

Transitory urbanism in low-income neighbourhoods: inclusive tool or exclusive island?

Dynamics of appropriation in Wild im West (Vienna) and TLM (Paris)

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Abstract

The last decade witnessed the spread and institutionalisation of transitory urbanism – the temporary occupation of empty spaces feeding the reflection about their long-term uses. After a first enthusiasm, seeing in the practice an alternative tool to create a more inclusive city, scholars however expressed doubts about the desirability of transitory urbanism. Rather than creating accessible spaces outside of the market, the practice might put those back right into its centre, benefitting only to the classes that can afford it and thus reproducing exclusionary dynamics. To contribute to the debate, this thesis explores transitory urbanism in low-income neighbourhoods based on two cases – TLM (Paris) and Wild im West (Vienna). Operationalising the concept of appropriation of space, this thesis investigates through ethnographies and interviews of project managers, visitors, and neighbours who appropriates the projects, how, and why. This provides both a better understanding of transitory urbanism and an innovative way of working with the concept of appropriation of space. The findings indicate that everyone is not equal to appropriate a new transitory project, and that especially lower-income neighbours risk to be excluded. The requirement for (economic, social and cultural) capital can lead transitory projects to work as islands disconnected from their neighbourhood. This thesis however also demonstrates the relevance of pro-active actions to counter those risks, discussing strategies set up by TLM and Wild im West to engage with their neighbours.

Keywords: Transitory urbanism, appropriation of space, low-income neighbourhood, capital.

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1. Introduction

“By occupying empty spaces with uses and activities for a limited amount of time, awaiting or as prefiguration of a long-term project, [transitory urbanism] addresses the challenges of vacancy and quest for affordable space at the same time. [...] [Transitory] urbanism should be developed in Grenoble to become an effective tool supporting the municipal project and driving public policies. [It] has three major objectives. Firstly, it must answer Grenoble's current and future social, environmental and economic challenges. [...] Secondly, it should feed discussions on uses and users of public and private spaces, on neighbourhood needs and on local stakeholder activities. [...] Thirdly, it must revitalise places and social links. [...] [Transitory urbanism] must create spaces for meeting, sharing and solidarity at the heart of neighbourhoods.”¹

Local Ordinance of the City of Grenoble, France (Ville de Grenoble, 2021).

I participated in 2021, during my time at the Grenoble City Hall, to the writing of those lines. As other cities, Grenoble wanted to support transitory urbanism – the temporary occupation of empty spaces feeding the reflection about their long-term uses – a flourishing practice in Europe since the 2010s. The idea is simple: by temporarily placing new activities in empty, abandoned or (understood as) underused spaces, one can answer the major challenges of contemporary cities. Transitory projects can provide affordable space, outside of the traditional real estate market, amongst others for social, environmental and economic activities. They enable a better use of available resources in times of climate crisis, where it seems unbelievable to keep artificializing soils while vacancy is a reality². They allow to experiment, try out infrastructures or activities and get feedback from the citizens. Despite the fact that the projects are short-term, bonds created with and among citizens and their willingness to get involved in the city-making process can remain well after. As many other practitioners, I was admirative of the problem-solving power of transitory urbanism and convinced of its political relevance (ANRU, 2021; Awada, Besnard, et al., 2018; De Smet, 2013).

Recently however, several authors pointed out the possible negative consequences of transitory urbanism (Mould, 2014; Tournaire, 2022). Instead of being a place of social mix, it is visited exclusively by higher-income classes. Instead of being a tool for a more inclusive city, it feeds processes of gentrification and exclusion. Instead of creating spaces outside of the real estate market, it brings them back right into its centre. In times where transitory urbanism is increasingly institutionalised and funded, exploring those critiques is important.

I thus decided to fully dive into the topic with this master's thesis, to see if transitory urbanism is desirable for its surrounding inhabitants. I chose to focus on low-income areas for two reasons. First, the risk of disconnection to the surroundings seems particularly high in areas where the inhabitants have less means, resulting in higher barriers for them to access a transitory project. And second, those same inhabitants would be the ones to be hit head-on

¹ Own translation.

² As a general indication, the vacancy rate in Europe of housing is of 7,77% (in 2020, only EU), and of offices is of 8,1% (in 2022) (Colliers, 2023; European Central Bank, 2020).

if a transitory project participates to attract investors into their neighbourhood and results in a gentrification process. Creating a better understanding of the consequences for them is crucial, as for now mainly the benefits are advertised; shedding light on the interaction between transitory projects in low-income neighbourhoods and their surrounding inhabitants is a first step in this process. To do so, I will analyse two projects, TLM (Paris, 19th arrondissement) and Wild im West (Vienna, 15th Bezirk), trying to understand if they are entrenched in their neighbourhood or work as exclusive islands.

To conduct my exploration, I found great help in the concept of appropriation of space, developed first by Henri Lefebvre (1974) and deepened by Fabrice Ripoll and Vincent Veschambre (2005, 2014). This concept investigates the relationships of people to space in various dimensions, material as non-material. It allows both to compare those relationships in order to unveil inequalities among them, and to understand what fosters a specific appropriation – in my case the appropriation of transitory projects by their neighbours in low-income neighbourhoods.

My purpose is thus double. On the one hand, I intend to provide a better understanding of transitory urbanism and some of its potential consequences, especially its interactions with low-income neighbourhoods. This could help actors to shape projects in ways that are more inclusive and oriented towards the neighbouring population. On the other hand, this research demonstrates the usefulness of using appropriation of space in critical geographies. As a major outcome of this work, I propose an operationalisation of the concept, which can be used to disclose and analyse other cases of appropriation. Furthermore, by applying appropriation of space to concrete examples, I make the concept more sizable and unveil many – certainly not all! – of its facets.

This way, I will investigate the following research question:

What are the dynamics of appropriation of transitory projects in low-income neighbourhoods, exploring the cases of TLM (Paris) and Wild im West (Vienna)?

Studying the dynamics of appropriation in a specific transitory project implies first of all to look at *who* is appropriating the project, and who is not. It is about investigating the socio-economic profile of visitors, comparing it to people from the neighbourhood around the project, observing the interactions between the two groups (or is it the same group?), and laying out inequalities in appropriation between different groups. Second, studying appropriation involves asking *how* the project is appropriated: what form of appropriation can we observe, what relationships to space are present, what processes end up in appropriation, how is appropriation expressed, are there differences from one person or group to another? And third, studying appropriation involves constructing explanatory hypotheses, answering *why* questions: why can we observe this form of appropriation and why is it carried out by this specific group? Answering those three questions will be at the core of my work.

I will start with an overview of the literature about both transitory urbanism and appropriation of space, allowing me to situate myself within the multitude of approaches and definitions. Then, I will introduce the qualitative methodology of this work. In the following two chapters I will expose the forms of appropriation I found in each case separately – answering the questions of *who* appropriates and *how*. Finally, I will discuss jointly the two

cases to understand the potential reasons for the appropriation by neighbourhood inhabitants – answering the question of *why*.

2. Literature review

To handle the trendy practice of transitory urbanism, I will first dive into the debates over its definition and its distinction from close terms, which will provide the basis for my own definition. I will then review the analysis that have been made of transitory urbanism, dividing them into two branches: the enthusiastic one, and the more critical one. Having an insight into both sides will allow me to situate my research from its starting point and indicate the potential directions it can go.

In a third part, I will take a short break with transitory urbanism to focus on the theoretical frame of my analysis: the concept of appropriation of space. As I intend to use that concept as a reading grid for transitory projects, I will here provide definitions and typologies and see how the concept has been applied in research.

Transitory Urbanism

Multiplicity of terms

Transitory, temporary, ephemeral, guerrilla, open-source, tactical, DIY, pop-up, insurgent, everyday life, grassroots, handmade, self-made urbanism, urban hacking, reclaim the street... Pascale Nédélec (2017, p. 105) has observed an inflation of the lexicon describing a new type of urban practices intending to reuse for a short period empty or (considered as) badly used spaces, however without a consensus over the definitions nor delimitations of the terms. For her, this is due to the establishment of these practices as innovative city-making tools on the one hand, and to a still embryonic literature that has not precisely named nor delimited the research object on the other hand.

This can be illustrated by the fuzziness of terms encountered in practice. In Grenoble for example, French municipality that aims to become pioneer in transitory urbanism, the municipal official bears the title of “*Delegate for transitory urbanism*” but passed a strategy named “*tactical urbanism*”, and teams up with the Metropolis which talks about “*temporary occupations*” (Ville de Grenoble, 2020; 2021).

Literature that strongly builds up on practice, fieldwork and ethnography, embraces this variety without settling the debate. Agnes Matoga (2018) concedes at the beginning of her analysis that there are “*definition difficulties*”, and that she will use the terms “*temporary*”, “*interim*” and “*transitory*” as synonyms. This paper can contribute to the debate

by adopting a comprehensive definition of transitory urbanism, that is traceable and handy to work with, and distinguishable from other terms.

Delimitation of transitory urbanism

On the quest for a definition of transitory urbanism, it is important to understand the actual reasons that led to avoid defining and delimiting this object of research so far. Juliette Pinard does not “*stabilise*” a definition because of the fear to be “*too precise or too narrow*”. Indeed, the diversity of projects that intend to fall under the same notion is large; some of them even have only few in common. In the same booklet about transitory projects, the Institute for Planning and Urbanism of the Ile-de-France Region presents a two-year occupation of a private building’s ground floor with working spaces in Paris, as well as a four-year associative gardening project in Stains (93, France) on public wasteland (Awada et al., 2017, p. 16). Despite their difference, both are components of transitory urbanism of equal importance. As I want my research to be grounded in reality, this acknowledgment is important: transitory urbanism has to encompass a huge diversity of projects.

How to delimit that diversity? The broader the delimitation is, the less precise becomes the term, with the risk to be watered down to a point of empty meaning, impossible to use in research. This risk is real, as we see with the spread of other trendy buzzwords in urban studies, as “climate neutrality” or “sharing economy” (Ferrerri & Sanyal, 2018; Hasenknopf, 2021). Oli Mould (2014, p. 537) stresses out that this already starts to happen, with (what I call) transitory urbanism becoming the “*vernacular of empty tactics that is being used more as a political tool*”.

In literature, there are very different delimitations, that can be regrouped into five main categories of definition of transitory urbanism: definition through the project activities, through the limited time intention, through the societal objectives, through the link to the future and through project commonalities.

Based on observations, some scholars have reduced transitory urbanism to a list of activities, with the intention to grasp the major trends of this new practice and contribute to its popularisation. Juliette Pinard (2021, p. 11) names the following activities as composing transitory urbanism: “*artistic and cultural, low-cost working spaces (shops, coworking, fab labs), commercial activities, emergency shelter or urban agriculture actions*”.

Agnes Matoga restricts transitory urbanism not to specific activities “*because they can be very different*”, but more broadly to “*cultural or creative uses*” (Matoga, 2018, p. 16). In addition to that, she relativises the time limited aspect of transitory urbanism, quoting Németh and Langhorst (2014): “*But what does it mean for a use to be temporary, especially since all uses can be considered temporary, with some just lasting longer than others (i.e., a 99-year leasehold is still “temporary” in the long run)?*”. Here, Bishop and Williams (2012, p. 5) offer a solution that can help overcome the deadlock. Their definition is not based “*on the nature of the use, or whether rent is paid, or whether a use is formal or informal, or even on the scale, endurance or longevity of a temporary use, but rather the intention of the user, developer or planner that the use should be temporary.*” It is here the agreement from the very beginning between actors that the use will have an end – even far away – that makes the use a transitory one.

Other scholars have insisted on the objectives of the projects. Without making it part of the definition, Taïka Baillargeon and Jérémy Diaz (2020, p. 30) notice a trend in transitory urbanism to become a “*vehicle for creative, circular and social economy*”. The Institute for

Planning and Urbanism of the Ile-de-France region goes further and integrates this political goal into the definition of transitory urbanism: it *“participates to the great transitions: energetic, ecologic and economic”* (Awada, Diguët, et al., 2018, p. 4). Transitory urbanism is more than single projects but is part of a global response to the challenges that our society is facing (climate, environmental, social, economic crisis). Transitory urbanism cannot be detached from its progressive and left-leaning ideology. Here exists a separation to temporary urbanism, that is less *“conscious”* about its environment (Baillargeon & Diaz, 2020).

Another approach, increasingly used in the last years, defines transitory urbanism as the *“temporal buffer between two states of being”* (Madanipour, 2017, p. 799; Awada et al., 2017; Baillargeon & Diaz, 2020; De Smet, 2013). By focussing on the transition aspect of urban space, transitory urbanism is here less about the project itself than about its relationship to the same place before it appears and after it leaves. For the Ile-de-France Institute for Planning and Urbanism, *“the adjective “transitory” suggests [...] that the initiative is situated in a connected history, and not only a juxtaposition of uses without any link to the future of the territory”*, which would then be temporary urbanism (Awada, Diguët, et al., 2018, p. 4). For the City of Grenoble, transitory urbanism *“infuses”* the long-term development (Ville de Grenoble, 2021). Some authors even agree to say that transitory urbanism has lasting intentions (Baillargeon & Diaz, 2020; Ginez, 2018). It thus seems far from Bishop and Williams’ time limited *“intentions”*, and from temporary urbanism.

Finally, a last category of definitions does not focus on narrowing down transitory urbanism to a sentence, but rather on stressing out its common characteristics, by analysing projects (Bruno & Mercenier, 2020) or literature (S. Lefebvre et al., 2020). Lefebvre, Diaz and Adjizian found four *“common denominators”* to transitory projects: *“the relatively limited scale of the place affected, the low-price of the layout and/or of the operation, the relatively short temporality of the project and the citizen dimension in the proposed initiative”* (S. Lefebvre et al., 2020, p. 16). The delimitation seems here at the same time blurry, with the presence of *“dimensions”* and the use of non-quantifiable adjectives, and too narrow to embrace the variety of projects presented previously. It needs a definition that is not open to interpretation.

Definition attempt of transitory urbanism

Setting a definition in a context of multiple *signifiants* (transitory, temporary, etc.) and of an unclear *signifié* (what is the limit of “transitory”?) is not an easy task. I will thus pick up elements from the various categories that I have pointed out previously, especially the ones making a distinction with temporary urbanism.

I define transitory urbanism as the legal reuse of vacant spaces, in built-up or unbuilt areas, through new activities for an agreed limited amount of time, but with the possibility to feed the long-term reflection about planning and activities on the site. With “agreed limited amount of time”, I do not mean that an end date is set beforehand, but simply that the principle – Bishop and Williams’ “intention” (2012) – that there will be an end is set from the beginning. As Julia Tournaire (2022) pointed out, transitory urbanism entails an internal contradiction but also a bridge building power, combining two opposite temporalities: the short-term occupation and the long-term material and non-material heritage.

Pinard (2021) and Tournaire (Tournaire, 2022) notice that there has been a shift in the middle of the 2010s from the term “temporary urbanism” to “transitory urbanism”. For me, transitory urbanism is temporary urbanism with an additional long-term specificity; transitory urbanism is a subcategory of temporary urbanism. The shift is thus both a shift towards

precision in wording and a greater reflection on the participation of temporary projects in city-making on the long-term.

I do not claim that this is the right and unique definition, but I think that this one offers the advantage of being both useful for practitioners and situated in research.

How to classify transitory urbanism literature?

Once we have overcome terms and definition issues, we can investigate descriptions and analysis of transitory urbanism, to see how this work can complement what has already been done.

While the practice's start can be situated earlier (I will come later to that), research seems to only have taken up the subject recently and still in an embryonic way. While a few attempts can be noticed in the 2000s (Kil, 2004; Groth & Corijn, 2005; Haydn & Temel, 2006; Chaudoir, 2007), research about transitory urbanism only really starts in the 2010, once the practice had already become a visible reality (Baillargeon & Diaz, 2020). Therefore, much of the early literature is a gathering or a description of examples, without a theoretical analysis (Agence d'Urbanisme et de Développement Intercommunal de l'Agglomération Rennaise, 2014). It is mostly based on fieldwork, i.e. ethnographies and first hand-documentation produced by the practitioners of transitory urbanism (Plateau Urbain, 2022a; Vraiment Vraiment, 2022; Yes We Camp, 2022b).

In French-speaking literature, we can notice an exponential abundance of research dealing with the topic since the mid-2010s, when certain transitory occupations had become flagship projects, showrooms of transitory urbanism. Among them, it is worth mentioning the project *Les Grands Voisins*, that occupied a former hospital in the heart of Paris from 2015 to 2020 (Yes We Camp, 2022a). Thanks to its size (3,4 hectares), its central location, its number of diverse activities and actors involved (from art to services, education, social action, commercial and agricultural activities), and number of visits (600.000 per year), the project raised significant attention. This occupation brought transitory urbanism to a new level, into spheres of government but also research, with scholars acknowledging this as the starting point of transitory urbanism in research (Pinard, 2021). It was not possible to ignore an increasingly popular and popularized practice anymore.

What literature exists? Andres (2013, p. 760) divided already a decade ago research into two main approaches. On one hand, research about cultural spaces and squats, focussing on the type of occupation, its activities, and its legal status. On the other, a focus on temporary economic and cultural activities in abandoned areas, dealing mainly with the type of space where those projects happen. Matoga's division of the existing projects is quite close to this, with on one side political contestation spaces against the neoliberal agenda, and, on the other "revitalisation strategies" in cities or neighbourhoods with structural vacancy (Matoga, 2018). Bottom-up approaches versus top-down ones. The focus is in both cases laid on the occupation and its objective.

There is however a whole new branch of literature that emerged in the last years, after Andres presented his division. This research is less focused on the project itself than on its consequences. It critically discusses the interaction between transitory projects and the broader trends observed in urban environments. This branch does not fit in Andres' division of literature according to types of occupations. I do not think that two studies of the same project, if one focusses on the innovative governance level and the other one on neoliberal place-making, belong to the same branch of literature just because their case is the same. I

argue therefore for a different but still broad distinction in transitory urbanism literature between a praising branch, presenting the benefits of the practice, and a more critical branch, trying to assess the domination schemes it still entails.

The praising literature

The praising literature was at its beginning more of a compilation of successful projects, a feedback from the field made by the occupants (mostly NGOs or artists) themselves as part of the closing process and self-advertisement (Plateau Urbain, 2022a; Yes We Camp, 2022a, 2022b), but also by public planning agencies, eager to present themselves as able to grasp and support innovative processes (Agence d'Urbanisme et de Développement Intercommunal de l'Agglomération Rennaise, 2014). It had the objective of convincing both policymakers (as setters of the legal framework and potential funders) and citizens (as participants in projects and influencers of policies) about the relevance of the practice. Here, a whole lexical field accompanies transitory urbanism: *"innovative", "new", "experimental", "test", "flexible", "light", "informal", "potential", "opportunities", "social", "green", "sustainable", "participative", "citizen oriented", "collective reflection", "inclusive", "diverse", "convivial", "fun", "lever for action"* (ANRU, 2021; Awada, Diguët, et al., 2018; Couturier, 2018; Ginez, 2018; Nédélec, 2017; Oswalt et al., 2013; Pinard, 2021; Plateau Urbain, 2022a).

Pressured by the need to grasp a new (or presented as new) reality, scholars increasingly started to address the topic in the last decade. We can observe a multitude of master's thesis and PhDs written on the topic (Couturier, 2018; Ginez, 2018; Matoga, 2018; Pinard, 2021), and reports from conferences and meetings where policy makers could read about practitioners (Isaksen, 2018; Montréal Transitoire, 2017; Toubanos, 2017). Only few in-depth case analyses have been written (Dossal, 2015; Matoga, 2018), and none combines it with a critical theoretical approach.

Origins of transitory urbanism

Two arguments are dominating the praising literature: the origins of the practice, and the benefits that transitory urbanism brings.

Baillargeon and Diaz (2020) find transitory urbanism's origins in *"marginal and informal"* occupations. Scanning the literature, they mention Emily Talen (2015), who traces back the history of *"DIY-urbanism"* to civic movements of the 19th century, that implemented small-scale interventions outside institutional frames to make the city more beautiful, clean and liveable. Baillargeon and Diaz also name squatting movements from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s as other origins of transitory urbanism.

In the same vein but focussing on different movements, Lefebvre and Diaz, based on Silva (2016), see the origins of small-scale informal and spontaneous urban interventions in New York's *"Play Street"* movement (1914), that obtained the experimental transformation of streets in poorer neighbourhoods into children's playgrounds.

Finn (2014), also quoted by Lefebvre and Diaz, links transitory urbanism back to the situationist movement (1957-1972). Under the leadership of artist Guy Debord, the Marxist Paris-based collective intended to *"change the world"* through *"all means of overturning everyday life"* (internationale situationiste, 1958). For that, it fought i.e. functional urbanism and commodification, and favoured *"alterity and singularity, rather than predetermined reproducible solutions in the city"* (S. Lefebvre et al., 2020).

Not rejecting but rather complementing that history, Julia Tournaire (2022) claims that the idea of a bottom-up urbanism spread with the utopias of the Mai 1968 movements and

with Henri Lefebvre's call for a "new urbanism" and the *Right to the City* (H. Lefebvre, 1961, 1967).

More specifically, some scholars have argued that transitory urbanism finds its roots in artistic occupations and interventions. Pinard (2021, p. 10) for example indicates that the history starts with artistic occupations in the 1970s, legal or not (squats). Similarly, Antal and Antal (2014, p. 40) emphasize the role of theatre in the "*conversion of disused spaces*", with experimental performances held in unusual places like the abandoned ammunition factory *La Cartoucherie de Vincennes* (Paris) by Arianne Mnouchkine in 1970. This created new relations between the actors, the audience, and the building. Philippe Chaudoir (2007) points out the role of artistic interventions since the 1990s in creating and maintaining the ephemeral temporality among the urban temporalities (Baillargeon & Diaz, 2020).

Wherever the origins lie – maybe in all of them together! – there is a consensus that transitory urbanism is not something completely new, despite advertisements made by public planning agencies and occupants. Furthermore, transitory urbanism is linked back in all those understandings to social claims and fights, challenging the status quo and the traditional ways of planning the city. History is used in the praising literature as an argument to prove the values of transitory urbanism.

Benefits of transitory urbanism

The second main argument used by the praising literature is the merits of transitory urbanism, mostly based on gatherings of examples and logical demonstrations. This is supported under the perspective of the many different actors to whom this supposed win-win deal should benefit.

First, it targets owners with the triple argument that their property can be secured against squatting, prevented from falling apart (and sometimes even renovated), and that a transitory project can benefit their image. All of that for a low cost for the owner, who can in the end pay less than for maintenance and protection of the site (Impulsion 2021, 2021; Plateau Urbain, 2022b). As transitory urbanism does not question private property, as opposed to squatting, taking the owners on board is crucial. We can therefore observe efforts made to reassure the owners that the projects will not stay indefinitely.

Second, the literature highlights the benefits for occupants. It stresses out the tension on real estate markets within contemporary cities, with high rents that the not-for-profit sector or businesses that are not profitable (yet) cannot afford (Pinard, 2021; Plateau Urbain, 2022b). Transitory urbanism is a solution for them, with very low or no rents.

Third, literature highlights the benefits for inhabitants, individually and as a society. On an individual level, citizens enjoy spaces that better fit their needs, and are fully part of the implementation of the project (ANRU, 2021; Awada et al., 2017). Under this scope, transitory urbanism achieves the Lefebvrian call for breaking the routine of the everyday life, enabling inhabitants to be active producers rather than consumers of space (H. Lefebvre, 1967, p. 35; Lenoir, 2022). On a collective level, the literature talks about the strength of transitory urbanism to make society more participative and inclusive (Baillargeon & Diaz, 2020; S. Lefebvre et al., 2020). Nédélec (2017) interprets the inflation of terms describing the practice as a shift in power relations within planning, where citizens are fully embedded in the city-making process. Other scholars have worked on the transformation of the role of the architect, with architecture becoming more participative (Bonnot, 2019; Dossal, 2015; Toubanos, 2017).

Fourth, the literature mentions the benefits for local governments (Ginez, 2018). The above-mentioned arguments of a more participative, affordable and inclusive city are important but not the only ones. The emphasis is laid on the “innovative” aspect of the practice and the “pioneer” role of cities that support it, thus promising image rewards. Another common argument are the relatively low costs for cities compared to usual projects, because of the lighter infrastructure and the reliance on volunteers. And finally, the experimental aspect of transitory urbanism is advertised, as it can help local governments to reduce opposition – throughout a test phase the project has time to convince citizens– and come closer to the desires of citizens by testing different uses (Awada et al., 2017; Awada, Diguët, et al., 2018; Tournaire, 2022). Transitory urbanism is presented as a radical alternative to traditional city-making processes (Agence d’Urbanisme et de Développement Intercommunal de l’Agglomération Rennaise, 2014; Ferraris, 2016; Métropole de Lyon, 2021).

And fifth, optimistic literature personifies geographical space, which becomes the ultimate benefiter. It is not people, not an institution, but the neighbourhood, the territory, or the city as a whole that receives “*social and environmental externalities*” (Tournaire, 2022). There is no place anymore for distinction or nuance between citizens: transitory urbanism radiates and has a universal reach, delimited geographically and not socially. This totalizing transitory urbanism can address all challenges, for everyone: from climate change fight and adaptation (Pinard, 2021; Sengers et al., 2016) to social (Couturier, 2018), economic (Plateau Urbain, 2022b) and democratic issues (ANRU, 2021; Ginez, 2018). It is a “*catalyst for change*” (Isaksen, 2018, p. 9; S. Lefebvre et al., 2020, p. 17).

Goals of the praising literature

This literature aims to convince the different players to adopt transitory urbanism, based on inspiring examples regrouped in “*best practice*” booklets (Agence d’Urbanisme et de Développement Intercommunal de l’Agglomération Rennaise, 2014; ANRU, 2021; Awada et al., 2017). They call for the replication of those occupations. This is quite ironical for projects that are supposed to walk in the footsteps of situationism, which fought prefabricated urban solutions.

This literature has a unique relationship to vacancy. In an almost schizophrenic way, vacancy is a “*useless space*” (De Smet, 2013), a major economic, social and symbolic problem that has to be fought (ANRU, 2021, p. 15), and parallelly something very positive that has to be de-dramatised, an opportunity window for creativity, even a “*luxury*” (Kil, 2004). The hype around unused spaces can be summed up with the sentence “*Vive la vacance*”³, literally “*Long live vacancy*” (despite it tries to reduce it!), decorating Saint Etienne’s (France) Ephemeral Office for Urban Activation (Movilab, 2015). Vacancy is transformed into something enjoyable, an asset, if only the reader takes action.

Even if this optimistic literature is very useful to enter the field and understand the value of the practice, it is important to look into each case in depth, understand its context and relationships (often through discussion with the actors themselves), and critically look beyond, into to more global urban trends. Here comes the second branch of literature.

³ The translation “*long live vacancy*” keeps the irony of celebrating life while vacancy is usually seen as dead, but loses the “*vacances*” part of the word game celebrating holidays in French.

The critical literature

The more critical branch appeared a few years later, after the first buzz. While the praising literature was compiling field examples to draw concepts and conclusions, it is here the opposite, with theoretical frameworks like urban neoliberalisation (Mould, 2014) applied to cases. The critical literature investigates mainly three interrogations: What is transitory urbanism's place within contemporary capitalism? Within city-making? And who are its benefiterers?

The first question, about the place within the contemporary economic system, derives from Marxist perspectives, such as that of Henri Lefebvre. For him, space is the result of a production process subjected to its (economic) system (H. Lefebvre, 1974). It is thus a valid question to ask if transitory urbanism really escapes this and manages to be a space outside of capitalism. Scholars of the critical branch blame transitory urbanism to endorse capitalism's basic principles as the practice does not question private property (S. Lefebvre et al., 2020; Tournaire, 2022). Oli Mould (2014) goes further by showing how transitory urbanism is increasingly controlled by institutions to support a creative city discourse. The practice is used to (re)brand a territory and attract higher-income classes, thus becoming a full strategy of neoliberal urban development. Oli Mould does not refute the social fight origins of the practice but complements it with the excesses happening throughout the contemporary institutionalization. According to him, the practice has been hijacked to become not just an endorsement, but a domination tool of neoliberalism. In short, transitory urbanism helps capitalism to access interstices it had created but lost. Sarah de Laet denounces "*the extension of the market under the guise of 'innovation'*" (Laet, 2019, p. 10). Instead of creating places outside of the market, transitory urbanism brings them back right into its centre!

The second question, about the place of transitory urbanism within the city making process, interrogates the claim of an alternative practice to traditional ways of city-making. Here, literature insists on the fact that transitory urbanism is not completely outside of the usual frame but is rather an additional stage to it (Tournaire, 2022, p. 236). Per definition, transitory occupations are institutionalized, legal ways to reflect about long-term traditional projects. This way, transitory urbanism can be seen more as a tool for traditional urbanism than something outside of it.

With a discursive analysis, Tournaire points out that transitory urbanism builds up a semantic space where it is not possible to fight because oppositions are neutralized. Top-down and bottom up, formal and informal, spontaneous and planned, short-term and long-term, "*Right to the City* and city of right"⁴ are all brought together (S. Lefebvre et al., 2020, p. 17). The practice "repairs" regular urbanism that you cannot oppose as it covers everything. Why would anyone contest, create alternatives, squat, if legal possibilities exist? For Tournaire, transitory urbanism kills the alternatives. Furthermore, this neutralisation and the impossibility to present alternatives naturalises the ideas that vacancy is not profitable, that social activities always bear costs and that the high pressure on the real-estate market cannot be changed. Instead of questioning the roots of the problems, transitory urbanism attacks its symptoms. Instead of challenging regular urbanism, it stabilises it. Instead of contesting the status quo, it reinforces dominant positions. Transitory urbanism is thus "*a sub-product of regular urbanism*" rather than an alternative (Tournaire, 2022, p. 237).

⁴ In the sense of legal.

The third question, about the benefiter of transitory urbanism, derives from the two first ones: if transitory urbanism is embedded in both modern capitalism and the regular city-making process, why would it escape other urban trends? Literature about urban regeneration has shown that cultural investments do not automatically trickle down to marginalized populations (Colomb, 2011; Rodríguez et al., 2001). Why would it be any different for transitory urbanism? Some scholars have argued that transitory urbanism has a concrete impact on gentrification processes, with the construction of an industrial mythology around abandoned industrial sites fuelling the move of well-educated young people to formerly deprived areas, forcing marginalized populations to move away (Mould, 2014, p. 532; Veschambre, 2014).

Moreover, Veschambre demonstrated the memorial role of abandoned industrial factories and particularly their chimneys (Veschambre, 2014). Vacant spaces are thus not necessarily “*useless*” but much more “*useless to capital*”, as De Smet (2013) demonstrates. Following that argument, capital is the main benefiter of transitory urbanism, not necessarily the populations around.

This more critical stance on transitory urbanism deconstructs argument by argument the positions of the praising literature, that appears as naive. By making a more systemic than individual analysis it helps to look behind the advertisement and shows the practice under a less brilliant light. Transitory urbanism appears as a “*balm*” (Ferraris, 2016), an illusion that sedates the wounds of the city for a while but does not make them disappear. On the contrary, it deepens them.

Gaps in the literature for further exploration

The above literature review shows that there are two opposite visions of transitory urbanism: the one, mainly based on individual experiences, that connects the practice to societal objectives; and the other one, mainly based on theoretical Marxist approaches, to investigate the place of the practice in the broader contemporary urban dynamics. It therefore seems appropriate to study the reality on the ground, and link practical cases to theoretical approaches.

In particular, I want to examine whether the critique, that transitory urbanism is mainly tailored for and benefitting higher income-classes, is justified in areas where the local population is not wealthy. By looking into transitory projects in low-income neighbourhoods, I want to discuss their desirability for local populations. To do so, I will carry out in-depth analysis of two case studies, TLM (Paris) and Wild im West (Vienna), with the aid of the concept of appropriation of space.

Appropriation of space

Widespread use of the concept

We can often find the concept of “appropriation of space” both in the praising as well as the critical literature about transitory urbanism. For Sylvain Lefebvre, Jérémy Diaz, and Jean-Marc Adjizian (2020), it is even “*the keyword*” in the transitory urbanism discourse, mainly used to discuss transitory urbanism as a tool for “*citizen reappropriation*” of space in

general or particular places. Lefebvre, Diaz, and Adjizian (2020) list the possible reappropriable places – “*public spaces, streets, riverfronts, natural spaces, wasteland, vacant spaces, etc.*”. Beyond places, transitory urbanism can also encourage the citizen to (re)appropriate architecture (Bonnot, 2019), and urban development projects (ANRU, 2021). Laetitia De Monteil (Awada, Besnard, et al., 2018, p. 19) is more precise and does not talk about reappropriation by citizens but by the “inhabitants” of the neighbourhood. Literature also presents transitory urbanism as a tool for the “*reappropriation of the everyday life*” (Ferraris, 2016), taking up the concept of Lefebvre that we will explicit later. For Couturier (2018), appropriation is even at the core of the definition of tactical urbanism (that I would call transitory); there cannot be transitory urbanism without appropriation. In that sense, some scholars even call transitory occupations “*temporary appropriations*” (Andres, 2013; Matoga, 2018).

Transitory urbanism and appropriation are thus closely intertwined, with appropriation as link between citizens and transitory projects. The concept is however rarely defined and can be understood in different ways, as making one’s own, making usable, using, controlling etc. I am convinced about its usefulness, as it puts the focus on the citizens and their link to a place, physical or not. It allows to raise the question of who uses the place, why (and why not) and how. Therefore, I will investigate in the following section its history, definition and typologies.

A brief history

Fabrice Ripoll and Vincent Veschambre (2014), the two main contemporary scholars working on the concept, point out that the father of today’s use of “appropriation” in social sciences and humanities can be considered Karl Marx. Marx thought that the alienation of the individual can be fought with a gradual reappropriation of body and mind (Sheringham, 2013). This can also happen on the collective level, with the collective appropriation of means of production by workers, as opposed to the private appropriation by capitalists.

This was then applied to space by Henri Lefebvre in *La Production de l’Espace* (1974) to analyse fights over space. He used “appropriation” in the sense of “*a natural space modified to serve the needs and possibilities of a group*” (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2014). The term is here related to the strategic exploitation capacity of a portion of space. Lefebvre uses the concept to advocate for the collective reappropriation of the city, and even talks about a “right to appropriation” (distinguished from property) as part of the right to urban life (Demazière et al., 2018).

Ripoll and Veschambre continue the journey with Bourdieu, who distinguishes between material appropriation and symbolic appropriation. Bourdieu thinks that the appropriation of art, in the sense of capacity of decoding in the recognised as legitimate manner, requires competences that are not evenly distributed within society. Based on the possession of cultural capital, the capacity of decoding, or appropriating, is a way to distinguish social classes (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 28; Demazière et al., 2018; Kaoutar, 2018). Furthermore, Bourdieu sees in fights for the appropriation of space the mediation through which social competition is translated into physical space (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2014).

Michel de Certeau deepens this thought by describing appropriation as the ability to pursue discrete tactics to resist outer trends and favour own preferences (Demazière et al., 2018).

Ripoll and Veschambre finally notice that the concept is increasingly used by groups of interest to advocate for the right to the city. We can here think of Patrick Bouchain, who

promotes “progressive appropriation” of architecture by citizens (Bonnot, 2019). Based on the idea of appropriation, each citizen should have a place within society and (social) space. This discourse is notably held in working-class and low-income areas according to Ripoll and Veschambre, which makes it particularly interesting to use for my research.

Relevance of appropriation of space

In the following part, I will point out the relevance of using appropriation as a framework, mainly based on the different works of Ripoll and Veschambre who are the only ones, to the best of my knowledge, to have explored the concept with that depth in urban studies. It is a recent victory of them, associated to Sophie Blanchard and Jean Estebanez, to have made appropriation enter a dictionary of social geography (Blanchard et al., 2021).

Appropriation of space is a complex and polysemic notion that contains two meanings (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2014). On the one hand, the process of taking possession, tending to enjoy something in an exclusive way, which also implies the dispossession of others as space is limited. On the other hand, the process of exploring and interiorising, which carries less this idea of being at the expense of others but much more of self-emancipation. The French language makes this distinction, with the pronominal form “s’appropriier” – “*make something one’s property*” – and “appropriier” – “*adapt something to a use, to a destination*” (Larousse, 2022). When we argue for the right to the City, it would thus be appropriate to ask for citizens to “appropriier l’espace”, and not “s’appropriier l’espace”.

Analysing appropriation of space is relevant because it interrogates inequalities. It implies to ask questions about the access, the occupation, the use and the enjoying of space (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2005). Ripoll argues that the focus is usually laid on inequalities between spaces, whereas appropriation uncovers inequalities within spaces (Blanchard et al., 2021). It is about looking into the unequal relationships that people have to space; that society has to space.

Ripoll observes that appropriation of space is a symptom of social inequalities. The socio-economic hierarchy is translated into a hierarchy of lived and used spaces, with the wealthier people accessing to the more rare and valorised spaces. Because of material, institutional and symbolic conditions, there are different abilities to appropriate space, according to the position within the social hierarchy (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2005).

Moreover, the two scholars make the parallel argument that appropriation is also a source of inequalities. All forms of capital can only be produced or accumulated after an appropriation of space (Blanchard et al., 2021). There is a recent heated debate between geographers Jacques Lévy and Fabrice Ripoll about the possibility to talk about “spatial capital” (Lévy, 2020; Ripoll, 2019). For Lévy, who started theorising spatial capital already in the late 1980s (Lévy, 1988), space is another form of Bourdieusian capital – besides economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) – as it is a mean of production that brings profit and can be exchanged. Appropriation, that Lévy does not define precisely, allows to turn space into capital, as a completed process or a capacity to conduct it (Lévy, 2016, p. 75). Ripoll on the opposite is sceptical about the post-Bourdieusian inflation of types of capital. In an answer, he argues that the concept of spatial capital is unclear and even undesirable, as it would mean to cut space off from other types of capital, and particularly from social capital. Yet space is a “dimension of every social reality”, and transversal to all types of capital. Instead of spatial capital, Ripoll therefore prefers to talk about the “*spatialization of capitals*” (Blanchard et al., 2021), supporting the spatial dimension of the other forms of capital and

addressing the spatialization of inequalities. This way, instead of hiding inequalities, as the concept of “common” does (Blanchard et al., 2021), appropriation discloses them and allows, together with the concept of capital, for an analysis in their spatial dimension.

Typology of appropriation of space

In their early work on appropriation, Ripoll and Veschambre (2005) define a typology of the concept, that they slightly remodel and deepen a decade later (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2014). It is, as far as I know, the only typology of the concept that has been made.

They distinguish three forms of appropriation of space. The first is predominantly material appropriation, based on a practical relationship to physical space. Here, appropriation is understood i.e. as the exclusive use of a portion of space that people compete to use. Often accompanied by fences, and often a collective practice, it is about aiming for the monopoly over access to resources that are provided on a space. To the material form also belongs appropriation understood as something functional, with the adaptation and transformation of space to one's own sake. This requires control over space, an autonomous use of it, but not necessarily explicit coercion. Hijacking, or the appropriation of a space already appropriated by someone is part of this.

The second form of appropriation is understood to be predominantly ideal and subjective in nature. Under this falls cognitive appropriation, the interiorisation of theoretical and practical knowledge through familiarization to use space strategically. Besides, there is affective appropriation, with the attachment to a place, and existential appropriation, with the feeling of being in the right place. In this last category, the relationship to a place is lived as reciprocal: the person fits in the place and the place fits to the person. The feeling of appropriation can easily turn into a feeling of belonging.

The third and last form of appropriation is seen as predominantly ideal but objective in nature, and more or less institutionalised. It is about the social recognition of a lasting relationship of a space to a group or a category of people, thus becoming part of its characteristics (Ripoll, 2005, p. 11). We talk here about symbolic or identity appropriation, which happen either through legal methods or through symbolic affirmations, like signs, objects, architecture etc. The symbolic meaning attached to the space can then be used as a resource to claim that space, but also beyond to create cohesion within a group. The distinction between the second and the third category was added by Ripoll and Veschambre in 2014 (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2014).

Practical applications of appropriation of space

How is the concept used concretely in urban studies? Ripoll and Veschambre, this time separately, discuss examples of appropriation. In “S'appropriier l'espace... ou contester son appropriation?” (2005), Ripoll takes a closer look to the French anti-globalization movement. He argues that rather than a material appropriation of space, they contest the material appropriation of space by others. At the same time, they develop strategies through social practices to be lastingly and sometimes exclusively associated with portions of spaces. Once this space becomes part of their attributes, they can use this social recognition as a resource for their political battle, for example to mobilise or federate. From this analysis, Ripoll extracts the definition of symbolic appropriation.

Veschambre also focusses on symbolic appropriation by looking to the ambiguous relationship between the working-class and former industrial sites (Veschambre, 2005, 2014).

Factories, and particularly their chimneys, symbolize painful memories because of the hard work and of deindustrialisation. Veschambre observes two possible processes regarding those sites and their symbol: the erasure, with the destruction of the former factories, or their (re)appropriation. For the latter, he analyses the patrimonialisation process, injecting new symbolic value in buildings, as a support for appropriation. This is very useful for the identity construction of the working class, as it provides visibility and materiality to its history. Veschambre however warns about the patrimonialisation process that also allows middle and higher classes to symbolically appropriate former industrial sites, thus dispossessing the working class in a dynamic of gentrification.

Both Ripoll and Veschambre use examples to deepen and illustrate the concept of symbolic appropriation, as a claim for visibility and a staging of power (Veschambre, 2005). This way, they demonstrate that the concept complements more classical approaches in social geography that are based on economic mechanisms. However, I cannot find any work done in the other direction, starting from Ripoll and Veschambre's typology and then applying it as a lecture grid to a specific example. My work can here contribute to fill this gap, and provide an operationalisation that could then be used in other cases.

Yet, it remains difficult to measure appropriation. Ripoll and Veschambre (2005, p. 7) name *"the lived or reserved surfaces [...], the distance to rare or valorised resources, to centrality, or the scale of controlled mobility"* as quantitative indicators for appropriation, as well as living conditions, their attractivity, valorisation and functionality, as qualitative indicators. They acknowledge that the measure is not easy, especially with regards to autonomous uses: how to measure the capacity to use as one pleases?

To measure symbolic appropriation, they try to find traces of its expression, markers like signs or objects. Architectural markers, understood as constructions or demolitions, are the ultimate and strongest expression of symbolic appropriation, highlighting social hierarchies (Veschambre, 2005). Wealthy people can materialise their appropriation of space with impressive buildings, while lower classes do not even control their own residential space, demolished or appropriated by others. In the same spirit but without directly building up on Ripoll and Veschambre, Jean-Marc Fournier, Gustavo Chourio and Andrès Echeverría (2005) try to disclose socially differentiated appropriations of space in Maracaibo (Venezuela). With a socio-demographic analysis over time, they investigate which category of population lives where, and with which architecture. They prove that the higher a group is on the social ladder, the stronger and more lasting its architectural markers are and the easier its members appropriate space.

Appropriation of space thus seems a relevant concept to investigate the (unequal?) relationships of people to space, and in my case to transitory projects. As I have demonstrated, this critical reflection over an increasingly widespread practice, that remains embedded within the economic system and the traditional city-making process, is essential but lacking so far.

A major challenge however remains the operationalisation of appropriation of space. In the next methodological part, I will attempt to both provide an operationalisation of the appropriation concept and explain how I will apply it to provide new insights on transitory urbanism.

3. Methodology

Research fundamentals

Operationalisation of the appropriation concept

To work practically with appropriation of space, I developed and operationalised Ripoll and Veschambre's work (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2005, 2014). While they recognised three forms of appropriation, I extend it to five, dividing some categories to make them more specific.

I mainly divide the "*predominantly material appropriation*" (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2014) into material appropriation on one side, with the practical relationship to space, and political appropriation on the other side, with the adaptation and transformation of space to one's own sake. While the first describes the current state, the physical appropriation of space, the second is more of a capacity to act, the appropriation of mechanisms governing the space. Even if both are intertwined, (personal) involvement in the governance of space is not the same as the material ownership (e.g. legal status) or physical presence, especially in informal contexts as we can expect from transitory urbanism. This division allows to better study individual places in the governance and running of projects, considering them as an indirect form of appropriation of space.

The second division I make is of the "*ideal and subjective*" form of appropriation (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2014), into cognitive appropriation on the one side and affective appropriation on the other side. Despite both are about personal internal positions towards a space, they seem easy and relevant to distinguish as the one is about (theoretical and practical) knowledge of space, and the other one is about feelings towards a space. I do not separate for feelings of attachment and feelings of belonging, despite Ripoll and Veschambre name the latter "*existential appropriation*" (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2005), as according to my observations they easily flow into each other and are hard to distinguish. Both are covered under "affective appropriation".

Furthermore, from the form "*ideal but more or less objectivised appropriation*" (Ripoll & Veschambre, 2014) I deduce symbolic appropriation. As Ripoll (2005) does in a practical case study, I only focus here on the social recognition of a lasting relationship of a space to a group of people, potentially becoming part of its characteristics and usable as a resource. This attribution process of space to people certainly increases the ability to transform space to one's own sake (political appropriation) but should not be confused with it. Symbolic appropriation is about the social recognition.

I related each of the five types of appropriation of space (material, cognitive, affective, symbolic, political) to questions that unveil as many of its facets as possible – the closest we can get to "measuring appropriation" (see following table p. 23). This is the result of a theoretical reflection, formulating the components of each type of appropriation as an exploratory question, preliminary to the data collection, as well as the outcome of a concrete application of this table, adapting the first work to the fuzziness encountered during the data collection.

Indeed, some observations made during the data collection were not explicitly categorizable as one of the types and thus forced me to sharpen the questions or to add new ones. I for example encountered codification of space, with signs or music, and interpreted it as a potential expression of symbolic appropriation, aiming for the recognition of the relationship of a group to space. I then specified the question related to symbolic appropriation in the table. In other cases, I could relate observations to two types of appropriation at the same time, forcing me reformulate the questions for a clearer delimitation.

This way, the operationalisation of appropriation was a compass to my work: I wanted to answer those questions in my case studies to unveil different appropriations by different people; it guided my choice of interviewees, my interview questions and my data analysis. At the same time, the operationalisation was a work in progress, constantly adapted to evolving needs and challenges appearing throughout the data collection process, and now an outcome of my work. It provides a lecture grid, a way to work with the appropriation concept. Based on this, other cases can be analysed and compared through the lens of appropriation of space. Those can in turn enrich this lecture grid, which is certainly context dependant and by far not complete.

Appropriation type	Definition	Related questions
Material appropriation	Practical relationship to the space (with a physical/factual dimension).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ What is happening in the space? ◆ Who is present and when, doing what? ◆ What is the practical relationship to the space?
Cognitive appropriation	Theoretical and practical knowledge in order to use the space strategically.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ What is the knowledge about the space? ◆ Is there an ability to use the space strategically?
Affective appropriation	Attachment and (reciprocal) feeling of belonging to the space.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ What emotions does the space produce? ◆ Is there attachment to the space? ◆ Is there a feeling that one fits in the space? ◆ Is there a feeling that the space fits one?
Symbolic appropriation	Relationship to the space recognised by (a part of) society, and that can be used as a non-material resource.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is there a symbolic affirmation of one's presence in the space, a codification of space to talk to one group (e.g., signs, objects, architecture, decoration)? ◆ Is there a use of the symbol of the space? ◆ Is there a recognition by others of one's relationship to the space? Is an individual/a group associated to the space? ◆ Is the space part of the characteristics of a group?
Political appropriation	Ability to transform the space to one's advantage, to influence the future of the space.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ What is the knowledge about and/or power in the governance of the space? ◆ Is there a feeling to be able to participate in the project? ◆ Who has access to resources in the space? Is it exclusive? ◆ Is there control and/or coercion mechanisms within the space?

Figure 1: Own operationalisation of the appropriation of space concept. (Source: author).

Approach and selection of cases

Through the application of the appropriation lecture grid to two case studies, I aim to provide new insights about transitory urbanism, without however pretending that they apply universally. This thesis is not a gathering of successful practices, but more a highlighting of the context dependence of each project.

I do however not fall into particularism either. As much as my work entail constructive critiques of the projects, it is not an individual assessment. It contributes to a broader critical reflection about *who* is appropriating transitory urbanism, *how* and *why*, that should also be conducted in other transitory projects. Each case study, as the two here, provides partial answers and leads to the construction of new hypotheses. As Oxley summarises, "*we might learn much about the whole by studying a part and putting this in context.*" (Oxley, 2001, p. 103)

This way, the analysis of two cases is not focused on laying out similarities and differences, but on creating a dialogue between them. The cases complementarily light up facets of the relationship of transitory projects to their low-income surroundings.

The cases were selected according to a preliminary statistical analysis, practical reasons, and a personal interest. The choice was made to focus on projects in Paris and Vienna, and this for three reasons. First, both cities have undertaken an active support to transitory uses, leading to the launch of a multitude of transitory projects (kreative räume Wien, 2022; Ville de Paris, 2021). Second, I was living in Vienna in the summer semester 2022, and I come from Paris, enabling me to collect data more easily. And third, I speak French and German, something I thought important to grasp precise meanings in interviews.

Researching on the internet about transitory projects in those cities, TLM and Wild im West caught my attention because they were both new, so I could study the opening of a project to its neighbourhood from the very beginning and get the first reactions of the neighbours, the first steps of appropriation. Furthermore, they were both meant to be open for a summer-only, giving me the opportunity to draw lessons at their closure, simultaneously to their manager. And beyond the similar timeline, they seemed to have only very few commonalities, weather from the history of the place, the project selection, the infrastructure, the type of responsible organisation and the (non)-benefit purpose, the activities proposed, the governance structure, and the future of the place. This high level of difference would allow for an even more enriching dialogue between the two projects, discussing how, from different starting point within the transitory sphere, they treated the same challenge: promoting the appropriation by neighbours.

In addition – and this was an important eliminatory criterion – they were both complying with my ambition to study projects situated in less privileged areas, to see if the neighbours really benefit the project. Despite the fuzziness surrounding "low-income neighbourhood", the neighbourhoods of TLM and Wild im West can both be considered as such, weather we base the definition on household incomes, broader social statistics, or social stigmas.

TLM is located within the *Quartier Prioritaire Michelet - Alphonse Karr - Rue de Nantes*, a neighbourhood belonging to the ones outlined by the French state as needing specific public-policy attention because of its low-income households (Ministère de la cohésion des territoires et des relations avec les collectivités territoriales, 2022). 33,3% of its inhabitants live under the poverty rate (against 15,2% in Paris) and 21% of the 16-25 year olds do neither go to school nor have a work (against 8,8% in Paris) (Insee, 2020, 2021). The *Cité Michelet*, just

facing TLM, is one of the largest social housing complexes in Paris with 4300 inhabitants, suffering the stigmas of social housing.

Wild im West is located in *Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus*, Vienna's constant lowest income district over the last 20 years (Stadt Wien, 2022), and a district with a relatively high proportion of residents with a low-educational background (Statistik Austria, 2017). In addition, the district carries the lasting stigmas of being a former prostitution district and an important immigration area.

Data collection

To collect the data, I have carried out three different methods: online research, ethnographical observations, and semi-structured interviews, both long ones and short ones.

Online data collection

The online research laid the ground of my work, before going out into the field. It is mainly composed of background information about the history of the place and the description of the project, found in newspaper articles and on websites of participating and partnering organisations (owners, managers, cities etc.). The online data gathering also includes following of the projects and participating actors on social media (especially Instagram), throughout the whole data collection process (around one year). This enabled me to be aware of the latest events, news and program for further data collection, but also constitutes data by itself, with content posted for advertisement purposes and for event documentation.

Ethnographical observations

The ethnographical observations were carried out (at or around the projects) for Wild im West from the 2nd to the 8/07/2022, and from the 9th to the 15/01/2023. For TLM, they were carried out from 09th to 11/07/2022, the 1st to the 06/08/2022, the 15th to the 20/08/2022, the 22nd to the 27/09/2022 and the 17th to the 20/01/2023. I thus spent several days in a row in the field, taking the time to know the space, the people, the routines and pay attention to "*the singular and concrete*" (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p. 30). The more I visited the project the more I could make sense of what I saw.

Those observations, using sight, sound, and a bit of smell, could be made as non-participant – sitting on the inner sofa or an outdoor chair of TLM; on an outdoor bench of Wild im West – or as participant in group activities. While the participant observation was mostly conducted at Wild im West as visitor of concerts and customer of the bar (often for free thanks to the support of the managers), TLM offered the opportunity of more diverse activities in the time I was there. I for example participated in mural painting workshops, concerts, clothes shopping, as well as an improvised knitting workshop. This allowed me to have longer and deeper conversations (I could orient them instead of overhearing them), pay attention to behaviours, topics of discussions and interactions more closely, and better understand practices within the space. Participant observation also allowed me to create a friendly bond

with some visitors who were then more eager to be interviewed. I documented this as a diary in a notebook.

The ethnographies outside of the projects (i.e. when they were closed) were located at other places close by that seemed relevant because of the easiness to observe or interact with people (nearby intersection, public benches, etc.). This helped me to understand dynamics in the neighbourhood, as well as to decide about shop owners to interview. The regularity of my presence also built up a useful trust relationship to some interviewees.

Long semi-structured interviews

I conducted two types of semi-structured interviews. The first type is longer ones, with targeted actors that seemed relevant for the projects (managers, workers in the project, owners of the plot, partners, very regular visitor, neighbourhood experts, long-time neighbourhood residents). The sampling is thus a theoretical one, changing according to my findings and my further needs (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p. 6). As the projects entailed informal practices that I ignored beforehand, my questions changed according to the knowledge I had gathered from previous interviews. It was thus an explorative process.

To select the interviewees, I first established a personal contact with the managers of the project, who were in both cases very helpful, or with other organisations that I contacted via social media. Using snowballing, those first contacts gave me other relevant contacts, who gave me further contacts. I found this method particularly relevant in the field of transitory urbanism, as it is not a completely formalised environment, thus hard to oversee (multitude of very small actors, lack of time to document everything, informal participation of some NGOs).

Snowballing also had the benefit of making me approved by someone, which then increased the trust I received from the next interviewee. Especially in the case of the *Pont de Flandre* neighbourhood (around TLM), where I could notice a distrust towards my work at first as I came as an outsider in a place where many people knew each other, this validation was useful.

In the case of TLM, I interviewed 14 persons related to the project or the neighbourhood (sometimes several people per organisation):

- Plot owner (*SNCF*);
- Members of the managing collective, workers and partners (*Bellevilles, Les Couleurs du Pont de Flandre, Mam'Ayoka, Les Berliner, Espace 19*);
- Experts of the neighbourhood and its history (*Régie de quartier, Association pour la Sauvegarde de la Petite Ceinture*, resident in the *Gare d'Avron*, important figures in the neighbourhood).

In the case of Wild im West, I conducted 11 interviews (sometimes several people per organisation):

- Plot owner (*Avoris*);
- Project runners (*BaBu Bar, YesUs, Gardening collective*);
- Project partners and experts of transitory urbanism in Vienna (*Kreative Räume*);
- Experts of the neighbourhood and its history (University of Vienna, and 3 well-established shop owners, one of them also former inhabitant of the house on the plot, and one of them also head of *M15*, the entrepreneurs' organisation of the lower Mariahilfer Street in which the project is located).

By talking about their own lived experiences, the interviewees provided background information about the project, the dynamics in the neighbourhood, the history of the place. Furthermore, by giving their view on the project and analysis of its interaction with the neighbours, they provided relevant data to study the appropriation of the projects: I got appropriation processes described to me. This happened especially when interviewees talked not only in their own name, about their own role, but as experts, as analysts. They would take a step back and combine descriptions of specific examples with interpretations, possible thanks to their knowledge or position (within an organisation, within the neighbourhood, etc.), considerably enriching my data.

Most of these interviews lasted around one hour and took place within the project or workplace of the interviewees. As Edwards and Holland (2013, p. 45) puts it: *"Seeing the participant in context [...], surrounded by the material culture of their created space, and possibly interacting with others in that space, offers a wealth of information beyond that obtained, and possibly obtainable, in an interview, providing an ethnographic dimension to the exchange."* During the interview, I also paid attention to the objects they were pointing at, their eyes scanning the surroundings and bringing new ideas to spark, the interactions with other people. For practical reasons however, and only if I saw no other possibility, I also set up online interviews – 2 for TLM and 3 for Wild im West.

A list of questions and topics I wanted to address was always prepared in advance, but I left a great freedom to the interviewees to go into specific stories. It is from the little anecdotes that I could draw the greater picture. I often reacted spontaneously to their answers, bringing the interviews close to discussions. The order of the questions and length of discussion for each topic was never set in advance, but all the topics I wanted were covered in the end.

Two interview transcriptions are given as examples in the appendix. Other interview transcriptions are available on request.

Short semi-structured interviews

The second type of semi-structured interviews were much shorter (15-25 min) and served another purpose: get the views, opinions and feelings of visitors and neighbours of the project. Here, in contrast to the previous interviews, I was not hoping to hear about appropriation forms but to observe them directly and discuss them with the ones carrying them out (or not).

I constructed an interview grid that I filled out with the interviewees (provided in the appendix). It was made of three parts: the (socio-economic) profile, the vision of the project, and the vision of the neighbourhood. At the centre of my inquiry were the possible different answers between neighbourhood and non-neighbourhood inhabitants, as well as between project visitors and non-visitors, and the reasons for neighbours to not visit the project.

I randomly approached people, at different times of the day. I paid particular attention to explain that I was not from the project to get more honest answers. Within the project, my interview requests were met with kindness. In both TLM and Wild im West, almost all the interviewees were sitting in the outdoor space, and I went from table to table. For the interviews outside of the project, in the street, I encountered more refusals, probably for two reasons. First, people would less trust me; I had the feeling to scare people off. Second, in

contrast to people visiting the project, passer-byes had fewer time. To face that second problem, I decided to propose to walk with the interviewees, inspired by Margarethe Kusenbach's "going-along" method (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p. 44). This proved successful, because in addition to increase my chances to get responses, I got to see a part of the everyday of the persons, adding an ethnographical perspective to the interview. Furthermore, "*placing events, stories and experiences in their spatial context can help participants to articulate their thoughts*" (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p. 46), so I could get more constructed answers, especially about the neighbourhood.

For the TLM case study, I interviewed 20 people within the project and 10 people outside of the project. For the Wild im West case study, I interviewed 8 people within the project and 14 people outside of the project. These numbers were secondary to me: the important was to note forms of appropriation, and this does not involve any "right amount" of interviewees but is very much dependent on the content of the answers. It does not matter that the two cases do not have the same number of interviewees as I will not quantitatively compare them, but rather create a qualitative dialogue between answers.

Data analysis

To conduct my analysis, I coded the data according to appropriation types and themes that seemed particularly relevant or recurring. I used structural coding, with the appropriation concept driving coding – the questions related to each type of appropriation were linked to text segments – in a way that much data could be traced back to one of the appropriation types. Parallely, I engaged with what Saldaña (2013, p. 88) names "*descriptive coding*", using words or sentences to summarise an information that seemed relevant. Descriptive codes were added as the coding process was ongoing and some seemingly relevant data was not covered. The coding of the Wild im West case happened after the TLM one, and thus took over the codes added during the TLM coding.

The following table lists the codes used.

Figure 2: List of the used codes for TLM and Wild im West. In green: codes added during the coding process. (Source: author)

TLM		Wild im West	
Appropriation by the neighbourhood inhabitants	Material	Appropriation by the neighbourhood inhabitants	Material
	Cognitive		Cognitive
	Affective		Affective
	Symbolic		Symbolic
	Political		Political
Appropriation by the non-neighbourhood inhabitants	Material	Appropriation by the non-neighbourhood inhabitants	Material
	Cognitive		Cognitive
	Affective		Affective
	Symbolic		Symbolic
	Political		Political
Use of the place before the project		Use of the place before the project	

Project context	Selection process	Project context	Selection process
	Running organisation		Running organisation
	Business model		Business model
TLM		Wild im West	
Participation of citizens		Participation of citizens	
Communication		Communication	
Activities		Activities	
Neighbourhood dynamics and needs		Neighbourhood dynamics and needs	
Mindset of project managers		Mindset of project managers	
Informality		Informality	
Needs of the project		Needs of the project	
Other transitory projects		Other transitory projects	
Forms of capital		Forms of capital	
		Motives behind the project	
		Personal relationships	
		Description of the place	

Continuation of figure 2.

Some sentences, especially in the long semi-structured interviews, contained data relevant for several of my codes, so I used simultaneous coding with several codes on the same text (Saldaña, 2013).

As the amount of data was relatively small, I conducted the coding manually on Word, copy-pasting text passages into my code sections, for each project separately. This allowed me to quickly have an overview of the most important information, and to rearrange, merge, recode, reclassify easily as the codes got more refined. During this process of recoding, the codes shifted into categories, which later constituted themes, in order to place together two findings that seemed related or confrontable (Saldaña, 2013).

In addition, I anonymised (by changing names) and descriptively coded the answers from the short semi-structured interviews so that the answers were preceded by one summarising word. When I then entered the answers and their code into an excel sheet (available on request), I could sort out the interviewees according to their answers and search for correlations and patterns with other answers. This enabled me to produce new hypotheses, that I might not have thought of without this experimental process.

For example: I sorted out the TLM interviewees according to their answer to the question “Are you from the neighbourhood?”. Only then it became striking in the excel table that, among the questioned panel, there was a correlation with the reason for visiting the project: the ones from the neighbourhood are to a great extent the ones who have answered that they come for the activities. This led to the construction of a new hypotheses.

The hypotheses were added to the categories in my Word document, complementing or challenging other findings. I worked on the relationship between the different categories to understand dynamics, relate two processes or stress out contradictions. This enabled me to make sense of the data: I constructed hypotheses as answers to the questions of *who* appropriates the projects, *how* and *why*.

To summarise the answers to the first two questions I constructed a table for each project to classify the findings according to the appropriation type.

Appropriation	By the inhabitants of the neighbourhood	By the non-neighbourhood inhabitants
Material		
Cognitive		
Affective		
Symbolic		
Political		

Figure 3: Classifying who appropriates the project and how. (Source: author)

For the last question – *why* the appropriation of the project happens or not, especially for neighbours – I recoded another time by thematically rearranging on Word the findings of the two cases together, this time without the table. This created a broader dialogue on the appropriation of transitory projects by inhabitants of low-income neighbourhoods.

As a last step, while the coding was conducted in the original language, I translated myself all quotes used in this paper to substantiate arguments.

Reflection on the methods

Generally speaking, people in the studied projects and neighbourhoods were very helpful and interested in my work. However, some barriers remained, especially to reach people outside of the projects. I think this came mostly from a lack of trust in areas where people noticed that I did not come from the neighbourhood. Investing more time on the field to build up relationships with local institutions and neighbourhood figures could solve that issue.

Due to practical restrictions (lack of equipment), I abandoned the idea to collect data through more creative methods. Like futuring (McGuigan et al., 2021) I wanted to collect people's opinion about and dreams for the project's plots through collages. Interviewees could paste their desired infrastructures on a picture of the empty plot to create the image of the future place they want. This could have been done physically or digitally (for example with GIMP). Because it allows to overcome shyness and language barriers in a playful way, I still think this method is relevant and would want to apply it in future research, with more preparation.

For the qualitative analysis, a software like MAXQDA could be used if the amount of data is increased.

This thesis only feeds the reflection about the relationship of people to transitory projects. As a qualitative work, it does not have the ambition to present all, or representative views of the neighbours, which might be frustrating. Instead, this thesis unveils some dynamics, raises attention on specific aspects and can serve to ask new questions, to hint directions to investigate further transitory urbanism.

The results will be presented and discussed in three parts. I first present the appropriations and dynamics found at Wild im West, before switching to the ones found at TLM in a second part. In a third part, I consider the two cases together to explore potential reasons for the observed appropriations.

4. Results A: Appropriation of Wild im West

In this section, I will first provide context about Wild im West (WIM) and its neighbourhood, before laying out the findings, with a table summarising who appropriates the project and how. Following that table, I will discuss some striking conflicts and dynamics between the different appropriation forms, or cells of this table.

Context

Wild im West is located in *Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus*, the 15th Viennese district. Despite being outside – on the west – of the inner city (delimited by the *Gürtel*, Vienna's beltway), the 15th district carries several characteristics of the central districts: a high population density (19.302 persons/km² against 4.656 in Vienna), an important share of buildings from the Gründerzeit period (1848-1873) – 55% in 2011 –, and a limited availability of green spaces (Landesstatistik Wien, 2022; Stadt Wien, 2022). However, *Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus* does not carry the fancy image of the inner-city districts and is instead strongly associated to a low-income neighbourhood. As University of Vienna professor Yvonne Franz explains: *“Simply speaking, from the demographics, the 15th district always had the worse of everything: lowest income, lowest education level, lowest health level and life expectancy, lowest living space per capita, etc.”*. In addition, prostitution and international migration (since the 1970s) also shaped the image of the neighbourhood, with strong stigmatisation.

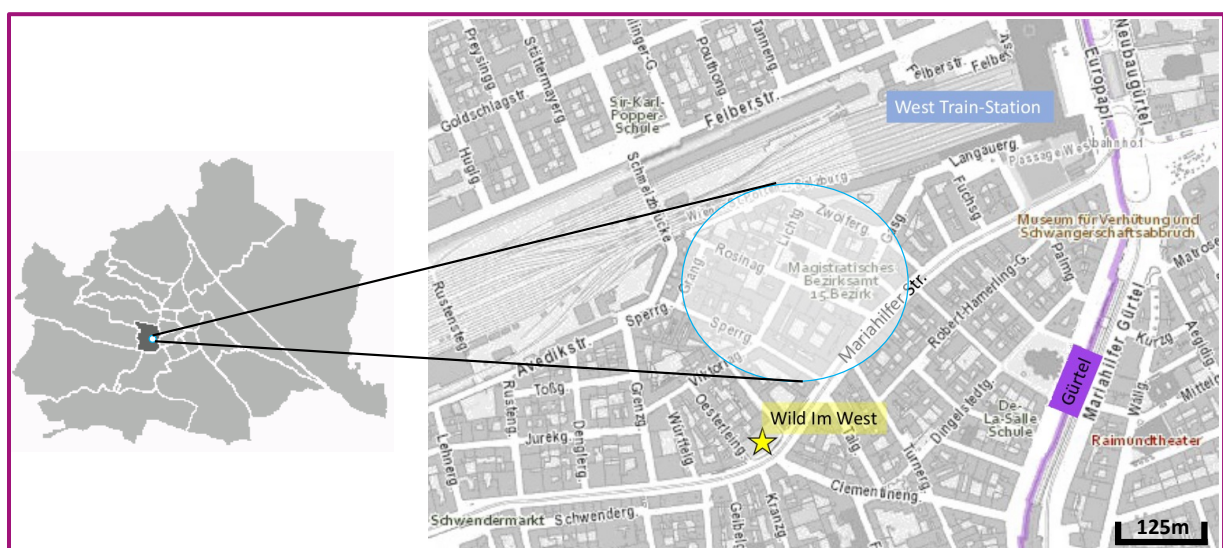


Figure 4: Location of Wild im West in Vienna. (Source: author; map basis: City of Vienna).

According to Yvonne Franz, change started to happen in the early 2010s, with the renovation of the West Train-station (2008-2011), the prohibition of street prostitution in the 15th (2011) and real estate used as a safe investment post-2008 finance crisis⁵. Vienna did not escape the neoliberal strategy of using creative economy to regenerate neighbourhoods (Friesenecker & Franz, 2019), and soon the population started to change: while academics represented 16,49% of the district's population in 2008, they were 26,72% in 2020 (Stadt Wien, 2022). The business structure is also currently undergoing transformations, with the progressive disappearance of long-established specialist shops and in turn the diminishing of local identity. Friesenecker and Franz (2019) studied the upgrading of shops (and resulting exclusion mechanisms) in the Reindorf-gasse, 250m away from Wild im West, demonstrating the active role of certain but not all creative companies in this process.

However, despite the change, *Rudolfshiem-Fünfhaus* still remains Vienna's lowest income district, and the important migration flow of 2015 consolidated the place as an international immigration-district (Stadt Wien, 2022). Figures do not unanimously demonstrate gentrification processes for now – even if students might not be captured because they are often still registered at their parents and count as degree-less. Thus, the 15th district carries the complementary images of *“hipness, ethnical diversity and authenticity”* (Friesenecker & Franz, 2019, p. 105).

The empty plot occupied by Wild im West results from a very controversial and political story. Facing the important destruction of Gründerzeit (1848-1873) buildings by real estate investors, who replaced them with new and more profitable buildings, the municipality passed a law in July 2018 to protect Vienna's symbolic houses. The administration could from there on cancel a project that would destroy a *“preservation-worthy”* building built pre-1945. *“The announcement [of this law] sent some homeowners into panic”* and a dramatic *“destruction boom”* happened in the weeks preceding the law adoption (Zoidl, 2020).

The two buildings of Mariahilfer Street 166-168, even pre-Gründerzeit (built in 1840) did not escape that rage. While the whole building had not been cleared yet, as two shops were still occupied in the bottom, a company came to destroy the façade a few days before the law implementation. Scherer (2020) assumes that the building owner, real estate developer Avoris, was hoping through this the building would not be considered as *“preservation worthy”* once the law implemented. This can be linked to Veschambre's (2005) analysis of destruction of industrial heritage: he argues that fabric chimneys, as metonymy of the fabric, are destroyed first in order to erase the symbols, denature the site and in turn diminish the potential contestation. The destruction of the facades could seek the same: diminish the symbolic value of the building and allow for a less contested building destruction.

The implementation of the law did not change the fate of Mariahilfer Street 166-168. The buildings were classified as *“preservation-worthy”* by the administration as soon as the law passed (July 2018), but Avoris claimed in front of court its right to tear down the building, arguing that the destruction had already started previously in a legal way. In spring 2020, Avoris managed to evict the two last occupants – a watchmaker store and a Vietnamese restaurant – combining intimidation and attractive financial compensation as several sources indicated. In June 2020, in second instance, the court ruled in favour of Avoris. Despite Avoris

⁵ Interview conducted on the 25/01/2023.

had in the meantime proposed a plan to preserve the building, and despite a neighbour petition, this authorisation led to the complete destruction of the buildings, resulting in a 1600m² brownfield.



Figure 5: Petition for the conservation of the buildings on Mariahilfer Street 166-168. Picture taken on 11/01/2023. (Source: Author).

Due to a needed new planning phase, and probably to polish its image after the contested destruction, Avoris thought for its first time to engage with an open transitory occupation and contacted Kreative Räume, Vienna's municipal transitory urbanism agency. They introduced Avoris to the company *YES US*, which was looking for a new plot after the end of its "*cultural city oasis*" WEST, a six month long transitory project located in the gardens of the former *Sofienspital* (7th district) (Yes Us, 2020). Quickly, an agreement was found over a temporary outdoor occupation including catering, culture, and green spaces, foreshadowing the outdoor space of the future project.

In March 2022, *YES US* overtook the empty plot for half a year (the following one-year extension was unclear at the time). Regrouping *Moisturride*, a queer feminist skateboard collective, *BaBu Bar*, a Bavarian-Bulgarian bar, a food truck and a gardening collective, the space opened to the public in June 2022 under the name *Wild im West*. Daily open from 4 p.m. (and on weekends already from midday) to 10.30 p.m., and with a regular hosting of events like concerts and flea markets, the transitory occupation is meant to be both a public

square for the neighbourhood and an attractive place for the whole city. The project received a funding of 25.000€ from the municipality for cultural activities.



Figure 6: Spatial arrangement of Wil im West, 05/07/2022. (Source: author).



Figure 7: *Babu Bar* at Wild im West, 07/07/2022. (Source: author).

Findings

Appropriation	By the inhabitants of the neighbourhood	By the non-neighbourhood inhabitants
Material	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Young middle-class public, students, recently moved to the neighbourhood. ➤ Some very regular visitors. ➤ Not representative of the neighbourhood. ➤ BUT for some: problems of sounds, too chaotic. ➤ Few elderlies, few working-class, few families. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Young middle-class public, students, from or similar public as in the 7th district. ➤ Some very regular visitors. ➤ Majority of the visitors. ➤ Especially on weekends. ➤ Especially for flea-markets and concerts.
Cognitive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Great knowledge about the existence of WIM by seeing it from outside. ➤ Neighbours curious; knowledge constructed through first visit. ➤ Used as a bar, as weekend activity (flea-market), but also as neighbourhood square (to see friends, eat lunch alone, rest). ➤ BUT: Project hidden by fences. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Knowledge about WIM through recommendations or social media. ➤ People attracted by image they have in mind; knowledge present before first visit. ➤ Used as a bar, as place to party, as weekend activity (flea-market). ➤ Knowledge of similar spaces.
Affective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Appreciation of relaxed atmosphere (made up of plants, music, and design). ➤ Appreciation of an outside space. ➤ Bonding through gardening activity. ➤ BUT: Criticised for untidy aspect. ➤ One bad experience can lead to not come back. ➤ No feeling to fit for some (elderlies, families, working class). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Appreciation of relaxed atmosphere (made up of plants, music, and design). ➤ Appreciation of an outside space. ➤ Some make a trip over 30 min to come. ➤ Place seen as unique in Vienna. ➤ Feeling to fit because of the public, the music, the activities.
Symbolic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Symbolic markers (clothes, design, music) as affirmation of appropriation by one group. ➤ Claim space through gardening. ➤ WIM used to attract people to the 15th by neighbouring shops. ➤ BUT: markers exclude some. ➤ Previously lost symbolic appropriation with building tearing down. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Specific markers (clothes, design, music) as symbolic affirmation of appropriation by one group. ➤ WIM used by Avoris for communication. ➤ WIM used by the project company to be known. ➤ WIM used by other organisations to lobby for transitory urbanism.
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Through gardening: spontaneous, beyond expectations, but limited amount of people and mostly middle-class people. ➤ Through bonding personally with the managers. ➤ BUT: Few knowledge about the organisations. ➤ No feedback channel. ➤ Seen as professional, not grassroots. ➤ Feeling that political power has already been lost with the destruction of the previous building. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Participation in the flea-market, personal network with the project managers. ➤ Instagram as communication channel. ➤ Seen as professional, not collaborative. ➤ Come mostly to consume/visit.

Figure 8: Table summarising appropriation forms according to the group, at Wild im West.

Homogeneity in the material appropriation

Friesenecker and Franz (2019, p. 110) had noticed a “*very homogeneous consumer structure*” for new creative shops in the Reindorfasse. Four elements tend to support that this is also the case at Wild im West: the observations made by users and managers of the project, my own ethnographic observations, the video-documentation of events, and the small interviews I conducted with users of the project.

Lena, user of the project, notices that it is “*rather students, hype young people*” who are present. Similarly, Andre, also drinking a beer at the *Babu Bar*, observes that “*the project is open to everyone, but it is rather hipsters⁶ that come*”. When asked, no one from the 8 interviewees within and 14 people interviewed outside of the project indicates another category of population visiting the place than “*youngsters*”, “*hipsters*” and “*students*”. This goes in the same direction than my ethnographic observation:

“People seem to be very similar. First in terms of diversity: everyone is White. Second, in terms of age: from the 26 users of the project observed today, almost everyone seems to be between 20 and 35 years old. The 2 persons older than that range are respectively drinking a beer with people from that age range (accompanying younger people?). Third, in terms of clothing: people, even the two older ones, are dressed up in a similar way: often vintage, colourful, casual but for sure well groomed. And fourth, in terms of rhythm: they all walk slowly, sit and stand up again, look around, enjoy the sun. Their relaxed pace and their happy faces blow a breeze of lightness in the air. They seem to take a break from the everyday.”

Own notes, 06/07/2022.

The observations made that day can be found again when watching the videos of past events Wild im West uploads on social medias (Reels on Instagram): many stylishly and colourfully dressed young White people. In the following table, I try to categorise the people according to their guessed age in all the videos posted by Wild im West during their first summer season (May-October 2022). The videos are for the vast majority panoramas of the whole project, and we can thus expect it to be relatively representative of the public that usually visits WIM. The categorisation is of course not completely accurate as it is based on observations, but it can indicate tendencies. We see a huge domination of a relatively young population (between 18 and 35).

⁶ For Douglas (2012, p. 3592), the term “*hipster*” has been “*widely adopted and misapplied*” and never “*satisfactorily defined in academic research*”. He coins it as an “*evolving aesthetic- and lifestyle-based identity generally attributed to predominantly White and middle-class young adults*”. Without taking up this word for my analysis, I just want to draw attention on the fact that, in the mouth of the interviewees, it often characterises people by their age and middle-class belonging.

Date	Title	Total amount of recognised persons	Under 18	18-35	Over 35
01/05/2022	"Sonntags im Wild im West"	46	4	38	4
01/05/2022	"Danke für das tolle erste Wochenende"	63	1	54	8
18/07/2022	"Rhizomaticcircus: *****"	38	11	25	2
21/07/2022	"16 bis 23 Uhr! Hol dir deinen kalten Drink an unserer @babu_bar_!"	8	0	8	0
25/07/2022	"Montag bis Sonntag 16 bis 21 Uhr!"	28	0	27	1
10/08/2022	-	16	0	13	3
13/08/2022	"Heute wider Flohmarkt"	5	0	5	0
16/08/2022	"Unser geliebter Flohmarkt!"	27	1	24	2
31/08/2022	"We feel so good!"	42	2	36	4

Figure 9: Classification of Wild im West visitors visible in the Instagram videos (May-October 2022), according to their estimated age. (Source: author; based on Wild im West Instagram publications).

The little interviews I conducted with visitors of Wild im West can be one more hint for a homogeneous public: from 8 people interviewed, 6 were students aged between 25 and 34. The two others had higher education degrees, as they were respectively teacher and ecologist. We thus make the assumption of the dominance of a young middle-class public.

Despite it is a low-income neighbourhood, it would be wrong to affirm that Wild im West is not visited by people from the neighbourhood. Of course, there is a *"high presence"* of people from outside of the neighbourhood (Carina, owner of the pharmacy), and the public is not the same than in the other local bars (as even Wild im West bartender Julius acknowledges). And many neighbours have either never visited the project or only once (11 out of 14 neighbourhood inhabitants interviewed outside of the project). Nevertheless, some people from the neighbourhood are coming. From the 8 people interviewed within the project, 4 were living in the neighbourhood. As Katharina Egg, transitory occupation manager for the City of Vienna, summarises: *"Of course you have the feeling that the 7th district [known for being gentrified] just walked over, but also that the neighbours are there"*.

We can thus make the hypothesis that the project does not attract everyone from the neighbourhood, but only a specific category of people, as well as a socio-economically similar

group from outside of the neighbourhood. The frontier for materially appropriating the project thus seems to be more of a class and generational distinction rather than a geographical one. We can draw the same conclusions than Friesenecker and Franz (2019, p. 110) for the new shops of the Reindorfasse: *"You stay among yourselves, although the room is basically open to all interested parties"*.

Material appropriation: dynamics and conflicts with other appropriation types

The material appropriation by mostly one homogeneous social group interacts with other types of appropriation. The notable physical presence of young middle-class people at Wild im West creates a recognition of their relationship to the place by external observants. Benjamin, seller in a shop opposite the project, indicates that *"Wild im West is very hipster and young"*. This way, the space is not just visited but *"is hipster"*; Wild im West is identified by an external eye as being linked to the group. The material appropriation of Wild im West turns into symbolic appropriation.

On the same note, this symbolic appropriation is also recognised and used by members of the young middle-class group themselves. Marie, a student visiting the place several times a week, explains: *"I feel well here, even if I don't know the people. It is a hip place. People are dressed up in a similar way to me."* She justifies her feeling to fit (affective appropriation) with the very high presence of a group to which she identifies. The clothes serve in this case as markers of the group, as symbolic codification of space to talk to the group. We thus see the spill over dynamic, from material appropriation to symbolic and affective appropriation.

On the other hand, the notable material appropriation of Wild im West risks to exclude those who don't identify with the group. As Ripoll argues, the symbolic appropriation, that aims to build a lasting and socially recognised relationship to a portion of space, tends to exclusivity (Ripoll, 2005, p. 11).

Vladimir, neighbouring shop owner, explains not bonding with the place because of the presence of a public he is not part of: *"It is nothing for me because I am 58 years old. There are many younger people, around 80%. This is also why I wouldn't say that Wild im West is open to everyone"*. Jakub, another shop owner, explains the same: *"there were many younger people, not really my territory"*.

More than the feeling not to fit, other neighbours were repelled by the public visiting the project. Balazs, neighbourhood inhabitant, explains: *"Wild im West, they don't really suit me. [...] I did not really appreciate the people there. They were loud, screaming, alcoholised. Maybe they had even consumed narcotics"*.

In the end, a part of the neighbourhood did not visit the project. For Marie, who lives in the neighbourhood, *"only a certain group comes. It is not the one from the neighbouring telecommunication shops"*, while Lena observes the absence of lower-income groups as well as families. This last observation can be linked to my previous observations of Instagram videos, demonstrating the low presence of children.

This way, the material and symbolic appropriation of space by one group, resulting in a kind of dress code, led to prevent the affective and material appropriation of others, or even led to a negative affective appropriation with a resentment towards the project.

Thinking about the concept of *"total appropriation"* introduced by Fournier et al. (2005, p. 14) to describe the exclusive appropriation of space supported by legal and physical

means (fences) in the Venezuelan context, we can here make the proposal of an appropriation that tends to be total: the appropriation tends to be exclusive not because of coercion means but simply because it is carried out by one homogeneous group.

The atmosphere: a space loaded of symbolic markers

The homogeneity in the visitors of Wild im West can also be seen in the homogeneity of their taste. Questioned about their reason to visit the project, all the 8 visitors interviewed referred to the atmosphere of the place, describing it with “it’s *the vibe*” (Marie) “*chill*” (Lena), “*cosy*” (Julia), “*nice*” (Rainer). This enjoyment of the atmosphere is also expressed by the “*relaxed pace*” and “*breeze of lightness*” I noticed in my ethnography.

Bettina, frequent user of Wild im West, explains people’s emotional bond to the atmosphere with “*the plants and the music*”. Indeed, to the question of what they want in ten years on that empty plot, all 8 interviewees within the project indicate that they desire something open, with “*nature*” and “*trees*”. I noticed in my ethnography from the 07/07/2022 that on a day without a special event (e.g., concert, flea market, circus), people are most of all located on the sitting opportunities within the community garden. Plants seem to make Wild im West particularly attractive to the visitors, transforming it into something more than a normal terrace.



Figure 10: Sitting opportunities at Wild im West, 05/07/2022. (Source: author).

The music also seems to play a special role in the affective appropriation of WIM. As Bettina observes, “*it is more young people who come, most of all because of the music*”. We can make the hypothesis that the observed young middle-class group does not just feel to fit in Wild im West, but also that Wild im West fits him, as it fits its tastes. There is a reciprocal relationship between the group and the space, contributing to a strong affective appropriation. At the same time, the music is relatively loud, especially during live concerts. We can interpret the music as a symbolic marker of presence of the young middle-class public at WIM.

A third element finally makes up the relaxed atmosphere consensually praised by the interviewed visitors: the appearance of the project. To visually describe Wild im West, interviewees use terms as *“improvised”* (Lena), *“cobbled together”* (Rainer), *“messy and unorganised”* (Julia), however in a positive way, as they link it to positive feelings. Marie explains that the infrastructure, made up of temporary and non-traditional installations and furniture (container, self-built mini-skate ramp, foldable benches), *“creates a less rigid space”*. The design of the space contributes to the affective appropriation by the homogeneous public.



Figure 11: Unconventional furniture for a special atmosphere, 05/07/2022. (Source: author).

Considering Veschambre (2005) who explains that architectural production is the *“par excellence”* symbolic mode of affirmation of a power over a space, we can think of the architecture of Wild im West as the symbolic expression of the domination of the young middle-class taste in that space. Nothing in the design is improvised; the makeshift adornment serves the purposes of an affective and symbolic appropriation by one group.

However, we can also expect the atmosphere to be a strong repeller for others, that do not see themselves as part of the group. As le Grand argues (2020, p. 195), investigating a similar group in Britain, the taste of the young middle-class public symbolises a *“cultural distinction”* that *“can be read as involving status differentiations vis-à-vis working-class people”*. It would thus be surprising to find a consensus over the atmosphere within interviewees outside the project, within the low-income neighbourhood.

While the presence of plants does not seem to be a problem, the music is. As neighbour Balazs attests: *“People from the neighbourhood got upset because of the too loud music. [...] This music is not my thing”*. We can see here two different problems. First, the volume: being a neighbour and hearing the sound every day is not the same than being a visitor. Pavel, WIM manager, confirms that neighbours came up to ask *“to be careful about the sound”*, and that

a compromise had to be found. The music can create negative affects towards the project. And second, the music type: playing a music always entails the risk to not please some people. Csaban, inhabitant of the neighbourhood who visited Wild im West only once because he *“felt it was not [his] place there”*, admits: *“[The music] is not my orientation. I prefer something more relaxed, calmer”*. This way, the music that contributes to create an appreciated atmosphere for some young middle-class people, creates the opposite for others (mostly older people). Interviewees outside feel excluded by the music, noticing that they are not targeted by the type.

Wild im West’s design equally prevents the affective appropriation of some. The *“messy”* aspect, that had been considered as positive by interviewees within the project, is a critique made by interviewees outside: it should become *“more beautiful”* (Therese), *“nicer and cleaner”* (Balazs), *“change the appearance”* (Cathy). Moreover, neighbours pay a greater attention to Wild im West’s visual matching with the enviroing urban structure, something that none of the visitors had mentioned: *“The way it looks, it doesn’t fit in the area”* (Balazs); *“The transitory solution’s aspect does not match the neighbourhood”* (Dieter). Out of 7 proposals I received from neighbours about things to change in the project, 4 were related to the visual aspect of Wild im West.

This way, we can understand the atmosphere as made up of symbolic markers (music and design), strengthening the exclusivity of WIM: it fosters the affective appropriation by the group that materially appropriates the project, as it fits its tastes, and prevents the affective and thus material appropriation of another population, as it involves class and age differentiation.

As J.P. Lévy analysed 1987 for city centres (Veschambre, 2005), we can consider Wild im West as a combination of material and immaterial symbols that creates a space *“strongly loaded with values and significations, sharpened and constantly renewed by the rivalries around its appropriation”*. The atmosphere is both a result of the domination of a young middle-class group in those rivalries, as well as a tool to renew this domination (attracting people from the group and tending to exclude others).

Different cognitive appropriations leading to different affective appropriations

A major difference between neighbourhood and non-neighbourhood inhabitants can be found in the knowledge about Wild im West, in other words in its cognitive appropriation. My interviews outside the project, in the street, indicate that there is a great knowledge about the existence of the space within the neighbourhood: from 14 interviewees, 13 knew WIM. For all of them, this knowledge has been constructed by passing by as a neighbour. This way, their first relationship to the project is a visual one; their first knowledge about Wild im West is based on its outside appearance.

And here, the fence that surrounds the place can represent an important barrier for deepening the cognitive appropriation. Especially since the fence is covered with fabric, it is impossible to see what is happening inside despite the geographical proximity. For Uwe, salesman opposite the project, *“the project is hidden. Because of the fence, we don’t know what it is”*. The project thus gives the impression of trying to escape the passer-by’s eye, to close off from the neighbourhood.



Figure 12: Passing by Wild im West, 07/07/2022. (Source: author).

Curiosity, or the willingness to deepen the cognitive appropriation, helps to overcome the visual barrier. As Wild im West manager Pavel describes, *“many people were curious at the beginning and came to see”*. From the neighbours I interviewed, curiosity is by far the first reason for visiting the project (4 out of 7 responses). Curiosity however only creates a very precarious relationship to space: once satisfied, it needs something else to make the visitor come-back, to create visitor retention. And this is sometimes lacking: 4 out of the 7 neighbours that came to visit the project did not come back at all. The one-time material appropriation, emanating from an incomplete cognitive appropriation, does not transform into an affective appropriation (amongst others because of the atmosphere explained previously); the cognitive appropriation is too precarious.

The story is radically different for visitors coming from outside of the neighbourhood. Their knowledge about the existence of Wild im West is mostly due, for 5 out of the 8 interviewees, to a recommendation by a close person. We can make the hypothesis that a recommendation already puts the visitor in an optimistic mindset about the project, as a trustworthy person has validated the project, paving the way for an affective appropriation. The visitor who knows what the project is about and knows he will enter, pays less attention to the outer fence than the passer-by. Moreover, as they come from further away specifically for the project – 2 of 8 even take over 30 minutes to come – we can expect them to stay longer within Wild im West. They probably do not come only to have a look around, “to see” the project as neighbours do, but to use it. This way, from their cognitive appropriation of WIM, we can expect first time visitors not from the neighbourhood to have a stronger material and affective appropriation of Wild im West than visitors from the neighbourhood.

Gardening: a transversal but exclusive appropriation

Community gardening is strongly advertised by the optimistic literature on transitory urbanism as a *“light”* (ANRU, 2021, p. 28) and effective tool to achieve objectives on various levels: self-fulfilment, strengthening of community ties, involvement of the neighbourhood,

positive image of the area, climate change adaptation. Lily, co-manager of Wild im West's community garden, takes up this discourse: *"With community gardens you can integrate people in a multicultural garden, involve all the neighbours together around one object"*. With 16 beds collectively managed by 12 persons, she hopes to foster positive relationships among neighbours.



Figure 13: Community gardens at Wild im West, 27/05/2022. (Source: Wild im West).

WIM's community garden indeed helps for the appropriation of the project, with first of all political appropriation. As Lily explains, the involvement of citizens happened spontaneously, from the very beginning: *"Before it was open, people saw from the street that something was happening here and asked if they could help"*. The political appropriation went further than expected by Lily: *"I first thought that people wanted their own patch. But in the end, they did it all together!"*. People thus collectively took over the governance of the garden and oriented it towards their shared preference.

And even beyond, the gardening activity fosters other appropriation types. Lily hints affective appropriation: *"We feel that we provoke something positive, that people get attached to the project and the place."* And she continues with symbolic appropriation: *"The people want to show through gardening: 'this is a space for us'. The previous contestation of the destructions of the buildings were not only about the buildings, but also having a place that belongs to the inhabitants"*. Gardening therefore helps citizens to develop an emotional bond to the space and to assert their presence. We can notice a spill-over from a strong political appropriation to affective and symbolic appropriations.

As the first contact happened through passing-by, Lily explains that it is almost exclusively neighbours, across all generations (from 9 to 70 years old), that participate. My interviews with users of Wild im West seem to indicate that, on the opposite, people from outside of the neighbourhood do not politically appropriate the project. They rather indicate coming as *"consumers"* of the place (Rainer) and lacking a *"personal link"* to the project

managers to get involved (Sophia). Gardening thus seems the perfect activity to enable primarily neighbours to appropriate Wild im West.

However, the picture gets cloudier when looking into details: who from the neighbourhood is actually involved? Lily herself recognises: *“Unfortunately, it is more higher income groups that participate. With transitory urbanism, we do things on the fly. It is difficult to involve the neighbourhood and to represent the surroundings. In the end, it is more of a friend group here. Next time I would like to pay more attention to this.”*

We therefore come back to the hypothesis made earlier: Wild im West successfully attracts people from the neighbourhood, but only a very specific, middle- and higher-class group. The division between neighbourhood and non-neighbourhood is therefore less relevant than a class division: Wild im West barely attracts lower-income groups.

The conclusion of this part strongly overlaps with Friesenecker and Franz’ (2019, p. 111) identified *“potential for improvement”* in the commercial upgrading process of the close-by Reindorfasse: The reduction of empty space and valorisation of the neighbourhood should not overshadow the necessity to pay attention to exclusion mechanisms.

In the next part I will discuss the dynamics of appropriation within my Parisian case study, before trying to provide explanations for the class dependent appropriations and exclusions identified here.

5. Results B: Appropriation of TLM

To expose the appropriations found at TLM, I will proceed as I did for Wild im West: I will first give some context about the project and its neighbourhood, before providing a table that summarises the observed appropriations and discuss the dynamics and conflicts within that table.

Context

The TLM project, short for “Tout Le Monde” (“Everybody”), is located within the neighbourhood *Pont de Flandre*, in the 19th arrondissement of Paris. The neighbourhood is composed of 66,1% social housing (against 19,4% on average in Paris) with notably two important social housing complexes: the *Alphonse Karr residence*, made of red bricks buildings from 1924, and the *Cité Michelet*, made of sixteen white towers from 1968 (Insee, 2023).

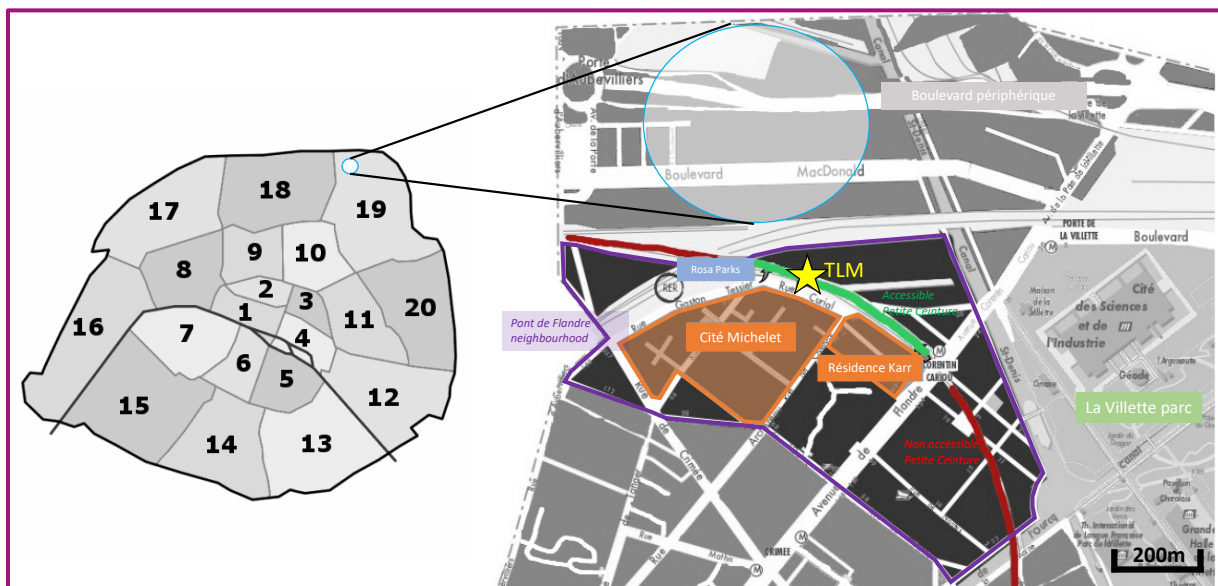


Figure 14: Location of TLM in Paris. (Source: author; map basis: Mairie du 19e arrondissement).



Figure 15: *Cité Michelet*, 19/08/2022. (Source: author).



Figure 16: *Alphonse Karr* residence, 19/08/2022. (Source: author).

Formerly industrial, the neighbourhood is one of the poorest in Paris with 33,3% of its inhabitants living under the poverty rate (against 15,2% on the level of Paris). It is part of the national “Priority Neighbourhood” program, a long-term program intending to reduce inequalities through public policies and NGO funding amongst others (Ministère de la cohésion des territoires et des relations avec les collectivités territoriales, 2022).

The neighbourhood is relatively young – 30,9% under 25 years old against 26,9% for Paris – but with a high percentage of 16-25 years olds out of school and without employment (21% against 8,8% in Paris) (Insee, 2020, 2022a). Only 38% of the neighbourhood inhabitants have a higher education degree (against 60,5% in Paris), and the employment rate of the 15-64 years-olds is lower than in the rest of the city (55,6% against 68,8%). Besides statistics, the neighbourhood is also notorious for drug traffic and violence with youngster brawls, resulting in important stigmas (Aymar, 2015; Le Parisien, 2015).

But this is certainly not the only face of the neighbourhood. While some neighbours complained to me about how “run down” the area now is, other highlighted the positive: “*It is really nice here, like a village, you have to come to understand*” explained Alphonse, who knows the area for over 18 years. The high diversity, with an important immigration from Sub-Saharan Africa (Insee, 2019), is seen as an asset, as well as the proximity to green areas (La Villette) and the density of associational network (Annuaire Mairie, 2022). “*We don’t have money but we have lots of ideas*” laughs Laura, resident in the *Cité Michelet* since 20 years.

Today, the neighbourhood is undergoing important transformations, amongst others because of an important state-led regeneration program. Between 2002 and 2016, the *Cité Michelet* has been fully renovated, with a rehabilitation of the 1777 flats and an improvement of public facilities (streets, green spaces, sport facilities, social services) (Ville de Paris, 2020). Currently, the 400 flats of the Karr residence are under renovation (Paris Habitat, 2022). In addition, the inauguration in 2015 of the regional train station Rosa Parks, 300 meters away from TLM, opened up the neighbourhood. New office, shopping and housing estates are built on the former industrial sites, bringing new people to the neighbourhood (Macdonald, Rosa Parks). Sofien, who is socially active in the neighbourhood since 2002, has witnessed the change: “*This zone was derelict, there was nothing apart from drug addicts, it looked like a factory. It was not at all like now, they have rebuilt a neighbourhood with shops, restaurants, businesses. [...] Rosa Parks brought life, employment. It changed the image of the neighbourhood*”.

TLM is located within an old industrial and technical building of the Petite Ceinture, Paris’ former train belt. It thus has a ground floor that opens onto the street, rue Curial, and a first floor at the abandoned train tracks level. Since the end of commercial traffic in 1993, most of the 32 kilometre-long Petite Ceinture has been abandoned, leading to its illegal use by several groups (mostly youngsters) for barbecues, graffiti spraying and parties.

The future of the Petite Ceinture is unsure. The SNCF has no train project, but the line is still listed as “Réseau Ferré National” and thus protected as a transport infrastructure. Since 2006 and the first agreement between the SNCF and the City of Paris, parts of the abandoned tracks are opened as promenades – the one along TLM opened in 2020.

In parallel, the SNCF shifted over the last twenty years from selling land and properties to land development and transitory urbanism. SNCF Immobilier, SNCF’s land development branch, signed a Charta with the City of Paris to promote transitory urbanism.

The 636 m² building of the 105 rue Curial was unused since the mid-2010s, after both the vehicle rental company *Transport Location Maintenance* and a production company moved out. In 2020, SNCF Immobilier launched the call for projects “A l’orée de la Petite Ceinture, un espace ouvert sur la cité” to occupy the building for twelve years, with social, environmental and economic objectives (SNCF Immobilier, 2020). This longer time was planned for project holders to amortise their investments as they recover the building in poor condition and will have to let it go, including the improvements made, at the end of the occupation period.

Based on an evaluation grid in which the benefits for and involvement of the surrounding inhabitants was a criterion, *Au fil du Rail*, a collective of NGOs mainly coming from the neighbourhood, won the call for project. It is composed of *Les Couleurs du Pont de Flandre*, a community organisation enhancing public spaces, *Espace 19* and the *Centre Social Rosa*

Parks, two local organisations carrying out social activities with neighbours, *Mam'Ayoka*, an NGO for the reintegration of women through catering work, the *IFA Paris*, a fashion school committed to sustainable textile issues, *Grand Huit*, an architecture office specialized in re-use of materials, and *Bellevilles*, a socially and environmentally committed real estate developer. Their project is to create a community space for the neighbourhood around the topics of culture, construction, food and textile with workshops, activities for children and adults, a restaurant, concerts and other events, resulting in job creations for neighbours.

Major works, for approximately 2 million €, had to be carried out to bring the building up to standards, in terms of electricity, plumbing, and accessibility, as well as to improve its insulation and build a new floor under the high ceiling. Despite the relatively low rent to SNCF (approx. 3000€ per year) and the public subsidies (mostly 120 000€ from Paris' participatory budget), funding the works remains a challenge for the collective. Several NGOs advance money and take out loans, that they intend to pay back through the benefits of the restaurant, the bar, and the privatisations of the place.

To test the uses (and adapt the final project) and find the necessary financial support, the collective decided to begin with a five-month prefiguration phase before starting the deeper 2-million-euros works. TLM was open in its transitory phase from mid-April to end of October 2022. This is the phase that I will study.



Figure 17: TLM seen from rue Curial, 20/08/2022. (Source: author).



Figure 18: TLM seen from the former tracks level, 20/08/2022. (Source: author).



Figure 19: Inside the TLM building, 20/08/2022. (Source: author).

Findings

Appropriation	By the inhabitants of the neighbourhood	By the non-neighbourhood inhabitants
Material	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Coming collectively or alone, for activities, NGO meetings or to use the infrastructure (quiet, car-less, children friendly). ➤ Particularly some activities: rap, kitchen workshop, neighbourhood party, fashion parade. ➤ Particularly some hours: 2pm. - 4pm. ➤ Neighbourly relationship, work relationship. ➤ No control/owner/exclusive relationship. ➤ Important non-monetary relationship. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Most of the visitors (apart during NGO-run activities); are "naturally" attracted. ➤ TLM public not representative of the neighbourhood. ➤ Particularly some activities: flea market, concerts. ➤ Particularly some moments: noon (lunchbreak), evening and weekends (less during holidays). ➤ Exclusive space during privatisations. ➤ Consumer relationship (of space of leisure, of food experience).
Cognitive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Knowledge construction through neighbourly relationship (accidentally or on purpose walking by, learning from others) and use of the space. ➤ Knowledge construction through NGO uses of the space. ➤ Participating in and even more leading activities expresses ability to use the space strategically. ➤ BUT: unclear access, unclear how to use the space (mandatory consuming?) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Often no previous knowledge about the space, but knowledge about transitory projects and their public. ➤ Non-neighbourhood inhabitants come to the place on purpose. Great ability to use the space strategically (get a lunch/a drink with friends, attend concert, etc.).
Affective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Not before the start of the project apart for some teenagers who now don't come. ➤ Increases in time. Lasting emotional bond created during the summer. ➤ Feeling to fit created by the gathering with friends/group effect and the decoration. ➤ Feeling to fit depends on prices, proposed activities and on other visitors (increases if perceived as similar). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Great feeling to fit, because of the atmosphere and the public perceived as similar (but not in the neighbourhood!). ➤ Value system applies to different transitory projects: attachment spills-over from on project to the other.
Symbolic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Graffiti on the outer wall to mark the territory. ➤ Proudness about the project and its ability to change the image of the neighbourhood. ➤ People associated to the space (creation of some relationships that don't exist without TLM). ➤ Space associated to people (with food, decoration, atmosphere); space cannot exist without the neighbours. Leads some neighbours to use the possessive "our TLM". 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Use of the project to advocate for a free access to the Petite Ceinture (TLM described as one among others; circulation of images). ➤ Use of the symbol of the space by <i>SNCF</i> and other companies for communication purposes. ➤ Symbolic markers from groups not from the neighbourhood temporarily (and lastingly) take over during (private) events.
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Elaboration of the project with neighbourhood inhabitants; inclusion of desires of "normal" citizens in the project. ➤ Governance and running of activities open to everyone, even those who join along the way. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Participation through Instagram interactions. ➤ High demand for more concerts. ➤ Low involvement in the governance.

Figure 20: Table summarising appropriation forms according to the group, at TLM.

Mutually reinforcing appropriations by the neighbours

Achieve cognitive appropriation with material appropriation

According to managers of the project as well as neighbours, the cognitive appropriation of TLM is a challenge, and this for two main reasons. First, the diversity of activities and events and the high number of participating organisations, sometimes very small NGOs or informal groupings, makes it difficult for visitors to keep the overview about what is happening where and when. And second – and this seems very basic – TLM remains relatively hidden: its openness is only visible from the former train track promenade, not from the street level. “Some people still don’t find the entrance” four months after TLM’s opening according to Patricia, hospitality officer of the project. Suzanna, neighbourhood inhabitant who I interviewed in the street just a few meters away from TLM, shared her desire for a space dedicated to neighbourhood activities; she did not know TLM. There is a lack of knowledge about the project in the neighbourhood.

My findings indicate that material appropriation is key to foster cognitive appropriation. For neighbours who are not member of participating NGOs, their first visit is based on a recommendation (for 4 out of 7 interviewees) or accidental (for 3 out of 7) – walking by (on the Petite Ceinture promenade) and seeing that something is happening. To turn this into regular visits, with an ability to strategically use the project, TLM gives a great space to neighbourhood uses. The place hosts neighbourhood NGOs (also some not member of the collective) for meetings and events; the *Régie de quartier* for example organised its general assembly there. Furthermore, most of the activities are targeting specifically neighbourhood inhabitants, as Neighbour’s Day or manual activities for children. And finally, the place seduces parents who are looking for a space without car for their children to play; TLM offers a new neighbourhood green space.

Those uses participate to construct a non-monetary neighbour-relationship. All the above-described uses promote talking to each other, thus providing additional information about TLM and how to use it best. As neighbourhood inhabitant Frank explains: *“When I come here with my children, other parents or people from the project tell me the program of the next days, what would be good to attend to”*. Material appropriation allows to shift from discovery to knowledge about TLM; it both demonstrates and reinforces cognitive appropriation.

An incident however proves that the allowed material appropriation is not unlimited. While at the opening of TLM neighbours were encouraged to organise their own activities, some youngsters *“went a bit overboard”* (Naf, TLM manager). They used the space as if they had the ownership over it, leading to the destruction of equipment. *“We had to tighten the screws. You cannot do whatever you want whenever you want and however you want”* explains Naf. We thus see that as much as material appropriation is encouraged, neighbours do not have every right. There are appropriations understood as misappropriations, leading to the existence of rules set by the managers.

Achieve affective appropriation with material and symbolic appropriations

Like cognitive appropriation, affective appropriation is a major challenge. Mainly because of pre-constructed ideas, people don’t think they will like TLM and fit. Naf, TLM

manager, acknowledges: *“We suffer from the bobo⁷ image at first; people are sceptical. They wonder if they’re really welcome”*. Sofien, employee of *Espace 19*, an organisation member of the collective, continues on the same note: *“When we asked about the barriers, many people answered that the place was identified as targeting young professionals, not families”*. This feeling is shared by Suzanna, a neighbour I interviewed: *“It is for the new generation, there are no elderlies”*. And finally, according to several project actors, the project is seen as something external to the neighbourhood, especially because of its restaurant component, run by the NGO *Mam’Ayoka*, comes from the 18th arrondissement and not the 19th. The reproach of an external project, targeting only young people from higher classes is thus similar to Wild im West and leads to auto-exclusion by people who don’t think they belong to it.

This image is not completely the truth. Indeed, all activities – several per day – can be attended for free and the public seems more heterogenic in terms of age – from 20 interviewees at TLM, 7 were over 45 – and in terms of socio-professional category – from the 20, 3 were job seekers and 3 had low-skilled jobs⁸. Furthermore, *Mam’Ayoka* is located in the 18th arrondissement, indeed, but only a few streets behind the *Pont de Flandre* neighbourhood limit, and hires for this project women from the neighbourhood. And for the last fear – that it is not possible to come alone – several examples of people met inside prove the contrary, as Danièle, neighbourhood inhabitant in her sixties, who always came alone to the project and always finds people open to interact.

This way, it needs people to come visit and use the project (material appropriation) to deconstruct the ideas and affectively appropriate the project. This affective appropriation in turn reinforces the material one as Jeanne, known figure in the neighbourhood and regular TLM visitor, noticed in fall: *“It is people who were here in the summer who’ve grown attached and now come back”*. At TLM, material and affective appropriations by neighbours mutually reinforce each other.

Parallely, symbolic markers also help to increase affective appropriation. The managers of TLM leave great freedom to citizens to propose ideas to decorate the place. One outcome is the exposition of the artistic project *“Visages d’en Face”* by Christine Boulanger, with portraits (photographic and literary) of people from the neighbourhood. Another outcome is the allowed spraying of graffiti on the outer wall. For Jeanne, neighbourhood inhabitant, *“the graffiti on the wall works well, it makes people come. Then, people are proud because they participated. The children show it to other children, to their parents”*. The visual elements serve as symbolic markers of the power of the neighbours over that space. They stage the relationship between TLM and the neighbourhood and help neighbours to create both an affective bond and a feeling to fit in that space.

⁷ *“Bobo”*, short for “bourgeois-bohemian”, is a “generally urban, wealthy and well-educated person, with progressive societal and environmental concerns” (Larousse, 2023). The word is increasingly used as a buzzword to describe (left leaning) higher classes.

⁸ According to the Insee classification (Insee, 2022b).



Figure 21: “Visages d’en Face” decorating TLM, 20/08/2022. (Source: author).



Figure 22: Spraying on the TLM wall, 20/08/2022. (Source: author).

The mutually reinforcing appropriation loop is however not perfect; it only applies to neighbours who came at least once to TLM. As Léonie, housekeeper in the neighbourhood, notices: *“I only have few tenants who have ever been there”*. From my 7 interviewees outside of TLM, only 2 had been there. The first visit is the biggest challenge for TLM.

Furthermore, there are other dynamics weakening the neighbours’ appropriation loop, as the presence of non-neighbourhood inhabitants, as I will explain in the next part.

Appropriation by non-neighbourhood inhabitants as a challenge

Despite the appropriation by some neighbours, TLM is not completely representative of the neighbourhood. An employee of the neighbourhood management organisation (*Régie de quartier*) acknowledges: *“TLM is not similar to Crimée or Flandre”*, two closely located areas. As the project managers observe: *“At TLM, it is mostly bobos, but not only”* (Naf), and this especially at noon for lunchbreak, in the evening, and on weekends (according to Patricia, TLM hospitality officer).

In my short interviews, I found hints that the population of the neighbourhood does not completely coincide with the TLM public, based on the spoken languages: At TLM, 14 people out of 20 interviewees spoke English, 6 spoke Spanish, 2 Portuguese and one German. Outside of TLM, in the streets of the neighbourhood, only 2 interviewees out of 10 spoke English, but I encountered a greater diversity of languages spoken by one person: Arabic, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Creole, Haitian, Cambodian, Senegalese, Cantonese, Russian, Hebraic. This leads Isabella, a long-time neighbour, to explain: *“The TLM public is not representative of the neighbourhood, it is mostly European typed people who come, people from somewhere else. The real people are here [showing the street]”*. Despite the presence of neighbours, the domination of non-neighbourhood inhabitants in TLM’s material appropriation is clearly noticed by managers and neighbourhood inhabitants.

As it was the case for Wild im West, the simple presence of higher classes (here they don’t come from the neighbourhood) can lead to exclude lower classes: *“the bobos can, not on purpose but still, repel the local populations who think ‘it’s not for me here, with all the other populations coming in”* (Alain, TLM manager).

Beyond their presence at TLM, my findings indicate that their activities can equally be conflicting with the neighbour’s appropriation. The project offers a multitude of possible uses, from consumption to free participation in workshops. As I have demonstrated in the previous part, the neighbour’s relationship to the project is mostly non-monetary. In contrast, Patricia, hospitality officer, notices that non- neighbourhood inhabitants mostly come to consume. My own observations support this, as all the non-neighbourhood inhabitants I interviewed were having drinks or food.

This way, it is not because different publics are at the same place at the same time that they necessarily do the same. Sofien, employee of the community organisation *Espace 19*, has *“the feeling that this meeting between the different audiences hasn’t really happened”*. Sharing space does not necessarily mean mixing audiences, an important learning for transitory urbanism.

Parallely, the consumption practices give an impression of a space where consuming is mandatory, as my own notes reflect:

“When I arrived today, all the tables on the outer spaces of the project were full of people with drinks. This is the first thing I saw. It gives the impression of a bar. I would not dare to sit down without ordering a drink”.

Own notes, 19/08/2022.

The non-monetary relationship of neighbours with TLM, that the project tries to build up, is challenged. For Jeanne, resident well integrated in the neighbourhood, *“One does not have to consume but people don’t know it”*. Without pre-existing knowledge about the project,

it is difficult for neighbours to use the space for free. Their cognitive appropriation is challenged by the material appropriation (consuming) of non-neighbourhood inhabitants.

In addition, the consumption practices have a symbolic effect. The dish of the day served by *Mam' Ayoka* is associated to the neighbourhood communities (Senegalese food for example) and intends to attract them. *"But it is mostly employees from the offices around, not living here, who come to discover food cultures"* acknowledges Souad, cook at *Mam' Ayoka*. The reality of consumption practices of non-neighbourhood inhabitants hijack food as a symbolic marker of neighbourhood inhabitants.

Last but not least, many non-neighbourhood inhabitants – 6 out of the 10 I interviewed – ask for more concerts and musical events. This does not seem to fit with all the desires of the neighbours: 3 out of 10 name the *"calm"* as main reason to come; Frank got the place recommended on a parent's Facebook group because it is adapted for children; Suzanna, living opposite the project, has troubles sleeping because of the noise. But as I have demonstrated that the non-neighbourhood inhabitants come mostly as consumers, there is only few chance that they will politically appropriate the project and push for their ideas. Only 1 out of 10 interviewed knew who was leading the project, while among the TLM visitors from the neighbourhood, they were 5 out of 10.

I have thus demonstrated that despite different publics use TLM, they don't necessarily use it for the same reasons. Non-neighbourhood inhabitants' uses (material appropriation) sometimes conflict with neighbours' appropriation (material, cognitive, symbolic).

The case of the Brooklyn privatisation

Two days a week, Mondays and Tuesdays, TLM is closed to public and can be privatised. Mostly companies, who have heard of the place through word of mouth, use TLM for private corporate celebrations. In those moments, the space becomes exclusive.

Sometimes, on days where the project is open, TLM hosts "semi-privatisations" where an event is open to the public but organised (to varying degrees) by an external organisation. This was the case from the 22/09/22 to the 24/09/22 (Thursday, Friday, Saturday) with the "Brooklyn Experience". For 20.000 euros, a non-negligeable amount of money for TLM, the Brooklyn Brewery, a New-Yorker beer brand, managed TLM. In this part, I will analyse how this increased all types of appropriation of TLM by non-neighbourhood inhabitants, and lowered neighbours' appropriation.

First, the material appropriation. The Brooklyn Experience brought a public that is neither the usual TLM public, nor from the neighbourhood. For Jeanne, known neighbourhood inhabitants and regular TLM user, *"it was full of foreigners, not people from the neighbourhood. [...] It was not the same population than usually, not the same faces. I don't think the youngsters of the neighbourhood came."* Patricia, TLM hospitality officer, explains that *"they brought their own crowd, they already have their public"*, a statement I could hear from several regular TLM visitors. The local public was replaced.

The uses were also transformed. Beer was placed at the centre of the event, with a replacement of the usual menu by the Brooklyn Beer, of the usual activities by brewery masterclasses, of the usual decoration by beer advertisement. *"There was beer galore"*

summarises Jeanne. The consumption pressure that I analysed in the previous part was reinforced, mostly excluding neighbours.

This leads to question how open this kind of event is for people from the neighbourhood. A regular TLM user openly criticises the event by calling it a *“privatisation, not a semi-privatisation”*. Even for Alain, TLM manager, *“they privatised TLM... or I mean occupied it”*. The line between occupation and privatisation is blurred, to the expense of neighbours.

Second, the political appropriation. The Brooklyn Brewery entirely ran the space over three days, almost as an owner. They decided over everything, from the activities (gymnastic basketball show, brewery masterclasses) to the space layout and infrastructure (adding of a photo booth), the menu, and the music. TLM was fully transformed for the purpose of the beer brand advertisement. This ability to decide over the space was very short-termed, as they handed back the power at the end of the three days, but extreme.

Third, the cognitive and affective appropriations. The Brooklyn Brewery is quite famous, with 182.000 followers on Instagram and a broad media coverage. With the three-day occupation, it mediated TLM well beyond the neighbourhood borders, as *“the new spot⁹ on the Petite Ceinture”* (Snacking Today, 2022). People from outside of the neighbourhood discovered TLM for the first time, creating a first cognitive link. For example, I interviewed Esther who discovered TLM through this event and wanted to come back later because she *“really like[d] the place”*, even if she lived 45 minutes away by public transport. Cognitive appropriation was turned into affective appropriation.

But the TLM that Esther discovered was not the one the regular visitors knew. During the Brooklyn experience, *“it was smelling like frying and beer, and they had put their “B” logo everywhere, even on the counter. Everything was in English [...]. In the outer spaces one could not recognise anything, it was not the neighbourhood place anymore”* complained Jeanne, a neighbour. Because of a different population, a different space layout, a different decoration, a different menu, different activities, different smells, and different languages, neighbours lost their previous but cognitive appropriation. This in turn led to the loss of their still affective bond: *“TLM was not our TLM anymore”* (Jeanne).

And fourth, the symbolic appropriation. With this example we see how deep cognitive and affective appropriations are intertwined with symbolic markers on space. The outer wall of TLM was covered by a gigantic mural advertising the beer brand. The inner decoration was replaced by symbols in English. Space was codified for a public that did not come from the neighbourhood, erasing the previous neighbours' codifications. This resulted in the loss of *“our TLM”*, of the cognitive and affective bond to the place, of the symbolic property by neighbours over TLM. As much as I explained that the neighbours' appropriations reinforce each other, we see here that neighbours' disappropriations equally reinforce each other.

⁹ *“Spot”* is in English in the original French text.



Figure 23: Painting of the Brooklyn Brewery mural, Franck Stassi, 2022.

The Brooklyn Brewery chose TLM “because the industrial environment and the red bricks remind a bit of Brooklyn” (Alain, TLM manager). A new meaning gets injected in the architecture; the symbol is hijacked. On the internet, the brand advertises TLM as “one of the unavoidable spaces of 2022” (Beertime, 2022). By making this their only event in France, the brewery hopes to be lastingly associated to that space and its trendy image.

As consequence, this space gets lastingly associated to the brand. Despite the event was limited in time, there are longer-term scars. The cognitive relationship between neighbours and TLM was still fragile because of the project’s newness. An event like this strengthens the image of a place dedicated to higher classes external to the neighbourhood. Furthermore, material traces as the mural on the wall remained well after the event; some neighbours complained about it to me. In a context of a conflict over symbolic markers of space, these traces can have negative consequences on the neighbours’ appropriation.

People from the neighbourhood are not per se opposed to privatisations; many understand the need to finance TLM. But as Jeanne, neighbour, says: “One evening is okay [...], three days is too much”. Maybe an event more limited in time, and an erasure of its symbols after its end would ease the reappropriation by the neighbours the next day.

Non-neighbourhood inhabitants and appropriation of the neighbourhood

Does the appropriation by non-neighbourhood inhabitants of TLM also spill-over to an appropriation of the neighbourhood by them? I did not find evidence of this. From the 10 non-neighbourhood inhabitants I interviewed at TLM, 8 responded that they did not engage with any other use of the neighbourhood. The material appropriation is very limited.

Furthermore, their knowledge about the neighbourhood remains very low. From the 10 non-neighbourhood inhabitants, 7 were not able to name any restaurant, café or bar in the

neighbourhood. The non-neighbourhood inhabitants interviewed also did not seem to be aware of the neighbourhood challenges. Asked about neighbourhood needs (several answers were possible), 6 out of 10 non-neighbourhood inhabitants answered *“more nature”*. On the opposite, out of the 20 neighbourhood inhabitants I interviewed, the major needs named were *“cleanliness”* (6), *“safety”* (6), *“fight against poverty”* (5) and *“more solidarity”* (5). Marie-Thérèse, president of the collective running TLM, even stated: *“It is one of Paris’ greenest areas!”*. Non-neighbourhood inhabitants thus only have a very limited cognitive appropriation of the neighbourhood.

Finally, the non-neighbourhood inhabitants do almost not bond with the neighbourhood despite their affective relationship to TLM. To the question “How would you describe the neighbourhood in a few words?”, 8 out of 10 answered with negative words: *“noisy”, “crack-addicted”, “lack of green spaces”, “too residential”, “dirty”, “dangerous”, “very negative”, “too masculine”*. What neighbourhood inhabitants saw as local challenges, non-neighbourhood inhabitants saw as part of the neighbourhood identity. On the opposite, and despite they had raised some of those issues as “neighbourhood needs”, 15 out of 18 neighbourhood inhabitants provided positive words: *“rainbow”, “diverse”, “living and moving”, “green”, “cosmopolitan”, “multicultural”, “small village”, “familial”, “super-nice”, “ours”, “moving”, “good”*. We can thus notice a large discrepancy in the attachment to the neighbourhood between neighbourhood and non-neighbourhood inhabitants.

Out of 10 non-neighbourhood inhabitants visiting TLM, only two could imagine moving to the neighbourhood. Several interviewees indicate to feel out of step with the neighbourhood, but better at TLM: *“I do not really feel to fit in this neighbourhood. [...] I am for inclusion but as I am White, I get money asked all the time. And there is a lot of street harassment.”* (Francesca); *“I’m less comfortable in the neighbourhood than at TLM”* (Fabrice). Despite their TLM visit, non-neighbourhood inhabitants still have a negative image of the neighbourhood and don’t feel to fit; there is no affective appropriation.

Non-neighbourhood inhabitants thus predominantly come to the project but don’t learn to use, know, nor like its surrounding neighbourhood. The consequences of this absence of appropriation are twofold. On the one hand, we can suppose that gentrification, that could emanate from higher classes discovering low-income areas through transitory projects, is limited. On the other hand, the discrepancy of appropriation between TLM and the rest of the neighbourhood hints that the project works for non-neighbourhood inhabitants as an island, as a space outside of the neighbourhood.

Linking this conclusion to the previous findings – that non-neighbourhood inhabitants’ appropriation conflict with the ones from neighbours, especially during some events – entrenching TLM in its surroundings does not happen naturally. Sofien, active in the neighbourhood for 21 years and now working for the community organisation *Espace 19*, takes stock: *“I didn’t have the feeling that it was a neighbourhood project. I think there’s an enormous amount of work ahead for the team”*.

The next part intends to feed this reflection, by exploring potential reasons that lead to the observed appropriations, and by discussing strategies that foster the appropriation of TLM and Wild im West by their surrounding inhabitants.

6. Results C: Attempt to explain the observed appropriations

In this chapter I will discuss Wild im West and TLM jointly, place them in a dialogue, to explore possible explanations for the different forms of appropriation observed in the first part. The focus will be particularly placed on the appropriation of the projects by neighbourhood inhabitants, to provide insights about how transitory projects entrench themselves in their surrounding low-income neighbourhood. I will therefore first look into preconditions, factors that exist before the start of the project and have a consequence on the later appropriation. Then I will discuss strategies that the studied projects set up to fight those preconditions and engage with their neighbourhood, before discussing factors internal to the projects limiting or strengthening those strategies.

Preconditions

In the following section I will investigate reasons that can lead to differences in appropriation of transitory projects among different people, looking into factors that are present before the project even starts. I first demonstrate the influence on the appropriation of transitory projects of both previous appropriations of the spaces and visions people have of the local transformations. In a second part, I present evidence about the connection between appropriation and possession of unevenly distributed capital.

Unequal relationships to the past

TLM: a place previously used by youngsters

To fully understand a project and its connection to the neighbourhood, it needs to investigate the past, the precedent uses of the place. According to Eva Peynot, transitory urbanism officer at SNCF Immobilier, it was mostly youngsters of the neighbourhood who were illegally using the space before it was opened as a promenade 2020. To find hints of how it had been before, I interviewed Richard Marty Vives, an artist who occupies since 1991 the former Avron station. The place is further south on the same train line but on a track that is not open as a promenade yet. Richard Marty Vives has an agreement with the SNCF to use the building as an atelier in exchange of his presence on site to mediate with local population and oversee (not forbid) the illegal uses. For him, *“many see the Petite Ceinture as a cult place, as their last space of freedom. They drink beers, smoke their first joint here”*. He notes several communities who use this *“secret garden”*: street artists, ravers, friend groups who throw barbecues, but most of all *“kids from the neighbourhood aged 9 to 12 as well as teenagers”*. We can thus suppose that previously to the TLM project, there had been material and affective appropriations of the Petite Ceinture tracks in front of TLM by specific groups, especially local youngsters.

For Eva Peynot and Richard Marty Vives, this results in negative affects regarding the new transitory projects on the Petite Ceinture. The gardens of the Maison Florian, on the Petite Ceinture in the 20th arrondissement, have been trashed shortly after their opening and Eva Peynot supposes a link to the dissatisfaction of local teenagers. *“They see those projects as bobo projects, not made for them at all”* (Eva Peynot); *“They don’t want it to change”* (Richard Marty Vives). This way, before TLM even opens, there could be a negative perception of it by the neighbourhood youth, that can lead to its avoidance.

On the other side, most of today’s TLM visitors had no previous appropriation of the place. Out of the 20 TLM visitors I interviewed, only one used the tracks before their opening for walks. He is also the only one to prefer the place without the project. The others prefer the place now, amongst others precisely because it chases away the youngsters: *“It is now better than when the youngsters were hanging around”* (Eleonore, neighbourhood inhabitant). There is a conflict over the appropriation of the Petite Ceinture.



Figure 23: The abandoned Avron train station on the Petite Ceinture, 07/04/2023 (source: author).

Wild im West: the traces of a conflictive tearing-down

In the case of Wild im West, this conflict is even more pronounced. I met many neighbourhood inhabitants who had an affective attachment to the buildings previously standing on the plot, and the associated people: *“The house was beautiful, renovated, it was perfectly fitting here”* (Uwe); *“I was regularly eating with the watch-shop owner [from the former house]. That were the good old times”* (Csaban). The fast tearing down was for them as unnecessary as *“incomprehensible”* (Balazs). *“Suddenly, within three or four days, they destroyed the building. It all went very fast despite the building stock was still good quality”* (Uwe); *“It was not a nice way to expel people”* (Dieter).

This contested process still leaves traces today, on Wild im West. The project actors compare the transitory occupation to the empty plot: *“There was the choice between fences or project here, not of having the houses back. Our project is the best option”* (Markus, WIM manager); *“It makes more sense to use an empty plot than not to use it”* (Katharina Egg, temporary occupation officer at Kreative Räume). They take the situation as it is after the tearing down. On the opposite, many neighbourhood inhabitants compare Wild im West to

the previous buildings: *"The former houses were fitting here, not this thing"* (Balazs); *"The project does not fit at all in the neighbourhood, they could have left me in there"* (Raimo, shop-owner in the former building); *"Wild im West brings customers but I had more before, with the former house"* (Hassan, shop owner). Neighbours don't have the same reference point as project managers; they see transformations on the long run and don't forget the tearing down.

This leads those same neighbours to avoid the project: *"Because of what Avoris [the real estate company] did, I have an aversion to whatever happens there"* (Dieter); *"As long as there is no house there I don't care"* (Jakub). As I had also noticed for TLM, the ones who use the project did not have any previous appropriation of the place: from the 8 interviewed WIM visitors, none of them knew the former buildings. Wild im West is thus coming on a plot with a contested history, partly defining who comes and who does not. Like for TLM, the previous material, cognitive and affective appropriations are not in the hands of transitory project managers but should definitively be thought of before starting a transitory project.

Different opinions on local transformations

Beyond the attachment to the previous building, it is the attachment to the whole neighbourhood and the vision about its changes that can be decisive. WIM's neighbourhood, *Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus*, is undergoing important transformations towards the attraction of higher classes, a trend that does not benefit to everyone. Many long-established specialist-shops don't find a clientele or a buyer after they retire anymore. Markus Bon, president of the lower Mariahilfer Street shop-owner association M15, explains: *"It would be great if the specialist shops remain, but they have to adapt. Some are stuck in time"*. This way, they oscillate between adapting and surviving, closing, and being replaced by new creative businesses (Friesenecker & Franz, 2019).

The long-term neighbourhood inhabitants I interviewed are reluctant to this process. *"The neighbourhood now is a catastrophe; it was better when my father had his shop"* claims Raimo, shop-owner and neighbourhood inhabitant in his seventies. Balazs, shop-owner, describes: *"I live down the street. 45 years ago, it was always very calm and friendly here. It's not anymore"*. Friesenecker and Franz' (2019) analysis of the studied area can provide an explanation for this reaction. They argue that the current commercial upgrading process potentially leads to a triple exclusion of neighbourhood inhabitants: financial (with the prices), cultural (with the appearance of the products, the shop names etc.) and social (with the closure of regular meeting places).

All my interviewees who were pessimistic about this process also did not like Wild im West. We can suppose that the neighbourhood inhabitants who already suffer the local transformations (as shop-owners or long-term inhabitants) are inclined to have a negative view of Wild im West, understood as a visible symptom and catalyst of these changes.

On the opposite, there are also benefiterers of the commercial upgrading process who praise Wild im West. For Vladimir, shop-owner: *"The area here was dead. We need the younger and richer people to come live here. Wild im West is nice and helps the street, many people come from outside"*. Markus Bon, from the shop association, explains: *"We want to attract light on the 15th district. [...] We want attractive businesses, we want to use the name Mariahilfer Street as an instrument [...] I live here for 26 years and now there is less crime, younger people move here. This is positive"*. Christiane, neighbourhood inhabitant for one

year, is regular WIM visitor. She smilingly claims: *“this neighbourhood is up and coming, and Wild im West contributes to it!”*.

There are winners and (by the WIM managers forgotten) losers of the neighbourhood transformations, resulting in two opposite visions about the local changes. Those visions flow into their vision about Wild im West, with pre-existing positive or negative affects towards the project, impacting their later appropriation.

Uneven distribution of capital

Naf, TLM manager, notices that *“after the first rush, it calms down and it is a clientele more used to this type of space that comes”*. Why so? Does this clientele have something more than the others? In the same vein for Wild im West, Jakub, neighbouring shop-owner, indicates: *“I spoke with some neighbours about it: I don’t understand, what the project is”*. Does it need something specific to make sense of the project? Friesenecker and Franz (2019, p. 110) found something similar: *“older inhabitants indicate not knowing what to do with the creative businesses”*.

I make the hypothesis that this invisible tool, that allows to better use the project but that only some seem to possess, is Bourdieusian capital. According to Bourdieu, capital is made of material and immaterial possessions that one can use to *“appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour*, thus defining one’s position within society (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 15). It can be found in three fundamental guises – economic, social, and cultural capital – unevenly distributed within society. I will explain in the following part how each of the forms of capital helps to appropriate the studied transitory projects, and thus perpetuates social inequalities.

Economic capital

The economic capital, the one Marx focused on, is the total monetary assets (or directly convertible into money) that allows to buy goods and services. Its possession is important in both TLM and WIM because of the previously discussed pressure to consume (less or more important according to the moments).

Especially at TLM, the managers realised that the prices – 8€ meal and 5€ beer (0,5L) – was a brake for neighbours’ material and affective appropriation: *“People sometimes feel like strangers at home, among other things because of the expensive prices”* (Patricia, TLM hospitality officer); *“Neighbourhood inhabitants thought that the prices of the restaurant were excessive, that they could not identify with it”* (Sofien, local NGO employee). But I also found evidence for this at Wild im West: *“The prices are quite hard, lower income groups are deterred”* (Julia, neighbourhood inhabitant).

According to my findings for TLM, we can suppose that people from the neighbourhood are the most hit by the economic barrier, compared to non-neighbourhood inhabitants. To the question *“How much maximum are you ready to pay for a big beer (0,5L) in this neighbourhood?”*, the neighbourhood inhabitants answered on average with a lower price than non-neighbourhood inhabitants visiting the project: 5,7€ (13 respondents) vs. 7,5€ (10 respondents)¹⁰. Those interviews are not representative but can give a hint: the price is a

¹⁰ Six respondents preferred to answer the question with a juice instead of beer, as they did not drink alcohol. I converted with a ratio 1 juice = 1,5 beer, because it is the ratio of the Berliner Wunderbar, running the TLM bar.

higher barrier for neighbourhood inhabitants than for non-neighbourhood inhabitants who come to the project.

This difference is less pronounced at Wild im West (on average 3,8€ for 11 interviewed neighbourhood inhabitants against 4,1€ for 6 non-neighbourhood inhabitants), which also makes sense as I had demonstrated earlier that the socio-economic class differentiation happens within the neighbourhood. At WIM, possession of economic capital is probably not a barrier for all the neighbours but only for those who have a lower income.

Social capital

The social capital is the “*mutual acquaintance and recognition*” between persons, their inter-knowledge, which “*entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word*” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 21). Social capital is depending on both the amount of people one can mobilise when needed, and the importance of these people (the capital they have).

Even if managers of both projects try to reduce the requirement for social capital, indicating that one can come alone and learn to know new people, it does not completely disappear. At Wild im West, Vladimir, neighbour, indicates that “*it is a place to chitchat with friends but not to come alone*”. Isabella, whose flat faces TLM, explains: “*I think the project is good, but I have never been there because you have to go with your crew*”. A lack of social capital in the moment of visiting TLM can lead to feel out of place (no affective appropriation) and to auto-exclusion.

In addition, social capital helps to access specific information such as the program and how to participate. Markus, WIM manager, explains: “*We don’t do much advertisement, it runs a lot via contacts*”. Jeanne, well-known Pont de Flandre inhabitant because of her social engagement, attests for TLM: “*I participated in the flea-market, because Naf [project manager] proposed it to me. But someone who doesn’t know them does not have the info. To involve the inhabitants, it would need to better pass on the news, have better channels than individual ones*”.

Cultural capital

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital exists in three different forms that depend on each other: the objectified state – cultural goods (which still have to be interpreted) – the institutionalised state – recognised cultural capital for example through diplomas – and the embodied state – “*long lasting disposition of the mind and body*” that enables one to use the objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17). In other words, it needs to acquire specific ways of thinking and behaving to make sense of cultural goods. The requirement of this last form is certainly the most hidden but also the most important barrier in my case studies.

In both projects I witnessed how a same reality could be interpreted differently and create opposite feelings. At Wild im West, many neighbours who did not like and thus not visit the project blamed it for being “*too sloppy*” (Birgitte), “*not enough maintained*” (Alina). On the opposite, the regular WIM visitors liked and understood the less formal and neat side: “*the weeds are part of it!*” (Bettina). Similarly, two students visiting WIM, Lena and Julia, describe the atmosphere as “*chill*” and “*cosy*”, far from Balazs and Csaban, two neighbourhood inhabitants in their late sixties who seem overwhelmed by this project: “*There is always such a whirlwind, such a fuss*” (Balazs); “*I would want something less chaotic, more calm, cosier. This is too loud, it is like an amusement parc. [...] I don’t understand it, maybe I’m too old*” (Csaban).

Bourdieu explains that because of its “*disguised*” transmission and acquisition, embodied cultural capital tends to be recognised as a “*legitimate competence*” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 18). We can thus make the hypothesis that the possession of a certain embodied cultural capital gives the competence to decipher the transitory project. This ability to understand the project is, in turn, key to appropriate it.

This could explain the disconnection some neighbours during the Brooklyn Experience at TLM. Patricia, TLM hospitality officer, explains that “*the event is not part of the culture of people from the neighbourhood*”. Culture, as Bourdieu writes, is a form of embodied capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 18).

Embodied cultural capital also becomes visible when visitors compare the project to other places: “*The whole thing here [WIM] is nice, it’s Berlin-like*” (Rainer, WIM visitor); “*I didn’t know this place but I’ve been to the Cité Fertile [another transitory project around Paris]*” (Quentin, TLM visitor). Even beyond, some visitors associate TLM to a category of place – “*this kind of place*” (Jean), “*that type of space*” (Quentin), “*those third spaces*” (Carmen) – demonstrating knowledge about it despite it is their first visit at TLM.

This categorisation is not meaningless. From my interviews, most of the people who use TLM know other transitory projects (17 out of 20), and even more if we only consider people not coming from the TLM neighbourhood (10 out of 10). On the opposite, only one interviewee not using TLM out of 10 knew another transitory project. This would indicate that transitory projects somehow have a network effect.

We can make the hypothesis that visiting a transitory project leads to acquire a certain cultural capital that can be reused in other projects. It provides an increased knowledge to strategically use the space (cognitive appropriation) and a predisposition to develop positive affects towards the project (affective appropriation). Looking back to previously exposed idea of transitory projects as islands within low-income neighbourhoods, we could interpret them here as archipelagos of islands, more connected to each other than to their neighbourhoods. This vision is for sure harsh but depicts a certain reality due to the necessity to carry cultural capital to appropriate transitory projects.

I have thus demonstrated that everyone is not equal to appropriate a new project. On the one hand, previous appropriation and disappropriation processes and the perspective on local transformations can be decisive. On the other hand, the uneven distribution of capital within society paves the way for a reproduction of these inequalities in the appropriation of the transitory projects.

To redistribute the odds and promote appropriation by neighbours, the studied transitory projects take actions that I have regrouped into two categories: coming into exchange with neighbourhood inhabitants, and creating a place for and by neighbours. I will discuss those two strategies in the next part.

Project strategy 1: Interacting with neighbours

We have seen previously that transitory projects, before even questioning if they please the visitors, face a double cognitive difficulty: of neighbours not knowing that the place exists, and of neighbours not knowing that the place is for them, that they can access it without high capital requirements (economic, social or cultural). As an answer, the managers of the studied projects try to create a first exchange, to establish a first link, in order to give knowledge about the openness of the projects, a seed for a future appropriation.

Direct exchange

In both of the projects, WIM and TLM, there is always a manager present to explain the project to people who come by. In the case of TLM a hospitality officer, Patricia, was specially appointed for that reason. I have witnessed during my ethnography how citizens, often neighbours who were just passing by, came up several times a day to her to ask questions about the project. At WIM, Pavel and Markus, project managers, were often serving at the bar and chitchatting with people who came by. Eva Peynot, who supervises several transitory occupations for SNCF Immobilier, recognises full-time presence as a “successful practice” and she advises it to new projects. For her, regular discussions are key to carry out a pedagogical and mediation work to increase the acceptance of the project by the neighbours.

Beyond, I found out in my fieldwork that setting up discussion channels outside of the project, directly in the neighbourhood, is central to attract neighbours to the project. Naf, TLM manager, explains: *“Strategically, to be in connection with the neighbourhood, you need to have relays, associations, networks of people”*. This seems true as from the 10 neighbours I interviewed who visited TLM, 4 came because of a recommendation and 3 were themselves part of NGOs running TLM.

Naf adds: *“A frequent mistake is to not know who the local actors are. This leads to tensions with the neighbourhood and will bring you the police more often. Neighbours will ruin you because they don’t know the project, they don’t come, they are foreigners to it”*. To deal with this challenge, the TLM collective let its members who were best integrated in the neighbourhood, the community organisations and social centres, carry out most of this work, demonstrating an understanding and a strategic use of the strength of each of the members. *“We at Espace 19 are already visible and known in the neighbourhood, so we can better communicate”* (Sofien); *“At Bellevilles we know that we are all a bit ‘bobo’, [...] so we don’t go into a project if it is not led by a citizen collective”* (Alain). Furthermore, TLM works together with other organisations, not part of the collective, and invited janitors of the neighbourhood to the project opening. Major relays were thus identified.

In addition, Patricia, TLM’s hospitality officer, became herself an important relay. On her own initiative, she went once a week to neighbourhood events as picnics and other informal meetings, where she presented herself and the project and bonded with neighbours. She appropriated the neighbourhood. This works as Danièle, neighbourhood inhabitant, describes: *“I mostly come to TLM to chitchat with Patricia.”* Through explaining the project and building an affective relationship with neighbours, Patricia shows the neighbourhood that possession of economic and cultural capital is not required, as well as distributes social capital

in the neighbourhood (people who come are not alone as they know her). Relays as Patricia reduce the perception of capital requirement and target the cognitive and affective appropriations of TLM by neighbours, that can later reinforce other types of appropriation as I have shown that they are mutually reinforcing.

With the same intention, the Wild im West managers did a door-to-door action where they tried to build up a relationship with neighbours. They explained the project, gave their name and contact details and distributed approx. 400 vouchers for free drinks. The success is however mitigated. 150 vouchers got used within the three first months, but several neighbours still complain about not understanding the project and not being targeted by it.

Based on the previous findings, this could be due to an insufficient cooperation with locally known structures and to an insufficient time taken to build relationships. It is however not necessarily the fault of WIM's managers: less community organisations exist in the lower Mariahilfer Street than in *Pont de Flandre* (Annuaire Mairie, 2022; imGrätzl Wien, 2023) and constructing relationships demands huge human capacities.

Exchange through activities

Katharina Egg from Kreative Räume, Vienna's municipal agency for transitory urbanism, points out another way to exchange with the neighbours and show them that the barriers to enter are low: *"It needs something, that makes people dare to enter, as a market for example. With the bar, it is unclear if one must consume. [...] The point is to get into exchange through activities"*. Activities can serve as icebreakers.

Furthermore, activities are central on the longer run to keep the exchange with neighbourhood inhabitants going: *"For neighbours to appropriate TLM [word used without me introducing it previously], our role as social centre is to set up activities that attract neighbours and that make the place known, so that people come spontaneously"* (Sofien, *Espace* 19). Activities heavily influence the visit of neighbours, probably more than non-neighbourhood inhabitants: from the 10 neighbourhood inhabitants interviewed at TLM, 6 come primarily for an activity other than the bar (against 2 for non-neighbourhood inhabitants). *"I come according to what there is"* explains Giselle, neighbourhood inhabitant in her sixties.

The assessment of TLM carried out by *Bellevilles* recognises that activities are a *"tool to make people come"*, thus central to create material appropriation. Simultaneously, activities create (or not) sense of fitting (affective appropriation): *"I feel more or less that I belong here [TLM], depending on the activities"* (Christelle, neighbourhood inhabitant).

What activities work the best then? It would be too easy (and wrong!) if there was one replicable recipe, but the analysis of Wild im West and TLM provide interesting reflections. At TLM, the managers realised that apart from being for free, the interaction between the project and the neighbours works best when the activities answer local needs: *"We organise different activities to attract the different publics. When we do rap evenings, neighbourhood parties, knitting or cooking workshops, it is 100% local people who come. This is because they didn't have a sufficient place to do that before. In this neighbourhood place they can do it"* (Naf, TLM manager). It is thus important to construct the project around the specific needs and desires of the neighbourhood, something both projects tried to do (to different extents) as I will analyse in the next part.

Project strategy 2: Constructing “a neighbourhood place”

We now move on to the second strategy to promote appropriation of projects in low-income areas by its surrounding inhabitants: constructing a place for and by neighbours. This strategy is closely intertwined with the first one, the interaction with neighbours, but targets more strongly political and symbolic appropriation.

A project for neighbours

From the very beginning, TLM and Wild im West both wanted to design places for neighbourhood inhabitants, but for slightly different reasons. Wild im West had already existed at another place before and moved to Mariahilfer Street because of the empty plot. Targeting the neighbours of the Mariahilfer Street is a repercussion; it could have been other people if an adequate spot had been found elsewhere. On the opposite, the *Au fil Du Rail* collective was set up by local NGOs for the only sake of running TLM and improving the quality of life in the specific *Pont de Flandre* neighbourhood.

Furthermore, creating a neighbourhood place was in both cases an imposed requirement. For TLM, the link to and benefits for the neighbours was an important criterion in the SNCF’s call for projects. For Wild im West, the plot owner *Avoris* chose the transitory occupation to “involve neighbours” (Florian Bozenta, *Avoris*), and the city granted *Nachbarschaftsinitiative*¹¹ funding under the condition of the creation of a “community place” (Pavel, WIM manager).

Being a neighbourhood place means being broadly used and known by neighbourhood inhabitants (material appropriation). To gain knowledge about the neighbours’ needs and desires, TLM made the choice to not predefine the activities from the beginning but to try out many different ones and see, in line with the experimental philosophy of transitory urbanism. This way, TLM remained during the summer a “hybrid space” (Naf), not associated to one single genre. Some events, as the fashion show, attracted much more neighbours than expected, and can influence future uses, during the transitory as well as the long-term phase. Managers better know which activities attract neighbours.

Wild im West for its part tried to set up activities targeting the neighbourhood directly, for example gardening with kindergartens. But the project remained mostly known – and among the people I interviewed: only known – for the bar, the DJ sets, and the thrift-shopping flea-market, which are all activities that require forms of capital. This demonstrates the importance of thinking about the balance between the activities and the visibility of each of them.

Besides the type of activities, the reflection should also focus on the moment the activities are happening: “TLM was running a lot during evenings and in that moment families from the neighbourhood are likely to be preparing food for their children. So, it was not adapted” (Sofien, from *Espace 19*).

¹¹ Meaning in German “Neighbourhood initiative”.

Being a neighbourhood place also means being symbolically appropriated by the neighbourhood inhabitants. For that, apart from the decorations that create continuity between the inside (within the TLM building) and the outside (the neighbourhood), TLM provides interesting examples of continuity between then and now, between previous appropriation and the new project. The name “TLM” was chosen because of the well-known white letters standing since the 1990s on the façade for the previous occupant “Transport Location Maintenance”. Not erasing them means not destroying the previous cognitive and symbolic appropriation (in contrast to what happened during the Brooklyn Experience). Because of the previous erasing of symbolic markers, Wild im West did not have the chance to build up on them.

Furthermore, TLM allows and even promotes activities that were existing before the project, as the graffiti on the outer wall. It tries to minimise the disappropriation feeling with the message: it is still your place.

A project by neighbours

To really create a neighbourhood place, TLM tries to go one step further, shifting from a project for neighbours to a project by neighbours. Targeting political appropriation, neighbouring inhabitants were included in all the steps of the process. To answer the SNCF’s call for projects, the project had been elaborated collectively within each of the NGOs. *“Very normal people from the neighbourhood participated”* welcomes Naf, TLM manager. During the selection of the project, the jury was composed i.e. of representatives of the neighbourhood council, a local community institution, and this made in the end tip the scale in favour of the *Au fil du Rail* collective. Now, the project is governed through consensus among the 8 NGOs, all more or less local (apart from the real estate organisation *Bellevilles*) and thus included through their members within feedback loops coming from the neighbourhood.

The TLM managers emphasise their commitment for neighbours’ involvement: *“We want to create a place with people, for real, not like the guys from communication schools advertise”* (Naf); *“To the people whom I hear criticising the project in the neighbourhood I tell: ‘Okay come and change that’”* (Patricia). TLM does not only want to attract people who will like the project, but also people who will improve the project.

This active promotion of political appropriation has consequences on other forms of appropriation. Sarah, neighbourhood inhabitant, explains: *“I had many ideas and TLM told me ‘just come’. I advocated for the wheelchair ramp. [...] The project is good, but we still have to attract more in the neighbourhood”*. Through her strong political appropriation (she thinks about the next steps of improvement) came material, affective and symbolic appropriation (“we” to talk about the project).

Wild im West tried to involve neighbours with the launch of a weekly flea-market, on Saturdays. Managers went up to neighbouring shops and proposed them to participate, to sell their products. The results were however mixed. The six closely located shop-owners I interviewed all explained to me that they do not have the human capacity to participate. As single shop owners, with few or no employees, they cannot make it work. The capacity of neighbours to participate must be considered.

On the opposite, other neighbours who were trying to start their activity used Wild im West as an opportunity. They often spontaneously came up to the project managers and asked for selling their products (e.g., ice cream, specific alcohol), a demand that was mostly

answered positively. Through informal interactions, Wild im West let neighbours run parts of the project.

At TLM, I noticed the same informality to get neighbours onboard:

"A woman is sitting inside TLM, doing bracelets on a table while talking to a friend. Naf, the project manager, comes up to her and says: 'oh they look nice. Would you want to organise a bracelet workshop next week?'"

Own notes, 04/08/2022.

Both projects are thus partly made of informal interactions, that allow citizens to participate easily, but also carries the risk of only involving those who dare, bringing back the capital requirements. The fact that Naf himself goes up to people can be a way to overcome this barrier. The big difference between the participations at TLM and WIM is their commodification, with the participation at WIM remaining in the frame of a business-partner relationship.

As a result, the degrees of political appropriation seem lower at Wild im West than TLM, as two elements demonstrate. First, TLM is mainly perceived as a non-commercial project led by neighbourhood inhabitants. On the opposite, WIM, despite it is not always true, is seen as a business, and by some as a competitor: *"If they serve to eat and to drink it is negative for the restaurants of the area who already make little money. I talked about this with the [neighbouring restaurant]"* (Balazs, neighbour). Second, many neighbours are very concerned about the future of TLM and committed to keep it accessible. *"I feel home here but it has to remain accessible to small budgets, enjoyable for all. I don't know yet how the final project is gonna be but I will follow that closely"* (Danièle, neighbourhood inhabitant). I did not find evidence of this in Vienna.

It is however important to remind here that the conditions for political appropriation were harder at Wild im West, where many inhabitants had lost confidence in their ability to influence the future of the space after the tearing-down of the buildings. *"With all their lawyers... they [Avoris] will always do whatever they want. My opinion about the future does not count"* (Dieter, neighbourhood inhabitant). Political appropriation is a strong tool to promote neighbourhood inhabitants' appropriation of transitory projects but depends on many factors.

To fight against the unequal pre-conditions, two strategies are used at TLM and Wild im West: creating exchange channels and constructing a place for and by inhabitants. The previous history and the uneven distribution of capital require these actions at least as much at WIM as at TLM, but there seems to have been less success in implementing them. In the next part, I will investigate possible reasons that might have hindered or promoted the setting up of those strategies.

Project-internal factors affecting the strategies

In this part, I will explore factors that influence the commitment to set up strategies targeting neighbours' appropriation in low-income neighbourhoods. I will thus more strongly investigate the managers' perspective and analyse some of the choices they have to make to answer the needs of the projects, and demonstrate the importance of their individual mindset on how (much) they engage with involving neighbours.

The needs of the projects

Financial needs

The most obvious challenge for transitory projects is the limited amount of available money. While the deficit was supposed to be around 50.000€ over the summer test-phase at TLM, it ended up being of approx. 130.000€. Alain, in charge of the financial follow-up, explains: *"What was intended to be a small summer-refreshment bar transformed into a full space with a program and activities every day. [...] We were carried away by the enthusiasm surrounding the project"*. In parallel, several NGOs have taken loans to fund the works at TLM and urgently need to find ways to get it back. Wild im West encounters the same pressuring financial needs: *"Our limit apart from time is money. Everything is always a compromise, never our favourite choice"* (Markus, project manager).

To face that challenge, both projects (as most transitory occupations) put the bar in the centre of their business model. At Wild im West, *"it pays for everything"* asserts Pavel (project manager). For that reason, Markus (project manager) goes up to groups that did not consume at all shortly before the end of the evening and explains the business model. Pressuring financial needs put in question the "consumption-free zone" WIM wants to be.

At TLM, 50% of the incomes are expected to come from the bar. This explains why I found among the project managers a smaller reluctance than I would have expected towards attracting classes with higher financial means. The rest of TLMs' incomes are supposed to come from catering, event hosting and privatisations. Despite the managers know the risks of privatisations on the appropriation by neighbourhood inhabitants (see part on Brooklyn Experience p. 56), they cannot reject them because of the financial inflow they represent. *"Those choices are always hard to take, and still not settled now. [...] The idea of a privatisation is purely financial. We would need to make more of them"* (Alain, TLM manager).

There is thus a tension between financial needs of the projects and their social purpose and interaction with their neighbourhood. *"A balance has to be found"* claims TLMs' self-made assessment, trying to overcome case by case decisions. But where to draw the line? An interesting case came with a company asking to privatise TLM on a day it should normally be open to the public. TLM agreed but asked for a very high price, leading the company to decline. Asking a price according to the estimated impact on the neighbours' appropriation can be a lead (all the impacts are certainly not predictable).

Wild im West had to cancel social events, for example a neighbourhood dinner for the Syrian community, and asked for an entrance fee for an event, because of lacking funds. But at the same time, the managers did not accept a generous offer from a liquor company for the right to paint a huge mural advertisement behind the project. Transitory projects are financially pressured to step into lucrative activities that divert from social neighbourhood engagement. Every project needs to set its own limit.

It is also important to note that in both cases public funding helped to take pressure off. The Parisian participatory budgeting allowed TLM to *“have more freedom to organise projects”* (Sofien, *Espace 19*). In Vienna, public toilets paid by the municipality were set up in front of the project. *“It allowed us to use an important part of our money for other things than toilets”* explains Pavel, WIM manager. Public fundings are thus essential for the capacity of a project to interact with its surroundings.

Organisational and human needs

A very visible limitation of the dialogue with the neighbourhood is the fence around Wild im West, despite the managers describe the project as *“an open square”*. Pavel, project manager, justifies: *“We did not want it, but it was for legal reasons. The insurance needed it”*. This very practical need impacts the cognitive appropriation of WIM by neighbours; the exchange with the neighbourhood is obstructed.

At TLM, organisational needs have also appeared: *“A lot was done in a hurry. There have been activities running over time or leaving mess around. On that we need to be assertive”* (Alain, TLM manager); *“We started to be more careful. You can do whatever you want but you need to respect an agenda and you need to come with your own set-up”* (Naf, TLM manager). The willingness to *“professionalise”* the organisation, as TLMs’ self-made assessment indicates, limits the spontaneity and easiness for neighbours to participate: *“There have been young singers, rappers from the neighbourhood, who wanted to perform there. They thought it would be easy but realised it was not that much”* (Sofien, *Espace 19*). Organisational needs can have a direct impact on appropriation by the neighbourhood inhabitants.

This organisation is however essential to preserve the co-workers’ mental. *“TLM put a lot of pressure on the teams, some left because of burn outs, we have been overwhelmed with the scale of it all. [...] It was a lot of stress, a lot of hours. It is important to have the ambition of an impact in the neighbourhood, but we also have to make sure people are not put in distress”* (Alain, TLM manager).

Wild im West describes the same difficulties: *“We got a moon land and with just 5 people we had to do everything. [...] We are here 24/7”* (Pavel, project manager); *“I can imagine that this time is very intense for [the Wild im West managers]”* (Katharina Egg, Kreative Räume). The mental pressure put on project runners is a topic that should not be underestimated in transitory urbanism, and that can limit the (human) capacity of a project to conduct neighbourhood actions.

Image needs

Wild im West attests the importance of personal contacts in the transitory urbanism sphere, in all the stages of the project: *“We came to Kreative Räume through personal contacts”* (Florian Bozenta, Avoris); *“We knew David was looking for a new vacant plot”* (Katharina Egg, Kreative Räume, Vienna’s municipal transitory urbanism agency), *“I had contact with the sphere of transitory occupations and David, so he chose us to help him for the project here”* (Pavel, Wild im West manager). For that reason, many transitory actors need to demonstrate and self-advertise their professionalism in order to be chosen or recommended for the next project.

Similarly, as the reputation influences if and how much TLM can be privatised for, the project needs to control its image: *"This is not a squat, we do not smoke inside. We need to be careful about our image. [...] There is the reputation of the place at stake; an event needs to be visual, well organised"* (Naf, TLM manager). Financial needs are intertwined with organisational and image needs.

Interestingly, in contrast to TLM, WIM does not distinguish itself that much from squatting: *"We are the next generation of squatters. We are still the same people but institutionalised"* (David, WIM manager). This could be explained by the different public each of them tries to attract to satisfy financial needs: while TLM advertises itself as organised to be chosen for hosting private events, WIM tries to attract a young middle class that searches for the unconventional and unorganised. Business strategies push image choices.

This can have direct consequences on the targeted public: *"We need the bobos, but we do not only want them. At the same time, we don't want to be too 'ghetto'"* (Naf, TLM manager). In an interweaving of financial and image needs, TLM tries to attract amongst others middle and higher classes.

The running organisations of the projects are not the only ones paying attention to the image; others benefit from it too. Eva Peynot from SNCF Immobilier acknowledges that TLM *"is good for communication. [...] It contributes to the SNCF's corporate social responsibilities"*. For that reason, the SNCF put a huge emphasis on the social component of the projects during the call for projects.

At Wild im West, this owner advertisement objective goes further. The project intends to appease the tensions due to the tearing-down of the buildings and to advertise the real estate project and the company for future buyers. Florian Bozenta from Avoris, the real estate company, explains: *"The transitory occupation makes peace with the neighbourhood. [...] We did not put a big sign of us, but of course the project serves our image. [...] We also come here with guests [...] Above all, we want an external effect: attention"*.

We thus see that the owners' desires to exploit the image of the transitory projects – a form of symbolic appropriation – can have effects on two levels. First, they force the projects to entrench themselves in their low-income neighbourhood, as the owners want to be seen as social contributors. And second, especially in the case of Wild im West, they risk to place external owner advertisement needs above the neighbourhood needs. Using transitory projects for advertisement purposes is not bad per se, but risks to shift away the focus from the inhabitants.

This way, managers of transitory occupations must satisfy different needs, limiting their room for manoeuvre. They have to make compromises that can weaken their ability to engage with their low-income surroundings. How those compromises are made in the end strongly depend on the mindset of the managers themselves, as I will explore in the last part.

Importance of the persons

Studying TLM and Wild im West I realised that whatever the position, much depends on the individual persons in charge. The second generation of calls for projects of SNCF Immobilier, among which the TLM one, is more oriented towards the neighbourhood than the previous generation 2015 as a result of a personal impulsion given by a new person in charge. Similarly, the idea to attend informal neighbourhood events and create direct exchange with inhabitants was Patricia's own initiative, based on her past experiences: *"Before, I was a real*

estate agent. When you visit a house, you need to see all what is around. So the first day, I walked around and realised that the people I was seeing at TLM were not the ones I was seeing at Michelet. So I went to talk with them to understand". Pavel, Wild im West manager, uses his knowledge and networks as an artist to run the project.

This importance of the persons conducts to a strong transposition of their knowledge and ideas into the projects. At Wild im West, I witnessed how the managers first brainstormed ideas very informally, letting creativity free rein, before setting them up very soon after. Furthermore, the fact that they live within the neighbourhood was a necessary element to build up legitimacy in the eyes of some neighbours and of the district administration: *"When we had our first contact with the city to introduce ourselves, they called us the "new aliens" in the email. They are very cautious towards foreigners who don't live in the neighbourhood. Saying that we live here was important"* (Pavel, WIM manager).

At TLM, the project benefits the expertise of managers (and all kind of participants!) about both transitory urbanism and the neighbourhood. SNCF Immobilier had the feedback from several past projects and can thus be more helpful and flexible to demands (for example extending the occupation time to help NGOs reimburse their investments). The NGOs of the collective are well aware of the local challenges, with some of them implemented since decades (e.g. *Espace 19* since 44 years) and some of their workers present in the area for a long time (e.g. Sofien from *Espace 19* since 2002). There is a great understanding of local dynamics; some of the actors have experienced them in the past: *"Of course the youngsters want to go illegally on the Petite Ceinture. I also went when I was young"* (Eva Peynot, SNCF Immobilier). When asked about the objectives of the project, the president of TLM Marie-Thérèse first answered with enumerating the needs of the neighbourhood. All of this together contributes to the success of creating a space that answers neighbourhood needs.

Furthermore, the positionality and expertise of TLM managers conducted them to be very aware about the risk to have a higher-class public, and thus to participate to gentrification processes. Without me mentioning it, all of them (Eva Peynot, Naf, Patricia, Alain, Marie-Thérèse) talked about the topic and expressed their desire to be active against it. Intentions alone are not enough, but they certainly pushed in the direction of setting up strategies to involve the surrounding inhabitants.

At Wild im West, the stances of managers were less clear-cut. While some indicated being *"aware"* of the potential problems (Lili), others positioned themselves rather outside of it or welcomed it: *"I don't think gentrification is our topic at Wild im West, as we are a temporary project. This is more the point when there are new places that come and try to gain a monopoly over the clientele"* (Pavel); *"The area was gangstery, now its hypstery! [...] We are pioneers of gentrification. Before there was nothing here"* (David).

My point is not to demonstrate that Wild im West is responsible of gentrification, but rather to make the hypothesis that personal settings, objectives and knowledge of the managers have an influence on how much they (can) take action to specifically engage with their low-income surroundings. It needs a strong personal commitment in addition to room for manoeuvre to set up strategies that overcome the unequal preconditions of appropriation.

7. Conclusion

Appropriation of space has thus proven to be a very useful concept for exploring the unequal relationships of people to space. The operationalisation I made of the concept offers both an innovative way to work with it, applicable to other case studies (that can in turn enrich it), and a better understanding of the concept. Appropriation of space is about much more than just the presence of people within a space; many dimensions have to be considered when promoting it.

While the different forms of appropriation – material, cognitive, affective, symbolic, and political – can mutually reinforce each other, I have also found cases where appropriation by one person or group works as exclusionary practice, preventing appropriation by others. Symbolic markers, e.g., music or decoration, are therefore central elements in the conflict over the appropriation of a space.

This work also provides a critical reflection about how transitory projects can engage with their low-income surroundings, an essential question in times where the practice is increasingly institutionalised and funded to answer societal challenges.

Analysing Wild im West (Vienna) and TLM (Paris), I found out that relatively young higher- and middle-class people, often not from the surrounding neighbourhood, have an advantage in appropriating transitory projects compared to low-income neighbourhood inhabitants. First, because the higher possession of Bourdieusian forms of capital (economic, social, and cultural) helps to appropriate the projects. Especially the requirement for a certain cultural capital, acquired through visiting other transitory projects, can lead transitory projects to work as archipelagos disconnected from their neighbourhood but connected to each other. And second, because previous appropriation and disappropriation processes of the same place can have negative impacts on the cognitive and affective appropriations of transitory projects by neighbours. Everyone is not equal to conduct a new appropriation of space.

In the studied projects, I observed that the strong appropriation by young higher- and middle-class people can in turn have a negative influence on the appropriation by low-income neighbours. Especially at Wild im West, the material appropriation conducted by a very homogeneous young middle-class group, even in gardening, leads to a strong symbolic codification of space, resulting in the auto-exclusion of some neighbours (mostly of elderlies and of low-income people). The cognitive bond created by those neighbours with Wild im West because of its visibility is not turned into an affective appropriation. Wild im West attracts certainly some neighbours, but only a very specific group.

At TLM, the challenge of the presence of a young middle-class public is combined with its another difficulty: its uses of the project are often centred around consuming, reinforcing the image of a project outside of the neighbourhood, where consuming is mandatory. Especially (semi-)privatisations of the place break the neighbours' circle of mutually reinforcing appropriation types. TLM lacks cognitive appropriation about the possibility for neighbours to use the projects without capital requirements.

To counter these unequal preconditions and exclusion dynamics, Wild im West and TLM engage with two main strategies. On the one hand, they foster cognitive appropriation

by interacting with the neighbourhood inhabitants through direct exchange, relays, and activities. On the other hand, they encourage material and political appropriation by centring the project around the neighbourhood needs and sharing governance with neighbourhood inhabitants.

How (much) those strategies are set up depends on the needs of the project – financial, reputational, organisational, and human. The Brooklyn Experience of TLM demonstrates how financial needs force projects to accept events that have (probably underestimated) long-term negative impacts on neighbours' appropriation. Public funding is key to allow transitory projects to engage with their low-income surroundings.

The setting-up of the strategies also depends on the individual persons running the project, their knowledge of the neighbourhood, their connections, and their mindset. Social mix in transitory urbanism is not reached by simply declaring a project open to everyone, but much more by pro-actively engaging with low-income neighbourhood inhabitants.

In future research, it would be interesting to deepen the understanding of appropriation of space by applying my operationalisation to other cases, even very different from the ones studied here. The interaction between appropriation and capital could also be further developed: when is which capital necessary, for which form of appropriation? People's unequal relationships to space should be reflected upon in order to be at the centre of the political fight for the right to the city.

Considering transitory urbanism, it would be interesting to refine knowledge about its consequences on its neighbourhood by changing the time scale: neighbourhood dynamics and transformations could be analysed on the longer run. What forms of appropriation remain after the end of the project? Does a past transitory project serve the neighbourhood inhabitants or the real estate developer? Discourses post-project and broader neighbourhood trends could be analysed.

It would also be relevant to further explore the network effects among transitory projects established here. When are those stronger? What exactly is the transmitted cultural capital made of and how can its requirement be lowered? For that, the geographical scale could be changed: transitory projects could be investigated and mapped on the level of a city, or of the whole Parisian Petite Ceinture.

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Appendix

A: Template for short semi-structured interviews

For the short semi-structured interviews, I had prepared an interview grid with questions intending to unveil as many appropriation forms as possible. The following template (in French) is the one for interviews conducted within TLM. For interviews conducted outside of TLM, in the streets, the grid was the same but jumped the part about TLM if the interviewee did not know the project at all. For interviews at Wild im West, the interview grid was the same, but in German.

TLM – Questionnaire	
A propos du TLM	
Comment connaissez-vous le TLM ?	
A quelle fréquence venez-vous ici ?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Tous les jours	
<input type="checkbox"/> Plusieurs fois par semaine	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 fois par semaine
<input type="checkbox"/> Plusieurs fois par mois	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 fois par mois
<input type="checkbox"/> < 1 fois par mois	<input type="checkbox"/> Première fois
Comment venez-vous au TLM ?	
<input type="checkbox"/> A pied	<input type="checkbox"/> Transports en communs
<input type="checkbox"/> Vélo	<input type="checkbox"/> Voiture
Combien de temps ce trajet dure-t-il ?	
Min	
Pourquoi venez-vous principalement ici ?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Pour les activités	
<input type="checkbox"/> Pour les personnes qui travaillent ici	
<input type="checkbox"/> Pour rencontrer des personnes	
<input type="checkbox"/> Pour voir des amis	
<input type="checkbox"/> Parce que le TLM est proche de chez moi	
<input type="checkbox"/> Par curiosité	
<input type="checkbox"/> Parce que j'aime l'atmosphère	
<input type="checkbox"/> Autre raison:	
Lequel de ces facteurs vous ferait venir plus souvent ?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Prix inférieurs	
<input type="checkbox"/> Plus d'évènements	
<input type="checkbox"/> Autres activités	
<input type="checkbox"/> Autres horaires d'ouverture (lesquels?)	
<input type="checkbox"/> Autre public venant au TLM	
<input type="checkbox"/> Autre organisations actives au TLM	
<input type="checkbox"/> Autre raison :	
Que changeriez-vous au projet ?	

Connaissiez-vous le lieu avant qu'il ne soit investi des nouvelles activités ?

☐ Oui ☐ Non

Si oui, quel était votre lien ?

Préférez-vous le lieu maintenant qu'il est investi du projet TLM ?

☐ Oui certainement

☐ Plutôt oui

☐ Plutôt non

☐ Absolument pas

☐ Je ne sais pas

Diriez-vous que vous vous sentez à votre place au TLM ? Pourquoi ?

Est-ce que vous connaissez le fonctionnement du lieu ? Pourriez vous participer à la gouvernance du lieu ?

A votre avis, à quoi devrait ressembler ce lieu dans 10 ans ?

Connaissiez-vous des projets similaires ?

Lien avec le quartier

Habitez-vous dans le quartier ?

☐ Oui ☐ Non

Si oui, depuis quand ?

Quel autre service du quartier utilisez-vous ?

☐ Supermarché

☐ Pharmacie

☐ Parc à jeux pour enfants

☐ Boulangerie

☐ Bureau de poste

☐ Autre

Quels sont vos cafés et/ou bars et/ou restaurants préférez dans le quartier ?

(Si vous n'êtes pas du quartier, pourriez-vous imaginer venir vivre ici ?)

☐ Oui ☐ Non

Pourquoi ?

Quels mots utiliseriez-vous pour décrire le quartier ?

Diriez-vous que vous vous sentez à votre place dans ce quartier ? Pourquoi ?

De quoi a besoin ce quartier ? Comment doit-il être dans 10 ans ?

A propos de vous

Nom :

Métier :

Ou: ☐ Etudiant.e ☐ Retraité.e ☐ Recherche d'emploi

Age:

☐ 15-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐ > 65

Quelles langues parlez-vous ?

Vous êtes:

☐ Propriétaire ☐ Locataire

Combien êtes-vous prêts à payer pour une bière dans le quartier ?

€

B: Interview transcription of Katharina Egg

Online interview with Katharina Egg, Kreative Räume Wien.
26/01/2023.

“Wir betreiben selbst keine Projekte, wir sind eine reine Service- und Beratungsstelle im Auftrag der Stadt Wien, bzw. von 3 Stadtrat Büros. Wir haben aber selber keine Fläche, sondern sind an der Schnittstelle zwischen kreativen Raumsuchenden und Eigentümern (privat und öffentlich).

Im Durchschnitt melden sich bei uns 400-500 Raumsuchende pro Jahr, und ich kann es auf einer Hand abzählen, wie viele Eigentümer sich bei uns melden. Avoris war eher eine Ausnahme.

Im Fall von WIM hat sich eine private Immobilienfirma an uns gewendet. Sie hatten eine Fläche, wo sie gerne eine kreative Nutzung haben würden. Sie wollten von uns wissen, was es für Möglichkeiten gibt.

Sie hatten schon viele Angebote gehabt. Zum Beispiel einen Parkplatz dort zu machen. Das ist die angenehmste Lösung für Eigentümer von Baulücken, weil du dich um nichts kümmern musst, und du kriegst Geld rein. Das Ding ist halt in diesem Fall, dass es auch einen Image-Grund hatte (Ich vermute es, ich komme aus der Öffentlichkeitsarbeit). Ich nehme an, dass die Eigentümer sich nicht nur aus reinem Kulturinteresse an uns gewandt haben, sondern dass das Gebäude, das abgerissen wurde, zu einem negativen Image geführt hat; es wurde öffentlich sehr kritisiert. Sie haben nie selber gesagt, dass sie es aus Imagegrund machen, aber es stört sie sicherlich nicht, dass es ihnen vom Image her dient.

Das Projekt läuft wahnsinnig gut und jetzt kennen auch Alle aus der Zwischennutzungsszene die Immobilienfirma. Es hat sich für sie positiv entwickelt.

Avoris ist ein junges Team und die finden das Projekt auch wirklich toll. Die haben gedacht „ok, wir sind Immobilienentwickler und verdienen so unser Geld, aber ein bisschen kann man der Gesellschaft zurückgeben, zumindest so dass man die Lücken nutzt“.

Aus unserer Sicht gibt es zwei Möglichkeiten (die die wir auch den Eigentümerinnen erzählen): wir können einen call entwickeln im Auftrag der Immobilienfirma, wo sich alle mit Nutzungskonzepten bewerben können. Es macht Sinn es Öffentlich zu machen, um Kritik zu vermeiden, aber auch einfach um transparenter zu sein.

Die andere Möglichkeit ist unkomplizierter: einfach direkt vernetzen, weil wir so viele Raumsuchende kennen.

Und in dem Fall hat es sich zeitlich ganz gut ergeben, weil es davor eine Zwischennutzung im ehemaligen Sofien Spital im 7. Bezirk gab. Die war genau zu Ende, wie sich Avoris an uns gewandt hat.

Wir haben Avoris also mit David vernetzt.

David hat schon über 10 Jahre Erfahrung, da weiß man, dass er nicht alles neu lernen muss. Raumunternehmer professionalisieren sich auch im Laufe der Zeit. Mit jeder Genehmigung, mit jedem Problem, lernt man dazu.

Und wenn Leute von uns empfohlen werden, dann ist das auch einfacher für sie. Weil kleine Unternehmen oft das Problem haben, dass sie nicht ernst genommen werden, oder zumindest, dass es schwer ist, einer großen Firma gegenüber zu stehen.

Wir sind eine Kommunikationsschnittstelle. Da wir zu 100% von der Stadt Wien finanziert werden geben wir eine kostenfreie Beratung, auch für private Unternehmen.

Avoris hatte sich eine kreative Bespielung vorgestellt. Dann war mit David relativ schnell klar, dass das passt.

In dem Fall, weil der David schon so... der macht alles einfach selber. Der braucht die Infos über rechtliche Rahmenbedingungen nicht, die wir sonst leisten. Wir haben kurz über den Vertrag geschaut, ob es rechtlich passt, aber der kann das schon ganz gut alleine.

Von den Leuten, die sich an uns wenden, gibt es welche die schon extrem gut vernetzt sind, kennen sich schon aus, aber es gibt auch andere, die neu in die Stadt kommen sind, und die vielleicht noch nicht so viel Erfahrung haben. Das ist sehr unterschiedlich.

Das besondere bei WIM für David ist, dass er mit so vielen unterschiedlichen Akteuren und Initiativen gearbeitet hat, und dass er nochmal stärker auf Kollaboration gesetzt hat. Es war einfach super und er hat es sehr positiv gefunden.

Was bei solchen Projekten auch wichtig ist, ist das du von Anfang an auch den Bezirk einbindest. Es braucht einfach die Unterstützung. Meistens gibt es dann zumindest auch ein kleines Budget für das Kulturprogramm.

Wir begleiten das Projekt, hier gibt es immer wieder neue Herausforderungen. Ganz pragmatische Sachen zB. wie „wo kriegt man das Wasser her“. Denn bei der Baulücke selbst gab keinen Wasser Anschluss. Wir versuchen dann zu unterstützen wo es geht.

Und es passiert auch, dass wir im Austausch mit den Projektleitern und den Eigentümern die Pressearbeit vorbereiten. Und wir schauen auch, wenn die Flohmärkte starten, dass wir es öffentlichkeitsmäßig an unserer Community puschen. Aber ansonsten, wenn es läuft, passiert von unserer Seite aus nicht mehr viel. Außer eben Öffentlichkeitsarbeit.

Wir existieren wegen der Stadt, sind aber nicht direkt die Stadt. Wir haben ein interdisziplinäres Team, und ein Architekturbüro, und einen Anwalt.

Wir machen aber keine detaillierten Pläne. Es ist schwer unsere Rolle zu erklären, weil es in jedem Projekt anders ist.

Es gibt ein politisches commitment, dass wir existieren, dass es eine Servicestelle für Leerstandsaktivierung gibt. Wir haben eine Steuerungsgruppe, in der es von den 3 Stadtratbüros jeweils politische Vertreter gibt. Wir können aber relativ eigenständig unsere Schwerpunkte festlegen.

Die Stadt besteht aus so viele unterschiedlichen Dienststellen und Stadtratsbüros. Wir sind bei der Kultur, Wirtschaftsagentur, und Stadtplanung angesiedelt, aber uns fehlt die Wohnbaustadträtin z.B.

Wir sind ähnlich wie die Mobilitätsagentur Wien organisiert. Die Stadt hat den Auftrag ausgeschrieben eine Servicestelle für Leerstandsaktivierung und Zwischennutzung zu betreiben, unser Unternehmen wurde gegründet extra für diesen Grund diesen Auftrag auszuführen. Es gibt relativ gute Gehälter innerhalb der Stadt, und ich denke solche Auslagerungen sind dann für die Stadt günstiger. Aber es gibt uns auch Freiheiten, weil wir nicht direkt weisungsgebunden sind.

2016 war die erste Ausschreibung, es wurde einmal verlängert, und jetzt haben wir gerade die Bewerbung für die nächsten 5 Jahre gewonnen.

Wir versuchen auch innerhalb der Stadt uns einzuarbeiten, weil sie viele Immobilien besitzt.

Bei Sachen wie WIM können wir es schon alleine entscheiden. Wenn jemand aufschreien würde, dann würden wir vielleicht was machen, aber das ist ja eigentlich unsere Rolle, Flächen zu aktivieren.

Über Gentrifizierung: Also wir betreiben die Projekte ja nicht selber. Aber das Thema Zwischennutzung als Gentrifizierungsmotor ist natürlich von Anfang an ein Thema gewesen. Es ist immer die Frage wie man es sieht. Zwischennutzungen per se sind kein Heilmittel für Raumbedarf und lösen nicht alle Probleme, aber es ist eine Möglichkeit Ressourcen zu nutzen und gleichzeitig coole Nutzungen zuzulassen.

Gleichzeitig kommt auch oft die Kritik, dass kulturelle Nutzungen hinkommen und nach einem Jahr wieder gehen müssen und verdrängt werden, nachdem sie alles aufgewertet haben. Das ist eine Herausforderung. Aber trotzdem denke ich, dass es mehr Sinn macht eine Leerfläche zu nutzen denn sie nicht zu nutzen.

Eine Grünfläche war schon ein Ziel, das hat sich auch der Bezirk gewünscht. Eben weil der Bezirk so wenig davon hat, so dicht besiedelt ist, kaum Erholungsfläche hat. Das war schon die Idee dahinter, dass man jetzt nicht sagt „ich bau da ein Hypster pop’up Café“ sondern „ich öffne es“.

Ich glaube, dass es eine Dauer gebraucht hat bis die Leute in der Umgebung gemerkt haben „ok ich kann da auch hingehen ohne was zu konsumieren, ich kann mich da aufhalten mit meiner eigene Flasche Wein“. Und ich glaube, dass die Flohmärkte tatsächlich ein ziemlich gutes Mittel waren, um alle miteinzubinden. Ich war öfter dort und natürlich hat man das Gefühl, dass der 7. rübergewandert ist, aber andererseits, dass auch die Nachbarn dabei sind.

Ich habe letztes Jahr von Mitarbeiter:innen am Projekt gehört, dass das Projekt Spaß macht, obwohl es eine intensive Zeit ist. Aber man kann auch denken, dass es eine sehr intensive Arbeit ist für alle die mitmachen, und dass man es nicht über 2 Jahre machen will. Da sind sie fast froh, dass es zu Ende geht. Sie haben das Projekt gemacht und irgendwann reicht es denen auch wieder.

WIM ist ein Beweis dafür, dass es sowas braucht in dieser Gegend. Da sind so viele Leute dort; es funktioniert. Es gibt immer Menschen, die Projekte kritisieren. Man wird nie ein Projekt schaffen, wo niemand sagen wird: „das Projekt hasse ich“ haha.

Was die Nachbarschaft betrifft, funktionieren sehr niederschwellige Angebote natürlich gut. Das weiß ich aus auch anderen Städten, die mir vorgestellt wurden. Es braucht irgendwas, wo sich die Leute reintrauen. So wie der Markt. Man sieht die Bar und es ist nicht klar, ob man konsumieren muss oder ob ich auch einfach so reindarf. Niederschwellige Sachen wie gemeinsam Kochen funktionieren dann sehr gut. Es geht darum, durch Aktivitäten in Austausch zu kommen. Z.B. gemeinsam Kräuter zu sammeln, für einen Tee, oder zu stricken. Es braucht aber immer ein bisschen Zeit, um Sachen zu etablieren. Am Anfang sind alle immer ein bisschen skeptisch, wenn sich irgendwas tut; haben Angst, dass es schlecht wird.

WIM liegt der Hauptfokus denke ich auf den Märkten, der Gastronomie und den verschiedenen Initiativen, die vor Ort den Platz nutzen. Nachbarschaftsarbeit ist denke ich kein Kernthema des Projekts, es sind aber alle Initiativen willkommen. Im Gegensatz zur z.B. Garage Grande, wo eine von der Stadt bezahlte und beauftragte Unternehmung die Zwischennutzung koordiniert – die Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung – und deshalb natürlich speziell einen Fokus auf Anwohner:innen hat, wird das Wild im West von engagierten Privatpersonen koordiniert und organisiert. Das macht in der Hinsticht schon den Unterschied. Soweit ich es aber mitbekommen habe, ist der Bezirk sehr zufrieden und WIM stellt einen großen Mehrwert fürs Grätzl dar. Eben weil es sonst auch so wenig Freiflächen/Grünflächen gibt.

Warum macht man Zwischennutzung? Wir sehen es einerseits von der Raumbedarfsseite. Es wenden sich viele Leute an uns, die Raum suchen, aber nicht wirklich das Budget für eine reguläre Miete haben. Für ganz kurze Sachen wie Ausstellungen oder auch um mal etwas an einem bestimmten Ort auszuprobieren. Aus dieser Seite eignen sich Zwischennutzungen sehr gut.

Auf der anderen Seite gibt es auch Vorteile für die Stadt, wenn leere Gebäude wieder aktiviert werden. Denn Leerstand hat viele Nachteile: Das Gebäude verfällt, es ist dunkel, es macht kein gutes Gefühl auf der Straße. Für Eigentümer macht es auch Sinn, weil man Aufmerksamkeit auf die Gebäude ziehen kann und am Ende vielleicht auch Mieter:innen findet.

Und dann gibt es auch die Ressourcennutzung. Es gibt Phasen, wo eine Fläche leer steht in einem Zyklus. Und in diesen Phasen etwas zuzulassen macht einfach Sinn, weil die Ressource ansonsten verschwendet wird.

Nachbarn sollten schon mitbestimmen können, aber auch nicht immer. Es hängt auch davon ab, warum das Projekt dort entstanden ist. Ich finde, man kann den Macherinnen des Projektes auch zutrauen, dass sie selber gute Ideen haben, den Raum zu nutzen. Man muss nicht alles top-down vorgeben. Und es gibt auch Projekte, die den Raum einfach nur für sich selber nutzen wie Arbeitsräume/Ateliers/Studios und die Nachbarn gar nicht einbinden, und das ist auch OK.

Ich finde, dass das Coole an einer Zwischennutzung ist, dass man etwas ausprobieren kann und sehen kann, wie es mit der Nachbarschaft funktioniert. Man kann schauen, was vielleicht auch in einem bestimmten Grätzl an Angebot noch fehlt oder was nicht so gut ankommt. Und dann könnte man theoretisch noch die Pläne bzw. die Nutzungsmischung vom Neubau oder der Sanierung anpassen.

Das vor Ort geplante Projekt von dem Eigentümer der Baulücke Avoris ist ein Wohnhaus mit Mischnutzung in der EG-Zone. Und es würde mich sehr wundern, wenn sie dort doch nur ein klassisches Wohnhaus mit Garage und ein Geschäftslokal bauen. Ich glaube schon, dass sie jetzt sehen, dass es Sinn macht da unten andere Nutzungen zuzulassen und auch Kunst und Kultur mitdenken.

Ein Workshop am Schluss wäre eine gute Idee, aber wir hatten das jetzt nicht angedacht. Das könnte theoretisch der Bezirk machen.

Das Projekt ist sehr sichtbar für die Nachbarschaft, aber nicht rein darauf ausgerichtet.“

C: Interview transcription of Patricia

Interview with Patricia, hospitality officer of TLM.
18/08/2022, 16h30 at TLM.

“Derrière le TLM c’est le collectif Au Fil du Rail, lauréat de l’appel à projet de la Sncf. Le collectif est composé de 8 assos :

- Grand 8 pour l’architecture. Ils font les plans, la rénovation. Par exemple ils vont retirer les studios au sous-sol pour les donner à l’IFA et en haut garder un bar et resto et en plus ajouter une mezzanine, où on pourra avoir une salle privée. C’est ce qui manque dans le 19e. Les travaux seront de fin octobre (et non fin septembre comme prévu initialement).
- L’IFA Paris qui organise des défilés de mode. Ils ont intégré dans leurs défilés des personnes du quartier.
- Bellevilles, qui travaille dans le 19^e, le 20^e et à Trappes. C’est une foncière solidaire.
- Le centre Rosa Parks qui est une asso sociale. Ils ont par exemple construit des cerfs-volants avec les habitants.
- Mam’Ayoka qui est une cuisine pour l’insertion des femmes. Ils font des plats de tous les pays du monde.
- Vers l’Avant, une asso pour jeunes ou seniors, qui essaye de les mettre en confiance.
- La textile

Et le collectif gère les informations, les réservations, les commandes, les problèmes. On fait des réunions tous les mardis.

Un problème qu’on a eu par exemple c’est les sdf. On a discuté de si on devait les laisser être ici ou pas, utiliser les toilettes ou pas.

Avec Mam’Ayoka on a des femmes en insertion. A part ça on a des assos qui sont entre autre dans la création, avec une dimension sociale, de mode, de musique. Il y a une bonne programmation musicale et on fait entre autre des concerts de rap.

Pour les musiciens, c’est compliqué de les rémunérer mais à voir comment on va s’organiser dans le futur.

La privatisation du TLM est possible le lundi et mardi, mais le reste du temps on a juste deux ou trois tables où c’est possible de réserver à partir de 10 personnes. On veut pas de privatisation du lieu le reste de la semaine.

Moi je parle aux gens qui sont intéressés par le projet, je propose à tous de participer, de venir montrer leur activité. On est ouverts à tout, y’a plein de gens qui viennent proposer des trucs, comme par exemple des ateliers de breakdance, de lecture de contes.

En plus des assos membres du collectif y’a aussi beaucoup d’assos du 19^e qui viennent un jour de temps en temps et font des activités. Nous on est ouverts, on essaye de les aider. Tout le monde a le droit de venir et de proposer quelque chose.

Avant de dire qu’ils se sentent exclus, il faut que les gens viennent et voient.

Comme ça va fermer on veut pas vraiment mettre les gens en action.
On veut se montrer mais pas trop. On parle déjà de la fermeture dès maintenant pour pas créer de déception.

On teste pendant un été, on voit si ça plaît aux habitants, on teste comment les assos marchent ensemble.

Pour l'instant ça marche mais il y a encore des gens qui débarquent et veulent commencer à participer.

Il y aura des changements, des gens qui sauteront sur le train en marche.

Niveau public, on a vraiment de tout. On essaye de faire venir tout le monde, on accepte tout le monde.

Moi je vais moi-même dans le quartier pour parler du TLM, je vais à des piques niques, je parle aux gens, je réponds aux questions, je donne le insta.

Je me suis rendu compte que dans le quartier certaines personnes avaient le seum parce que Mam' Ayoka est pas une asso du quartier alors qu'il y aurait eu les compétences dans le quartier.

Avec ce projet, parfois les gens du quartier se sentent étrangers chez soi. C'est entre autres à cause des prix trop élevés. Moi je fais remonter ça aux assos. On discute en ce moment de réductions pour le quartier.

Il y a aussi des entreprises qui viennent.

De 14h à 16h c'est vraiment surtout des gens du quartier. Le soir c'est plus de tout. Les gens du quartier en journée se plaignent plus des prix, alors que les gens le soir beaucoup moins.

Les gens qui trouvent pas le projet bien, je leur dis de venir et de l'aider à l'améliorer, de pas rester caché et de critiquer mais de faire des choses.

Pour la publicité, on se sert surtout d'instagram, mais on a aussi un site web pour la progra et un tableau d'affichage.

Beaucoup de ce qu'il y a ici est fait soi-même, comme les panneaux, les écritures...

On peut déjà tirer quelques leçons. Niveau organisation interne par exemple, faut qu'on s'améliore sur la communication entre les associations, qui fait quoi, comment on s'organise. Il y a des choses que j'ai besoin de savoir moi.

Et en communication externe on peut aussi s'améliorer : il y a toujours des gens qui trouvent pas l'entrée !

On touche des subventions pour l'organisation du projet.

Et après les travaux, chaque association devra payer un loyer. En bas, on aura l'incubateur pour le textile durable et la mode.

Le TLM c'est un chargé de communication, un chargé de programmation, un chargé de privatisation, un responsable, moi la chargée d'accueil et en plus Marie Thérèse, présidente du collectif Au Fil Du Rail.

Moi j'étais pas du quartier et avec ce projet j'ai appris à mieux le connaître."

Other interview of Patricia.
25/09/2022, 15h at the TLM.

“La brasserie Brooklyn a fait une semi-privatisation des lieux ces trois derniers jours, sur le weekend, avec aussi une boîte de com’ et une boîte de prod. C’est eux qui sont venus nous demander.

Garett a donné des classes de brassage sur 2 jours.

Il y avait un repas spécial vu avec Mam Ayoka, des performances de BMX, des acrobates basketteurs, un concert à l’intérieur.

Ils ont ramené leur monde, ils ont déjà un public.

Pour les gens du quartier, ça fait pas partie de leur culture.

Le 15 et le 29 octobre y’aura des concerts de rap ici. C’est les asso Casmu et XIXe mili qui font leur événement.

(Casmu= collectif d’animation sportive, musical et urbaine. Asso de boxe et musique)

D’habitude, les gens qui viennent pas ne savent pas à qui venir parler. Il y a un blocage. Moi je vais voir les gens et je leur demande : « pourquoi vous venez pas au TLM ? Allez venez, ça me ferait plaisir de vous y voir ». C’est des démarches informelles, des piqueniques ensembles une fois par semaine ou ce genre de choses.

Quand je suis arrivée au TLM en juillet, j’y ai trouvé un public que je vois pas à la sortie du métro. Donc de ma propre initiative je suis allée voir les gens avec une personne que j’avais rencontrée au TLM.

Avant j’étais agente immobilière. Quand tu visites une maison, faut voir tout ce qu’il y a autour.

Niveau très pratique y’a encore des choses à améliorer. Il faudrait que je gère la musique par exemple. Parce que quand je suis en face de la clientèle et qu’il faut que je fasse des trucs, je peux pas bien le faire là.”