

From A 'to' B – Where's to?:

Exploring the alternative spaces in-between in an entrepreneurial city

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Is there an alternative? Management after critique

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An initial provocation

...what does it mean to reflect upon a position, a relation, a place related to other places but with no place of its own – a position in-between?

Elizabeth Grosz (2001, p.90)

This paper examines entrepreneurship in terms of a space of organized activity within a city. Jessop (1998) developed the concept of the entrepreneurial city and linked this to the cultural aspects 'as a process through which cities act as entrepreneurs and, as importantly (and perhaps more), talk or narrate their actions in entrepreneurial terms' (Ward, 2003, p.124). Others such as Beyes and Steyaert (2012), Gillen (2009) and Pinder (2001) have taken the 'spatial turn to explore how cities are changing. We explore the 'creative quarter' in the city of Bristol, England; the notion of such a place as a creative quarter is used, not only to depict a different type of city space but to also portray a microcosm of what the city could become – perhaps to conceive as a city inside the city. Bristol as an entrepreneurial city is of where various parties are creating an identity both from past and of future aspirations. Hence, here we include temporal aspects of space to our discussion in order to assist in exploring transformation, or the changing nature, of everyday life in some new way.

Grosz's (2001) quote, as cited above, is offered to provoke a critical discussion of entrepreneurship by exploring the in-between. In considering space, Grosz (2001) does not see it as simply of movements but of transformations – so she argues for openness to questioning identity. Further, she argues the in-between offers a space from thinking solely in terms of binaries and dualisms. We too seek to side step such dualism and dialectics in order to consider entrepreneurship, as in a city and the divisions created in thinking and acting the interactions between work(ing) spaces and those for living. In doing so, there is normally the space for one and the space for the other. We are not solely interested in this separation.

To offer a context to the paper, we sought to examine such notions with practitioners engaged in the Bristol European Green Capital Initiative 2015, specifically by transient group of practitioners and their interactions of moving through the creative quarter. Public narratives of the Bristol Green Capital initiative specifically speak to the act of moving, for instance Bristol 2015 speaks of those in the city preparing for an 'opportunity to take the next step' (<http://www.bristol2015.co.uk>). In the following discussion we discuss our experiences of setting up an intervention in the city by taking a 'spatial turn' and using the methodology of walking – initially based upon work of flânerie. Our intention being to attempt to critically consider both how notions of transition are enacted by practitioners and of the underlying ideologies that underpin such an urban project. In doing so, we focus upon a workshop event 'From A to B, where's "to"?' which the first author facilitated with Carlton Bodkin, a practicing architect. We consider that experimental modes of exploration can play a vital role in the development of critical approaches to entrepreneurship studies. What we sought to examine was this ideal of a city and more to the point how might we critique such a project.

The title makes reference to a Bristolean phrase 'where's to?' seemingly a mixture of meaning between 'where are you going to?' and 'where is that place?'. For our purposes we play with the where's 'to' to question what happens between travel points A 'to' point B especially what happens in the transition places wandering between a departure

point and an arrival point. The 'to' is not only the movement but also the space between departing (from home) and arriving (at work); we argue it is where the everyday occurs. Others have made the connection between space – walking – the everyday. Here, we turn to De Certeau (1988, p.97) who states the 'intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together'. De Certeau links the activity of walking to creating a narrative in that the turns of paths are equivalent to turns of phrases in stories. We suggest that theorizing of in-between spaces which better reflects the everyday spaces is more to the thinking of Lefebvre's (1991) 'other' space in the triad (conceived, perceived, lived), or Soja's (2003) 'third' space where a site is represented, contested and inverted.

As such, the paper contributes to these discussions. It unfolds in four parts as follows: Part 1 opens with the places and space focusing upon a scenario of a workshop held in Paintworks (the place identified by developers as Bristol's first creative quarter). Theorizing of inbetween-ness and loosely related narrative threads of entangledness follow this section. The paper then turns to the approach. We originally thought of the workshop event as a type of walking, as *flânerie*. The act of the *flâneur* offers a view from above and provides insightful ways to reconsider conceptual issues of political positions in terms of where we are located in relation to modernity. In developing a tool to assist in exploring the space, we presented participants with a map created for the event. We deem this an intervention in that *flânerie* is seen as a means of influencing context, seeking to better understand the flows through these situations, i.e., the actions and resistance (and acceptance) to change. We query if such a tool does work in wondering if practitioners can take on the act of *flânerie* to literally try out differing transgressions in differing paths taken by different walkers. Or instead, if this notion of interacting does not entirely serve our purposes and we need to consider other tools to consider not only the potentials but also the drawbacks to such an approach. We also offer materials from the Paintworks website to consider how the space is imagined and how realized by people interacting in it. As such, the second contribution is of the methodological approach considering the difficulty in facilitating *flânerie* (maybe *flâneuring*), as opposed to another type of walking, such as wandering and wayfaring, which we feel addresses the process better. The final part of the paper then discusses the significance of how participants moved around the space and what happens in wandering and pausing at points seen as transitions. It closes at the end point of the walk and offers conversations where participants reflected upon their feelings of experiences evoked from engaging in moving around the space and possibilities of alternative imaginings.

Place and Space

The idea of place and space is drawn upon for how it might help in considering and evaluating multiple ways of imaging and enacting alternatives for transformation. Beyes and Steyaert (2013) find these notions as having long been considered by human geographers and organizational theorists to consider the organization of the city – such as David Harvey's rise of urban entrepreneurship. What theorists such as Lefebvre (2002) and Massey (2005) bring to the argument is space is considered as lived experience. This follows the line of others, such as De Certeau (2011), arguing for the everyday practice of

entrepreneurship, or as Steyaert and Katz (2004, p.190) say is 'seen 'taking place' in the everydayness of our life, in social interactions and in everyday practices'.

To contextualize, the focus is upon Bristol, England to consider practitioners engaging with changed-ness in everyday life. As of February 2015, Bristol holds the European Green Capital Award 2015. Those promoting the initiative attempt to offer Bristol as an ideology of alternative forms of entrepreneurial practices for social change. In September 2014, Paintworks, Bristol served as the place for a 'Big Green Narratives' workshop – part of the Green Capital Initiative's series of events in the run-up to the European Green Capital 2015.

Paintworks is a regenerated space, once a warehouse site, which was abandoned due to the decline of manufacturing; it has been redeveloped as a creative quarter in the city. Paintworks promotes itself on its website (<http://www.paintworksbristol.co.uk/index.php?id=12> -emphasis as on website):

'For all the advantages media growth has provided it is at a cost. Incessant bombardment of celebrity, slick advertising and fashion conscious styling, in a corporate brand dominated world has anaesthetised our senses to real, simple and substantive values.

Those behind Paintworks detect a growing consciousness in Society and see the project as a genuine attempt to regenerate a mixed use district centred primarily on a sense of community and in so doing provide a model for others to build on elsewhere.

Considerable effort has gone into the intimacy of the street scene, the public areas and hub spaces. This is in deliberate contrast to insular "lifestyle" residential accommodation and soulless anonymous business parks. The aim is to show there is *Another Way* to increasing isolation. A place where "lifestyle" living and working is not just marketing hype, but somewhere people do actually want to live, want to work and want to interact with others.

That's the vision.'

As such, even though stating it 'is not just marketing hype', it none-the-less reflects the grand narrative as an economic imperative of urban entrepreneurship (Harvey, 1989) and creating a professional identity of the 'rising class' (Florida, 2003) by combining lifestyle – leisure – work.

Figure 1 represented as 'A' a representation we created of the space of Paintworks for the event).

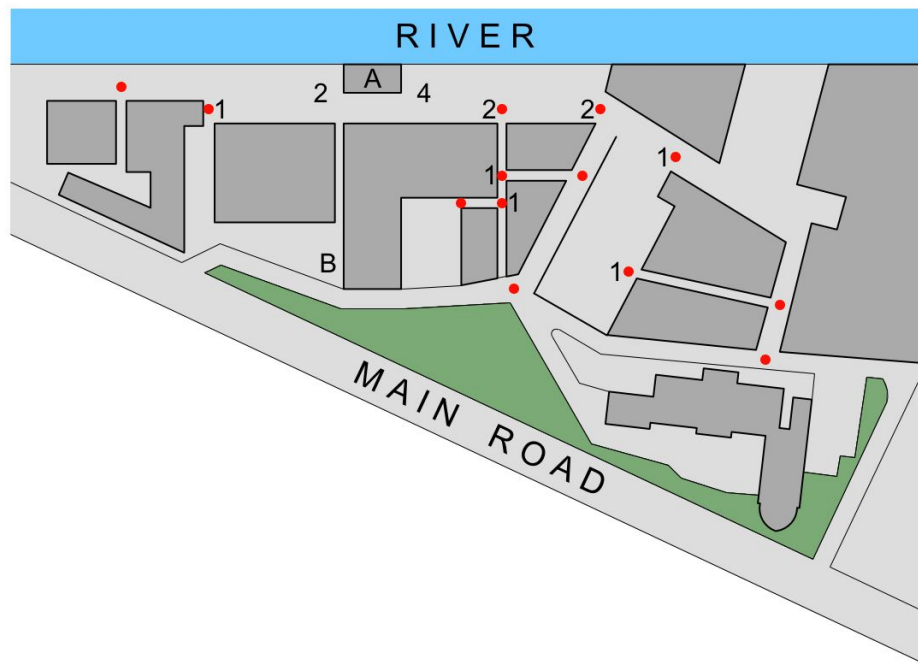


Figure 1: Map of Paintworks

Reading from the top, the river – shown as a solid blue - is a boundary of the site on one side. The darker grey bits are buildings - a combination of work and living spaces. On the other side are barriers as a high wall and the ‘Main Road’ (Bath Road). As outlined above, for our purposes we are especially interested in the spaces in-between. These are depicted in the lighter grey colour, which illustrate open squares and alleyways, steps, roads, places to park and a green grassy area which provides a meeting place beside two airstream caravans which now serve as a café. In part, we are focusing upon the passages as designed in the original site as openings and ways through. Paintworks appears to offer the ‘rights to the city’, in that the out of door space is seemingly public and free to access. It is not just of moving through the space but an argument of inbetween-ness is proposed by way of exploring new ways of imagining and enacting possible alternatives in transformation. We also wonder if these assist to create something of a meaning in movement to offer an in-between (maybe to facilitate an interaction) between the notion of place and the notion of space.

Inbetween-ness and Entanglement

Luz (2006, p.146) identifies ‘the in-between as the “solid ground” of new interpretations’; we rather wonder if instead of stable theoretical foundation, by walking we are hoping to invoke feelings of uncertainty and encouraging discussions of shifts in time and space, in meanings of place and of transitions. In following Hjorth’s (2005, p.395) thoughts of ‘stepping in to the in-between’ of entrepreneurship, we discuss the notion of transition and of the unexpected - Neither one thing nor the other but a third space. By following the same line of

thinking and the metaphor of inbetween-ness to offer an alternative space for transitions, the space of crossing a line, and new interpretations, a space for juxtaposing notions. The juxtaposition is also a key for how actors and organizations 'hold together the bits and pieces out of which they are composed' (Law, 1992, p.5). Beyond work-living, such notions we are interested in are: memory-futurity; continuity-social change; movement-pausing (Lindner and Meissner, 2015). Though rather than focusing upon the entrepreneurial organization or individual, our focus is upon betwixt and between natures of the city. This aligns well with Pinder's (2005, p.385) notion of in-between spaces to 'challenge norms about how urban space is framed and represented, and where they may help to open up other possibilities'.

In seeking 'the Other', we consider an entanglement of ideas and interactions the in-between of relations of Paintworks there is perhaps a contradiction, and whilst they speak of the in-between as where the 'plasma resides', in following ANT theorizing the ontology is perhaps where instead 'the very production of place, size, and scale. Against such a three-dimensional shape, we have to try to keep the social domain completely flat' (Latour, 2005, p. 171, emphasis in original).

The pattern of Ingold's (2007) 'flowing line', Figure 2 re-drawn below, of wandering nicely gives imagery to De Certeau's (2011, p.97) statement that the 'intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together' as seen in Figure 3.



Figure 2: Ingold's flowing line

Figure 2, of the 'flowing line' is further developed by Ingold (2011) to consider a 'meshwork', here returning to Lefebvre's thinking of meshwork, to frame a weave a larger pattern as a 'knot of stories' of a place, or what Massey (2005) neatly termed the 'stories so far'.

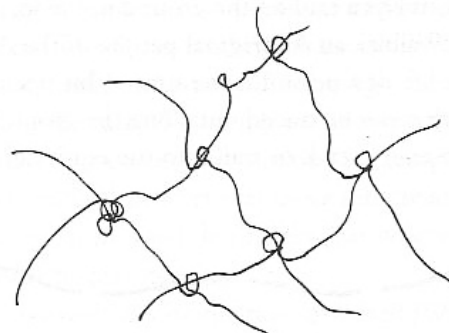


Figure 3: Meshwork of knotted together stories

Ingold (2011, p. 103) argues for entangledness:

For inhabitants, however, the environment does not consist of surroundings of a bounded place but of a zone in which their several pathways are thoroughly entangled. In this zone of entanglement – this meshwork of interwoven lines – there are no insides or outsides, only openings and ways through.

Based on the observation above, it is not just of moving through the space but an argument of entangledness is proposed by way of exploring new ways of imagining and enacting possible alternatives in transformation.

De Certeau (2011) appears to take another view and consider the spaces in-between might be 'articulated by lacunae' (p.107). Massey (2005, p.130) too considered 'the non-meetings-up, the disconnections and the relations not established, the exclusions. All this contributes to the specificity of place'. Thus, a void appears as lapses, 'what is not seen or spoken'. But is this narrative creating an unreal 'abstract space' (Lefebvre, 1991, p.49-50) where:

'[t]he dominant form of space, that of the centres of wealth and power, endeavours to mould the spaces it dominates (i.e. peripheral spaces), and it seeks, often by violent means, to reduce the obstacles and resistance it encounters there'.

Hence, Henri Lefebvre brings in the notions of power and resistance to this metaphor. All of this has been an attempt to show a 'position in-between' and of how we engaged in getting in and out of the study and to move the conversation on from more traditional managerial views of entrepreneurship.

Approach

We are interested in how people's experiences of how they move through and space and whether moving through a place might give new meanings to such mundane activity as walking and their everyday experiences. Hence we are drawn towards Law's (2004) approach to examine language and materials of changedness – both human and non-human (here how people interact in passing through an alternative with work/life as well as the Paintworks website). Beyes and Steyaert (2012, p.54) specifically remind the researcher to be mindful of their own entangledness: 'Enacting geographies of organization implies acknowledging a scholar's irreducible entanglement and his/her own participation in transforming the texture of things, however marginally'.

Theorizing of space and of walking are entwined, for instance, De Certeau's 'walking rhetorics' and Lefebvre's (2002) walking to follow and see what happens – of how people navigate and interact in the place/space. So saying, motion proved problematic. As above, we initially thought the act of the flâneur, as borrowed from literary narratives as a role Benjamin devised to highlight the

rapid rise of industrialism and capitalism, would suit our purposes. Flânerie, the flâneur's movement through the city, is unplanned, unprescribed and of continually exploring the *in-between* spaces of the city. Seen as slightly out of step with ordinary activities, the role of the flâneur and the act of flânerie is said to provide insightful ways to reconsider conceptual issues of political positions in terms of where we are located in relation to modernity. This interaction is also in the historical aspect of wandering around urban environments of popular British psychogeography - such as Will Self, Ian Sinclair and Nick Papadimitriou and of their interest in examining the hidden aspects by layering history in their work of places.

The role of the flâneur, and the act of following their movements, is complex; it is though problematic, for a variety of reasonings:

1) Historically, the flâneur is a male figure where found in early literature studies such as Benjamin's arcades; the female flâneur, where appearing, took on the guise of the male traveler. The practitioners in our walk were not only male gender. What these two roles of the flâneur/flâneuse though hold in common is an urban explorer and observing the movement of the city offering ways of understanding everyday routines and rhythms looking for meanings and traces of power relations. However, we are not here attempting to reinvent the role. To offer a glimpse beyond the scope of this paper but worth being mindful of, more recently the role is that of women in narratives of ideas based upon walking whilst shopping; the act of observing others appears, somewhat ironically, is divided from male gender actors and is sited in shopping malls. Hence somewhat already complicated by issues of gender - the concern is highlighted as such a gender bias is reflected in entrepreneurship theorizing (Jones - find Sally's published paper).

2) In this paper Lefebvre's concept of who walks and who are the decision-makers proved of little use as he conflated these to be inhabitants with the working class. In our study, not all of those who work in the space also live in Paintworks; and as will be discussed, there appears little of a class division between these groups. But more than this, Purcell (2002, p.106) says, 'the agenda that inhabitants (and for our purposes those transient practitioners drawing upon Paintworks as offering an alternative) will pursue cannot be presumed; rather it must be negotiated through a complex politics of scale, identity, and difference, among other struggles'.

Whilst the notion of flânerie can frame not only to the impact of market place and capitalism, but also patterns from these influences, another problematic aspect is an emphasis upon capitalism. People are not simply classified by this but by differing identities and interests (Pinder, 2015).

3) The flâneur is the solitary nature of the role. This role of standing aside is not the same as wandering and being engaged with others. Pink (2012, p.48) argues that it is not solitary observations but those with others which is crucial for 'interpreting how practices shift' and 'comprehending the nature of practice as potentially transformative' that can 'inform an understanding of the potential of creating interventions'. Nor do we think the act of flânerie offers an

empathetic approach, but more a means to stand aside and observe or to influence others to join him/her in transformation from their vantage point.

4) Related to the above point, is that of the vantage point, from 'the view from on high', as opposed to the practitioner's 'street-level' view, being the privilege and power of the individual standing back, or literally in Certeau's work looking down from above to view from a New York skyscraper, as one who sees better, a 'visionary', than others, to make the complexity of the city readable. As Certeau says (1984, p.92-93)

'The practitioners make use of spaces that cannot be seen, then knowledge of them is as blind as that of lover's in each other's arms. The paths that correspond in this intertwining, unrecognized poems in which each body is an element signed by many others, elude legibility. It is as though the practices of organizing a bustling city were characterized by their blindness.'

With this quote, some of the voyeuristic nature of Certeau is shown. He does though bring in the embodied, sensuous nature of walking, but his talk of blindness (by contrast as lacking visual sense) does not sit easily in that it does not lend itself to (admittedly) glimpses of multiple stories from practitioners walking and exploring a space in this small event but which is our feeling is necessitated in better understating urban experiences of changes.




Moreover, attempting to articulate our approach to the spatial turn, or perhaps some type of alternative point of departure for new ways of thinking about change, is simply proving elusive.

Our approach has been an interdisciplinary exercise through working together; we hoped in doing so to offer the other our differing perspectives. Our meetings are characterized as discussions over coffee or beer with exchanges of ideas and scribbles and drawings in notebooks. Sometimes we arrange to go on walks arranged by others to think and interact with what they do. In that way we attempt to offer one another a discussion partner. Prior to the intervention, we met to discuss our ideas of walking whilst ourselves exploring Paintworks. We walked around alleyways, in some instances simply attempting to follow the way markers devised by those managing the space and devised to help others navigate the site, occasionally wondering if we had ventured too close in to someone's private space and at one point getting a little confused and lost and having to turn back on our tracks. Thus, informed by theorizing, our intuition and our experiences of wandering and wayfaring of the site as well as in part Ingold's (2007) posing of these approaches, we developed the event.

We briefly discussed our thinking prior to the walking to a wider group attending the workshop. From this larger workshop, sixteen practitioners took part in our walk. The practitioners were from differing organizations (local government, private business, social enterprises) representing interests and perspectives engaged in the Bristol European Green Capital. A few of them knew one another; others were strangers. Some were representatives of the Bristol Green Capital Partnership; others are better described as practitioners representing organizations, which have secured monies from the Partnership to

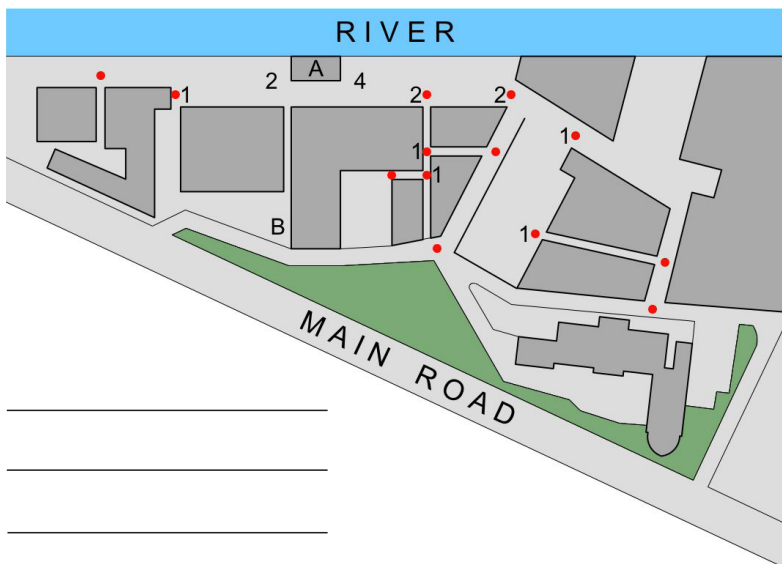
engage in delivering differing projects during the year. Though some said they had previously attended events at Paintworks, when queried none had previously walked round the place. Thus, wandering and wayfaring around offered a fresh view to examine what occurs in an engagement with the microcosm of city to consider what it feels like to experience breaking the divide between work (economic) or of living (leisure).

We began the wander and asked the participants to set off from point A. All were given a map for them to move from point A to B (Figure 4).

practical architects   **A to B**  Bristol Leadership Centre

Spaces in Between

An exercise to explore the difference between the narrative of sustainability as an end goal and the nature of exploration to inform a more meandering approach that allows what is already understood develop into a solution.



Please follow a route of your choosing, but remember you only have 15 minutes. You must then come and find us at B, where we can all discuss what has been discovered.

The red dots indicate a threshold, and depending on how many walkers there are, the numbers indicate how many groups/people may choose that route.

Enjoy your stroll, but PLEASE act responsibly in areas shared with vehicles.

Figure 4: A to B – Space in between

In devising the workshop, we chose not to lead the group ourselves – in fact we chose to absent ourselves from this activity. Our choice appeared to surprise several of them. A few openly commented that they thought a walk had a leader – the role they assumed of us being we would naturally show them what we

thought were places of interest. Our intention was not so much to enact leadership rather than that of the leader but simply for them to navigate the place, but to show how they might engage whilst walking between areas of housing and work places. In doing so, we attempted to get away from some of the methods for exploring space more commonly used, for instance creating a pattern of turns (O'Doherty, 2013) or of listening to an artistic intervention (Pinder, 2001; Beyes and Steyaert, 2013). Rather we sought to give the participants the choice to move as they chose. As such we sought to make connects to the Green Capital initiative by setting up questions of routes and practices of travelling between work and home linked to initiatives under the Green Capital programme of cycling to work to lower emissions – and to challenge what appears the assumption that people live in one place and travel to work in the centre of the city in order to re-imagine new alternatives in Bristol. But more than this was to set the participants off, a little unsure, for them to examine what it felt like to engage in such a space where work and living are not separated.

In designing the map we created a means for prompting them to engage in a stroll about the place, but to also pause along the way at passage points. The numbers and red dots symbolized transition points where had hoped they would explore the entire site setting off as a group of 16 and at turns split in to smaller groups, going off in differing directions and meeting up again at point B. In the presentation to the wider group and again at the beginning of the wander, we described this process. We sought for them to explore the space, not randomly through wandering, but with the intention of pausing at the thresholds and asking them when crossing roads or entering alleyways to note their reflections of entering, being in and leaving these in-between spaces. Thus, we created a space for them to make appropriate notes of their wanderings, rather than setting questions for them to address – rather like a trail seeking and pointing out our interpretations of hidden meanings.

What we did not anticipate though was some wandered the place as groups of 2s, others as groups of 4s, whilst others chose to wander on their own. In all, the numbers were unnecessary and whilst potentially confusing were in this instance, simply ignored. What we hoped would occur was the sense of uncertainty, rather like our experiences, and questioning 'Is it private or public space?', and perhaps of their doubling back upon their chosen paths. We also said they were welcome to stop and talk to others not on the wander. This did occur.

Thus, the notion of wayfaring aligns, perhaps, more with theorizing of flow and movement – what Beyes and Steyaert (2012) highlight of slow motion and rhythms of everyday life, like wandering, as means of exploring everyday life (De Certeau, 2011; Lefebvre, 2004). We also think like Beyes and Steyaert (2012) that the action of slowly wandering and wayfaring, of teasing out and tracing threads of stories, enables the re-thinking of the abstract notions of space and place with practitioners.

Interpretations and Intuitions

The following discussion of wandering and wayfaring is seen to differ significantly from walking, in that rather than simply providing a map to following and setting a destination, the wandering is of movement and thinking and remembering as one moves through a space (Ingold, 2007). What came of this activity we consider more as practitioner's (and our own) intuitions than of findings. We offer interpretations of these practitioner comments and intuitions in two threads: First of participant's notes made during moving about the space and their feelings from engaging in the spaces. Second of how the participants reflected upon their experiences after the wander in a discussion at point B – the bar. By chance, what we realized in devising the wander that point B was indeed a place called B bar (a little instance of serendipity at play).

Moving around the space: From A-to-B

Some made notes on the maps, which to a degree offered a means of capturing glimpses of socio-material links between the physical and emotive aspects. They were brief notes that participants scribbled on the maps during their wandering:

'Can we go down there?'; 'Zebra xing'; 'Ownership of space public vs. private/ should we or should we not be there'; 'Places bring back feelings, same as other messages you see along the way'; 'Crossing the middle – overlooked open space, not being guided, don't know where to go, end up, writing this on a fire assembly point'; 'Gripping stairs'; 'How to get through'; 'Can we get anywhere'; 'What is on the other side of this barrier?'; 'View into courtyard'.

Thus, these notes are more fragments of their feelings in places; some were individual notes on separate maps, others were notes representing the small groups in the walk. For some this appears to reflect where they are not comfortable of not being guided, for others of attempting to get over and beyond barriers.

What they shared in common was those making notes had scribbled in rather choppy way – what came out was juxtapositions: 'Light/dark?'; 'Familiarity/Déjà vu' – I've been here before but don't assume it is the same thing'; 'Big yet small/open yet closed'. As such their notes are in line with Massey (2005, p.159) that such an approach would examine not simply the negotiations of the space but of juxtaposing views as 'with stories "they" (read practitioners) tell of themselves', but, and this is the key, of a way to depart from the more commonly assumed views to find alternative spaces.

What surprised us were the differing aspects experienced during engaging in spaces and transitions in walking between buildings and in to open spaces and of crossing roads. We had not mentioned the notion of juxtaposing in our presentations and that various participants happened upon this seems to matter. Their notes are of shading in walking between light open spaces and darker alleyways and of moving between differing sized spaces and of temporal aspects of the space. Of course, not all participants responded as such and one small

group simply drew a line showing their route from A to B with no words. Not all participants made notes on the maps. Others did they but choose not to share their comments and said they preferred to take their notes away.

Arriving at B: Reflections in the bar

The following is a broken transcript of the conversations, which lasted around an hour - over glasses of beer - directly after the wander at point B [in the bar]. We greeted each participant and gave each a badge, 'You are here' - rather a light-hearted badge of orienteering which participants appeared to enjoy and wore. The conversations around the table were of participant's exploring and listening to one another's thinking from what had just happened. These we jotted down as field notes and present - much as they unfolded within the following three threads of ideas, narratives and images.

➤ Thread 1

Sense of place between past and current re-use of space.

Discussion began with comments of they felt 'more at home in areas that have been altered to form a new use' compared to other new build schemes in the city. One practitioner spoke of the 'shared intimacy in the large open space'; various people said the open spaces were 'comfortable'. Other participants spoke of the place as 'feeling authentic'. This term was used by participants in comparing the notion of re-use of a space to that of a house builder making an estate and the home owners then need to go out to meet your neighbours making it difficult to form a community. Their feeling of 'Paintworks is something bigger' in that it provides a space but also the need to be part of a community. While they are using Florida's (2003) language, these practitioners are doing so but with a very different meaning which we shall consider in the final theme.

The Paintworks website (<http://www.paintworksbristol.co.uk/index.php?id=26>) offers the 'past' 'present' and 'future' aspects of the space; what is noted is the materials they offer concerning 'Paintworks Past' is of the original use of the space in '1850 Phoenix Wharf, as it was known, was a paint and varnish factory built by Bristol Paintmakers'. The developer's imagery of 'before and after' is of development from the vacated, near derelict site (Figures 5 and 6).



Figure 5: Paintworks Before



Figure 6: Paintworks After

As for 'Paintworks Future', that future is of the newly granted planning permission to extend the site.

A link to an earlier version that animates both work and housing spaces as differing zones to rent; thus, underpinning this entrepreneurial space is an ideology of capital (http://www.paintworksbristol.co.uk/phase_one/pages/intro.html). However, whilst they put in motion user interaction to examining the solid building, the differing zones, the in-between spaces appeared as simply where boats moved outside of the space along the river, where seagulls flew overhead and cars moved through (and parked) in the space (http://www.paintworksbristol.co.uk/phase_one/pages/main.html). People do not move through their animated imagery.

This aspect was the focus of the workshop, and participants spoke of the actual process of wandering and feelings of the space in terms of their historical associations from previous uses of the space and of how these helped to creative social interaction. Two participants commented on the past use of the space and their memories; one spoke of it being an old pound for cars and remembering having to come and pay to get their car out. He said the space had some negative associations from past experience. Another, though, said she had good memories of coming to a party here. Thus, talk was of memories rooted in their individual past experiences but not so much of futurity. Nor indeed were these comments of the past industrial sense of the place but of points in their own sense of time. Indeed what arose is the juxtaposition from transforming what the developer's promote is a future 'another' space and more towards how the space related to participants comments were of their own past associations with the space.

Participants described Paintworks as a 'place in transition' with 'new' and 'different uses'. This realized, as in lived aspect, appears to initially reflect the intentions of the designers as of the Paintworks' website of creating 'Another way'. A participant said of Paintworks it was 'not a space but a place'. Thus, in some ways, reflecting the separation of space from place (a site of dwelling). But

in reconsidering the conversation, comments were of Space and Place more as overlying one another; this interpretation differs from theorizing seeing each as distinct – which rather leads to query differing perceptions of the constructs.

A few participants linked this aspect to being ‘reassuringly organic’. One said that the fabric of the building showed the bare bricks reminding them that bricks are clay as is the local soil. One though said the space ‘misses the environment’ as the site was once - and remained - industrial. Here was a glimpse of the historical aesthetic of the memory and spirit of the place. Others commented that in their wander they had sought out a ‘green space’ of grass and lawn near the airstream caravans/café; this being the only green space. This sense of place opened up the conversation to more general comments of walking in nature, which made some feel ‘reassured’. One thread of the conversation was of the potential for ‘vertical farming’ or even gardening in ‘the space of a room’ being these are large warehouse spaces. This was the only comment where an alternative (perhaps future) was spoken. These comments lead to the conversation then moving to discussion of....

- Thread 2
Rights to the city: Movement, Transition points and Way markers.



Figure 7: Paintworks zebra crossing and airstream caravans/café

There was agreed enjoyment commented upon the playful nature of the space. Whilst the alleyways and passages are as of the original architectural design of the place, the Paintworks’ site has been (re)created with aesthetic spaces as playful elements, for instance there are “ZZZ’s” painted to symbolize sleeping policemen. Figure 7 is of the zebra stripes painted for the zebra crossings and in the background the airstream caravans/café also place here to offer a playful notion of a meeting and eating space. These symbols are depicted in the wider Green Capital initiative as Bristol was voted European Green Capital 2015 in part as it is seen as a ‘fun city’. In the words of one practitioner – the organizer of the

Big green narratives event, Darren Hall – who also was active in writing the successful European capital bid ‘If we are not having fun, why would anybody else join in?’.

Upon first viewing, Paintworks appears to create what Hjorth (2005) argues of heterotopias – namely ‘spaces for play’ in the place of work. However, these are not based within the firm but of places for interactions between the various creative organizations and those living in apartments that have been created to co-exist. Those designing the space of Paintworks use differing bright colours, as way markers, to guide others through the space. These spaces for play again differ from that of our approach in that we devised transition points. As such we lean more towards Berglund and Gaddefors (2010, p.142) that the ‘notion of “playing with or within” the structures makes up a nice metaphor for describing the sometimes thin line between reproduction and change’. A couple of participants commented that the wander, particularly our use of ‘transition points’ to stop and consider moving from one space to another differed from how ‘normally find the quickest way’, another reflected that the activity (perhaps event) was different for them as in ‘making time to wander’. Not everyone agreed and one said ‘the destination is important’.

From the above comments written whilst moving thorough the space/place, as the practitioners went on different routes, there were perhaps different feelings of ‘acceptableness’ from their experiences of interacting in the space. Some participants said the private/public was ‘balanced’; others though offered perceptions and questions of ‘privatization’ and of ‘private space’ yet reflected upon the ideas of ownership and of trespassing. In analyzing, this leans towards the theorizing with Lefebvre’s (1996) ‘The right to the city’. Feelings expressed were that by walking around with the maps in their hands encouraged a context which instilled participants with what a few described as a ‘purpose in being there’ and ‘permission’ to walk wherever they wanted. This shows how the map served as more than a tool to navigate the space but to also offer legitimacy to wander the place/space in the eyes of the participants. Another aspect being a few participants contrasted this space to gated communities in the United States and said this space/place was nothing like those. Practitioners spoke of gated communities in American as seeming ‘alien’ and generally comments of these types of spaces were in this group not liked – or perhaps even approved of.

➤ Thread 3
Subversion-ism

Finally, one of the practitioner’s specifically used the term ‘Subversion-ism’ and said this aspect has to be a part of such a space in how people are re-inventing something into new-use and of how the ‘buildings have come together and become something’. This differed from how houses were more generally designed with gardens and positioned back from a street and though ‘well designed but not for everybody’. This led to comments of how creating an environment of control versus freedom.

The alternative story of 'Another way' in Paintworks however does not initially show a means out of the duality of and any notion of resistance. Instead all around are visual signs of alternatives whilst underlying these symbols are the power of established marketing firms and financial power. As one practitioner highlighted, Paintworks is an expensive space, not one where small creative organizations can squat the space freely, nor those with little resources and seeking a space to start-up. Instead prestigious (creative but mainly marketing) firms, Florida's (2003) 'creative professionals', are located here. Another commented that even for those not living/working but using the space for leisure purposes experience a certain exclusivity reflected in the bar selling the most expensive pint of beer outside of expensive bars located in the city along the harbourside. Hence, the space conforms to socio-economically notions of capital (costs of residential rents and office spaces) and even gentrified spaces rather than offering a means of offering an alternative to stepping outside of capitalism.

Considering the three threads

Imagery has proved useful in that the narrative of what is said and that of the visual materials. In analyzing the above threads of the conversations, we noted emotive aspects of space/place, memories, transgressions and subversion-ism. We have explored how some such 'transitions' are enacted at times highlighting the transgressive aspect, and liken these to and fro, back and forth, movements to language and interpretation to complexity. And instead of simply movement, much like Thrift (1997), we are intrigued with the act of pausing in considering resistance – here in developing transition points.

The threads initially appear as a subtle weave of ideas throughout. Theorists speak of seeking ways to change the world, especially when being playful with ideas and considering new possibilities (Beyes and Steyaert, 2012). In initially seeking to pull together the threads, we are working (playing?) with the ideas of utilizing narrative and meaning to consider space rather like O'Doherty et al. (2013, p.213) '... and from one pattern to an, as yet, unknown shape might take place'. So too with Rajchman (2001, p.17 cited by Massey, 2005, p.159), 'What kind of lines of flights of thought take off when we start to depart from ways we have been determined to be towards something other, we are not yet quite sure what...'. This last part is crucial in that in considering it is not so much a walk as wandering and wayfaring, perhaps also a romanticized view, offers the opportunity to also question existing tools and methods and to open up a conversation of the need to look around for alternative ways. This was brought home to us in that the act of flânerie did not fit well with how this piece of research unfolded and of some of the limitations of drawing upon theorizing. For instance, where de Certeau's imagery of the tactics of 'the ruses of fish' is nicely conceived, Pinder (2006, p.401) argues de Certeau's 'strategies of power versus tactical incursions by the weak/lead to among other things a romanticized version of 'resistance'. Pinder also says (ibid, p.403) it 'leaves unexamined and free from critique the processes and outcomes of urban restructuring that are so dramatically transforming cities in the interests of powerful social groups'.

In returning to the introductory quote, Grosz (2001, p.92) found ‘a certain delicious irony’ to think of the metaphor of the in-between:

‘The space in between things is the space in which things are undone, the space to the side and around, which is the space of subversion and fraying, the edges of any identity’s limits. In short, it is the space of the bounding and undoing of the identities which constitute it’.

There are two insights from our empirical study on in-between-ness that we wish to consider here. First, we (re)reconsider Figure 3 of the meshwork; it appears perhaps too regular in depicting the web and weave, the knots connecting the stories and the spaces. De Certeau’s ‘theoretical picture’ of practice highlights fragmented spatial stories and voids (he considered not only the flow but also the boundaries of spaces arising from where a city is physically divided). The flow of movement and the space of void thus appears as lapses, ‘what is not seen or spoken’, which also might align with practitioners’ views of everyday practices. But here lies the problem of these imageries in that we seek to consider multiple voices and imaginings. The overall pattern of Ingold’s meshwork is a material woven together. Yet, the stories of social change are not simply entangled narrative threads. Moreover, some are prioritized emphasizing the need to consider power and resistance. Much like O’Doherty et al. (2013), a key question they raise was what other openings to alternative discourses can emerge. This aspect is though worth standing back from, for a moment, as prompted by a wry comment from Thanem (2011, p.442):

‘Perhaps it was always only a matter of time before an exponentially growing crowd of post-structuralists and Foucauldians would replace the focus on disciplinary control with an emphasis on informal, non-intentional and non-oppositional micro-practices of everyday resistance and misbehaviour’.

To offer a second insight to our approach and the almost overlooked ‘delicious irony’ of attempts to seek an alternative imagery in this research; we did not choose this space for the workshop; instead the organizer of the Big Green Narratives event chose Paintworks. The use of the older (re)developed space helps us to slip in and out of time, the whole matter though of moving between walking and stories and the spatial turn in theorizing still leaves a lot to grapple with in how to get in and out of this approach to research. A further comment being that the organizer had changed locations for the workshops shortly before the event and neglected to inform us. He had not appreciated this factor would have any impact upon the wander. In realizing his change of space/place, we had very little time to re(think) our part and to wander the site ourselves prior to the event in order to get a sense of the place. In part, what we highlight is the need to consider context. In hindsight, though, we agreed this worked better than the first conceived event in the original city centre space. The intervention’s interrogation of this inner city space has initiated possible new spatial meanings that contrast with the repeated, unimaginative linear journeys located in travelling between home and work in the centre of the city. Meanwhile, a pattern we had not initially noticed was of history and creating something anew. This temporal pattern does not appeared captured in theorizing space by wandering

or wayfaring. Hence, in returning to the metaphor of 'inbetween-ness', we wonder of another metaphor than those of meshworks and of weaving a weft and warp that might assist in depicting differing temporal aspects between past and future and multiple perspectives. Arguably, loosely weaving, or perhaps layering, these threads offers alternative perspectives to both historicist voices that allude to restructuring and postmodern decay in the city and to theorizing that highlights the views of those from the margins of society.

Law (2004) highlights both the necessity to look beyond research methods in order to capture 'mess' but also the implications for researchers who might unintentionally create and impose frameworks upon research scenarios. Hence, though care was taken in considering potential strengths and shortcomings, such a shortcoming none-the-less occurred. Instead of 'another way', as an alternative to capitalism, the wanders of practitioners in our research and of how they interacted with Paintworks – Bristol's creative quarter, the space/place turns out to be in a fairly safe space. It has a somewhat hidden notice of a privatization of space. Upon leaving, Carlton and I noted that a small sign on the gate stating it shuts to the general public at 24.00. The imagery and experience of users of the space here is one thing; the actuality being, Paintworks is a gated community and rented at a price to reflect a highly professionalized space. Thus, a reminder that what appears as a 'right to the city' of public space (perhaps an alternative capitalism) is locked up in order to make safe and indeed private the expensive Artist properties and prestigious firms which are located within. Thus in ending, from our analyzing of this conversation with practitioners, we pose that the space perhaps creates an appearance, but not substance, of notions of an alternative. Pinder (2001, p.16) captures this aspect in the metaphor of shadows in one of his walks:

'Yet, while still in their shadows, thoughts turn to other map-makers and tale-tellers with their own stories to relate, with their own narratives and interventions that insinuate different meanings into, or directly contest, dominant scriptings of urban space'.

Here is the final rub; the irony being the Paintworks website states it provides an alternative to isolation in work/living spaces – not capitalism. Hence, we set off to find an alternative with power and subversion and instead found that capitalism remains a dominant scripting of this space.

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