of alternative open spaces. There are some public benches, but they are less comfortable than those at Keplerplatz; additionally, they are too far apart to facilitate conversation between more than two people. Since 2000, the square has hosted the annual two-day 'Stumm & Laut' in memory of the silent film tradition in the 10th District at Laaer-Berg. This event is organised by Kulturraum 10, a local initiative that promotes cultural activities in the district. The square has repeatedly attracted the interest of artists seeking to beautify it, but no project has yet been implemented.

Sonnwendplatz

Sonnwendplatz, a square-shaped extension of the Favoritenstrasse in the north, marks the other end of the pedestrian zone, though it is generally devoid of the varied civic life of the other squares. During the construction of the main railway station, an observation tower called the Bahnorama was established, though it was demolished following the conclusion of the construction work. Its site now hosts a car park. Several interviewees (1, 3, 9, 11, 12) considered this to be an improper decision. Although it would not have saved the local economy, as one interviewee (11) said, it was an initiative pointing in the right direction because the tower was a landmark, and people liked to

Figure 11.6: Free space alongside a car park at Sonnwendplatz. © David Pujadas Bosch

go there. It would have been possible to preserve the Bahnorama, as Wiener Wohnen, a municipal housing company, owned the plot. One cafe on the corner of the pedestrian zone has been vacant for over a year, and other pubs at the square seem to be only moderately attended. Thus, the square is perceived as 'dead space' (Figure 11.6). Interviewees expressed a desire for the revitalisation of this square to offer services to the neighbourhood, Viennese residents and tourists. In 2020, an artist group submitted a proposal to Shift – a Viennese programme to improve local cultural assets outside the city centre – for the construction of a wooden stage. The project was approved and ran between May and October 2021 with various performances (e.g. music, dance, readings) organised by Stand 129. Eventually, the wooden stage was removed from the square and deployed somewhere else.

Discussion

The squares in the pedestrian zone in Vienna's 10th district form a line of sub-centres within walking distance that are unique in their physical space, social infrastructure, and provision of goods and services.

One key purpose of a pedestrian zone is shopping. In two of the squares, located at either end of the street, commercial uses are particularly pronounced although in different ways. At Columbusplatz, a shopping centre and gastronomic businesses dominate the scenery,

while Viktor-Alder-Platz features the biggest marketplace in the district. The Viennese population traditionally identifies strongly with markets and squares in the living area (Häberlin 2021, 47). To this day, Viktor-Adler-Platz is important to the people of Favoriten, both for shopping and for socialising. It is so popular that political campaigns often hold events there.

Squares with non-commercial primary usage are found in the middle of the pedestrian street with a church and a small surrounding park at the two ends of the central pedestrian zone. These two sites differ fundamentally from one another. While Reumannplatz is a big, highly frequented square divided into different sections of green and open space, the smaller Sonnwendplatz provides hardly any green space or seating on which to linger, failing to offer civic amenities.

Each square in the pedestrian zone has its own unique characteristics. Aside from Sonnwendplatz, they all address the basic daily needs of the local population in various ways. Each features a specific combination of the foundational economy's economic sectors or, in contrast, a single sector dominates. This dynamic has resulted in various types of centres with different primary functions along the pedestrian zone (Table 11.2).

Accessibility within walking distance or by public transport is crucial for establishing a centre (Häberlin 2021, 47); this prerequisite is well established in the literature. Many customers at Viktor-Adler-Platz, for example, live within walking distance of the square (44 per cent), and a considerable share of its visitors (37 per cent) use public transport (Wührer 2014, 69), available in nearby Reumannplatz.

Furthermore, public buildings contribute significantly to converting squares or streets into urban centres (MA 18 2020a, 52). Prominent examples in the area include the Amalienbad at Reumannplatz, the district office, a kindergarten, and a school at Keplerplatz. In general, public facilities in education, healthcare and leisure – to mention a few – provide the foundational services of daily needs and boost the diversity of services provided at the site. People can visit these facilities to run errands or visit cafes and pubs. In doing so, they foster the ongoing vitality of local urban centres. Similarly, publicly supported cultural initiatives, such as 'Stumm & Laut' in Columbusplatz, make an important contribution to vivid public spaces.

Local markets and surrounding supermarkets do an excellent job of providing foundational goods in the area. Stall traders at the marketplace offer their goods at very low prices, providing low-income residents with a cheap supply of food. In recent years, Syrians have

Table 11.2: Overview of selected features of the foundational economy

	Reumannplatz	**Viktor-Adler-Platz**	**Keplerplatz**	**Columbusplatz**	**Sonnwendplatz**
Main usage					
Commercial		X		X	-
Non-commercial	X		X		-
Public transport					
U-Station	X	X	X		
Tramway	X			X	
Bus stops	X		X		
Private parking	X			X	X
Space for recreation					
Park	X		X		
Benches	X		X	X	X
Cultural initiatives					
Continuous	X	X			
Occasional		X		X	
Type of centre	Traffic hub / recre-ation centre	Market-place	District centre	Consu mption centre	No centre function

become stall traders in droves, showing that the market serves as a helpful starting point to settle in and secure a livelihood. It is a place where migrant groups can find relatively easy access to work and communicate in their own language (or through basic facial expressions and gestures), facilitating low-threshold steps in language acquisition (Knierbein 2016, 54–55).

Local residents also appreciate open-air shopping settings. This aligns with general trends in consumer behaviour, with businesses merging shopping and leisure experiences (MA 18 2020a, 26). Food tours of the market conducted by a local cultural association help to expand personal culinary habits and may increase interest in the

products and dishes offered there. In recent years, the market has profited from the arrival of Syrian refugees. Nevertheless, market stall traders struggle to compete with supermarkets, as shown by the declining numbers of customers. The dense network of supermarkets within walking distance in the shopping street seems to increase competition rather than reinforce synergies. Compared to other federal states, Vienna ranks second in Austria in the number of organic farmers (APA 2020). As the municipality oversees the renting of market stalls, it would have room to manoeuvre to promote new arrangements that bring producers and consumers together by making market stalls available to food co-ops or organic farmers.

Open space is scarce and, in turn, extremely precious in densely populated, historically working-class quarters. The pedestrian zone and (green) squares allow users to walk around safely. However, a glimpse into the side streets of the pedestrian zone reveals a different image. Parked cars dominate public space, making streets narrow and dark with few lively ground-floor zones. Private parking still enjoys high priority in the district, hindering walkability and conviviality. Moreover, the pedestrian zone's side streets constitute a heat island (MA 18 2020b). Further improving polycentric life would require a reduction in the number of parking spaces on side streets to boost accessibility for both commercial and non-commercial uses.

Conclusion

The pedestrian street at Favoritenstrasse is a great example of a polycentric urban form that effectively hosts multiple sectors of the foundational economy. It shows that none of the squares needs to simultaneously accommodate all commercial and non-commercial uses. What is lacking in one can be offered by others nearby. Each square hosts a unique blend of commercial and non-commercial uses. This aligns with the recommendations of the municipal technical concept of polycentricity, which was elaborated in a broad consulting process with professionals from business and the public and private sectors, and stresses the importance of a mix of uses to attract various groups of people, (MA 18 2020a, 18).

Public space design is a key policy area through which city planners can directly improve quality of life (Häberlin 2021, 51). Publicly funded community work currently supports citizens in elaborating ideas for the design of public spaces. This approach widens public and green spaces

for non-commercial use (Bork et al. 2015, 31), such as *Grätzeloasen* or parklets[4] used by inhabitants. This type of small-scale innovation in neighbourhood revitalisation is rarely employed by native residents or immigrant communities.

The Covid-19 health crisis and the climate crisis continue to pose new challenges for urban policy. Densely populated areas are hit particularly hard by both. During the Covid-19 pandemic, many citizens enjoyed having foundational goods and services nearby, as the share of walking increased in 2020 from 28 to 37 per cent in Vienna (DerStandard 2021). Lower-income residents depend even more on local provisions, ensuring access to basic goods, services and infrastructure within walking distance. In fact, the strengthening of the foundational economy alongside a polycentric urban approach demonstrated by Favoritenstrasse empowers underprivileged inhabitants and provides conditions that facilitate a good life for all.

Notes

1 The statistical figures in this section are based on data from MA 23 (Municipal Department for Business, Labour and Statistics) and the authors' own calculations.
2 In Favoriten, there are three counting sites: Favoritenstrasse 107/126 (between Reumannplatz and Viktor-Adler-Markt), Favoritenstrasse 93/108 (at the corner of Keplerplatz) and Favoritenstrasse 63/78 (between Columbusplatz and Sonnwendplatz). Figures for the number of pedestrians are from 2018.
3 Data from the relevant authority (Wiener Marktamt) provided by Alexander Hengl on 12 January 2021.
4 The city of Vienna supports civic initiatives in parking lots to improve the liveability of streets and extend the function of urban public spaces beyond parking.

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12

Reclaiming streets for people in urban India

Deepti Adlakha

One key target of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 11.7) is to provide universal access to safe and inclusive public spaces – particularly for women, children, older adults and persons with disabilities – by 2030. In Mumbai, India, there are just 1.28 sq. metres of public space per person, far below London's 31.68 sq. metres and New York's 26.4 sq. metres. India's chaotic, cacophonous and colourful streets host a diverse array of sociocultural exchanges – informal marketplaces, spontaneous gatherings, festivals, and everyday interactions – while battling a sharp rise in traffic congestion, road injuries and carbon emissions. This chapter documents the transformation of a car-centric shopping district into a people-friendly promenade in Chennai, India.

Pondy Bazaar

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted by the United Nations in 2015 as a universal call to action to achieve global sustainability amid multiple international crises, including to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable by 2030 (United Nations 2020). One key target (SDG 11.7) is to provide universal access to safe public spaces – particularly for women, children, older adults and persons with disabilities – by 2030. In Mumbai, India, there are just 1.28 sq. metres of public space per person, far below London's 31.68 sq. metres and New York's 26.4 sq. metres (Kirtane et al. 2017; Udas-Mankikar 2020). In India, streets constitute a matrix within which everyday life occurs. They bring people together

Figure 11.0: Map of Chennai © Anna Skoura

socially and serve multiple functions, providing a physical setting for various socioeconomic activities (Edensor 2021). Scholars have asserted that 'With the possible exception of the railroad, streets capture more about India than any other setting. On its streets, India eats, sleeps, works, moves, celebrates and worships' (Appadurai 1987; Tandon and Sehgal 2017). They host informal marketplaces, spaces for spontaneous social gatherings, festivals, celebrations and interactions (Tandon and Sehgal 2017).

This chapter examines the transformation of Pondy Bazaar, a prime shopping district in the metropolitan city of Chennai (previously Madras), the capital of India's southern state of Tamil Nadu. Just a few years ago, Pondy Bazaar was synonymous with congestion, chaos and pollution (Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority 2010). Pedestrians competed with motorised traffic, rickshaw-pullers, auto-rickshaws, hawkers and mobile vendors selling local specialities. In 2019, the local governing civic body – the Greater Chennai Corporation – initiated a bold plan to pedestrianise the shopping area. The redesign transformed the street from a motor-centric mobility corridor to a public space where people have priority over vehicles. Today, Pondy Bazaar boasts a new, vibrant look, attracting people of all ages, abilities and socioeconomic groups. It welcomes people from all walks of life – families, children and older adults – with supportive child-friendly features such as outdoor play areas, age-friendly facilities such as seating and shade, and social spaces for music, dance, commerce, art and cultural events.

First, this study documents the transformation of a busy, car-clogged shopping hub into a place where people take priority over vehicles. Second, it illustrates the competing forces in urban development in a low- and middle-income country setting. Third, it examines the city's radical shift towards public participation and collaborative decision-making to design inclusive, accessible and equitable public spaces. Finally, the study concludes by reflecting on the Covid-19 pandemic, its catalytic role in mobilising pedestrian-friendly initiatives, and the urgent need to convert them into permanent solutions alongside long-term urban policy changes in India.

Making places for people

For most residents of Chennai, the 1.5-kilometre-long stretch of Pondy Bazaar brings back fond childhood memories (Adlakha 2016; Greater

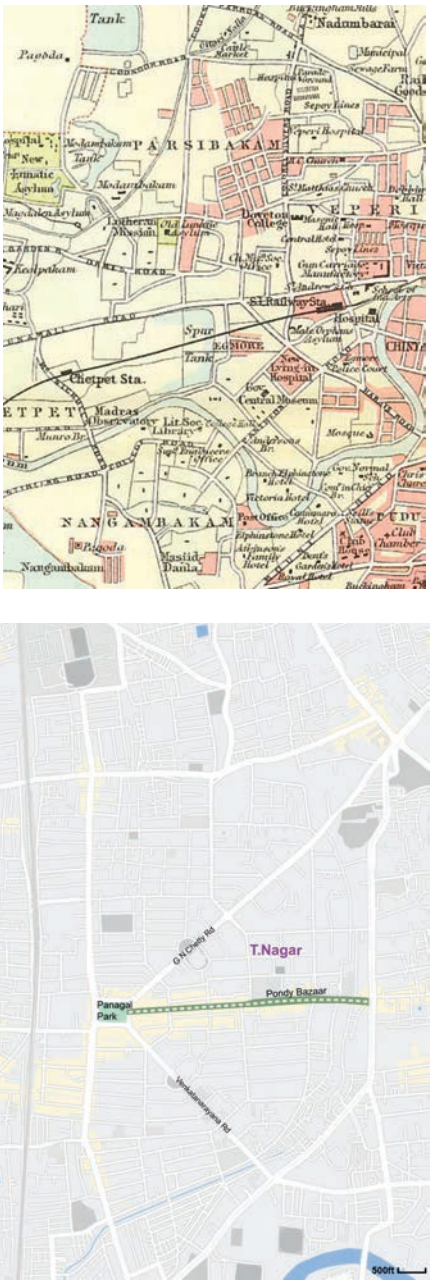

Figure 12.1a: Detail. Map of Madras 1893. Maps of Constable Hand Atlas
Figure 12.1b: Current map of T. Nagar neighbourhood. Pondy Bazaar. Google Maps

Chennai Corporation 2019). Located in Thyagaraya Nagar, commonly known as T. Nagar, Pondy Bazaar is one of Chennai's busiest shopping streets. It serves as a commercial satellite hub, with shops selling everything from fresh flowers to designer clothing (Sharma 2018). At the western end of Pondy Bazaar is a historical landmark called Panagal Park – an eight-acre (3.2 hectares) public green space – frequented by residents of adjoining neighbourhoods (Keerthana 2012).

T. Nagar, created in 1920, was Chennai's first planned urban neighbourhood. Its original design was guided by Parisian principles of spatial planning, with Panagal Park resembling the Arc de Triomphe and Pondy Bazaar resembling the Champs-Elysées (*The Hindu* 2019). Initially planned as a residential neighbourhood, it is now the largest shopping district in India by revenue and one of Chennai's major central business districts (Malviya and Kandavel 2013). Today, T. Nagar is a commercial and residential neighbourhood featuring a mix of middle-income and affluent districts with some of the costliest real estate in Chennai. Pondy Bazaar offers a host of affordable products appealing to a diverse array of socioeconomic and ethnic groups. From big-brand retail stores to street shopping, people from all walks of life look for a bargain at Pondy Bazaar (Varghese 2006). In addition, some of the city's iconic shops, cafes and restaurants line the shopping street.

Until a few years ago, Pondy Bazaar was one of the most congested shopping destinations (Srinivasan 2010). Pedestrians jostled for space on narrow footpaths, packed with street-food hawkers and peddlers selling daily utility goods and general merchandise (Adlakha 2016). Streets were choked with motor vehicles, causing traffic jams, travel delays, pedestrian collisions and road traffic crashes (Shankar and Datta 2010). Inadequate and poorly managed parking facilities resulted in illegal, haphazard parking on nearby streets and footpaths. High-end retail stores surrounding Panagal Park attracted a large number of shoppers and traffic. As a result, access to the park was obstructed by parked cars, motorbikes and auto-rickshaws (Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority 2010). Due to inadequate surveillance and enforcement, the narrow footpaths intended for pedestrians became illegal parking spots for taxis and other vehicles. These conditions hampered the normal flow of traffic and inconvenienced pedestrians.

Over the last decade, Chennai has also witnessed a 300 per cent rise in private vehicle ownership, leading to traffic congestion worsening across the city (Bansal and Kockelman 2017; Census of India 2011). This can largely be attributed to rising incomes and purchasing power among India's burgeoning middle class (Bansal and Kockelman

Figure 12.2: The Pondy Bazaar retail area, one of the central shopping districts of Chennai, with shops selling a wide variety of clothing, accessories and footwear. © Deepti Adlakha

Figure 12.3: The newly redesigned Pondy Bazaar pedestrian promenade featuring wide footpaths (sans hawkers) and brightly painted benches to provide space for families to gather. © Deepti Adlakha

2017). The high availability of loans and automobile-financing schemes with low interest rates has also led to a sharp rise in sales of motorcycles and scooters. Indian motorcycle sales reached an all-time high in 2019 at 21 million units – almost double the 2011 figure of 11.77 million (Statista Research Department 2021).

Today, the Pondy Bazaar boasts a new, vibrant look that was unimaginable just a few years ago (Figures 12.2 and 12.3). In 2011, the Greater Chennai Corporation initiated the Pondy Bazaar Pedestrian Plaza project under India's Smart City Mission, funded by the World Bank in partnership with the Institute for Transportation and Development Policy and Chennai City Connect (Soni 2019). The design was inspired by the transformation of public spaces in progressive cities like Paris, Barcelona, Copenhagen and Bogotá, which have moved away from the dominance of cars and towards pedestrianisation and human-scaled urban development.

The original design concept for this iconic street included the strategic reallocation of road space for a large public plaza and pedestrian promenade with wide footpaths, dedicated cycle tracks and new bus lanes alongside a slew of pedestrian facilities, such as public conveniences, benches, food courts and vendor areas (Adlakha 2014). The project introduced a 'road diet', removing on-street parking and several lanes of traffic, redirecting vehicles and banning certain through-traffic (Soni 2019). Street vendors from the footpaths were relocated to a newly built multi-storey shopping complex. Widened footpaths were created to facilitate shoppers, play areas for children, and street space for concerts, plays and public awareness campaigns. Camera-equipped streetlights were installed to gather traffic data and improve public safety (Srikanth 2020).

Rather than viewing the street exclusively as a mobility corridor for motorised transport, the Pondy Bazaar Pedestrian Plaza was redesigned as a social, people-friendly space for all road users (Prabhakar 2020). The plaza was envisioned as a place for walkers and shoppers and a cultural hub with space for music, dance, art and cultural programmes. It was publicised as an 'open-air mall' in the heart of Chennai. However, this transformation was not without strong opposition from the community.

Behind the scenes

The pedestrianisation of Pondy Bazaar was vehemently opposed by local businesses and traders, who claimed that reducing traffic lanes and removing parking would decrease footfall and harm their businesses. This is unsurprising, as pedestrianisation efforts in Europe have triggered similar backlashes (Bruntlett and Bruntlett 2018; McPartland 2016; O'Sullivan 2016; Trentini 2017).

Outreach and community engagement

The Pondy Bazaar Merchants Association was not convinced by the design proposal. Their primary concern was the removal of traffic lanes and parking from the main road, both of which they claimed would affect business (Staff Correspondent 2016). Between 2012 and 2018, the Pondy Bazaar pedestrianisation project underwent an iterative design process with systematic community engagement and public participation (Soni 2019). The Greater Chennai Corporation organised regular meetings and consultations with local stakeholders, business owners, vendors, shopkeepers and residents on proposed measures such as repurposing parking spaces, road closures and new pedestrian infrastructure. A review of evidence related to the design of accessible, people-friendly places was critical to the public participation process. City officials illustrated the benefits of pedestrian-friendly streets using global case studies to persuade residents, community stakeholders and local businesses to develop, implement and support pedestrian safety measures. The design phase deliberated over the values, needs and expectations of citizens and stakeholders (Greater Chennai Corporation 2019). Potential changes to the streets and public spaces were modelled and discussed with citizens in a workshop alongside narrative descriptions of the real-world situation.

Community support was sought via outreach activities and engaging the public by distributing surveys, hosting focus groups and conducting an environmental audit. A 2017 survey and pilot test of the pedestrianisation efforts indicated that only 50 per cent of shoppers used private vehicles to reach Pondy Bazaar and welcomed the move to pedestrian-friendly streets (Adlakha 2016). In addition, widened footpaths, new street infrastructure and play areas attracted greater footfall and, in turn, increased retail sales (Figure 12.4). These pilot

Figure 12.4: Pedestrian infrastructure improvements have increased footfall in the shopping area, leading to increased retail sales. © Deepti Adlakha

results helped to appease the shopkeepers, who subsequently engaged in multiple discussions with the engineers, architects and city corporation officials.

The Pondy Bazaar Pedestrian Plaza opened a few weeks before Diwali (a major Indian festival celebrated every year in early autumn) in 2019. To capitalise on the festive fervour, the city corporation planned a series of celebrations, including music shows, street plays and other outdoor activities (Greater Chennai Corporation 2019). After the first few weeks, the pedestrian streets were handed over to the key stakeholders – shopkeepers and local business owners – for continued civic engagement and feedback. A separate operation and maintenance contract was executed to maintain the street furniture and keep the plaza clean. The pedestrian plaza successfully transformed one of Chennai's busiest car-centric streets into a pedestrian promenade by prioritising people over vehicles. It enhanced the unique shopping experience for which Pondy Bazaar was once renowned (Soni 2019). This project is an example of the power that public space wields in transforming how people experience their city and interact with one another. Getting local businesses and shopkeepers on board constituted

a significant challenge, but it has evolved into a great success story of public participation.

In its current state, newly widened footpaths and pedestrian-only zones flanked by bollards allow visitors to experience Pondy Bazaar in new ways (Soni 2019). Children's play equipment and street furniture, including benches, sculptures, landscaping and painted murals, create an urban space in which people can gather and celebrate the city. In addition, a bike-sharing docking station was established near Panagal Park. The new pedestrian plaza serves a broad range of users, attracting people of all ages and abilities. Families now gather, sit on benches and chat as their children play on brightly coloured slides. The new design has reclaimed public space to create attractive, lively streets on which to walk, run, play, socialise, sit, linger and observe.

Traffic overflow

While the Pondy Bazaar pedestrian plaza has successfully reclaimed space for pedestrians, residents of neighbouring streets have expressed concerns over a rise in motorised traffic since the plaza opened. Streets adjacent to the plaza that were once peaceful and unaffected by vehicular congestion have witnessed a sharp rise in traffic and parked cars (Srikanth 2020). Residents in the vicinity of Pondy Bazaar have voiced concerns about visitors using residential streets as overflow parking and the frequent plying of auto-rickshaws and two-wheelers resulting in increased traffic congestion as well as air and noise pollution (*The Hindu* 2021).

Initial studies indicate that this rise in traffic in adjacent neighbourhoods may be redistributive (i.e. diverted from parallel routes), stemming from the 'road diet' in Pondy Bazaar (Cervero and Hansen 2002). However, research on induced demand and traffic management indicates that these traffic gains and spillovers are likely to 'evaporate' over time. Several cities worldwide have shown that closing some roads to motorised traffic can reduce traffic congestion in the long term (Cairns et al. 2002). Although counter-intuitive, this effect of 'traffic evaporation' was revealed in a seminal study of 100 locations in the UK (Goodwin et al. 1998). After an initial settling period following road capacity being reduced, cities witnessed a reduction of 25 per cent in overall traffic after controlling for potential increases on parallel routes (Cervero 2002).

Covid-19 street transformations

The global Covid-19 pandemic accelerated the speed at which people-friendly initiatives were implemented; many cities began to reallocate road space for pedestrians, cyclists and non-motorised transport (Combs 2020). City authorities closed roads to vehicles, widened pavements, added cycling lanes and reappropriated parking spaces for outdoor dining. Local communities and grassroots citizen-led groups implemented short-term and low-cost minimal interventions to enhance public spaces – commonly known as tactical urbanism, guerrilla urbanism or pop-up urbanism (Lydon and Garcia 2015).

In India, heightened anxiety and fear of infection on public transportation resulted in more people walking and cycling (Mehta and Dhindaw 2020). India's cycling community known as 'Relief Riders' helped to deliver essential goods to vulnerable groups during the pandemic (Sudevan 2021). Residents sought to implement temporary solutions to reduce crowding and facilitate proper distancing in public spaces and outdoor markets. Citizen-led initiatives aided street transformations by rebuilding pavements, reallocating pedestrian road space with bollards and litter bins, and reclaiming public spaces for emergency relief efforts. Car-free roads channelised the movement of emergency vehicles and essential services. 'Maidans' (open grounds) and local public spaces served as hubs of pandemic relief operations, including food distribution, medical centres and temporary makeshift markets (Malagi and Mehta 2020).

These efforts highlight the central role of people in cities and the urgent need to reduce the dominance of vehicles on our streets. Despite this new momentum, challenges remain for the pedestrianisation of Indian cities. The car symbolises socioeconomic status, touted as the fastest, easiest and most comfortable way to travel (Venkatesh 2018). India is one of the world's fastest-growing car markets, with about a million sold each year (Statista Research Department 2021). This same sentiment has permeated India's countryside, where young men drive motorbikes – an advancement from bicycles, which were the primary mode of transportation in rural towns and villages (Waldman 2005). This trend aligns with the developed world, where car ownership has risen significantly since automobiles were pioneered in the nineteenth century (Dargay et al. 2007). Mistaken beliefs about traffic flows and the strength of the car lobby constitute two significant obstacles. Pondy Bazaar's transformation is a work in progress, as the city continues to face a rising number of private vehicles and an insatiable demand for parking spaces.

Pathways to healthy, liveable and sustainable cities in India

Inevitably, making driving less convenient comes as a shock to some motorists. Still, the end result – a healthy, liveable and sustainable city in which streets are designed and operated to safely accommodate all users regardless of age and ability – is a lucrative option for ecological, economic and social sustainability in low- and middle-income countries like India. Six Indian cities – Delhi, Mumbai, Bengaluru, Chennai, Jaipur and Kolkata – are part of the C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group, a global network of 97 cities defining and amplifying their call to national governments for greater support and autonomy in creating a sustainable future. India's Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs recommended the pedestrianisation of up to three markets and the addition of more bicycle lanes in every city.

In 2015, India launched an urban renewal programme – The National Smart Cities Mission – with the goal of making 100 urban centres in India more liveable and sustainable (Government of India 2015). The project aims to drive economic growth and improve the lives of citizens across the country by harnessing digital infrastructure and smart technology for urban development. Smart city technologies use various types of electronic methods, automation techniques and sensors to collect data from citizens, devices, buildings and assets, all of which is then processed and analysed to monitor and manage traffic and transportation networks, utilities, and community services. This aspiration to build and plan 'smarter' has ignored users of non-motorised transport and removed citizens from local planning processes. A smart city is not just about implementing high-tech digital solutions; it is also about creating people-oriented, community-first initiatives. Pedestrian-friendly principles of street design should be at the forefront of Indian cities' efforts to rethink road space, both in response to Covid-19 and in the long term. Current research also points to a crucial need to incorporate public participation and civic engagement into planning processes to preserve the intangible social and cultural heritage evident in streets and public spaces in India (Mehta 2013). India's cultural ecosystem of shopping streets merits safeguarding. Implementing participatory planning approaches that place residents at the centre of decision-making in their community can foster socially inclusive and multicultural streets and public spaces (Zukin et al. 2021).

In order to serve citizens well, Indian cities cannot afford to return to the pre-pandemic status quo. Instead, they must bounce back as more resilient, liveable, sustainable and equitable places. Bold steps to prioritise people over cars may take time to percolate into India's urban-planning ethos – reclaiming city streets from the domination of cars is not easy – but the pandemic has provided India with a timely opportunity to remake cities. It will never be easier than it is right now. Necessary measures introduced during the pandemic can rewire Indian mobility trends. To make these changes permanent, pedestrian accessibility must be prioritised in urban planning policy.

Policymakers must develop appropriate legal, administrative and technical frameworks appropriate for local contexts while constructing pedestrian-, cycling- and transit-friendly environments that reduce private motor-vehicle dependency. Financial incentives, including taxes and subsidies, can be used to encourage population-wide behavioural changes and promote more active modes of mobility, such as walking and cycling (Martin et al. 2012). The long-term longitudinal evaluation of the Pondy Bazaar's pedestrianisation can serve as a model for other metropolitan cities in India, aiding policymakers in understanding the needs of stakeholders. Indian cities must explore opportunities to more efficiently use space previously designated for cars, such as parking lots and garages.

It is essential to contextualise global best practices and learn from low- and middle-income countries that share similar mobility patterns. For example, Bogotá continues to provide its residents with a weekly opportunity to enjoy the city without cars through its Ciclovía (car-free streets) programme, which sees around one million people take to the streets on bikes or on foot every Sunday from 7 am to 2 pm, when traffic is banned on 70 miles of the city's busiest thoroughfares (Cervero et al. 2009). Over the last decade, the Bogotá model has been replicated at least twice a year in 496 cities across 27 countries (Hurd 2015). As cities emerge from lockdowns, the pedestrianisation of public spaces and the provision of safe and equitable modes of transportation are of the utmost importance in urban India.

Conclusion

Walking and cycling are essential transportation modes for the people in Indian cities, providing low-cost, affordable means of travel. Yet only 1 per cent of all streets in India have walkable footpaths or cycling infrastructure, leaving pedestrians and cyclists vulnerable to road

traffic collisions (Government of India 2019). Radical new plans to reduce traffic and limit dependence on cars have sparked bitter conflict in cities across the world. Ironically, many city officials still believe that the solution to traffic congestion is road expansion, adding lanes to accommodate more vehicles. However, global increases in pedestrian fatalities, traffic congestion, air pollution and carbon emissions underscore the fact that the future of sustainable transportation lies in discouraging our dependence on cars.

Over the last five years, Chennai has carved out more than 100 kilometres (62 miles) of pedestrian-friendly streets and introduced car-free Sundays in various neighbourhoods (Government of India 2015). Transforming these successful pilot projects into larger, city-wide networks of complete streets requires cities to embrace a progressive, long-term vision. Cities must rationalise how streets and public spaces are designed and implemented, as they are vital to the public health, sociability, environmental sustainability and economic vitality of our cities. Changing the way cities are planned, built and managed requires political leadership, bipartisan agreements, community engagement and evidence-based implementation. There is an urgent need to rebalance, reprioritise and provide better, safer and more equitable infrastructure and policies in India.

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13

Investing in (post-Covid) street appeal

Matthew Carmona

Whether we are walking to school, waiting at a bus stop, cycling to work, shopping, or even driving through a city, how streets handle and balance the varied, complex and often conflicting needs of users has a profound impact on our daily lives and wellbeing. Streets are often highly constrained physically – and were even more so in the Covid-19 dominated world of 2020 and 2021 – and we need to make hard choices about which functions to prioritise and where. Drawing on (pre-Covid) research which examined the multiple benefits of investing in London's local high streets (its mixed traditional shopping streets) and on UK-wide research conducted during the pandemic, in this chapter the case is made for investing in the social, visual and economic appeal of streets as places for people, not cars.

Introduction

Cities around the world are having to make choices about how to prioritise space in urban streets. Prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, increasingly such choices were prioritising streets as more than just movement corridors to facilitate the passing of traffic. From well-known exemplar cities such as Copenhagen with many decades of experience reclaiming the public realm (Gehl 1996), to the Complete Streets movement in the USA which has helped to mainstream these practices in North America over the last 15 years (McCann 2013), the balance between pedestrians and cyclists on the one hand and private cars on the other has been on the move. In the UK, this has been characterised as a re-balancing of

Figure 13.0: Map of London © Anna Skoura

the 'movement' and 'place' functions of streets (DCLG & DfT 2007), the latter reflecting their role as environments within which we meet and (in normal circumstances) socialise, where businesses are located, where we walk and cycle, and where the public life of the city carries on – Covid or not.

Some have argued that as we move to a post-Covid world, we may be tempted to move back into our cars in order to avoid mixing with others. Despite huge drops in carbon emissions in 2020 (Le Quéré et al. 2020), evidence already suggests this is happening with significant dips in public transport ridership (Bird et al. 2020), housing markets suggesting a favouring of suburban over urban forms (Hammond 2020) and the car industry reporting steady growth in sales (Paul 2020). All too easily we could find ourselves retrenching from practices that have sought to move us away from vehicle dominance in our cities.

This would be a mistake. Not only would it exacerbate another longer-standing health crisis – the obesity one (Booth et al. 2005; Ewing et al. 2003) – but it would put a further nail in the coffin of many traditional shopping streets which are struggling to recover from the months of lockdown seen in different parts of the world during 2020 and 2021. International evidence suggests that the more appealing streets are physically for walking and cycling, the more conducive they are likely to be as locations where the social, economic and even cultural life of the city will flourish and where populations will be healthier and perhaps even happier and more engaged with their local communities (Dumbaugh and Gattis 2005; Engwicht 1999; Frank et al. 2019; Hart and Parkhurst 2011).

My own (pre-Covid) research – *Street Appeal* – examined the multiple benefits of investing in the local street environment of London's high streets (Carmona et al. 2018a; 2018b) – its traditional and often highly mixed local shopping streets. If anything, the findings are even more relevant now in the very different world in which we find ourselves.

'Network efficiency' to 'movement & place'

The funder of the *Street Appeal* research, Transport for London (TfL), has itself been on a journey in this regard, with recent innovations in street design reflecting a significant move from a 'network efficiency' model of street management to a 'movement and place-based' one (Mayor of London and Transport for London 2019). In this, streets are

seen as places of complex social and economic exchange as well as channels for movement. This is a fundamental change in our understanding of the planning, design and use of streets, but the benefits and/or problems that flow from it still need to be better understood, and it is these that the *Street Appeal* research attempted to understand.

Unfortunately, as a research problem, investigations of this type are fraught with practical and conceptual challenges. The re-design of streets is likely to bring with it concerns from businesses or residents along the route who may be worried that parking, servicing and other amenities will be compromised, or that street improvements may lead to unintended impacts on the price of local housing or to gentrification. This was certainly the case in London – pre-Covid – where TfL's 'mini-Holland' (cycle priority streets) have suffered from a very negative response as drivers and some businesses discovered that giving priority to pedestrians and cyclists necessitated reducing it for them (Hill 2015). The danger is that these very real and tangible concerns can drown out consideration of intangible and hard-to-measure benefits such as more space to socialise and enjoy the environment, greater encouragement of walking and cycling with associated health benefits, or the knock-on impacts on private investment in an area.

There are also challenges associated with how to ascribe value to intangible qualities, such as the well-being benefits of a more convivial walk to the shops, or the social benefits provided by a local cafe with external seating in a sunny spot. Whilst it is difficult to overcome these sorts of difficulties entirely, the aim must be to overcome them sufficiently in order to deliver reliable and testable results. This requires a robust research methodology.

How did we do it?

In an attempt to address head-on the multiple conceptual and practical challenges associated with this sort of research, a mixed comparative research methodology was adopted. The key features of the approach were:

1. *Pairwise comparisons* – the use of five paired high-street environments (Figure 13.1), chosen as a means to track the impact of design interventions in comparable locations against value outcomes whilst controlling, as far as possible, for extraneous factors. In each case five improved cases

Figure 13.1a: Pairwise comparisons Bromley (improved). © Matthew Carmona
Figure 13.1b: Pairwise comparisons Orpington (unimproved). © Matthew Carmona

(subject to significant new public realm interventions – widened pavements, street trees, cycle lanes, new street furniture, simplified signage, etc.) were compared against five unimproved comparators that were nevertheless broadly comparable in terms of their socio-economic context, physical structure and position within the retail hierarchy. These local mixed high streets represent particular challenges in

London: not only are they complex social spaces, but typically they follow busy arterial routes in and out of the city and are therefore heavily trafficked.

2. *A holistic analytical framework* – once selected, comparative analysis demanded the collection of suitable available data to represent both the quality and value aspects of street interventions. A holistic framework representing the key dimensions of street functionality was adopted: as pieces of physical built fabric, as places for social/economic exchange, as movement corridors, and as complex bits of real estate (Figure 13.2).

3. *Data selection, gathering and analysis* – data was selected and analysed for each dimension both case by case and across the pairs, with the intention of understanding the consequence of investing (or not) in the street environment. This included on-site physical analysis against a place quality checklist modified from TfL's 'Healthy Streets' work (Mayor of London and TfL 2017) (Figure 13.3), analysis of office rental values, residential sales values and retail rental and vacancy rates (using CoStar, land registry and GOAD/Experian datasets), static traffic counts (using Department for Transport National Road Traffic Census and TfL ad-hoc traffic count data), street life analysis using on-site observations, and on-site interviews with street users and occupiers/managers of local businesses.

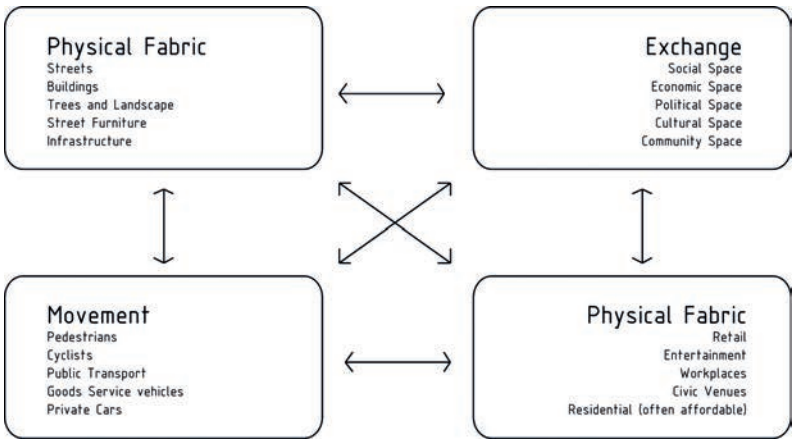

Figure 13.2: A holistic framework for analysis. © Matthew Carmona

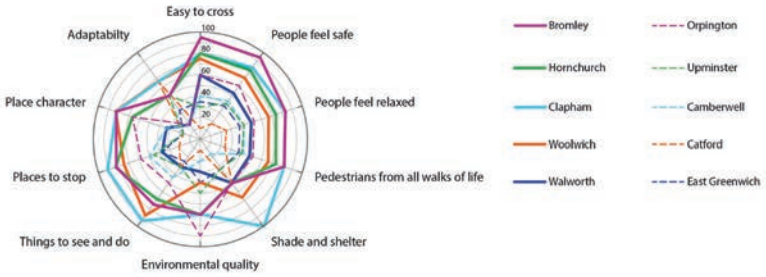

Figure 13.3: Physical qualities of the streets compared. © Matthew Carmona

Street Appeal – the headlines

The research found that improvements to the quality of the publicly owned and managed street fabric in London's mixed high streets return substantial benefits to the everyday users of streets, and to the occupiers of space and investors in surrounding property in multiple ways. Across the cases these included:

- A one-third uplift in the physical quality of the street as a whole from interventions in the publicly owned street space.
- An uplift in office rental values equivalent to an 'additional' 4% per annum, helping to support investment in business space in these locations in the face of pressures to convert to more profitable residential uses.
- A larger uplift in retail rental values equivalent to an 'additional' 7.5% per annum, reflecting the more attractive retail environment that has been created and the encouragement this is giving to investment in these locations in the face of online and out-of-town competition.
- A strongly related decline in retail vacancy, leading to a sizable 17% per annum divergence in vacancy rates between improved and unimproved street environments, alongside a greater resilience (against trend) of traditional and comparison retail, and a growth in leisure uses.

- An almost negligible impact on residential values, helping to counter concerns that street improvements, by themselves, will further inflate house prices and drive up pressures for gentrification.
- Inconsequential impacts, from the street improvements alone, on traffic flows or the modal choices made by individuals when travelling (unless road capacity is deliberately removed as part of a scheme).
- A large 96% boost in static (e.g. standing, waiting, sitting) and 93% boost in active (e.g. walking) street behaviours in improved over unimproved areas, with strong potential health benefits in the resulting more active lifestyles.
- A particularly large 216% hike in the sorts of leisure-based static activities (e.g. stopping at a cafe or sitting at a bench) that only happen when the quality of the environment is sufficiently conducive to make people wish to stay.
- Very strong perceptions amongst both everyday street users and local property occupiers that street improvement schemes significantly enhance street character, walkability, ease of crossing, opportunities for siting, and general street vibrancy.

A hierarchy of interventions

Collectively the findings suggested that to have the most impact (meaning the delivery of the greatest social and economic benefits against the four street functions), we should view potential projects in terms of a hierarchy of interventions (Figure 13.4). The most important level of intervention, and the foundation for everything else, should involve improving the pedestrian experience by making adequate space for pedestrian movement and activity. This, of course, was even more of a priority during the Covid-19 pandemic, when streets were being managed to allow social distancing to be maintained. Whilst the study did not explicitly single out cycling for analysis, we can confidently add other active modes of travel here as well.

Next comes the ***enhancement of social space, notably the creation of attractive and comfortable space for sitting, people-watching,***

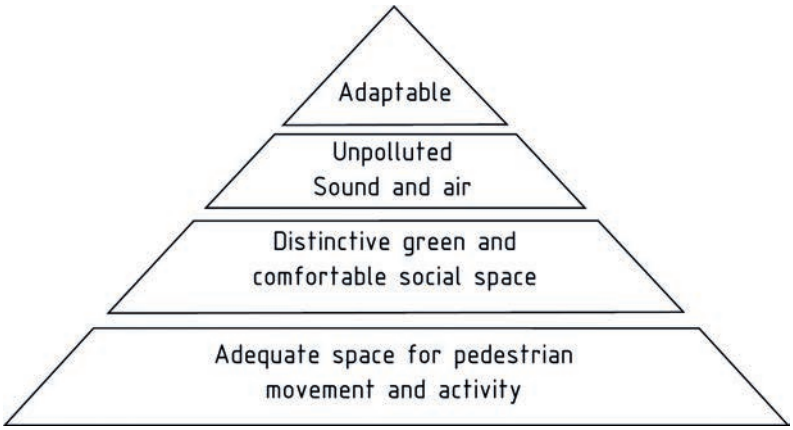

Figure 13.4: A hierarchy of interventions. © Matthew Carmona

socialising and so forth. If we are to stand any chance of saving our traditional shopping streets against the onslaught of online retail (on which we all became so reliant during lockdown), this is a critical priority over the short to medium term. Making these streets distinctive and pleasant places where people want to be is critical. In the UK, for example, a new wave of retail business failures following the coronavirus pandemic has acted to demonstrate how vulnerable the industry is for brands that fail to offer something special that people can't get online (Centre for Retail Research 2020). The same applies to the streets where shops are located.

Finally come interventions relating to the ***creation of environmentally unpolluted (sound and air) and more adaptable spaces that can be used in multiple ways with a good interplay between the street and ground-floor frontages***. At the time of the research it was felt that these would be the most difficult and challenging to achieve, although – as we found out during the height of the pandemic – if people drive less, then these factors to a large degree take care of themselves (Neill 2020). Certainly, having street space that can flex and which we can re-allocate as and when required has become vitally important and is behind many of the most interesting and successful tactical urbanism interventions in cities around the world. The challenge is to continue flexing such streets away from the car.

Let us take the Clapham case as an example (Figure 13.5). The first intervention around the area of Clapham Old Town focused on the repaving of Venn Street into a level shared surface, with increased

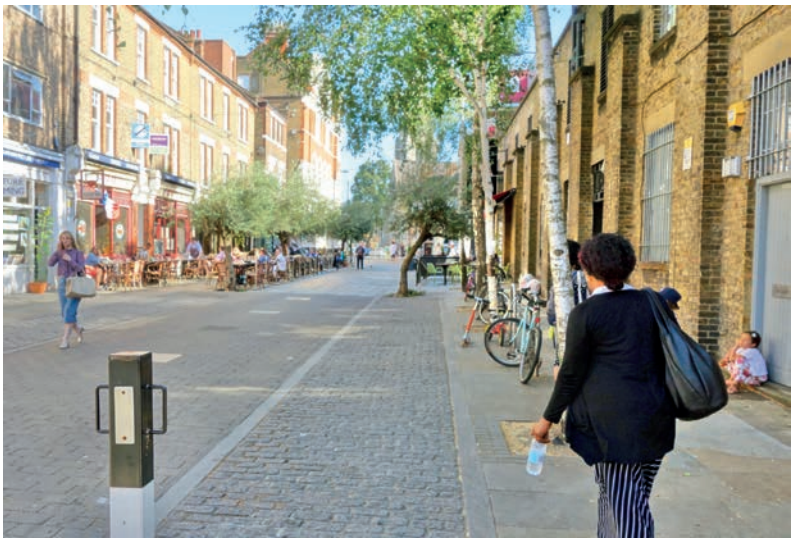

Figure 13.5a: Clapham Venn Street. © Matthew Carmona
Figure 13.5b: The Pavement. © Matthew Carmona

footway space while retaining limited car access and parking spaces. The scheme included a shared maintenance agreement with businesses on the street who contribute largely through the renting of outdoor space. The works on Venn Street were completed in 2011 and received positive feedback from locals, prompting the launch of a wider plan for Clapham Old Town which was directed at improving the connectivity and overall quality of the public realm.

The core of a second phase of improvements centred on The Pavement, where a cluster of bus stands used to occupy the majority of the space and vehicles generally dominated the public realm. The scheme limited the bus stands and removed the pre-existing gyratory, opening up a new small square. This space was designed with a range of greening and seating elements and was linked to the surrounding pedestrian network via improved crossings. The paths connecting the area to Clapham Common and the High Street were also improved, with widened pavements, new cycling provisions and renewed paving. Together the range of interventions traversed the hierarchy by i) carving out more space for pedestrians, ii) establishing new characterful and comfortable social streets where previously vehicle movement and car parking had dominated, iii) largely removing vehicles from Venn Street and idling busses from The Pavement, and iv) establishing two new adaptable public spaces that are used for a range of commercial and social activities throughout the year, with Venn Street, in particular, filling with life at lunchtime and during the evening, and at weekends when it hosts a local community food market.

A Covid silver lining

As summarised in the research headlines already set out, the *Street Appeal* work strongly confirmed that improvements to the quality of the publicly owned and managed fabric of our mixed urban streets brings substantial benefits to the everyday users of streets, to the occupiers of space and to businesses in surrounding properties in multiple ways. Later work – *Home Comforts* – conducted during the first Covid-19 lockdown in the UK confirmed that the sorts of benefits seen in the *Street Appeal* research were, in fact, an increasing aspiration and expectation amongst citizens.

Home Comforts aimed to stress-test the homes and neighbourhoods of people from across the UK during a period when much of the population was forced to remain at home and within their home neighbourhoods (Carmona et al. 2020). The research took the form of a national survey consisting of a series of 25 open and closed questions that sought to understand how comfortable people were in their homes, and how their neighbourhoods and local communities supported them during that time. The survey was completed by 2,500 participants who – as far as their housing choices were concerned (house and neighbourhood mix and type, tenure, demographic profile, space standards

in the home, levels of occupancy, access to private external space) – broadly reflected the make-up of the British population.

As two contrasting quotes from participants in the survey reveal, responses showed that the availability of less trafficked streets and good walking and cycle routes from the home were particularly prized during lockdown, as were wider pavements where they existed:

> 'Front gardens have become very important as they provide a space for social activity while socially distancing. The streets have a more enjoyable and intimate level of activity, and streets are quieter.'

> 'Pavements outside are too small for social distancing. Our street is dominated by motor vehicle traffic both parked and moving and it highlights how much space is taken up by this mode of transport.'

Many who responded to the survey viewed the crisis of Covid as an opportunity to deliver better street-based environmental standards and long-term health and quality of life benefits through the potential for a permanent switch in modes of travel, a material change in the quality of streets and open spaces, and a safer and more pleasant environment. This seemed to mark a major change in public opinion in contrast with the sorts of pre-Covid responses that were typical of proposals to encourage people out of cars (Kantar 2020).

Two factors were by far the strongest predictors of satisfaction with neighbourhoods during the pandemic: proximity to a park or significant green space, and the availability of local facilities (shops and services) within easy reach of the home, with large shops not too far away. On both fronts, facilities within a five-minute walk of the home maximised satisfaction, and this dropped off markedly the further away facilities were, and significantly when over 10 minutes. There was much talk about a 15- or 20-minute city during lockdown (Whittle 2020; Stanley and Hansen 2020); *Home Comforts* suggested that a 5- or 10-minute city should be the aim, with (critically) cycling and walking facilitated by high-quality street connections within which people could interact. As one respondent commented:

> 'We are seeing neighbours more regularly and talking more when we do see each other. There are more pavement chalk drawings with children having more time to play outside more regularly.'

Figure 13.6: Re-prioritising street space in the short term. © Matthew Carmona

A time to choose

If the coronavirus pandemic has marked a one-in-one-hundred-years health emergency, then it also has the potential to mark a sea change in how streets are used and valued. Some changes have been short-term and temporary, designed primarily to deal with social distancing in traditional streets unsuited to such requirements (Figure 13.6). Others are longer term and even permanent, designed to encourage a switch in how streets are used (Figure 13.7). All emphasise the vital importance of the full range of interventions covered by the hierarchy in Figure 13.4, including, notably, the adaptability that traditional streets allow.

Continuing with London as an example, in a letter to its 33 Boroughs in the summer of 2020, the national Department for Transport offered the following advice: 'We have a window of opportunity to act now to embed walking and cycling as part of new long-term commuting habits and reap the associated health, air quality and congestion benefits' (Furness 2020). Such an approach from the UK Government was unprecedented, and whilst prompted by extraordinary times, it marked a real change in direction, supported by a sea change in public opinion

Figure 13.7: New cycle lanes, re-prioritising street space permanently in East Greenwich (one of the unimproved Street Appeal case studies). © Matthew Carmona

as reflected in the responses to the *Home Comforts* survey and in more recent large-scale public opinion surveys (Kantar 2020). In turn this is leading to the investment of significant new funds in walking and cycle infrastructure for what is described as the creation of a 'new era of walking and cycling' (DfT 2020).

Of course, short-term changes and government announcements are one thing and permanent era-defining change is quite another. Nevertheless, if the aspirations in the UK are mirrored elsewhere, if the lessons of Covid are not too quickly forgotten, and if an acceptance of the long-term value of street appeal becomes part of the lexicon of city investment, then there is a real prospect of securing a long-term health dividend from the short-term health crisis and building a better and move liveable environment for all. As UN-Habitat (2013) concluded in their report *Streets as Public Spaces and Drivers of Urban Prosperity*:

> Those cities that have failed to integrate the multi-functionality of streets tend to have lesser infrastructure development, lower productivity, a poorer quality of life[,] … social exclusion and generate inequalities in various spheres of life.

We need to grab the tentative Covid-inspired changes that we have seen and build on them. The evidence seems definitive that this will be good for each of us, good for society and good for the planet. We need to invest in post-Covid street appeal – it's the very essence of a 'no-brainer'!

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Part III
Localography

Jane Clossick, Birgit Hausleitner and Agustina Martire

There are many ways to absorb knowledge from an everyday street – some overt, some tacit – but it's important to understand that some street knowledge is specific to particular people and groups. The third section of this book addresses the issue of how to conduct research into everyday streets, asking the following question: *What methodologies are best suited to unravelling the multiplicity and complexity of everyday streets?* In this introduction, we discuss drawings, on-site engagement and action research, the various temporalities that our authors have encountered, and the value of participant observation. The approaches in this section offer an alternative to the simplistic definition of people on everyday streets as 'users', which deprives groups and individuals of their distinct identities in an attempt to quantify that which is inherently unquantifiable. In contrast, the authors here – in the streets of the US, Canada, UK, Ireland and Germany – dive deep into the relationships between people and the streetspace they occupy using a range of approaches that can collectively be referred to as 'localography'.

'Localography' is an anthropological and ethnographic approach to understanding local environments that acknowledges that these environments comprise people, cultures, material things, the ways in which these material things are used and the researcher herself. The term 'localography' captures the variety and richness of the many layers of knowledge embedded in the physical, economic, historical, civic and social life of everyday streets. Manuel Ramos coined the term to capture the relationship between ethnography and anthropology while challenging the uncritical survival of the 'ethno-' prefix by replacing it with 'local' to emphasise the importance of being and studying in a local context (Ramos 2016). Localness is a core characteristic of

the everyday street, meaning that studies on this matter must be site- and context-specific. Localographies are inherently unable to capture anything beyond fragments of the whole scene; however, through the interpretation of these fragments, we can achieve deep knowledge of the everyday street.

With localography as methodology, the methods employed in this section serve to uncover the multi-layered and multifaceted nature of everyday streets. Localography requires the collection of data spanning several senses – sound, sight, smell and touch – as the sense of a place is driven by the sensory experiences of built environments (Degen and Rose 2012). The authors in this section aim to capture the full spectrum of human experience using both standard and non-standard research tools: interviews, observations, drawings, diagrams, installations, participatory action research, listening and walking.

These attempts to capture the human experience of everyday streets are part of a nascent field centred around schools of architecture, in which practitioners and academics aim to achieve fuller psychosocial and sociospatial accounts of urban phenomena (Clossick and Colburn 2021; Kuschnir 2011; Pink 2008). Graphic anthropology, explored by Tim Ingold (2011), Ray Lucas (2019) and others, is a method of recording data and observations as drawings, and analysis carried out and communicated through drawings. An early example of graphic anthropology, Jan Gehl's (1989) examination of life 'between' buildings was groundbreaking in the sheer level of detail included in his observations of everyday life in the public realm. His later work with Birgitte Svarre (2013) paired their methodologies to comprehensively measure public life. These approaches stem from the philosophical field of phenomenology (Berger 1971; Merleau Ponty 1945; Norberg-Schulz 1979; Seamon 2018), which prioritises embodied and perceptual experiences over objectively measurable 'truth'. Streets and places have been investigated in depth by Suzanne Hall (2012), Sergio Porta and Ombretta Romice (2010), Laura Vaughan (2015) and Phil Hubbard (2017), whose works use ethnographic, morphological, space-syntax and socio-political approaches. What is unique about this section is the authors' use of localography with a focus on drawings, action research and participant observation to uncover the multiple layers and overlapping temporalities of everyday streets.

Assessing a setting via drawing provides researchers with access to embodied and encoded information that is otherwise inaccessible; it enables them to encounter both social and physical structures – what Maurice Mitchell and Bo Tang (2017) collectively refer to as

'constraints' and 'affordances'. Assessing a setting while being in it requires bodily, social and spatial engagement with the objects of study. This is demonstrated by Jane Clossick and Rebecca Smink's chapter on London streets, which employs participant observation and drawing experiments that reveal generally invisible socio-spatial structures. One can draw both seen and unseen elements; drawings can capture non-material phenomena and lend them weight equal to that of material elements, such as social boundaries. This is explored by Anna Skoura, who maps the everyday practices of a Belfast barbershop. Finally, Carole Levesque and Thomas-Bernard Kenniff demonstrate, using 'inventories' of the streets of Montréal, that one cannot draw everything; however, they show that the process of selecting what elements of the sociospatial field to draw provides clarity about what elements are important. Curiously, none of the authors in this section uses photography to any great extent, preferring instead to draw. Photography may be viewed as part of the modern 'mediascape' (Appadurai 1996, 35) rather than an objective means of depiction. In a sense, a graphic notetaker's selection process for objects, motifs and materials constitutes a more 'live' process than taking a photograph (see Taussig 2011).

Some of the authors in this section offer projects engaging with drawings in place – a merger of drawing and installation. Following the tradition of participatory and 'action research' (Till et al. 2005), nearly every author in this section has a personal involvement with the place being studied and either sought for their research to have a material real-world impact or turned personal activism or pedagogy into a research methodology. *Architecture and Participation* (Till et al. 2005) and *Future Practice* (Hyde 2012) both discuss new approaches to architecture that engage with policy and the public in different ways, occupying public space with installations or events to interact with places and access information that remain hidden to standard methods.

Of course, drawing is a slow process, especially when done on-site. and when made on site the embodied and articulated engagement that they entail goes on for a long while, drawing people into conversation, while simultaneously giving the author time to watch and be part of the social life of the place. These dynamics were considered by Antje Steinmuller and Chris Falliers when they employed on-site 'co-drawing', their 'methodology for collective action', in Berlin and California. Similarly, Miriam Delaney and Orla Murphy incorporated their drawings into an installation – the 'Free Market' – which toured Irish Towns and acted as a locus for conversation, influencing Irish policy at the national level.

Participatory actions like these bring stakeholders together, especially in public spaces with both private stakeholders and common stakeholders or where there is control over a place by one agency, while the primary users are voiceless. Installation is a way to extract local knowledge, engage with the public and reveal local experts: resident-experts, citizen-experts or student-experts (covered in Lévesque and Kenniff's chapter about student inventories in Montréal). Hierarchical and grassroots types of power are spatially interlinked. These links are embodied in specific places, meaning that spatial, social and civic engagement in such places can be particularly fruitful for political inclusiveness.

In terms of the varying temporalities that our authors have encountered, what brings methods together is the representation of a juxtaposition of stillness and movement and of a constant state of flux. The everyday street consists of elements that change rapidly and those that change slowly as well as the ever-evolving collective and individual cultural memories of those who reside on it. The varying temporalities of everyday streets and neighbourhoods are most prominently explored by Elen Flugge and Timothy Waddell in Belfast through their 'soundwalking' technique, which pairs audio recordings with architectural drawings. Similarly, Degen and Rose (2012) used street observations, walk-alongs and participant-led photography to uncover how experience is mediated not only by the present moment but also by perceptual memories – memories of previous personal experiences. Moreover, encounters with everyday streets are mediated by people's cultural and historical context and knowledge. This fact aligns with Halbwach's (1992) notion of 'collective memory', which asserts that sensorial and experiential knowledge is built over time, both within individuals and among the collective. Skoura engages deeply with these notions, arguing that, to achieve true inclusiveness, we must recognise that the cultural heritage embodied in an ordinary high street shop is equally as important as more widely recognised types of heritage, such as statues and civic architecture; thus, such forms of collective memory should be carefully preserved.

The act of drawing and the act of being a place are both linked to a traditional research method in the social sciences: participant observation. This method is related to 'deep mapping' (Bodenhamer et al. 2015) and thick description (Geertz 1973), which entail detailed observational descriptions. Previously, observational, mobile and visual studies have been conducted on mundane street life to ascertain how people navigate 'routeways' in cities and, in turn, to examine the role of

complex temporalities and materialities in daily journeys (Jiron 2010). This type of study also captures the fleeting aspects of environmental perceptions, such as sensory experiences and emotions, as they unfold in real time and space (Kusenbach 2003). Some of the authors in this section occupied everyday streets for an extended period of time, interviewing people they encountered in casual or formal formats. Paired with drawings done through a reciprocal process, these techniques revealed new knowledge about the potential for social integration in London (Clossick and Smink), the importance of everyday cultural heritage in Belfast (Skoura), and means of influencing urban power structures in Ireland (Delaney and Murphy).

Each chapter in this section focuses on one aspect of inclusiveness. The authors consider the social life of everyday streets while acknowledging the influence of their own presence, which is instrumental in the process of interpretation. The practices in this section may appear to be 'undisciplined' in the sense that they fall outside the scope of any standard academic discipline, with the researchers following their nose to see what they find. However, one could also view this approach as explicitly inclusive, refusing to prioritise any particular method as more 'true' than others. Thus, the discipline of these studies lies in their 'undiscipline', mirroring Levesque and Kenniff's *Bureau d'étude de pratiques indiscipinées*. Debord (1958) defines the dérive as 'a mode of experimental behaviour linked to the conditions of urban society: a technique of rapid passage through varied ambiances'. Like architecture itself, these papers inclusively bring together multiple disciplines, languages, senses and human experiences.

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Learning from Castleblayney: conversation and action in a small Irish town

Miriam Delaney and Orla Murphy

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the evolution of a travelling installation by a *travelling installation named* Free Market *and its subsequent political role as a catalyst for rural town and street regeneration in Ireland. It outlines the aims, design and outcomes of* Free Market,[1] *a touring architectural exhibition and public engagement programme, atypical in its ambition to align political action with close listening and public engagement. The chapter focuses on the installation of* Free Market *in the small market town of Castleblayney, tracking the impact of the project. There were several lessons learnt in combining horizontal engagement on the street with vertical action in political advocacy and policy making. These include the importance of a physical presence in towns, around which political action can coalesce; the significance of deep listening to both grassroots and the vertical institutions of power; and the fact that socially engaged practice needs to work simultaneously at multiple levels to have significant long-term impact.*

The state of the street in the contemporary Irish town

The streets of towns in Ireland resonate to an awkward rhythm. You could drop a needle on their groove, and it would jump between late nineteenth-century traditional music, post-World War II jazz and 1980s disco. A tour along the main street of a typical Irish town today presents a quirky, somewhat decaying assortment of predominantly two- and three-storey simple single-plot buildings, with retail or service on the ground floor. Undertakers, butchers, pharmacies, pubs, charity

Figure 14.0: Map of Castleblaney © Anna Skoura

shops, hairdressers, insurance brokers, cafes, two-euro shops, fast-food takeaways, betting shops, hardware shops, Polish and Halal grocers and everything shops, in a mixed material bag, that ranges from timber-framed signs written simply, to mosaic-clad, deep-threshold explosions of colour, to plastic back-lit tackiness. They often carry family surnames – O'Brien's, Fallon's, Mulroy's, Walshes, Golden's, McCormack's; locals know the shop by the name, not the function. The apostrophe may or may not be there and you will not find the typeface on your computer. These shops, and the streets and public spaces that they address, form the backdrop to the daily exchange in the life of one third of the population of Ireland (Murphy 2012, 17). The rich character of rural towns' streetscapes is so ubiquitous as to be often taken for granted. Anngret Simms observed in her introduction to *Irish Country Towns* that 'Ireland is a country of small towns'. She points out that 'They are a significant aspect of our identity and a real force in shaping Irish men and women' (Simms and Andrews 1994, 7).

The historical geography and morphology of Irish towns have been researched by notable geographers including Kevin Whelan, Anngret Simms and R.A. Butlin, and urbanists such as Valerie Mulvin and Patrick Shaffrey. Historians H.B. Clarke, Jacinta Prunty, Raymond Gillespie and others have contributed to the long-term historical mapping of Irish towns as editors of the Royal Irish Academy's *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* project. The contemporary rural Irish town forms the backdrop to much of the recent literary fiction of authors including Kevin Barry, Donal Ryan and Colin Barrett, often capturing the state of limbo between past and future in which many towns now find themselves:

> The village was an unimpressive tangle of a dozen streets. There was a main street and a square, one as drab as the other, and a woeful few streets subsidiary to these. There was an insignificant river, brown and slow, and granite hills beyond – these, it was said, gave the place a scenic charm but in truth, it was forlorn. The people were terraced in neat rows and roofed in with grey slates and were themselves forlorn, but they wouldn't easily have said why. (Barry 2007, 62)

The physical manifestation of this limbo is still visible today in the widespread decay and dereliction of streets and spaces in many rural towns. Vacancy in Irish towns is above European averages, and in many towns at a critical level.[2] Yet, spatial policy and discourse in Ireland has

largely neglected the changing shape and systemic problems of rural towns over recent decades – a problem compounded in the wake of the 2008 recession. Rob Kitchin points to a lack of coordination of the role of towns within national spatial strategy, claiming that 'there was no strategic planning beyond the local, and no sense in which rural towns fitted into the urban and economic hierarchy, or of how they might best be nurtured' (2018, 17). More recently, there is a growing realisation that the complex challenges of towns need to be addressed holistically and collaboratively, as seen for example in the Collaborative Town Centre Health Check process, coordinated by the Heritage Council, and in the establishment of University College Dublin's transdisciplinary Centre for Irish Towns. However, a general lack of a strategic and coordinated approach to towns persists. Architect Rosie Webb has described the critical fault-lines in current attempts at rural town regeneration: siloed political thinking at local and national level, and lack of designer involvement in decision making. According to Webb, the absence of structures and support for public engagement on urban issues, and the flaws in public funding schemes, lack holistic strategic coordination:

> Top down, it is increasingly difficult to find a place for urban design professionals within local Government structures. Simultaneously, local, amateur and professional input (bottom-up contributions) are being disabled, due to increasingly onerous statutory and regulatory systems. An approach to solving complex urban problems centred on facilitating, enabling and supporting local communities involves primarily an investment in time and human resources over monetary investment. (Webb 2018, 18)

Free Market: modes of operation

Within this context of political stasis and rural town decline, *Free Market* was an architectural exhibition curated and designed by the authors in collaboration with Jeffrey Bolhuis, Jo Anne Butler, Tara Kennedy and Laurence Lord, which toured from *La Biennale Venezia* in 2018 to the public spaces of four towns in Ireland in 2019. The exhibition aimed to tell the story of deterioration in public space in Irish towns, to highlight vacancy and loss of town centre living, but also to present the nuance of culture, potential and possibility latent in towns as a fundamentally optimistic call to reconsider the future of Irish rural

Figure 14.1: *Free Market News*. © Matthew Thompson

towns as places to live sustainably. The content of the pavilion included our own research into 10 case-study rural towns (with propositional design projects in four of these), comparative morphological mapping of 77 market towns, a narrative map of government policies, agencies and funding that impact on towns, and a newspaper entitled *Free Market News* (Figure 14.1).

Work by the curators was supplemented with that of photographers, writers, journalists and urbanists, so that visitors could choose multiple ways of interacting with a broad range of media and content. In designing and planning the *Free Market* pavilion, exchange – social, cultural and commercial – became a significant theme, in the design of the installation and in the means through which visitors encountered and experienced the work.

The theme of exchange, and the role that dialogue and conversation play in that exchange, continued to evolve as the exhibition moved from Venice to Ireland, building on a shared curatorial interest in an expanded field of architectural practice that encompasses design, teaching, research, curation, and public engagement with architecture. Participatory spatial planning and design has yet to be broadly valued or adopted in Ireland; the culture of space-making is still dominated by a rigid, top-down, consultation-based planning system.[3]

Our work has been informed by an interest in alternative modes of architectural practice, in particular in the understanding of the production of space as a 'shared enterprise'; that 'social space is intractably political space' and that making of public space is an evolving negotiated process and therefore not subject to a finite start and finish (Awan et al. 2011, 29). As such, the role of architects as actors within this system of production can be seen as one of bridge-building between spatial design, community activism and political engagement. Harriss, Hyde and Marcaccio (2021, 9) posit that the role of the architect needs to be recast as 'a creative mediator, bridging between different forms of knowledge, seeking clarity amongst complexity, bringing together disparate communities, building and combining emotional power with pragmatic potential'.

The challenges of socially engaged practice are not ignored here. The risk of 'placing excessive demands on the time, energy and goodwill of laypeople' is highlighted by Suzanne Hofmann in setting out Die Baupiloten's methodology for participatory design (2014, 17). And Tatjana Schneider finds participatory design and socially engaged modes of operation at times naive and easily co-opted by existing power structures without having lasting impact (2018, 11). Her critique of the long-term effectiveness of socially engaged architectural practice supports the necessity of direct political engagement to make the systemic changes needed to address the scale of difficulties facing towns, aligning with Tahl Kaminer's call to action in *The Efficacy of Architecture* for architects to take their role in political realms to affect societal change (2016, 11). Within the methodological framework of socially engaged practice, our aim in developing the *Free Market* installation was to build coalitions across multiple constituencies, drawing on Kossack's understanding of the critical role of exhibition:

> … the challenge for any progressive and critical praxis engaged in architectural installation working in today's context is therefore to develop the installation as a continuous laboratory in which to experiment with new forms of architecture and the way it is produced. (Kossak 2009, 126)

Free Market resisted the urge to draft a manifesto for towns. Instead, as we prepared for our initial exhibition in Venice, we wrote a *Charter for Everyday Practice: Learning from small towns*. The lessons of the tour subsequently confirmed our initial claim that 'when we relax our need to be the driver of solutions we create a *freespace* for deep curiosity. We

ask what is missing in the stories we tell about rural communities? We learn from their commitment to working together and their acceptance of imperfections' (Bolhuis et al. 2018).

Moving in: *Free Market* in Castleblayney

A blended and open approach – working both horizontally with community groups, in open-ended dialogue, and vertically with decision makers and politicians – became important in the planning and production of the National Tour of *Free Market*. Working with partners in the Local Authorities, we selected four towns which the pavilion would visit over the course of summer 2019: Castleblayney in County Monaghan, Macroom in County Cork, Mountmellick in County Laois and Killmallock in County Limerick.

As an illustration of some of the key challenges and findings, here we look at the installation in Castleblayney: the immediate impact of that installation on the ground in the town, the subsequent outcomes, and the modes of operation which led to long-term political outcomes and important regeneration projects. Typical of many market towns, Castleblayney (Figure 14. 2) boasts a distinctive Market House and square, a direct connection to classical landscape in Hope Castle and Lough Muckno and strong built fabric of streets lined with terraced buildings, mainly dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The same town fabric has suffered from years of neglect: the Market House and Hope Castle are both derelict, and a high proportion of buildings in the town centre are vacant.

Advance planning for the exhibition began months ahead of the opening, negotiating the location, licences and installation logistics of the exhibition supported by representatives from Monaghan County Council. The initial plan was to locate the pavilion beside the Market House as a means to highlight the need to address the ongoing dereliction of this notable town-centre building. However, during the winter of 2018 the roof of the Market House collapsed, putting the future of the building in doubt. Temporary works stabilised the building, but a question mark over its long-term future, including the option of demolition, now arose. The location of the *Free Marke*t installation was moved to the gates of Hope Castle, still within view of the derelict Market House. Meanwhile, we continued to plan the arrangement of the pavilion and exhibition content, tailored for the town. In curating the national tour, we also commissioned a new graphic identity for the

Figure 14.2: Aerial photograph of Castleblayney showing the Market House and its relationship to the town and Hope Castle estate, 2018. © Magnaparte

engagement elements and designed a bespoke programme of events for each stop, overlapping with local festivals or events to maximise engagement potential. In the months preceding the installation in Castleblayney, and assisted by Monaghan County Council, we met with local activists, historians, and the festival committee of the annual *Mucknomania* festival, with which *Free Market* deliberately overlapped. Aware that we were guests, and not the experts in each town we visited, we invited local community leaders and historians to lead walking tours, and in Castleblayney this invitation was enthusiastically taken up as an opportunity to share deep knowledge and close insight into the character of the town. The Local Authority also reacted to the *Free Market* project positively from the outset, and key personnel generously provided guidance and logistical support before, during and – importantly – after the exhibition. This relationship building in advance of the installation was key to establishing trust in the local community.

In our travels with the *Free Market* pavilion, the use and value of the pavilion, a physical market stall with attendant architects/curators wearing orange aprons, was evident. The installation of the pavilion and exhibition, as it gradually took shape in public space in the week before the launch, generated public curiosity and interest. During its four-day stay it provided a meeting place, a punctuation mark on the street for people to congregate around, and a base for tours and talks as well as informal conversations (Figure 14.3).

Figure 14.3: The *Free Market* pavilion in Castleblayney. © Orla Murphy

The pavilion worked as a physical, tangible demonstration of how public space could be actively used by people. In Castleblayney, we temporarily removed car-parking spaces and activated the public realm of streetscapes through a programme of events and an exhibition. Public life folded around the pavilion. At various times it operated as a site of exchange, casual performance, exhibition, a supportive framework – we hosted tea and sandwiches, a poet gave an impromptu performance and the cycling stage of a triathlon funnelled through it. These events animated the more formal content of the pavilion (photography, drawings, models and books) in unique ways in each site. The appropriation of the pavilion by townspeople allowed it to become part of the life of the street, and through its temporary difference prompted reconsideration of spaces that are sometimes overlooked through familiarity.

The question mark over the future of the Market House, and the fact that Castleblayney had recently been selected as one of six pilot towns to be part of a government programme focused on residential town centre vacancy, generated significant media attention for the launch of the exhibition. Reacting to the spotlight of attention on the Market House, the Chief Executive of the Local Authority made a public commitment to restore the Market House at the launch of the *Free Market* exhibition.

Figure 14.4: Conversations at the *Free Market* pavilion. © Paul Tierney

Our initial focus on the installation and design of the pavilion was on formal and perhaps traditional content – drawings, models, photographs, books. As the project became situated in rural towns, the content receded in significance as conversation and dialogue became our primary modes of operation, and means of continuing to learn from towns, rather than to project our thoughts on to them.

Formal and informal conversations were an integral part of the public engagement programme of the Irish tour. *Stories for Oranges* consisted of recorded vox-pop interviews with visitors to the outdoor pavilion, voice recorded with permission, by the curatorial team. The same questions were used as prompts, to tease out stories about the value of towns, their past and future purpose, and the degree of belonging and attachment felt. It was clear that people know and love their towns, but in some cases felt alienated from decisions about how they worked:

> I have magic memories, of a childhood growing up, of walking to school with other children. We met each other as we walked, by the time we got to the top of the street there would be nine or ten of us. All of that relationship building is lost, and much more isolated now. That simple activity of walking to school with other kids, being able to chat with other kids is gone. (Michael, Castleblayney)

Challenges around mobility, the practical day-to-day complexity of doing business in a changed retail landscape, the perception that towns were not compatible with a good quality of life due to noise and air pollution, and a fear of being left behind in the bigger political decisions that impact upon towns contrasted with the clear love of being at the heart of things, of being part of a tight-knit community, and an appreciation of the easy scale of towns, their shared history and heritage.

> It will take creative thinking. Cars are the problem. If you could create the Market Building to be reanimated as a centre, it would be a catalyst for other things to happen around it. You can start with creative thinking about the future of the street. What can it be? To reanimate it. What happens in that building is important in terms of how it regenerates other things that can happen around it. Not just preserved but as a catalyst. (Michael, Castleblayney)

In almost all cases, there was a sense of appreciation for the chance to air grievances – 'Muckno Street has died a death' (Niall, Castleblayney); to be heard, to have an opinion valued and listened to. A small token of thanks was offered in exchange for these stories: a postcard, a badge, an orange, a promise that their story was valued. Despite the proscribed list of questions, conversation often veered away from the formula and interviewees talked to us about their memories, concerns and hopes for their towns.

> My father and grandfather are from the town, it's always been a part of my life. I've moved to Dublin but I did feel homesick. I missed the talking and the people. I'm fairly confident I would come back and live here. (Oisín, Castleblayney)

The impact of *Free Market*

At the conclusion of the tour we presented feedback to the Local Authority. The comments made by those who engaged with the exhibition were instrumental in the decision by Monaghan County Council to instigate a community-led project to develop a brief and spatial strategy for regenerating Market House. Members of the *Free Market* team remained involved in the redevelopment of the Castleblayney Market House, and undertook an extensive public engagement

project to identify and design appropriate community functions for the building. Their report formed the basis of a tender call to continue the project to detailed design, with the expectation that the Market House redevelopment will begin in 2023.

By engaging with the vertical hierarchical power structures of governance, and by simultaneously installing the project in situ, the *Free Market* project had direct political impact. As a result of conversations on the ground in Castleblayney, we were invited by a local Teachta Dála (member of parliament) to present our findings the Department of Housing, Planning and Local Government, to the Department of Rural and Community Development and to the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Rural and Community Development, which is focused on coordination of grant aid to support rural towns and villages. We presented six recommendations for political action, including the need for a multi-level town partnership model similar to Scotland's Towns Partnership; for support for a transdisciplinary academic centre focused on towns; to establish exemplar demonstrator projects; to strengthen mechanisms for participatory planning and decision making; to appoint town architects within local authorities with responsibility for towns; and to design long-term co-created vision plans for towns. Our recommendations were accompanied by first-hand accounts from representative groups from several towns, including Castleblayney Town Team. In 2020 the newly formed coalition government promised to draft a Town Centre First Policy as part of its Programme for Government. An Interdepartmental Group was convened to draft this policy and as part of the now established UCD Centre for Irish Towns, we had a seat on the Advisory Group to this process. The first Town Centre First Policy for Ireland was published in February 2022. This policy includes many of the recommendations we had presented to senior politicians and civil servants over the previous three years, illustrating a direct impact at national policy level of the conversations and presentations we have made. Working with community groups, Local Authorities and funders, members of the team have been developing a new model for 'Town Action Plans', prioritising broad community engagement as a first step towards developing design and implementation strategies, and have been engaged in further studies particularly related to vacancy and dereliction in towns. While *Free Market* in itself is of course not responsible for the full extent of local or national momentum that has built around action on rural towns, it can be said that a combination of the on-the-ground listening, gathering and feedback has actively informed and helped to sustain the momentum for change related to rural towns in Ireland.

Conclusion

In the lineage of socially engaged architectural practice, and working directly in the context of rural towns in Ireland, the *Free Market* exhibition and subsequent political actions point to ways of working to tackle the seemingly intractable issues of vacancy and dereliction that dominate the streetscapes of so many small Irish towns. Weak attempts by the state to incentivise town centre renewal through grant schemes have been largely unsuccessful, placing the risk and cost back on the private individual. Volunteers in towns face burn-out and frustration as they invest time and energy in unwieldy bureaucratic processes in an effort to find support and funding, and Local Authorities remain under-resourced and under constant pressure to squeeze projects into restrictive cycles of annual funding. Our experience of working directly with community groups, Local Authorities and politicians in Castleblayney, as well as in the other three towns on the tour, has taught us that socially engaged practice needs to work simultaneously at multiple levels to have significant long-term impact. Some criticism of community-led, bottom-up projects points to the limited wider impact or ripple effect of tactical urbanism – successes, when they occur, remain discrete and have effectively failed to challenge underlying structural inequalities (Schneider 2018). In addition, operating outside more precise and defined scientific enquiry can mean that projects like this are not subject to in-depth human research ethics review, and may thus be at risk of capturing insufficiently diverse or divisive views. Conclusions drawn from these stories therefore need to be contextualised within the time and limitations of the enquiry and not claimed to be representative of all views.

Despite these limitations, *Free Market* demonstrates the value in working simultaneously with community groups, on the street, in open-ended dialogue, and with decision makers and politicians to achieve systemic change. These axes of action suggest ways to increase community engagement for long-term impact; listening carefully to specific issues at a local scale can both inform and shape broader decisions on policy and funding. This work continues to evolve and deepen as we work with community groups and Local Authorities in the regeneration of a number of rural Irish towns.

Our work in rural towns evolves as we continue to directly assist communities in Town Action Plan projects, which combine listening carefully to townspeople's self-identified needs and developing spatial

strategies and designs – providing enabling mechanisms for communities to enact change. We continue to assist politicians and civil servants too in designing effective policies to achieve active streetscapes. There are no 'quick-fix' solutions, but aligning deep listening, learning and open knowledge sharing with political action can provide the basis for an informed and reciprocal approach that seeks to value and admit diverse voices in the reimagining of towns as resilient, nimble places of exchange. We happily continue to declare our love of these streets and squares, perch on their cills, hop between their grooves, and imagine and advocate for their future.

Notes

1 *Free Market* are Jeffrey Bolhuis, Jo Anne Butler, Miriam Delaney, Tara Kennedy, Laurence Lord and Orla Murphy.

2 Although no data exists on longitudinal vacancy in Irish towns, baseline data is now being measured for ground-floor retail space in rural towns through the Heritage Council's Collaborative Health Check (CTCHC) programme and further data collection is promised through the Town Centre First Policy. Initial CTCHC baseline reporting for the following towns has been recorded: Ballyshannon 17.5%; Bundoran 10%; Carrick-on-Shannon 30.5%; Donegal 13.5%; Dundalk 24%; Ennis 17%; Letterkenny 18%; Sligo 18.4%; Tralee 19%. See https://www.heritagecouncil.ie/projects/town-centre-health-check-programme (accessed 1 November 2022). Vacancy at upper-floor levels is understood to be considerably higher in most towns.

3 Notable exceptions include the work of Callan Workhouse Union, Co. Killkenny, the Irish Architecture Foundation's ReImagine programme, and local authority projects and public realm upgrade works in Cork county towns, led by Giulia Vallone.

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Figure 15.0: Map of Berlin © Anna Skoura

15

Co-drawing: a design methodology for collective action

Antje Steinmuller and Christopher Falliers

In the design of public spaces, collaboration with multiple stakeholders can promote the rethinking of architectural protocols and production processes. This study proposes 'co-drawing' – a design methodology that establishes frameworks for collective action, evolving development strategies and multivalent designs – as an alternative to conventional instruments, urban masterplans, community meetings and design guidelines. By producing collaborative drawings through carefully designed events in urban street spaces, architects and urban practitioners can engage citizens in participatory planning processes that blend professional expertise with the lived experience and local expertise of a community.

Public spaces as an interface

There are multiple stakeholders in any public space – people for whom the space has use or meaning. Co-drawing as a forum for public dialogue holds promise for urban streets and other public environments in which developers or city planners build in opportunities for citizen groups to self-determine, co-design and co-manage their environment. Collaboration with stakeholders could lead to the rethinking of architectural protocols, with the traditional masterplan giving way to architectural frameworks for collective action, evolving development strategies and multivalent designs. Public spaces can turn from 'object' to 'interface' (Baudrillard 1988) and can be used to engage and harness the lived experiences and expertise of urban communities. This chapter describes collaborative drawings produced at 'co-drawing

events' (Steinmuller and Falliers 2018) in two urban street spaces in Berlin, Germany and Palo Alto, California. Free from the control of a single agent, co-drawing promotes both utopian endeavours and the development of realistic democratic visions for today's and tomorrow's streets. Applicable to various contexts and locations, co-drawings – and the events that catalyse them – are co-authored, cooperative instruments. They position the architect as a designer of public communication and the developer of tools that stimulate multi-stakeholder involvement in visualising, advocating and recapturing streets as truly collective spaces in the city.

Street space as commons

The character of streets and sidewalks has changed considerably across many Western cities in recent decades. In Berlin, one of the two test sites for the co-drawing methodology presented here, these spaces accommodate encounters between increasingly diverse populations and present important places for community events and rituals that make immigrants feel at home. The pathways on American campus environments like the second test site in Palo Alto, California similarly serve as meeting places for ever more diverse student populations. Here, circulation spaces are further charged by the traditional siloisation between academic disciplines that is manifest in the layout of separate buildings that these pathways connect. In both locations, recent restrictions related to the Covid-19 pandemic have brought additional focus onto streets and other outdoor spaces for gatherings. For a design process that adapts the street spaces of Berlin, larger campus environments like the one in Palo Alto, or other urban circulation spaces elsewhere into an 'urban commons' for everyone, planning for a common use is not enough – what is needed are tools to transform streets into spaces of collective production and stewardship.

In order to successfully produce a local commons, it is key to gather and leverage the expertise of those who use them. Residents hold deep knowledge on the evolving needs of neighbourhood communities, their make-up, movement and use patterns and culturally rooted markers of identity and orientation. Processes that gather and translate this knowledge help to build a sense of community and wield great promise to initiate long-term citizen stewardship. The lack of clear tools and spaces for citizen collaboration on such public-commons projects for neighbourhood streets presents opportunities for designers, architects

and urbanists. Traditional methods include community meetings, in which verbal contributions are recorded in reports; however, what is truly needed are collaborative tools with which community members can share their experiences and desires with one another. The expertise of trained designers and architects can contribute event frameworks, protocols and artefacts that facilitate citizen interaction. With the aim of supporting productive, inclusive and equitable collaboration, such processes can reach beyond traditional community meetings at city hall, and benefit from being situated in the public spaces being discussed. They entail the modelling and anticipation of a collectively formed and inhabited future street space as a commons. Using drawing to visually record knowledge serves as a catalyst for further dialogue during, and within the space of, a co-drawing event.

While the term 'commons' stems from the sharing of natural resources (such as pastures or fisheries), it has recently come to be used to describe the collective appropriation and regulation of shared everyday concerns in contemporary cities (Kip et al. 2015). In the urban context, commons are still understood as a system by which community members equally share and steward spatial resources with minimal reliance on the state or market. In *Common Space: The city as commons* (2016), Stavros Stavrides describes 'a set of spatial relations produced by commoning practices' that govern everyday use, regulate access, distribute labour and, ultimately, constitute a relational social framework associated with a physical space. Commoning practices allow for a sense of ownership and control in dialogue with others who share the same interests. Ultimately, such practices have the potential to create alternative forms of community within urban life – a community that collectively creates, uses and stewards urban space.

Collectively managed neighbourhood gardens constitute a familiar type of urban commons, but there are many other forms. Economic austerity and reduced government resources for the creation of public recreational infrastructure have resulted in the emergence of participatory forms of the production of such spaces including a reexamination of streets as a collaboratively revitalised common space. Building on the now prominent public-private partnerships (PPPs) that have produced often highly controlled and privately stewarded open spaces in town centres, we now see alternative public-private – or public-commons – partnerships. Public-commons partnerships have been described as indicative of the 'commonification' of public space, 'where the role of state is realigned, from its current support and subsidising of private for-profit companies, towards supporting commoning

and the creation of common value' (Fattori et al. 2013). The Living Alleys Program in San Francisco is an example of a street-revitalisation effort that converts street and sidewalk spaces into 'commons' through design improvements initiated and stewarded by local citizen groups (Steinmuller 2018). The program operates at the scale of street improvements for a block-length narrow street. Funds are made available to citizens via impact fees from nearby housing developments and, once completed, citizens are expected to manage and maintain the improvements. However, little guidance on how to bring together local citizens' knowledge and needs exists for such collective development processes. Illustrating this complexity, the Living Alleys Program has only fully realised two alleyway improvements in San Francisco's Hayes Valley since the program was pioneered with the launch of its 'toolkit' in 2015.

Collaborations: design activism meets relational art

The co-drawing events discussed in this study frame questions, direct conversations and record local knowledge while enabling professional assessments of problems and potential. A collaborative drawing process situates the architect as a designer of spatial and social frameworks that encourage citizen interaction. The drawing as an interface acts as a tool of active envisioning and the archiving of consensus and productive dissent. Designed as a combination of catalytic artefact, protocol and event in the street space, co-drawing is both site and document, recording both idealistic visions and realistic projections. Its development was driven by three spheres of influence: design activism, relational art, and multi-authored and multi-centred drawing compositions (a type of drawing with multiple foci across the surface).

The first sphere extends practices that merge design advocacy and activism with short-term catalytic interventions. In Archigram's sequential drawings for *Instant City*, a catalytic event is depicted in six steps in which a blimp represents the initiation of a new form of limited-duration urbanism. A catalyst for long-term change, the processes initiated by the blimp seed a new sense of self-reliance among citizens and construct a network for future connections. Similarly, Raumlabor's *Pioneer Fields*, relating to Berlin's Tempelhof Airport (Raumlaborberlin 2010), described open spaces where citizens could initiate, build and host a range of activities and events over a three-year period. A site for testing and acknowledging local residents as 'experts', these temporary uses served to offer lessons for potentially suitable

longer-term programmes. In such projects, tactics for the production of public space extend beyond the design of physical interventions. They involve architects embedding themselves within a community, the design of processes that facilitate local involvement, and the initiation of dynamic and evolving transformation processes (Steinmuller and Falliers 2019).

The second sphere, 'relational art', positions a designed artefact and/or action in public to be acted out with and by the public, as a catalyst for social exchange. In his book *Relational Aesthetics*, Nicolas Bourriaud (2002) identifies art practices that position the artist as the 'catalyst of exchange', with outcomes that often take the form of lived social situations or environments. Similarly, Futurefarmers' *Ethnobotanical Station* (2012) employs a combination of artefacts (a mobile cart, map and information-gathering equipment) and workshops (information-gathering and discussion workshops) as a platform to assess the interactions between people and their environment, catalysing collective knowledge building. With a focus on social encounters in the street space, these works present strategies for designing a physical-spatial interface with protocols that facilitate a collaborative knowledge-building process.

The third sphere, 'multi-centred and multi-authored compositions', has a history in utopian speculation and critical depictions of public life. Atelier Bow-Wow explores collaborative representations of the city and representations of the collective through drawings of public behaviours. In drawings like *Temple of Heaven* (Kooperatives Labor Studierender and Atelier Bow-Wow 2016), architect-designed artefacts, people and ad hoc spatial configurations are rendered with graphical equivalence and architectural precision in multi-centred drawing panels. Raumlabor's *Stick-On City* (Venice Biennale 2008; Raumlaborberlin 2008) situates a co-drawing of an imagined, partially completed city within a gallery in which a workshop-like table prompts the public to add drawing patches to the line-drawing base. As frameworks for dialogue, activation and interpretation, approachability and participation are key to activation in multi-authored drawings. For co-drawing as a community tool, limited duration, continued engagement with those who draw and dialogue curation are key to maintaining sufficient control over the design and enhancing community-architect dialogue.

Framing a collaborative canvas: components of a forum for public dialogue

Co-drawing events are interactive, situated within street space or other public spaces. These events entail three core design tasks: the platform for public engagement (the artefact), the planned structure of dialogue with the public (the protocol) and the choreography of gatherings to catalyse interaction and conversation (the event). The artefact takes centre stage, as it frames the act of drawing collaboratively. It includes a designed object, or spatial environment, that facilitates interaction and discussion (as in Futurefarmers' *Ethnobotanical Station*) as well as a drawing surface. Built on prior analysis and curation, the artefact includes a base drawing that constitutes a carefully calibrated framework, capturing familiar references and using projections and techniques that are legible and recognisable to the audience. Next, the protocol may draw on local social conventions to encourage interactions. Protocols provide instructions for engagement, offer straightforward starting points and prompt dialogue between participants. Finally, the choreography necessitates thinking through a temporal sequence. It includes the production of a framework within which others may produce events in the future (as in Raumlabor's *Pioneer Fields*) as well as means of documenting the gathered knowledge (Raumlabor's *Stick-On City*). The events aim to be transformative, ideally leaving behind altered environments or instigating future action (Archigram's *Instant City*).

Drawing table: Berlin

Two versions of co-drawing have been tested in street space and other public spaces in two very different locations – Hafenplatz in Berlin, Germany and Stanford University's campus in Palo Alto, California. In the first experiment, a forward-thinking developer of a large site in a diverse neighbourhood at Hafenplatz in central Berlin engaged a design team comprising Raumlabor, the authors and students from California College of the Arts with the goal of engaging local citizens in a participatory visioning process. The site currently hosts a large housing complex that has attracted a diverse mix of recent immigrants, elderly lower-income Berlin residents, young families and students, each with a different perspective on living near the centre of a gentrifying

Berlin. Rather than displacing the local community, the developer sought to engage residents in the transformation of their environment. They used co-drawing to gather knowledge about locations and local housing types that signify 'home' and are meaningful to local inhabitants. Everyone in the housing complex and the adjacent buildings was invited to participate. The co-drawing event served to kick off a series of in-depth collaborative conversations about the future of the site.

The event took place in a mostly pedestrianised but high-traffic access road into the housing complex, flanked by an abandoned supermarket storefront and a small green. It was designed as an eight-hour neighbourhood event aimed at casually engaging as many people as possible. Referred to as *zeichentisch* (drawing table), the artefact was a 30-foot-long table with a base drawing showing the necessary background information via axonometric and perspectival drawings of the context. There was also a corresponding base drawing showing slightly different angles of the same locations placed inside the adjacent storefront windows, transforming the glass into a secondary drawing surface. Intended as a site of conversation, drawing and dining, the table invited residents to pause, catalysed conversation (Figure 15.1), and acted as a canvas for knowledge gathering and record keeping. Food and drinks were provided at the drawing table to create a relaxed atmosphere and encourage 'napkin drawings' (Figure 15.2). To direct the conversation and encourage citizens to draw, the design team presented questions about spaces with relevance to local identity and community in the form of 'menus' on the table. Simple prompts acted as icebreakers, inviting residents to share local places that they feel strengthen their bond with the community. These loose protocols solicited axonometric drawings of personal, temporal and communal focal points to be placed into the axonometric drawings on the 'table cloth'. The secondary drawing surface on the storefront's windows, by contrast, became the curated record of collected knowledge translated into more formal drawings by the professional design team. The design team conversed with as many residents as possible, encouraging hesitant participants and probing verbal narratives for key elements that could be drawn by citizens at the table.

While multi-centred and multi-authored, the resulting table-surface drawing remained individual and fragmented. Individual participants added drawings of how they had personalised outdoor spaces, focusing on private spaces that they would like to see for themselves rather than on meaningful community spaces in the neighbourhood. The information collected through this co-drawing event

Figure 15.1: Zeichentisch. 2018. Berlin. Collage of table and drawing artefacts at Berlin Hafenplatz with a supermarket storefront in the background. © Antje Steinmuller

Figure 15.2: Zeichentisch. 2018. Berlin. Base drawing detail; co-drawing in progress. © Antje Steinmuller

was intended to provide insight into spaces that are meaningful to residents and, in turn, ideas for programmes and places that might strengthen their sense of community – but this aim did not come to fruition. opportunities for them to feel at home together in the neighbourhood, but it did not quite work out that way. The citizens' focus on individual desires rather than the collective may have been due to the fact that most of the drawings emerged through dialogue with members of the design team rather than dialogue among citizen participants. While the event's length allowed for the gathering of many different types of users who engage with the space at different times of day, it did not connect them to one another. Instead, they engaged with the table in separate groups over the course of the day. The catalysing

prompts and questions also proved to be too open-ended, resulting in a range of topics and elements in the drawings so wide that it prevented a thematically focused collection of ideas about 'commons' with direct implications for design.

Drawing the continuous campus: Palo Alto

With lessons learned from the *Zeichentisch* event, the second iteration used the context of an academic conference and a hypothetical project to test a more game-like approach to drawing prompts. These altered protocols – alongside a far shorter duration of 60 minutes – were leveraged to achieve more focused engagement *among* participants rather than between participants and the design team. This experiment took place in a shaded arcade on the Stanford University campus in

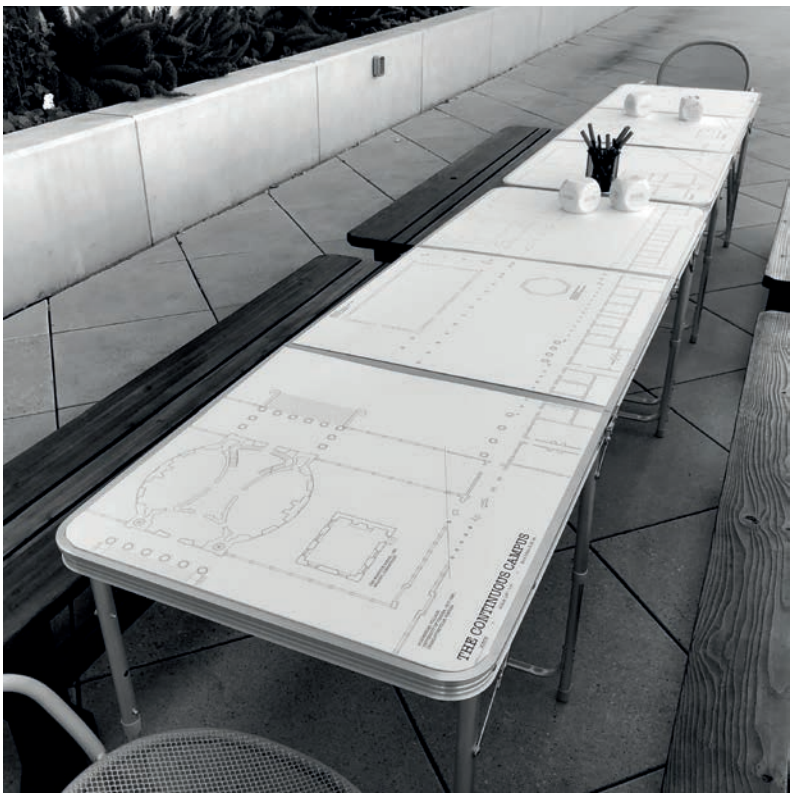

Figure 15.3: Drawing table. 2019. Stanford. Deployable co-drawing tables with base drawing as the tabletop. © Antje Steinmuller

Palo Alto, California. Here, the site and subject were both the campus: as an environment of knowledge production and exchange. The authors developed a re-deployable drawing table from commercially available folding tables (Figure 15.3), whose surface featured plan drawings of Stanford University and other iconic American educational institutions, from nineteenth-century schoolhouses to the University of Virginia (founded by Thomas Jefferson), tailoring the drawing type to an audience of academics, architects and urbanists. While this was not the audience of non-architect citizens which the co-drawing method ultimately aims to engage with, this iteration of the work allowed a focus on how drawing type, content and prompts can and must adapt to each specific audience.

Critiquing the spatial hierarchies and frequent siloisation of knowledge fields embedded within typical educational building types, the event asked participants to rethink the streets, pathways and other open spaces on traditional campuses as potential sites for knowledge exchange and collective knowledge production. Framed as a workshop session at the conference, this event presented 14 volunteer conference participants (architects, urban designers and theorists) with protocols in the form of a set of large 'Yardzee' dice. One set of dice contained precedents for space activation from relational art and activist projects – strategies for producing more public, interactive and non-siloed sites of conversation and exchange. These strategies were presented on the dice through labelled drawings and descriptions of well-known works by artists and design activists, such as Futurefarmers, Raumlabor Berlin and Santiago Cirugeda (Figure 15.4). The other set of dice contained suggestions for specific spatial conditions that could serve as alternative knowledge-exchange sites, such as stairs, halls, niches and other less conventional sites on the campus (Figure 15.4). The event was organised as a design collaboration in which participants could engage in cross-disciplinary dialogue framed within the rules of the shared dice and act on the base drawing to project future shared knowledge-exchange spaces (Figure 15.5). While the project was hypothetical, the participating academics had an interest and a stake in the campus environment, prompting them to quickly engage in dialogue. The addition of the dice as both a playful artefact and a protocol lowered the threshold for engagement and sparked interaction between participants.

Of the three subgroups that shared a dice set, two engaged in extended conversations – one while drawing together, the other prior to drawing together. The third group spoke only briefly before drawing

Figure 15.4: Drawing table. 2019. Stanford. Dice as protocols, displaying references in both written and drawn form. © Antje Steinmuller

Figure 15.5: Drawing table. 2019. Stanford. Co-drawing event and participant dialogue in progress. © Antje Steinmuller

individually. The resulting drawings, made easily legible through a more prescribed use of colour, presented inventive strategies for breaking down spatial boundaries and for re-reading and re-imagining campus pathways. The groups who worked together were introduced to one another in a playful yet productive setting, enabled by the dice and a focused timeframe.

Co-drawing street space

Through the occupation of sites in Berlin and Palo Alto, the questions asked and the audiences engaged, the two experiments to date offer lessons on the possibilities and limitations of co-drawing as a tool for citizen engagement in the transformation of neighbourhood streets. The design of an artefact, protocol and event necessitates that traditional design methods – as well as the roles and actions of architects and urban designers – are both essential and modified. Design expertise is balanced with concessions of design control to participants at a level calibrated to the relative expertise offered by participants. Based on these experiments, 'co-drawing' presents opportunities for the co-authored documentation of street space and local knowledge, offering cooperative frameworks that stimulate criticisms, expressions and aspirations among citizens. For architects and urban designers, it offers a less hierarchical platform for exchange between professional expertise and lived experience. It can establish frameworks for collective action as an essential component of producing new and shared public spaces in the context of public-commons partnerships. Expertise in architecture and urban design is brought to bear on less familiar processes: the design of a base drawing to capture and curate citizen input (artefact), the framing and moderation of dialogue (protocol) and the definition of the setting and timeline for dialogue (event).

While the co-drawing process did not have a direct translation into built reality in either Berlin or Palo Alto, it modelled both participatory methodology and a temporary collective production of a social space – one of discussion and joint visioning. The street space at Hafenplatz was not going to outlast the redesign of the block, yet the typology of pedestrianised access roads in combination with green space is common to many new developments nearby. The co-drawing event brought to the foreground the catalytic role that collective micro-gardens and spaces for joint meals might have for this immigrant

neighbourhood in the future. The conversations of experts in Palo Alto exposed threshold conditions as sites ripe for redesign in a campus context.

Two keys to unlocking co-drawing seem to be to gamify the process, and prevent it becoming too loaded with expectations on the participants. The experiments reveal that, with a lay audience such as that in Berlin, ongoing engagement by the designers during the event is critical to overcoming people's fear of drawing. Engaging with participants, in these cases, includes encouragement through conversation, joint sketching and, significantly, the use of dice. During the Berlin event, members of the design team translated notes and rudimentary sketches into interpretive drawings, adopting a role akin to that of a sketch artist when participants seemed hesitant. When drawing *for* someone, however, it is important for designers to be careful – they must be sensitive to the power hierarchy in place between designer and participant. Efforts should be made to create a playful and light-hearted environment for conversation to minimise the pressure to perform; this can be achieved through the base drawing, protocol prompts and verbal interaction. Once participants are comfortable with drawing and/or hold design expertise, reluctance to start drawing is less prominent. Still, the design of initial prompts (or protocols) is critical, and an introduction (such as instructions to a game) seems to be necessary to catalyse the event. This study, in prioritising a playful multiplicity of ideas, offered the dice as a catalyst for norm-breaking, forward-pointing conversations grounded in familiar references. As game-like props, the dice worked well to trigger curiosity and conversation; while not yet tested, they would likely work well with a non-expert audience so long as the content and prompts on the dice are adjusted accordingly.

Offering meaningful prompts is another way to ensure the success of a co-drawing. Responding to prompts about locations that were significant to the community, the Berlin participants revealed citizen expertise regarding their relationship to the local environment, indicating places of significance in which inhabitants found a sense of community and reminders of their countries of origin through regular activities. Spaces of collective food production and consumption featured prominently in the drawings. Correspondingly, the Stanford audience offered spatial expertise on rethinking and transforming known typologies in ways that questioned rigid thresholds in favour of circulation spaces that doubled as spaces for collective seating and discussion. In the Berlin experiment, the design team asked questions related to participants' direct, subjective experience past and present.

In the Palo Alto experiment, the design team asked the participants to speculate on the future. This difference makes the results difficult to compare. However, the team in the Berlin case deliberately avoided asking non-expert participants to 'design'; instead, it used co-drawing to reveal and record the local, experience-driven expertise that these participants brought to the table. The degree of conversation among participants differed between the two events (limited exchange in Berlin; lively discussions in Palo Alto). However, having results presented in drawing form sparked conversation and new drawings in both locations, supporting the idea that drawing is more important than verbal exchange. Prompts must be specific and concise to facilitate focused conversations and productive drawing sessions. Thus, the prompts and protocols used in these experiments demonstrate how co-drawing can spark dialogue, frame conversation using references and record knowledge.

It is also important to tailor a co-drawing event to a specific audience's capacities. To meet each audience's ability to read drawings, the base drawings for the Berlin drawing table were more pictorial, providing easy relatability, while the Stanford base drawings capitalised on the abstraction of reduced-plan drawings to provide a canvas for spatial ideas. Forms of abstraction – where possible across both drawing types – were helpful in keeping the drawings open-ended but recognisable.

Given its ability to adapt to different audiences and contexts, co-drawing constitutes a design tool as well as part of a process to co-produce public space. Realisable in any street space that is temporarily closed to vehicular traffic, the table setting produces a familiar and quasi-familial atmosphere in which spontaneous and informal dialogue between the design team and citizens – as well as among the citizens themselves – can emerge. As with any other engagement between design teams and citizen stakeholders, the relationship between parties must be established in advance with care.

Co-drawing is a framework for stimulating and absorbing public contributions, for facilitating engagement between stakeholders, including local government and developers, and for setting in place further action and consensus. The drawing as both an interface (multi-centred) and a process (multi-authored) leverages design expertise towards frameworks for collective dialogue. If incorporated early and periodically into a multi-stakeholder partnership and design process – as with the emerging public-commons collaborations – co-drawing represents a method for facilitating informal and playful engagement

among all stakeholders and encouraging interactions and collaborations that develop relationships among participating groups. In the context of revitalised street space, co-drawing – as methodology, action and artefact – offers a canvas for diverse inputs in shaping new typologies of a truly common, shared street space.

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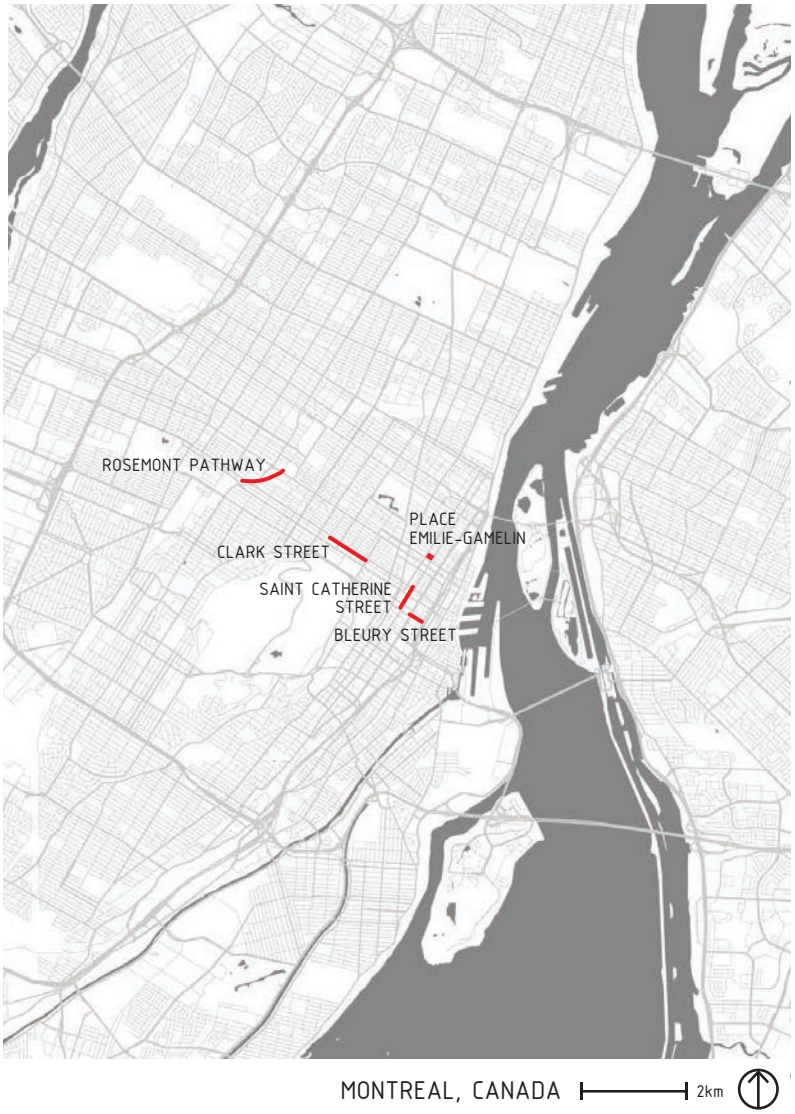

Figure 16.0: Map of Montréal © Anna Skoura

16

An inventory of the street: case studies from Montréal

Carole Lévesque and Thomas-Bernard Kenniff

In this chapter, the inventory is presented as a pedagogical, research-by-design process that engages with the street as both a multitude and a public space. An inventory is a situated exploratory practice of documentation and representation consisting of the exhaustive observation and recording of urban phenomena in ways that resonate with the subject. An inventory is also a practice of design that serves to register that which is and project that which could be. Through a series of student projects, this chapter discusses street inventories in Montréal, Québec. Through direct and indirect observations as well as methodological inquiries, these street inventories produce new ways of looking at and understanding cities and their streets. The novel methodology of the inventory emphasises the agency of documentation and representation with respect to streets, going beyond preconceived notions of design and disciplinary boundaries.

The street as a multitude

What do we see when we study the street? Physical things – people, animals, curbs, signs, lights, buildings – and immaterial things – movement, occupation, atmosphere, bylaws, land divisions. Generally contemplated in a state of distraction, the street is a whole, buzzing with sounds and elements that leave our sensory field as fast as they appear. This messy picture seems less like a meeting of individual things and more like a sort of impression: a rapidly constructed landscape. However, a large part of our blindness to the street stems from the way in which we *consume* it at a superficial level, reading it at

a glance without ever taking its inventory. The street rewards extended observation. In an attempt to 'exhaust' a Parisian place, Georges Perec (2008) sought to document 'what happens when nothing happens'. Sitting at the same café terrace for several days, he took note of everything that he would have missed had he merely been observing the street distractedly (e.g. numbers on buses, signs, food items, number of cars). Through accumulation and repetition, he developed a picture of the street that was both truthful and entirely new. The prolonged observation of urban space is the aesthetic equivalent of film's fixed single-sequence shot, the secret of which, according to director Michael Haneke (2006), is the fact that it lasts longer than that which the typical audience deems acceptable. In terms of observation, we shift from 'move on quick' and 'I get it' to boredom and impatience; after some time, however, we finally arrive at the act of truly looking.[1]

Streets are some of the most complex urban spaces; in most cases, they can stand as spatial, temporal and cultural markers for a city of which they are a microcosm. In Canada, where we are writing this paper, streets are arguably the most important and diverse type of public space. Identified by Jane Jacobs as the main public places of North American cities (Jacobs 1962, 29), streets are where social and political matters are performed and take shape. They are – in contrast to squares, places or parks – the quintessential example of exterior public space taking shape through negotiated boundaries (Massey 2005), social interaction and political action (Arendt 1958) whose meaning resides more in contradictions and paradoxes than in consensus (Kenniff 2018). The street is a wonderful mix of social times (Gwiazdzinski 2013; Lefebvre 1992), hard and soft edges (Franck and Stevens 2007; Gehl 1986; Sim 2019), overlapping jurisdictions and territorial claims – a grotesque mix of bodies and things, competing languages and sounds. When we take time to observe this multitude and take its inventory, the street takes on a different meaning. Rather than an undifferentiated fleeting mess, the street constitutes a microcosm of objects, people and systems. Inventories engage with parts, so the close observation of only a small fraction of that which makes up the street can provide insight into the street as a whole.[2] In Michelangelo Antonioni's *Close Up*, the meaning of what was thought to have been witnessed and photographed (a landscape) and what was actually there (a body hidden behind a bush) is brought to a head in the aggrandisement of the photograph's details. The inventory reverses this order by starting with constitutive parts, repetitive elements, aberrations and recurrence – by starting with the small – and returning to 'the street' as something

entirely new. In doing so, the inventory avoids rushed interpretation and classification (e.g. commercial, residential), quick qualifiers and presupposed problems (e.g. public, private); instead, it engages with the street as a multitude.

Inventory

This study suggests that the inventory, as a critical approach to the street for both pedagogy and research-by-design, not only reveals but also changes, creates, draws forward and projects. In other words, it manages the dissolution and transgression of the boundary between inquiry and design, establishing a dialogue between research (observation and documentation) and practice (anticipation and invention). The means through which documents are gathered, categorised and represented is a process that extends beyond what would otherwise be a simple collection of observations. Even if the inventory falls outside of the conventions of a developed design scheme, the representation that it puts forward renders it both propositional (in the ways that streets can be assessed) and transformative (in the ways that these novel considerations call for action) (Kenniff and Lévesque 2021). While the hierarchy of inventory operations and the subjects of inventories may vary, all inventories share the common ground of the built environment – somewhere between the scale of the everyday and that of the territory.

Three methodological principles link all inventories: situated practice, documentation and representation. Through inventories, these investigative principles lead to projection. Situated practice places the researcher-designer in direct dialogue with the field of research to integrate knowledge within action. In the case of the inventory, the field of research is defined by its objects, materiality and sites. As described by Jane Rendell (2006), the material physicality of both data and place are implied in situated practice, as is the on-site performance of the researcher-designer. Situated practice demands obsessive observation: a disposition to notice and record, perhaps at first doing so intuitively but eventually doing so with urgency through intent and diligent note taking, with observation giving way to documentation. Whether recorded through text, images or found artefacts, the observed conditions are made tangible to others through documentation (Latour 2011), an enterprise that accumulates proof and renders visible a reality that is otherwise difficult to grasp, incomplete or

unsuspected. Documentation must have clear organising principles and methods if it is to have any meaning. Indeed, the act of documenting as part of the inventory emphasises the obligation to organise, categorise and make sense of the documentation. Thus, knowledge produced by the inventory resides both within the collection of objects, images or drawn observations and within the tangible commitment necessary to collect the information. This physical engagement with what is observed and the site on which it occurs emphasises the inseparable tie between knowledge and process, as the subject of the inventory is revealed incrementally.

The meaning of documentation emerges from the representation of observed conditions. In its effort to organise and elucidate the subject, representation plays with that which exists. By examining the scales, relations or variations of a given condition based on its geographical location, for instance, representation demands that the subject is looked at repeatedly, allowing for the juxtaposition of otherwise disconnected physical elements in order to achieve a new understanding. Representation, undertaken through various forms (e.g. cartography, drawing, model, photography, multimedia), holds meaning beyond a mere demonstration or explanation of collected data; it is a process with its own agency and the capacity to transform observed and catalogued phenomena into autonomous and potential realities (Corner 2011, 89).[3]

In fluidly moving between situated practice, documentation and representation, the researcher-designer develops new knowledge and considers questions that require them to return to further on-site observation and documentation – each time in a different manner – to better represent, understand and raise new questions. Thus, an inventory constitutes an investigation, one that is interrogative and exploratory rather than explicative or demonstrative. It is essential to consider the inventory as the construction and exceeding of the subject rather than its resolution. Through this long, obsessive and laborious endeavour, the inventory brings about questions rather than reaching finalities and investigates methods rather than developing formal proposals. Lacking clear and definitive finality, the inventory renews the possible readings of a subject through continuous progression until it is reinvented. Therefore, the inventory is a situated exploratory practice of documentation and representation that manifests itself as a practice of design.

The urban inventory project

We have been developing the inventory as a framework and method in our own research-by-design projects (at the research lab Bureau d'Étude de Pratiques Indiscipinées[4]) and our teaching since 2017. Our projects have largely been concerned with public spaces, *terrains vagues*, municipal architecture and urban landscapes; each time, we practised documentation and representation as independent design projects (Kenniff 2019; Kenniff 2021; Lévesque 2019; Lévesque 2021; Lévesque 2019). This chapter goes over a pedagogical exercise, the *urban inventory*, that we implement in the context of an undergraduate course that we teach at l'École de Design at Université du Québec à Montréal. The course, offered to third-year students, aims to interrogate broad issues of design – context, ethics, sustainability, project scale, time and site, among others – and the ways in which they overlap in theory and practice. Inquiry is our core pedagogical and reflexive approach; we divert our students from their accustomed view of design as problem-solving to a view of design as problem-setting. Thus, they find themselves in uncertain territory, encouraged to find their way through open questions and hypotheses, to re-evaluate their standard means of operation and to find validity in doubt.

The tools that students use and the act of representation come into sharp focus during the inventory project. We ask the students to select a single mode of representation and use it to record an urban condition of their choosing. Modes of representation include drawing, photography, video, photogrammetry, collage and narrative, while subjects include social interaction, thresholds negotiating uses on the street, urban artefacts made to exclude certain uses or users, suburban housing, desire paths (where a street ought to be), street smells, streets at night, play and illegal occupations. The restriction to just one mode of representation does not limit the students' possibilities; rather, it encourages careful observation, accumulation and reflection, prompting them to understand the aesthetic and ethical dimensions of their representational approaches.

While we do not specifically task the students with studying the street, many of the projects gravitate toward street-related contexts and exemplify the methods and results of the inventory approach. The projects vary widely, as students are free to choose their subjects. Each inventory adds to the next, so the heterogeneity of the street comes across as a microcosm of a larger urban ecosystem. Within the range

of inventories, three main categories of street-related studies speak to the different inventory dimensions described above: those that look at streets directly, those that look at urban conditions that can be traced back to the street, and those that exemplify documentation, representation or invention.

Looking straight at the street

The 240 drawings of front yards by Marie-Ève Martin and Antoine Quimper-Giroux document the liminal spaces between duplexes and the street on a five-block stretch on Clark Street. They show both the repetitive aspect of front yards in Montréal (i.e. wrought iron fences encircling small areas on either side of the main entrance) and the unique elements of each front yard, used, decorated or transformed to best suit its occupants. Annotated and sketched by hand on site, their inventory shows the paradox of front yards caught between a private, occupiable threshold and a simple left-over public space (Figure 16.1).

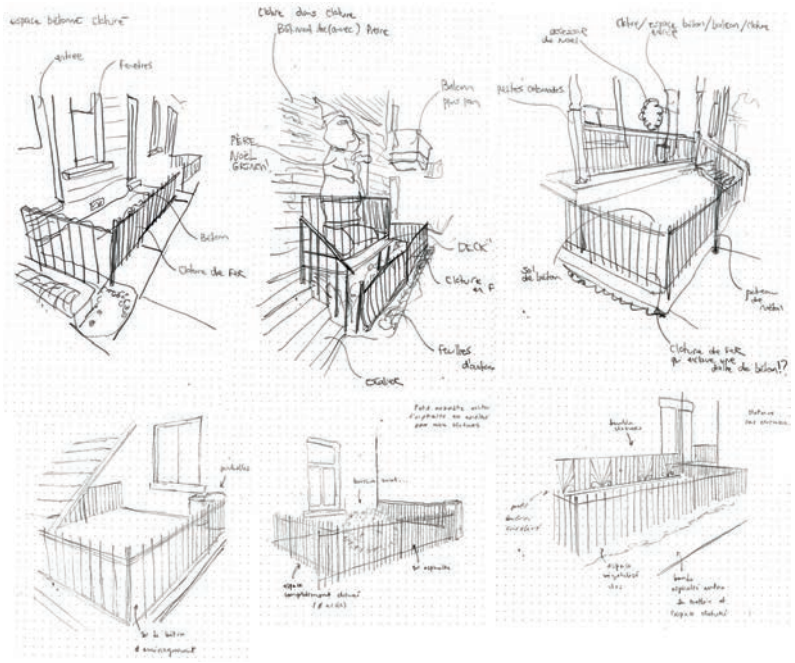

Figure 16.1: L'inventaire comme projet: le croquis (Inventory as project: sketches). © Marie-Ève Martin and Antoine Quimper-Giroux. 2019

Figure 16.2: L'inventaire comme objet: le chez-soi (Inventory as object: home). © Sema Camkiran and Frédérique Desjardins. 2019

Assessing what differentiates home from homelessness, Sema Camkiran and Frédérique Desjardins' inventory documents traces of occupation surrounding an emergency shelter in downtown Montréal. They find that the nearby streets and adjacent public squares have become a new home for the homeless. They use collage as their mode of representation because their subject is not fixed in space or time. Building on Superstudio's collages of the infinite grid, they examine the concept of home beyond mere spatial definitions where homelessness is at its most critical urban condition (Figure 16.2).

Noting that sounds and smells are often overlooked when describing urban experiences, Marie-Hélène Chagnon-St-Jean and Charles-Antoine Beaulieu's inventory traces an olfactive and acoustic landscape of streets in downtown Montréal. Using a phenomenological approach to documentation, their collages constitute both diagrams

Figure 16.3: Inventaire (Inventory). © Marie-Hélène Chagnon-St-Jean and Charles-Antoine Beaulieu. 2019

and experiential cartographies. The documented smells and sounds of a street are compressed and organised to offer correspondence between experience and invention. Their efforts to navigate between objectivity, subjectivity, documentation and invention lead them to show silence as the true absence in our experience of the street (Figure 16.3).

These three examples, by looking directly at the street, identify subjects that are usually registered as part of a cursory and fleeting experience of the street. Here, the repetitions and differences among residential front yards, acts of dwelling, and the smell- and soundscapes of urban territories take form through sustained observation. The careful representations produced through considerable documentation necessitate that these observations be thought of as a puzzle to

be solved – a design project – that can now be turned back towards the street and our practice as designers to inform how we might think about and engage the street.

Urban conditions traced back to the street

Axonometric drawing is used in Juliette Mondoux-Fournier's inventory as a means of comparison. The documentation of benches at a subway station, drawn at the same scale and using a single projection, reveals variations across the network with a focus on aspects that deter loitering and sleeping. This technique is particularly adept at expressing non-identical sameness across large fields of repetitive urban artefacts, employing the strategic nature of axonometric projection to highlight the connections between the social acceptance of 'undesirable' public behaviour and strategies of urban design (Figure 16.4).

Taking photographs of house fronts across four neighbourhoods, Claudelle Larose-Roger and Frédéryke Lallier study suburban residential streets. Assembled in grids, in line with Berndt Becher and Hilda Becher, their images capture the repetitive nature of their subject through simple juxtaposition. Their inventory highlights the importance of extended observations, as small variations between seemingly identical constructions only become apparent over time (Figure 16.5).

The contradiction between pedestrian movement and prescribed passages in the city is revealed by Julia Arvelo-Pelchat's inventory. As informal streets, desire paths are a backstage to the city that transgress

Figure 16.4: Inventaire des bancs du métro de Montréal: discrimination de la population itinérante par le design d'un objet urbain (Inventory of Montréal's subway benches: discrimination against the homeless population through the design of urban objects). © Juliette Mondoux-Fournier. 2019

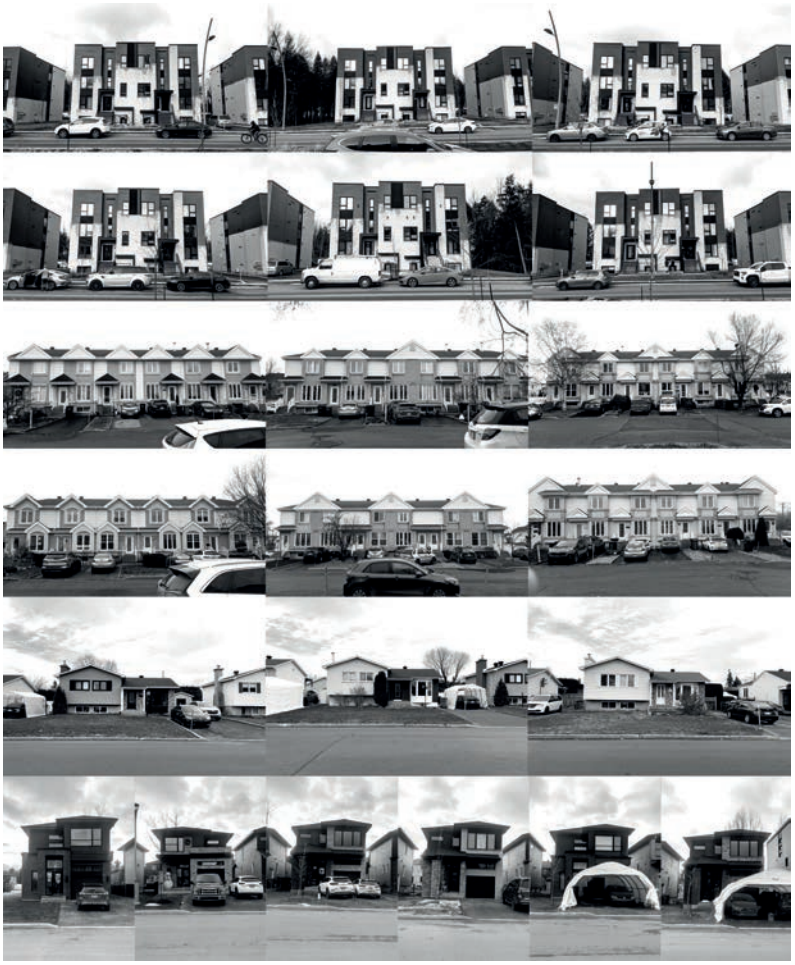

Figure 16.5: Learning from the suburbs: inventaire typologique de la banlieue montréalaise (typological inventory of Montréal's suburbs).

established conventions. Stemming from a photographic documentation that reveals the characteristics and changing conditions of these paths, her collage proposes a hypothetical urban space through which alternative and more intuitive means of navigating through the city could run (Figure 16.6).

Dispersed and disconnected in the city, the representation of these examples is necessary to gather them in a coherent form and have them make sense as subjects. Each depicts urban conditions that seem

Figure 16.6: Trajectoires alternatives (Alternative trajectories). © Julia Arvelo-Pelchat. 2019

to be matters of fact: a bench whose arm rests or dividers act as structural elements; houses from the same development that look similar to one another; a path created across a train track as a fast and convenient way to move between two areas of a city. However, what these examples really show is that designed urban conditions and, in turn, streets, can be unwelcoming by deterring certain people or practices (inability to rest), driven by abstract financial calculations detached from the ground (profit over experience), or shown to be either poorly planned or based on outdated premises, meaning that they no longer serve the city or ensure the safety of pedestrians. Only through an inventory can these concerns be understood and clearly demonstrated.

Exemplify documentation, representation, invention

The reconstruction of urban sites is explored by Joël Videaud-Maillette's inventory through photogrammetry. The technical process demands the rigorous photographing of existing conditions to enable the combination of individual images into a three-dimensional model. By shifting his gaze towards abandoned sites, his inventory represents a subject in a state of construction rather than one that is decrepit. Photogrammetry entails the use of a camera to record a site in great detail, investigating

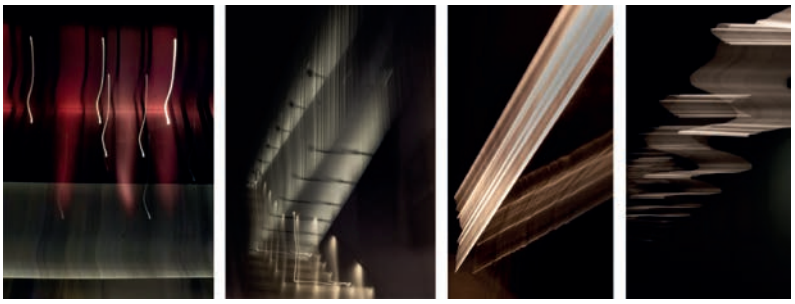

Figure 16.7: La photogrammétrie (Photogrammetry). © Joël Videaud-Maillette. 2019

literally every nook and cranny. The resulting model is a representation of both the site as it appears to be built as well as the invention of a new site manifested through the researcher's movement (Figure 16.7).

In the inventory of Mégan Morrissette and Sharlène Dupont-Morin, photography is both the recording tool and the invention tool. From a series of conventional images of a cultural centre lining Rue Ste-Catherine in Montréal's entertainment district (Quartier des spectacles), Morrissette and Dupont-Morin distil the aesthetic experience of the street into long-exposure shots in which the masses of concrete give way to ephemeral traces of light and colour (Figure 16.8).

Instead of taking specific urban conditions as their subjects, these last two examples focus on the processes and methods of the inventory. By shifting their methods of representation – photogrammetry and photography – towards a single architectural object, the situated experience and presence of the researchers, rather than the

Figure 16.8: L'inventaire comme projet: la photographie (Inventory as project: photography). © Mégan Morrissette and Sharlène Dupont-Morin. 2019

repetition of their actions across different sites, inform their understanding. Observer performance, here, gives form and meaning to the inventory, from which it is indissociable. Process becomes a project in and of itself through situated practice, from which an alternative physicality may be invented.

These eight student projects are just a few examples of the inventory's potential as a pedagogical exercise and research-by-design approach. By closely investigating a subject at length rather than performing a cursory representation – by asking questions rather than finding solutions – students develop new ways of understanding and looking at the city and its streets that, ultimately, lead them to question their preconceived notions and positions. By encouraging them to reconsider their environment and their place in it, their expected appreciation of urban conditions is transformed.

Undisciplined inventories

We began this chapter by stating that streets cannot be fully represented from a specific viewpoint. As they are constructed with overlapping details and conditions, a complete and finite inventory of the street is impossible. Still, we can aim for an accumulation of inventories from various distinct viewpoints to achieve a fairly comprehensive understanding of the street. Inventories allow for sharp focus on specific elements and conditions; the larger the pool of gathered inventories, the better we can understand the street's often-conflicting realities. Importantly, however, as urban environments – and streets in particular – are fluid and dynamic, new conditions consistently appear, requiring additional inventories. This inability to achieve a permanent comprehensive understanding must be acknowledged if we are to recognise the depth of streets' social, economic and political values and protect them as genuinely public spaces. In introducing students to this interrogative engagement with their urban environment and the in-depth investigation of one of its components, the complexities of the urban condition unfold before them. Some students have told us that they are now seeing potential inventories everywhere, suggesting that the investigation of one detail opens the door to that of many more. In their future work as designers, they now understand that design can emerge from careful and exhaustive documentation – that the former not only follows from but is implied in the latter. This critical stance highlights the agency of documentation and representation in

bringing about change to the built environment, bringing them well beyond a pedagogical exercise and the false imperative that design must lead to building. Indeed, the interrogative stance of the inventory opens all dimensions of the built environment – be they physical or abstract – to inquiry and engages reflection-in-design with all disciplinary interests and knowledge of the city. In this sense, inventory, as a practice, is *undisciplined*. Far from lacking discipline or rigour, it resists the confines of a single discipline, a single method or a single set of questions; it gazes both in and out – expanding, meandering, assembled, unpredictable. Inventory is a practice that aligns with the experience of the street.

Notes

1 Paraphrased by the authors from the original French.
2 Here, the authors build upon a long tradition of the focused gaze and the significance of moments, from ethnographic fieldwork (Whyte 1955; Whyte 2011) and theories of social organicism (Barnett 2012; Jacobs 1962) to recent crossovers between anthropology and design, in which the social event takes precedence over planning (Gehl 2012).
3 The notion of representation put forward alongside the concept of inventory is also indebted to the aesthetics of the repertoire through which one is able to generate new understandings. See, as a telling example, Susan Buck-Morss' (1989) analysis of Walter Benjamin's *Passegenwerk*.
4 Translates as 'Investigative Bureau of Undisciplined Practices'. The work can be viewed at www.be-pi.ca.

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Figure 17.0: Map of Belfast © Anna Skoura

17

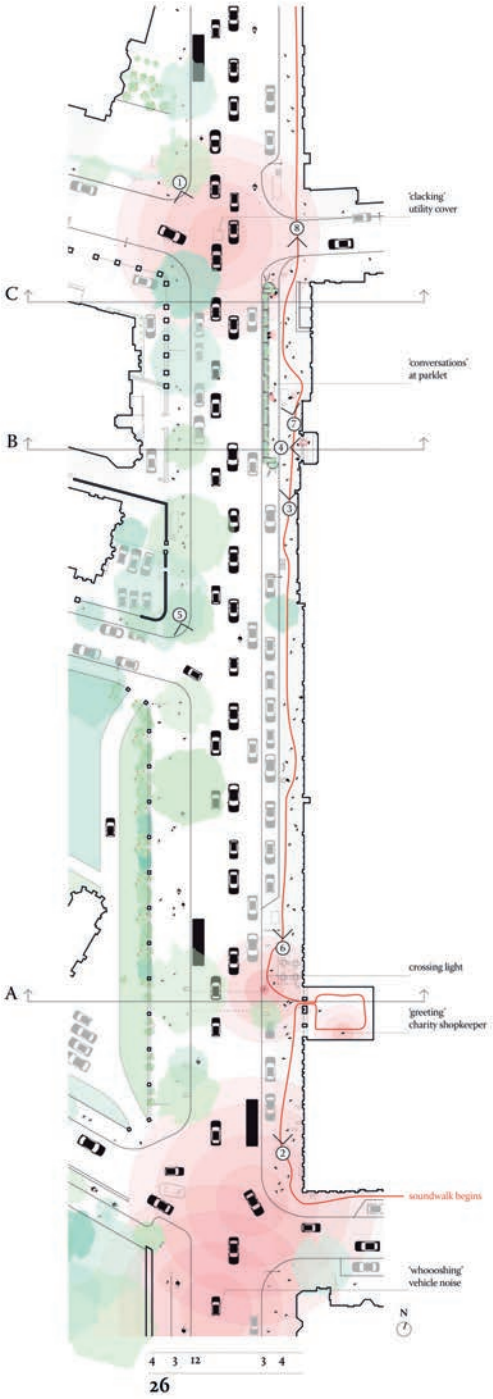
A walk between disciplines: listening to the composition of Ormeau Road

Elen Flügge (text and recordings) and Timothy Waddell (drawings)

This chapter employs a methodological approach that pairs techniques from the fields of architecture and sound studies to investigate an arterial route in Belfast: Ormeau Road. Reflecting on this high street from divergent disciplinary perspectives brings attention to its varied physical and sensorial aspects. This study juxtaposes an architectural depiction of Ormeau Road via plans and sections with a sensorial depiction based on 'soundwalking'. Ultimately, this multidisciplinary approach to Ormeau Road results in a nuanced understanding of the local street that articulates its unique characteristics while reflecting on the challenges in aligning the methodologies of two fields that reference different temporalities. This study concludes that it is possible to produce valuable insights by incorporating personal reflection into the study and combining approaches that capture different manifestations of qualities (e.g. repetition, thresholds, masking) that exist in urban environments.

Street listening and drawing on Ormeau Road

A main artery in Belfast, Ormeau Road bears many of the desirable elements of the city as a whole – an active art and music scene and neighbourliness – as well as some of its less desirable elements, namely high vehicle density. It stretches southeast from Belfast City Centre across the River Lagan. It serves as a high street for a residential area with diverse inhabitants, including long-time inhabitants, recent expats, academics, artists, entrepreneurs and pockets of unionists and nationalists – communities with opposing political leanings.


'clacking' utility cover
'conversations' at parklet
crossing light
'greeting' charity shopkeeper
soundwalk begins
'whoooshing' vehicle noise
A
B
C
N
4 3 12 3 4
26

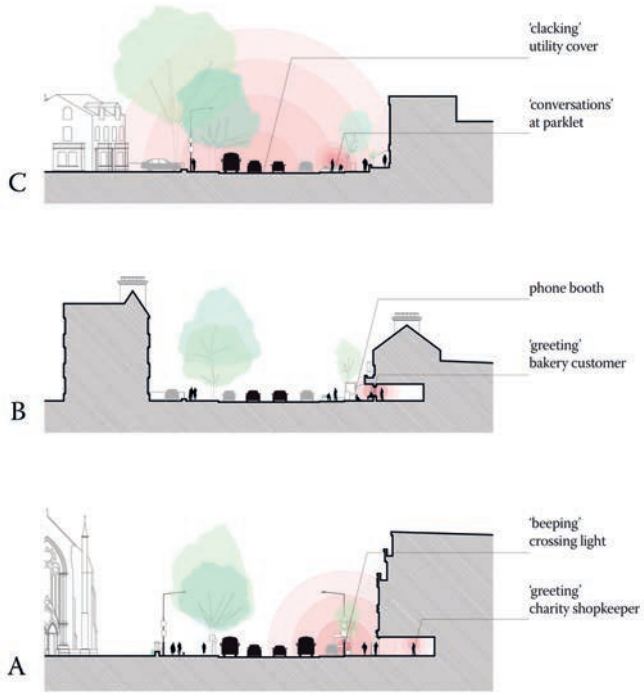


Figure 17.1a: A plan of the segment of the study. © Timothy Waddell
Figure 17.1b: Sections of the segment of the study. © Timothy Waddell

Nearby dwellings include an array of red-brick terraces, low-rise flats, semi-detached houses, newly constructed tenement blocks and historic Victorian buildings (e.g. the former city gasworks building) (Maguire 2009, 141). The street offers access to the green space of Ormeau Park as well as independent pubs and coffee shops alongside contentious development sites. Ormeau Road's uniqueness lies largely in personal attachment – long-term inhabitation facilitating the development of social bonds – in place-making (Cresswell 2004; Tuan 1977). Locally driven interventions (e.g. parklets) support rich sociality and a distinct character, enabling residents to shape the street through incremental placemaking. As lockdowns limited access to urban spaces in 2020, Ormeau Road constituted an ideal location – as it lies just a few steps from the authors' homes – in which to experiment with a mixed

approach that employs techniques from the fields of both architecture and sound studies. One key question emerges: what might a walk down this high street say about the two disciplines?

Streets are socio-spatial compositions; they comprise interplays of material, social and sensorial elements. Architectural form can be described through drawing, and urban experience can be retold through written language via personal accounts; however, there is an apparent separation between these understandings. Richard Sennett (2018) described a tension between *ville*, material-built structures, and *cité*, a mentality related to collective living. A nuanced understanding of the tension between these disparate epistemologies and their associated methodologies is necessary to capture and understand a street's 'depth' in a way that, as framed by Jane Clossick (2017), simultaneously considers architectural, social and temporal elements.

This study employs an architectural eye and an artistic ear to spark interdisciplinary understandings of Ormeau Road, with spatial and sonic methods informing each other. It illustrates Ormeau Road's structure in architectural terms in line with Allan B. Jacobs (1995) and considers several 'soundwalks' along the street – walks with a focus on listening – in line with sound scholar Hildegard Westerkamp (1974). Drawing is a foundational tool in architectural practice. A common method for understanding urban spaces is drawing out their structure to form a tactile grasp of the site's visual information. Such drawings are often done without occupation, considering purely dimensional aspects (e.g. doorway positions, landscaping, parking zones, massing), which can make the social use of streets seem of secondary importance. In contrast, listening to a street places the primary focus on activities and the people engaging in them. This study details visual and sonic stimuli through written accounts, walking you through our footsteps and weaving a personal narrative through sensorial experiences.

Interactions between sonic and visual approaches

Walks happen over time, while a drawing freezes a single moment; this contrast is fertile ground for methodological exploration. These two approaches link different senses of time in a place (Jacobs 1995; Wunderlich 2008). According to architect Jeremy Till, 'Architectural space, in the purity of its formal and conceptual genesis, is emptied of all considerations of time and is seen as a formal and aesthetic object. Time is frozen' (2000, 157). Drawing *can* capture time – an imagined future,

a fleeting present or a forgotten past. In contrast, sonic experience is continually shifting. Over the course of a soundwalk, countless momentary impressions rise and fall. Ormeau Road's aural repetitions are never exact, however; Jane Jacobs notes, 'The ballet of the good city sidewalk never repeats itself from place to place, and in any one place is always replete with new improvisations' (1961, 65–66). This inevitable fluctuation can be difficult to grasp, while a drawing allows the dynamic dance to pause briefly – allows for a momentary stasis – offering an orientation point on which to pin evanescent sensory impressions. A drawn section serves to focus on a structural moment – a brief melody in the symphony of a street – enabling onlookers to consider various elements that change slowly over time (e.g. buildings). Architecture as a discipline relies heavily on static means of representation, rarely employing media that could indicate the temporal flow of a dynamic streetspace; this reality clashes with the words of urbanist Antonella Radicchi: 'to experience the work of architecture and of the city necessarily implies a spatial and temporal dimension as well as a perception involving all the senses' (2017). A street is made up of such varied elements – structures and activities that can be understood at different levels and speeds and through multiple sensory modes – that developing a deeper understanding of a streetspace nearly requires an interdisciplinary approach that brings together an array of skills native to various fields.

In stark contrast to the stillness of drawings, walking, listening and recording are common in urban sound studies and sonic arts. Composer Westerkamp (1974) has described 'soundwalks' as 'any excursion whose main purpose is listening to the environment', but soundwalking can refer to numerous practices, including those entailing performance and recorded compositions (McCartney 2014). The goal of listening does not mean that other senses are ignored; it simply means that attention is focused on that which is heard. In the field of urbanism, soundwalking is used to research sonic experience and atmospheres in cities (Adams et al. 2008; Paquette and McCartney 2012; Radicchi 2017; Semidor 2006) and to conduct case studies on the sound quality of sites aimed at improving city sound planning (Claus 2015; Maag and Bosshard 2012). We contend that a formal drawing of a street structure remains largely inert without an indication of the activities that enliven a street's physical composition. Similarly, an aural recording of the flow of street life can be disorienting without a visual representation of where it was taken. Merging these approaches offers a more comprehensive sense of the street.

To document sonic experiences on Ormeau Road, this study used *narrative* and *conversational* walks,[1] though soundwalks can also be done as silent observation, akin to an awareness exercise (Drever 2013). The narrative approach involved one researcher recording audio while walking along Ormeau Road and pausing at numerous points to orally describe their immediate experience, position, or personal observations. Conversational soundwalks, done in tandem, entailed short phases of silent listening and pause points to discuss shared experiences and observations. Conversational soundwalks can indicate whether it is easy to hold a conversation at various points on the street. For these recordings, we employed binaural audio recording, which entails the use of two microphones – one placed at each ear – to record spatial audio information. When heard back through headphones, the recorded streetspace unfolds as sounds placed appropriately in aural space. To effectively track and compare our positions on walks, we counted paces along the street to trace the shifting atmospheres and demarcate points of interest. Of course, various other forms of active and situated listening could be used by urban planners and architects to achieve a greater understanding of cities' sonic aspects (Ouzounian and Lappin 2014).

Tracing daily exercise

> *Clunk*. The latch of the door shuts behind me. I walk from our calm residential street towards Ormeau Road. Footsteps are audibly repetitive on the grainy asphalt.
>
> *Vshhhhhssss*. *Shhhvvvvvvvvvvsh*. *Vvvvvsssshhhhh*. The high street starts before my feet arrive, its rumble of traffic rising to greet me. I reach the corner, where a former bakery was converted to apartments. The ground floor holds a furniture shop; its windows give a fleeting sense of looking into someone's bedroom.
>
> *'1, 2, 3, 4, 5.'* From this corner, I begin counting steps under my breath, though I no longer hear my footfalls alongside passing vehicles. Pacing by a familiar sequence of shops and cafes, their physical presence promises a return to active street life, even while many remained closed this year.
>
> *Ding ding ding ding ding*. My ears are arrested by the hasty beeping of a crossing light near the corner, its noise a rare rhythmic tone punctuating the surrounding atmosphere. The

crossing also changes the traffic rhythm, bringing a pause – idling and acceleration – to its wash of vehicular sound. The bell is a call to attention, signalling that it is safe to cross. Instead of the street, I turn away from the traffic, crossing a threshold into the hush of a charity shop.

'Hullo Elen how'r you?' The cheery owner greets me, recognising me even behind a mask. The shop is a point of public contact: brief, friendly and reliable. I know from time spent there that it serves as a place of encounter for others – especially older customers – who return regularly for society as much as for stuff. I enjoy perusing varied objects, fabrics, porcelain cups, rusted lamps and lost buttons while overhearing conversations. Inside, sensory attention can focus on tactile minutiae. Exiting, my sensory field opens up and widens, in line with architectural space.

I continue down Ormeau Road, my left ear aware of cars, past the grocery and hairdresser. Soon, I spy people ahead sitting at a new little parklet or waiting for orders at the corner cafe, whose coffee has reached my nostrils. I am excited at this sight of life and sociality, curious about the humans interacting with other humans.

'That's you there, thank you very much.' The woman at the bakery thanked a customer. Counting 145 steps, I see what is offered: giant almond cookies obscured by powdered sugar. *'Hiiii,'* said the man sitting against the telephone booth. Sometimes, he seems as much a fixture as the booth. Usually, I nod hello; other times, I avoid interacting, feeling uncomfortable. I hear other people now too, chatting around the parklet. Its tables are back, having disappeared during the latest lockdown. The parklet ends at the corner, a threshold after which Ormeau Road seems to socially lull. Its atmosphere surrenders to traffic drones again, making the interruptive metallic *caclackcaclack* of a utility cover whenever cars drive over it all the more present.

Sonic-spatial effects: repetition, masking and thresholds

Over the course of this study, the two knowledge-gathering methods were in constant discourse. In response to our soundwalk observations, we added elements to the architectural illustrations. For example, we extended their reach to include the experience of approaching cross

streets. Additionally, we highlighted noticeable sounds using shaded points. *In situ* experiences – both sonic and social – also informed the places chosen for the three drawn sections (shown in Figure 17.1b). A narrative account describes the sonic elements alongside the spatial and social elements of the soundwalk, as these were interrelated and intertwined in the authors' experiences. The path that the narrative describes is traced in the drawing with a red line (Figure 17.1a).

Listening is key for observing 'sonic effects', or what we are here describing as sonic-spatial effects: aural events shaped by material structures (e.g. buildings, sidewalks) and individual experiential perspectives (Augoyard and Torgue 2005). This study focused primarily on three sonic-spatial effects on Ormeau Road: repetition, masking and thresholds. These three effects are all evident in the narrative account, the recordings and the drawings.

Repetition

> *Ding ding ding ding ding*. My ears are arrested by the hasty beeping of a crossing light near the corner, its noise a rare rhythmic tone punctuating the surrounding atmosphere.

There are numerous types of repetition, one prominent type being personal repetition in daily returns to the same places along Ormeau Road. On repeated walks, certain sounds, smells and sights may become predictable (e.g. the smell of a bakery's bread, how traffic noise crescendos after a crossing light). Recurring routines, habits and cycles of urban life can be framed as urban rhythms (Adhitya 2013; Lefebvre 1991; Wunderlich 2013). Architect Felipe Matos Wunderlich describes 'place-temporality' as 'defined by four sensuous attributes and meaningful experiences: a vivid sense of time; an experience of flow; a distinct soundscape; and rhythmicity' (2013, 385). Soundwalks bring one's focus to streets' temporal dynamics – towards events that occur repeatedly within a short span of time. The crossing bell (Figure 17.2) is a repetitive tone that interrupts car traffic, punctuating its flow at Section A. This rhythmic sonic interjection of the crossing is repeated, like a motif, at many crossings along the street, building rhythms within rhythms. However, as the drawing emphasises, Ormeau Road does not have significant architectural repetition along this particular stretch. Facades change in three marked ways along one side, and there are multiple different facades on the opposite side: an area with a church and open grounds, a cross street, a small set

Figure 17.2: View from the initial corner: approaching the crossing light and charity shop; a sonic repetition of beeping, and rhythmic brickwork. © Elen Flügge

of buildings, another cross street, and a set of buildings set at an angle. Reflecting on repetition, rhythm may refer to wholly separate elements of the environment – spatial and physical, sonic and social – and their complex interplay on Ormeau Road.

Thresholds

> I turn away from the traffic, crossing a threshold into the hush of a charity shop … Inside, sensory attention can focus on tactile minutiae. Exiting, my sensory field opens up and widens, just like the architectural space.

Material and lived thresholds are everywhere in cities, and the soundwalk-drawing methodology offers unique insight into their significance. Going in and out of shops produces a sonic effect – a 'cut-out', an attenuation of sound – created by the movement of either the listener or the sound source (Augoyard and Torgue 2005). The drawing in Figure 17.1b outlines street depth by illustrating the interiors of the buildings that line Ormeau Road and showing the side streets from which people approach and leave the road; it details the material structures that influence experiences of sonic thresholds (Clossick 2017; Whyte 1980).

Figure 17.3: View, from across the street, of the corner building that partially blocks sound from reaching the residential street (left side). Thresholds can be visual, as in street markings, or designate particular social spaces. © Elen Flügge

We experienced several sonic thresholds on our soundwalks. First, we experienced the audible transition between a residential street and Ormeau Road, which was characterised by an intense experience of vehicle sounds. However, Ormeau Road's layout muffles the sounds for those on the residential street. Section A in Figure 17.1b shows the corner building that partially blocks traffic sound (seen in Figure 17.3). Second, we experienced the sonic threshold at the door of the charity shop, which attenuated the outside noise but allowed us to hear sounds from the shop's interior (Section B in Figure 17.1b). Third, we experienced a sudden shift at the end of the block at 180 paces, with a concentration of social activity stemming from a popular eatery, a bakery and a parklet (Figures 17.4 and 17.5), which lie just before a stretch of more subtle shops, including a pharmacy and a bank after Section C (Figure 17.1b). This is visible in the drawing, which shows the proximity of buildings and the phone booth contributing to a sense of enclosure. Thresholds are usually described as a feature of architecture, but our study takes the sound-studies perspective that, like cut-outs, they constitute an experiential event and may even be lived

Figure 17.4: View of the parklet; tables removed during lockdown. © Elen Flügge

Figure 17.5: Scones visible; smell of coffee in the air. © Elen Flügge

Figures 17.6 and 17.7: Views of the path down Ormeau Road, obstructed by signs, posts and booths. Sounds, such as those made by traffic, are masked by buildings. © Elen Flügge

by city-dwellers as a primarily sonic-spatial experience. A key aspect of this concept is that some element of movement is necessary for a threshold to be actualised (e.g. walking from a trafficked area into a park). Thresholds contribute to the rhythm and repetition of Ormeau Road; soundwalkers – as well as ordinary walkers – cross material divides and are exposed to the rise and fall of sounds as they pass buildings that block traffic noise and encounter different social groups (Figures 17.6 and 17.7).

Masking

> *'1, 2, 3, 4, 5'*. From this corner, I begin counting steps under my breath, though I no longer hear my footfalls alongside passing vehicles … *Vshhhhhssss. Shhhvvvvvvvvvvsh. Vvvvvsssshhhhh.* The high street starts before my feet arrive, its rumble of traffic rising to greet me.

Masking is the phenomenon of one sound or object blocking another. Ormeau Road, as part of Belfast's A24, hosts significant traffic that often dominates the atmosphere. A drawing can neither depict the experience of droning noise, which is immediately present when walking on site, nor demonstrate how voices become inaudible as buses pass or planes fly overhead. However, such effects are evident in recordings of conversational soundwalks, in which we were forced to raise our voices at certain points in response to masking by traffic noise. Upon reviewing recordings, the strain in our voices stemming from the necessary volume increase suggests that noise levels are unsociably high. Meanwhile, drawings can depict street furniture that visually masks views along the street (Gehl 2013). A final relevant sense of masking is the informational masking driven by selective attention. Audio recordings show that we miss a significant amount of sonic input when walking through urban spaces. It is surprising, when reviewing recordings, to realise how much sound occurs from moment to moment, demonstrating the true aural intensity of many everyday urban places.

Masking is linked to both repetition and thresholds, as thresholds can mask sounds, and the ways in which sounds are masked by one another are repetitive, contributing to the rhythm of a street. Like thresholds, masking may be considered to be a physical phenomenon, with one object in front of another; our study, however, considers that sounds also behave in this manner and, as a result, impact social life and the activities and conversations that can occur in certain places. When

traffic is too loud, people cannot easily speak to one another. Finally, we revealed the pivotal role of focused human attention on the experience of a city street, showing that it is necessary to record and re-listen to sounds to fully grasp their richness and complexity. Similarly, drawing through prolonged visual observation at a particular spot can facilitate the articulation of visual details that may go unnoticed while walking past. Comparatively, sonic and spatial tools – drawing, recording and listening – can highlight various instances of masking, but they are all significant in the design and understanding of streets.

Methodological reflections

Bringing together drawing and audio recording through soundwalks offers unique insights into Ormeau Road. Both drawings and audio recordings serve to verify, repeat, examine and interpret personal sensory experiences. During a walk, one may recall experiencing numerous sound qualities at different sites. Recordings serve as audio references that allow for a more precise determination of the elements that contribute to a site's aural qualities. For example, our recordings at Section A demonstrated that this corner was more spatially open than the others, while those at Section C showed that this part of the street hosts faster-moving vehicles. Drawing, meanwhile, depicts enclosure and scale, both of which are crucial when assessing that which shapes a street's atmosphere. Our findings suggest that physical compression and slower traffic can contribute to a calmer and more conversation-friendly atmosphere. Thus, these tools, when employed in tandem, can provide insights into the elements that shape street character.

Sonic experiences at a particular place and time can be profoundly influenced by minor spatial interventions. The Ormeau Parklet is a recent addition, designed by OGU and MMAS architects as a test place-making project.[2] This change replaced a few parking spaces with tables, chairs and a plant-laden material barrier between the parklet and the street. This parklet hosts increased pedestrian interaction (Figure 17.4 and Figure 17.8). During the soundwalks, it was clear that this parklet significantly influenced the street atmosphere. While some aspects of Ormeau Road are determined on a large scale (e.g. traffic pattern), small-scale interventions with a social focus can have a remarkable impact on sonic experience. Notably, however, these impacts would have gone unnoticed without merging techniques from the fields of architecture and sound studies.

Figure 17.8: A social corner, with a cafe and an open parklet.
© Elen Flügge

This study's methodological combination facilitates engagement with street elements that shift across varying time spans and speeds. A route may exist for centuries, its buildings and activities may evolve over years, and people may traverse it within a few minutes. A drawing can be useful for visually compiling the layers (or assessing the depth) of spatial and social information linked to a static moment in time. Such moments can be used to capture significant changes in the architectural

environment, as buildings are constructed or demolished over decades. Comparatively, audio recordings can easily capture temporal activity flows, such as passing conversations and routine activities. On-site recordings made at multiple points in time can be used to compare sonic flows at these points in time. It is difficult to represent the minutiae of sonic flow – the myriad fleeting sounds – using words, as more dynamic input exists than can be accurately articulated. Thus, narrative texts can be used to jump between different moments of time, refer to routine and cyclical events – such as rhythmicity and a vivid sense of time (as cited by Wunderlich) – and present a sense of events experienced on site over longer periods of time that can be socially or spatially contextualised and assessed. Thus, audio recordings may be characterised as useful for capturing temporal flow across short- to medium-term periods of time. In contrast, drawings may be characterised as useful for capturing a paused moment that can be compared to distinct historical instances. Finally, narrative text can serve to connect references to various moments and time frames.

A soundwalk incorporating intermittent verbal reports – a solo or conversational narration – adds to an inter-sensory and multi-temporal depiction of Ormeau Road. Including personal impressions in a recorded soundwalk can capture the recordist's personal experience of a site, in line with field notes. Conversational walks, including exchanges with interlocutors, can increase the complexity of observations by increasing the number of relevant perspectives. Recorded discussions about shared sites and sensory events incorporate a social element into research. Alongside visual observations and recordings, these soundwalks form multiple perspectives that can be juxtaposed. Conversational walks can underscore site conditions such as conversality, evidence how distinctly one can record speech and other sounds at that place and time, and demonstrate ways in which individuals filter their impressions of their surroundings. This study was primarily interested in individual sonic experience. Individuals listen and observe subjectively, influenced by personal background, biases, and the given situation. Such self-reflection, which can reveal how the recording-listener's attention may be directed, was often traditionally considered to be peripheral in conventional field recording; however, it is now increasingly utilised in sound studies and sonic arts (Anderson and Rennie 2016). Researchers are never truly absent from observations and recordings, especially in studies on everyday situations (Pink 2015). Both soundwalking and narrative text highlight the personal nature of studying streetspace.

Conclusion

We approached this study considering the significance of personal experience in soundwalks along a familiar route, which extends beyond built structures and social dynamics. Our cross-disciplinary approach served to provide insight into streetspace by capturing various fragments of the countless spatial, temporal and social elements that comprise a street. We contend that a formal drawing of a street's structure is inert without a description of the occupations and activities that the street hosts. Similarly, an aural recording of the flow of street life can be disorienting without a visual representation of where it was taken. Merging these approaches offered a more comprehensive sense of the street.

One challenge encountered in this study was the terminological and conceptual disconnects between the fields of architecture and sound studies. These two fields often interpret the same concept (e.g. rhythm) in different ways, presenting methodological issues. Additionally, it was difficult to present sonic elements of research, as the field of architecture – and, more generally, academia – is invested in visual and textual means of communicating findings. This challenge is inevitable for research aiming to represent sonic concerns to spatial fields, such as the publication *The Sound-Considered City* (Lappin et al. 2018) which uses drawing to highlight dominant sounds at various Belfast sites. As it was unfeasible for us to include audio in this paper, we sought to convey information from the recordings through the descriptive text of the walk, drawings and our analysis. Still, integrating multiple sensory forms constitutes a great advantage in urban research by bringing attention to less obvious street elements. We hope that this short study demonstrates one way of merging spatial, personal and sonic perspectives to allow for comprehensive understandings of streets.

Notes

1 Soundwalks and recordings completed in December 2020. The terms 'narrative' and 'conversational soundwalk' used here stem from Flügge's doctoral research at Queen's University Belfast (2022).

2 See, for example, https://www.oguarchitects.com and https://www.sustainableni.org/case-study/ormeau-parklet-test-model-expand-public-space (accessed 1 November 2022).

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18

Mapping everyday heritage practices: Tivoli Barber Shop on North Street

Anna Skoura

While research on everyday streets has highlighted the complex relationship between their fabric and their economic and social life, it has yet to properly assess the role of cultural heritage in this relationship. Drawing on the performative nature of place as well as the concepts of everyday heritage and the taskscape, this chapter argues that mapping heritage practices develops our temporal and spatial understanding of everyday streets. This mapping is achieved by assessing the people, places and practices on everyday streets using interdisciplinary methodologies. Focusing on the case of Tivoli Barber Shop on Belfast's North Street, this chapter demonstrates the contribution of local, independent shops to everyday streets' continuity, social memory and dynamic production of cultural heritage.

The cultural heritage of everyday streets

Over the last 50 years, everyday streets around the world – and particularly in the UK – have been subject to large-scale development cycles, growing increasingly homogenous (Bandarin and Van Oers 2012; Carmona 2015; Griffiths 2015). This process has greatly influenced streets' built fabrics as well as the activities that take place on them, challenging their resilience and adaptability (Swyngedouw et al. 2002; Purcell 2009; Sassen 2019). Research on high streets has highlighted the complex relationship between their fabric and their economic and social life (Hall 2012; Vaughan 2015; Zukin et al. 2016; Hubbard 2017). However, it has yet to properly assess how the relationships among streets' fabric, activities and users influence their cultural heritage

Figure 18.0: Map of Belfast © Anna Skoura

(Erlewein 2015; Moore-Cherry and Bonnin 2018; Sholihah 2016; Taylor 2016). This lack of knowledge is growing more troublesome as comprehensive redevelopment transforms everyday streets, disrupting the historic and cultural continuities of their urban landscape.

In the context of the UK, an everyday street would fall under the category of 'high street'. However, in a continental context, they resemble a 'mixed-use street' or a 'shopping street', but with less residential use. Despite this terminological variety, I employ the term 'everyday street' in this study to highlight the streets' ordinary qualities – the role of everyday practices in shaping them and their connection to 'everyday heritage'.

Everyday heritage comprises places and practices that are meaningful to the life and routine of 'ordinary' people (Dicks 2000; Mosler 2019; Samuel 1994; Schofield 2014), in contrast to the idea that heritage is a cultural construct designed to serve the interests of the elite (Lowenthal 1985; Smith 2006). Everyday heritage is the heritage that addresses the ordinary to 'offer 'ordinary people now' the chance to encounter 'ordinary people then' (Dicks 2000). This type of heritage values places and practices that play an important role in people's everyday life and routine, while contributing to their sense of place (Silva and Mota Santos 2012) and sense of past (Robertson 2012). The term *heritage* is used in this chapter very broadly to include everyday rituals, practices and traditions that inform the character of places. Often, everyday heritage includes places and practices that appear commonplace.

Drawing from the concept of dynamic authenticity, where continuity and change are interlinked (Jivén and Larkham 2003; Araoz 2008; Silverman 2015), the everyday street is understood as a site of living heritage (Poulios 2014), where the ordinary interactions between the fabric, use and users form a dynamic and essential layer to the street's heritage (Martire and Skoura 2022). Drawing on the performative and embodied nature of place (Crouch 2003; Edensor 2010; Thrift 2008), everyday heritage can be understood as the heritage produced by those who actively engage with it (Robertson 2012; Schofield 2014): in the context of everyday streets, the people that use them.

The 'taskscape', coined by Tim Ingold, conceptualises the relationships among a street's fabric, use and user. A task is conceived as 'any practical operation, carried by a skilled agent in an environment, as part of his or her normal business of life' (Ingold 1993, 158), and the taskscape is an aggregation of tasks. Taskscape and landscape are interlinked, with the landscape being the embodied form of the taskscape

(Ingold 1993). Translating these concepts into heritage-related terms, the landscape can be perceived as the tangible, while the taskscape can be viewed as the intangible aspect of a street's cultural heritage. In the context of everyday streets, the landscape is their urban fabric, while the taskscape is the uses and activities taking place on them.

Landscape and taskscape continuity are essential to the retention of everyday streets' cultural heritage. Spatial and social continuity reinforce collective memory (Connerton 1989; Halbwachs 1992; Hayden 1994; Rossi 1982). The collective memory of each everyday street relies on both its historical fabric and its shared everyday experiences (Hebbert 2005; Low 2017); thus, activities occurring on them constitute an important layer of their heritage (Robertson 2012). Of course, these activities are largely dependent on that which the street can accommodate. Continuity of uses – especially among local, independent stores – is an overlooked but vital aspect of everyday streets (Clarke and Banga 2010; Hall 2011; Zukin 2012). This chapter argues that local shops with a long-term presence constitute a meaningful part of their street's taskscape and a source of everyday heritage (Skoura 2019).

Case study: Tivoli Barber Shop, North Street, Belfast

The city of Belfast presents an extreme example of high street homogenisation. Even in conservation areas, demolitions and large-scale developments have replaced much of the existing built fabric – its uses and users – without considering the adverse effects on the city's cultural heritage. North Street is one of the oldest streets in Belfast's city centre, dating back to the first official map of Belfast from 1685. Throughout the centuries and until well into the 1960s, like many other high streets, it has proven itself to be architecturally, economically and socially adaptable, remaining relatively stable in form and hosting a diverse set of uses and activities, including shops, services and housing.

Planning decisions made between the 1970s and 1990s reduced much of North Street's activity, leading it into a steady decline through a lack of maintenance, arson attacks, apparent obsolescence and successive retail development proposals (BBC News 2015; Black 2019; Potter 2019). Such proposals have shown little appreciation of the street's landscape and taskscape; in the latest iteration, more than half of the historic fabric and its activities are to be replaced with generic 'high-street architecture' (SaveCQ 2017; O'Kane 2020). North Street

exemplifies the planning system's inability to properly appreciate the character of everyday streets and adequately protect them from market forces.

One of the North Street shops that will be forced to close is Tivoli Barber Shop, an integral component of North Street's taskscape. Currently located at 15 North Street – with a continuous presence in the area since the 1920s – it is likely one of the oldest barber shops in Belfast (McRitchie 1981). Amid North Street's contemporary blight, Tivoli remains a popular barber shop for an all-male clientele: from toddlers accompanied by their mothers to people in their golden years, most of whom have been regular clients for decades.

Methodology

This study employs methods from architecture, urban design, urban history and graphic anthropology alongside ethnographic observations to conduct a nuanced assessment of the people, spaces and practices in Tivoli and, in turn, understand its heritage practices. The author visited the shop on many occasions between September 2017 and February 2018, spending several hours at a time there. Drawing was used as a method of both analysis and representation. Conceptualising drawing as a way of embodied thinking (Merleau-Ponty 1945; 2013), the selection and editing of information involved in drawing becomes a way of both analysing and synthesising the sensory information experienced by being in a place (Dutoit 2008; Lucas 2020).

Tivoli's everyday heritage is presented in this chapter through different types of drawings illustrating its taskscape and heritage narratives. The author employed approaches from graphic anthropology (Lucas 2020) and ethnographic drawing (Azevedo and Ramos 2016; Kuschnir 2016) to reflect ethnographic knowledge and used the concept of 'place ballet' (Jacobs 1961) to analyse Tivoli's taskscape through its users' place-making practices. Recording the shop's interior entailed measured survey drawings of the barber shop's inhabited space and the creation of taxonomies of objects. 'Counting people' techniques, which are widely used in urban design studies (Gehl and Svarre 2013; Whyte 1980), and mapping techniques used in human geography (Holloway and Hubbard 2001) were then employed to create a series of spatial and temporal studies and analyse movement in the barber shop.

Tivoli Barber Shop

Tivoli Barber Shop was established in 1924 at 8 Lower Garfield Street – the corner of North Street and Garfield Street. In 1936, the current owner's grandfather started working at Tivoli, followed by his sons Philip and Alfie. They bought the barber shop in the 1950s; in 2004, it was passed on to Eddie, the current owner. Although not a barber himself, Eddie has helped in Tivoli since he was a boy, initially sweeping floors and later handling the finances. In 2013, Tivoli was forced to vacate its premises after the building was deemed unsafe. It quickly relocated to 15 North Street, its current location. Since 2014, Tivoli's backroom has housed the Goose Lane Gallery, curated by a local art company. At the time of the fieldwork, Tivoli employed three barbers, two of whom were in their 50s and had been working at the barber shop for almost 20 years.

Tivoli Barber Shop has a fairly old-fashioned interior, making visitors feel like they're stepping back in time. It boasts Formica counters, traditional barber chairs fixed to a wooden floor, plain mirrors, and a leather-covered timber bench. Instead of a price list, a plain piece of paper propped up on two mirrors lists the price for the only service they offer: a haircut (see Figure 18.1).

Despite its forced relocation, Tivoli's persistent presence is something that its owner and barbers are proud of. Following the move, the owner remained the same, as did two of the three barbers. The furniture, tools and wall decorations were all moved from the previous shop too, along with the shop's taskscape, dictated by the everyday practices of barbering.

Figure 18.1: Tivoli waiting area. © Anna Skoura

Tivoli's collection of posters

The longevity of small independent stores is an overlooked but crucial asset to everyday streets. Tivoli, as a social space with a continuous presence and steady contribution to the taskscape, constitutes a place in which individual and collective memories are triggered and produced. Sharon Zukin asserts that 'the production of cultural heritage through collective memory depends on both spatial and social continuity' (2012, 286). Tivoli's continuous existence provides 'spatial continuity', while the continual visits of steady clients and their families, sometimes spanning decades, is an expression of 'social continuity'.

Eddie, Tivoli's owner, is passionate about the area's past, present and future. To him, the barber shop is an integral piece of the area – a place where memories of his family and early childhood are interwoven with the history of North Street. He has gathered anything related to the barber shop and North Street to eagerly display it in Tivoli. What started as a way to mask the physical decay of the previous premises evolved into a striking collection of images that covered every available inch of the barber shop's walls – and even parts of the ceiling. With contributions from the owner, barbers and clients, the collection consists of posters, photos and other memorabilia. Despite the apparent disorder, the pieces in Tivoli's collection are thematically organised: the history of the barber shop, the history of North Street and Belfast in general, boxing and sports, images related to barbering and Hollywood posters. During the research process every piece displayed on the walls was drawn with little detail to evoke the impression of the pieces, rather than a faithful reproduction of every item included in the collection.

These pieces connected to Tivoli's history serve as a shrine to the barber shop's past, evoking the collective memory of long-term clients. If heritage is seen as 'the existence in the present of memorials representing the lived experiences of past people' (Henson 2016, 149), Tivoli's gallery embodies heritage by emphasising the link between the barber shop and the people and places of the past.

Traditional barber shops often reproduce gender stereotypes through ideas of masculinity (Barber 2008; Philips 2007) and Hollywood's classic male role models. The displays on Tivoli's walls are no exception.

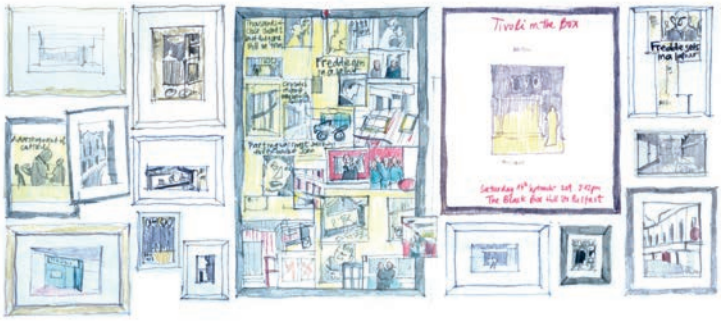

Figure 18.2: Taxonomies of Tivoli's gallery: history of the barber shop. © Anna Skoura

Figure 18.3: Taxonomies of Tivoli's gallery: Hollywood. © Anna Skoura

Tivoli's curated collection of posters illustrates the barber shop's heritage narrative, making it a locus of personal and collective heritage narratives (Crang and Travlou 2001; Waterton et al. 2017). The survival of these narratives is essential to shaping and maintaining collective memory (Hayden 1994; Jones 2017; Low 2017).

Tivoli's place ballet

> Out of this mapping of the banal, comes something of ballet of lines of motion. (Crang 2001, 8)

Tivoli's barbers have been giving haircuts for decades, contributing to the continuity of the taskscape and giving meaning to the barber shop. Haircut practices are here analysed as spatial practices, employing the Jane Jacobs' concept of place ballet. Tivoli's place ballet can be seen as an aggregation of individual body ballets, defined by David Seamon as 'a set of integrated gestures, behaviours, and actions that sustain a particular task or aim' (Seamon 2006). In turn, North Street's place ballet can be seen as an aggregation of the dances of all of the shop spaces in terms of how they connect to the street.

The barber's body ballet during a haircut is the core sequence of Tivoli's ballet. During the 10 minutes of a typical haircut, the author observed that each barber had a precise and repetitive way of moving around the client. While his hands worked, the barber moved in a semi-circle, shuffling his feet and shifting his weight from one foot to the other. The barber was engaged in a very precise dance – a choreography devised to negotiate and appropriate Tivoli's space (see Figure 18.4).

While the barber's dance is relatively repetitive, with each haircut requiring the same general set of movements, the barber shop dance varies significantly depending on the day and the time of day. Figure 18.5 illustrates Tivoli's place ballet over the course of two days. The activity is traced as an overlay on space with differently coloured

Figure 18.4: Barber's dance. © Anna Skoura

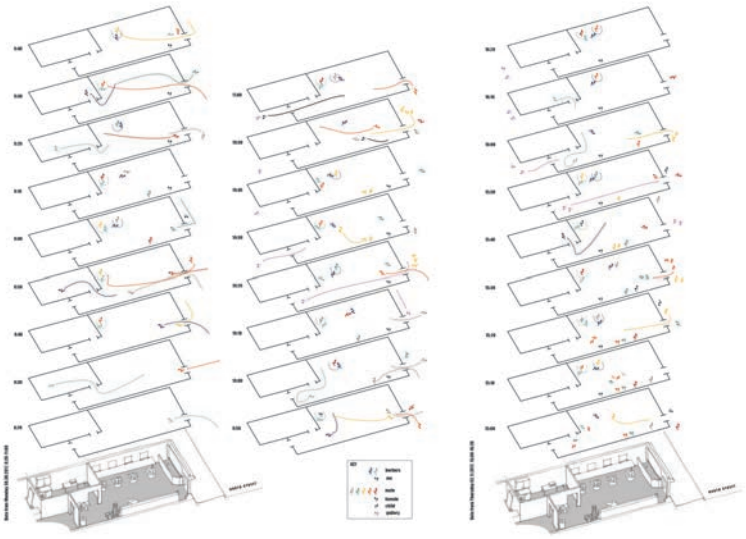

Figure 18.5: Tivoli place ballet. © Anna Skoura

footprints corresponding to different categories of people. Following these coloured footsteps, we can trace clients and barbers coming in, moving around the shop (each area corresponding to an activity) and eventually leaving.

Seamon's body ballet 'sought to describe the everyday worlds of individuals in terms of embodied phases of movement, rest and encounter' (Wylie 2007, 149). The body ballets that collectively constitute Tivoli's place ballet depict Doreen Massey's 'living place' as a 'constellation of trajectories' (2005, 149), with each trajectory spatialising one of the many everyday practices that occur in the barber shop. The barber shop as an everyday place of routine habits – expressed spatially and temporally through its place ballet – becomes a 'landmark to placemaking from below and within' (Robertson 2015, 2): a landmark of the street's everyday heritage.

Tivoli's place ballet is dynamic. It changes shape and rhythm depending on several factors, including cultural, environmental, temporal and spatial constraints. For example, its hours of operation provide a temporal envelope to the beginning and ending of the daily space ballet, while business working hours influence the flow of clients. Material and spatial constraints include everything from the barber's tools and the chairs to the posters and the building's architecture. The reciprocal relationship between space and spatial practices is governed

by implicit and explicit rules, all of which can be 'read' through signs and indications in the space (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Figure 18.6a shows the data from Figure 18.5 overlaid on the plan of the barber shop. It becomes clear that the place ballet revolves around specific spots; different users tend to frequent specific zones (see Figure 18.6b). Jane Clossick (2017) introduced the concept of 'depth' to explain the way in which different city spaces (ranging in scale from a single room to an urban block) host different economic and social aspects of everyday life. This depth is structured, comprising discrete zones delineated by thresholds, each with its own rules and expectations regarding user behaviour (Clossick 2021). Tivoli's main entrance connects the barber shop to North Street. Then, the main area of the

Figure 18.6: Tivoli zoning. © Anna Skoura
Spatial practices (a) and spatial structure (b) in Tivoli. Thresholds: (1) entrance, access to all; (2) door to the kitchen, access to barbers; (3) door to the gallery, access to gallery staff and visitors; (4) door to storage and WC, access to barbers and gallery staff (occasional access to clients). Zones: (1) barber shop, access to anyone entering the premises; (2) waiting area, used by those waiting for a haircut or accompanying a client; (3) kitchen, used exclusively by the barbers; (4) gallery, used by gallery staff and visitors.

shop is divided into the waiting area and the barbers' stations. The barbers stay predominantly around these stations (where the traces of the barber's dance are noticeable) and have exclusive access to the kitchen. The gallery staff exclusively use the gallery. Finally, the clients move between the entrance, the waiting area and the barbers' stations. The layout of the barber shop guides the visitor, while, at the same time, the shop layout is guided by both the architecture of the building and the anticipation of the users' needs, stressing the connection between the landscape and the taskscape.

Local shops and everyday street heritage

This chapter has highlighted two ways in which Tivoli contributes to North Street's taskscape and heritage. Its poster collection supports personal and collective heritage narratives, making Tivoli a place imbued with social memories that evokes a sense of place and a sense of belonging among its lifelong clients. Furthermore, defined by routine visits and repetitive practices linking users across time, the barber shop has contributed to the spatial and social continuity of North Street's taskscape. Understanding heritage as a dynamic process, local, independent shops with a longstanding presence constitute places where everyday heritage is produced, rendering 'a current way of life more meaningful by a sense of inheritance from the past' (Robertson 2012, 2).

While strategic placemaking practices have regularly been employed in public-realm improvements and heritage tourism on everyday streets, they have often been criticised for facilitating gentrification (Fincher et al. 2016; Lovell 2019; Madden 2011; Mansilla and Milano 2019; Ozdemir and Salcuk 2017). Assessing the taskscape and heritage narratives of everyday streets can inform more location-specific placemaking practices that respect each street's historical, spatial and cultural qualities (Giombini 2020; Mosler 2019; Pink 2008). Furthermore, expanding the concept of heritage to include everyday rituals, practices and traditions that are meaningful to those participating in them while contributing to the character of places can help protect the historic and cultural continuities that foster inclusive and culturally rich places (Martire and Skoura 2022).

Attitudes toward new development projects are also crucial in maintaining historic continuities in the urban landscape. The proposed development looming over North Street will force Tivoli to close its

doors after almost 100 years. While comprehensive redevelopment is a common influence on everyday streets' taskscape, social memory and heritage, new design initiatives that respect the scale and typology of streets' fabric and existing users and uses are possible. Such initiatives can even support the contemporary production of everyday heritage.

Tivoli Barber Shop is a place that can easily be overlooked. But as with many places that are deemed too ordinary to qualify as official heritage, it displays a continuity and adaptability supporting the street's everyday heritage. The combination of positivist approaches, traditionally favoured in planning practices, with the more interpretive ones employed in this study offers ways to map heritage practices and acknowledge everyday socially constructed spaces as equally important to the street's heritage as formally designed ones. Including such mapping of heritage practices in methodologies designed to appraise the urban fabric highlights a broader understanding of the value of places on everyday streets. It is only after close inspection that the value of the shop to the street becomes clear.

Conclusion

Using the example of Tivoli Barber Shop on Belfast's North Street, this chapter illustrated how local shops play a meaningful role in the social memory, continuity and dynamic production of everyday streets' cultural heritage. The chapter further argued that expanding our understanding of everyday street heritage to include the relationships between the street's fabric, activities and users, and noticing the way people use everyday streets, while analysing the factors that affect these both spatially and temporally, can inform more appropriate place-making that is holistic and inclusive, appreciating both tangible and intangible values of place. Considering these practices in redevelopment projects can support the social and spatial continuity that is crucial to streets' cultural heritage.

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19

Urban depth and social integration on super-diverse London high streets

Jane Clossick and Rebecca Smink

Urban depth that promotes convivial interactions between different socioeconomic groups at varying city scales is crucial to facilitating optimal conditions for social integration. This chapter explores the relationship between urban depth and social integration in London at different scales (building/block, neighbourhood) in two super-diverse places in London: Tottenham and Stratford. The study is conducted using drawings, participant observation and interviews, emphasising the methodological value of reading the city closely through different types of drawings. We argue that urban depth on high streets and social integration are intimately linked. Therefore, it is necessary for planning policy to protect the type of urban depth in which diverse groups can flourish and form relationships.

Tottenham and Stratford

This study spans two places in London: Tottenham and Stratford. It examines their morphology, assessing whether they wield conditions that facilitate social integration. The high streets here represent ordinary streets on the periphery of central London. Tottenham has a high street called Tottenham High Road, which constitutes an 'ordinary' street (Hall 2012, 11). Stratford has two similar examples: Leytonstone Road and Stratford High Street. We use these as points of comparison to explore how some types of urban depth do not foster the conditions necessary for social integration. We use Tottenham and Stratford as examples of two scales: building/block and neighbourhood, respectively.

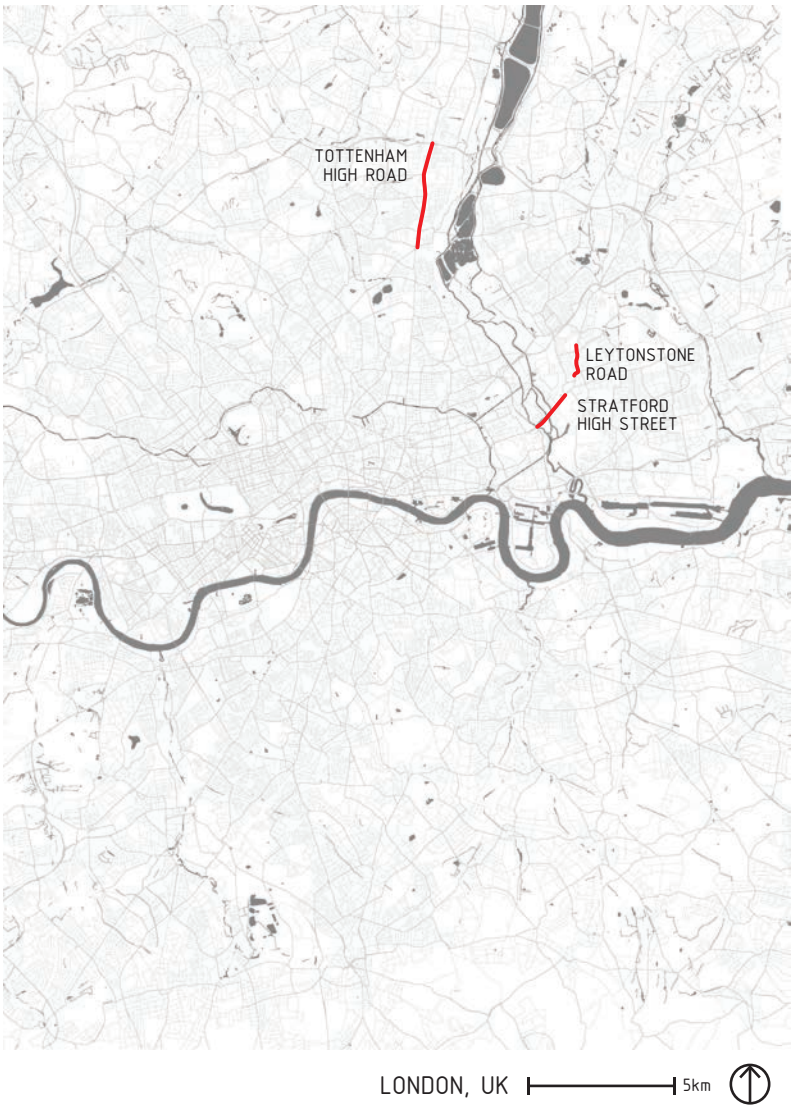

Figure 19.0: Map of London © Anna Skoura

Both Stratford and Tottenham are deprived places that have undergone regeneration. Stratford's economy suffered in the late twentieth century due to the closure of many London docks. However, London authorities sought to reverse this decline amid the 2012 Olympics through new development initiatives, including the huge new Stratford Westfield shopping centre. Similarly, the manufacturing hub of Tottenham declined in the late twentieth century, due in large part to globalisation. After the London riots caused extensive damage to Tottenham High Road in 2011, a number of regeneration schemes were instituted, including the designation of the Upper Lea Valley Opportunity Area. In both Stratford and Tottenham, regeneration has largely involved private-sector development, meaning it has resulted in gentrification (Dillon and Fanning 2015, 108–206; Watt 2013, 99–118); property prices have risen and local communities have been driven out. Both places remain deprived (MHCLG 2019). According to the 2019 Index of Multiple Deprivation, Tottenham's Northumberland Road, White Hart Lane and Tottenham Green are the second, fourth and thirteenth most deprived of London's 633 wards (MHCLG 2019). Newham, the borough that contains Stratford, is the 25th poorest local authority in the UK (Presser 2016).

Key concepts

Social integration

In a super-diverse city like London, social integration reflects the presence of 'social cohesion, a strong institutional foundation and a culture of acceptance' (Cruz-Saco Oyague 2008, 1). Social integration entails working towards the participation and inclusion of groups with diverse attributes. It allows such groups to experience equality of rights, opportunities and access to services. Social segregation or exclusion, on the other hand, facilitates reduced mutual understanding, conflict and unequal access to opportunities. In 2020, the Mayor of London set out a 'Vision for Social Integration' around three core themes of 'relationships', 'participation' and 'equality' (GLA 2002, 7). Of relevance to this assessment, the 'relationships' element of the vision is about finding times and places for diverse groups to interact, as 'relationships and social contact can reduce unconscious bias and discrimination' and 'facilitate access to participation opportunities' (GLA 2020, 7).

Urban depth

'Urban depth' is the depth of high streets beyond the facades: buildings, yards, alleyways, secondary streets and all contained therein. The term was coined by Peter Carl, who defines it as the capacity of the city to structure the 'fruitful coexistence of formal and informal life' (2012, 1). Social, political and economic life takes place in urban depth; it is a concept that captures cities in their multi-layered richness. 'Depth structure', coined by Jane Clossick (2021), describes the organisation of urban depth, whereby urban space at all scales is differentiated into zones characterised by different norms of decorum, privacy and access. Decorum here refers to appropriate dress, language and behaviour; required decorum is generally communicated to the users of a place through signs and signifiers. Implicit awareness of boundaries between zones coordinates where people go and what they do in cities on both individual and collective levels. Urban depth includes the many components that make up economic, social and civic life; the way this urban depth is organised and designed – its depth structure – can help or hinder our collective ethical desires for the good functioning of cities.

Well-designed depth structure has, in many studies (e.g. Carl 2011; Clossick 2017; van de Wal et al. 2016; Vesely 2006, 19), been shown to have multiple positive effects, including social and economic accessibility (Hall 2020), political participation (Clossick 2022), social integration (Clossick and Colburn 2021) and economic resilience (Clossick and Brearley 2021). The spatial configuration between rooms, for example, can influence the typical uses of those rooms (Hillier et al. 1984). At a larger scale, the integration, centrality and connectedness of routes constitute an important factor behind the vitality of districts and neighbourhoods.

Super-diversity

Super-diversity is a condition of diversity heaped upon diversity (Vertovec 2007). It refers to diversity between ethnic groups as well as within them in terms of education, class and age. The term has been expanded by Wessendorf (2014), who explored how residents of a super-diverse urban neighbourhood pragmatically negotiate difference in their everyday lives. Hall (2015) has explored the relationship between the occupation of an ordinary street and the expression of super-diverse cultural identities in its shops. Stratford and Tottenham are super-diverse places, with groups of different ethnicities, faiths and classes living in close proximity and a relative lack of conflict.

Gradation of publicness

A key mechanism that facilitates the conditions in which social integration can thrive is the 'gradation of publicness', or the tendency of places to vary in accessibility to a broader range of people, with a general pattern of places closer to the most public parts of the depth structure (e.g. the high street) being the most public (Clossick 2021). The decorum changes at each part of the depth structure, depending on its level of publicness; this varying decorum in different zones influences behaviour, language, decor, and who is welcomed or feels welcomed. Gradation of publicness is a spatial mechanism that enables vastly different cultures to coexist peacefully most of the time. In the case studies, gradation of publicness serves a mediating function between public conviviality and private cultural specificity.

Methodology

The findings presented in this chapter were gathered between 2014 and 2020 on Tottenham High Road (building/block scale) and two high streets in Stratford (neighbourhood scale). Methods employed include architectural drawing and photography, urban analysis through diagrams (Martire and Madden, this volume), and the social science methods of observation and in-depth interviews (Smink 2020). In Tottenham, we examined three case studies: an indoor Latin American market, a hair salon and a Quaker meetinghouse (Clossick 2021, 11–13). In Stratford, we examined two high streets with very different morphological conditions: Leytonstone Road and Stratford High Street. The use of drawings to investigate the gradients between public and private life enabled us to visualise the relationships between urban depth and social life and how these relationships change from the outside on a high street to their interior; this approach serves to test the value of reading cities closely through drawings (Martire 2020).

Block/building scale (Tottenham)

At a busy corner near Seven Sisters station, a large market known as Latin Village occupies an old department store (see Figures 19.1 and 19.2). It is fronted by shops facing the high street, which also have entrances from inside the market. The interior market space is divided

Figure 19.1: View of the interior of Seven Sisters Market. © Clossick 2017

into several arcades of small shops, which sell a wide range of products from specialist food to music and underwear. The majority of stallholders are Colombian, but there are stallholders and regulars of many nationalities. The front of the building is the most widely accessible to the broadest range of people via the high street. The front of the market, facing the street, contains a luggage shop, general household goods, a grocer and a Colombian cafe. Towards the back, the shops and stalls become more culturally specific, with hair salons, food stalls and clothing shops catering specifically to Colombian customers. As one moves away from the front row of shops, the lingua franca is Spanish while at the front of the market, on the shops facing the high street, the signage is in English.

This gradation of publicness, as shown in Figure 19.2, from the front to the back and the change in decorum as one moves away from the high street gives the stallholders and regulars the possibility of convivial but casual interactions with a broad range of people at the front of the market, and simultaneously the opportunity to establish strong social bonds of loyalty and friendship at the deeper end of the market. It's important to note that the places where these bonds are formed are not off-limits to the general public; anyone can peruse the stalls and sit and eat in the tiny cafes, and they know they are welcome to do so because the front parts of the depth structure closest to the high street welcomed them in. One British regular told us that they started off coming to the butcher's shop in the market, then they began getting their hair done at a salon in the market – and now they come to the

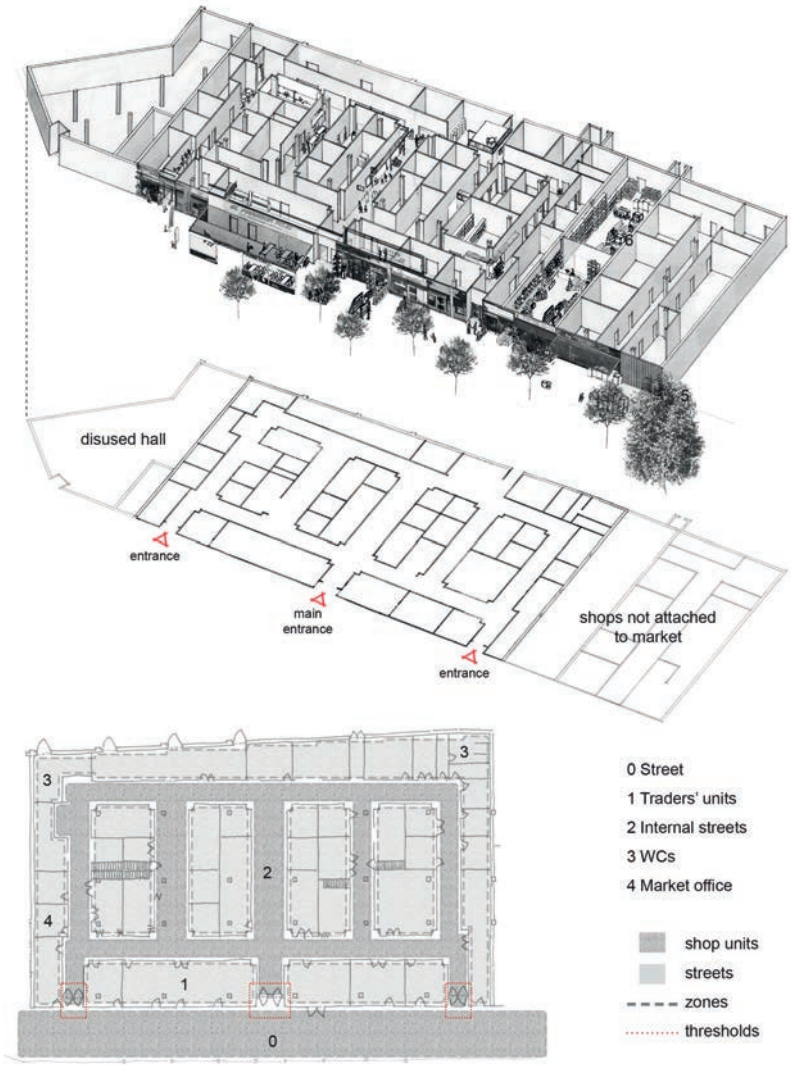

Figure 19.2: The depth structure of the interior of Seven Sisters Market, showing the gradation of publicness from the front doors to the rear of the market. © Clossick 2021

market a few times a week to chat with friends they have made at the juice bar. However, the general public has different rules of decorum than market regulars. The owner of the specialist butcher talked about being happy to let his children roam free in the market because the regulars are 'like family'; he can trust the people he knows well to keep

an eye on his children. In contrast, a newcomer would not recognise his children and would not feel comfortable disciplining them or giving them instructions. At the same time, he needs new customers to find his stall and do business with him, so he does not want the market to be cut off entirely from the general public. The market is a place where both strong ties and casual, transactional relationships can be formed – all mediated through the gradation of publicness present in the market's depth structure.

An example of what can emerge as a result of social integration includes the establishment of a community group to protect the market when it comes under threat from developers. The Ward's Corner Community Coalition has been evolving for 15 years – since developer Grainger first proposed demolishing the market. A coalition of architects, academics, traders and local people, the group has successfully challenged Grainger's plans, submitting and receiving approval for their own planning initiative. This collaboration was possible because people from all walks of life, including those with architectural and planning expertise, came in and used the market, growing to enjoy it and forging links with traders. As a result, they cared about the market and were willing to campaign for its survival. This is a great example of a situation that fulfils the London mayor's desire to develop social integration through increased access to participation opportunities. The market is a spatial and social mediator that has enabled integration between disparate groups who would not otherwise have crossed paths, and this integration has led to direct political participation and empowerment. Similar everyday experiences of social integration are detailed by Suzi Hall (2012) in her exploration of a London caff through the juxtaposition of publicness and privateness enabled by the depth structure of the typical high street shop.

Hair salon

Similarly, in the Crazy Cut hair salon near Bruce Grove station, there is a gradation of publicness from the front to the back. In contrast to the market, this gradation occurs within a single business. At the front of the salon, anyone can walk in, the lingua franca is English and the decor is representative of the dominant culture of the high street. The back, however, hosts more private rooms, such as the kitchen, where religious symbols are present and people often chat in Turkish. The decorum of the different parts of the salon's depth structure is indicated by the arrangement of objects. Towards the front, shampoos

Figure 19.3: Contrasting ways in which objects are stored at the front (left) and the back (right) of the salon. © Clossick 2017

and other products are carefully and attractively arranged for sale on neat shelves; towards the back, shelves are a chaotic but homely mess of half-used products and personal items (see Figure 19.3). In the front of the salon, staff are urged by their manager to speak English, while conversations in the back are often had in Turkish.

These are fertile conditions for social integration in the context of super-diversity. The same situation, with zones of conviviality and publicness to the front and zones of culturally specific privacy towards the back, is repeated up and down Tottenham High Road. Gradation of publicness simultaneously provides space for the cultural specificity of groups within the local cultural milieu and space for the super-diverse groups of Tottenham to trade and socialise – facilitating a blend of contact and avoidance that fosters peaceful dynamics and, potentially, social integration.

Quaker meetinghouse

One useful counterexample in Tottenham is the Quaker meeting-house; rather than gradation of publicness, it has a stark public-private boundary. The meetinghouse is situated on the first floor of a small block, accessed through a side alley running between high street shops. Quakers in the Tottenham chapter are, for the most part, White British. Unlike the people in the market and the salon, they did not tell stories of integration with neighbours but rather of cooperation and integration with other groups of Quakers. Certain socio-spatial structures that house cultural diversity can potentially maintain unequal power relations and privilege, especially if they do not contain gradation of publicness.

As they are instrumental in reproducing social life, depth structures can harbour and perpetuate privilege in a number of ways. First, personal characteristics dictate both the places that an individual may enter and the decorum that they must adhere to, as in the example of the salon's kitchen. The more a person is integrated into the culture of a place, the more 'insideness' (Relph 1976) they experience and the deeper they can penetrate its most private zones. When such cultural integration is a consequence of certain personal characteristics, such as White skin, the depth structure serves as a mechanism through which institutionalised discrimination can be reproduced. Second, where zones cannot be seen and information about their decorum cannot be gleaned, an individual must possess either knowledge or blind confidence to enter them. The Quaker meetinghouse is one example of this, as one must brave a knock on the door and a conversation with the gatekeeper to be admitted. As a White, middle-class person, one of us gained entry without question, but this blind confidence is a feature of our 'privilege' (McIntosh 1988). In contrast, those inside the Seven Sisters Market can clearly see all of the zones and assess their required decorum, enabling them to make an informed decision about whether to enter. It is very important to recognise who is welcome in and excluded from places, who may perceive themselves as being excluded, and whether sufficient information is available for people to make an informed decision about whether to enter a place. These aspects are necessary if depth structure theory is to be useful in assessing entrenched power structures and institutionalised privilege, which constitute the opposite of the relationship-building underpinning social integration.

Neighbourhood scale (Stratford)

Leytonstone Road

Leytonstone Road is a high street separating the neighbourhoods of Maryland and Odessa in northern Stratford (see Figure 19.4). It is a place where conditions are ideal for building relationships. The high street can easily be reached by a broad range of local residents and visitors on foot or by car or public transport. Therefore, in terms of gradation of publicness, it can be considered the most public zone of both Maryland and Odessa; this is clear through its status as a dense retail area. Space Syntax theorists call this 'optimum centrality' (van Nes and Yamu 2018). The pairing of ease of access and functional diversity makes Leytonstone Road a place where contact between

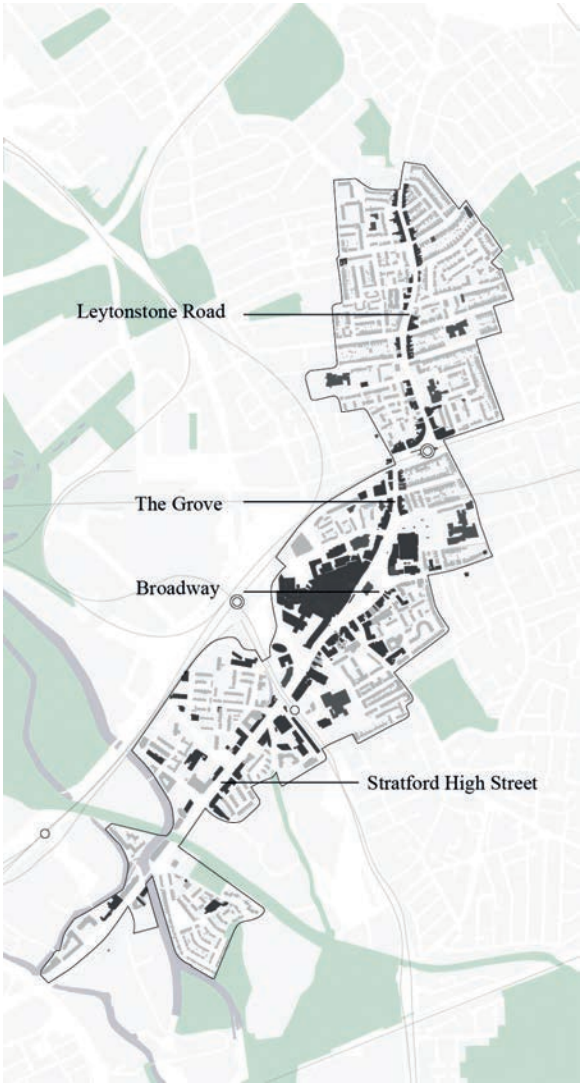

Figure 19.4: Map showing the location of the two case-study streets in Stratford: Stratford High Street and Leytonstone Road. © Smink 2022

different social groups can spontaneously evolve on a regular basis. The melting pot of ethnic groups is evident in the range of shops offering specialist ethnic services or products. Behind the retail facades are many other functions that feed off the high street, such as nurseries, garages, primary schools, community centres and places of worship, as shown in Figure 19.5, boosting the vitality of Leytonstone Road.

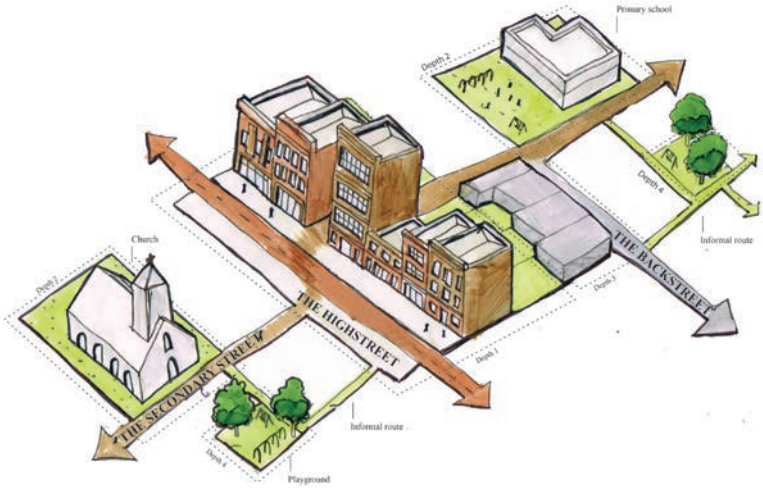

Figure 19.5: Schematic drawing of the physical depth of Leytonstone Road. © Smink 2019

Behind the frontage of Leytonstone Road, non-domestic uses are mostly one block deep, located on less public streets. Such places behind the high street form part of the local network, directly and easily accessible to fewer residents; therefore, they tend to be more culturally specific – the neighbourhood-scale equivalent of the kitchen at the back of the salon. The order of business activities is related to a coherent organisation and a more general gradient in urban form (Hausleitner, this volume). Local places like playgrounds and shared inner courtyards provide convivial engagement between people who share demographic qualities and live in close proximity; this contrasts sharply with the high street, where more disparate social groups come into contact. There is a clear hierarchical neighbourhood structure in which social and economic life takes place: a public high street and more private, residential streets and squares (Hillier et al. 2007), with gradation between (see Figure 19.6).

For an example of the kind of social relationships that form on Leytonstone Road, Janson Wines is a small convenience store located at the corner of the high street's intersection with Janson Road. During our visit, the owner mentioned that he has many regular customers from the surrounding neighbourhoods, mostly with Asian or African backgrounds. He 'loves his customers' and is delighted to chat with them on a regular basis. It is the location of Janson Wines – in the most

Figure 19.6: Schematic drawing of Leytonstone Road showing its diversity of decorum. © Smink 2019

Figure 19.7: Day in the life of a local resident around Leytonstone Road. © Smink 2019

public zone of the two neighbourhoods, on Leytonstone Road between Maryland and Odessa – that enables its function as a place where relationships between very different people can grow.

Two customers of Janson Wines offered examples of engagement with others who share similar demographic qualities on or near secondary streets. An Afghan man with whom we spoke described himself as the kind of person who 'says hello to his neighbours'. He believes that people get on well together in his local area, as many residents live in shared housing and make use of the same local facilities, such as community centres. He works in a community centre located in the hinterland of Barking Road, where he helps local residents with inquiries related to tax forms and legal obligations and assists victims of domestic violence. He regards his colleagues at the community centre as some of his strongest ties, as he sees them on a daily basis (see Figure 19.7 for a mapping of this man's movement around his neighbourhood). Similarly, the shop owner described meeting his family members, who live in the area, at the park. Places such as the community centre and the local park are less readily accessible than, for example, Janson Wines, meaning that they provide opportunities for engagement between people with similar socioeconomic or cultural backgrounds. The neighbourhood structure of the more public high street and its more private hinterland with a gradation of publicness allows for both convivial interaction between diverse groups and more meaningful and deep engagement between those who share demographic or cultural characteristics.

Stratford High Street

In contrast to the gradation of publicness found on Leytonstone Road and Tottenham High Road, Stratford High Street (location shown in Figure 19.4) – like the Quaker meetinghouse – boasts a stark public-private boundary, the consequence being that its capacity to nurture social integration is limited. Stratford as a whole boasts a series of distinct socio-spatial zones with homogenous physical, economic and social qualities, as shown in Figure 19.8. Stratford High Street is designated as 'mixed-use' (LLDC 2020, 228), yet its uses are limited to large-scale businesses and global retail functions making use of the close proximity of Stratford Station, a major transit node that attracts highly skilled workers and affluent visitors. As a result, despite Stratford being super-diverse, the development of monofunctional and monocultural spatial enclaves like Stratford High Street prevents the multicultural landscape from becoming a melting pot that nurtures social integration. One dance teacher that we met on Abbey Lane noticed the lack of cohesiveness in the area, saying that she 'would like to be better connected and know who is the owner of the workshop

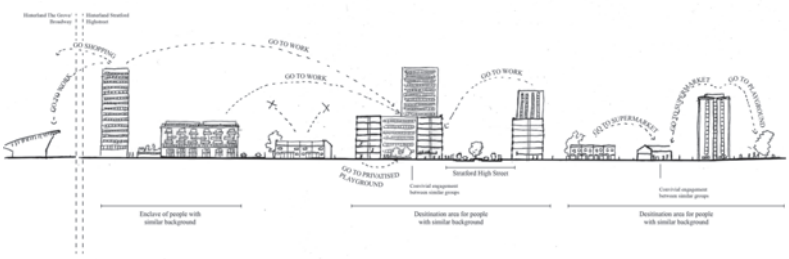

Figure 19.8: Schematic drawing of Stratford High Street showing its diversity of decorum. © Smink 2022

around the corner, or know who runs the cafe across the road, or who is the owner of the bar and restaurant'. Due to its lack of gradation of publicness and the large-scale monofunctional typology of its buildings, Stratford High Street has lost its function as a place for public conviviality at the neighbourhood scale. Hubbard (2017, 227–35) draws similar conclusions about high streets all over the UK.

Conclusion

super-diversity + urban depth with gradation of publicness
=
potential for social integration

Super-diversity is a fundamental feature of London. When a street is super-diverse and wields a rich and complex urban depth with gradation of publicness, it is more likely to facilitate social integration, as this structure fosters convivial interaction between diverse groups – the basis of building relationships. The same applies to the hinterlands around high streets, where gradation of publicness allows for greater familiarity and cultural specificity in some places while offering places for convivial interactions between groups to foster peaceful coexistence in other places.

High streets like Leytonstone Road and Tottenham High Road are places where socioeconomic differences and inequalities are spatially expressed, as they are highly accessible at the city scale and, therefore, constitute a meeting place for all groups. However, social integration between groups relies on the kind of gradation of publicness found in Seven Sisters Market. In contrast, while the area around Stratford

High Street and Stratford Station is also accessible from the rest of the city, its morphology lacks the capacity to support gradation of publicness. Therefore, it does not possess the conditions that foster social integration; in fact, its conditions appear to promote social segregation.

We propose some general rules of thumb for designers and policymakers to maximise opportunities for social integration and, in turn, achieve the London Mayor's 2020 'Vision for Social Integration' (GLA 2020). First, at the building/block scale, when granting permissions for high-street accommodation, planning policy should insist on buildings that have a depth structure with the potential for gradation of publicness. The size and price of high street shops dictate the types of businesses that can occupy them, so policy should ensure that there is space available for marginal and lower-value businesses and services, which are more likely to belong to a wide range of socio-economic groups, offering opportunities for building relationships across social divides. Second, at the neighbourhood scale, it is important to understand where within the gradation of publicness a particular street sits to enable planners to decide, for example, whether residential intensification is the right choice or whether the intensification of economic and civic accommodations would be more appropriate. When engaging in master planning and urban design, streets' gradation of publicness should be considered, and different types of use should be situated in appropriate locations. Finally, as noted, some highly accessible locations tend to become monothematic enclaves of large corporations; such enclaves can encroach on the ordinary fabric of high streets and hinder their capacity to nurture social integration. Therefore, planning policy should seek to retain a wide variety of uses and users on some, though not necessarily all, high streets, though this may require updating change-of-use legislation.

London is rapidly evolving, becoming home to an increasingly diverse range of social groups. However, the city is subject to economic forces that threaten the layered richness of its high streets' urban depth. Therefore, if we are to truly value social integration in super-diverse cities, urban policy must protect rich and complex urban depth on and around high streets.

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Conclusions

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The streets covered in this book are embedded in places that differ in culture, social dynamics, population density, economic structure, geography, landscape and planning system. Here, we aim to provide a sharpened definition of 'everyday streets' and plead for interdisciplinary work in their reinterpretation and future design.

Defining the everyday street

As defined at the outset of this project, everyday streets are 'linear centres of civic activity, where much of everyday life takes place'. Everyday streets are intrinsically local. Their gradual transformations align with political, cultural, technological and social change. They have inherited their form, uses and social landscapes from processes that have stretched over centuries – and they continue to change in the same way. The 'physical fabric' of the everyday street is a built environment that comprises many diverse elements and features walkable streets, pavements wide enough to facilitate interior uses spilling outward, and street furniture that facilitates non-commercial social interactions. 'Uses' typically comprise economic, civic and residential purposes, while 'mixed economies' entail wholesale, retail, service and industrial business alongside the 'foundational' economy. 'Social interactions' are embedded into everyday streets' fabric and uses, defining and defined by the practices, habits and rituals of individuals and groups. Throughout this book, the authors have demonstrated how these intertwined physical and social characteristics of everyday streets manifest differently depending on local conditions of a place,

their fabric, culture, and identities. The streets covered in this book share three common qualities: First, *permanence and resilience*: a fine-grain physical fabric that is adaptable, as it can sustain incremental change; Second, *identities and inclusiveness*: distributed ownership, empowering more people in the decision-making process; and third, *conflict and control* stemming from high plurality.

Permanence and resilience

Socio-spatial forces continue to evolve in the modern era, and everyday streets continue to adapt to these forces within their geographical and topographical constraints. Adaptation to change is a fundamental characteristic of everyday streets, making them highly resilient. Different elements of everyday streets change and adapt at different rates. Additionally, these streets have multiple temporalities, which may remain stable over long periods of time or be disrupted by major planning projects. Still, practices can shift rapidly in shorter periods of time; market streets that are bustling one day can be silent the next.

The existence of everyday streets as sites of culture and identity over long periods of time makes them receptacles of heritage and memory. Specific uses and associated practices occurring over centuries inevitably permeate the culture of these streets. Alternatively, uses can change while building types and the urban grain remain stable – heritage is made concrete in the street fabric. This 'everyday heritage' of urban fabric and spatial practices is not that which we usually associate with heritage – it's not a statue, a museum or a prominent building. Rather, it is intangible social heritage: physical and cultural ecosystems that merit safeguarding.

Identities and inclusiveness

Everyday streets are sites of overlapping everyday practices, habits and rituals. These spatial practices may include activities, such as shopping, working, taking children to school, socialising, and travelling from place to place on foot or using a vehicle. However, everyday streets may also host commemorations, protests, parades, demonstrations and funerals – major events, the essence of which becomes merged with the street itself. Everyday streets create and are created by the identities and culture of those who use them.

Everyday streets are places of inclusiveness as well as social, economic and political participation. They accommodate a diverse

array of cultures, economic structures, and civic and social practices. Inclusion is promoted by the provision of foundational goods and services, both commercial (e.g. food, services, entertainment) and non-commercial (e.g. education, social spaces, religious sites). The streets covered in this book have presented various configurations of inclusiveness, which is a key component of social and spatial justice. Thus, everyday streets constitute an ideal location for enhancing social, political and economic participation among inhabitants. The typical fine-grain structure of everyday streets leads to inclusion and participation, as these streets are the sites of diverse cultures. Through this cultural overlap, everyday streets facilitate crossover in cultures' associated material and human practices; they provide a place where very different groups can come together.

Conflict and control

Of course, the everyday street is not always a site of joyful inclusiveness and social justice. As they often host multiple overlapping uses, cultures, identities and political ideologies, they can also be the site of serious social and spatial conflict. The distinct identities of those who inhabit streets determine those who 'belong' in the space and, in turn, those who do not. Some groups of people may feel welcome, while others feel excluded. Local identities and histories, particularly those of underprivileged and disenfranchised users, can be undermined by gentrification and touristification. When the urban fabric of a street is destroyed, the identities and place-specific cultures that were embedded in that fabric are destroyed alongside it, leaving behind only stories in the memories of the inhabitants, doomed to fade into obscurity within a few generations.

The competing needs of different groups on everyday streets can lead to the exertion of control, with one group using their power to exclude or police others. Economic power and other forms of privilege determine who wields the most control, be it physical, economic, social or legal. Control may also be highly subtle; certain groups may simply feel unwelcome in a particular place despite no *explicit* actions being taken against them. The potential types of conflict and the ways in which they are expressed are manifold; they are as varied as the range of uses and users found on the everyday street. Overall, however, everyday streets are more often places where conflicts are resolved or worked around. In no examples in this book did issues spiral into warring chaos, which is a tribute to everyday streets' resilience and adaptability.

Understanding the everyday street

Since everyday streets are a fundamental component of urban living, of the provision of foundational goods and of both inclusiveness and participation, it is important to achieve a proper understanding of them. This book has presented a wide range of examples of how to engage with the multifaceted phenomena on everyday streets and these cases have shown that different methods produce different findings. Evidently, learning about everyday streets should be a transdisciplinary endeavour – one that is approached simultaneously from the perspectives of several disciplines, including economics, social science, history, urbanism, architecture, psychology and geography.

The methods that have been successful for our authors were derived from standard practices in social science (interviews, participant observation), ethnographic (casual conversations, mapping observations), architectural (accurate drawings of architecture and public spaces) and data-driven spatial analysis. Our authors also employed more experimental methods from architectural, art and ethnographic practices, such as graphic anthropology, installations, auto-ethnography and non-standard diagrams and sketches. These methods reveal the spatial, social, economic and civic structures that comprise everyday streets. We must understand these structures if we are to design and care for everyday streets without inadvertently destroying their unique qualities.

Participatory and in-situ research processes can aid in changing places for the better, boosting inclusiveness, linking stakeholders and directly influencing streetspace. Co-drawing and participatory workshops are just two examples of engaging and giving value to those outside disciplines pertaining to the built environment of everyday streets. Overall, we can conclude that mixed-methods approaches produce the most holistic readings of everyday streets' attributes. They enable us to detect and value unquantifiable components (culture, identity, everyday practices and heritage) which do not bear an economic value.

Shaping everyday streets

It is important to protect and nurture everyday streets – to design and build them in ways that serve the evolving needs of society and

promote further inclusiveness. This requires a commitment to the objective laid out in the introduction: to reclaim streetspace for people and to resist the 'optimisation' of car-led and commercial development, which strips streets of the social and spatial characteristics that make them inclusive. The streets covered in this book are all under the jurisdiction of an authority. None of them is truly informal; they were all, to some extent, planned and controlled.

The following recommendations are divided into five topics: uses on the street; movement and being on the street; urban design of the street and its hinterlands; architecture of the street; and policy.

In terms of uses, everyday streets need a mix of uses that integrates both commercial and non-commercial programmes – and complementarity is essential. It is not necessary or possible for all types of street uses to be mixed evenly everywhere; varying topographical, social and economic forces result in them being clustered in particular localities. However, it is still important to ensure that inhabitants' basic social, economic and civic needs – including those of all social groups, with their associated heritage – are provided for on their local everyday street(s). In other words, these streets must be sufficiently inclusive to enable universal social, economic and political participation.

In terms of both moving through and existing on everyday streets, these streets work best when they are equally accessible to pedestrians, bicycles and public transport rather than dominated by cars. As many of the authors in this book pointed out, walkability is particularly significant; it is important to design street spaces that are convenient to walk through to facilitate a flourishing local economic life and boost environmental sustainability. There must also be adequate space on the street to facilitate the crossover of activities and objects between inside and outside.

In terms of urban design, everyday streets need diversity in spaces, building types and unit sizes as well as variation in hinterland 'depth' to accommodate mixed-use functionality beyond the street edge. In this way, even the areas beyond the street contribute to its vitality. The built fabric of parcels, blocks and buildings that form everyday streets is shaped by the streets' physical geography and topography – by their 'topos' – and by the socio-spatial forces of planning, politics, economics and civic life. Of course, streets also influence these elements in return: differences in form affect distribution of uses and how they are clustered in streets. Not all functions and uses are found evenly distributed; they are instead differentiated between

places depending on available building types and the topographical characteristics of the locality.

In terms of the architecture of everyday streets, style is less important than functionality. Everyday streets require buildings that feature adaptable spaces, are usable in multiple ways, and boast solid interplay between the street and ground-floor frontages. At the block and parcel scale, a clear distinction between 'front' and 'back' sides enables the social structuring of uses and decorum, facilitating multiple convivial overlapping uses and cultures. Finally, retaining and adapting existing street fabric when possible – rather than wholesale replacement through destruction – preserves the everyday heritage of socio-spatial practices, boosting the everyday street's resilience. To achieve this kind of retention, changes must be made to development financing that enable developers to work successfully with what already exists in terms of street fabric and uses.

Finally, in terms of public policy, policymakers should develop appropriate legal, administrative and technical frameworks that are tailored to specific local contexts and produce pedestrian-, cycling- and transit-friendly environments that reduce reliance on private motor vehicles. Financial incentives can encourage population-wide behavioural changes, promoting active modes of mobility such as walking and cycling. Similarly, such frameworks and financial incentives can promote physical changes in development that align with the principles outlined here.

Public space design is a key policy area. Urban planners are capable of directly influencing urban residents' quality of life. The evolution of everyday streets is most inclusive when it is driven by multiple stakeholders working together. We must explicitly address the needs of less privileged and minority groups to ensure that they are included in everyday streets and build cities that work better for everyone.

Index

Everyday streets are both the most used and most undervalued of cities' public spaces. They are places of social aggregation, bringing together those belonging to different classes, genders, ages, ethnicities and nationalities. They comprise not just the familiar outdoor spaces that we use to move and interact but also urban blocks, interiors, depths and hinterlands, which are integral to their nature and contribute to their vitality. Everyday streets are physically and socially shaped by the lives of the people and things that inhabit them through a reciprocal dance with multiple overlapping temporalities.

The primary focus of this book is an inclusive approach to understanding and designing everyday streets. It offers an analysis of many aspects of everyday streets from cities around the globe. From the regular rectilinear urban blocks of Montreal to the military-regulated narrow alleyways of Naples, and from the resilient market streets of London to the crammed commercial streets of Chennai, the streets in this book were all conceived with a certain level of control.

Everyday Streets is a palimpsest of methods, perspectives and recommendations that together provide a solid understanding of everyday streets, their degree of inclusiveness, and to what extent they could be more inclusive.

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