



ISIS BOOT

Masterthesis Human Geography
Radboud University Nijmegen

March 2016

**INBETWEENS
OF
THE CITY
FROM
WITHIN**

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OF
THE CITY
FROM
WITHIN**

ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF HOME, PUBLIC SPACE
AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE URBAN EVERYDAY

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FROM WITHIN THE INBETWEEN

Prologue

The subject of this thesis is very close to my heart. Hence, it is -automatically- too large for a thesis.

However, to me, writing this thesis has been 'just' a preface to further delving into the themes and questions that occupy my mind and work as an engaged social designer and urban researcher (to be). It served as a, very seriously taken, playground and -period for exploring connections, overlap and discrepancies between the applied, hands-on, creative and often disruptive practice of design on the one hand – and the structured, analytical, thorough and theoretical approach of (social) sciences on the other. Opposites attract. Nevertheless, both fields share a common ground that can be found in an in-depth human interest, the conceptual tool of de- and reconstruction and the quest to grasp a sense of essence. In this context, and through their differences, I think both professional domains offer each other keys and new perspectives that may help beyond a point of saturation and stagnation. As such, I have come to believe in the possibility for a good -maybe even passionate- marriage between the two.

If speaking about global and urban society in a phase of transformation(s) – whether conceived as crises, transitions, or both at the same time – exchange of insights and new perspectives are needed while an in-depth connection between disciplines may be precious. A good marriage however, will not be achieved without mutual interest and an open stance to learn about and from one another, which is why I plead for an enhanced, constructive dialogue between social science and design - and, as a start, a mutual introduction.

Although the size of a thesis will, inherently, not be sufficient to do justice to the scope of the processes, fields and topics that are under discussion, this piece of work can be seen as a (first) attempt: an introductory draft, outlining and exploring connections and coherence between (some of) the elements that home, city and society consist of, as well as some of the methods that are yet available for their approach. Within this process, I have been experimenting with, and reflecting on, visions and strategies of previous experience in the field of social design and the local practice of neighbourhood renewal, while nosing through the rich offer of reflections, concepts and analytical tools in human geography. In doing so, writing this thesis has been a valuable instrument in my own process of exploring and defining my professional 'inbetween' position, entering the academic world from a design-thinking and -doing background.

I could not have done this without the support, flexibility and trust of the people surrounding me: in the philosophical sphere of human geography, my supervisor, prof. dr. Huib Ernste; in Vienna, my internship tutor dr. Yvonne Franz and my guide in the field and Austrian culture, Michael Friesenecker, who both became very dear; the PNIG team, that has been openly welcoming me to be involved at all times, in particular my second reader dr. Rianne van Melik; the interviewees and all the people that have contributed to this research and my Vienna experience, in any kind of form; and, last but not least, my 'team of cheerleaders', dear, dear friends and family members -and cat- , supporting me in so many different, heartwarming ways.

It has been quite a journey, a hell of a ride.

Thank you.

To Johan
aka
'Waverider'
i.m.

SUMMARY

Processes of urbanisation, globalisation, mobilisation and digitalisation are changing our spatial notions and experience. This leads to a 'crisis of belonging' as our relations to places, objects and 'others', that are part of our tangible everyday lifeworld, change and become discontinuous. The impact of this crisis, or transformation of belonging reaches beyond scale, linking developments in global society to the very local, micro level of the home – which is the key subject of this research.

Our everyday lives and routines spread out over (public) spaces of the city that become internalised to the experience of home. It does not necessarily limit itself to the physical boundaries of the house or private property. As such, this thesis particularly problematizes the borders and relations between private, public and commercial spaces, when identifying home in the current urban context.

On the other hand a transition is bubbling up in the practice of urban development. This transition can be seen as part of a societal process in which relations between 'above' and 'below', 'top' and 'bottom' are being redefined. Within this thesis, I present the perspective of the 'city from within' to connect views 'from above' and 'from below', and to move beyond the opposing understanding of the two. It explores a relational ontology and methodology accordingly, that was based on, or inspired by assemblage theory.

In doing so, this research zooms in to the (micro) level of the home-environment, through an explorative empirical case study within in the 15th district of Vienna, Austria. The objective is to gain insight in the current spatiality of 'home' in relation to public, private and commercial spaces within context of a residential neighbourhood that is subject to urban transformation. Under the umbrella of PNIG (Practices of Neighbourhood Improvement in Gentrifying cities) this case study takes set within context of an internship at the University of Vienna (UNIVIE).

As such, this research was set up to find insights and new perspectives on the meaning of 'home' and dwelling in the city of today. Scouting through a variety of conceptual and practical means, the aim was to find starting points for the developing or rephrasing of a (conceptual) framework and to find and redefine means for city making in practice. Based on the insights from the theoretical framework and the empirical results it will reflect on three key concepts and their coherence: 'home', 'public space' and 'urban transformation'.

In the theoretical chapter, i.a., the notion of 'home' is related to the notion of 'belonging' and recognized as a space of 'safety, familiarity and predictability' that is normally captured by or anchored within the physical structure of the house. As a hypothesis, 'home' was conceptualized as a space of the 'self' in which identity is constructed, but where one can also be anonymous. This 'self' was in turn characterized by a duality of the 'I' vs 'me'.

The 'home' can be found in this spatial context or 'take place' in there, no matter whether public, private or commercial, or even simultaneously, spread out or fragmented over the constellation of the three. The less 'being at home' is connected to 'being in *my* house', the more it can move elsewhere in the city. Not physically or spatially bounded, 'home' becomes rather a state of being instead of a place. Therefore, the state of being 'home' can also occur in (e.g.) the public, since the boundaries of 'home' are determined by the means or the moments by which the state of being is 'switched on or off'. As the borders between public and private and the 'home' are regulated less by spatial features, but more through the virtual, it can also be regulated by e.g. time or technology. However, still the building, creation and use of

the material and spatial context and conditions, are tools that (can) support this mental state of being. The city and the constellation of public, private and commercial spaces within there, provides such a spatial and material and social context.

From a relational perspective, the city is conceived to be never fixed nor finished, constantly reproducing itself in an ongoing becoming as it is shaped through interaction: little activities, frictions and adaptations 'inbetween' the urban elements (both human and non-human). Thus, when the shape or experience of the 'home' changes, this either directly or indirectly affects its context. This impact is mutual. As such, the 'home' is an essential part of the transformation process of the city - and vice versa. Seen in this way, urban developments do indeed have a direct impact on the experience 'behind the front door', but moreover, on the (more mobile) 'space of the self'. As such, it does not only become sensible in the experience of 'home', but also affects its coming to being. In turn, the shaping of identity (of the 'self') from the individual or the community 'rubs off' on the urban environment. The impact of change not only becomes visible in the physical, spatial setting of the city or the public space, it affects rather the relation between the 'home' and the public space.

In Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus, or the 15th district, the first contours of this movement are becoming increasingly visible. Local actors and communities connect, organise and develop. This could be further amplified when the potential of urban actors, professionals and non-professionals are brought into scope and when the 'landscape of change- and city makers' is being mapped. This would give room to an iterative, exploratory process of city making, while step-by-step outlining a course and navigating through the discontinuous 'scapes' of the city. As such, in the 'city from within', there is no 'one formula'. Therefore for the future we will need a compass instead of a blueprint.

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1.



DWELLING IN THE CITY OF TODAY

1.

DWELLING IN THE CITY OF TODAY

Introduction

1.1 REDEFINING RESIDENCY

Project framework

The world is in ‘a crisis of belonging’, stated the commission of the 2016 Oslo Architecture Triennale [OAT] recently, as “global circulation of people, information, and goods has destabilised what we understand by residence, questioning spatial permanence, property, and identity” (OAT, 2015). Processes of urbanisation, globalisation, mobilisation and digitalisation are changing our spatial notions and experience, and through this, our relations to places, objects and ‘others’ that are part of our tangible everyday lifeworlds. While transforming our familiar spatial and domestic conditions, contemporary global developments directly affect the individual in its dwelling and ‘being in the world’ (Heidegger, 1962) and hence, the city. As such, the impact of this crisis, or transformation of belonging reaches beyond scale, linking developments in global society to the very local, micro level of the home.

On the other hand a transition is bubbling up in the practice of urban development. This transition can be seen as part of a societal process in which relations between ‘above’ and ‘below’, ‘top’ and ‘bottom’ – or, in terms of de Certeau (1984), the ‘city from above’ versus the ‘city from below’ – are being redefined or ‘tilting’ (Rotmans, 2005). Thus again, this process can be identified as a reconceptualization of the meaning of spatial relations, borders and hierarchies, being part of a search for a new (social) balance in society within its contemporary conditions.

As a result of this process of change, either defined as crisis or transition, “being at home entails different definitions nowadays” (OAT, 2015) and does not necessarily limit itself to the physical boundaries of the house or private property. Our everyday lives and routines spread out over (public) spaces of the city that become internalised to the experience of home. As such, this thesis particularly problematizes the borders and relations between private and public, when identifying home in the current urban context (figure 1).

Here, a relational - or assemblage - approach of the city is instrumental. It assists in shifting the focus from urban elements in individually isolated and fixed meaning, to their embeddedness in the larger ‘whole’ or context of the city; and from static states of ‘result’ towards an understanding of the city as an ongoing process of becoming (i.a. McFarlane, 2011; Farias, 2010; 2011), as will be further elaborated in the theoretical framework (chapter 2).

When reflecting or conducting research into the relations between urban actors from this perspective, it is not the intention to take a position opposite to other concepts or perspectives, but -in line with a relational way of thinking- rather to challenge those by searching for clues that enable (re)connection. If we can leave behind hierarchical understanding as implied by notions of top and bottom, the city can instead be perceived as a constellation of a multiplicity of elements, that in their assemblage together continuously shape the city (i.a.: Farias, 2010). In an attempt to open up for doing so and to move beyond this contra-positioning of approaches, I opt with this research for a starting position *inside* the city,

taking a perspective as close to the experience as possible. This is, as the title of this thesis already reveals, formulated as the 'city from within'.

With this research, I aim to explore connections between urban theory and the lived experience of tangible practices, by a case-study conducted in Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus, the 15th district of Vienna, Austria. This area recently became subject to urban renewal, and was therefore selected for an international and multi-layered 'Urban Europe' research project on gentrification, under the title 'Practices of Neighbourhood Improvement in Gentrifying cities' (PNIG). This research is conducted in four European cities (Arnhem, the Netherlands; Istanbul, Turkey; Zürich, Switzerland; and Vienna, Austria) and forms the umbrella under which the fieldwork for this thesis took place in context of an internship at the University of Vienna (UNIVIE), one of the research partners of PNIG.

When conducting the fieldwork for this thesis, the neighbourhood level was instrumental to take position within an urban everyday lifeworld in which the home-environment is being constructed, and where the borders and relations between the public and the private can concretely be observed. In this regard, 'home' may be found not only within restrictions of the private, behind the front door, but just as well within the public sphere, its meaning not being restricted by physical boundaries.

From the call of the Oslo Architecture Triennale to dissect "the architectures entangled in the contemporary reconfiguration of belonging" (2015) and to document "the ways in which these architectures redefine residence" (idem), it can be read that there is indeed a need to re-explore, reconsider and 'reassemble' our practices of dealing with the places, communities and objects that form our everyday lifeworlds. The 'home', as such, offers a somehow tangible starting point within the fluidity (Bauman, 2011) of today's transition dynamics.

Therefore, scouting through a variety of conceptual and practical means, the aim is to find starting points and opportunities outside of the beaten path that may hopefully offer openings to and insights in renewed urban transformation processes and to enhance them where needed. In this process of investigation, the focus will be put on practices and examples that, ideally, have the potential to connect spatial, organizational and social levels (global – local, top – down, bottom – up, self and other) and as such reflect the 'city from within'. In this way I hope to add a little fragment to the transition towards an inclusive, holistic practice of city making that fits this era of hybrid, translocal and virtual network spaces (i.a. Castells, 2010; Bauman, 2011).

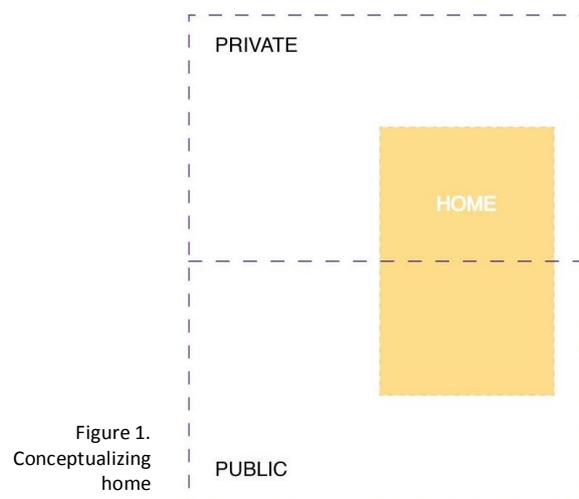


Figure 1.
Conceptualizing
home

1.2 A SOCIETY IN TRANSITION

Research context

Mobilisation, Digitalisation, Globalisation, Urbanisation

As introduced in the previous paragraph, four global developments can be distinguished underlying contemporary transformations in global society, having huge impact on how today's world looks – and how we perceive it. Nowadays, there are innumerable ways to translocate ourselves, our stuff and our knowledge around the globe, either physically or virtually. People, products and information are on the move.

The intensification of mobility not only becomes visible in the form of densifying traffic and transportation or the current drift of refugees and other flows of migration, but also manifests through digital phenomena and networks such as online shopping, the constant connectedness through social media and the like, or, the transformation of work and employment in a network society (Castells, 2010). In different forms, scales and actualities “circulation brings greater accessibility to ever new commodities and further geographies” (OAT, 2015). As such, physical and virtual space get more and more intertwined and differences between public and private spheres become blurry. This creates a daily environment and perception that is far less geographically restricted and an expansion of our lifeworld as our scope reaches further. Simultaneously, as it becomes more accessible, the world becomes smaller.

In result, flows and circulation seem to have gone in all kinds of directions, by various means. A lot of this movement is heading towards the city. Currently, the majority of people around the world already lives in cities (for Europe: 73% now, expected to be 82% in 2050 (www.agendastad.nl)). Data tells that European cities show “a changing population pattern in which the largest metropolitan areas continue to grow rapidly” (Madanipour, Knierbein & Degros, 2014, p. 3). This is not without consequences.

While “urban sprawl is driven by individual search for better quality of domestic space” (Madanipour et al., 2014, p. 6), “circulation also promotes growing inequalities for large groups” (OAT, 2015). As such, individual steps to improve single lives, may have adverse consequences for the society as a whole. For instance, “the provision of public space is directly linked to the quality of life in compact urban environments” (Madanipour et al., 2014, p. 6). This means that cities and their inhabitants, who undoubtedly will have to deal with densification and, hence, urban transformation, will be highly challenged in their current state and practices.

A Crisis of Belonging

Together, the processes of urbanisation, globalisation, mobilisation and digitalisation are adapting our perception and meanings of the spatial, manifested in examples such as the above. As old, familiar time-spatial identities become outdated, its continuity is slowly being substituted by a discontinuous reality of different scapes and temporalities, while gradually losing connections with specific urban places and landscapes (Boomkens, 2008). According to Appadurai, this process could be imagined as a proliferation of non-spatial landscapes (for instance mediascapes, financescapes or ethnoscapes), stretched out in layers over the existing spatial or geographical landscape and radically changing the real spatial landscape “by introducing all kinds of delocalised elements into its localised reality” (idem: 15). As such it can be said that this changing relation to the spatial questions our attachment to places and collectivities on the one hand and our relation to the objects we own, share and exchange on the other. Hence, Boomkens argues, it would therefore be best not to address the public sphere as a spatial issue, but rather as something evolving in time-space:

In the discourses of urbanists and architects, the public sphere has always been primordially addressed as a spatial issue, as something that has to do with specific places or localities within the larger framework of the urban context and its functions. This emphasis on its spatial dimensions influenced the different diagnoses of the condition of the public sphere (...) what happened in specific urban localities (...) gradually had moved to new, non-spatial environments. (Boomkens, 2008, p. 11)

Hence, form and functions of the city are subject to change, directly affecting our relations to the places, objects and 'others' that are part of our tangible everyday lifeworlds, as we used to know them. This may include perceptions of borders between public and private domains, but also meanings of global versus local, solitude and togetherness, the individual and the community, all shaping the "changing condition of belonging and contemporary transformation of residence" (OAT, 2015). A positioning of these notions or concepts is thus no longer defined by sheer physical spatial conditions, but has to come about differently. The question is: how?

Social Innovation and Transition

The above explains how changing spatial conditions caused by global developments lead to discontinuities in our society. Therefore, the world as we know it is under increased pressure and as such becomes disjointed. This may lead to sudden changes and (unpleasant) surprises that could form serious threats to individuals as well as society (Rotmans, 2005) at different levels and in different aspects. Aside from great challenges in the field of sustainability, emancipation, global economics or poverty, (mass) migration and world peace, it also affects the more tangible experiences of home, belonging and the urban public sphere.

The impact of these challenges is particularly fundamental, as it does not 'just' entail a physical change, but in itself, specifically questions the meaning and function of the physical, which makes contemporary developments multi-dimensional. As such, when adapting to this new situation, old ways of doing based on past realities will appear to be outdated or even redundant. When strategies as we know them become dysfunctional, a broad societal process of redefinition and renewal is needed, indicated by Rotmans as 'societal innovation' (2005). In this transitional process, society will have to come to terms with its new time-space, rebuilding continuity, and will have to invent new methods to function. According to Rotmans, this societal innovation cannot be imposed from above, but arises through a process of interaction at different levels. As such, also hierarchical relations between 'top' and 'bottom' need to –or are about to- be redefined and reconfigured.

As "many European cities have scented the advent of a new paradigmatic shift in public urban development" (Madanipouret al, 2014, p. 7), this process, which Rotmans would indicate as a 'tilting' of societal hierarchies and relationships, can already be observed in urban practice and processes. Slowly, there is a shift taking place, both in practice and in public discourse, in which local bottom-up initiatives are arising and gaining ground from conservative top-down urban strategies

The unfolding and growing awareness of top-down versus bottom-up practices and processes in urban development, in a way, translates into practice theoretical perspectives of the city from above and the city from below. However, in this respect notions of 'top' and 'bottom' are less referring to positions of power and processes of city making derive from interference, interactions and negotiations of different groups and

perspectives, a notion of the city from within may -in the future- become more and more accurate. Because cities are not determined from a single perspective, but “different actors all make the city in their own distinct ways, through purposive and unconscious practices of human design that are more or less effective, more or less durable and more or less visible” (Tonkiss, 2013, p. 24).

Reconceptualising gentrification

Focussing on urban transformation and on a neighbourhood level more concretely, this research should be placed in context of processes of neighbourhood renewal and gentrification. Specifically the latter, is usually recognized as a process of gentrification, triggered by a creative class occupying a deprived area, in which slowly the neighbourhood identity gets upgraded and translated into a brand, to which middle classes are attracted but ultimately destroy it (Zukin, 2010). Probably the most criticised negative effects of this process are the displacement of people and the loss of authentic places (i.a.: Zukin, 2010; Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2010). As “streets, neighbourhoods, and public spaces [are] being upscaled, redeveloped, and homogenized to the point of losing their distinctive identity” (Zukin, 2010, p. xi).

Recently, renewed appreciation of the small-scale and local practice and identity of places can be identified (www.stadintransitie.nl), which illustrates an increasing desire for authentic places in the city, which may be a counter effect or reaction to these processes.

However, gentrification in itself is argued to be ‘a changing process’ (Doucet, 2014) appearing differently under the various conditions of different places, which leads to new forms of gentrification, pushing it “towards a broader concept of an upward class transformation and the creation of affluent space” (idem, p. 125). Moreover, its understanding becomes less clear when variously referring to either the somehow ‘natural’ processes of neighbourhood renewal, its negative consequences such as displacement or as a kind of strategy or ‘third wave gentrification’ that is embraced by government or real estaters to ‘upgrade’ their stock and city. Although gentrification is traditionally connoted to exclusionary practices such as displacement, it is increasingly seen as a valid strategy of urban upgrading as “the past decade has seen a strong international emphasis on examining gentrification as an urban policy” (Doucet, 2014, p. 130) in which “gentrification has changed from being seen as a problem for policy-makers, to being seen as a solution” (idem). In addition, the outcome of gentrification processes appear differently around the world responding to local circumstances. This is why gentrification has become more and more a ‘blurry concept’ and “the most politically-loaded word in urban geography” (idem).

1.3 TOWARDS CITY MAKING ‘FROM WITHIN’

Relevance

Transition Fieldwork

As became clear, the ways of city development need to be thoroughly innovated to create liveable and inclusive conditions within a changing society. “The cultural diversity of the modern city demands adjustment and transformation to a new social reality” (Madanipour et al, 2014, p. 5). In the context of fundamental developments, the challenge will be to rethink and renew urban structures, cycles and social processes while still making cities that provide a sense of home to its inhabitants (i.a.: Bakker, 2015). Because the city still needs to provide a natural and more or less recognisable home to the individual that became dislocated from structures of family and/or employment (Bakker, 2015), and provide a sense of ‘predictability, safety and familiarity’ in an ‘increasingly turbulent world’ (Duyvendak, 2011). Within the

seemingly paradoxical dynamics “new conditions both question our attachment to places and collectivities – Where do we belong? - as well as our relation to the objects we own, share and exchange – how do we manage our belongings?” (OAT, 2015). In response to these questions, we need to spin connections between the individual and the history and image of the city, a subtle, non-authoritarian ways (Bakker, 2015).

In other words, this means we are about to (re)invent and (re)develop contemporary processes of transition (Rotmans, 2005), while redefining ‘top’ and ‘bottom’. Given the previously mentioned state of affairs, in doing so, we cannot blindly follow previously established preassumptions and theoretical urban concepts. So, if we are to leave the blueprint thinking behind, we will need an improved synergy between disciplines, theories and methodologies. “So rather than hollowing out the need for critical reflection on public spaces that are under pressure, especially during phases of rapid transition, how can we emphasize their potentials as bearers of this change?” (Madanipour et al., 2014, p. 3). We therefore should go back to the urban field to observe, sense and interpret the new conditions and practices arising.

Focusing on the interplay between the social and the physical shaping of contemporary cities makes it possible to see how the material organization of urban space is crucial to the production and reproduction of social and economic arrangements, divisions and inequalities. (Tonkiss, 2013, pp. 1-2)

To encourage an open-minded approach to the city and the local urban contexts, active fieldwork as well as ‘transition experiments’ (van den Bosch, 2010; Rotmans, 2005) are meaningful to interpret the new space for social and urban innovation. “Practical experiments (...) can make a potentially large contribution to a transition process” (Rotmans, 2005, p. 50), in an attempt to find answers to the many arising questions: “How do public spaces address people's everyday needs and expectations? How can socially innovative practices contribute to redefining the approaches to public spaces as a common good? How are the boundaries between public and private spheres set, and how does this affect people's daily lives?” (Madanipour et al, 2014, p. 8) How does one shape organic processes of urban development? How does one use such things as ‘bottom-up initiatives’ to their full potential? How do we activate a participatory, engaged society? Where to start? How to investigate the potential capacity? How to approach urban actors – and who are they?

To get some answers to these questions, we need to get to the space where public life unfolds (Madanipour et al, 2014) and, from there, follow (individual) trajectories, also entering the private sphere. As such, the public space may serve as the exquisite context for observations and experiments. Moreover, “public spaces serve as a vehicle of change, and it seems highly underestimated so far that they can carry various roles and symbolize different meanings at the same time” (Madanipour et al., 2014, p. 3). As such, the city has an important function as a contemporary meaningful context, our common ground. Which is why ‘place making’ is the urgency of tomorrow’s city (Bakker, 2015).

Gentrification beyond the front door

Finding means and ways for place making in authentic and inclusive ways, is obviously as well very relevant in the context of the debate on (reconceptualising) gentrification. If formulating ‘the right to produce authentic places’, authenticity could even “become a potent tool to combat the recent negative effects of upscale growth if we redefine it as a cultural right to make a permanent home in the city for all people to live and work” (Zukin, 2010, p. xiii).

Also, it may be worth questioning the impact of gentrification when, by regulations of policy, there is no obvious situation of displacement (in terms of literally being forced to move out as a result of rising rents). Would this really mean that there is no infringing of the home? Or do urban transformations within the public domain still impact one's personal space in different ways?

When new groups or social classes are coming into the neighbourhood - before previous inhabitants may become displaced – the diversity of social groups in the neighbourhood, using the public space, increases. In current discussions on gentrification, these different groups or classes are usually conceptualised in isolation, as opposed to each other, with identities and preferences which are not related to those of the other group. However, this view is in fact rather reductionist, as it ignores direct interaction, taking place in the public space they share with each other. Through interactions and encounters, either actively or passively, identities are actually configured and re-configured. These encounters are not mere confrontations of prefigured identities, but have a spatiality to them as they are played out in space. When conceptions of space and borders between public and private become disrupted, this interplay changes as well. As we perceive no closed border between private and public anymore, the interaction between different groups in the neighbourhood is not restricted to different private or public spatial compartments. It has become a much more contingently differentiated spatiality, in which the private is part of the negotiation process in the public and the public is part of our private identities. As such, this perspective as well may shed a different light on the value of authenticity in this spatial urban context.

By looking at gentrification –and urban renewal processes in this way, it may offer new perspective that can be useful identifying and developing new and more inclusive ways of observing and conceptualising the meaning of social diversity or the “living together” of different groups in a neighbourhood in transition, as is typical for gentrification.

Exploring a relational perspective

When political and professional debates are becoming battlefields of ‘empty signifiers’ (i.a.: www.stadintransitie.nl; Gunder, 2013) exploring new perspectives or ontologies can be a refreshing means to move further. Investigating the city 'from within', as from a more ‘holistic’ point of view, may enable to more openly approach urban fieldwork and to include (new) local actors, practices, energies and potential. “The neighbourhood is more the opportunity that is offered to the individual to define his own multitude of routes, invariably with the private environment as its hard core, than it is a statistically measurable urban environment that is transparent to anyone.” (Mayol in Reijndorp & Reinders, 2010, p. 27).

In doing so, further developing a relational approach in both a conceptual as methodological may be a valuable means. “New insights into the city [...] can be gained if one dares to engage in urban studies with the theoretical tools of contemporary social science” (Farias, 2010, pp. 1-2). When exploring a relational perspective through empirical urban research, we can build on a theoretical ontology that may offer a new, refreshing perspective on urban processes and issues. “The notion of urban assemblages (...) offers a powerful foundation to grasp the city anew, as an object which is relentlessly being assembled at concrete sites of urban practice (...), affixing sociotechnical networks, hybrid collectives and alternative typologies” (Farias, 2010, p. 2).

For urban professionals in practice, this may be helpful in developing new ways of thinking and opening up for different solutions that are yet out of scope, moving beyond a habit of blue-print thinking. In addition, “there is a need for systematically connecting research on public space to an investigation of particular European cities in various regions of Europe in order to ask for their differing roles as important ingredients in democracy and as local vehicles for change” (Madanipour et al, 2014 p. 5). As such, relational

approach provides bases and handles with which to enter and steer this process, providing an opening to study the roles within the process of urban development openly and inclusively.

On the other hand, in-depth empirical investigation in local urban praxis is needed to give input to theoretical urban debates and the further development of a firm relational perspective in specific. Inter alia, this will be instrumental featuring the active role of non-humans to establish multiple connections, when “paying attention to these interconnections is particularly crucial” (Farias, 2010, p. 3).

From that point of view, it is both scientifically as well as societally relevant to enhance in-depth and qualitative relational understanding of public spaces in relation to the experience and a sense of home in the city. As such, studying the ‘city from within’ can be seen as a playing field in which social science and society connect, creating “new interdisciplinary space for the interplay of the social sciences and the humanities” (Farias, 2010, p. 8).

Figure 2.
DIY city making and
space claiming



1.4 QUESTIONING THE SPATIALITY OF HOME

Objective and questions

Scouting through a variety of conceptual and practical means, the aim of this research is to develop a (conceptual) framework and empirical means, building further on debates in both theory and practice, framed as a perspective of 'the city from within'. It is the ambition to contribute in this way to a reconceptualization of the spatiality of home, public and private space and urban transformation and the process of reinventing urban fieldwork and praxis. As such, I hope to find and deliver insights that may give openings to find starting points and opportunities outside of the beaten path. In this way, helping to renew urban transformation processes and to enhance them where needed. In this process of investigation, the focus will be put on practices and examples that, ideally, have the potential to connect spatial, organizational and social levels (global – local, top – down, bottom – up, self and other) and as such reflect the 'city from within'. In this way I wish to add (a) little fragment(s) to the transition towards an inclusive, holistic practice of city making that fits this era of hybrid, translocal and virtual network spaces.

As such, the objective of this research is:

To gain insight in the current spatiality of 'home' in relation to public, private and commercial spaces within context of a residential neighbourhood that is subject to urban transformation, through an explorative empirical case study within in the 15th district of Vienna, Austria.

In doing so, this research zooms in to the (micro) level of the home-environment as in its being and existence within the urban context, while investigating the relationships between the public, private and commercial spaces in the neighbourhood, that are influenced by urban transformation. As such, it investigates the impact of urban transformation processes and their (possible) reach beyond the public domain, affecting the experience as far as 'behind the front door'. In this way, it is searching for and delineating ways to make place making and city making practices more balanced, inclusive and durable, while building on liveable cities. With an inclusive, holistic approach it attempts to do justice to the lived reality of city and society: the 'city from within'.

Under the umbrella of PNIG (Practices of Neighbourhood Improvement in Gentrifying cities) this case study takes set within context of an internship at the University of Vienna (UNIVIE), one of the research partners of PNIG, which is an international and multi-layered research project, initiated by Urban Europe, that goes into the debate and redefinition of gentrification from a relational, inclusive perspective: towards Gentrification 2.0.

In result, the main research question is:

Within an urban context, what is the meaning and perception of home in relation to the interplay of public and private spheres, influenced by processes of urban transformation?

Deriving from this question, shortly, the subjects that are to be explored, according to the following sub-questions are:

<i>Home</i>	How is the home conceptualised (in theory) and perceived (in practice)? How does it relate to the spatiality of public, private and commercial spaces in the city? What is its meaning in current (and future) urban processes of transformation?
<i>Public space</i>	How is public space conceptualised (in theory) and perceived (in practice)? How is it bordered and/or related to private and commercial domains - and the neighbourhood? What is its meaning in the neighbourhood urban processes of transformation?
<i>Urban transformation</i>	How is urban transformation framed (in theory) and perceived (in practice)? How do urban transformation processes take place, or appear, in practice? What is the impact of urban transformation on different levels (individual – community, city – neighbourhood – public space – home)

1.5 READING THIS THESIS

Reader guide

When reading this thesis, it may be helpful to keep in mind a short overview of the structure that was used, in order to find the way through the information provided.

Chapter 1 Introduction	Includes an introduction and description of the research framework and set-up; an elaboration on the (societal) context of the research and the issue(s) posed; an outline of the scientific and societal relevance of the research subject and approach; a brief delineation of the objectives, main research question and key-concepts; as well as this reader guide.
Chapter 2 Theory	Provides a theoretical framework that delineates the theoretical concepts or assumptions and their understanding and coherence in context of this thesis; including a (relational) ontological outline and conceptual model.
Chapter 3 Methodology	Outlines the methodological set-up of the conducted research, providing the research strategy and overview of research locations; brief descriptions and overviews of the research objects, themes and locations, as well as the methods for data-collection; analytical strategy; a research model explaining the operationalisation, connecting concepts to research locations.
Chapter 4 Results	Gives an overview of the empirical findings deriving from fieldwork, among which interview results and observations, distilling themes or perspectives.
Chapter 5 Conclusion	Closes with a synthesis or conceptualisation of the outcomes in chapter 4; a translation of the conclusions into recommendations; and a final reflection.



2.



**UNDERSTANDING THE CITY FROM
WITHIN**

2.

UNDERSTANDING THE CITY FROM WITHIN

Theory

2. 1 THE WHOLE AND THE PARTS OF THE CITY FROM WITHIN

The way the city, or any subject, appears, is determined by the viewpoint of which it is observed and explored. Michel de Certeau (1984) describes as such the two opposing positions 'from above' and 'from below'. 'The city from above' on the one hand, is seen in its abstract totality and overview as if from a helicopter or the top of a high building; while on the other hand, in 'the city from below' it can be experienced by the means of a 'flâneur', who walks the streets with an open-mind randomly following his urban instinct that leads from one surprise to another as they reveal themselves and occur within the moment. As such, the city unfolds itself to the flâneur as a yet unwritten story that becomes by the act of 'telling' it itself. While from the helicopter view, the city can be described rationally but from a disconnected distance, the flâneur writes the story of the city without knowing where it will go or end.

In practice, and especially when being in the cities that are familiar and well-known to us, these perspectives intertwine. On the one hand, the city always remains surprising and unpredictable – even though this aspect of surprise can become a part of our (mental image of) a city as a familiar given – still, we can also have some sort of 'from above' perspective. When a city has become so familiar to us, that we are continuously aware of which road we are walking on and where we are positioned in relation to certain landmarks or other points of references such as the North, the edge of town or our favourite hotspots. As such, we carry a mental map, through which we can observe the city, if needed, from an above perspective while walking the streets from below, as an exciting adventure and a space of possible encounter. In this way, we can explore the city that we know as the inside of our pocket, our home, from within.

Of course, the city is an outcome of the combination of multiple perspectives existing mutually, at the same time. To lay focus on how these actually relate, this thesis will take a viewpoint that we will call 'the city from within', as "the perception of infinite space happens by interlinking opposites" (Egenter, 2002). Therefore, it will be focussing on the 'inbetween' of perspectives from above and below, as they are recurrent in reflections on the urban in both theory and practice, instead of opposing them. Most likely this may be found within the 'ambivalence of everyday life' (Hubbard, 2006). Moreover, since dwelling or 'being at home' is ultimately a lived, everyday practice, it may be best observed and interpreted at this level of experience.

Without having the ambition -or illusion- of being able to challenge, question or even come close to theories of de Certeau or other great thinkers in this respect – such as Henri Lefebvre (1991) or Bruno Latour (Latour & Hermant, 2006) but, rather, inspired by them, the aim is to find a (conceptual) level where 'the city from above' and 'the city from below' interact. It is at this level, where connections are woven through e.g. practices and/or trajectories of urban actors, and where the city and urban life is being (re)produced. When identifying this 'inbetween zone', without being led by assumptions of hierarchical relations such as implied by notions of top and bottom, points of reference may occur that can serve as

starting points for a renewed dialogue between formal and informal ‘city makers’ and city making practices at all levels.

Currently, “scholars have begun to explore relational, symmetrical and even flat perspectives to make sense of cities, urban phenomena and transformations” (Farias, 2010, p. 1). Using such a relational or assemblage perspective -in line with the research framework of PNIG- can be a means to understand the coherence of a variety of different scales, layers, elements and actors and to open up the scope for actors that are yet overlooked in the debate. As such, a relational ontology can be a useful framework to make sense of a “reality [that] is qualitative multiplicity” (Deleuze, in Farias, 2010, p. 7).

Through this perspective, both human and non-human elements within the whole of the urban assemblage can be perceived to be of equal meaning, empowered through their relations with others. When seen in this way, the focus shifts from the power of single elements to what happens in the space ‘inbetween’ them. “The city and the urban do indeed look quite different when explored with symmetrical and radically relational eyes” (Farias, 2010, p. 1). When viewing the city relationally and from a ‘within perspective’, the relations between these perspectives and between elements of which the city consists of (people, buildings, objects, spaces, routes, rituals, etcetera) come into scope. “A city sidewalk by itself is nothing. It is an abstraction. It means something only in conjunction with the buildings and other uses that border it, or border other sidewalks very near it” (Jacobs, 2010, p. 273).

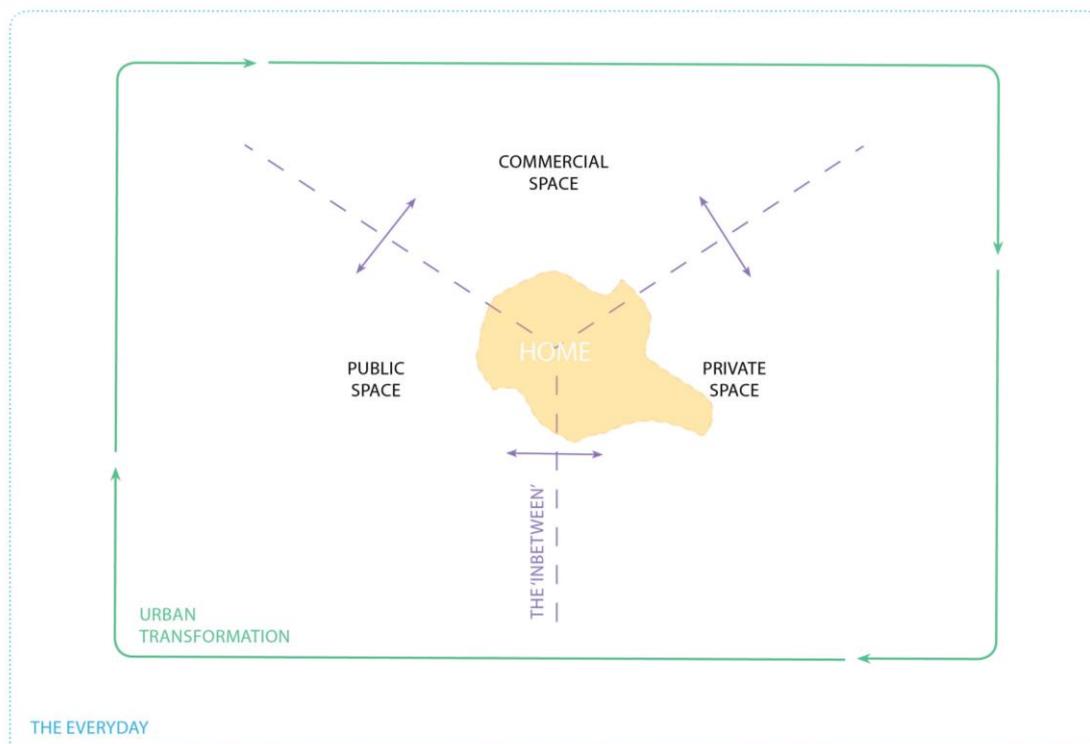


Figure 3.
Model of conceptual framework:
‘home’ in the ‘city from within’

This theoretical chapter serves to investigate where and how the 'from within' perspective can be conceptualised, based on and relative to existing theories, perspectives and debates. Moreover, it outlines an understanding of the concept of 'home', placed within this urban context existing of various spaces and that are subject to processes of ongoing transformation.

When looking at the scheme in figure 3, it can be observed that the concept of 'home' is claimed to be positioned within the interplay of public, private and commercial spaces. It is overlapping their presumed borders, and as such not restricted to the private space specifically as is often assumed. As the figure shows, the public, private and commercial spaces are also interactive and are not strictly separated from each other. Rather, they are separated by (semi)permeable borders that allow certain zones, of exchange and overlap: the 'inbetweens', as will be further elaborated in the following paragraphs.

In the guise of a conceptual model or framework, the scheme may be instrumental in reading this thesis. It makes comprehensive an interpretation of the 'city from within' perspective, with focus on the subjects or concepts relevant within this research. As such, the model gives an overview of these key concepts and their interrelations, which are to be elaborated in this chapter. Later on, it may serve as a tool for interpreting the analysis of the research fieldwork results (chapter 4). For now, it can be seen as a hypothetical outline of the presumed process and the relations in the city from within.

2.1.1 A RELATIONAL ONTOLOGY

The notion of urban assemblage in the plural form offers a powerful foundation to grasp the city anew, as an object which is relentlessly being assembled at concrete sites of urban practice or, to put it differently, as a multiplicity of processes of becoming, affixing sociotechnical networks, hybrid collectives and alternative typologies. (Farias, 2010, p. 2)

The assemblage of the city: a whole and its parts

By means of a relational approach, the city can be observed as an assemblage of multiple elements that in their constellation together form the city as a 'whole'. This 'whole' or city as such, cannot be reduced to its parts. "The relations of exteriority that characterize assemblages shift attention from parts-within-wholes to the transformative potential of multiplicity and experimentation emerging through often irresolvable differences" (McFarlane, 2011, p. 211). Those parts, or 'actants' within the assembly can be either human or non-human and are equally meaning- and powerful since both are ascribed a similar amount of agency. This is referred to in relational theory as symmetry (i.a.: Farias, 2010; McFarlane, 2011).

However, the assemblage is not merely the collection of parts. It comes to being through the interaction between these parts, which in turn get meaning through their relations with the various other parts that are present and surrounding them within the assemblage. Thus, elements within the assembly are shaped by their relation with other 'surrounding' elements as much as they themselves shape the relation.

When dealing with a relational perspective, we do not focus on the meaning of individual elements but rather on the relations between elements. These relations are the vital part of the assembly and can manifest themselves in e.g. interactions, dialogue, interdependence or causalities – but also as boundaries or transitional areas, a route or process. In other words, a relational approach shifts the focus to the 'inbetweens' and lends them importance and credence, as such opening up to discern and highlight a new or underexposed space that may have a lot of potential.

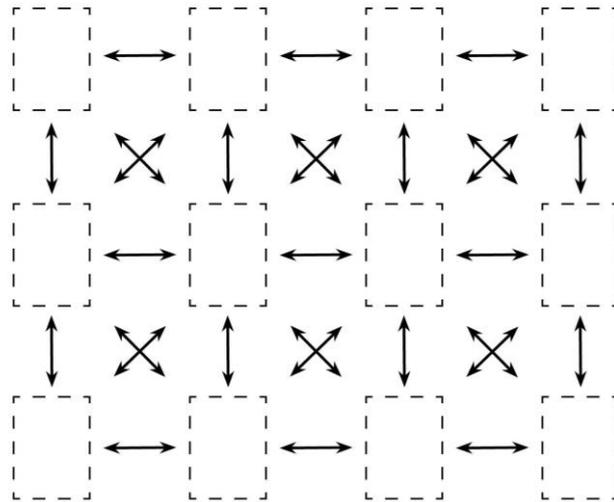


Figure 4.
Relational 'inbetweens'
in the (urban) assemblage

The city as ongoing becoming

As seen from a relational perspective, the city is conceived as something that is never fixed but constantly reproducing itself as an ongoing becoming. Therefore, the city is never finished. It is not and never will be a fixed entity. "In relationship to 'the global', the assemblage is not a 'locality' to which broader forces are counterposed. Nor is it the structural effect of such forces. An assemblage is the product of multiple determinations that are not reducible to a single logic" (Ong & Collier, in McFarlane, 2009, p. 562). Instead of being fixed and logically definable the urban assemblage is much more of a 'liquid', ever evolving unity – or, hence, a process- that is a result of a 'hybrid relationality shaping the city' (I. Farias, personal communication, 23rd of November, 2015). The city could therefore be compared with an ecology or organic process of growth and evolution that, in doing so, produces its identity – and the identities of its parts. In this respect, not only are addressed the processes that "historically produce the identity of a given social whole, but also processes that maintain that identity through time" (Deleuze, in Delanda, 2010, p. 10).

As elements in an assemblage are shaped by and shaping the adjacent or otherwise related elements, their form and meaning are dependent on the position within the assemblage. As such, reshuffling the elements of an assemblage may give a different outcome. From this point of view it becomes interesting to consider that elements may at some point be reassembled. This comes down to the possibility that hypothetically elements could be disjointed from their position and 'plugged in' elsewhere within the same constellation, where they will be exposed to other elements and will establish new relations and different meaning anew. "In emphasizing potential through its orientation to assembly, reassembly and constitution, assemblage focuses on the disjunctures between the actual and the possible, between how urban inequality is produced and lived and how relations might be assembled otherwise" (McFarlane, 2011, p. 210).

When seeing in this way, elements that appear to be static or stabilized within their position and relational behaviour retain in fact still the potential to change their shape or colour when moved. Moreover, such shuffling would affect all the connected elements and relations as well, provoking a snowballing-effect within the constellation of the assemblage. From this perspective it becomes visible how little steps or changes can have in fact great impact on the greater whole, even when the prevalence of single elements is in itself limited.

This opens up for the opportunity of either steered manipulation of the assemblage, targeting for a certain effect (for as far as this can be controlled within the complexity of relations in an assemblage) – or a random disruption that may potentially lead to an improved situation, or, at the least, a new view on the whole. Especially the latter can be seen as an approach similar to techniques often occurring within creative processes, that are deployed in order to come up with new ideas and perspectives and to get outside of the 'box'. As such, "particular emphasis on the *process of reassembling*, that is, by emphasizing how urbanism might be produced otherwise, assemblage thinking asks us to consider how an alternative world might be assembled" (McFarlane, 2011, p. 211).

2.1.2 PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND COMMERCIAL SPACES

When translating a relational view on the city more concretely, the urban environment can be seen as an assemblage of places and spaces, buildings, objects and (other) actors that are related by routes and routines, (inter)actions and encounter, inter alia. The spaces of a city (e.g. buildings, squares, roads, yards, houses, offices, streets, parks) can be differentiated in public and private spaces. In theoretical reflections on the distinctions between public and private, spaces are often confined to physical borders and/or placed in a gradient between the two. Within this respect, Madanipour indicates the household as a transition zone between the public and the private sphere, as he states that "the household is often associated with one or the other of these: a private group distinct from society, or a collective distinct from the individual" (2003, p. 103). He does acknowledge that is neither possible nor necessary to distinct the public and the private rigidly, he still speaks within counter-positioning terms. Although he states that "it is often a shade rather than a clear-cut boundary" (p. 106), Madanipour chooses to stick to gradual arrangements of spaces separated by means of physical borders.

Within this thesis, the relation between the public and the private is seen differently. Although for administrative purposes, it may be important to draw strict lines bordering these spaces, in reality not all of these spaces can be so unambiguously pinpointed as one or the other. We may, by example, experience a privately owned park, train station or museum as public, while accessible to (almost) everyone, or during opening hours; or, a public space, dominated by for instance a certain social group or class, as private when we do not feel welcome to enter. In this respect, a third type that can be added is the commercial space. From an administrative perspective, this could be categorized as private space, since the space is privately owned. However, the characteristics of this space differ from other private spaces since, generally, the doors are opened to any possible consumers.

From a first instinct, the concept of home is often automatically related to the spatial limitations of the house (Morley, 2000). It therefore seems logical to categorize it as being attached to private space and observe it by mere physical manifestations.

In some sense we can certainly say that man is home somewhere, and that his *house* is the reference point from which he builds his spatial world. But it would be exaggerated and wide of the mark to call the individual house the center of a man's space. (Bollnow, 1961, pp. 32-33)

However, “to ‘feel at home’ is not a singular feeling but a plural and layered sentiment that travels from the individual household via the neighbourhood to the nation, and from the house to the workplace” (Duyvendak, 2011, p. 38). This thesis poses the question of how the experience of ‘home’ relates to the city. Does the physical boundary of the house indeed coincide with what is experienced as ‘home’ or does this experience cover a larger (or smaller) area? It is therefore not intended to merely research ‘home’ within and attached to private space, but rather in relation with the public domain (figure 3). It is therefore conceived as moving and existing within the coherence of public, private and commercial areas of the urban assemblage. Commercial spaces are, as a ‘third’, also included since within the context of gentrification processes they are as well relevant in this research.

As a sidemark, it is relevant to mention that within the interpretations of the framework in this thesis, the conceptual understanding and distinction of private, public and commercial spaces, will be subjective and not based on an administrative arrangement relying on ownership, regulation or financial and legal aspects. Within the framework and objectives of this research, it may be more meaningful to approach it from a ‘lived city’ point of view and uncover the ways people experience different types of spaces in practice, in different contexts and at different times.

Permeable borders and relations

Framing and defining public, private and commercial spaces within ‘city from within’ is difficult. Even when defining spaces within the context of home, one may start doubting at certain instances. The front yard may be private property, but it is visible to every passer-by, which does not make it very private. Instead, it could be a place to sit down in search for an outlook on and interaction with the neighbourhood and community. How would the space, or rather, the experience, be defined in that respect?

Outside is always outside for the human space. But when a human being is moving out side from his dwelling, as he is experiencing at the center of the human space, whether the space is also moving with him? (De Silva, 2007, p. 42).

Not only is it often a little match with administrative or physical delineations - digitalization and hybridization only add to the complexity increasingly. For instance, what do we call it when the public domain penetrates into the house through our television? Or what happens when we make private information public through social media, sent from the tablet whilst lying in bed – just before we are about to sleep? The question is whether we would then be in the public or in the private sphere. Or maybe both at the same time?

As such various types of space seem to interrelate or overlap at some level and/or are related. In fact, “any dwelling space requires openings to the outside (...) the “semipermeability” of the door allows opening and closing” (Egenter, 2002). Within the conceptual understanding of the city from within, boundaries, whether they are spatial or non-spatial, are to be conceived as permeable instead of impenetrable. This permeability is not only due to a certain ‘perforation’ of the border or the vagueness or gradient of a border in itself; but also through the interactive relations that are affected ‘inbetween’ two spaces and that are actually beyond (physical) borders. In this thesis, this interpretation of permeable borders and relations will be designated with the notion of the ‘inbetween’ (see also figure 3).

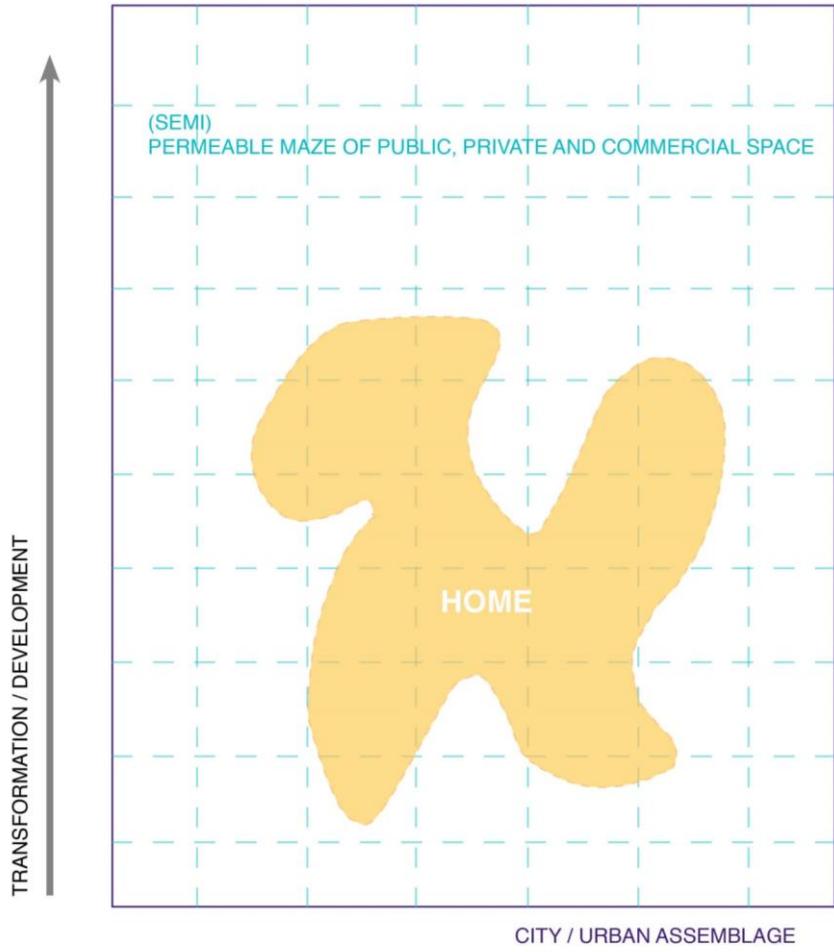


Figure 5.
Home in relation to
the 'maze' of public,
private and commercial
spaces

2.2 THE SELF, THE HOME, THE PUBLIC

In the theory concerning dwelling and sense of home, the concepts of 'home and belonging' are often mentioned in the same breath (i.a.: Duyvendak, 2011; Morley, 2000). As such, when analysing the experience of being at home, there can be distinguished two sides. Where being 'home' typically refers to a being in an 'own place', 'belonging' addresses the feeling of being at home within a certain context, group or community.

When, within this research context, conceiving 'home as an anchor' for 'being in the world' (Heidegger, 1962), 'home' could be defined as a spatial manifestation of the self. That, as was explained in the before, may not limit itself to physical boundaries or spaces per se.

When seen in this way, the home might be in fact ultimately the starting point for approaching the city from within.

2.2.1 THE AUTHENTIC SELF AND THE OTHER

When following Mead in his reflections on the self and 'the generalized other', we come across a similar distinction. In this respect, a paradox is uncovered that translates in connotations to the self of 'I' versus 'me'. In this respect, the 'I' refers to the unique self that distinguishes itself from its environment, and the other, as an authentic individual. As such, "the 'I' gives the sense of freedom, of initiative. The situation is there for us to act, in a self-conscious fashion" (Aboulafia, 2012). In this way, the 'I' is a source of both spontaneity and creativity. On the other hand, the 'me' refers, in contrast, to the self as in its relation to the environment, being part of a larger context or group – parallel to the notion of belonging. Whereas the 'I' seeks independent autonomous identity and liberty by being different, unique and authentic, operating freely and as such, placing itself outside the sphere of influence of the environment – the 'me' paradoxically relates itself specifically to the others, associating itself with likeminded individuals and as such becoming part of a group, a sort, a community of which it can adopt a certain identity. However, both 'I' and 'me' are essential to identify the self.

As we saw, a comparable (but spatialized) subdivision could be made in the interpretation of the meaning of home in the parallel of 'home' and 'belonging'. In this respect, 'home' would refer to the delineated (either physical or non-physical) space, secluding itself from the outside and the other, creating a unique personal environment that ultimately reflects the authentic self (the 'I') and allows room for unprejudiced or non-prescribed behaviour.

Continuing the parallel, the notion of 'belonging' embraces on the other hand the embeddedness within the (spatial) context such as the neighbourhood or city, placing itself explicitly amongst others, becoming part of a community by adopting the accepted, suitable behaviour accordingly.

2.2.2 SAFETY, FAMILIARITY AND PREDICTABILITY

In line with the definition of 'I', the home is often conceived as a place -or state of being- that is 'free' and within one's own control. As such it is a protected place (an 'anchor') within the world on which no unexpected and unwanted guests can or may intrude; a place where one defines the rules himself. As such, the (space of) home offers the means to withdraw from everyday business in the world, as a place for rest,

introversion, 'digestion' and privacy. It is a place where individual identity can be shaped, but where one can also remain anonymous, cleared from scrutinizing influences. It gives certainty about who one is.

In theory on home, generally a lot of attention is placed on the home as an environment that qualifies as 'safe, familiar and predictable' (i.a.: Duyvendak, 2011; Morley, 2000). Indeed, one needs "an area protected and hidden, an area in which he can be relieved of continual anxious alertness, into which he can withdraw in order to return to himself" (Bollnow, 1961, p. 33). Previously, this safe space has been regarded as being highly spatially bounded, connected to the physical context of a house that has the means to enliven the home space and separate from the outer world. However, as was outlined in the introduction, within contemporary conditions the impact of i.a. technological advancements causes a change in realities, forms and experiences of the spatial.

Moreover, through phenomena such as wireless internet, the mobile phone and other media devices and platforms, the spatial boundary of the home does not seem to be as impenetrable as before. As a result the concept of home becomes increasingly (intertwined with the) virtual. But even when disregarding digital influences, also in a spatial sense the isolating effect of the home is not unequivocal. To illustrate, one might wonder to whose benefit the window sill is furnished: is this purely for the benefit of the dweller, or is it rather meant to be representative for the outside world? Also in the past, 'inbetweens' can be identified, piercing through strict connotations of public and private. In the old days, it was for instance quite common to have a state room in the house, as a representative space, designed to receive guests. Moreover, when physical spatialities are disrupted, this poses also new questions, challenges and opportunities for i.a. architects and designers. As, what is the function of separate rooms within a residence nowadays?

This consequently also affects the meaning of the home as a safe 'harbour', since its physical qualities for protection, enclosure and separation from the outside may have lost relevance within new conditions. As such, the home seems to be increasingly disconnected from the spatial and, at any rate, there is a need for "a much more plurilocal concept of home" (Morley, 2000, p. 46).

The complexity of this concept, more than ever, relies in its ambiguity. "When a human being physically dwells in the home he experiences human space and reveals the non-physical dimensions of human space" (De Silva, 2007, p. 41). Hence, in redefining the concept of home, we may in fact be guided by the dualities of inside and outside, separation and connectedness, physical and non-physical realities and experiences, revealing a certain 'meta' reality of space. This may be conceived as relying within the 'inbetween' of interlinked spaces and spheres, at multiple levels at the same time, partly physical and partly non-physical, that come together in the experienced home environment.

2.2.3 STRANGENESS, INTERACTION AND PERFORMATIVITY

In contrast to the image of a safe sheltering harbour of a home, "public spaces are broadly defined as crossroads, where different paths and trajectories meet, sometimes overlapping and at other times colliding; they are the meeting place of politics and culture, social and individual territories, and instrumental and expressive concerns (Madanipour et al, 2014, p. 1). This space can also be seen as part of the home environment. "The individual does not live alone but has a certain position as a member in a community, so also his house stands in a membered spatial surrounding" (Bollnow, 1961, p. 33). Both the protected, private space as the connected, public space are functional and necessary for the home, seen as a spatiality of the self, where we can "find [our] own essence and be fully human" (Bollnow in Egenter, 2002). Whereas the private would be a place or space where one can authentically be oneself without being

disturbed, in public space we need to negotiate who we are and separate predefined identities are confronted with each other.

In this context, public space is typically the space where one intermingles with unknown strangers and has to position himself in relation with the 'other'. In this line of thought, it can be seen as the spatial context for 'belonging'. It is a space where the 'me' is associating itself with certain groups or communities and performs according to agreeable behaviour within this group.

On the other hand, it is also a place where the individual has minimum control, where unexpected encounters and interactions can happen. It is the space where we are confronted with the 'other' and with the unknown 'stranger' (i.a.: Stichweh, 1997; Gurevitch, 1988; Bauman, 1995). In this respect, it is where we negotiate our position in relation to the other, the neighbourhood, the world and where we define the ways of living together.

Either way, public space can be denoted as a representative space of 'performativity' (Goffman, 1959). At the moment one is acting in this space, he or she is simultaneously performing a 'role' and the spectator to others. This also applies to the flâneur that we came across with de Certeau. "At one and the same time, [the flâneur and his close relations] were a quintessential part of the urban scene yet also remain distanced and aloof" (Hubbard, 2006, p. 102). The act of performance can happen either in direct or indirect contact with others. As such, the public space can be seen as the stage where both authentic and associated identities are performed. In performing our act, the spatial and physical outlay of the public space, as well as the 'others', function as "the scenic part of expressive equipment" (Goffman, 1959, p. 34). This setting we use in combination with the attributes or 'props', 'appearance' and 'manners' to identify and express our public roles. "In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character and become persons" (p. 30).

Furthermore, in the debate on how to approach or give meaning to 'public space', different notions of the public realm, varying from a 'space of democracy' to a 'space of communality' or even a 'space of generality', come across (i.a.: Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007). Broadly, in present discussions the public space is ideally seen as a 'space of interaction'. For example within context of societal discussions on integration and assimilation, and hence the encounter of strangeness, it is often advertised that enhanced interaction would make for a better society. Others are claiming that the public is becoming more and more anonymous. However, although interaction within public space is in that respect cited as a must, it is also brought up for discussion (i.a.: B. Haring, personal communication, 9th of December, 2015). Does this interaction really take that much place in the public sphere or is it necessarily desirable at all times? One does not necessarily share much with the 'others' in the street, leave alone that one could speak of 'getting to know the other'?

However, again, distinctions between functions, qualities and characteristics of the public and the private may not be that strict or unambiguous. The presence of 'others' may as well bring about an increased sense of safety, when following for instance Jane Jacobs' plea for 'eyes on the street' (2009). Through digital media and mobile devices we can physically be in a place, while being somewhere else – (partly) disconnected from our surroundings or ensiled within ourselves, our activity or our device. In similar ways as the public sphere pierces through so-called borders of the private, entering, inter alia, the intimate space of the house – the private sphere may be carried into the public, shared space.

Figure 6.
Performativity in
public space: roles,
attributes and stage



2.3 THE BECOMING OF THE CITY

The process(es) in which a city transforms, develops and as such becomes, can again be seen as ambiguous. While on the one hand, urban planners and policymakers are rolling out blueprints, large-scale development plans, rules and regulations over the city 'from above', "at 'street level' we find that individuals and groups create their own urban geographies, using cities in ways very different than bureaucrats and administrators intend(ed)" (Hubbard, 2006, p. 106). Also in the process of urban transformation, 'the city from above' and 'the city from below' can be recognized and may be seen as reciprocal.

This also reflects in the process of gentrification. Gentrification originally derives from a more or less natural process of urban renewal in which deteriorated neighbourhoods become attractive to a more tolerant group of creatives that opt for a lot of space at a low cost. As a result, "the local atmosphere of creativity cultivated by creative individuals fuels a collective creativity: local cultures shape the nature of economic activity, while economic activity becomes an integral and dynamic component of local social life" (Hubbard, 2006, p. 223). By bringing with them their own atmosphere, culture and customers, they breathe new life into their neighbourhood. As the new image of the area spreads and it becomes known as 'hip', new groups of 'gents' are attracted which leads to the revaluing or upgrading of the neighbourhood towards a new, wealthier and higher class demographic.

However, over time this process has gained recognition as being lucrative for real-estaters, while the negative effect is that, when rents are rising, original residents are being displaced as they are economically forced to leave their (physical) homes. Still, the principle of upgrading through gentrification is increasingly being used as a guise within planned neighbourhood renewal practices as part of urban development and city branding.

Another problem that occurs through gentrification is the way in which the lively, creative and presumably 'authentic' identity that features the regained attractiveness of these areas is ultimately being destroyed by new urban middle classes taking over the scene (Zukin, 2010). As an ultimate result, these places become commercialized and generic and lose their authenticity. Moreover, due to their atmosphere and identity, they become exclusive certain groups, among which e.g. the former inhabitants. In fact, of this it can be said that in this less explicit way, people are also displaced from their home environment mentally.

Within this framework, Sharon Zukin (2010) pleads for 'the right to produce authentic places'. In addition to – and specifying Lefebvre's notion of the 'right to the city', the right to "authenticity could become a potent tool to combat the recent negative effects of upscale growth if we redefine it as a cultural right to make a permanent home in the city for all people to live and work" (Zukin 2010 p xiii).

Although the rise of rents is, or could be, regulated by municipality or government, to prevent from the first physical type of displacement, it will be more challenging to avoid the second version. Because, even if people are able to stay in their physical houses, what is the impact of the urban transformation on their (subjective) experience of the home environment? Is it true, that there is no displacement or infringing of the home when one is not literally being forced to move out, thanks to rent control? Or can transformations within the public domain also pierce through the permeable borders of one's personal space of home?

These questions should be taken into account, in order to be able to create real inclusive city's. According to Zukin, "claiming authenticity can be a means of gaining ownership for *any* group" (p xiii). However we will need to "make it important to determine how the city's identity is produced, interpreted and deployed" (p xii). When reflecting on these issues we will need to include both physical as non-physical,

subjective experiences and practices. In doing so, we need to redefine these processes and uncover means for more inclusive city making in which top-down and bottom-up practices meet and are fit together.

Urban transformation in the city from within: a hypothesis

As seen from the delineated relational perspective, the city is conceived as something that is never fixed nor finished, constantly reproducing itself as an ongoing becoming (i.a.: McFarlane, 2011). The way it is shaped, is not determined by a single plan, actor or decision making element. It is shaped through the continuous little activities, frictions and adaptations that happen 'inbetween' the elements of the city, the interrelations. This may manifest in both formal and informal practices and may be initiated both from 'top-down' and from 'bottom-up'. When conceived in this way, everyone creating and reshaping their home environment adds to the transformation of the city. Dwelling, as such, is an activity that in many ways shapes the city, both literally and figuratively.

The means by which people are creating their space are manifold. "The 'magical' elements of urban life, not least the extraordinary capacity for urban dwellers to change the city through everyday practice" (Hubbard, 2006, p. 100). Formally or informally, intendedly or unintendedly, in structured or un-structured ways, they are (re)acting and (re)building in and on their environment. In doing so, they live and create stories that attach meaning and memories to the spaces that the city consists of. They are making place (Tonkiss, 2013).

While appropriating the city to their needs, through negotiating, claiming, decorating or neglecting, using or avoiding, planning and decision making, the city is continuously shaped and reshaped, created and transformed from different directions or starting-points at the same time, but always from within.



Figure 7.
Appropriating the
'inbetween' through
the expression of
identity



3.



EARS AND EYES AT THE STREET

3.

EARS AND EYES AT THE STREET

Methodology

3.1 INVESTIGATING THE CITY FROM WITHIN

Research strategy

To investigate the 'city from within' and to withdraw information from within the city, the street, in an in-depth empirical manner requires a mix of methods and a layered strategy. In order to make sense of the complexity of these layers, methods, data and their interlinkages, we are in need of a concise overview of the methodological content and approach. Within this section, the perspectives, phases, themes, places, objects and means are delineated and placed in relation to each other as they occur in this research, which is limited within constraints of time and means of a master thesis research.

3.1.1. PERSPECTIVE AND PRINCIPLES APPROACHING THE 'CITY FROM WITHIN'

In committing to the challenge of empirically studying "the essential experiential character of place" (Cresswell, 2014, p. 33) the perspective of 'the city from within' invites for a start at the very local level and a tangible, human scale. As "the goal is to understand behaviour in its habitual context" (Bray, 2008, p. 300) it asks for an in-depth, qualitative and contextual approach of urban fieldwork, in which the level of the neighbourhood serves as a context in which everyday practices and spatial situations can be observed, when investigating "the 'why and how' of social action" (p. 299).

In doing so, a relational perspective, following the ontological framework of this study, "entails not only a new way of posing research questions, but also new ways of doing research in the city" (Farias, 2010, p8). As such, the relational 'toolbox' may offer valuable clues and starting points to develop an open and inclusive methodology that allows for an iterative and interactive process.

What all these perspectives have to offer is a rich theoretical ground to develop radically relational and symmetrical understanding of the city: challenging distinctions between global and local, close and far, inside and outside, notions of place, propinquity and boundedness, (...) radically rethinking the basis of urban regimes and so on. (pp. 7-8)

Approaching urban fieldwork from a 'city from within' perspective shifts the focus from observing isolated elements or framed groups, to what in fact happens 'inbetween' them. When including these relations or 'inbetweens' in the constellation of places, practices and experiences that a city, or a neighbourhood, consists of, we need to interlink different forms and sources of information. As such, it requires, in the sense of a 'tabula rasa' and with the willingness to be open to whatever findings (Bray, 2008), to combine and to connect different research methods that enable to study a combination of layers and research objects in a semi-structured but open, iterative and interactive way.

The challenge of conducting research in this way is to keep an open attitude, while not getting lost in multiplicity and complexity. In doing so, the translation as a creative and transformative process is indeed the key” (Farias, 2010, p. 8). Allowing a certain level of improvisation within the empirical process enables to include the unexpected and to keep an open-mind. Retaining this open-mind is important in order to stay alert for ‘surprises’ that may reveal new information or unforeseen ‘inbetweens’. When the fieldwork strategy is too strictly framed on beforehand, there is the risk of ‘tunnelvision’ and prepossessed assumptions that do not reflect the everyday reality, but that derive from (and reconfirm) a theoretical 'desk logic'. On the other hand, a theoretical framework is needed, which should challenge to withdraw new layers of information from the field and to give perspectives that lead beyond the obvious.

As such, investigating the city ‘from within’, the researcher has to play a double role as both an in- and an outsider, at the one hand integrating in the field but at the same time remaining an observer. In fact, one needs the perspective of both a 'flâneur' and a 'helicopter' at the same time. This requires switching quickly and flexibly between the two, using a mix of empirical methods for data collection, weaving them together as in the way of an ‘urban montage’ (Hospers, 2013).

However, executing fieldwork in a relational empirical study “certainly isn't an easy task, not least because there are no templates that one could mechanically transport into urban studies” (Farias, 2010, p. 8). Moreover, since the intention is to keep an open scope when entering the field, it would be rather questionable whether mechanically rolling out a template over a random research area is in fact such a good idea. Still, it is not the intention to arbitrarily act without any clue of relevance and structure. Stepping stones are needed to come to a satisfying result. According to Farias ‘the actual 'art' within a relational methodology is to find the right starting point’ (personal communication, 23rd of May, 2014) to go at the field. From there on, the research can go through a process of continuous reflection that is canalizing the process within relevant and constructive borders, until a point of saturation has been reached.

3.1.2. DELINEATING A METHODOLOGY

In result of these considerations, the way this research was conducted can probably be best framed as a multi-sited case-study (Creswell, 2013), in combination with a grounded theory approach in its analytical phase. However, it is not necessarily describing a complete process of change (as often is the case with grounded theory, according to Creswell), but rather, observing traces and indicators of change within a process of transformation and (possible) transition. within the context of a spatial situation and transition process – combined with reflections of the involved residents and entrepreneurs, looking for patterns. As such, in the fashion of a (relational) case study research, the aim is to collect “detailed, in-depth data (...) involving multiple sources of information” (p. 97) including images, which offers the opportunity of triangulation (Stedman, Amsden, Beckley & Tidball, 2014).

Still, in its strategy, it is following ethnographic principles, as an approach of which “value lies in the flexible process by which it takes place” (Bray, 2008, p. 296). This process can be indeed compared to steps taken in ethnographic research, involving “three fundamental steps: initial formulation of the research subject and identification of the object of research; data-gathering; and writing and analysis of empirical material. While the first leads to the next, each requires the researcher to reflect back and review his approach, thereby contributing to the final refinement of the study” (Bray, 2008, p. 303).

Within the analytical stage, grounded theory is an approach that offers a way 'to move beyond description' (Creswell, 2013). But whereas this analysis is usually based on a large amount of participants, this study is based rather on a relatively varied selection of data, in smaller amounts. Still, the principle "that theories should be 'grounded' in data from the field, especially in the actions, interactions, and social processes of people" (p. 84) as an iterative process, going back and forth between theory and the field, actually does apply, up to a certain level; and was useful as a guideline "for the generation of a theory (...) of actions, interactions, or processes through interrelating categories of information based on data collected from individuals" (Creswell, 2013, p. 84) with a focus on a process or interaction.

3.1.3 CASE APPROACH

As was already mentioned in the introduction, this research empirically studies the 15th district of Vienna, Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus. Up to this point, it has been (as is quite unusual for Vienna) a district without a very clear image or connotation. Within the book '*Understanding Vienna*' (Fassman, Hatz & Patrouch, 2006) which seeks to give an insight in the city 'through the eyes of a city planner', the 15th district was (yet) scarcely mentioned, which may reflect this anonymity of the area in a way. However, situated at the South-Western part of Vienna, it is an example of a mixed residential area that became recently subject to change and renewing. Therefore, it has been selected by the Viennese PNIG research team as their focus area and as an example of (potential) gentrification in an early stage. In doing so, firm collaborations with local institutions and communities are established, among which the local urban renewal office (GB*). The district is situated outside of the city centre, bordering the main ring-road around the inner neighbourhood in Vienna (de Gürtel).

In context of this process of neighbourhood renewal, it is interesting to note that Vienna has over the years developed a, prizewinning (UN-HABITAT 'Best Practices' award), strategy of 'soft' or 'gentle' urban renewal: "This policy has not been delineated as a single concept at a given time but it has been developed step by step, modifying inefficient instruments on the one hand and strengthening successful measures on the other" (Fassman et al., 2006, p. 105) in which "the active participation of the population in the process of renewal is important" (p. 118). In doing so, "gentle urban renewal focuses on sustainable renovation that incorporates the tenants into the renewal process" (idem) and is as such aiming to avoid displacement and evictions as is often the case in gentrification processes. However, "long-term changes in social and demographic structures are almost inevitable [when as a result] the cumulative process of 'improvement' begins" (p. 118).

Entering the 15th district

Since this research was conducted in Vienna, which was to me a foreign, unknown city at the time that I arrived, it took some time to get to know the ins and outs of the city and especially the 15th district. In doing so, self-awareness is crucial for interpretation on environments that are foreign, as was the case for me as a researcher in Viennese context. Although the choice for this district already came up through the connection with the PNIG research project (through my internship), this was still an area much too wide to conduct the in-depth and qualitative empirical fieldwork I was opting for. Hence, it needed to be framed more precisely in relation to the research objective. "Only after an adequate amount of time spent gaining familiarity with the social environment can the researcher decide which courses of investigation are worth pursuing" (Bray, 2008, p. 303). Also following the remarks of Farias, after arrival some time was purposely invested in finding and defining the right point of departure within the local context of the research district.

In this process the first step was to, rather randomly and with an open view, start to explore the district - armed with a map, notebook and camera. In this way I first combed the outlay of streets,

observed the spatial and architectural situations and collected tips, recommendations and general reflections on the area from various people (colleagues, neighbours, passers-by and the local bakery), as such I was slowly descending into the 15th district, hoping to find the 'within'. Later on, as the next step, a much smaller and focused area was delimited based on reflections of this first inventory.

The Northern and Southern part of the 15th district are quite radically subdivided by the multi-lane train tracks of Westbahnhof, only connected by very few and difficult to access (pedestrian) bridges, the atmosphere and dynamics on both parts is quite different. Further 'hard' physical borders of the 15th district can be found at the far South in the form of the river 'Wien' – and in the East, where it is separated from the inner circle of (well established) districts by the Gürtel, as can also be seen on the district map in figure 9.

Although I have been frequently visiting many sites in both parts, the Southern quickly had the main attention as it showed a more premature phase, of what possibly could become a process of gentrification and, in any case, urban renewal. Also, it revealed an interesting mixture of demographics, spatial situations and dynamics. Hence, in the second phase of the orientation process, I zoomed in more precisely to this part of the 15th district, trying to find interesting sites that could be connected to the theoretical framework and the objectives of this research more specifically. Eventually, a research area was selected that was, suggesting a variety of interesting clues or points of departure but manageable within the complexity and aims of the research and the limitations of means and time within a master thesis.

The final selected area embraced three more specific research locations (figure 8 and 9), related to the key concepts of this study (home, public space and urban transformation). As a result of their proximity to each other, this selection also enabled to observe the coherence between the three sites – and as such, (possible) linkages between the different conceptual focusses that they were linked to. How these locations were specifically denoted and used within this fieldwork, and how mixed methods of data collection (visual data, interviews, observations) were applied will be explained in the following paragraph more specifically.

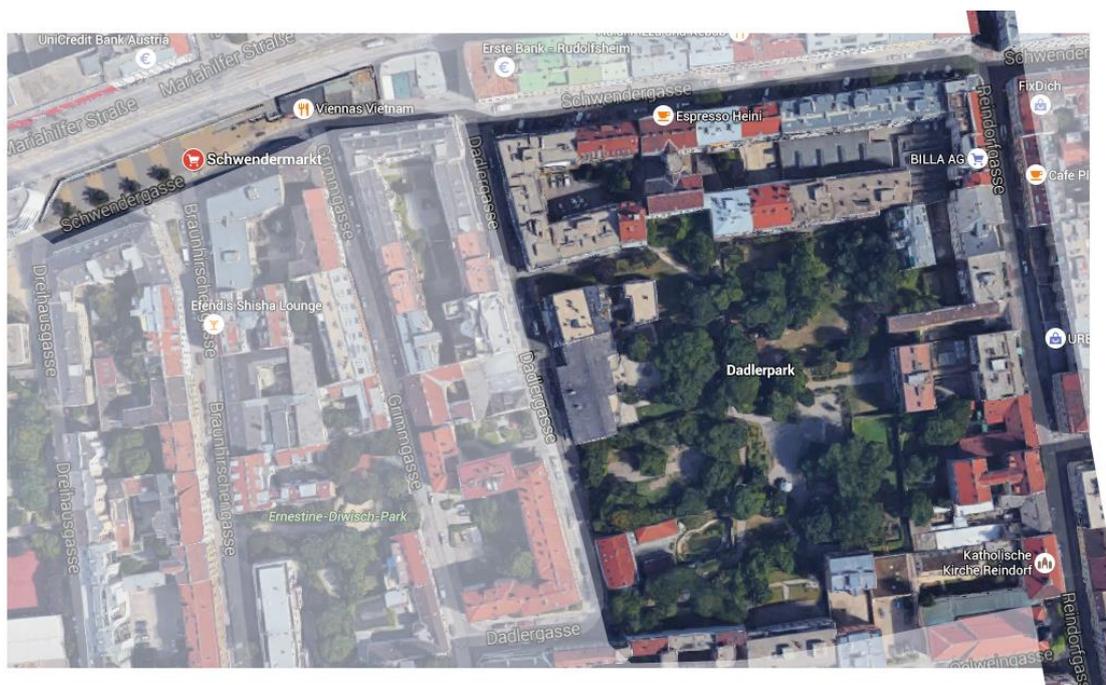


Figure 8.
Research
locations

Location of research area's
15th district Rudolfsheim Fünfhaus



- research locations
1. Schwendermarkt
 2. Dadlerpark
 3. Reindorfgasse

- reference points
- A. Westbahnhof
 - B. Schloss Schönbrunn
 - C. Maria-Hilfer Strasse
 - D. Schmelz

- E. Wasserwelt
- F. Wienfluß
- G. Gürtel
- H. Traintracks WBH

Figure 9.
Research locations
within the 15th

3.2 EMPIRICAL APPROACH

Research objects & data collection

As derives from a relational perspective and approach, the empirical part of this research is multi-layered and -related making use of mixed means and data. The following paragraphs should explain how the different layers and units of analyses came about and how they should be interpreted in their relations.

3.2.1. FOCUS THEMES & RESEARCH MODEL

As denoted in the objective and derived from the contextual and theoretical framework, the key subjects or concepts that are relevant within this research are the experience(s) of home, the role(s) of public space and the process(es) of urban transformation. As can also be read from the conceptual model (figure 3) the study on these concepts is approached from a relational perspective or ontology and the context of the everyday: the 'city from within'.

By means of operationalisation towards and empirical strategy the three key concepts are framed as follows:

1. *Home* (and its duality of fixed – non-fixed, open – closed, material – non-material):
Focus on: meaning & experience of borders, objects and activities that define home
2. *Public space* (as a space of performativity, unexpectedness and interaction):
Focus on: functions, (inter)actions and neighbourhood engagement
3. *Urban transformation* (change, impact and appropriations)
Focus on: indicators, processes, collaborations, experiences

Besides these concepts, the relational perspective ('inbetweens') and the everyday context ('experiences') are translated for operationalisation and included as subjects for empirical and analytical focus as well.

As was described in the outlines of the theoretical framework and reflected in the conceptual model, distinctions between public, private and commercial spaces and spheres are observed as in dialogue. The existence and development of the city is seen as a result from this dialogue, taking place through interaction and interventions (at different levels at the same time), mutually shaping and transforming the city. Hence, when selecting relevant concepts, objects, spaces and actors in these processes as material for observation and/or data collection in this research, there will be focus on interrelations rather than framing based on more black and white, static notions of difference. These 'inbetweens' of public and private, private and commercial, commercial and public spaces and spheres, form the point of departure in delineating the places of operationalisation in this research, which can be characterised as such because of their spatial, social and functional features.

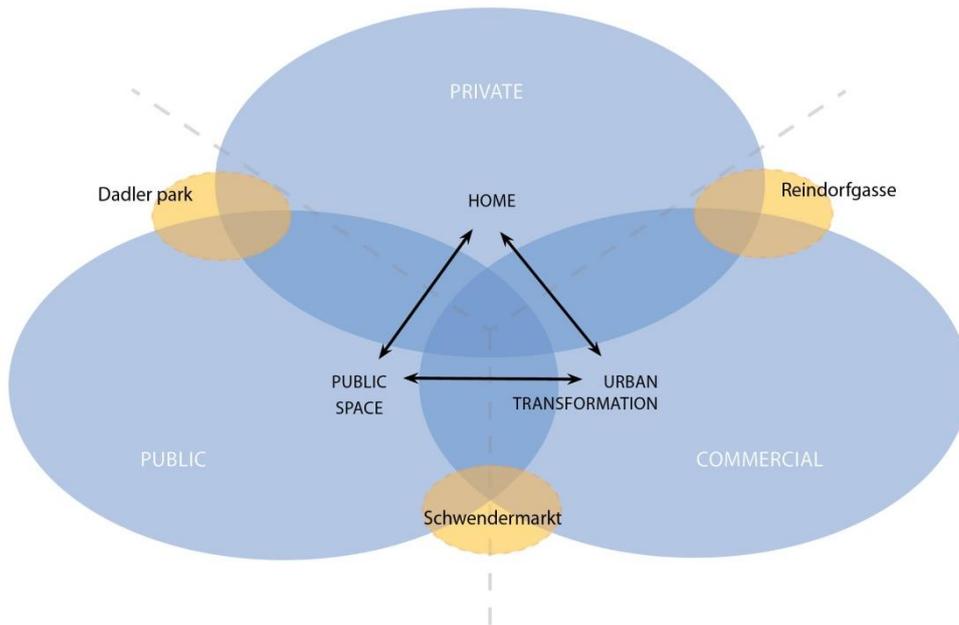


Figure 10.
Places of operationalisation:
Empirical research model

Within the empirical research model above (figure 10), it can be read how the different spheres, concepts and locations can be interpreted in relation to each other. As it is showed, the three key concepts that were identified in the objective can be found again within this model.

To include also the contextual concept of the everyday and the relational perspective or approach as subjects for empirical research, they have also been translated for operationalisation, but not bounded to the spatial demarcation of the research locations. The operationalisation of these (side) subjects can be assigned to two levels; mental / normative (experiences) and spatial ('inbetweens'):

<i>Subjects</i>	<i>Objects</i>	<i>Means</i>
EXPERIENCES (the everyday)	- Entrepreneurs - Residents - Experts	Interviews
INBETWEENS (of the assemblage)	- Border zones - Appropriations of public space	Visual data

Table 1.
Overview of open means
for data collection

The ‘inbetweens’ in this respect are additional to the ‘inbetweens’ in spatial context of the research locations (as are the experiences). Moreover, especially the interviews with residents and local entrepreneurs (mentioned in table 2) draw relations between them, in different directions.

3.2.2 PLACES OF OPERATIONALISATION

The ‘inbetweens’ (borderzones and interrelations) of public – private – commercial spaces are the conceptual spaces of study that are (after reflections on the orientation phase) connected to actual locations within the 15th district of Vienna and, as such, operationalised and contextualised for data collection as the following overview explains (table 2).

<i>‘Inbetweens’</i>	<i>Places of operationalisation</i>	<i>Means</i>
	Home experience (in the neighbourhood context)	- Interviews (residents) - Conversations
PUBLIC – COMMERCIAL	Schwendermarkt - Interactions and interventions in the public space	- Observations - Pictures & time lapse
COMMERCIAL – PRIVATE	Reindorf gasse - Urban renewal (GF) and the role of (new) entrepreneurs	- Interviews (entrepreneurs) - Observations - Pictures
PRIVATE – PUBLIC	Dadlerpark - Public space as an extension of the home	- Observations - Pictures

Table 2.
Overview of semi-structured data collection

As was introduced before, the different theoretical key concepts that derive from the research questions, have been observed in the context of specifically selected locations within the 15th district. As such, they were guiding in the operationalization process. These places have been selected as their qualities and characteristics are considered to fit the theoretical starting points and offer clues for translating them into practical examples and tangible practices. In this way, the Reindorf gasse, Schwendermarkt and Dadlerpark, serve as specific spatial contexts for observation and (visual) data collection. Although dealing with three different urban spaces these locations are related as they are geographically situated closely to each other and can be seen as different elements of the same ‘block’. In the following overview, the individual locations will be shortly described and outlined in their meaning for this research:

Dadler Park

Characteristics:

- small, hidden public park that is situated at the back side of residential building blocks at the Reindorfgasse. Inbetween Schwendermarkt (West) and Reindorfgasse (East).

Starting concepts: Public - private space relations (in terms of usage and the spatial situation).

Method: Observations, pictures, spatial analysis through drawing.

Focus: Public outdoor as part of the home sphere (usage, bordering and appropriations); interactions (if relevantly occurring).

Reindorfgasse

Characteristics:

- deprived shopping street that is in process of revitalisation through occupation of empty stores by an increasing amount of (creative) entrepreneurs such as concept store, coffee place, art store, gallery, design atelier / store, etc. Most Eastern of research locations.
- axis in the southern part of the 15th district, connecting to Mariahilferstrasse in the North and the bordering river 'Wien' in the south.

Starting concepts: Commercial – private space relation; urban transformation.

Method: (Participatory) observations, interviews (with local entrepreneurs), pictures.

Focus: process and perception of urban change and renewal and the role of commercial spaces and (creative) entrepreneurs in this; relation and embeddedness of entrepreneurs in the neighbourhood; interactions beyond spheres and the perception of home within private commercial space.

Schwendermarkt

Characteristics:

- deprived marketplace, that was once famous (for its fish i.a.) yet only a small number of stands (5) still exist, under bare conditions, some of them depriving, some occupied by newcomers (Vietnamese restaurant). Most Western of research locations. Bordering the outer Mariahilferstrasse at its North.

Starting concepts: Public – commercial space relations; Social interaction and intervention in public space.

Method: (Participatory) observations, time lapse, (informal) interviews/conversations, pictures.

Focus: routes, patterns, rhythms and (inter)actions in the public space and market stands (commercial spaces).

3.2.3 MEANS FOR DATA COLLECTION

The mixed strategies of data collection that have been used, include in-depth semi-structured interviews as well as some (informal) conversations, observations (in different moments and locations) and a variety of visual data, such as pictures, schematic drawings and a time lapse stop-motion movie. This variety of data, and specifically the choice to distinguish the semi-structured interviews from informal ones, derives from the attempt to be inclusive to different perspectives, groups and to later on being able to relate spatial situations (in a physical sense) to individual experiences.

Interviews and conversations

As was already shortly mentioned, a distinction was made between the more 'official' interviews that have been fully recorded, more in-depth and (semi-)structured next to informal conversations. However, these informal conversations have been included as valuable sources of information, in order to be able to reach and include a broader group of respondents and hence obtain a more complete understanding of the complexity of the places under study. The interviews have been held with residents (and a single ex-resident) of the 15th district in Vienna from different backgrounds and situations (as much as possible) as well as entrepreneurs in the Reindorfgasse and Schwendermarkt as will be further detailed in the overview below. Informal conversations include respondents that were hesitant to participate in an 'official' interview or to be recorded (for later transcription) – but were willing to talk with me about the subjects under study in a less formalized or structured way. This category includes i.a. a different generation of (Austrian) residents and entrepreneurs.

In addition, the informal category includes two elaborate 'expert interviews', which I did not analyse as empirical data, but did provide important insights and guided, along with other input, in the refining of the empirical scope throughout the research process.

Visual data

In addition to the interviews, visual data have been used to collect insights on the spatial and physical qualities of the subjects and locations relevant for this research. Moreover, it was a first means to 'descend' into the city – structurally moving through the streets of the 15th district, capturing all remarkable objects, activities and situations – as an introduction to the district and an inventory of potential points of departure or clues to determine the exact, spatialized research foci.

In a next phase, pictures functioned as means for general registration of spatial situations (both research locations and other findings), for capturing activities within the public space and to collect and study manifestations and appearances of 'inbetweens', such as border areas or zones, facades and entrances, appropriations of spaces, interactions (physically or socially).

In addition, a time lapse registration was made to get an insight into rhythms, routes and patterns on the Schwendermarkt. For this purpose, two special time lapse cameras were installed (during more or less a week) on private balconies with a good view (from 'above') on the square, taking a picture every fifteen minutes.

Observations

Observations were conducted on the one hand in a more open, participatory manner by visiting the area frequently (on average multiple times a week) having everyday encounters with people in the street (that I slowly got to know after conducting several interviews) and for instance at the bakery, restaurants and coffee places, or by joining, for instance, for the opening of a new exhibition at

Improper Walls in the Reindorf gasse. Afterwards, or during visits and encounters I made fieldnotes of clues and observations.

More structurally and intensively, I have been observing mainly at the Dadlerpark and Schwendermarkt, i.a. by means of fieldnotes precisely describing people entering (directions) and their encounters or activities; and by drawing the lines of the routes that they took when crossing the square (Schwendermarkt).

<i>Data types</i>	<i>Resulted outcome</i>
INTERVIEWS (formal)	- Entrepreneurs : 5 interviews, 7 entrepreneurs - Residents : 6 interviews, 6 residents
CONVERSATIONS (informal – not structurally analysed)	- Experts : Urban Renewal Office, Sammstagerstadt (NBH community) - Entrepreneurs : 3 conversations (bakery I, restaurant, cafe) - Residents : 3 conversations (Lennart, bakery II, married couple)
VISUAL DATA	- Pictures : Research & interview locations Border zones (public-private) Appropriations of public space Public space activities - Time lapse (Schwendermarkt) - Home and neighbourhood maps (interviews) - Drawings (from observations)
FIELD NOTES	- Observations - Informal conversations

Table 3.
Overview of data collection results

3.3 ASSEMBLING AN ANALYSIS

As an outline for the overall analysis of the fieldwork data, the following steps of analysis have been guiding after data collection:

- Making notes from informal data collection (conversation, observations)
- Transcribing formal interviews of entrepreneurs and residents
- Ordering / organizing (visual) data
- (Open) coding (both transcripts and visual data)
- Relating the data > analyses through grounded theory approach
- Leading to thematic / conceptual storylines > to be described in Chapter 4 'Results'
- Link back to theoretical framework for conclusions

Structuring of results and analysis

The analytical process was structured based on two phases: first a description of results and observations from the different sites of study (chapter 4), second a synthesis of these storylines or

motives related to the three key-concepts, as such answering the sub-questions and eventually in final conclusion the main research question (chapter 5).

Within this first phase, three site specific storylines are included that derive from the research locations. In addition, there is one storyline revolving around ‘home’ based on interviews with residents. This ‘research location’ or ‘site’ can be seen as geographically fragmented, however, all interviews were held in places that interviewees denoted as a comfortable ‘homey’ place to them, sometimes being literally their home. Although the greatest deal of these interviewees actually lived in or around the delineated research area, this was not a main criterion. However, it was a criterion that all interviewees were situated (living or having a business there) within the 15th district. One exception was made for an interviewee who recently moved out of the 15th. Including this respondent (an ex-resident who chose to leave the area because of changes in both the neighbourhood and in her personal life) offered the opportunity to investigate an additional perspective on the district.

Figure 11.
Analytical phase:
processing visual data





4.



STORIES OF THE CITY FROM WITHIN

4.

STORIES OF THE CITY FROM WITHIN

Results and analysis

As was delineated in the methodological chapter, the (most relevant) results from the collection of data and the analytical process of coding (see appendix 5 for list of codes) will be outlined within this chapter. The research objects or locations function as points of departure as a basis for the structure of this chapter. Experiences from respondents and findings from observations of the 'inbetweens' (as delineated in chapter 3, table 2) will form the content of this descriptive empirical part, reporting the outcomes of the fieldwork. In the concluding chapter, these stories and their motives will be interrelated and placed in context of the three key themes: home, public space and urban transformation.

4. 1 EXPERIENCES OF HOME: INBETWEEN 'I', 'ME' AND THE 'OTHER'

Resident interviews

To unravel a sense of what it means to feel at home, I met with the participating residents to talk in a comfortable place of their own choice. Interestingly, the places that the respondents picked (a park, a coffee bar, or their actual home), retrospectively, reflect quite well the qualities and characteristics they assigned to their 'home' or home feeling.

Playing in the public

On a sunny day, I met Tobias in his favourite park (in the 15th) – a leisurely meeting place for him and his friends or a random stranger willing to play a game of table tennis, but also just a pleasant place to relax, enjoy the weather and 'play a bit of charango'. Tobias: "in a place like this I also feel home, (...) some parts of this park I don't really know because I have also my areas within this park. And we play a lot of table tennis, that's the reason why I wanted to meet here because I very often am here at this place". As the park was more frequently visited, Tobias, has become more attached to it. It starts to become familiar place and a place that treasures stories of his everyday life: "I learned playing table tennis in this park". However, more practically, "there's a second reason. Because, I often go to the toilets up there, which are, I don't know, about 200 meters". Tobias knows his ways at the park and to the basic facilities he needs to be comfortable enough. Within this combination of practicalities, comfort and open- and playfulness he feels at his best. Tobias: "if we would have the same quality of table tennis in private or public space I would prefer to go to the public space".

Being together –and connecting- with other people is very important in his experience of this public space. And he sees it as his own personality and identity to do so. "Because I like to be in public space in general, I like to see other people, I mean we are one society and I think I feel quite comfortable with other people (...) I really enjoy playing with other people and get into some contact". Although Tobias identifies himself with the 'act' of being easy-going with the 'other', he does not specifically identify himself with a particular group. Tobias: "there are people with Turkish background - in this place you have an immediate

contact, it's easy, you just play table tennis or basketball or just hang around it's really easy to come into contact and to share experiences and influences and stuff like that".

For Tobias, either in public or in private, to feel at home he searches for a place where he can be and express himself and his identity –or authenticity– freely (a 'dreadlock headed Austrian guy blending in well with all kinds of people') while, in doing so, connecting –or belonging– to others. At times, Tobias may in fact experience more freedom to 'be himself' and express this, outside of his house. "I wouldn't have the possibility to play [piano] in my flat because it would be too loud".

Home is where the heart is

By coincidence, I met Babsi in a coffee bar (Reindorfsgasse) where, spontaneously, we got to talk. It was the same place where we decided to meet a couple of days later for the interview, with a coffee. Babsi describes her relation to home as a 'split personality': "I need to feel very at home, and to feel secure and comfy at home (...) on the one hand I'm very much outgoing, but if I'm at home I really need it to be really, yes, comfy". To feel at home, Babsi searches for a feeling of comfortable intimacy, also in contact with others: "I would prefer to have one special person in the house, to have closer kind of person, a reliable person". When I ask Babsi to draw me her experience or area of home she asks: 'can it be anything?' takes the pencil and draws a big heart in the middle of the paper. "Then it's really easy because this is my home". Having the people around her who she loves is very important for Babsi's home feeling: "Vienna is not my hometown so I really sometimes miss my friends, it's very important, for example, even if I would travel all the time during the year I would put the pictures of the most really close friends to my rucksacks so this is one of the first things I ever do when I move or, yeah, move to another flat, I put the photographs of my family and friends on the walls".

Also in context of the neighbourhood, she values a sense of 'warmth' within the social interaction she encounters. "I have the feeling that most of the people are very polite, because once I received a package with the post and I wasn't there so somebody else picked it for me, and I went there and the address was some numbers on the street (...) the guy was very friendly like 'Oh, hi! I'm Mohammed!' (...) 'Come again over for having a tea or something, or cake on Fridays', yeah, they are really open". The presence of the local bakery provides in an everyday doses of such social contact: "there is a bakery on the corner, and the women who are working there they are very 'blahblahblah', very open, and it's kind of funny because I get to know that the most people there are like regular [customers] who go there very often and have a lot of chats with them (...) it's a good spot for getting to know people. Even my sister went there every morning, she came for visit in the end of April and so she went there every morning to have her first smoke in the morning".

Everyday infrastructure

Lisa approaches her relationship with her home somewhat more practically: "this is a really important place because it's a supermarket which is open on Sundays, so – it's a little Turkish shop". She attaches her meaning of home to the places that she visits frequently. "There are actually two really important places, Gasthaus Quell, I'm pretty sure you heard about this, so this is like where you usually go, where I usually go when I go for a beer in the neighbourhood, and then the cheapest pizza in town: Maffiosi".

When I ask her if she could describe a border on the area where she feels at home, she replies: "Not really, it's more like, the borders are more... flexible I would say, depending to the things I use, so this is the infrastructure (...) I use to use very often, daily even". This 'map of infrastructure' is the underlying network in which her everyday life unrolls itself. "I'm really related on connections and relationships and, yeah, this I have here, so (...) it's really due to the things you use regularly and you're familiar with". It is the

proximity of the things she needs, offered by this infrastructure, that make her feel comfortable and in her place. “The basic infrastructure really in front of your house, (...) looking for a flat we were really looking for ‘okay, which supermarkets are around?’, because I know myself, I will always go to the nearest supermarket by, and if this is a Billa, I can pay 100 euro more rent, actually, because it's so much more inexpensive” (...) “I think it's like this, that I am feeling comfortable, that is coming through the infrastructure, because, like, I don't, I just have to go down, down my stairs and I basically step in a supermarket” (...) “this is what is the most important thing, I do can have like, you get affordable food; you have a post; you have a pharmacy; you have a shoe maker; public transport; and a nice place where you can go for a beer. Well, I mean... yeah”. This connectedness, however, does not account for her neighbours in the area, “actually not at all. In my house it's more like, I mean, we say hello if we see each other but there is no relationship between neighbours I would say”.

Looking for a new view

Timothy is not that connected to his neighbours either, nor to the neighbourhood or the specific space of his house – he moved in there by the coincidence that his landlord is a family member. We met in the same random fashion: I opted for his balcony to install the time lapse camera for this research, because of the outlook on the Schwendermarkt. “I don't use the balcony because there's nothing to see, for example, for one thing there's like a storage facility on the other side (...) so it's nothing really to look at, and it's also quite narrow and then (...) the railing is kind of high so you can't... even if there was something to see you can't really see it that well unless you're sitting on like a barstool, you know. So I don't really use the balcony. (...) Yeah, it doesn't look like I use it, does it?”

Although he has been living in his apartment already for twelve years, Timothy is not that grounded in his place. He is positive or even hoping for change. If he doesn't leave within a reasonable time, he hopes the change will come into his area to ‘make it all a bit nicer’. This certainly connotes also to his view again: “it's just an ugly building, and it's that kind of thing it would be really nice if they would tear that down and build something nicer, that's nicer to look at”. In this way, Timothy experiences the proximity of his neighbourhood mostly at the points where – through the view – it pierces through the (semi)permeability of his home space. In that sense, he is connected to the surroundings in a rather passive way. “Yeah that's probably why, because I'm staring at it, that's probably the problem but the rest of it is okay I think, yeah. Technical museum is right there across there, that's actually nice to look at, but I can't see it from here, because they built that other building in the way, you know?”

Discontinuity of the home

The story of Elina reflects how the experience of home can change. Either initiated or caused by the environment of the home, or due to a changing personal situation and hence the needs that are connected to the feeling of home. Elina recently moved out of the 15th district, because the area did not meet to her expectations of a home anymore: “Not at the end, at the beginning yes. I moved there when I was single and complete different, the complete opposite. I just moved to Vienna, I came back to Vienna, and I was so happy to find a flat and this was my first own flat. And I felt... happy there, as I was really nice in my own little nest. And it was quite simple.”

The meaning and the use of her home first changed when she met her partner. “He was looking for a flat and luckily the flat next to mine was free (...) this was perfect, especially to start a relationship, so everyone had his own space.” When the relationship grew, along with the family, the needs of Elina changed – as did her experience of the neighbourhood. “But then things changed around me in the district. So, with the ‘drug-social-building’ (...) to be very honest, I was not so happy with, with people living there,

not in the house but in the surrounding" (...) "I often went to Schonbrunn with my baby and I, when I missed the bus I just walked along to the Meidlinger Tor, and there I passed one 'Serbisches Lokal' at the [river] Vienna and when I entered some local shops like the pharmacy there were so many... unfriendly people." Elina no longer felt safe and comfortable in the neighbourhood where she was once so happy.

When her personal situation –and vulnerability- changed, her experience of safety and, thus, home changed. From that moment, she sought for another environment, and specified her needs with characteristics of what she would depict as the home in which she wants to raise her child. The three stages in her story (single, relation, parent) illustrate how the (meaning of) home changes over time. It is never fixed nor finished.

Belonging to the 'strangers'

Ivan is very aware of the complexity of 'home': "it's a very multi-layered term, of course, I mean, this is my home and the whole flat is my home and I also consider Vienna my home even though I migrated here ten years ago (...) so of course it's not a fixed thing." Still, Ivan points out that his home experience has a spatial point of departure in his room: "I really like the space that I have and I really feel comfortable there and, probably because of my migration history, there is not a lot of need for me to feel a long connection to a space in order to build up a relation with it so I kind of felt home pretty quickly at this flat, it's not a matter of how long I've been somewhere." Something similar accounts for his relation to the neighbourhood: "it's not connected to my feeling of home. I can feel at home regardless of whether I am integrated in the surrounding neighbourhood or not."

Still, he distinguishes a part of the neighbourhood as being his 'home area' more than other parts. "Because this is where I spend most of my time when I'm at home." Besides his own room, he regularly visits the shop of one of the new creative entrepreneurs at Reindorfgasse, who happens to be his flatmate. Although he feels at home at the place, and it is situated in the same part of the 15th district, he does not consider it part of his 'home area' within the neighbourhood. "I also do feel like I'm going on a trip when I go here (...) to come here I leave my home area. This is somewhere else. But when I go to the Sparkassaplatz it's not, it's just there. The Sparkassaplatz is perfectly around the corner (...) it's not leaving. I leave when I enter the bus or when I enter the subway that's when I go away." As such, Ivan's experience of home is not necessarily spatially conceived or concentrated in or around one location. It is rather fragmented, relative and unstructured. Therefore, Ivan states that he 'does not connect to the home concept so much'.

Ivan does indicate certain clues or situations that add to his 'feeling at home' in the neighbourhood. "The things that do work are always, like social institutions where you can actually go and hang out. (...) But it's always clear that it is not 'the neighbourhood' where you hang out with because you hang out with other people that are not from the neighbourhood. And there are cafes in this area and stuff that I immediately loved when I moved here and I loved to hang out there and it gave you a feeling of social space around you. But of course it was catering exactly to me, and it was not actually building up any relationship with the neighbourhood, it was building up a relationship between people like me who moved to this neighbourhood." From this, it could be seen that Ivan is very aware of his (lack of) connection to the 'true' neighbourhood. As such, identifying with the 'strangers' might entail more of a home feeling to Ivan than 'trying to integrate'.

4. 2 THE INBETWEENS OF PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND COMMERCIAL SPACES

In this part, it will be described what was found during observations and further investigation of the (place) specific research locations that formed the practical contexts to study different conceptual 'inbetweens' or interrelations of private versus public, public versus commercial and commercial versus private spaces. After and in addition to the general observations, at some of the locations a next step was taken to get more in-depth or thorough insights making use of methods that fitted the setting and focus.

4.2.1 MY SPACE, YOUR SPACE

Dadlerpark

The Dadlerpark is a 'hidden' park that is enclosed within the protection of mostly residential building blocks. Although it still is a public park, its entrances are not very exposed and hard to find for who does not know where to look for it. When I found this park by 'accident', it drew my attention as a focus area, because it framed well one of the first observations on public space I made when arriving in Vienna as a foreign Dutch. In Vienna it is an exception to have private outdoor space; people rarely have (access to) a private garden and a balcony is a luxury. However, many residential buildings do have enclosed collective gardens. So in general, whenever people want to go outside they need to go into shared collective or public space.

The Dadlerpark is hidden and enclosed, but still is a public and outdoor place. It is a protected green space embraced by the private buildings that border it. Next to the two (covered) public entrances, the park can be entered from (some of) the residential buildings surrounding it. There is sheltering but not isolation or enclosure because the borders are permeable. Through this spatial configuration, the Dadlerpark forms an interesting 'inbetween' or interplay of public and private spaces and spheres. It provides a setting that raises the question whether it is rather to be conceived as a backyard for the residential buildings or a public park? What meaning and function does this space get when its 'publicness' or 'privateness' are unclear?



Figure 12.
Research location:
Dadlerpark, Vienna

When entering the park through the narrow green corridors that form the public entrances (at the left side of the image), we find a park with different sections. There is a park-like garden with curvy paths, benches, bushes and a little grass plot. This part was (during my visits) not very intensively in use, although I sometimes saw people with a pram walking there, or passing through to other parts of the park. Next to it, in the middle of the park, there is a little open square or playground with a pavilion and some benches watching the caged basketball court. During my observations I often see youngsters sitting in the pavilion, but sometimes also women (mothers?). There are some marks on the pavilion (texts and tags) and traces of consumption (cigarettes, soda cans, candy bars, potato crisps, etc.). In the basketball court there are youngsters playing pretty much all the time. Across the court and behind some bushes, the square is flanked by a fenced space for dogs.

When leaving the playground on the other side a children's playground occurs, protected by a low fence and dissolving in an open grassy playing meadow that is a little sloping. This area is equipped with several picnic tables, playing objects such as swings and a slide and trees that add an intimate feeling to the space. Just like the basketball court, this area is intensively used. Daily there are many little children playing, accompanied and watched by (their?) parents or other adults. They make use of the picnic tables, which are normally covered with all kinds of home-brought food, and other objects. Other parents make themselves comfortable at the green slope, catching some sun, enjoying the view on the kids and chatting with each other. Although the residential buildings around the park that are bordering it, have a view and sometimes even direct access to the park, they still cannot exactly see what is happening there (in the summer) because trees are covering it.

An everyday at the park

After visiting the Dadlerpark repeatedly and at various time slots, it started to become recognizable that generally days at the Dadlerpark are in fact pretty similar to each other. After coming there for a while, the park becomes a familiar and predictable space with a recurrent everyday rhythm. It is used at (more or less) fixed hours, which is probably after school as in the mornings it is quiet. And although I did not try to recognize recurrent faces that precisely, it seems as if the people present mostly know the place and come there frequently. People seem to be comfortable in the Dadlerpark, they take their space, they know the place. As the park forms a context where people (with good weather) collectively share their day care responsibilities, the park becomes part of an 'everyday routine' and seems to be embedded in a daily or weekly rhythm or program that is related to school and working hours. In the course of my observations, no substantive changes could be observed. The only differences that I noticed could be ascribed to variations of the weather, week or holiday rhythms and certain timeframes during the day.

Sharing with the stranger

Not only does the Dadlerpark appear as a familiar and predictable space to its users, it also seems that they trust it as a safe space. People make themselves and their children 'vulnerable' when they settle there for the afternoon, taking shoes off, installing themselves in the grass or at the picnic tables, leaving their stuff unoccupied when do join the kids at the playground. Illustrating is the picture (appendix 2b) of a little child that was left by itself, sleeping on a blanket in the grass, which indicates that also the mother feels safe at the park.

However, the people, occupied by their activities at the park, are not very approachable for me as an outsider. They are spending time with their selves, and their families and friends and in doing so seem to be somehow internally focussed (private time). Although we are there together, even multiple times in a row, we stay anonymous. Still, the atmosphere is not unfriendly or unwelcoming, we are independently

sharing space, tolerating each other but acting in parallel.

As such, responding to the classical qualities of 'safety, familiarity and predictability' the Dadlerpark may be seen as a space that (can) be an extension of home. However, it is not more the home of one or of another. It is a familiar place shared with familiar people (acquaintances), but also with unknown others that can enter due to the spatial permeability of the park. There is sheltering but not isolation or enclosure, just a protected comfortable space that is pleasant, also through its size and intimate feeling that fit a 'human scale'.

4.2.2 OPEN PODIUM FOR INTERVENTION

Schwendermarkt

In the past, the Schwendermarkt used to be a lively, typical Viennese marketplace with fixed stands. Nowadays, the largest share of these stands has been demolished. What is left is a pretty much empty, open square situated parallel to the main road and shopping street Mariahilferstrasse but laying a couple of meters lower. The two are connected by stairs and the different levels result in a big wall at one side of the square (appendix 2d). Only five stands have lasted and are located at one side at the very end of the street. Once famous for its fish, the Schwendermarkt now only hosts a bakery, a local beer place and since relatively recently a Vietnamese lunchroom and besides of course a large open space that is accessible from multiple directions. As such, within the selection of research locations, this space represents the 'inbetween' of public and commercial spaces or spheres.

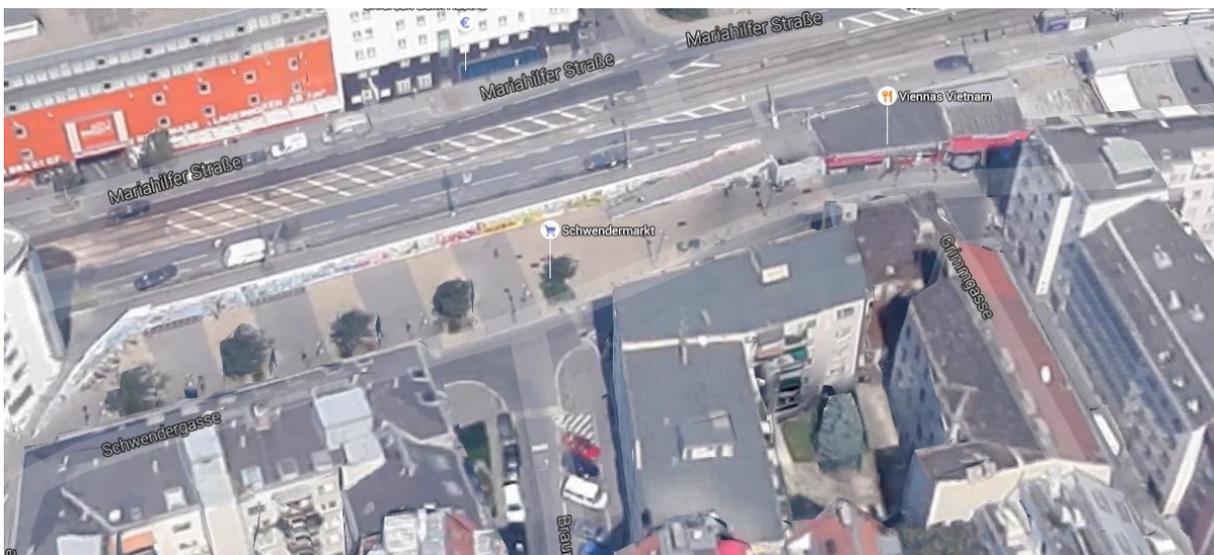


Figure 13.
Research location:
Schwendermarkt, Vienna

On the square there is a parking station of the Viennese city bikes. Furthermore there are several trees accompanied by benches. Underneath the stairs towards the higher Mariahilferstrasse a basement is hidden that houses the local community initiative (Sammstagerstadt) and serves as a storage room (appendix 2d). It stores second hand clothes and other goods that can be sold at the regular flea market organised by the community on the square. Another community initiative are urban guerrilla gardens that colour the Schwendermarkt. There are flower beds made surrounding the trees and big planters are placed

next to them and on the edges of the square, in the presence of the old water pump that is installed below the stairs.

Identity of an undefined space

By local residents and entrepreneurs, the Schwendermarkt is seen as a public space that is hard to pinpoint or interpret. It is often mentioned (in interviews) as an 'undefined' area. People wonder: what is it? What happens there? What can be done there? "The Schwendermarkt is a big... question mark". As such it seems to evoke certain unease. Especially in Vienna, where most of the parks and public spaces are highly designed, controlled and maintained, people seem to find it hard to understand the space or connect meaning to it. However, it also seems to trigger some to explore its (hidden) potential. "This is always the question, has it potential or has it no potential? (...) Every time I see it I think 'Yes! No. What?' It's a little bit difficult in my opinion." Still, (little) things are happening at the Schwendermarkt, adding layers of identity to it. This includes the before mentioned second hand market, the urban guerrilla gardens, the bike station and the left-over market stands. Besides that, the space has been appropriated by colourful graffiti on the wall below Mariahilferstrasse and there are regular traces of chalk paintings at the sidewalk.

A place of fluid time and space

What connects all of these appropriations is their character of temporality. They are transformations that do not last for a long time, but adapt and can be relatively easily adapted. This temporality also accounts for the activity that takes place at the square that is a crossroad of routes and trajectories and a coming and going of people. It is a connection to the shopping area at the Mariahilferstrasse which gives also access to public transport and is the main route towards the city centre Eastwards or the palace of Schönbrunn in the West. Most of these people are 'just' passing by, either coming down from the stairs or from different directions going up, others come to pick up a city bike.

The square also functions as a meeting place. People arrange to meet each other at the square to continue their ways together. On the other hand meetings can also happen more accidentally and can even take place indirectly as within the flows of the space, people may or may not just meet and could also (or most often) be anonymous. Other than that, it is a place where children play, sometimes attributed with i.a. chalks or (city) bicycles.

Although the (fixed) market stands are somewhat disconnected from the square, there is in fact a relation between the square, the urban garden and the Vietnamese restaurant (who is most directly situated next to or on the open square). Not merely because it can be seen from the terrace, but also because the owner uses/is involved with the planters and adding colour to the streetscape with her parasols. Additionally, people can still be found at the terrace in the evening, providing liveliness to the square when otherwise and other places would be quieter at that time.

It can be said that there is certain regularity in the tempos and rhythms at the Schwendermarkt resulting from the repetition of routes, trajectories and directions that at the same time remain rather random. Besides that, the dynamics of the square are volatile. Most of the visitors is moving and only stays for a maximum of five minutes at one place. Moreover, the interventions actions and interactions that take place at the Schwendermarkt are momentary, non-permanent. They are not directed in a way that ensures certain durability, but 'pop-up' and may even have a disruptive or guerrilla character. "so this is... fluid, fluid, fluid, fluid. Yeah." It is an unpredictable space, but in being so, it is continuous.



Figure 14.
Interactions, speeds
and crossing routes
at the Schwendermarkt

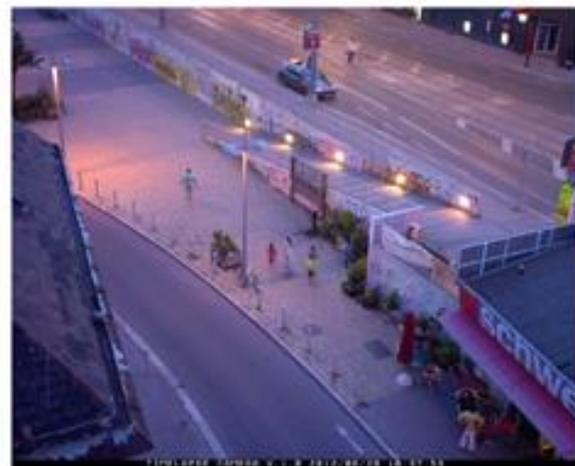


Figure 15.
'Inbetween' dynamics
of public and commercial
area
at the Schwendermarkt

A participatory laboratory

As such, it seems as if the fluidity of the place is in a way inviting for bottom up intervention and experiment. Eventually, that may lead to a more durable situation in the end. “It somehow happened that we stopped to work on the pedestrian walk, instead of inside, because it was nice and it's just one step up, so, yeah, and it was quite funny because then at some point we had a Flipchart like standing on the street, it's quite a funny picture. And then of course you immediately start talking to people, just passing by and they say really nice things (...) I really like this feeling of working in the public space and, I mean, this as a concept of living I could totally imagine.”

As could be seen through the time lapse specifically, little objects and appropriations actually do affect the speeds, routes and rhythms of the Schwendermarkt, when people stick just a bit longer taking a look at the urban gardens or take a sip of water at the pump. Maybe, they were led by the traces of water at the sidewalk, left by a previous thirsty visitor, as such indirectly interacting with a stranger. Through these interactions, the place slowly transforms under the impact of seemingly random appropriations, interventions and interactions. Hence, bottom-up and participatory character of the place is not merely reflected in the community base underneath the stairs (going top-down, or bottom up?).



*Figure 16.
Water traces
at the pump*



*Figure 17.
Behaviour responding
to appropriations*

Thus, while on the one hand people, expecting an institutional intervention to define the place, are asking: “Why does the municipality not make a nice park out of it?” At the same time, the randomness of the place makes us look around a bit longer to define what is happening here. And there they are, the pop-up appropriations that make curious little surprises and express a potential of not only the space, but also of the people and their impact to change the public space. Although some may still laugh about their clumsiness or seeming insignificance, they are opening up the scope to move beyond a passive approach of the citizens waiting for ‘the City’ to identify and colour the square and are encouraging the transition to a different mind-set. From this perspective, the Schwendermarkt functions as a mirror, an underlay or a playground for developing a new relation with the public space and processes of transformation. As such it can be seen as a disruptive space that challenges for reconfiguration of space and place, rhythms and processes, interactions and relations.

4.2.3 INVITATIONS TO (EX)CHANGE

Reindorfgasse

In the Reindorfgasse, recently an increasing number of (creative) entrepreneurs have been opening shops, studios, galleries and the like. This could be seen as an indicator of (upcoming) gentrification – but in any case it is an indicator of change. This change was also noticed among residents that I interviewed for this research. Hence, I visited the entrepreneurs that were open for it, at their own locations at the Reindorfgasse, to ask them for their motivations. It should be noted that, typically, the entrepreneurs willing to take an interview with me were all part of this flux of creatives. My attempts to include such in-depth interviews with other shops or restaurants that have been part of the Reindorfgasse for a longer time were generally less warmly welcomed. In result, the stories below depict a specific group of entrepreneurs that somehow share a similar position within a movement of change and local urban renewal. Generally, the fashion in which business is done here, is not typical as for other commercial areas and even, the entrepreneurs consciously take position in their choice of shaping their own place, practice and business as such. This includes also a positioning towards and engagement with the neighbourhood – and the public space. Hence the Reindorfgasse forms the site of studying the interplay of private and public spaces or spheres. And, in doing so, observing the role or potential of the (creative) entrepreneurs and their places as vehicles of change.

The street itself gives a mixed impression. Especially at the North, an increasing number of pioneering spaces can be found, varying from creatives such as the DIY- and designer shops, a (hip) bike shop and an art gallery, to several coffee places or cafes with different atmospheres. Furthermore there is a mixture of entrepreneurial spaces such as the laundromat, Turkish hairdresser, a pizza place and a (very popular) traditional restaurant (Quelle). The pioneers and other spaces are surrounded by deprived or empty buildings and spaces, mixed with porches that give entrance to the residential building blocks above and behind the shops.

Generally, it can be observed that, especially the ‘pioneers’ in the street, are playing with the physical borders and visibility purposely, as such making them more permeable. In this way, also the borders between ‘public’, ‘private’ and ‘commercial’ are dissolving. As also came forth from the interviews, the places function more as ‘places of experience’ than as ‘places of commercial transaction’. They are even often described as ‘places of home’ for both entrepreneurs (who are actively creating this home experience) and the visitors (who may or may not buy something). As such, a sense of home is created, welcome to – unknown- others, to share it as an experience and as a context to exchange in a broader understanding of

the word. In this respect, exchange could also refer to interaction. Sometimes they are 'donations' or gifts from the public to the entrepreneurs, e.g. in the form of materials, inspiration or networks. As the shop becomes more of a 'home', the customer becomes more of a guest.



Figure 18.
Research location:
Reindorfgasse, Vienna

A public living room

The young Estonian entrepreneurs (two sisters and a friend) that recently opened the doors of *Improper Walls*, a low threshold art gallery situated at the northern part of the Reindorfgasse clearly state that they act from idealism in the first place: "Because for us it's not a business, we don't want to earn money here, we want to, to make people feel good." This ideal does not only account for the benefit of the guests – they also see it as a means to their own satisfaction: "if we would put commission on the artwork, we would get a totally different feeling for ourselves, because that won't be for idea anymore, it would be for money. It does 2 euros or one euro, it still will be, some of it will work in your mind that you're doing it for money, and when you doing that for idea it's a totally different thing and therefore we can do it in a different environment here."

Also in a broader sense they see the low threshold as somehow functional within their concept for the gallery, aiming to address a wide variety of people – including people that are less familiar with art. "What we're trying to create here is a very cosy environment as we have the sofa in the middle of the room, we give coffee, if people want to sit down, there's a magazine, you sit down, you look artwork, you read, you can talk with us, you're always welcoming to talk with people, we just want to create as much as possible a cosy environment here, and people will take art with a different perspective because of it. Then it's affordable, it is cosy, it is nice and you can feel nice in our gallery, not being afraid to touch something."

The openness of the place also reflects in the interior that is very basic, as a blank canvas, but not fancy as such. Moreover the large window in their front facade (appendix 2b) is used as a means of

communicating who they are, their openness, and as an invitation to enter as “they come because they see from outside what is in”. Although the gallery owners only recently begun, and have still many ideas that they want to realise, such as workshops that also may engage in or with the public space (e.g. urban street art) or would be addressing certain social groups (in the neighbourhood) to bring about new exchanges that would both benefit both artists and participators. However, their essential aim relies in the creating of a pleasant, accessible environment in which art, interaction and everyday (social) life are key ingredients. “We have so many people that are coming back, and it’s very strange but because other people are coming back, not about the art or something else but about the environment, because they feel good here they come and “I just want to sit down” and that was what we were trying to achieve and that’s what we have right now”.

Space to Do-It-Your way

Metaware is a self-made Do-It-Yourself shop selling mostly decorating pieces: “I knit it myself and I stitch it myself and most of the things are done by me but also of friends who do it themselves”. The shop is functioning as a shared office space, also to do her own translation work that is her basic source of income. She explains her motivation to start the shop: “I looked for a job that would somehow fulfil me, but that failed. So a lot of my friends said that one should be like, make their own business”. As such, the shop is a playground to explore her own ways of doing both in what she makes as where she makes it and the relation to the outside world (of her customers and the neighbourhood). In doing so, she is “more a human being and not a shop owner”. This also defines the way she values her place, and the position she takes towards customers: “I see my shop as a really strange mixture, because I realize that most people think this is a public thing, but I see it as a private thing. So they sometimes go in here, talk on their phones, don’t look at anything and walk right out. And I feel like really “Hey this is my shop, show some respect okay? Would you even, like, look at something, or?” (...) so the way that I see public and private is a little bit mixed, nobody has really, can understand how it feels for a shop owner, invade the privacy of the shop owner, which I realize is not a thing but it just feels strange for me”.

She finds her reward more in appreciation than in purchases. “They don’t really buy, but I get that they like it.” Which also reflects in a way how she establishes a relationship with the neighbourhood, beyond generations: “A lot of grandmas come here and say that they really like that I do stuff on my own, they just know they also sit at home and knit and they think it’s great that I sit in a shop and knit (...) they tell me all their stories and stuff. And also kids just love it, they stand by the windows and the parents are always “oh, come on, not again!” they stay there 5 minutes every day and everything, so. I know the parents don’t like me especially but I know the kids like me.”

Unlike in a regular shop, the exchange of ‘added value’ is going in two ways. “Some people come by and give me stuff like just ‘oh I found this, do you want to have it?’ like something old they had in their closet and they thought about me or the things I have, and so they bring me a bag of, I don’t know, just anything, like just materials I could work with, like garbage materials I could do something out of or something.”(...) “And some neighbours I know by name because they come by often and just talk about stuff that’s going on in the street, that happens also.” Sometimes, she also gets negative responses, which are sometimes hard not to take personal “these kinds of things happen because you make yourself some kind of public when you do something like that.”

Before she started the shop, her public space engagement had a different form. She describes herself as an ‘ex-activist urban knitting’: “but I think that is some kind of over for me, I don’t know. Because I feel like I contribute so much with these windows alone, I don’t have to do it on the public space anymore.” Again,

her own joy in doing so is defining for the way she approaches it. "I change the way a little bit so I won't get bored." She also shares her vision on how to approach the public space: "I think, always when you do something, which you don't necessarily control so much, like, you don't stand there and watch them sitting there or something, because that would be awkward. But the moment you do something, which people can just use as they wish they totally respond positively, I think. I think that's the main key to it, that you just let them do it yourselves."

Dissolving borders and shared space

Within the shared open space of Block 44, three businesses are combined: a fashion designers store, a (hip) bike repairmen shop and a coffee corner. During the interview, all three of them are present, such as their businesses, their stories also add to each other and their answers blend. Although they do not see a particular role for themselves in the neighbourhood, they experience that others in fact do see it that way. "They say they're so happy there's something nice here and they want to chill in the Gastgarten or something, so it's totally new that you have such a cool space with friendly people and, yeah, for me it's just my habitat so, and I'm happy that the people are happy that we are here" (...) "but in the sixth district where my shop was before I never had such a lot of contact to the neighbours like this, like here, so it's completely different." Spatial features of the place may play a role in the explanation: "different is that it's a more open the space, with the big windows" (...) "Yeah it's more opened, yeah yeah, sure. I have two stairs to walk up to my shop door and so now it's like, you can come in for elderly" (...) "And you can watch from outside, that's also important" (...) "Yeah, you see what you, what there's inside. You can see the coffee and you can watch like one hour the cloths so that is not so a big border to come in. If you already see what is expecting you at the inside. I think that is also different." Once you are in the experiences of the different businesses merge: "In my old shop to the people knew; is the fashion and I want to go there because I want to buy something because they saw me on a market or something. And now they maybe come only for a coffee or for a bike part and they sit here and they are looking in this direction and then they say: "Oh, let's have a look."

The entrepreneurs like to be in the 15th because it fits their style and way of life more than the atmosphere in fancy shopping streets: "You have the feeling when you go out of the house, you have to be dressed up and like... because everyone does..." (...) "I have more the feeling that the people are [...] on their own. And it is feeling like big business, and here in the small street there is a new scene coming up. You can see it is handmade, she is making everything here (...) and for me personally it feels more comfortable." (...) "It's more comfortable and you can also ask some questions." (...) "I am feeling not like a number or something." (...) "Lots of creative people that are not really like professional, but live here for a long time or want to make a new non-profit-orientated but like an art space or something or filmmakers - not really, making business with this but to make it more live-worthy."

They have an audience that comes from outside of the 15th, "especially for the bike-shop or for the fashion. The audience comes from... further, because we are really that specialized." Whereas for the coffee shop attracts more locals: "For me it is people, it is a lot of... Laufkontakt'. And if there is nobody in the street because it is not so inviting on the streets and the parks, then not so many people will come." As such, according to the different types of businesses, proximity of the audience has a different meaning, however, once inside – they blend, and that is how they add to each other.

As borders become less visible or strict in their business, this also accounts for the borders between public and private, or leisure and working hours. "Especially you and I have opened a little bit longer, of the

coffee. Danny also stays a little longer to meet friends and so. It is not just business, especially with this coffee and the places to sit down." "Also for us because we can meet, and it is, with the shops it was like meeting friends after work and..." "I think we all have in common that a kind of, a bit of relaxed approach. Of course we have to work and do things to make it happen, but we can also do this in a more relaxed approach than making 'a big business.'"

As such, borders between 'home' and public become more mental, as in a decision or time-framing: "The first years, so, for me, I had my phone on all the time and answered every mail, like on Sunday. But now I have like to say: 'That's my private time.' People keep calling you 25 hours, if they reach you. It's something you have to, like, understand and say: 'Now it is private time.' (...) You have to, like... get some say: 'Okay, now it's private'. (...) Otherwise you don't, you can't get out of the cycle." (...) "we have to separate it more and (...) really learn to separate it." (...) "Yeah, it's a process."

Visibility adds to this experience: "you have to get used to be in the public if you have a shop. (...) And we first saw it would be maybe not so fine that everyone can look in, but you get used to it so quick." This is also a way to them to be welcoming as "you're always invited, you are always welcome. We have nothing to hide: just the three, making their own business."

As some kind of conclusion they state: "there are no borders. The borders are not outside and the borders are not inside making the architecture (...) this is completely different when you enter a shop in the Mariahilferstrasse, you have, when you are lucky you have a customer's toilet" However, within this assemblage of open and closed little corners with different functions in their shared space, still, they do need some places to, at times, withdraw. "...Because it is so open. We have to have some private space... some place where we can get angry or so." (...) "I think that is really important because when we work in the back you have to concentrate you have to get rid of breaks you have."

Interaction with the public

The creative office space of *Fresh* is an atelier for two documentary makers. They came to the 15th district because they wanted to be close to and embedded in the atmosphere of diversity and 'buzz' of the neighbourhood. "The thing is with if you're a creative person or a person in the social, in the human interest field it's kind of strange to be alone at home. So all the influences we get for doing this always around us and even looking for people come in and ask us what we're doing and then we have to define ourselves and maybe get closer to who we really are. And just having some exchange in not working all the time to sitting outside the building in a chair and having a picnic, which we never would do being at home." They specifically came to the 15th district at a point in which they recognised the potential of changing dynamics, according to them, there is "much more happening in a way that wasn't too stylish, more like interesting people on the streets, interesting people opening shops, then Block 44 opened up there and we thought 'Oh no, that's the starting signal, now things would happen,' which indeed they do. So we felt like we wanted to be part of it at the moment it is cheap to rent a space." (...) "it's very mixed, like, so nobody knows what the fifteenth is like, and that's a chance of making it into something that's known as... we're gonna see" However, they are not here to have a first pick, hoping for an upgrading through e.g. gentrification, but rather be part in a 'different kind of change' that makes the area more liveable for the current mixture of people. With this statement and share it with other entrepreneurs in the Reindorfgrasse. "I think people who have the sensory to feel what this street's about are not the ones who see it as a commercial 'el dorado'." (...) "These things could become parts of a district that is really finding itself, it could be a new mind-set if some things support that." What it gives them is inspiration, as the neighbourhood 'may be the subject of next documentary or something'.

Their own space, they see as an informal inbetween of an office and a living room, also accessible to others: "Because work isn't always just work. And some [people from the public space] just stay and stand here, some even sit down and start talking (...) and some people are way too afraid just to walk through the door (...) But it's nothing that we really are looking for, which is to say, if it happens, great, if not, we have a quiet space to work in." Although, they do not directly need interaction or exchange with the public space for their own practices, they actively try to open up the border between their private office space and the public space. They try out ways to use permeability of the spatial border of the place to evoke this kind of interaction, for the sake of it – and for inspiration. "It's like sitting in the movie theatre" (...) "Watching the people pass by, that's something I really love, and we even have this trick we're selling marmalade here and there's always a very funny mix of people coming in and buying it." (...) "we use the marmalade as kind of a possible chance for both sides to interact so if somebody's standing up there looking at it, I love to jump up and tell them about the qualities of the marmalade and so we get into talking and they ask "what are you doing here? (...) So we try to interact by putting some traps." Characteristically, this is also how we met, and how I got an appointment for an interview with Fresch (I was taking a picture of his shop when he jumped out and caught me for a talk).

As such, they are looking for community, and interaction in a human pace and human scale. This 'feel' also has a spatial side to it. "It's like a nucleus, which I felt there is. And the longer I stay, the more I feel "of course there's a nucleus" because it's not the church [like in the village he grew up] but it's the people who live on the street, who stay on the street, who have not much need to move around because it's all there, from the supermarket to the, I think there's four coffee houses in this street alone, so it's really like a small village and still open to the city, that's a mix I love very much."

In contrast, he states: "Mariahilferstrasse, it's far too anonymous to become public space, it's actually beyond anonymous public space to do something that really has a personal closeness to my life. People are strangers but can become people I know, it leads to seeing them every day, there's some kind of relation to them and it becomes... that kind of public spaces I prefer."

People as a catalyst of change

The front man of the urban design label *Urban Tool* was the first to settle in the 15th district and is, by all other respondents, recognised as pioneer and neighbourhood engager, or moreover the key person within the social network arising and its engagement with the public space and the community. "I do this for fun. That's my heartbeat" (...) "Because in my main statement is that a designer who is working for an environment or for public had to be close to the public (...) in the middle of the life, in connection with." As such, he sees investing in public space as 'part of his business principles'.

"Last year we organized or we redesigned this street-festival that is going on for 35 years or longer and we made a total new concept for the music program and the shopping concept and so on. So this was the really turning-point that everyone in the city realized "okay there is going, great things going on in the fifteenth district and this street is the focus of it". So during this last year we had five or six new shops opening here and most of them were connected to the artist area. So that was for everyone visible that we had a few, three, four, five very good articles in the newspapers so that most of the people were involved or... informed about things going on here. So this made a big boost go the environment here."

He takes this engagement and networking task very seriously and even appropriates his private life to it. "I see them [entrepreneurs of Reindorfgrasse] all every day watching them going by, passing by. Yes, because I'm, three years ago I changed my living room of my flat on the second district to here (...) also in the same building, like the office and this made give me much more possibilities to get people in the district in, because you are staying this more time that you can spend here in or things that you can expect, that they

can. So this was the first step me to get closer to this area and, and in this process of establish the festival last year I had to contact a lot of people, I go to every shop and every organization that was here around and talked to them and so I got connected to a lot of people (...) the start of this group that is beyond this Reindorfsgasse focus”.

He finds that a different approach is needed to connect to different groups that are presented in the neighbourhood. “Business people are very... they have to focus on their business, so they are looking not very far beyond that door, only when it is, when it brings them visible impact. (...) They're looking more short and, even they look when there is somebody other it seems to go much more better they're pointing at him 'he's getting better I'm so poor (...) And so this is the mind-set of most of the shops here. Even that we have this problem, you can say, to get connected to all shops or cafes which are run by people that are not from Austria. It is horrible to connect then, because they are closed. They don't want to get connected to you. They have their own structure, their own community. They are not interested in connecting to Austrians.” However, in different ways, he manages to gain their trust: “[The cafe Reindorf] is run by a Turkish community, [during the Summer Lounge fest] stepped to us and say 'okay, come on yet now' we go into the back room, the closed back room, private. And they drank a bottle of Raki so we get involved in this community. But this is I think the only way that this is possible when they are coming, when they are watching you and they are sure, okay, you are vertrauenswürdig [trustworthy]. So they come and then... because they are watching very clear what's going on...” And in general: “you have to be friendly and they are looking at you, or you have to take time to say 'Hello, how are you? What are you doing?' and so. Then they're getting involved, there are a lot of people knowing me, because I'm always around in the street. And even because our shop is there, so every day I cross the street, I have to cross the street. And by these opportunities you get connected to the people and you can talk to them and you can involve them.” (...)
“last, three weeks ago the Block 44 made together with Improper Walls and Metaware the summer party. So I think this will be a pattern how they will connect together”
(...) However, “I don't want to force anybody to do something, or, that's my principle. Even when I'm working for this community, I try to do it by my own. That's, I'm not willing to making an organization structure to do it” neither does he want to involve money: “my greatest Sorge [worry] is that when the money comes in, we will get this structure broken down.”

Clearly, the *Urban tool* designer believes in a catalyst function of the public space, for community and for society: “the public space is the connection between people in the city. So I think to, how you handle the public space shows a lot about your connection to the city, or how you are. If it is important for you that in front of your door is a piece of paper or waste or something like that, I build up, I give there a plant, or I paint my windows or... In my opinion the public space gives the input and the making the way for connecting people. So I'm always fighting for public space, using the public space, for everyone.” Through the making of the network he is trying to establish that community, and he believes in improvisation as a key. “Also the environment, in the frame of how things should be connected together in this city. But I think it should not be every part totally regulated.” (...) “We are building a room, a street, where everybody could connect together, at the same time. And [currently] it is not possible because I need my two lines to get through this area, bikers need two lines because when pedestrians walk over this line, they are making a mess. 'Wow you have crossed my line.'” However, he comes across reluctance to his active attitude and projects as well. “Allen die etwas tun wollen, etwas verändern wollen, die werden bestraft.”

He relates the meaning of public space to the rise of virtual platforms. “So there is a lot of potential sleeping

here around, in this area. And even now when I am, involved in so much things, there are so much things apart, that you cannot imagine. And I think 'How can we communicate in the public space?' That's a great issue. Because, okay in Facebook you have friends, or on Twitter, you can follow something, but public space you have to be at the right time on the right place to see this. Otherwise the information is going lost, (...) even when you live here you always passing by. And when you passing by you are not... I don't know how intense you are taking things, you are looking at things. A good example is always when a new shop is opening. When you see the new shop, you cannot imagine how it looks before. You don't know what was at the shop before the shop." The way he sees it: "Everything that is not visible is not real, is not there. That is what I am always pointing on Facebook, because that is going so fast that the issue which is important, but it is three lines down and it is not [anymore]." In conclusion to this, he states: "I think the public space must be the counterpart of this virtualization. It has to be a longer lasting communication, information input. Even this dumb bath, it's like 'Ah! This is the area where the bus stop is.' So simple things."



5.



DEALING WITH DISCONTINUITY

5.

DEALING WITH DISCONTINUITY

Conclusion & Reflections

Within this final chapter the aim is to formulate a renewed understanding of the key themes as a synthesis based on findings within this research. In doing so it will respond to the questions that were presented in chapter 1, evaluating the key concepts: home, public space and urban transformation as well as, most importantly, the relations between them.

As the 'city from within' intertwines the 'city from above' and the 'city from below', the coherence of these perspectives should also reflect in this concluding chapter. Hence, it would not be complete without suggestions for the practice of and in the 'city from within'. In the paragraph with recommendations, an attempt has been made to do so.

5.1 RELATIONS OF THE 'INBETWEENS'

Conclusions and synthesis

This research was set up to find insights and new perspectives on the meaning of 'home' and dwelling in the city of today. Scouting through a variety of conceptual and practical means, the aim was to find starting points for the developing or rephrasing of a (conceptual) framework and to find or redefine means for city making in practice. The objective was to gain insight in the current spatiality of 'home' in relation to public, private and commercial spaces, as subject to urban transformation. The 15th district in Vienna formed the empirical context or case. Based on the insights from the theoretical framework (chapter 2) and the empirical results (chapter 4), the following paragraph will once more reflect on the key concepts and their coherence while as such answering the main research question:

Within an urban context, what is the meaning and perception of home in relation to the interplay of public and private spheres, influenced by processes of urban transformation?

5.1.1 HOME: IDENTITY, DUALITY AND DISCONTINUITY

In the theoretical chapter, we came across the notion of 'home', related to the notion of 'belonging', recognized as a space of 'safety, familiarity and predictability' that is normally captured by or anchored within the physical structure of the house. As a hypothesis, 'home' was conceptualized as a space of the 'self' in which identity is constructed, but where one can also be anonymous. This 'self' was in turn characterized by a duality of the 'I' vs 'me'.

Opposites attract

As we saw from the empirical chapter (and the many other empirical examples that could not be included in this thesis) 'home' is not (anymore) conceived or experienced to be that materially and physically defined. One can as well feel somewhere at home at a certain moment, under certain conditions, that may pass by or move elsewhere over time. The 'home' (or 'space of the self') is therefore mobile and not necessarily spatially bounded.

In this way, the 'home' spreads out over, or rather exists in, all kinds of layers and as such relates them, as an assemblage: physical, virtual, social, mental, local, global, formal and informal, professional, etcetera. It can be found in a welcoming smile of a stranger, a game of table tennis with a neighbour, a name on a door or a plant in a window sill, a dress, an everyday route to the office, a skype call, a mode of transportation, the reward of a customer's compliment, the appropriation of a tree plot, the carrying out of an ideology – and so on.

In all of these ways, the 'home' defines itself both in relation to the community ('me') as to the individual ('I'), in togetherness *and* in loneliness. It is on the one hand extrovert and expressive, while on the other hand introvert and contemplative. As such, it entails a series of 'opposites' that are all equally important in defining oneself, and hence the 'home', that does not exist more in either one or the other but in the connection, coherence and interaction of the two:

'I' - 'Me'
'Self' - 'Other'
'Individual' – 'Community'
'House' – 'City'
'Authentic' – 'Generic'
'Performativity' – 'Anonymity'

Sharing with the stranger

As we need both 'ourselves' and 'others' to shape our identity, our 'home' can exist in isolation as well as in connection to the other. As such, the state of being at 'home' does not depend on the exclusion of strangers, but rather includes them, in their own 'role' within the assemblage of 'home'. We have seen an example of this in the Dadlerpark, offering a context or extension of 'home' to (local) residents as a safe or familiar place, without the necessity for them to interact with each other. In the end one could argue that if we really feel 'at home', it should not matter whether others can enter. In this way, perhaps 'home' could be shared with the unknown other.

Performativity of 'home'

The 'space of the self' is in all cases a (unplaced) 'place' that revolves around the process of defining, finding, shaping and expressing identity. However, in this process spatial and material aspects do influence, giving it a form or setting and, at the same time, a set of limitations and opportunities to deal with. In this way they are providing means for the individual or the community that can be used as attributes or 'props', stage or 'décor' – or as starting points to build them. Through this shaping of identity, and in doing so, its context ('home'), authentic places may be created or can come to being. Thus, the notion of 'belonging' that is part of the sense of 'home' may not only entail the 'belonging' to a community or cultural group. It could also connote the 'belonging' to a space that e.g. had been personalised by appropriation, or that became familiar through repeated use or just a 'good vibe'.

On the other hand, through discontinuity, also the mental layer of home becomes increasingly important. As such, we are challenged to be more (pro-)active in our ways of delineating our 'home' and, as such, the ways of creating our identity (in this context, consider also how we create our identity through social media). We are no longer 'at home' simply by shutting the door behind us. We need to actively steer the 'mental' layer of the 'home' as we must seclude ourselves or shut ourselves off (or in contrary connect and switch ourselves 'on' to the public) on many more levels than that. As such, a button on a device may perhaps become an even harder boundary than a wall in certain situations.

5.1.2 PUBLIC SPACE: SPATIAL INTERPLAY OF PERMEABILITY

The 'home' can be found in this spatial context or 'take place' in there, no matter whether public, private or commercial, or even simultaneously, spread out or fragmented over the constellation of the three. The less 'being at home' is connected to 'being in *my house*' (with the help of modern-day technologies and other developments that contribute to spatial discontinuity), the more it can move elsewhere in the city. Not physically or spatially bounded, 'home' becomes rather a state of being instead of a place. Therefore, the state of being 'home' can also occur in (e.g.) the public, since the boundaries of 'home' are determined by the means or the moments by which the state of being is 'switched on or off'. This can be achieved i.a. by mental decisions (for instance directed by a schedule or program: within these hours I am 'at work' – and yet not anymore). As the borders between public and private and the 'home' are regulated less by spatial features, but more through the virtual, it can also be regulated by time or technology (e.g. the on/off button of internet, a phone or a music device). However, as was argued before, still, the building, creation and use of the material and spatial context and conditions, are tools that (can) support this mental state of being.

The city and the constellation of public, private and commercial spaces within there, provides such a spatial and material and social context. In result, the interplay of public, private and commercial spaces in the city in fact do influence the experience and the construction of the 'home', as such affirming the supposition in the beginning of this thesis.

Permeability of borders

Within this interplay of differently qualified spaces, a gradual understanding of their relation or borders does not seem accurate (anymore). When relations of i.a. physical-virtual and global-local change, it changes the borders, meaning and understanding of these spaces, becoming more permeable, relative, fluent and temporal. Instead of borders, they are both separated *and* connected through the 'inbetween'. This reflects well in the change of meaning and functioning of the commercial spaces in the Reindorfasse, where the space of the 'self' (the intimacy of the workshop, the personal touch in the interior, the cosiness of a living room atmosphere, the friendliness in the approach) more and more seems to enter or open up to the customer and adds a flavour of identity to the shop. In this way, the shop is increasingly becoming a space of experience and less a merely pragmatic space that is functional and targeted for people to buy (and leave). Rather than a space of transaction, the shop or office becomes a space of exchange through mutual interaction with the other, an 'inbetween', in which the exchange of value becomes less direct (in money). As the shop becomes more of a 'home' to the owner, the client becomes more of a guest. At some point, the commercial space could even become part of 'home' of this guest, for a certain instance. In the construction of this 'home' or 'inbetween', the physical material and spatial outlay of the shop is specifically used, to play and experiment with the opportunities that the permeable character of the 'inbetween' offers.

Public space as laboratory

As we also have seen in the example of the Schwendermarkt, the public space can be a playground or underlay for expressing, negotiating and experimenting with identity of the self, the community, the other and the place through (both direct and indirect) interaction and intervention. The open character of the place added to this potential or may even have been a precondition. Within the assemblage of the city, such squares and streets form a spatial maze or network that connects the different spaces and places of the city, as such fulfilling a certain 'inbetween' function in the urban context. It is where residents and visitors interact and communicate or negotiate their identities. In doing so, it becomes part of their 'home' as they "claim them through the daily routines in which they follow certain routes, to go to work, school, for shopping et cetera. Besides these daily routines, rituals (...) give shape to the city" (Reijndorp & Reinders, 2010, p12).

In this way, the public space can be an 'inbetween' context where directed plans of the 'self' are confronted with the 'surprise' of encountering 'others'. As the context for this dynamics, the public space can be seen as a laboratory to shape identity through improvisation and experiment, as podium for its performance and a canvas for their stories. And "it is these stories, these buildings, and these streets that create the authentic city of our lifetime" (Zukin 2010 p ix). Hence, within this process or act of creating 'home' and identity, the city gets its shape -for the time being- and slowly evolves through the interactions within its 'inbetweens'.

5.1.3 URBAN TRANSFORMATION: NETWORKS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD ENGAGEMENT

This conclusion also fits the theoretical framework of this thesis, where we have seen that, from a relational perspective, the city is conceived to be never fixed nor finished, constantly reproducing itself in an ongoing becoming as it is shaped through a continuum of little activities, frictions and adaptations 'inbetween' the urban elements (both human and non-human). Thus, when the shape or experience of the 'home' changes, this either directly or indirectly affects its context. This impact is mutual. As such, the 'home' is an essential part of the transformation process of the city - and vice versa. Seen in this way, urban developments do indeed have a direct impact on the experience 'behind the front door', but moreover, on the (more mobile) 'space of the self'. As such, it does not only become sensible in the experience of 'home', but also affects its coming to being. In turn, the shaping of identity (of the 'self') from the individual or the community 'rubs off' on the urban environment. The impact of change not only becomes visible in the physical, spatial setting of the city or the public space, it affects rather the relation between the 'home' and the public space (figure 19). Hence, it can be stated that the city is in fact created *within* the 'inbetweens' of the assemblage of the city. Not being imposed by one or some of the 'urban elements' but rather through their interactions: form follows dialogue.

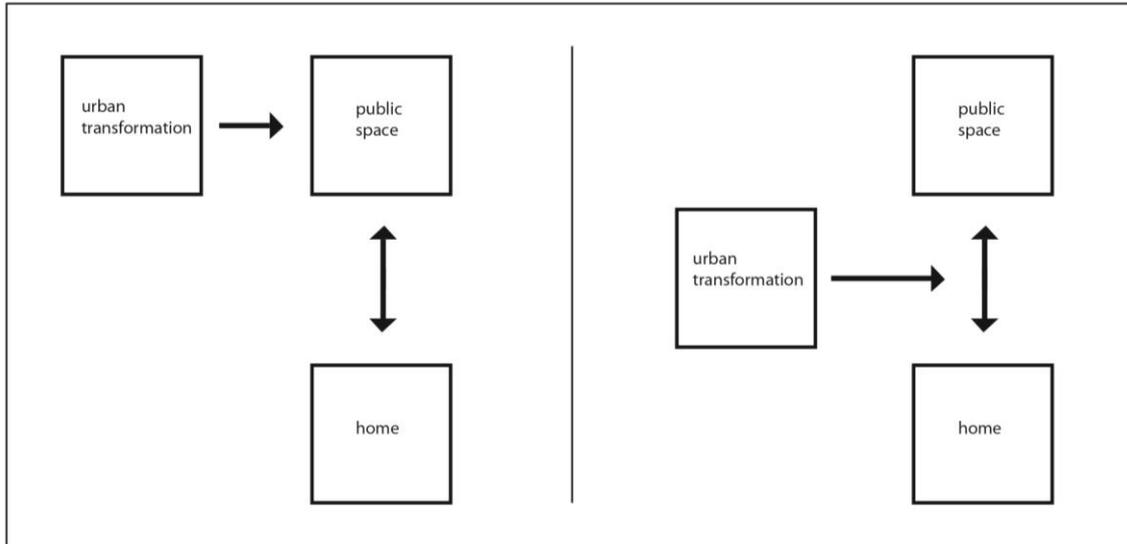


Figure 19.
Adjusting a hypothesis:
concluding model of relations
between 'home', public space
and urban transformation

To be - or not to be, a city maker

Hence, the way in which the city is shaped, is not determined by a single plan, actor or decision making element. This may manifest in both formal and informal practices and may be initiated both from 'top-down' as from 'bottom-up'. When conceived in this way, everyone creating and reshaping their home environment adds to the transformation of the city. As such the 'inbetween' can function as a playground for developing new relations with the public space, the 'home' and the city and processes of transformation from both bottom up and top down.

The idea that the identity of urban actors is part in the shaping of the identity from the neighbourhood or the city, leading to certain processes of change and transformation is of course not new. We could already observe this in the cycle of gentrification. Through observing in a relational manner, it becomes clear how, through every act of expression, everything and everyone is a link within the process of urban renewal or transformation, and thus partially creating its identity.

However, when awareness about our individual impact on the whole of the city increases, urban engagement can, in itself, become a means or a part of shaping our personal identity. 'Proud to be an engaged city maker'. It also leads to a more conscious and reflective approach to our roles within the transformation processes: 'We know that we, as creative entrepreneurs, can upgrade the neighbourhood - but we want to actively avoid negative side effects of this process'. Through this, the two separate levels of 'home' and the city, or in parallel, the individual identity versus that of the community, become even more intertwined.

In the old ways of city making there was goal-oriented, systematic and controlled top-down city planning by the government and professionals, rolling out blueprints over the city from behind their drawing table. On the other side, we could find the more random, undirected and accidental processes from below, colouring in the top-down blueprints. By the rise of bottom-up initiatives, we see that the role of the citizen and the community is changing.

When these bottom-up processes become more organised and self-reflective they will eventually transcend the 'bottom-up' label. Creating networks, by connecting to each other and the community, they

become approachable for intended collaboration with the government and urban professionals, collectively developing a liveable city. In this way, top and bottom, in- and outside, public and private, individual and community, become more and more intertwined with each other. In result, the 'inbetweens' become even more indispensable for the vitality of the city, as it is created in the coherence thereof. The once small local links are no longer merely the 'filling' or 'flavour' of the city. There is no more city making from either top-down or bottom-up: we are moving towards city making 'from within'.



Figure 20.
*Inmitten von Schwierigkeiten
liegen die Möglichkeiten*
(Schwendermarkt, 15th, Vienna)

5.2 THE POTENTIAL OF PARADOXES

Societal reflections & recommendations

In Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus, or the 15th district, the first contours of this movement are becoming increasingly visible. The urban renewal office even published a DIY-guide, encouraging the engagement with the urban environment and offering options and (legal) passages through the bureaucratic system of the Viennese municipality. On the other hand, we have seen how local actors (e.g. creative entrepreneurs) and communities connect, organise and develop themselves (i.a. Samstaginderstadt, Einfach Fünfzehn). This could be further amplified when the potential of urban actors, professionals and non-professionals are brought into scope and when the 'landscape of change- and city makers' is being mapped, so that they can be deployed in a more focused, but still open, way. This gives room to an iterative, exploratory process of city making, while step-by-step outlining a course and navigating through the discontinuous 'scapes' of the city. As such, in the 'city from within', there is no 'one formula', the route to get somewhere, only becomes apparent in hindsight. That does not mean that we do not have any clue to set out a course or direction. But

we will have to keep steering, within each moment. In other words: for the future we will need a compass instead of a blueprint.

To do so, in a more practical sense, we need to expand the room for local urban actors to act, by making regulations and urban processes more flexible and adaptive to the moment. We need to dare to approach urban processes one step at the time, building in moments, or 'inbetweens', for reflection, evaluation and interaction with the local urban actors and context: city making through dialogue. In this process, it is not a 'failure' when things do not go according to 'a plan', as within the unexpected, the little treasures may be hidden.

On the other hand, the discussion concerning city making should perhaps focus less on the issue of responsibility and more address the inherent process and motivation to shape identity - at any level. Through this shift of tone, it may be experienced as less imposing and more stimulating for authentic implementations of urban identities – 'from within'. When recognizing the creating of a 'home' and the expression of the 'space of the self' as a means of shaping identity on all levels, either directly or indirectly, we can see how even frictions or confrontations (e.g. with neighbours, or 'strangers') bear the potential to, in a positive way, give shape to the authentic image of the city.

Although, within the context of discontinuity and a 'crisis of belonging', we have seen that there is in fact hidden potential in the contradictions that define our city and our 'home'. In a spatial sense, this may mean that we can build the city using the qualities and opportunities of permeability (instead of harsh borders), as the comfortable sense of safety and familiarity relies perhaps even more within the appreciation of a 'human scale' (Dalsgaard, 2013).

Both in the sense of time, space and change, we need to focus on the investigation of 'inbetweens'. Not approaching them as vacuums but as something with the right to exist, or even as specifically that which gives everything else the right to exist. This investigation should address (and combine) both theoretical research (science) and professional urban practice and governing. However, at a theoretical level specifically, it would be worthwhile to further develop and build on the relational understanding of the city, as such exploring and developing methods for empirical observation -and *experiment*- and finding means to detect, observe and interpret clues and starting points for change and local city making 'from within'. Opening up the scope to identify, value and recognize signals and indicators that may seem insignificant at first glance, but that do evoke change through their place in the (urban) assemblage.

In this way, the reconnaissance of the 'inbetween' should give space to processes, actors and activities that are already (latently) present in the city and that may be catalysts within a transition towards city making 'from within'. In turn, this transition may encompass a (spatial) emancipation of the urban actor – and dweller.

For these ports I could not draw a route on the map or set a date for the landing. At times all I need is a brief glimpse, an opening in the midst of an incongruous landscape, a glint of lights in the fog, the dialogue of two passer-by's meeting in the crowd, and I think that, setting out from there, I will put together, piece by piece, the perfect city, made of fragments mixed with the rest, of instants separated by intervals, of signals one sends out, not knowing who receives them. If I tell you that the city toward which my journey tends is discontinuous in space and time, now scattered, now more condensed, you must not believe the search for it can stop. Perhaps while we speak, it is rising

(...)

(Calvino, 1974, p. 164)

5.2 CHALLENGING COMPLEXITY

Reflection

In his 'memos for the next millennium' Italo Calvino (1991) -who masters the art of literately 'writing the city' in its diversity of layers as no other- reflects on the quality of multiplicity in literature. He speaks about the challenges when trying to unravel a story from the inextricable complexity or tangle, when seeing the world as a "'system of systems', in which each particular system defines the other and is being defined by the other" (my translation, p. 111). One of the main risks is, obviously, to get lost within the details, layers and nuances and to digress endlessly in embracing 'every little element as the centre of a network of relations that in the end embraces the whole universe'. It will not come as surprise, that within this research I encountered similar challenges.

It has not always been an easy task to make a clear selection from the variety of data, that were relatively extensive in its diversity, but at the same time limited (in amount) because of my individual scope and the limited timeframe of a master thesis. However, most of the data (especially the interviews, time lapse and z-schlüssel tour) were quite rich on information. Although this has helped a great deal in forming ideas and filtering conclusions on the subject, the limitations of the size and time of a master thesis restricted to fully reflect the outcomes of this data. From some point of view, this may have not always have been the most efficient way, as it may seem out of proportions with the amount of time it took to collect and process it. However, as can be read in the recommendations paragraph, I would still plead for a similar way of working – or at least experimenting with it, because of the 'surprising potential'.

Although, I may not have been able to depict, use and reflect on all of the leads and information that *could* have been included in the research, it has still guided me ('relationally') through this research. Seeing the city, or society, as an assemblage accounts a '3D-way of thinking' in which a multiplicity of routes can – or cannot – be chosen, as on a map. Even though I think that this way of thinking and researching is rather suitable for a human geographer or urbanist, it is not the easiest way to come to a story with a head and a tail - that can be read from A to Z.

Nevertheless, I hope that some of the underlying layers and untold stories may shine slightly through the selection and the line of thought that I have chosen for in this master thesis. The rest of it, is now there, in stock, and may still serve a different goal yet (e.g. the research of PNIG, my internship context) or further work of myself -because the journey does not stop here.



Figure 21 .
Alternative uses:
outside of the beaten path

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Interview protocols

- 1a Entrepreneurs
- 1b Residents
- 1c Mapping tool
- 1d Example of maps interviewees

Appendix 2 Photo gallery: selection of fieldwork pictures

- 2a Impressions of research locations
- 2b The Dadlerpark
- 2c (Entrepreneurs in) the Reindorfgasse
- 2d The Schwendermarkt
- 2e Appropriations of the public space – Urban guerrilla gardens
- 2f Personalizing home entrances, inbetween private - public

Appendix 3 Time lapse

(one day example)

Appendix 4 Example of observation notes

Appendix 5 List of codes and families

List of most occurring codes

Appendix 1a. Interview protocols: entrepreneurs

Technical

Date: Interview location:
Business: Street of location:
Function: Name:
Age: Man/Woman:
Profession/education: Nationality:
Contact information (phone, email, how do we know each other):

Do you mind if I record this conversation and/or take a picture of your business?

(Social) function in neighbourhood

- 1) What kind of business do you have? Can you describe it?
 - How long do you have it?
 - Why did you locate your business here? Were you located somewhere else before?
 - Who is your audience/target group?
- 2) How do you relate to the neighbourhood? What role do you see for yourself in the neighbourhood?
 - Who visits your business? What for?
 - How do local people relate to you and your business?
 - How important are local people to you and your business?
 - Can you draw in the map which area you consider relevant for you?

Value of public space

- 3) How important is public space in the neighbourhood for you (your business)?
 - Which public spaces in particular? Why? ((How) do you use them?)
 - What did you do to appropriate the public space for your needs?
 - How do you make your business visible in the public space? Or express your professional identity?
 - How do (local) people respond to that?
- 4) What do you think about the public space in your neighbourhood? How would you qualify it?
 - What qualities of public space do you think are important? Why?
 - Do you think public space is important for the neighbourhood?
 - What is to you the difference between public and private spaces?

Change in the neighbourhood (development/gentrification)

- 5) Have you observed any change in the neighbourhood ? (public space, people, shops, buildings, prices, other)
 - Since when? Can you describe this change?
 - If yes, what does this change mean for you (and your business)? How do you relate to this change, what do you think of it?
 - Do you expect any change in the near future?
 - Would you feel different about running a business in your neighbourhood if the public space would change (positively or negatively)?
 - What would you *want* to change about the neighbourhood? Why?
- 6) Did you ever think about moving? Why? Where would you move?
 - What would it mean for your business if the public space in your neighbourhood would change (positively or negatively)?

End

Do you have any further questions to me?
Can I approach you later if I have any further question?
Do you know anybody else who would be interested to participate in an interview? Or do you know where to find them?

Thank you.

Appendix 1b. Interview protocols: residents

Technical

Date: Interview location:
Name: Age:
Man/Woman: Profession/education:
Nationality:
Contact information (phone, email, how do we know each other):

Do you mind if I record this conversation?

Map home

- 1) Could you draw your home (area)? (Where is it, how big, how is it bordered?)
Do you feel at home where you live? Why (not)?
What did you do to feel at home in your house? (Did you make any changes to the place?)
Is there a spatial border to where you feel at home?
What do you consider as part of your home?
How is your relation with your neighbours?

Place-attachment neighbourhood

- 2) How is your relation to the neighbourhood? Do you feel at home in your neighbourhood? Why (not)?
Which part of the 15th do you live? Can you describe it?
How long have you lived here?
What did you do to feel at home in your neighbourhood?

- 3) Could you draw *your* neighbourhood in this map of the 15th (see attachment)?
(Which area is relevant to you, where do you live, how do you use it, favourite places, no-go places, routes)
Do you have any favourite place(s) in the neighbourhood? If yes, which place(s)? Can you describe it/them?
Why is this your favourite place?
Would you consider these places as part of your home? Do you feel as comfortable here? What would be the parallel/difference?

Which (other) public spaces do you use in your neighbourhood? (Parks, streets, squares, playgrounds, terraces)?

How do you use these public space in your neighbourhood?

Do you feel welcome in all public spaces in your neighbourhood? Which yes/no?

Do you have any no-go places in your neighbourhood? Why?

Did you ever appropriate or make any changes in the public space in your neighbourhood?

4) Do you feel there is a difference between public and private spaces? Or: What is to you the difference between public and private spaces? Can you describe this difference?

How important is public space to you? Why?

Do you think public space is important for the neighbourhood?

What do you think about the public space in your neighbourhood? How would you qualify them?

What qualities of public space do you think are important? Why?

- 5) Would you mind to live in another neighbourhood? (Or leave the 15th?) Why?
Have you ever thought about moving? (Within the district or outside of it?)
What would you want to change about your neighbourhood?

- 6) Who do you meet in the public space?
How do you relate to these people?
How do other people use the public spaces in your neighbourhood?

Change in the neighbourhood (development/gentrification)

7) Have you observed any change in the neighbourhood since you have lived here?

(public space, people, shops, buildings, prices, other)

Have you observed any recent change in your neighbourhood? Since when? Can you describe this change?

If yes, how do you relate to this change, what do you think of it?

Do you expect any change in the near future?

Would you feel different about living in your neighbourhood if the public space would change (positively or negatively)?

End

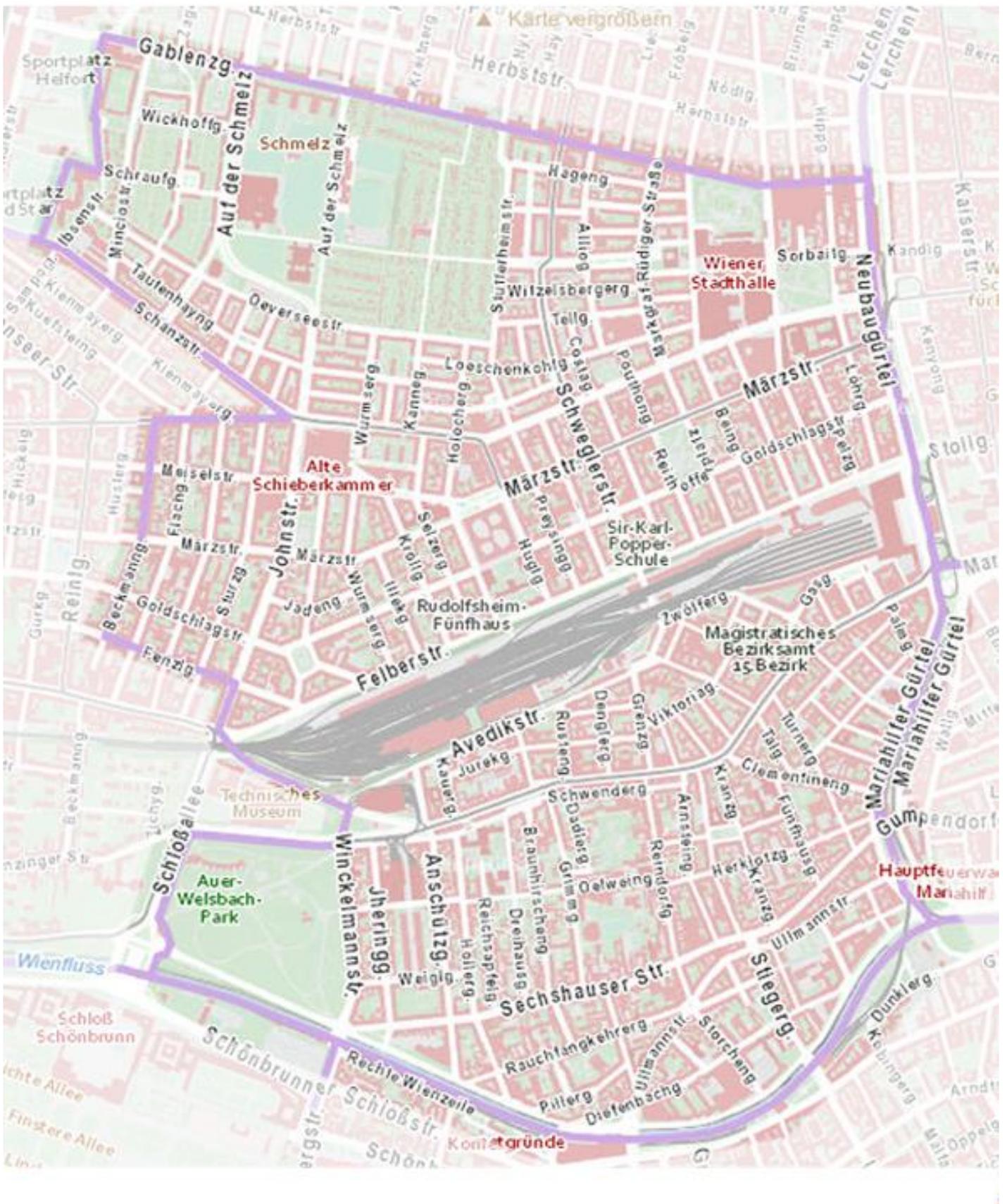
Do you have any further questions to me?

Can I approach you later if I have any further question?

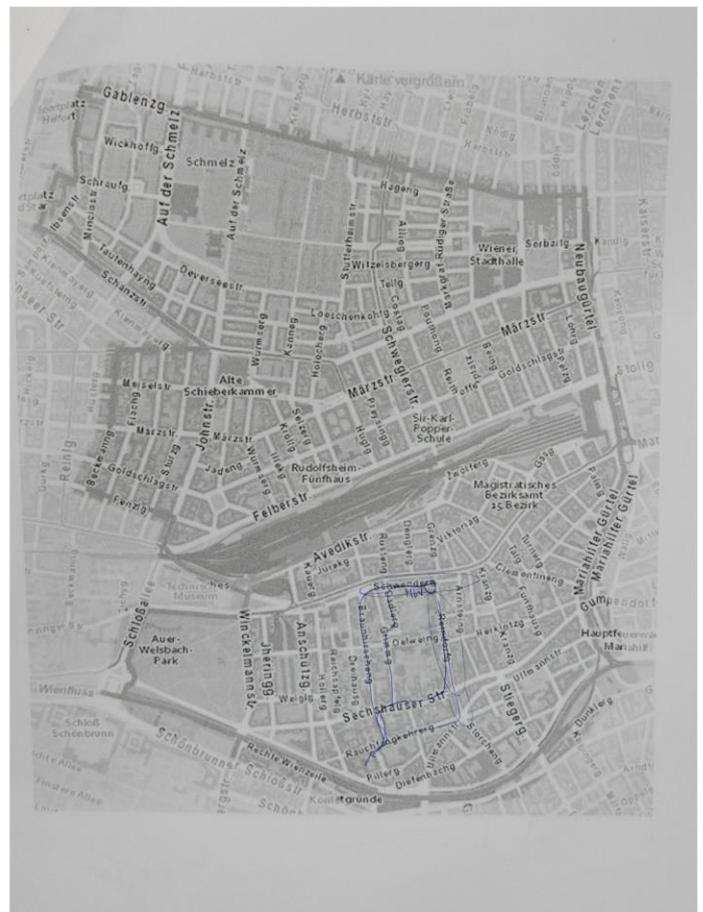
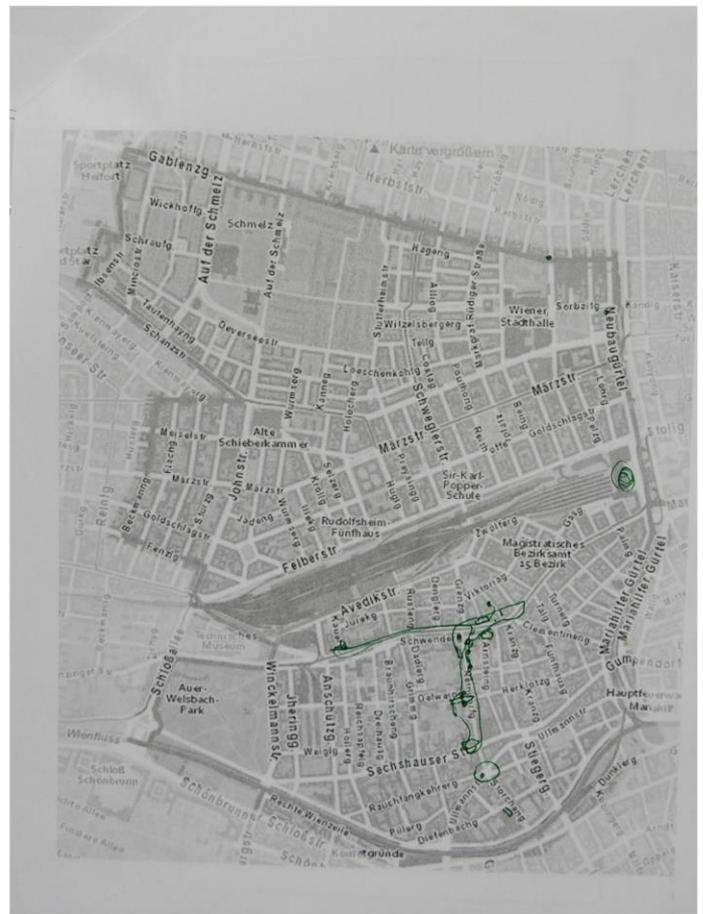
Do you know anybody else who would be interested to participate in an interview? Or do you know where to find them?

Thank you.

Appendix 1c. Interview protocols: Mapping tool



Appendix 1d: Example of maps interviewees



Appendix 2a: Impressions of research locations



An everyday home with 'others' at the Dadlerpark



Reindorfasse, with a view on Block 44 (left)



Open space for intervention at the Schwendermarkt

Appendix 2b: The Dadlerpark



Occupation of space



Social mixing and interaction



Hidden entrance of the Dadlerpark at the back of residential building



Basketball court at Dadlerpark



Playground and hide-away at Dadlerpark



Claiming a personal space in the public



Use of public space



A sense of safety and trust

Appendix 2c: (Entrepreneurs in) the Reindorfasse



Improper walls: using permeability



Improper walls: a cosy space with open door for 'others'



Block 44: coffee corner as connecting space and place



Block 44: dissolving borders of collaborating spaces



Block 44: mixing identities



Block 44: assemblage of open-closed / public-private spaces



The traditional Cafe Plauscherl: "people see this as their living room"



Pizza Mafiosi: introvert appearance but "the cheapest pizza in town"

Appendix 2d: The Schwendermarkt



Entrance from direction Reindorfstraße



View on open space and higher situated Mariahilferstraße



Old residual market stands



Terraces at Schwendermarkt (in front of Vietnamese restaurant)



Community engagement and (pop-up) initiatives



Bottom-up appropriations / interventions at the Schwendermarkt



Community home at Schwendermarkt (basement)



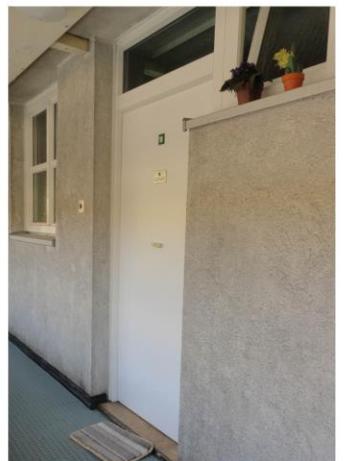
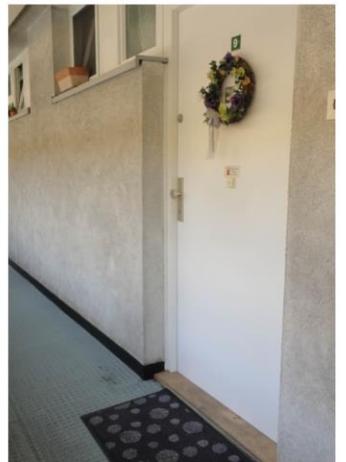
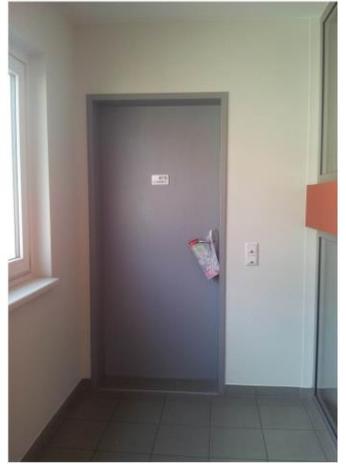
Local entrepreneur at Schwendermarkt (Vietnamese)

Appendix 2e: Appropriations of the public space

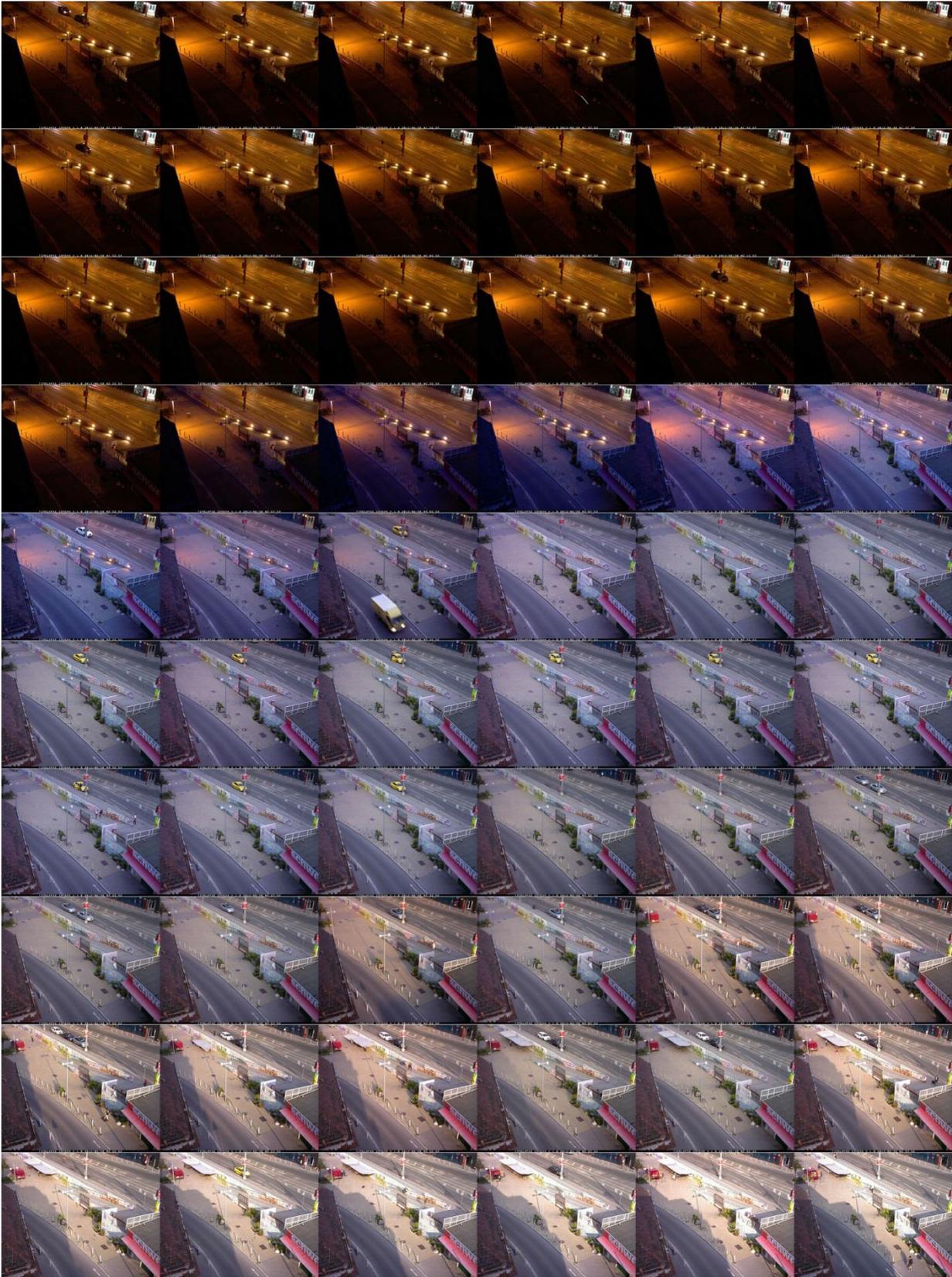
Urban guerilla gardens in the 15th district
(i.a. Schwendermarkt and Reindorfasse)



Appendix 2f: Personalizing home entrances, inbetween private - public



Appendix 3: Time lapse (one day example)









Appendix 4: Example of observation notes

19-07-2014
 meet at bench with family
 passing by, boy, girl, girl
 also cyclist to market
 and girl with step
 duiven
 16:45
 woman with 2 daughters?
 having ice cream at bench
 spelde een beetje en plan
 maken zelf
 meeting spot: boy comes to
 pick up his girlfriend who
 leaves bike at bike stand.
 jogger running by
 city bike stand ←

19:00
 - Aziatische vrouw, (opvallend gekleed) gaat zitten op bankje
 - 3 jongeren (trap)
 vrouw met boodschappen
 vagerij (trap)
 - 2 Aziatische kinderen (meisjes)
 ontmoeten man op het bankje
 lopen samen (naar trap)
 - moeder geklede man
 35-40 procent
 - Aziatisch koppel (trap)
 - moeder met dochter (trap)
 - twee meisjes (trap)

over man with krukken
 sitting on a bench with dog
 older woman walking by
 crossing place with stick
 using stairs
 women with groceries
 coming by (using stairs)
 elderly (Asian?) woman
 walking by (crossing with stairs)
 - Donkere man met twee kinderen (trap)
 - vrouw met boodschappen (trap)
 - vrouw met krukken
 persistent plan

- vrouw met oostervogels (trap)
 - 2 meisjes?
 Arabisch
 - vrouw met oudere vrouw (moeder) in rolstoel
 - jonge vrouw (trap)
 - stel mid. leeftijd met bagage
 - 2 mannen (mid. leeftijd) (trap)
 - jonge man (trap) (Carabisch?)
 - 2 jonge meisjes / vrouwen (trap)
 - gekleurde vrouw present
 (loopt met over het plein)
 - vrouw met hond + 2 jonge vrouwen (trap)

- Jong hip koppel
 - man met boodschappen
 present bovenlang
 - moeder met dochter kan
 + dochter (?)
 - Oudere man (trap)
 - Jonge man (trap)
 - Jonge vrouw (bellend)
 - Jonge man droept
 - Jonge man verlaat
 City bike trap
 plein weer via trap
 - Jonge vrouw (trap)
 - Jonge man (ingezant)
 - Jonge man (City bike op)

- vrouw met hondje + 2 jonge meiden komt terug (trap)
 bloemen gekocht - vrouw met hond stopt bij urbgang
 (loopt in tuin)

- jongeren (trap)
 - vrouw (trap)
 - oudere vrouw met boodschappen kan
 - Turkische vrouw met boodsch. tas (trap)
 - man, mid. leeftijd
 - jonge man
 - vrouw (trap)
 - Aziatische vr. present
 bovenlang
 - groep 5 jonge meiden
 bovenlang
 - Aziatische man (trap)
 - man (bovenlang)
 - oma, moeder, dochter
 - jongen (ca 12) sp. step
 bovenlang

17:15

Appendix 5a List of codes and families

families	codes	Residents				Entrepreneurs				
		Babsi	Tobias	Lisa	Timothy	Metaware	Gallery Improper Walls	Fresch	Block 44	Urban Tools
home	home, construction of			2						
	comfort	1	1	1					3	
	connection to place					1				
	criteria/qualities of home				1					
	creating home			1						
	creating place attachment							1		
	description of home	1								
	dual sides of home	1								
	dwelling								1	1
	escape of home					1				
	familiarity	4	12	1		2		3	2	2
	extension of home		1							
	function of home							1		
	a home outside of home			1						
	home			2						1
	home activity	3	19			1			1	1
	home area	1	7	1						
	home conditions		1							
	home 'dream' wishes		1							
	home environment					2				
	home experience							1		
	home facilities			1						
	home feeling	3	11	3	3			4		6
	home feeling in city			1						
	home feeling in neighborhood					1				
	home feeling in public space							1		
	home feeling in relation to neighbors and freedom		1							
	home feeling in shop/commercial space					1				
	home ideal			1						
	home in city	1								
	home in public space			1	2	2				
	home objects		1							
	home pattern adaptations	1								
	home proximity					1				
	home quality							1		
	home space/extensions		2							
	home trajectory		1							
	home vs public space					2				1
	home vs shop					1				
	home vs work			1				2		
	home/work combination									1
	homeless	1								
	home-office	1								
	freedom		2	3		5				
	identity	1	3	1		3		1	1	2
	intimacy		2							
	family situation		1							
	material home		1							
	mobility of home feeling	1								
	park as home extension		1							
predictability		1			1					
role of home environment							1			
safety	5	4		3	3		2			
shop as home					1				1	
unbounded home	1									
travelling home	1									
validation of home	1	1								
validation of home area	2									
validation of house	2									
validation of living conditions		1								
welcomeness									2	
place attachment			2	1			2	2	1	
placemaking		1								
belonging	anonymity	1						1	1	
	belonging	1	12	3	5	4	1	3	1	
	connection to locals								1	
	connection to neighborhood		2		2	3	1		4	
	connection to neighbors	1	3					1	6	
	connection to other districts		1							
	connection to other neighborhoods	2	1							
	connection to professional field							1		
	cultural clusters				1					
	cultural groups							1		
	cultural/social group								1	
	friends		1							
	friends & family	2								
	family history				1					
	family relation				1					
	loneliness	1								
	social groups	1	12	1				5	1	
	spatial belonging		1							
	strangeness	1	4					1	1	
	tolerance								2	
	social mixing	2	6	1	1			1	4	
	parallel worlds		1							
	community			2	2	2		1		
	community and public space					1				
	community building							1	1	
	community engagement								1	
	community garden/allotment gardens		2							
	community/neighbourhood engagement		1							
embeddedness										
migrants community					3			1		
minorities								1		
social network	3	8	3		3		1	1		
social network in neighborhood	1						1	4		
social network proximity	1									
establishing network										
building social network					1					
local network								3		
network							3	2		
engagement	contribution to neighborhood							1		
	cooperation community							1		
	cooperation vs competition							1		
	direct vs indirect results								1	
	do-it-yourself					3		1		
	activism/community initiative					1				
	activist					1				
	engaged in subject		1							
	engagement		1			5		1	3	
	idealism							2		
	initiative							1		
	investing/engagement		1							
	key figure					1		2	1	
	local engagement								1	
	local initiative								1	
	social engagement		2							
	urban gardening					2				

families	codes	Residents				Entrepreneurs				
		Babsi	Tobias	Lisa	Timothy	Metaware	Gallery Improper Walls	Fresch	Block 44	Urban Tools
	urban knitting window replacing activism in public space regelruimte participation participation in public space passive engagement control			1	1	1 1		1		2 1
dynamics	durability duration of stay dynamic frequency mobility liveliness buzz pop-up program program in public space room for experiment routes routine speed spontaneity spontaneous activity temporality temporary appropriation time aspect surprise trajectories event experiment lack of program entertainment				1					1 2
interaction	exchange exclusion interaction inviting language communication meeting local meeting place meeting place social encounter social interaction space of interaction spontaneous encounter in public space social activity trigger for interaction social media	1	5 6				6 1	2	4	2 1
change	change change, appreciation of change, bottom-up change in 15th change in public space change of image change of regulations definition of gentrification development expectation for future expected change gentrification goal governing public space improvement improvising indicators indicators of change momentum motivation movements moving in process moving plans pattern of change pioneer identity pioneers places of change potential of change process of change reluctance to change renewal renovation snowball effect transformation transit/passage space unplanned urban development	3	7	12	4	1 1		9	12	18 5
awareness	awareness awareness of gentrification									1 2
collaboration	collaboration									2
adaptation / appropriation of space	collective space adaptation of public space adaptation of space adopting public space appropriation of place/house appropriation of public space appropriation of space appropriation to public space (appropriation through) claiming space building own environment effect of appropriation guerilla gardening non-material appropriation occupation of public space space claiming spatial setup/adaptation of place		1		1		4	2	3	4 2
interplay of publ.s / priv.s. / comm.s.	future of junction of commercial/public/private space interaction public/private/commercial layers of 'space' mixture public/private mixture public/private/commercial commercial space vs public space private outdoor shop - home shop as public space space of representation social space space of linger	1						1		1

families	codes	Residents				Entrepreneurs					
		Babsi	Tobias	Lisa	Timothy	Metaware	Gallery Improper Walls	Fresch	Block 44	Urban Tools	
commercial space	use of public space	3	3	6	4	7		2	3	4	1
	validation of neighborhood	2	2		1						
	validation of public space	6	1		2	4			1		
	validation of urban qualities				1						
	value of public space				1						
	work in public space				1						
	working in public space				1						
	commercial							1			
	commercial as a means to connect to public space								1		
	commercial home space			2							
	commercial risk										1
	commercial situation										1
	commercial space as meeting place	1									
	commercial space vs home				1						1
	commercial spaces	4	5			1					
	commercial vs ideal					1					
	commercial vs public							1	1		
	consumption				2						
	public space, conditions of					1					
	public space, confrontation in					1					
	public space/art connection							1			
	public space, connection through					1					
	public space, connection to							1	4		1
	conversation in public space			1							
	contribution to public space					2					
	garden (in private outdoor) vs public space							1			
	gathering place			1							
	criteria for public space					1					
	definition of public space				3	1			1		
	disruptive				1						
	disruptive space										2
	disruptive surprise						1				
	distinction public space of transit vs stay			1							
	embodiment of public space			1							
	empty space	1									
	exclusion in public space	1	1								
	cycling			5							
	facilities of public space	3	1		1						
	exploration of public space					1					
	expression in public space					1					
feeling of safety in public space	1										
function of public space	1	1			1						
inclusion in public space	1										
interaction in public space			2		1					1	
limitations in public space			2				1				
maintenance of public space					1						
management of public space										1	
meaning of public space			1							2	
meaning to neighborhood										1	
music in public space			1								
private vs commercial										1	
people in public space	1										
physical/spatial structure of public space										1	
performativity										1	
private										1	
personal/physical appearance			2								
personality			1								
public life				1							
public place/space of home			1								
public space	2	10	4	2	1		1		2		
public space & politics			1								
public space activism					1						
public space activity	5	2	1	6	5		2	1	1		
public space adoption					2						
public space as entry/tool/instrument										1	
public space as freedom					1						
public space as home			1	1							
public space as inspiration for work								1			
public space as meeting place	2				1		2		1	2	
public space as space of interaction								1		1	
public space as space of spontaneity/improvisation										3	
public space engagement					1						
public space event				1	1						
public space furniture	2										
public space in 15th	1	2									
public space in connection to home							1				
public space potential										1	
public space relations to neighbors/neighborhood					1						
public space vision/wish											
public space vs home								1			
public vs private	1	3	2	1	2			1	3	3	
public vs private activity					1						
public vs private space	1	1			1						
public/private/commercial		3	1		2		1		1		
qualities of public space				2						1	
reasons to go in public space			1		1						
relation public - private				1							
relation to public space					1		3	1			
size of public space	1										
representativity										1	
borders	border public space - commercial space				2					1	
	border public/private					3		3	5	3	
	border public/private/commercial								2	1	
	borders	1	2	1	3					11	
	borders of home			1	1					1	
	connection home/work										
	connection public-private-commercial									1	
	public - private confusion									1	
	work/home	1			1				1		
	zoning public - private									1	
	working & living				1	1					
	working at home/public space	1									
	diffuse borders									1	
	entrance									1	
	fluency of borders									1	
	spatial border			2							
	subjectivity of borders					2					
un'written' borders of public/private					1						
virtual border									1		
windows as public space					1						
window					1		2				
accessibility	accessibility		2	1						2	
	accessibility of public space		1								
	accessibility of public space facilities	1									
Neighbourhood	15th	3	3	3					1		
	qualities of neighborhood								1		
	relation to neighbourhood	1	2	8	2			5	11	4	
	relation to neighbours	3	4	3	1	8		5	6	8	

families	codes	Residents				Entrepreneurs				
		Babsi	Tobias	Lisa	Timothy	Metaware	Gallery Improper Walls	Fresch	Block 44	Urban Tools
demographics	relation neighborhood identity to shop identity							1		
	role in neighbourhood							1		1
	right to public space					1				
	role in public space					1				
	role of neighborhood							1		
	role of public space		2	1		3		1		
	neighbourhood as resource					1				
	neighbourhood challenges								1	
	neighbourhood characteristics			1						
	neighbourhood dynamics								1	
	neighbourhood engagement				1			1	1	2
	neighbourhood function								1	
	neighbourhood identity							3	2	6
	neighbourhood image							1		2
	neighbourhood initiative							1		
	neighbourhood morale									1
	neighbourhood renewal				1					1
	neighbourhood response								5	
	neighbours			3			1			
	comparing to other areas								1	
	comparing to other districts						1			
	comparing to other neighbourhood			1						
	diverse population			1						
	diversity			1	3	1			2	7
	diversity								3	3
	locality	local								
	locality	local actors								1
locality	local bakery					6				
locality	local business	1			2			3		
research locations	Block 44				1					
research locations	Dadlerpark				2					
research locations	description of drawing							3		
research locations	Reindorf-gasse				3					
research locations	Reindorf-gassefest					1			1	
research locations	Schwendenmarkt				1	2		2	1	
research locations	Urban Tools				1					
(creative) entrepreneurs	concept store								1	
(creative) entrepreneurs	creative entrepreneurs			1		3	3	2	5	
(creative) entrepreneurs	creativity								1	
(creative) entrepreneurs	description of business								1	
(creative) entrepreneurs	description of shop					1			1	
(creative) entrepreneurs	designer's statement							1	1	
(creative) entrepreneurs	entrepreneurs					1				
(creative) entrepreneurs	entrepreneurs in 15th					2				
(creative) entrepreneurs	entrepreneurs in public space					1				
(creative) entrepreneurs	customers								2	
(creative) entrepreneurs	bike kitchen		1							
	acceptance			2						
	activity			2					1	
	advantages			1						
	age					1		3	1	
	altbau	1							1	
	anecdotes							1		
	appreciation					2				
	architecture	4			2					
	atmosphere		1							
	Auer Welsbach Park	1			1		1			
	Augustin	1								
	autonomy/identity					1				
	back vs front								1	
	back-up									
	balcony		1							
	bureaucracy					1			1	
	car-free									
	challenges								2	
	characteristics	1								
	city bike station					1				
	clarity					1		1		
	coincidence									
	compensational space							1		
	conditions of weather			1						
	conflict		1		1				1	
	confusion									
	connectedness		1			1			2	
	connection to generations									
	connection to in/out							1		
	construction	1	5							
	criminality	1			1				1	
	culture									
	density	1	1							
	disillusion					1				
	distance	1								
	experience							3		
	exploration of drawing					1				
	exploring		1							
	exploring map					1				
	facilities		3	2		1		2		
	finance		2			1		3	1	
	first impression								1	
	flex working							1		
	food					2				
	formal vs informal								1	
	formalisation/institutionalisation								1	
	former situation								1	
	fragmentation							1	1	
	free space			1						
	frustrations								2	
	function of space							1		
	furniture	1								
	gender		2							
	generation	1							1	
	green	1								
	green public space		1							
	hip			1						
	history				1			1	4	
	image	1		1	1			3	2	
	immigrants		6				1		1	
	inbetween activity									
	inclusion	1								
	increase of income/business								1	
	informality								1	
	infrastructure			1					4	
	integration			2		2				
	legalisation/legal issues		1						1	
	limitations		1					2	1	
	limited space					1			3	
	livability				1					
	living conditions	2	4		1			2	1	

families	codes	Residents				Entrepreneurs				
		Babsi	Tobias	Lisa	Timothy	Metaware	Gallery Improper Walls	Fresch	Block 44	Urban Tools
	local-global									2
	locality							1		2
	location		2			1		1		
	low threshold							2		
	Mahu			1					1	
	maintenance								1	
	map description			5	1			1	3	3
	marketing								1	
	meaning		1							
	memories		1							
	mix				1				1	2
	mix as quality									1
	mixed groups	1								
	mixed population		3							
	multicultural	1			1				1	2
	music		3			1				
	negative response					1				
	new resident			2						
	night to the city, public space as democratic place	1								
	no-go areas	1								
	noise		4		1					
	non-profit					1		4		
	northern part of 15th		1							
	nudity in public		1							
	nuisance				1					
	objects			3	1					
	old vs new		1	1		2		1		1
	online									
	open minded								1	
	openness	2				1		4	4	5
	opportunity		1			1		5		1
	outdoor		1							
	outdoor conditions		1							
	outreach									1
	overregulation									1
	ownership	1		2						1
	paint color	1								1
	park	2	4		5			1		
	passers-by							1		
	people		3							1
	physical outlay of shop								2	
	physical outline								1	
	physical shop vs business								1	
	physical/spatial structure									1
	pictures	2								
	pitfalls/questions/challenges								1	
	places of reference								1	
	politics		1							
	popularity		1							
	population		1							
	positive response					1				
	pre-assumptions		1							
	pre-occupations		1							
	price		4	5		3				2
	prostitution	1			1					
	providing sitting place evoking interaction					1				
	proximity	2	2	3	3	1		1	2	6
	proximity home/work							1		
	proximity of commercial space					1				
	publicity									2
	quality of city				1					
	quality of life				1					
	questions of scale							1		
	quietness	1	2							
	reasons to move	2	6	1	2	1		1	3	7
	reasons to move away		1							
	reasons to move to 15th					1		3	2	
	reasons to stay	1		1						
	regulations			4		2		1	1	2
	reinventing existing structure/program									2
	relation business - private life								1	1
	relation home/work							1		
	relation space - experience								1	
	relation space to identity								1	
	relation to landlord				2			2		1
	relation to other districts							1		3
	relation to spatial environment				1					
	relation to time aspects			1						
	relation work/public space							2		
	relationship to home								1	
	reliability	1								
	rent		1	2		2		1	2	1
	residency vs entrepreneurship					1				
	resident		1			1				
	residents take over					1				
	response								1	1
	responsibility	1				1				
	restrictions									1
	rhythms		4			1			1	1
	risks								1	1
	role of bakery	1								
	role of commercial space			2	1					
	roles							1		
	rules and regulations									4
	scale								1	
	Schanigarten							1		
	season		1							
	security	1								
	separation	1	2							
	shared activity		1							
	shared memories		1							
	shared space							1		
	sharing	1	1							1
	shop concept									1
	shop owning increases neighborhood engagement				2	1				
	shops									
	side job					1				
	social atmosphere	2								
	social classes		3							
	social community	1								
	social difference		1							
	social diversity		1	1						
	social place		1							
	social projects			1				3		
	social/cultural interaction								1	
	spare time		1							
	spatial outlay				1			1	1	3
	spatial structure								2	
	start of business									5
	starting situation					1				2
										1

families	codes	Residents				Entrepreneurs				
		Babsi	Tobias	Lisa	Timothy	Metaware	Gallery Improper Walls	Fresch	Block 44	Urban Tools
	stigma				1			2		
	story/connection to space									
	Strassenfest					1		1		
	streets			2						
	students			1						
	support									1
	target group/audience					1				
	threshold							1	4	2
	tradition	1								
	traffic		1							
	train tracks				1					
	transport				2					
	trust	1	1		1	1				2
	unexpected result								1	
	university		1							
	unofficial business								1	
	urban renewal office								1	1
	use of space				7					
	vacancy				1	1		1		2
	validation		2							
	Vienna				3			1		
	view/visibility									
	virtual									1
	virtual vs physical									2
	virtual vs physical space									2
	visibility					2			8	6
	vision									1
	Wassenwelt	1			1					
	why 15th							1		
	working place							1		

List of most occurring codes

15 th District	Neighbourhood engagement
Appropriation of public space	Neighbourhood identity
Belonging	Openness
Border public/private	Park
Borders	Price
Buzz	Proximity
Change	Public space
Commercial spaces	Public space activity
Connection to neighbourhood	Public vs private
Connection to neighbours	Reasons to move
Creative entrepreneurs	Regulations
Diversity	Relation to neighbourhood
Engagement	Relation to neighbours
Events	Routes
Expected change	Safety
Familiarity	Social groups
Freedom	Social interaction
Gentrification	Social mixing
Home activity	Social network
Home feeling	Temporality
Identity	Use of public space
Interaction	Validation of public space
Map description	Visibility
Meeting place	



INBETWEENS OF THE CITY FROM WITHIN

About the experience of home, public space
and transformations in the urban everyday

Isis Boot

March 2016

Masterthesis Human Geography
Specialisation: Urban & Cultural Geography
Nijmegen School of Manangement
Radboud University Nijmegen

Research internship:
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