Intertwining the city: The in-between spaces of Caracas as scenarios to achieve urban togetherness

Teresa García Alcaraz

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Director: Dr. Carles Llop Torné

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AD	*Acción Democrática*
	Democratic Action Party
AE	Area of Estates
AMC	*Área Metropolitana de Caracas*
	Metropolitan Area of Caracas
AMGNB	*Academia Militar de la Guardia Nacional Bolivariana*
	Military Academy of the Bolivarian National Guard
ANMCLA	*Asociación Nacional de Medios Comunitarios Libres y Alternativos*
	National Association of Free and Alternative Community Media
ARUFLO	*Asociación de Residentes de la Urbanización La Floresta*
	Residents' Association of La Floresta Urbanisation
BC	Bolivarian Circles
BO	*Banco Obrero*
	Workers' Bank
CANTV	*Compañía Anónima Nacional Teléfonos de Venezuela*
	National Telephone Company Limited of Venezuela
CAP	Carlos Andrés Pérez
CBA	*Círculo de Bellas Artes*
	Circle of Fine Arts
CBD	Central Business District
CD	Capital District
CDI	*Centro de Diagnóstico Integral*
	Integral Diagnostic Centre
CFG	*Consejo Federal de Gobierno*
	Federal Government Council
CGC	Caracas Golf Club
CIAM	*Congrès Internationaux d' Architecture Moderne*
CICPC	*Cuerpo de Investigaciones Científicas, Penales y Criminalísticas*
	Scientific, Criminal and Criminalistics Investigations Corps
CISCUVE	*Centro de Investigaciones Socioculturales de Venezuela*
	Venezuelan Centre for Socio-Cultural Research
CMU	*Comisión Municipal de Urbanismo*
	Municipal Urbanism Council
CNU	*Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo*
	National Urbanism Council
CONAVI	*Consejo Nacional de la Vivienda*
	National Housing Council
COPEI	*Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente*
	Independent Electoral Political Organisation Committee
CRBV	*Constitución de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela*
	Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela
ECC	*Equipo de Comunicación Comunitaria*
	Community Communication Team
ECPA	El Calvario-Puertas Abiertas
EDC	Endogenous Development Centre
EDN	Endogenous Development Nuclei
EFOFAC	*Escuela de Formación de Oficiales de las Fuerzas Armadas de Cooperación*
	Armed Forces Officers' Training School of Cooperation
EPS	*Empresa de Producción Social*
	Social Production Enterprise

EZLN	*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*	
	Zapatista Army of National Liberation	
FCC	*Fundación Cultural Chacao*	
	Chacao Cultural Foundation	
FCV	*Ferrocarril Central de Venezuela*	
	Central Railway of Venezuela	
FD	Federal District	
FMH	*Fundación Misión Hábitat*	
	Mision Habitat Foundation	
FONACIT	*Fondo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología*	
	National Science and Technology Fund	
FUNDARTE	*Fundación para la Cultura y las Artes*	
	Foundation for Culture and the Arts	
FUNVI	*Fundación Vivienda del Distrito Capital*	
	Capital District Housing Foundation	
GBE	Growth-by-Expansion Area	
GC	Greater Caracas	
GMBNBT	*Gran Misión Barrio Nuevo-Barrio Tricolor*	
	Barrio Nuevo-Barrio Tricolor Grand Mission	
GMVV	*Gran Misión Vivienda Venezuela*	
	Grand Housing Mission Venezuela	
IERU	*Instituto de Estudios Regionales y Urbanos*	
	Institute of Regional and Urban Studies	
ILO	International Labour Organisation	
IMIB	International Movement of the Imaginist Bauhaus	
IMUTC	*Instituto Metropolitano Urbanismo Taller Caracas*	
	Metropolitan Institute of Urban Planning-Workshop Caracas	
INAVI	*Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda*	
	National Housing Institute	
INE	*Instituto Nacional de Estadística*	
	National Statistics Institute	
INVI	*Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda*	
	National Housing Institute	
LAB.PRO.FAB	*Laboratorio de Proyectos y Fabricación*	
	Projects and Manufacturing Laboratory	
LEDIMCA	*Ley del Distrito Metropolitano de Caracas*	
	Law of the Metropolitan District of Caracas	
LOOU	*Ley Orgánica de Ordenación Urbanística*	
	Urban Planning Law of 1987	
LORM	*Ley Orgánica de Régimen Municipal*	
	Law of Municipal Regime	
LPU	Liga de la Partida Urbana	
LSE	London School of Economics	
MAS	*Movimiento Al Socialismo*	
	Movement for Socialism	
MBR-200	*Movimiento Bolivariano Revolucionario 200*	
	Revolutionary Bolivarian Movement 200	
MINDUR	*Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano*	
	Ministry of Urban Development	
MINEP	*Ministerio de Economía Popular*	
	Ministry of Popular Economy	
MINHVI	*Ministerio del Poder Popular para Hábitat y Vivienda*	
	Ministry of People's Power for Habitat and Housing	
MINVH	*Ministerio del Poder Popular para la Vivienda y Hábitat*	
	Ministry of People's Power for Housing and Habitat	
MOMA	Museum of Modern Art	
MOP	*Ministerio de Obras Públicas*	
	Ministry of Public Works	

MOPVI	*Ministerio del Poder Popular para las Obras Públicas y Vivienda*	
	Ministry of People's Power for Public Works and Housing	
MPPAUP	*Ministerio del Poder Popular para la Agricultura Urbana y Periurbana*	
	Ministry of the Popular Power for Urban and Periurban Agriculture	
MVR	*Movimiento V República (or Movimiento Quinta República)*	
	Movement of the Fifth Republic	
NU	Neighbourhood Unit	
NUA	Non-Urbanised Areas	
OICCB	*Organización e Incorporación de las Comunidades a la Consolidación de Barrios*	
	Organisation and Incorporation for the Strengthening Communities Barrio Program	
OLPU	*Oficina Local de Planeamiento Urbano*	
	Local Urban Planning Bureau	
OMPU	*Oficina Metropolitana de Planeamiento Urbano*	
	Metropolitan Urban Planning Bureau	
ONA	*Oficina Nacional Antidrogas*	
	National Anti-Drugs Bureau	
OQ	Old Quarters	
PDN	*Partido Democrático Nacional*	
	Democratic National Party	
PDUL	*Plan de Desarrollo Urbano Local*	
	Urban Development Local Plan	
PDVSA	*Petróleos de Venezuela Sociedad Anónima*	
	Petroleum of Venezuela Limited Company	
PSUV	*Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela*	
	United Socialist Party of Venezuela	
PTJ	*Policía Técnica Judicial*	
	Judicial Police	
RAE	*Real Academia Española*	
	Royal Spanish Academy	
RMC	*Región Metropolitana de Caracas*	
	Metropolitan Region of Caracas	
RV	Radio Verdura	
SENIAT	*Servicio Nacional Integrado de Administración Aduanera y Tributaria*	
	National Integrated Service of Customs and Tax Administration	
SI	Situationist International	
SP	*Sector Popular*	
	Popular Sector	
SPARC	Social and Public Art Resource Centre	
TAR	*Taller de Arte Realista*	
	Realist Art Workshop	
UA	*Unidad Aislada*	
	Isolated Unit	
UCV	*Universidad Central de Venezuela*	
	Central University of Venezuela	
UDU	*Unidad de Desarrollo Urbano*	
	Urban Development Unit	
UDUA	*Unidad de Desarrollo Urbano Aislada*	
	Urban Development Isolated Unit	
UE	*Unidad Especial*	
	Special Unit	
UEM	*Unidad Educativa Municipal*	
	Municipal Educational Unit	

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPF	*Unidad de Planificación Física* Physical Planning Unit
URP	Urban Renewal Plan
USB	*Universidad Simón Bolívar* Simon Bolivar University
USF	Urban Space Framework
UU	Unitary Urbanism
VAEA	Venezuelan American Endowment for the Arts
VEH	Vive El Hatillo
ZPAMC	*Zona Protectora del Área Metropolitana de Caracas* Protected Area of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas
ZR	*Zonas Rojas* Red Zones

Abstract

This thesis explores the in-between spaces of the contemporary city, and the role they have in promoting urban togetherness through interstitial practice. By looking at different processes that take place in the borderlands of fragmented environments, this work presents a series of theoretical debates and develops a framework of analysis based on three main approaches: the urban, the social, and the artistic, proposing a series of conceptual links between the territory, people-place relationships and the artistic practice.

The focus of this work is based on the observation of different performative representations developed in the in-between spaces of Caracas, presented as a privileged scenario to understand the mechanisms of production and reproduction of urban disparities in contemporary cities. So, in-between spaces are introduced not only as the background for placing interstitial practice but active elements of interaction between difference, where issues of identity, power and domination may contribute to envision new discourses of coexistence.

Contextual, historical and empirical work has been conducted both at a metropolitan scale, studying the Metropolitan Area of Caracas, and at a local scale, particularly analysing three in-between spaces in Chacao, El Valle and El Hatillo parishes. It has been examined the impact interstitial practice had in reducing social distances, and explored the extent to which they are actually contributing to tackling urban togetherness. The main problems identified in all cases are summarised under sectorial planning strategies, institutionalisation, territorial fragmentation, stigmatisation and targeting, concluding that interstitial practice becomes another process of territorial formation and political power.

This thesis aims to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the city empowering the importance of in-between spaces as essential articulators to perceive it as an urban continuum. In discussing this argument, this research also attempts to contribute to the discipline of urbanism; from the moment that in-between spaces are detected as elements of urban interaction, the city leans towards the combination, the hybridisation and the mixture among its different territorial formations becoming a structured terrain where a new spatiality and different forms of urban life take place.

Keywords: in-between spaces, urban togetherness, Caracas, fragmentation, interstitial practice.

Preface

Why Caracas?

I have always been passionate about cities, cultures and people.

As an architect, I have always questioned my role in society and after several years working in different architectural offices in Barcelona, I realised that there was a valuable task for architecture and urban design to play in helping vulnerable areas after disaster, war or natural catastrophes.

In 2008, I moved to the United Kingdom, where I had the opportunity to pursue a Master programme called 'Architecture of Rapid Changes and Scarce Resources' at London Metropolitan University which allowed me to discover new ways of making and thinking about architecture. Part of this programme included a fieldtrip to Venezuela, where I had the chance to visit its capital in 2009. By then, Caracas was a modern, cosmopolitan and frenetic city already falling into decay; nevertheless, I had the feeling that the city had plenty to offer.

One week in the capital made me realise that the Venezuelan society was polarised and politicised in all fronts. I found that contrast was probably the attribute that defined Caracas the most as deep wounds separated physically and perceivably the city and its inhabitants. Yet, it was just when I walked around the adjacencies of Avenida México in the Bellas Artes area, where I felt for the first time an indescribable feeling of fear of the unknown, uncertainty and ambiguity that was manifested in the urban sphere as if I were crossing an invisible boundary; an indicator that moved me to further explore this phenomenon.

It was precisely at that point when my interests about divisions, borders and in-betweens emerged, which moved me to start questioning the nature of these spaces. I wanted to discover and comprehend why this sense of in-between-ness happened to me as well as to the rest of my colleagues in that particular part of the city, and what moved us to feel and perceive that area with such uncertainty and ambiguity. Were there any other city spaces that convey the same connotations? Had anybody ever studied this phenomenon? How should I call these spaces and sensations?

Further questions arose when I discovered that Caraqueños already associated and referred to many city areas as 'non-go' spaces, 'zonas rojas' (ZR), safe spaces, or simply 'dangerous areas better not to cross'; thus, my interests

lied in studying what drove the city of Caracas to be so divided both socially and spatially and how this urban problem could be solved or at least, attenuated.

In 2010, I decided to move to Caracas to further explore and study the city. I worked as an architect in the parish of Macarao, in the southwest of the capital, which allowed me to start my research that systemically moved from questions and went closer to find answers by looking at the territory, with more personal stories, more emotions, more politics, comprehension of territorial and socio-spatial dynamics, the development of practical and artistic solutions, always aware of capturing lived experiences and emotions in my notes. For more than two years, I worked together with Marianella Mora, a local architect, in conjunction with a group of residents, government and institutions to build understandings of land ownership, facilitate a cultural and sustainable respect for the surroundings, and promote the empowerment of the individual and vulnerable groups to improve the areas they live in.

Part of my work consisted in working directly in the field so that a consultation office in Las Adjuntas (Macarao) was established in order to address urban issues related to Macarao's public spaces. Individuals and organised Communal Councils (also *Consejos Comunales*)[1] were part of this project as well as other government institutions, local authorities, professionals and community groups, which allowed me to comprehend that working together with people is the key to successful urban projects. It was also a valuable experience to comprehend what lies behind the Bolivarian Revolution ideals and the importance and incidence of political militancy amongst the most vulnerable; to reflect on the meanings of democracy, participation and community; to understand how political power is deployed on certain city areas, and how influential architecture and urban design can be in city-making processes led by the State.

To further comprehend the meaning of border-crossing and the sense of in-between-ness, I crossed by foot the Venezuelan-Colombian frontier, the Simón Bolívar International Bridge in San Antonio de Táchira, where I learnt that not only the sense of fear divides society but it also does architecture and urban design.

In parallel, I co-founded Liga de la Partida Urbana (LPU) together with other three professionals which was conceived as an activist collective that worked with both people and places; LPU initiated to revive and reconfigure public spaces through bottom-up processes based on inclusive traditional children's play. Our proposal was addressed primarily to the barrios of Caracas, where we suggested quick and inexpensive urban interventions using paint as a tool to transform the space both visually and socially, promote dialogue among participants, change the perception of the space, and bring neighbours together with a shared purpose.

Working in socially and culturally diverse environments helped me to realise that protection and care are powerful terms when experiencing the city, and by doing so, Caraqueños gave me useful learning tools to better understand different ways of designing and living the city.

[1] In April 2006, the Government of Venezuela passed the 'Law of Communal Councils' which empowered local citizens to form neighbourhood-based elected councils that initiate and oversee local policies and projects towards community development. Communal councils convene and coordinate existing community organizations as well as promote the creation of new work committees, cooperatives and projects as needed in defence of collective interests and the integral development of the community. VENEZUELA, G. B. D. 2006. Ley de los Consejos Comunales. In: SOCIAL, M. D. P. P. Y. D. (ed.). Caracas: Gaceta Oficial.

Speaking from my personal experience, none of my former knowledge working in formal architectural offices gave me the skills required to work in such contested and humble spaces. Walking around Caracas can be a pleasant but also a threatening experience because unpredictable situations might occur at any place and time. So, when analysing the city, it was key for me to bear in mind that the comprehension of social processes is essential for architects and practitioners to understand behaviours, perceptions, transformations and uses of the space.

Although there are multiple local studies and attempts to intervene in the deep ground of the slums (in Venezuela, known as *barrios*), still understood for many as a problem of the city, I totally believe that what it is needed in Caracas is a proper exploration and comprehension of the city as a whole, analysing and understanding the areas where differences meet.
Caracas has a chronic relational problem that is manifested in the urban sphere; and the most powerful parts to promote exchange are its in-between spaces materialised as either squares, streets, bridges, underpasses, vacant lots, or wall zones. It is needed a new way of reading the city through these in-between spaces; a new urbanism with cutting-edge thinking that could serve as a tool of mediation and consciousness, becoming a powerful political, social and an urban instrument capable to develop more ways towards urban togetherness.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 What to expect from this thesis

The project of building inclusive cities is universal. Nowadays, the expanding gap between rich and poor is a current trend that defines the cities of tomorrow; it seems that cities go to great lengths to not have middle-class areas but contrasting poles. And this is a preoccupant tendency as there is one urban direction that forgets the rights of the majority and focuses in the privileges of a growing and exclusive group of citizens. Most contemporary cities are highly polarised predominating the idea of exclusion and division over inclusion and articulation; insecurity, lack of basic services and disproportionate consumerism characterise some global cities of the twenty-first century becoming gradually the black and white of one world that has difficulties for the admittance of its greys. And this dilemma not only relates to cities of Latin America but the ones that are going towards the same direction.

Caracas, capital city of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, is presented as a representative scenario of this emerging paradigm aimed at reconnecting and stitching together the city to combat socio-spatial segregation.

What happens to a city that is fragmented? What does a boundary in the middle of the city mean? How did it appear? How does it evolve? Where it is located? How boundaries are lived and represented by residents? Why many urban interventions are developed there? These were some of the questions that started to emerge since this topic intrigued me while visiting Caracas for the first time which subsequently brought together my main scientific interests: the city and its functioning, its urban morphology, the edge-building process, issues related to fragmentation, difference and exclusion, the existing relationships between people and places, and the role and function of art and architectural practices in the urban sphere to reclaim the territory.

This investigation sustains that in-between spaces are vital spaces in the process of city articulation because they become spheres of interaction and exchange, scenarios to encourage the imagination, and areas to develop connective strategies between two different realities that may have differentiations but never frontiers. For this reason, the aim of this research is to understand the nature of the in-between, particularly focusing on the impact interstitial practice have in triggering urban togetherness. So, this work explores socio-spatial and artistic dynamics that occur in the ribbon areas of cities.

Four main research questions are formulated in this work:

- What is an in-between space?
- Which are the forms, languages, meanings, perceptions and interpretations that define an in-between space?
- What are the relationships among people and place in the in-between space?
- Could interstitial practice in the in between space trigger urban togetherness?

In order to respond to these research questions, it is needed a series of sub-questions to complement these main research questions as well as other methodological questions to define the research design, which will be explored in detail in Chapter 3.

This work has empirical, historical and contextual reasons that sustain the comprehension of the in-between space as the object of urban, social and artistic dynamics. So, three main approaches (urban, social and artistic) guide and structure this work in order to ensure conceptual and methodological rigour; so, both the theoretical and methodological discussion provide an important space for this. This introductory section, however, provides a discussion from an emotional point of view about the central position that this work encompasses. The position of this research relates to the fact that it does not try to justify a hypothesis and test it on site; it rather pursues to take the research questions and the proposed objectives (described and explained in Chapter 3) to explore a desired goal, which is the intertwinement of the city. So, it is essential to comprehend that this work is exploratory and explanatory in nature.

This research starts by suggesting that it is needed to deepen the understanding of the city as a whole; that is, reading and defining the city beyond urban dichotomies. Yet, this position already suggests a working hypothesis as it encourages the importance of borderlands in the process of articulating the city. And it is from this standpoint that the theoretical, methodological and empirical analysis is constructed.

1.2 Considerations and definitions about the topics of this research

Before start reading this thesis, several concepts and terms need to be introduced.

Throughout this work, fragmentation is used and referred as a threat to what has been termed urban togetherness. Urban togetherness is understood as the state of acceptance to other people and spaces; however, this term not necessarily leads to a common identification, a shared culture or history rather to expose to each citizen a state of acceptance where everyone can coexist in a shared space. In this regard, the British-Polish sociologist and philosopher Zygmunt Bauman (2000) writes about togetherness and indicates that this term may be related to the idea of community:

> "community might be understood as a short-cut to togetherness (…) a togetherness of sheer likeness, of the 'us who are all the same' kind; a togetherness which for this reason is unproblematic, calling for no effort and no vigilance, truly pre-ordained" (Bauman, 2000:100).

Nonetheless, as Bauman suggests, this sort of togetherness [within a community] deploys images of communal solidarity that pursue to avoid dealing with the other; and the unexpected problem is that "the feeling of a common identity is a counterfeit of experience" (Bauman, 2000:100).

Since my experience working in hands-on architecture, I feel that the term community is *en vogue* these days and is used in every [political] discourse or conference as a fancy way to describe, define and stereotype people living in specific urban settlements. There is too much confusion and ambiguity about what this term means and, in this particular investigation, community is understood as an emotional experience.

In this thesis, the use of the concept urban togetherness is associated to what Zygmunt Bauman or Richard Sennett understand by 'civility' (Sennett, 2005, Bauman, 2000):

> "By civility I do not mean good manners; the word implies more deeply the capacity of people who differ to live together". [Civility is a sort of promise of urban life, which consists in] "becoming a source of mutual strength rather than a source of mutual estrangement and civic bitterness. To make sense of this ideal in the cities of our time means a certain change in the way we think about difference" (Sennett, 2005:1).

In Bauman's words, civility is:

> "the ability to interact with strangers without holding their strangeness against them and without pressing them to surrender it or to renounce some or all the traits that have made them strangers in the first place" (Bauman, 2000:104-105).

Therefore, the term urban togetherness is envisioned as an achievable goal at a city level and suggests the empowerment of urban relations between strangers where toleration not only is the main goal but also is cohesion.

Urban togetherness pursues to highlight the role of the urban encounter and facilitate the ability to live with differences.

Throughout this work, it has been discovered that there are differences of identity, cultural differences, differences in wealth and social class as well as differences that are present in the fear of the 'other', all perceived and manifested in the urban sphere. And, to deal and live with difference it is inevitable to involve the act to encounter the other.

The urban encounter refers to the imperative to be open to city's alterity of otherness as part of a wider understanding of cultural and identity recognition. This is about celebrating the city as a site where strangers can mix and intermingle without the desire for homogeneity or idealised notions of community. Furthermore, and more importantly, the urban encounter is also a concern with the role of architecture and urbanism in supporting this intermingling of strangers (Wood and Landry, 2008). In Sennett's words:

> "It's a cliché to say that cities are complex social organisms, but complexity is inert if differences do not interact. How streets are laid out, public spaces organised, transportation designed, housing woven into the fabric of the city –all these concrete physical practices make a difference to the sociological experience of urban space. If I could translate the social problem of civility into visual terms, I would say it consists in finding ways to knit the city together without homogenising it" (Sennett, 2005:2).

In any city, living with differences implies urban encounters, which is a fact that directly generates urban possibility, taking into account that not all encounters in the public sphere are positive encounters. In this regard, a concern with urban encounters in Caracas features in a wider range of work concerning fear and anxiety that is attached to the other, the stranger or the unknown… And, it is precisely the development of enclaves, guarded and secured spaces designed to reduce the encounter what have given rise to readings of urban fragmentation in the Venezuelan capital. Hence, mobility patterns and the perception and experiences of the city are being reshaped in order to avoid the risk of encountering the other which results in perceiving Caracas as a completely fragmented city.

The concept of interstitial practice, further explored in Chapters 2 and 4, is another term used in this research to refer to a wide range of works developed in the public sphere that seek to reshape the build environment in a multiplicity of ways. This term has been mainly based on the "critical spatial practice" concept coined by the scholar Jane Rendell (2006) to investigate the specifically spatial aspects of interdisciplinary processes and practices that operate between the disciplines of Art and Architecture. However, rather than objects, interstitial practice can be regarded as a set of affordances, experiences or events, and its position in the in-between space can greatly contribute to modify and impact behaviours and assumptions of the other in favour of intertwinement.

This term is of particular importance in this work because it serves as an instrument to explore social behaviours and dynamics that involve territorialisation processes, the incidence of power and control over certain people and places as well as the promotion of local and cultural identities in particular city units.

To further comprehend the prospect of the interstitial practice in the in-between space, it has been explored, from a multi-disciplinary perspective, how borderlands have been activated and which techniques and strategies have been used to promote the act to traverse, empower interaction and the urban encounter in other contested cities such as Amsterdam, Berlin, San Diego- Tijuana or Bethlehem. The works of Aldo van Eyck, the Situationists International (SI), Letterist International (LI) or Banksy will be explored in Chapter 2 in order to highlight the importance of interstitial practice in such divided environments. In Chapter 4, the conceptualisation of these examples will be extrapolated to the Venezuelan capital to further explore the Caracas art scene and comprehend the origins, impact, aims and messages related to this practice.

Social distance is another term used in this thesis to describe the distance between different individuals or groups in society. According to Bauman (2000):

> "efforts to keep the 'other', the different, the strange and the foreign at a distance, the decision to preclude the need for communication, negotiation and mutual commitment, is not the only conceivable, but the expectable response to the existential uncertainty rooted in the new fragility or fluidity of social bonds" (Bauman, 2000:108).

The use of this term pursues to narrate a sort of measure of nearness that an individual or group feels towards another person or a different group in a given context. Richard Sennett's writing has been particularly influential in the promotion of urban interaction and encounters as a means to shorten social distances. Not delving into this sociological term, social distance is related in this investigation to how much sympathy one individual or group feels for another; to accept and consciously express who belongs and who doesn't belong to a specific group or territory (that is, who is considered insider and outsider); and, to the intensity of interactions between two different groups. Even though this term might sound quite broad (because cannot be accurately measured), social distance attempts to exemplify personal and social relations, being in-between spaces the measurable sphere where this distance can be shortened.

It is clear that urban encounters are a key part of the urban condition; but understanding how and where these encounters are experienced, shaped and theorised is the question that has produced to further analyse the in-between space, which subsequently, is related to other aspects that involve interaction, hybridisation, exchange, the act to traverse as well as the incidence of political power. In this regard, it is important to mention that undertaking a thesis on Venezuela means that it is essential to comprehend its political context.

For years, this Latin American country has been caught in a downward spiral with growing political discontent fuelled by hyperinflation, power cuts, non-democratic actions, shortages of food and medicines, violence, rebellions, migrations… that overall have moved the country to live in a perpetual crisis. The establishment of 'Chavismo' brought many consequences that moulded all aspects of city life becoming increasingly politicised and even more fragmented, aspects that will be explored in this investigation.

Also, it is important to mention that despite the original idea of this thesis was to avoid talking about politics, it has been evident throughout this journey that politics is the backbone of this work as cities and politics are tied together. Hence, the fact of exploring and analysing the impact of interstitial practice in specific areas has evidenced how relevant and influential politics are in shaping the immediate context and understand the importance of messages, meanings, perceptions and interpretations of this practice, which is used as a tool from sources of power to address particular people and places.

According to Bauman, the spectacle of politics "turns into a relentlessly and monotonously hammered message of the priority of identity over interests, or into a continuing public lesson that it is identity, not the interests, that truly matters, and that it is who you are, rather than what are you doing, that truly counts" (Bauman, 2000:108). This statement is relevant in this investigation because the empowerment [and imposition] of a local and national identity is another aspect considered in this thesis, which leads to explore the work of the scholar Homi Bhabha and understand the concepts of identification and ambivalence (Bhabha, 1994, Hernández, 2010) manifested in the in-between space. Also, in order to envision the idea of hybridity in the intermediate spaces of Caracas, the work of the Venezuelan scholar Carola Herrera has been of particular help followed by the work of other scholars such as Arturo Almandoz, Frank Marcano, Lorenzo González, Marco Negrón, Izaskun Landa or Julien Rebotier, whose work has served to further explore and comprehend the evolution of the in-between spaces of Caracas and the urban and social transformation in the metropolitan area.

And most importantly, in this thesis in-between spaces are understood as relational spheres that can contribute to promote alternative ways to read the city. Thus, not only the in-between space is explored from a socio-spatial perspective but this concept is also analysed from a phenomenological perspective relating it with what has been termed 'other spaces', which encompass the concepts of "third space" (Bhabha, 1994, Hernández, 2010), "non-places" (Augé, 2008), "heterotopias" (Foucault, 1967), "thirdspace" (Soja, 1996), liminality (Stevens, 2006, Turner, 2008), threshold (Stevens, 2006, Muzzonigro and Boano, 2013, Stavrides, 2010)… Concepts that all together will help to consolidate the meaning of the in-between and develop a solid discourse about its condition: in-between-ness.

All in all, this investigation pursues to know what an in-between space is, to comprehend its forms, languages, meanings, perceptions and interpretations, and to explore the impact and intentionality of interstitial practice to suture the city. So, urban togetherness, urban encounters, in-between spaces and processes of territorialisation through the incorporation of a common identity are some of the topics treated in this investigation, which pursues to promote alternative ways to suture the city.

> "When civility in the city works well, people acquire multiple identities (…) when civility fails in the city, identities remain singular rather than compound" (Sennett, 2005:2).

1.3 Structure of this thesis and chapter outline

This work pursues to provide a journey through the research process trying to capture diverse aspects and moments it encompassed from theoretical, methodological, historical and contextual research; it moves from reflective and theoretical aspects to more conceptual enquires highlighting the impact and weight of the fieldwork towards the end.

This thesis is structured in six chapters, each combining theoretical, descriptive and analytical elements and general concluding comments. The first three chapters (introduction, theoretical background and methodology) are founded mainly on discussions based on literature review and theoretical reflexions, and from Chapter 4 onward the narrative combines information about Caracas that derives from theory and analytical reflexions combined with the fieldwork and secondary data. The thesis concludes with Chapter 6 exposing the main findings and concluding remarks.

The first chapter is an introduction of the initial curiosities that triggered this research and offers an understanding of what to expect from this work. It also exposes how this work has been structured and outlined. Three main approaches have guided this thesis: first, the urban, which focuses on the territory exploring not only the in-between space as a physical space but also as a phenomenological sphere. Second, the social, which presents discussions about people-place relationships and behaviours discussing the tensions between socio-spatial processes and outcomes in the construction of the city. And third, the artistic, which offers a debate about the role and impact of interstitial practice in the borderlands that should be regarded as an alternative to promote exchange and encounter with the other.

Chapter 2 focuses on providing the theoretical basis for the discussion and pursues to outline an overview of the in-between space. It is in this chapter where other concepts and theories from a wide range of authors are explored such as informality (Hernández et al., 2010), interstices (Mubi Brighenti, 2016, Phelps and Silva, 2017), other spaces (Lefebvre, 1991, Foucault, 1967, Soja, 1996), identity (Bhabha, 1994, Hernández, 2010, Rutherford, 1990), the activation of borderlands through experimentation (Debord, 1958, Lefebvre, 1983, Sadler, 1998) as well as power and territorialisation processes (Mubi Brighenti, 2010).

The methodological discussion is presented in Chapter 3, introducing the research design and the specific methods used to collect and analyse data. It first presents the main research questions, sub-questions and methodological questions as well as the urban space framework designed to analyse urban togetherness with its subsequent set of attributes that will serve to explore the three case studies in Chapter 5. It is in this chapter where the research methodology, discussing the process and techniques of analysis are presented, which all serve to explore the city at two different scales: the metropolitan and the local. This chapter further presents the methods of analysis and data collection specifically applied to each case study. Finally, it is discussed the challenges and limitations that involved researching the in-between spaces of Caracas.

The Metropolitan Area of Caracas (AMC) is analysed in Chapter 4, which starts exploring the origin, history of the city and its socio-spatial and artistic transformation, unpacking aspects of power domination, territorialisation and control through images and maps. Even if this chapter could be considered as contextual, it also follows the three main approaches that structure this thesis from an analytical standpoint, exploring the AMC from an urban, social and artistic approach. Using a historical description focussed on the metropolitan scale, this chapter uses the concepts defined in the theoretical chapter to explore the emergence of the in-between spaces, comprehend why fragmentation is a threat to urban togetherness and how the artistic and architectural scene of Caracas has evolved through time.

Chapter 5 presents an analytical description and an empirical analysis at a local scale, exploring in more detail three particular in-between spaces located in the parishes of Chacao, El Hatillo and El Valle. These three cases correspond to specific areas where fieldwork has been developed between 2009 and 2016: the 4rth transversal street of La Castellana, Calle El Progreso of El Hatillo, and a vacant lot in the adjacencies of Avenida Intercomunal de El Valle.
This chapter follows the same structure as Chapter 4 as each case is specifically explored and described by looking at the foundation and history of the place, its urban transformation, how the specific in-between space originated and evolved, which are the existing fragmentation tactics and associations towards people and place, and which impact the explored interstitial practice has had on each given context. This chapter inevitably touches part of the personal experience that goes beyond the wider and more complex reality and history of Caracas, which adds valuable testimonials and captions of each neighbourhood. This chapter is supported by secondary data, observations, questionnaires and interviews to look at the impacts of specific interstitial practice, perceptions and behaviours particularly discussing the role of the architect and practitioner in the process of promoting exchange.

Finally, Chapter 6 wraps up the discussion and concludes with the final considerations and remarks. It is in this chapter where the three main directions of this research are redefined and concretised, which directly allow to respond the main research questions asked in Chapter 3. The three directions that this thesis discusses are related to (1) the notion of territoriality and its relation with power; (2) the concept of in-between spaces from different scales and approximations; and (3) the new-found use of interstitial practice.
This final chapter is framed by the idea of hope discussed across this thesis which is to pursue urban togetherness, to enquire why in-between spaces are key in the process of building a less fragmented city and also, to expose how pervasive territorial arrangements from sources of power are to control and dominate the population. Overall, this concluding chapter hopes to open up other possible futures not only for the city of Caracas but for other cities that experience similar levels of fragmentation.

Final comments

This introductory chapter seeks to provide information about how I started to develop this work and what to expect from it. This chapter does not provide a deep discussion about the theoretical debates, methodology or a profound description of the topics in question and cases researched, as this will be further developed in the following chapters. Rather, it presents a discussion about the bases of this research: its standpoints, motivations and the main core which directly explain the journey of this work from start to end. The idea of a journey has been introduced to translate this thesis as a trajectory, starting from my first contact with the city of Caracas, my personal perceptions and professional engagement with the city to a more scientific approach; a journey that has been altered, mutated and reshaped constantly through my experiences, encounters, places and people.

Understanding that this research is included in the Urban Planning Department of an Architectural School, it is important to highlight that this journey has always pursued a multi-disciplinary perspective which not only encompasses a spatial but a social and an artistic approach, which indeed, has been an enormous challenge. To explore the nature of fragmented cities, to understand attachments, behaviours and relationships between people and places, and to comprehend the impact of any action happening in a given context involves an expanded and holistic vision of the discipline of Architecture and Urbanism. For this reason, it has been a great challenge to understand how architecture and urban design can be reframed and merged to search for new spaces of solidarity with other disciplines that also study and are concerned with the city.

Also, asking about the suturing of the city to promote urban togetherness should be seen as a political question, as it is based on the hope that any enquiry relating the social and the city (at any scale) should embrace such condition. Nonetheless, being hopeful not necessarily means that it is not possible. To achieve what this thesis pursues requires the need for political work. And this work presents a journey that is based on the assumption that this task is necessary.

The only way to imagine a possible future for Caracas is by exploring the past and present to comprehend the diversity of memories that the city carries. Thus, as discovered thorough this work, this thesis looks for these memories and use them for an imagined future, one in which fractures, the city and the instruments that the state has for its production can contribute to build a less fragmented and a more intertwined society.

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CHAPTER 2

Towards an intertwined city: a possible framework

Introduction

This research explores the role interstitial practice located in the in-between spaces have in achieving urban togetherness. In other words, in what ways (if any) can in-between spaces of the contemporary city contribute to promote alternative ways of coexistence through interstitial practice?
This second chapter presents a series of theoretical considerations and discussions from a multi-disciplinary perspective, ranging from urban, social to cultural studies, to build an argument capable of exploring this issue.

This thesis is grounded on the idea that cities should be understood beyond urban dichotomies recognising in-between spaces as areas able to suture the territory. Hence, in-between spaces are acknowledged not as isolated or independent spaces but active urban spaces, inherent parts of the city which are enablers of change. It is in this chapter where the concept of the in-between space is explored and developed through different lenses, not only being comprehended as a physical space but as a phenomenological one, also introducing the time factor into the discourse.

In this chapter, the conceptualisation of informality, the interstice and the border[land] is deployed in order to build a solid understanding of the meaning of the in-between to further explore the city of Caracas. Even though several terms might associate the in-between space with the remnants of urban planning processes, vacant spaces of the city, particular places, large infrastructural lines, or natural contours that separate territories it is important to concretise its multiple geographic scales, its connotations, its meanings and its direct association with what many authors associate with the 'other' or 'third' terms. This chapter provides some theoretical concepts and discussions that help understanding better this argument.

This chapter revises a series of theoretical discussions and is organised as follows. The first section discusses the understandings of cities beyond urban dichotomies, and a series of points are made to define the theoretical justification behind it. By exploring the varying understandings of dual terms, it will be possible to encounter shared meanings that will lead to comprehend what stands in between one and the other. Then, the second section of this chapter presents the main conceptual debate of this investigation, the in-between space, which analyses its critical antecedents to define it from both, socio-spatial and phenomenological lenses. This section introduces

an approximation to tackle the 'third' or the 'other' concept from different theoretical perspectives, being the particular focus to establish and build links between them. At the same time, it is explored what has been named as in-between-ness, introduced as the main condition of the in-between space. And finally, the third section of this chapter presents the prospect of interstitial practice in the in-between spaces, particularly looking at examples of the socio-politics of the post-World War II era, which are marked by anti-systemic political thought and action. Through discussing the definition and scope of interstitial practice, this section seeks to explore how this type of practice has recovered fragmented scenarios through small play, exploration, and the embodiment of the space through experience, and reflects on issues that involve power, identity and territorialisation.

2.1 Understanding cities beyond urban dichotomies

Informality exists since earlier civilisations but in the field of Urban Planning and Social Science, this term has recently seen a revival of interest in Architecture and Urbanism, Critical Literature or Urban and Social Studies gaining different names and interpretations.

The anthropologist Keith Hart first coined the concept of informal sector in his 1971 study of economic activities in urban Ghana (Hart, 1973), which contributed to further study the economic activities developed outside the regulatory capacities of state institutions in the Global South. The dialectic between formal and informal in his paper is key to understand that the 'informal' is not a separate other; this is, informality is an aspect of all formal structures.

Since the published works of Hart in the 1970s, informality has been approached in a myriad of ways implying a wide range of situations such as temporary uses of the space, processes of occupation, forms of self-organisation, development of urban and rural areas, economic activities, or procedures and phenomena that take place outside regulated processes, planned and formalised zones (Roy, 2005). Informality has been also defined as a state of exception and ambiguity (Roy, 2005, in Boano, 2013); as "a dynamic that releases energies" (Gausa et al., 2003:343) within the urban landscape; or a mode of production of space defined by the territorial logic of deregulation (Roy, 2009), normally associated to the poor.

The term informal settlements (used to address slum areas) has recently emerged to frame informality as an inevitable spatial product of global capitalism. In this regard, the scholar Ananya Roy manifested to outline the idea of a 'subaltern urbanism' in order to theorise the slum by developing an alternative narrative where informality and resistance are symbols of a new urban struggle in cities (in Boano, 2013). In relation to this, Oliver Leech, in his Master thesis that consisted in comparing urban settlements in Rio de Janeiro, Copenhagen and Beijing, attributes informality to the phenomenon of globalization assuring that "only when cities are so blatantly formal does one notice the contradiction of the informal so clearly" (Leech, 2013:12). That is, informality encompasses understandings on the territory, but it also demonstrates a relationship between citizens and power structures.

A further reference to understand informality is the work of the British architect John F. C. Turner in his studies in the *barriadas* of Lima in the early 60s. In his book *'Housing by People'* (1982), Turner analyses the changing and forming of entire 'informal' districts and the features these processes took on within the urban structure. Turner's work is relevant because he identifies the potential in the 'informal' and its acceptance as a possible alternative to the problem of inhabiting.

In the architecture and urbanism spheres, the phenomenon of informality is particularly associated with the illegal occupation of the space also related to the non-planning or the unplanned; areas occupied by the most vulnerable ignoring the existing complex dynamics and relations between what is considered formal and informal. However, in the book *'Rethinking*

the informal city' (Hernández et al., 2010), informality is analysed to describe and theorise not only the spatial aspect of the city but its cultural, economic, social and political organisation, particularly in the Latin American region. The architect and scholar Felipe Hernández defends that the term 'unplanned' –normally associated with slums –known in Latin America as *barrios* (Venezuela), *favelas* (Brazil), *villas miseria* (Argentina), *comunas* (Colombia) or *llegaipón* (Cuba)– cannot be used to describe the 'informal'.

According to the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (Company, 1996), the term 'un-planned' is defined as:

> *adj.*
> **1.**   *Not intended; unintentional.*
> **2.**
> > **a.** *Having no particular purpose, organization, or structure; random.*
> > **b.** *Not thought out or prepared in advance; spontaneous*

Based on this 'un-planned' definition, Hernández argues that there is certainly an intention and a purpose to build a first home and subsequently to define a settlement. Despite the physical urban configuration of these settlements –which may seem disorganised from the outside due to its narrow alleyways, lanes and passageways– Hernández affirms that the settlement itself is composed by a hierarchy of routes that cannot be considered as random because the whole set has its functional and structural logic. Nevertheless, Hernández argues that the 'un-planned' may suggest that there is no official regulation in the area to place a house and this may imply to address the idea of illegality[1] –also associated to define these settlements–, a term that is commonly related to the informal, particularly to describe urban typologies.

The fact that these settlements offer a particular physiognomy –being often large-scale, dense, and highly developed organisms– is what move many to use the term informal. The scholar Oliver Leech exposes that these settlements are built outside the legal framework of city planning and are associated –on a broad level– with the slum-like because most of them are sub-standard, overcrowded and dangerous, with inadequate access to safe water and poor sanitisation (Leech, 2013). But certainly, many of these settlements are nowadays consolidated and highly organised; they have grown organically within the historical city limits being part of a "process of hybridisation" (Bhabha, 1994, Hernández, 2010, Herrera Napoleón, 2014); this means that sometimes, it is very difficult to distinguish them from what is referred as the 'formal' part of the city.

Between the 1970s and 1990s, a series of theoretical studies modified the approach to the concept of urban informality giving rise to different schools of thought. During the first decade, the Dualist school popularised by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) conceived informality as a group of marginal activities excluded from the formal economy; in the next decade, informality was characterised by the Structuralism school considering this term as an integral part of a single system; the followers of Structuralism advocated for binary systems analysis in which one of its elements (or subjects) is superior than the other. From there, Post-structuralism emerged from a group of philosophers, mainly French, who

1. The Venezuelan architect Marco Negrón also uses the concept of 'illegality' to refer to the barrios of Caracas "*La consecuencia más profunda, de largo plazo y que se repite a lo ancho de toda la América Latina, se focaliza en la escisión de la ciudad en dos sectores: la 'ciudad legal' (…) y la 'ciudad ilegal'*" (NEGRÓN, M. 1995:125). El crecimiento metropolitano vergonzante: la expansión en la segunda mitad del siglo XX. *In:* IMBESI, G. & VILA, E. (eds.) *Caracas. Memorias para el Futuro.* Roma: Gangemi Editore.

proposed to dismantle binary hierarchical structures. Roland Barthes is one of the figures of post-structuralism who wrote an essay entitled '*The Death of the Author*' reversing the hierarchical binary structure –in this case, between the author and the reader (Hernández, 2010:10)–. Such work can be taken as a basic form of deconstruction, developed by Jacques Derrida, followed by the work of Walter Benjamin and his theory of literary translation, as well as other post-colonial thinkers and theorists such as Homi K. Bhabha. In fact, the work of Bhabha is of paramount importance in this thesis because it pursues to dismantle binary systems of social antagonism such as coloniser and colonised and explores what stands in-between.

Entered the twenty-first century, when the world is already considered urban –being the 54 per cent of the world's population living in urban areas (DESA, 2014)–, a global awareness has been raised to understand the complexity of cities. The generalisation of informal and the materialisation of this term to define slums is receiving renewed interest in mainstream architecture and cultural spheres.

In 2007, the exhibition entitled '*Design with the Other 90%: Cities*' curated by Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt was presented at the United Nations in the context of the United Nations Academic Impact initiative and UN-Habitat. This exhibition displayed projects, proposals and design solutions that addressed the most basic needs of the 90% of the world's population, not necessarily served by professional architects and designers. In 2011, the second series of this themed exhibition demonstrated how design can be a dynamic force of transformation and saving lives.

2. The Primary School in Gando, Burkina Faso, designed by Diébédo Francis Kéré; Quinta Monroy Housing in Iquique (Chile) designed by Elemental; The Metro Cable in Caracas (Venezuela) implemented by Urban Think Tank; the Manguinhos Complex in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) by Jorge Mario Jáuregui or the METI-Handmade School in Rudrapur (Bangladesh) designed by Anna Heringer and Eike Roswag were some of the works presented.

Similarly, the exhibition '*Small Scale, Big Change: New Architectures of Social Engagement*' presented at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in 2010 featured architects[2] that not only addressed the functional requirements of their designs but aimed to have a positive impact on the communities they worked in beyond the boundaries of their modest sites. Furthermore, concepts of participatory design and ideating new architectures of social engagement and collaboration were introduced in this exhibition.

In 2016, the Chilean architect Alejandro Aravena became the curator of the 15th. International Architecture Exhibition in the Venice Biennale, where the concept of informality was one of the central themes to reflect on the cities of the present and the future. Particularly, the exhibition '*Report from Cities: Conflicts of an Urban Age*' –curated by Ricky Burdett, professor of Urban Studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and the director of LSE Cities and the Urban Age project– was developed as a special project in order to recall the most important tendencies happening in the urban sphere, highlighting the opposition between formal and informal discourses.

During the UN-Habitat III Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development held in Quito in the same year, Ricky Burdett together with the scholars Saskia Sassen and Richard Sennett, along with Joan Clos, outlined 'The Quito Papers manifesto' detailing in words and images the pitfalls of the Charter of Athens; a document that emerged from the Fourth Congress of the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) held in 1933. Together, they discussed that large
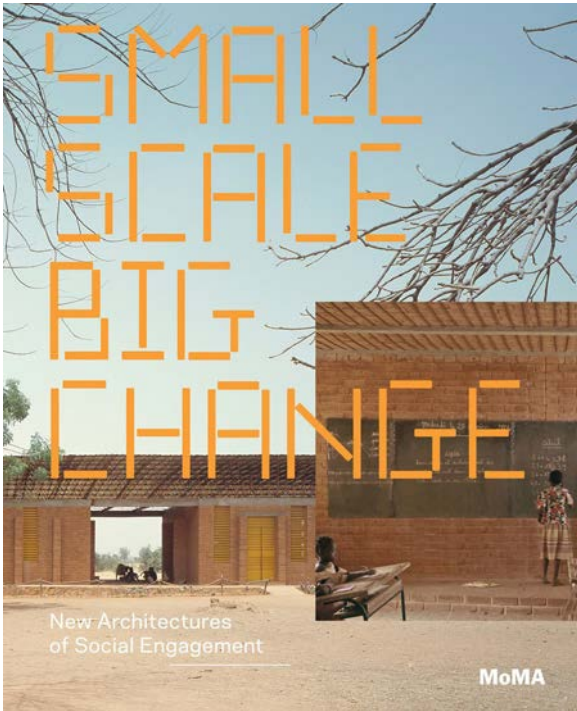
Fig 2.1: Exhibition catalogue 'Design for the Other 90%', Catalogue cover. Photograph by Vestergaard Frandsen. Design by Tsang Seymour Design. Source: MoMA
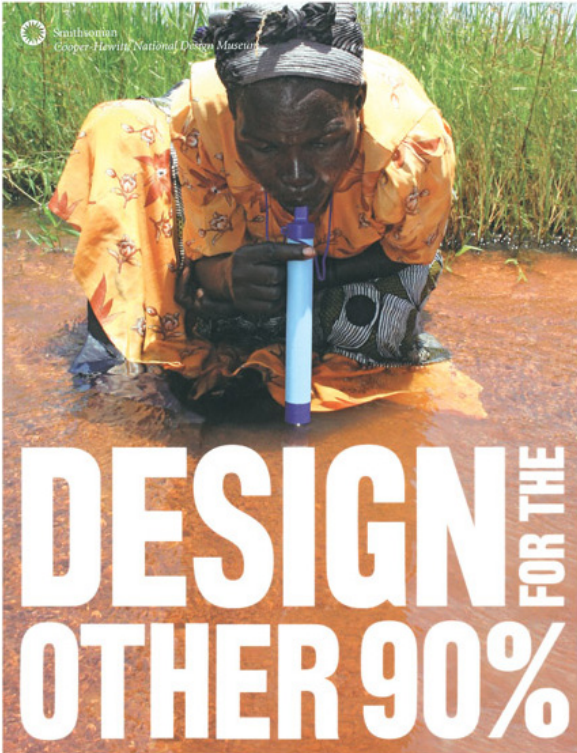
Fig 2.2: Exhibition catalogue. Small Scale, Big Change: New Architectures of Social Engagement (Lepik, 2010).

Fig 2.3: Exhibition leaflet. 'Conflicts of an Urban Age'. Picture credit: Huaxi Village, China by Kacper Kowalski; Mexico City by Pablo López Luz.

Figure 2.4: Aerial view of Francisco Fajardo highway in Caracas. Petare is on the right and La Urbina on the left. Photo: Alejandro Solo. Source: Shutterstock.

metropolises are characterised by the presence of informal phenomena, the privatisation of urban spaces, and the formation of residential units such as gated communities and enclosed condominiums. During their presentation, images of worldwide cities such as Addis Ababa, Caracas, Ciudad de México, Luanda and Istanbul were displayed in order to depict those areas of cities with no street life and completely disconnected from the rest of the city.

Referring to Figure 2.4, Burdett explained that on the right side, a process of informality is illustrated whereas on the left side, it is displayed examples of formalisation leading to privatised configurations of the space such as enclosed residential areas. Burdett stated:

> "This is Caracas, but could be anywhere (…) it freezes in stone, in concrete, in tarmac the differences of social caste and social position. The problem is when the part on the right changes, the part on the left probably won't change".[3]

3. Quote from Ricky Burdett taken by the author during his presentation of 'The Quito Papers' in the UN-Habitat III conference held in Quito in October 2016.

This image taken by the Venezuelan photographer Alejandro Solo displaying the blatant contrast in the east of Caracas has been utilised by Richard Sennett in many of his talks and publications (Sennett, 2018a, 2018b) to explain the open city concept and to highlight the contrasts and differences between the mostly called 'formal' and 'informal' cities, or what Sennett refers as "the bourgeois part of Caracas and the slums" (Sennett, 2018b:5). Despite Sennett pretends to explain the edge condition in cities from this image, his narrative contributes to understand the Venezuelan capital in binary terms, generalising a quotidian condition that does not necessarily correspond to reality:

> "There is one bridge, where maids cross in the morning to go to service apartments. In the evening, they go back over the bridge. There is no interaction in the opposite direction" (Sennett, 2018b:5).

Nevertheless, Solo's famous image (Fig. 2.4) incites to reflect on the urban complexity, which leads to wonder how architecture and urbanism can be restructured to provide answers for uncertain, indefinite and ambiguous social, economic and environmental conditions beyond urban dichotomies. In fact, instead of reasoning on extreme poles such as formal and informal or rich and poor, the focus during The Quito Papers conference was also placed in the areas where they both converge.

The varying understandings of informality through the examples exposed in this section highlight that planning practices –combined with other disciplines such as geography, sociology or anthropology– play a significant role in moving towards a more attentive way of understanding the city. Hence, relations between formal and informal spheres should evolve from an oppositional model to a more convivial, relational and dialogical one. By overcoming urban dualisms –which inherently imply contestation, fragmentation and division– the discourse of this thesis is nurtured with terms that denote socio-spatial cohesion and articulation among city units.

Within the renaissance of interests in understanding and addressing informality, depicting Latin American cities as contrasting poles, this investigation pursues a paradigm shift in order to incorporate into the

narrative spaces that create opportunities for passage (Smets et al., 2017) and crossing over, spaces to traverse, and understand the hybridisation processes that occur in what functions as transitional spaces (Heifetz-Yahav, 2002, Smets et al., 2017) referred by many as urban interstices (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a, Wall, 2011), intermediate spaces (Herrera Napoleón, 2014, Herrera Napoleón, 2006) or, as identified in this investigation, in-between spaces (Sieverts, 2011, Can, 2012, García Alcaraz, 2010, Wall, 2011, Wandl et al., 2017, Lévesque, 2013, Mubi Brighenti, 2016, Bhabha, 1994); areas that are capable of intertwining the territory and finding other ways of coexistence.

2.1.1 Towards a socio-spatial continuum

Urban dichotomies have been key to determine a relational sphere materialised in what has been named 'the in-between space', a sort of "intermediate space" (Tagliagambe, 2008, Herrera Napoleón, 2014) where different spatial, social and creative forms [of production] may become manifested.

The sociologist Saskia Sassen writes in the book *'The informal city: Caracas case'* (Klumpner et al., 2007) that it is needed to abandon the dichotomous approach to comprehend urban complexity seen as the relation between spatial form and the social, cultural and economic processes (Sassen, 2005:83-87). As Sassen argues, walls are critical elements of the public space, identified as spaces comprising what are commonly seen as discontinuous and mutually exclusive spaces. Sassen exposes that it is needed a change of perspective to no longer pay attention to the border*line*, which crosses, cuts and divides the space, but rather to the border*land*, where an area of hybridisation and relational spaces between two spheres appear:

> "If the wall (…) functions as such a border*land* rather than border*line*, then the particular materials, the visual experience, the sensory experience, all matter because they are constituting a sort of third space" (Sassen, 2006:131).

> "They [borderlines] are spaces that are constituted in terms of discontinuities […] In constituting them as analytic borderlands, discontinuities are given a terrain of operations rather than being reduced to a dividing line" (Sassen, 2005:83).

Sassen describes the intersection between formal and informal as a terrain of discontinuity in which something new may be created from a cultural, social and economic point of view. But, this will be possible only when the traditional dualism's instruments of analysing the city are put in the background so that the social environment and the urban dynamics are understandable.

In a similar vein, the scholar Laura Lutzoni in the article *'In-formalised urban space design. Rethinking the relationship between formal and informal'* (Lutzoni, 2016) introduces the idea of the interstitial space as a "hazy line" to be understood beyond urban dichotomies:

"as a metaphor for a physical state of the contemporary city that enables the conception of urbanism as a foreseeable entity *a priori* to be surpassed. This condition enables to understand better the hazy line between 'formal' and 'informal' as well as the progressive change in roles of people and spaces in the urban society" (Lutzoni, 2016:2).

The theorist and architect Rahul Mehrotra (2008) observes that in contemporary urban landscapes, there are certain areas that move towards greater attention to the social aspect being instability, indistinctness, dynamism, mobility, temporariness, recyclability and reversibility the fundamental elements upon which the spatial concept becomes structured. In this context, Mehrotra (2003, 2008, 2013), who has worked extensively in exploring the contemporary condition of cities in India, identifies two antagonistic spaces –or two cities inextricably intertwined– that coexist in the same territory: the static, which is formed by a two-dimensional entity on conventional city maps, and the kinetic, which is incomprehensible as a two-dimensional entity (as the author states that is a city in motion, more related to a three-dimensional construct of incremental development). The static is a city that is monumental in presence whereas the kinetic is a city in motion that cannot be codded, temporary in nature and constantly reinventing itself (Mehrotra, 2013).

Mehrotra explores the emergent urbanism of Mumbai and argues that the two identified cities coexist in the same territory becoming the public space a melting point where both –static and kinetic– intersect and relate, giving rise to a single entity (Mehrotra, 2003). By explaining the case of the Victorian Arcades and the architecture of the historic Fort Area in Mumbai, Mehrota analyses how the public space is occupied and used, which concludes that the kinetic, re-signifies the static space in architectural, economic and socio-political aspects. For Mehrota, "architecture is the spectacle of a static city" (Hernández, 2010:121) because the static city represents power and control, being conceived as stable and durable; and contrarily, the kinetic city refers to the performances of people within the confines of the static city. Therefore, the static and the kinetic can establish a more complex and immaterial relation, going beyond their physical manifestation through an interstitial or in-between space that is fluid and ambiguous, characterised by processes that are difficult to decode, map or subdivide (Mehrotra, 2008).

This emerging space between these two identified cities is related to the nature of *gray spacing*; a term coined by the geographer Oren Yiftachel (2009) "positioned between the 'whiteness' of legality/approval/safety, and the 'blackness' of eviction/destruction/death" (Yiftachel, 2009:89). The gray spacing typifies cities of the South-East, particularly exemplifying the struggle of Bedouin Arab communities in the regions of Israel and Palestine by evidencing how Israeli government systemically displaces members of this community through legal loopholes. Other examples of gray spacing refer to the Sri Lankan Eastern Tamils, where racism is expressed through anti-land invasion and anti-slum rhetoric, or the treatment of foreign labour and asylum seekers in Tel-Aviv.

Yiftachel's gray spacing creates a continuum between two opposed poles: the ones from below and the ones from above. The former refers to the encroachment of peripheral populations into specific urban areas through

migration, squatting, auto-construction and illegality, and the latter refers to the encroachment beyond the law and the plan by privileged groups under the approval of the state.

Gray space is used as a theoretical concept that pursues to understand the causes and consequences of rapid expansion in temporary urban developments, characterised by processes of informality that are related to citizenship, political conflicts and ethno-class stratifications. What is relevant about it is that the gray space refers to a state that denotes a sort of permanent temporality, a place of shifting citizenships where groups are not fully integrated but not evicted. This concept moves beyond the urban dichotomies of planned and unplanned, foreigner and citizen, legal and illegal, black and white, and so forth, as these relational categories are constantly changing in the sphere of public policy, mobilisation and resistance.

In this regard, Camillo Boano and Ricardo Martén– in their writings on the Jerusalem case– conceive the land between Jerusalem and Israel as "the space of flow in its elastic and shifting geography, a boundless border zone that could never be represented by drawing lines at the risk of simplifying its spatiality and its 'thickness'" (Boano, 2010, Boano and Martén, 2013:11). Both scholars exemplify the frontier between the two states, the zone between Israel and Palestine, with the concept of the Möbius strip:

> "Like the two sides of the Möbius strip, in any point along its length what seems to be happening is that both the camp and the *polis* become visible poles of antinomy where the ambivalent logic of inclusive, biopolitical exclusion portray a "neither leave nor enter" logic. As biopolitics begins its work of normalisation, the polis and the camp align and the no-man's land that separates them disappears" (Boano, 2010, Boano and Martén, 2013:11).

In relation to border and frontier zones, Azzurra Muzzonigro and Boano (2013:13) state that "the frontier is the space where differences meet and influence each other in the process of transforming social identities" whereas the border is understood as a fixed space, a stable and an absolute line. This argument builds upon Gilles Clement's understanding of the nature of the border and its representation as a thick space:

> "think to the borders as a thickness, rather than as a line. Think to the margin as a field of research on the richness that arise from the encounter of different environments" (Clément, 2018:63).

Scholar Piero Zanini (1997) establishes an interesting explanation between border and frontier, terms used in urban planning to refer to the contested spaces:

> "Border means a common limit, a separation between contiguous spaces. It is also a way in which to pacifically define the property right of everyone in a contested territory. Instead the frontier represents the end of the land, the faraway limit to venture out of which means to go beyond superstition against Gods' will, beyond what is fair and admitted, towards the unknowable that world have set off their envy" (Zanini, 1997:10-11).

In this regard, the act of crossing the frontier means to leave behind what is known and familiar towards what is considered uncertain:

> "to go beyond the frontier, also transforms the character of an individual: beyond it one becomes stranger, emigrant, different not only to others, but also to oneself. And not always to go back to the starting point makes us find everything that we had left" (Zanini, 1997:10-11).

Kevin Lynch, in his book *'The Image of the City'* (1960), includes 'edges' as one of the five recognised elements that exist in the minds of people who experience any city. Borders and frontiers might be included in this category:

> "Edges are the linear elements not used or considered as paths by the observer. They are the boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity: shores, railroad cuts, edges of development, walls. They are lateral references rather than coordinate axes. Such edges may be barriers, more or less penetrable, which close one region off from another; or they may be seams, lines along which two regions are related and joined together. These edge elements, although probably not as dominant as paths, are for many people important organizing features, particularly in the role of holding together generalized areas, as in the outline of a city by water or wall" (Lynch, 1960:47).

Drawing on the nature of edges and margins, Richard Sennett (2006, 2008, 2013) takes the idea of an open city, a concept first coined by Jane Jacobs when arguing the urban vision of Le Corbusier. Jacobs tried to understand places that are both dense and diverse, functioning as public and private spaces, pondering on the idea of equilibrium or integration. Jacobs' point of view is particularly relevant in this thesis to comprehend connectivity and urban diversity because, according to her, powerful developers tend to favour homogeneity which, according to Sennett, is "determinate, predictable, and balanced in form" (Sennett, 2018a:100).

Richard Sennett developed and discussed the open city concept introducing the idea of open systems. In most of his writings, Sennett explains that throughout history, walls were urban constructions that literally close in a city. However, he points out that gates in walls have served as thresholds that allowed the entrance into the city, served to regulate commerce, and also became places to collect taxes. Thus, both sides of city walls gradually transformed as houses were built, street markets and the black market selling untaxed goods sprung, and migrants, exiles and other misfits tended to settled in the peripheries, far from the city control. In this regard, Richard Sennett introduces the idea of city walls as cell membranes: porous and resistant, which is comparable to a modern living urban form.

Sennett also establishes its own distinction between boundaries and borders, where he contextualises both concepts in natural ecologies. For Sennett, borders are the places where organisms are more interactive as they meet different species of physical conditions whereas the boundary establishes closure. That is, the border functions more like a medieval wall, which is a sort of liminal space (Sennett, 2006, 2013, 2018a).

"The boundary is an edge where things end; the border is an edge where different groups interact" (Sennett, 2018a:101).

"At borders, organisms become more inter-active, due to the meeting of different species or physical conditions (…) it is at the borderline where the work of natural selection is the most intense. The boundary is a guarded territory (…) where there is not transgression" (Sennett, 2006:8).

As explored alongside this section, different terms are addressed to comprehend the area that connects and/or divides two entities; the gray space, the interstitial space, the Möbius strip, a thick space, the margin, the edge, the frontier, the border or the boundary are terms that are used by many scholars to identify the sphere this investigation explores: the in-between space. And, in different ways, all these concepts contribute to nurture and shape its understanding, summarised in Table 2.1.

In this thesis, the in-between space approximation goes beyond the definitions of borders and frontiers because it is comprehended as a relational and convivial space in order to sustain the debate of the city with other terms which imply commonality, integration and juxtaposition. The in-between space is seen as a sphere where [re]identification or [re]formulation processes can occur without any hierarchical dominant culture; as a space where contrasts between urban binaries are latent so that discussions should begin with alternative ways of describing and reading the city in favour of hybridisation processes, simultaneousness, diversity and coexistence.

In this regard, the socio-spatial continuum is fundamental for understanding current city developments only when elements of interaction between urban dualities are recognised. As appointed by the scholar Laura Lutzoni (2016):

"Each dualist pattern falls apart in favour of mixed trajectories, a sort of 'meshwork' (Ingold, 2011), a weaving of 'bundles of lines' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980) that becomes a vast, structured terrain on which new spatiality and different forms of urban life can be seen" (Lutzoni, 2016:9).

This is, the comprehension of the in-between must transcend the bipolarity of modern cities hence open for multiple and varied conceptions of the space.

2.1.2 Other spaces

In this thesis, the urban space is not comprehended as a passive backdrop but an important and essential component of the city that is constantly produced and remade by groups that struggle for power to make their 'reality' visible to public knowledge.

By studying the space and its progression throughout history in Western culture, the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1986) argues that the Middle Ages postulated *the space of emplacement*, which consisted of "a hierarchic and structured ensemble of places" (Foucault, 1986:1) whereas

Urban dualities	Meanings	Space in-between*	Conceptions
Formal - Informal Sassen, S. (2005, 2006); Lutzoni, L. (2016)	*Border*lands are seen as terrains of operations between formal and informal; and *border*lines are seen as divisors.	*Third Space* Sassen, S. (2006)	A terrain of discontinuity; a relational sphere.
		Interstitial space Lutzoni, L. (2016)	A hazy line; a metaphor for a physical state of the contemporary city that enables the conception of urbanism as a foreseeable entity a priori to be surpassed.
Whiteness- Blackness Yiftachel, O. (2009)	'Whiteness' as legal, approved and safe. 'Blackness' as eviction, destruction, death.	*Gray Spacing* Yiftachel, O. (2009)	A relational space of permanent temporality.
Static - Kinetic Mehrota, R. (2003, 2008, 2013)	'Static' as a city that is monumental in presence. 'Kinetic' as a city in motion that cannot be coded, temporary in nature and constantly reinventing itself.	*Interstitial space* Mehrota, R. (2003, 2008, 2013)	A fluid and ambiguous space characterised by processes that are difficult to decode, map or subdivide. Interstices resist causality.
Border- Frontier Muzzonigro, A.; Boano, C. (2013)	Border as an absolute line, stable and fix space. Frontier is where differences meet and influence each other in the process of transforming social identities	*Möbius strip* Boano, C. (2010)	An elastic space; boundless border zone.
Zanini, P. (1997)	Border as a common limit. Frontier represents the end of the land.	-	A contested territory
Border- Boundary Sennett, R. (2013)	Border is an edge where different groups interact: a transgressed territory Boundary is seen as an edge where things end: a guarded territory		
Border- Margin Clément, G. (2018)	Borders are conceived as a thickness rather than a line. Margins seen as a field of research on the richness that arise from the encounter of different environments.	*Thick space* Clément, G. (2018)	Encounter of difference
		Edge Lynch, K. (1960)	An element that holds together generalised areas. Barriers more or less penetrable; they close one region off from another.
		Intermediate space (Tagliagambe, 2008, Herrera Napoleón, C. 2006, 2014)	A sphere where different spatial, social and creative forms [of production] may become manifested.
		Transitional space (Heifetz-Yahav, 2002, Smets et al., 2017)	Spaces that offer the opportunity for passage and cross over; they need to be traversed and discovered.
		In-between space (Sieverts, 2011, Can, 2012, García Alcaraz, 2010, Wall, 2011, Wandl et al., 2017, Lévesque, 2013, Mubi Brighenti, 2016, Bhabha, 1994)	Spaces that aim to reconcile polarities/ urban dualities.

***Space in-between** is not the same as an in-between space. The connotation of a space in-between in this section is a space *of the entre*, between two entities or bodies, not necessarily different.

at the beginning of modernity it is envisioned an *infinitely open space*, "a thing's place was no longer anything but a point in its movement" (1986:1-2). In Foucault's view, space was seen in the past as a homogeneous field where extension was substituted for localisation but in recent times, the space is "defined by relations of proximity between points or elements" (1986:2) in which "space takes for us the form of relations among sites" (ibid). That is, there has been a shift from a space of binary oppositions (of the open and closed, public and private, sacred and profane) where the dialectical interrelation of spaces, according to Foucault, has been eroded.

Michel Foucault set up the concept of 'site' to introduce a new spatial type: 'heterotopia' (French: *hétérotopie*), etymologically linked to another term: 'utopia', a theoretical counterpart to heterotopia. Whereas utopias are unreal and perfect spaces, heterotopias are defined as counter-sites, simultaneously representing, contesting and inverting all other conventional sites. Heterotopias are 'other spaces', which exhibit dual meanings; they are sites that represent incompatible spaces and reveal paradoxes which people may inhabit at particular times or as a result of being regarded as deviant such as prisons, rest homes, boarding schools and psychiatric hospitals.
In the article 'Of Other Spaces' (Foucault, 1984), Foucault uses the example of a mirror as a metaphor to describe utopia and heterotopia and clarify the duality between the reality and the unreality of utopian projects; so, when we look on a mirror, the image that we see reflected does not exist, but altogether it is a heterotopia because the mirror is a real object that shapes the way we are related to our own image (in García Alcaraz, 2017). Foucault's heterotopia subverts the logic of a dominant space exposing an alternative to the status quo by which space is understood; it opens a new field of exploration towards a definition of the role of the space in the process of encountering difference and hybridisation.

In French language, '*espace*' has a wider application than 'space' as this term refers to many areas designated for specific purposes or activities. The French Michel De Certeau, in the section of the book '*Spaces and places*' (De Certeau, 2001), introduces a distinction between place (*lieu*) and space (*espace*):

> "A place (*lieu*) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (place). The law of the 'proper' rules in the place: the elements taken into consideration are beside one another, each situated in its own 'proper' and distinct location, a location it defines. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability" (De Certeau, 2001:90).

The counterpart of the ordered 'place' is 'space', which in De Certeau's vision is defined by vectors of direction, velocities and time variables. Thus, space is actuated by the ensemble of movements – intersections of moving elements– deployed within it.

> "Space is a practiced place. Thus, the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs" (De Certeau, 2001:90).

Table 2.1 (left): Summary of terms that denote a space in-between, understood from a socio-spatial perspective. This table highlights urban dualities and meanings, the term used by authors to refer to the 'in-between' as well as its conceptions. All these terms are arranged according to its first appearance in the text. Author's own representation.

For De Certeau, space [*espace*] is more abstract than place [*lieu*]; the former term can refer to an area, a distance and, significantly in relation to Foucault's concept of heterotopia, a temporal period. The latter is relational, concerned with identity and linked to an event or a history, whether mythical or real (Augé, 2008:81-84). For geographer John Agnew (2005), the space is traditionally seen as a general and objective notion, related to some form of location, whereas place refers to the particular, related to the 'occupation' of a location (Agnew, 2005:142). Nonetheless, Foucault (1986) favours the word 'emplacement', a term which has a sense of both space and place (in García Alcaraz, 2017).

The work of Henri Lefebvre (1991) also challenges this binary notion by introducing the 'other' term. It is relevant to mention that Lefebvre's readings on space must be comprehended as a response to, and a source of, French intellectual debate during the 1960-1970s, when the French State put efforts to reform the practice of urban planning to develop alternatives to post-war functionalism. Thus, "the introduction of new procedures for the participation of inhabitants politicised its operations and stimulated the emergence of critical urban research, including Marxist research" (Stanek, 2011:ix, in Plaza, 2016). Henri Lefebvre's thought is key, particularly in this thesis, to understand the conceptualisation and history of the urban, introducing connections between power, space and everyday life in the contemporary world.

For Lefebvre, cities have achieved a different role from the Middle ages onwards. As Lefebvre argues, up until medieval period space and time were experienced through local and lived conditions; that is, time and distances were established by the capacity of the body. In Renaissance cities, the accumulation of power and wealth was the result in the self-conscious creation of politically and commercially oriented cities, which embodied natural and artificial elements; mathematical systems were developed so that space could be broken into fixed units that could be mapped over the land, establishing a system of abstraction for exact measurements and locations. According to Lefebvre, this *abstract space* is produced and perpetuated through grids and plans, and is utilised by the capitalist system of production. That is, with the emergence of modern science, the conceptualisation of space has been monopolised by philosophers and mathematicians as an abstract 'mental thing', divorced from reality and social life (Lefebvre, 1991:1-7). Throughout time, cities have changed with the dominant state power and industrialisation, where natural elements tended to disappear. Thus, modern cities emerged and reflected spaces for transportation, surveillance and control where the city became a space of commodity.

These observations moved Lefebvre to provide with the means to theorise transitions from one mode of production to another as well as to understand specific modes of spatial production and representation. In addition to his contributions in recounting the historical changes to the way people experience space and time, Lefebvre designed a scheme to understand how space is socially produced.

The notion of production is relevant to Lefebvre because not only assumes the socioeconomic production –the actual production of things in space–

but also the reproduction of biological and social relations of productions –the activities that produce social spaces–. Lefebvre shifted the focus from things *in* space to the actual processes of its production, the multiple social practices that produce it and the political character of the process of the production of space (Stanek, 2011:ix, Lefebvre, 1991:37, in Plaza, 2016:30).

Lefebvre's theory of the production of the space –an extension of his philosophical thinking and an empirical work based on studies for several French institutions– is an attempt to reunite the universals of philosophy with the local and particular problems of everyday life. His work hinges on an account of the production of the space, which allows the possibility to [re]unite the physical, mental and social space.

Lefebvre developed a qualitative approach addressed to understand the space differently from the *abstract space* of state planning and post-war functionalism. He proposed a conceptual triad of interconnected moments (or realms) for understanding space as a social product, conformed by Spatial Practice, Representation of Space, and Representational spaces.

The *Spatial practice* (the perceived space) embodies the interactions and associations between urban reality and the human actions of daily life. It is revealed through the physical and experiential deciphering of space through the routes, networks and flows that tie and connect the places of private life, work and leisure. The perceived space is an impersonal space that is comprised of the flows of money, transportation, commodities, labour, etc. (Lefebvre, 1991:38). It is in the spatial practice where the reproduction of social relations is predominant (1991:50).
The *Representation of Space* (the conceived space) tends towards a network of intellectually worked verbal signs that belong to the spheres of urbanism, planning, politics, science or technocracy (1991:38-39). It is the Cartesian realm of maps, models, blueprints and designs that are created and informed by the knowledge of experts and ideologies that exert a dominant force and specific influence in the production of the space (1991:42). The conceived space is in thrall to both knowledge and power (1991:50).
The *Representational spaces* (the lived spaces) also the experienced space, is the space of human subjectivity that overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. It is the dominated space that "imagination seeks to change and appropriate" producing symbolic works (1991:39,41-42). The lived space barely achieves symbolic force (1991:50).

This triad helps clarify the social patterns that produce the abstract space of contemporary capitalism, which Lefebvre seeks to move beyond. These three realms of this triad generate specific forms of knowledge that may be distinguished in terms of their relationships with power. Whereas *Representations of Space* tend to be *savoirs*, connected to formal and institutional apparatuses of power, *Representational spaces* tend to generate knowledges that can be defined as *connaissances,* less formal and more local. Local knowledges tend to be geographical and historically contingent, and are the result of socially specific *spatial practices*. That is, they can be known as sites of contestation, resistance and counter-discourses that refuse to acknowledge power (Lefebvre, 1991:10).

Additionally, Lefebvre concurs that this space triad is not hierarchically ordered as the three realms remain in a state of continuous dialectical tension. All three contribute to the production of the space in different ways according to a historical period and the society (Lefebvre, 1991:46); that is, "every society (or mode of production in Lefebvre's terms) has historically produced its own particular space" (Plaza, 2016:47).

Lefebvre believed that whereas spatial practice is a constant of social life, a shift has been made in the conceived and lived spaces. Traditionally, the space has been lived before it has been conceptualised, and practice has generated representation. Nevertheless, Lefebvre affirmed that now representation precedes and it is distinguishable from practice. The passage from one mode of production to another results in contradictions within social relations of production which inevitably transforms the space, resulting in the production of a new space (Lefebvre, 1991:46). The space as a 'concrete abstraction' brings together physical, mental and social constructions which become material reality through human practice (Plaza, 2016:48).

Lefebvre's triad of space has been selectively incorporated into the works of many scholars such as David Harvey and Edward Soja's projects, being Harvey using Lefebvre to defend modernist values and Soja aligning Lefebvre as proto-postmodernist. David Harvey draws on Lefebvre's triad to unpack what space really means. Harvey articulates three dimensions through which we experience and produce space and time: Absolute, Relative and Relational space (Harvey, 2006:272). Not delving into Harvey's project, he concurs with Lefebvre in that space can only be constructed through human practices. Harvey developed a three by three matrix that intersects his thought to Lefebvre's categories of space (Harvey, 2006:282), which is worth appreciating (Table 2.2).

Edward Soja –postmodern political geographer and cultural theorist– further studied and updated Lefebvre's trialectics of spatiality introducing a spatial theory that includes the 'Thirdspace'[4] (Soja, 1996). Soja employs the term 'third' challenging a dialectic dominant vision in spatial theory of things and thoughts about space, and introduces a third concept to envision a "fully lived space". Soja divides the space in firstspace, secondspace and thirdspace:

Firstspace is the 'real' space, understood as the urban built form of physical buildings that can be mapped and seen.
Secondspace is the 'imagined' representational space, which exemplifies how the space is imagined or theorised.
Thirdspace is the combination of the *firstspace* and the *secondspace*, "a fully lived space, a simultaneously real-and-imagined, actual-and-virtual locus of structured individual and collective experience and agency" (Soja, 2000:11 see also Soja, 1996: 53–82).

What is interesting about Soja's theory is that he revises the traditional geographical dialectic of historicality (the *Firstspace*, which focused on the real material word), and the sociality (the *Secondspace*, which interprets the imagined representation of the world) through the insertion of spatiality: the *Thirdspace*. This is the space, Soja contents, where everything

[4]. The concept of the Thirdspace developed by Edward Soja explores and incorporates not only the work of Henri Lefebvre but of numerous social scientist such as Michel Foucault, Homi Bhabha, among others.

	Material space (experienced space)	Representations of space (conceptualised space)	Spaces of representation (lived space)
Absolute space	Walls, bridges, doors, stairways, floors, ceilings, streets, buildings, cities, mountains, continents, bodies of water, territorial markers, physical boundaries and barriers, gated communities...	Cadastral and administrative maps; Euclidean geometry; landscape description; metaphors of confinement, open space, location, placement and positionality; (command and control relatively easy) –*Newton and Descartes*	Feelings of contentment around the hearth; sense of security or incarcelation from enclosure; sense of power from ownership, command and domination over space; fear of others 'beyond the pale'
Relative space (time)	Circulation and flows of energy, water, air, commodities, peoples, information, money, capital; accelerations and diminutions in the friction of distance	Thematic and topological maps (i.e. London tube system); non-Euclidean geometries and topology; perspectival drawings; metaphors of situated knowledges, of motion, mobility, displacement, acceleration, time-space compression and distantiation; (command and difficult requiring sophisiticated techniques) –*Einstein and Riemann*	Anxiety at not gettting to class on time; thrill of moving into the unknown; frustration in a traffic jam; tensions or exhilarations of time-space compression, of speed, of motion
Relational space (time)	Electromagnetic energy flows and fields; social relations; rental and economic potential surfaces; pollution concentrations; energy potentials; sounds, odours and sensations wafted on the breeze	Surrealism; existentialism; psycho-geographies; cyberspace; metaphors of internalisation of forces and powers (command and control extremely difficult –chaos theory, dialectics, internal relations, quantum mathematics) – *Leibniz, Whitehead, Deleuze, Benjamin*	Visions, fantasies, desires, frustrations, memories, dreams, phantasms, psychic states (i.e. agoraphobia, vertigo, claustrophobia)

Table 2.2: David Harvey's matrix of spatiotemporality. Source: (Harvey, 2006:282). Author's own representation.

Table 2.3: Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1999) interpretation of the spatial triad. Author's own representation.

Firstspace	Secondspace	Thirdspace
Physical space	Mental space	Social space
Perceived space	Conceived space	Lived space
Spatial practice	Representation of space	Representational space
Spatial materiality	Spatial metaphor	Spatial praxis
Particular location	Conceptualised space developed by architects and planners	Complex symbolism
Spatial set		Partial unknown ability
Level of performance	Relation to production	Mystery and secretiveness
Everyday life	Control over knowledge	Non-verbal sumbliminally
Routes and networks	System of verbal signs	Potential insightful
Focus of conventional		

comes together: space is spatiality, sociality and history. For Soja, the *thirdspace* is understood as "a space of extraordinary openness, a place of critical exchange" (Soja, 1996:5) where the first and second spaces can be encompassed in the understanding of place. Herein, dichotomies and polarities can be combined to create distinctly postmodern 'both/ and also' analysis rather than the 'either/or' choice offered by modernism (Soja, 1996:1-23).

In Soja's vision, the third (as other) is not comprehended as a new term that stands between two opposites but a term that creates a disordering, a deconstruction and a re-construction of the opposites, where spatiality can be both one and the other simultaneously. So, the thirdspace can provide a conceptual vehicle through which the dialogical readings of the space can be conveyed.

The concept of the third [space], rather than being the final limit of reference, is further explored in the field of postcolonial theory and cultural geography, associated to processes of hybridisation, identity and other representations of culture.

Carmen Luke and Allan Luke explore how interracial families can be sites for the articulation of hybrid identity suggesting that interracial relationships draw individuals through a number of critical change events and into complex sites and moments of 'third space' otherness':

> "The third space is the site and moment of hybridity, of ambivalence, of reworking and renaming, of subverting and recreating identity from among multi-embedded social constructions of Otherness. These constructs are not exclusively the representations of the dominant culture, but intertwine with community, family, or nation narratives that index 'home', 'race', 'origin' and 'culture'" (Luke and Luke, 1999:234).

The work of Homi Bhabha (1994) is related to contemporary cultural theory and, even though himself does not elaborate extensively on the Third Space concept, his approach is relevant in this thesis because the 'third space' is at the centre of discussions on cultural differences and productivity (Hernández, 2010:89); this is, Third Space is equated to the concept of hybridity.

Bhabha is a key postcolonial thinker concerned with the margins of place; he introduces a *space of the entre* –as a threshold– that carries the burden of the meaning and culture (Bhabha, 1988).

> "it is in this space that we will find those words with which we can speak of Ourselves and Others. And by exploring this hybridity, this 'third space', we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves" (Bhabha, 1988:209).

For Bhabha, the idea of hybridity is an attempt to locate culture and its productivity in a liminal situation (a threshold, a passage between two different states or positions), where the hybrid is neither one nor the other, instead, is in-between; an ambiguous area that continually transforms itself according to dynamics of cultural interaction (Bhabha, 1994, Hernández, 2010).

[Bhabha's Third Space] "is an attempt to 'spatialise' the liminal position it represents; in other words, it gives a certain tangibility to the in-between space where hybridisation occurs, and from where hybrid designations emerge" (Hernández, 2010:90).

His approach to the third space is a "new international space of discontinuous historical realities" (Bhabha, 1994:217). The third space "is a challenge to the limits of the self in the act of reaching out to what is liminal in the historic experience, and in the cultural representation of other peoples, times, languages, text" (in Hernández, 2010:95).

As interpreted by Felipe Hernández, Bhabha's Third Space is not actually a space that can be entered or left –in a physical way architects understand it– as it is a space that is un-representable (Hernández, 2010:93).

In this sense, the 'third' refers to the constructing and re-constructing of identity, the fluidity of spaces where identity is not fixed and such is the feature of any kind of spatial existence. Hence, the realm of the third space has attained greater significance in other issues such as environmental problems, racism, poverty, migration, geopolitical conflicts, colonialism, among others.

Returning to the thirdspace understood by Edward Soja:

"Everything comes together in the Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history" (Soja, 1996:56-57).

Whereas Soja's thirdspace might denote too much inclusiveness, at the point of losing all its meaning, he explains that the thirdspace must be articulated as a trialectic (extended from binaries self/other, traveller/passenger), which opens new possibilities to explore when these binaries are destroyed (Soja, 1996:5-6). Soja invokes Bhabha's notion of Third Space in order to address issues related to minority groups in cities, their cultural productivity and modes of appropriation and creation of spaces, for instance, the *Chicanismo* in the United States.

In a different manner, the architect Felipe Hernández (2010) associates and interprets the third space to the slums of contemporary cities:

"those areas where the figure of the Third Space materialises itself in seemingly endless neighbourhoods and squatter settlements where cultural meaning is most certainly reconstituted constantly (…) The Third Spaces where the poor live transcend the dualism of east and west, periphery and centre, third and first world" (Hernández, 2010:97).

Throughout this investigation, the in-between space idea is directly related and aligned to the concepts introduced by Homi Bhabha in regards of processes of hybridisation, ambivalence and interaction. Rather than identifying the in-between space with a particular territorial unit of the

city (such as Hernández's interpretation of Bhabha's third space associated to the remnants of cities, represented by the image of slums, which directly establishes a biased and hierarchical position in understanding contemporary cities), the in-between space has been envisioned as a loose, undetermined and unprecise sphere, not necessarily concretised in a location or defined by specific peoples.

Another concept worth observing related to the 'other' is the one coined by the French anthropologist Marc Augé in '*Non-Places: An introduction to Super modernity*' (Augé, 2008) who introduces the idea of 'non-places' (created by super-modernity systems) asserting that "a place which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place" (Augé, 2008:63). In spatial terms, Augé includes as non-places hotel chains, airports, tourist havens or supermarkets –all edge land fixtures where human beings remain anonymous and lonely. As Augé concurs:

> [non-places are] "the invasion of space by text" (Augé, 2008:80); a pure referenciality with nothing but the spectacle on which to sustain itself, creating for its inhabitants (or more appropriately, users) "neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude and similitude" (Augé, 2008:83).

Nevertheless, the perception of a space like a non-place is strictly subjective; any individual can view a given location as a 'non-place' or as a crossroad of multiple relations. Augé envisions these spaces as endlessly inter-relational and discursive spaces that contain all: the monumental simulacra of super-modernity, the traditional spaces derived from memory and meaning, called *places*, and the third space where the escape from both place and non-place can be effected.

As observed alongside this section, the idea of the 'third' –as the 'other'– has been interpreted and understood differently by many scholars, being all visions summarised in Table 2.4.

So far, third space, heterotopic space, hybrid space, interstitial space or non-places have been briefly explained from a phenomenological lens to further explore post-colonial, modern and post-modern conceptions of 'other spaces', some of which pursue and envision 'social spaces', further analysed in this work.

Table 2.4 (right): Summary of terms that denote the 'other' understood from a phenomenological perspective. This table highlights urban dualities and meanings, the term used by authors to refer to 'other spaces' and its conception. All these terms are arranged according to their first appearance in the text. Author's own representation.

Urban dualities	Meanings	Other spaces	Conceptions
Space- Place Agnew, J. (2005)	Space as a location. Place as the occupation of a location.		
De Ceteau, M. (1984, 1988)	Space (*espace*) is actuated by the ensemble of intersections of moving elements deployed within it. Place (*lieu*) as an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability.		
Foucault, M. (1986)	Space seen as abstract and temporal. Place is more precise; is relational and often linked to an event or history.		
		Time + Space SPACE OF EMPLACEMENT Foucault, M. (1986)	Middle Ages: Space as a hierarchic and structured ensemble of places.
		INFINITELY OPEN SPACE Foucault, M. (1986)	Beginning of the Modernity: Space defined by relations of proximity between points or elements.
		Heterotopia Foucault, M. (1967)	Represent incompatible sites and reveal paradoxes. 'Counter-sites' that represent, contest and invert conventional sites.
Abstract - Absolute Lefebvre, H. (1991)	Abstract space as a superstructure of economical and political institutions. Absolute space (concrete) as physical and natural space incl. the everyday life.		
Mental - Material **Natural - Social** **Real - Imagined** **Virtual - Collective** **Actual - Virtual** Lefebvre, H. (1991)		*The production of the space* CONCEIVED SPACE Lefebvre, H. (1991)	Representations of the space
		PERCEIVED SPACE Lefebvre, H. (1991)	Spatial practice
		LIVED SPACE Lefebvre, H (1991)	Representational space
Subject - Object **Abstract - Concrete** **Real - Imagined** **Knowable - Unimaginable** **Repetitive - Differential** **Structure - Agency** **Mind- Body** **Conscious -Unconscious** **Disciplined-Transdisciplinary** **Everyday life- Unending history** Soja, E. (1996)		*The production of the space* FIRSTSPACE Soja, E. (1996)	Real space (History)
		Thirdspace Soja, E. (1996)	It is a combination of the firstspace and the second space. A fully lived space (Spatiality)
		SECONDSPACE Soja, E. (1996)	Imagined representational space (Sociality)
Pedagogical - Performative **Colonial - Post-Colonial** Bhabha, H. (1994)		**Third space** Bhabha, H. (1988, 1994)	*Space of the entre*, where we can emerge as the others of ourselves. Thridspace seen as a space of discontinuous historic realities.
		Non-Place Augé, M. (2008)	Strictly subjective. Endlessly inter-relational and discursive spaces that contain all: the monumental simulacra of super-modernity, the traditional spaces derived from memory and meaning, called places, and the third space where the escape from both place and non-place can be effected.

2.2 The emergence of a new urban middle: the in-between space

The current interest in understanding the in-between spaces of the contemporary city is grounded in some general considerations emerging in the field of urban studies, particularly when questioning city transformation processes that are related to the interstitial:

> "the interstitial relates to the notion of interstice, from the Latin *interstare*: to stand in between" (Lévesque, 2013:23).

In urban theory, it has been argued that the phenomena of urban expansion (urban sprawl and formation of polycentric regions) and the phenomena related to new forms of land-use (enclaves, gated communities, invasions, etc.) challenge most classic models employed to understand the city (Mubi Brighenti, 2016). Traditionally, urban studies have been focused mainly on the production of built-up spaces that have ignored the presence of a wide spectrum of gaps which have been left either inside the expansion of cities (intra), at their contours (inter) or outside urban regions (outer). These areas are mainly generated as by-products of urban planning such as geographical restrictions, open spaces, brownfields, landfills, farmlands, forest lands, green corridors, public spaces, infrastructural lands, buffers of security and others, somehow understood as random outcomes from the planning system itself (Galster et al., 2001).

The book *'Urban interstices: The Aesthetics and the Politics of the In-between',* edited by the scholar Andrea Mubi Brighenti (2016) has served to collect different points of view from many authors that have researched both empirically and theoretically these spaces and its relation to power, society, politics and art, and to further understand the differentiation between interstices and in-betweens, specifically highlighted by theorist Andreas Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos. Both terms are directly related to each other and so, share similar characteristics and notions; however, they are not synonyms[5]. Despite both terms are regaled with the quality of perpetual marginality, in-between spaces endow with political claims and aesthetic contrasts where their fluidity is solidified with the intentionality of the contrary and difference (as further discussed alongside this research). Thus, it is relevant to stress that the in-between "is a descriptive notion rather than one necessarily laden with positive overtones" (Mubi Brighenti, 2016:xix). Therefore, it is important not to romanticise the in-between spaces as they can also be spaces of dispute, power, control and domination.

However, at this point of the research, the two terms should not be separated in a dialectical way. The 'notion of the interstice' has been used to understand the commonalities of these spaces from two different points of view: first, the *structuralist*, where this space is seen as what remains after central planning processes amidst two territorial units. And the second is to be regarded as *eventual*, the outcome of a composition of interactions and affections among different actors that coexist in a given situation. The shifting from one perspective to the other is the addition of *movement* to the understanding of these spaces, which implies meanings of *transversality*, of crossing over.

[5]. According to Cambridge Dictionary, an interstice is:
>*[noun]* a/ a space between things or events.

whereas an in-between is:
>*[adj.]* a/ between two clear of accepted stages or states, and therefore difficult to describe or know exactly.
>b/ having the qualities of two different things.

Luc Lévesque introduces a sense of in-between-ness (further explored in section 2.2.3), which generates a "polysemous discursive field oscillating between connection and disjunction"(Lévesque, 2013:23) in those spaces. At this point, it is pertinent to take into account the urban exploration carried out by the Situationists in the 1950s (explained in section 2.3.1) which "enacted a type of movement capable of plumbing the uncertain, ill-defined, crepuscular and metamorphic states of urban territories" (Mubi Brighenti, 2016:xviii). The *flânerie* and *dérive* imply a degree of de-territorialisation and the initiation to a more fluid spatiality created by encounters in a loose space and their ensuing events (ibid).

This thesis sustains that in-between spaces are not simply a physical place but a happening, a moment, a combination, a melting point of situations, expressions and encounters. Therefore, their interpretation requires both the historical and territorial reconstruction of their context, and an in-situ approximation from the researcher to explore the events, experiences and encounters that occur there.
This is why studying in-between spaces as mere leftover spaces is not enough. Whereas interstices and in-between spaces can be the result of a series of environmental causalities (natural factors) and man-made decisions, they can also be understood within the context of phenomenology unfolding meaningful properties and attributes.

Taken from architecture and planning discourses, the following section does not pretend to be a list of terms but a coherent discourse to make sense of these types of spaces related to the interstitial to further develop the concept of the in-between, transgressing the notion of a 'localised' physical place. This value is to act as interpretative terms of the multiple possible spaces of encounter among differences.

2.2.1 Critical antecedents to define the in-between

In the book *'Divided cities'* (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009) the cities of Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar and Nicosia serve as a base to narrate the emerging global condition that in architectural and urban fields, borderlands simulate an intensity or a gradient that escape the intentionality of planning, where cities can be explored through their 'gaps' that can be more or less abandoned, accidental, attractive or stimulating. The borderland can therefore refer to the notions of porosity (Sennett, 2006, 2008, Stavrides, 2006), permeability (De Certeau, 1984), infiltration and passage (Bhabha, 1994, Smets et al., 2017), interval (Zanini, 1997), transition and threshold (Stavrides, 2016, De Certeau, 1984).

The notion of the interstice has been important in the urban morphological tradition to the extent that the emphasis in literature focusses on its morphological complexity, highlighting the diversity of forces and interests involved in the urban transformation of cities. Nonetheless, in the planning literature, the interstice –associated to 'small spaces' in cities– has been acknowledged mostly to refer to specific categories of interstitiality and not always to explain the configuration and formation of cities; that is, urbanisation can hardly be referred to the undeveloped space between

developments.

The conceptualisation of 'vacant lands' (Foo et al., 2013, Northam, 1971), 'open tracts' (Gillham, 2002), 'non-places' (Augé, 2008), 'terrain vague' (Solà Morales, 1995), 'inter-fragmentary spaces' (Vidal, 2002) or 'cracks' (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996, Thrasher, 1963 [1927]) sometimes emerge and are referred as partial contributions to the city compendium and not for understanding the whole spectrum of city transformation and its potentials. Aside from its spatial character, the interstice also refers to a temporal dimension as an interval in time, to an interlude (Gallet, 2002) or a transitory period (Lévesque, 2013). The temporal dimension is relevant in this research to understand that the interstitial condition is related to transition, transformation, process and event.

Discussions on urban interstices initiated, partly, at the end of the nineteenth century, when cities started to experience modernist planning approaches that emerged from the Fordism paradigms such as mass production, specialisation and standardisation. This modernist discourse was overseen by Le Corbusier and his colleagues, supported by institutions such as CIAM or the Chicago School within which interstitial spaces were seen as a subject to processes of competition for space in which 'social disorganisation' (of gangs) dominated (Lévesque, 2013). To cope with the industrialisation problem, urban planners and architects proposed new schemes and models that mostly resulted in urban sprawl, zoning operations and unbalanced connectivity in the road infrastructure; roads were built for vehicles rather than pedestrians and the dominance of private automobiles prevailed over public transport. Governments triggered suburbanisation and, due to rigid policies and lack of community involvement, the neighbourhood scheme appeared as a model for planning and designing cities (explained in detail in Chapters 4 and 5). Subsequently, modernist urban planning meant the introduction of urban dualities and concepts related to homogeneity vs. heterogeneity, space vs. place, zoned land use vs. mixed land use, segregation vs. integration (Can, 2012).

The consequences of the Modern city ideals highlighted the identification of abandoned or vacant spaces between developments, named for instance, 'non-spaces' (Banz, 1970, Trancik, 1943) associated to the margins. The interstice's relation to the margin offers a negative connotation such as 'the leftover' or 'the residual', whereas on the contrary, terms such as aperture, latitude or room for manoeuvre (Lefebvre, 1991) can inspire a more positive attitude towards the interstice. For Roger Trancik (1943) 'non-spaces' were lost spaces causing disconnected streets that had no linkages being spaces that destroyed the concept of neighbourhood and community. Hence, the discussion of 'vacant lands' arose for describing any undeveloped area within the city such as small squares, geographical accidents, plots owned by private companies, speculation lands or reserves for social facilities (schools, religious, health centres) mainly associated to architectonic facilities. Most of the literature refers to 'vacant lands' in order to point to "former industrial plots often claimed for regeneration, revamping processes or new regulations" (Silva, 2015:4).

In a similar vein, Loukaitou-Sideris (1996) names these abandoned spaces as 'cracks' in the territory, which are the residual, leftover spaces separating

and dividing the urban form through discontinuity. These 'cracks' can be found both in the urban core and the inner city, between suburb and centre, along highways and rail tracks, on the periphery of cities, in new developments, etc. As stated in the book *'Public Places- Urban Spaces'* (Carmona et al., 2003), Loukaitou-Sideris identifies cracks as:

> "- The gaps in the urban form, where overall continuity is disrupted;
> - The residual space left undeveloped, underused or deteriorating;
> - The physical divides that purposefully or accidentally separate social worlds;
> - The spaces that development has passed by or where new development creates fragmentation and interruption;" (in Carmona et al., 2003:12).

Planning policies regard these spaces as just gaps in the urban fabric somehow negative or inert, residual spaces isolated from their urban network systems, abandoned spaces that should eventually be urbanised, not well defined nor designed (Sedoura and Bento, 2005). This suggests that these 'gaps' are understood as empty plots that were left behind after planning.

In this regard, the scholar Andrea Mubi Brighenti (2016:xvii) states that "from an old modernist unsophisticated functionalist viewpoint, interstitiality equates emptiness". Nevertheless, emptiness implies the condition of possibility and, aside from the morphological aspects of these spaces, the urban interstice (Mubi Brighenti, 2016, Foo et al., 2013, Gandy, 2016, Vidal, 1999) should also be analysed by its own qualities. According to Rute Sousa in the article *'Urban Landscape: Interstitial Spaces'* (Sousa Matos, 2009):

> "when one penetrates the system of interstitial spaces and starts to explore it, one realises that what has been called 'empty' is not so empty after all. Instead, it contains a wide range of uses" (Sousa Matos, 2009:66).

Urban interstices comprise "a parallel city with its own dynamics and structures that have yet to be understood" (Careri, 2002:184) and are "fundamental to the future of our cities" (Sousa Matos, 2009:65).
In terms of scale and hierarchy within the city, the interstice is understood as "being in a minority position in relation to what encompasses it, without any predetermined scale" (Lévesque, 2013:24) similarly to what Gilles Clément exposes in his manifesto of the Third landscape, alluding that if the interstice belongs to the third landscape, "the third landscape has no scale" (Clément, 2018:42).

This relation to the encompassing whole is essential to understand the notions of the interstice and further explore in-between spaces; in fact, there cannot be an interstice or an in-between within two parts, since the nature of the interstitial is etymologically to stand or to be between two things. However, in-between denotes the quality of difference among them. And, as further explored, what is referred as *in the middle* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980) is not the same as *in-between* (Bhabha, 1994, Strauven, 2007, Sieverts, 2011, Lévesque, 2013).

The scholar Rodrigo Vidal (1999, 2002) recognises an inter-fragmentary space when analysing the construction of fragments in cities, particularly

from a desire to explore their crossing aspect. Particularly, Vidal's approach is "explicit on the potential and relationality of inter-fragmentary spaces as a result of changes to surrounding fragments and infrastructure of the built environment" (Phelps and Silva, 2017:6). In order to understand inter-fragmentary spaces, it is needed to consider that for Vidal "the urban phenomenon is essentially a permanent tension between fragments" (Vidal, 2002:150) similarly to what Carola Herrera Napoleón (2006) associates to the incompatibility between city fragments in the city of Caracas. And it is precisely in the inter-fragmentary space where the relationship between urban fragments occurs.

Vidal's work is relevant because he exposes a different point of view of 'urban fragmentation' in cities. Instead of treating this term with negative social, economic and political connotations, urban fragmentation is used as a description of the potentialities of cities because, according to him, territories are made up of different physical entities (political, economic, social…). For Vidal, the city consists of a series of pieces (or fragments), each of which is composed by physical entities that are not necessarily interdependent, and each has its own centrality. Vidal's 'urban fragments' are made by a *core* surrounded by a *field* which is connected to the core. Yet, the 'inter-fragmentary space' is outside the fragment's field, appearing as a reconciliation zone which permits explicit recognition of an urban fragment's borderland (Vidal, 2002, Phelps and Silva, 2017).
Vidal's inter-fragmentary space creates a network applied to the urban scale and his approach is explicit on the potential and relationality of these spaces. Vidal describes areas made up by different types of elements such as channels, pipes, footbridges, tunnels, among others, no mattering if these interstices are built-up or are physically close. Considering these examples, the inter-fragmentary space does not necessarily imply openness, emptiness or being an undeveloped space rather, it implies articulation and interconnection.

Despite Vidal's idea of inter-fragmentary space is relevant, its meaning appears confused as on the one hand, he explains that the inter-fragmentary space is modified according to the fragments that surround it, in a sense that it varies according to its context. And on the other hand, Vidal states that an interstice is "the signifier of the place's energy and also it transports important information about the meaning of a place". [It is understood as] "a sort of reservoir of space for the future expansions of fragments" (Vidal, 2002:162-163). Vidal states that an interstice is not a residue, remnant or a vacuum but an "important place, a place of convergences of identities; a place of individual and collective meaningfulness, a dynamic place, a place of places" (Vidal, 2002:164-165).

In an urban scale, the interstice has also been identified as a 'dead zone' (Doron, 2007) for being an area that is not considered a secondary space but the space of the boundary itself. The scholar Gil Doron uses the term 'dead zones' to name the derelict or vacant areas of the post-industrial landscape and refers to the most ancient space of demarcation, which is the city wall, to explain it.

The Ancient Greek *polis* (city-state) –located within the city walls– was defined by "the ability of members of the governing class to meet in

common spaces" (Doron, 2007:18). But this ability ended at the city gates, which demarcated a space beyond the city wall, identified as the chōra (or Khôra): "part agricultural, part nature, and always militarised as it was the no-man's land between the city-state and its often rival neighbours" (Doron, 2007:19).

The term khôra was the territory of the Ancient Greek *polis* to designate the area located outside the city walls. This space, the no-man's land, was never stable and always contested and in flux (Mumford, 1961). In Philosophy, Plato used this term to designate a receptacle, however, as John Sallis points in Franke (2016), it makes no sense to understand khôra as a space or container of any sort:

> "*Khôra* itself can have no form of its own that would limit or determine what other forms could make an impression in the universe and, then, restrict what is possible in the generation of sensual things. *Khôra* must be understood not as a thing as such, but as the condition under which becoming is made possible. *Khôra* is the fact that there is movement by which it is possible for impressions to be made on" (Franke, 2016:93).

Jacques Derrida wrote a short text titled *Khôra* (Derrida, 1993) using a deconstructionist approach to analyse Plato's word usage. For Derrida, *Khôra* (also chōra) is a space that produces difference:

> "it has to do with interval; it is what you open to 'give' place to things, or when you open something for things to take place and chōra is the spacing which is the condition for everything to take place, for everything to be inscribed" (Derrida, 1997:9).

The chōra, understood as a space between spaces, was also a space of dispute and contest, not only between rival city-states (centres) but between reason and faith (Doron, 2007). As Doron exposes, in most cases, the chōra was dominated by faith as the majority of the sanctuaries were erected there and, although the city of Athens was an exception, most initiation ceremonies were held outside the *polis*. This area outside the city walls is also referred as a space of dissent, where politically marginal figures transgressed the laws, such as *Antigone* and the Wife of *Phocion*, who buried their brother and husband against the will of the king and the democratic regime (Doron, 2007).

As a transformative place, the chôra played an important role in the colonisation and re-organisation of the city when city walls were demolished:

> [The chōra] "was on the out-skirts of the city that the new institutions, which set it off from ancient types, found a home" (Mumford, 1961:144).

As Doron suggests, the chôra –as an exterior space and space of exteriority– was not suitable for ordering and regulating the archaic and chaotic cities (Doron, 2007:20). Therefore, the term 'dead zone' introduced by Doron, indicates that the chôra cannot be read as dead, a void, or under the concept of tabula rasa; is not the area which is dead but it is the zone, or zoning, because whatever exists in this delimited area it will always transcend the assumed boundaries (Doron, 2007).

In a larger scale, the chōra, considered as the space-between-spaces outside the traditional city, could be associated to the concept of *Zwischenstadt* or 'in-between city', a term coined in 1995-96 by the German architect and theorist Thomas Sieverts (2003). Sieverts uses the in-between city concept to describe a new form of urbanisation that appeared outside the city centre since the emergence of the motorised mobility; an 'urbanised landscape' that exists between the historical city centre and the open countryside. For Sieverts, the *zwischenstadt* encompasses the socio-spatial landscape, [which] includes that part of the urban region that is perceived as not quite traditional city and not quite traditional suburb.

The in-between city, according to Sieverts (2003:5-6), "involves the whole suburban context" which is mainly defined as a scattered process of development where insulated built-up places coexist with the countryside (in Phelps and Silva, 2017). The *zwischenstadt* itself has no specific form and it is the product of innumerable rational decisions taken by several agents such as landowners, institutions and communities; it is a "macrostructure without a preconfigured Gestalt, into which preconfigured and planned microstructures are interspersed"[6].

The in-between city is characterised by different degrees of urbanisation and its diversity depends on the extent and scale of undeveloped land. Hence, it is characterised by a blend of land uses and activities which is associated to what Cecilia Tacoli appointed in *'Rural-urban interactions: a guide to the literature'* observing that "in the *zwischenstadt* landscape, open areas such as 'urban agriculture' are a result of the mixing between social and economic demands from urban surroundings" (Tacoli, 1998:157-158).

For Sieverts, interstitial spaces are linked in a set of environmental, political, economic and cultural conflicts "to do with the funding of regionally significant facilities, the retention and maintenance of open landscapes, the social segregation between the old city and the periphery and the migration of businesses from the core countries into the hinterland" (Sieverts, 2003:127). That is, the in-between city appears as an intermediate space located between the specific place of the immediate living environment and the abstract 'non-places of movement'; between the myth of the old historic city and the open countryside.

Although Sieverts' concerns are not entirely focussed on the interstice itself, his work is relevant in this thesis because he emphasises the importance of the in-between city as "the fragmented urban landscape [that] is not yet seen as part of our culture" (Sieverts, 2011:20). He argues for the need to design these landscapes from new perspectives:

> "the in-between city is still unloved particularly by planners and opinion makers, and it is disregarded by urban design, planning and politics" (Sieverts, 2011:20).

Similarly, the notion of 'urban fringes' and 'fringe belts' have been important in the urban morphological tradition, particularly on their morphological complexity. Based on what it is mentioned in Phelps and Silva (2017), a fringe belt is:

"a zone of largely extensive land uses that is formed at the edges of an urban area during a pause in outward residential growth. Each fringe belt has several distinctive features in terms of plan, building form, and land and building use. Typical uses requiring extensive sites, include public utilities, parks, sports facilities, and allotment gardens" (Larkham 2006 in Phelps and Silva (2017:4).

According to Phelps and Silva (2017), fringe belts denote a 'pending' quality, referring to a space under the logic of speculation surrounding urban development, which is rarely explicitly exposed.

Professor Michael Hebbert (1986) associates these areas to transitional zones surrounding cities that display a mixture of uses and building types interspersed with agricultural and vacant land. These areas are normally associated to macro-scale planning policies designed to promote open areas in cities, contributing at some point, to facilitate its legibility. They underline a dual nature of the interstice, being ambiguously planned and unplanned.

Fringe belts and urban fringes could be linked, within the metropolitan scale, to 'linear edge-spaces' which may be interpreted as the threads that connect the disciplines of landscape architecture, urban design, planning and ecology. Despite broad cross-disciplinary relevance, linear landscapes are mostly associated with variations of green infrastructure, landscape and wildlife corridors, greenways, rails-to-trails and biological limits (Clément, 2018).

In this regard, the concept of green infrastructure might be associated to the ecological modernisation and ecological landscapes; this concept is quite broad as it embraces from the fringe to the city core and it needs a multi-scalar analysis. Furthermore, green infrastructures are conceived as networks of places which might imply its ecological value in terms of preventing the loss of biodiversity, mitigating air and noise pollution in cities, among other aspects. They consist of interconnected networks of spaces which can be part of primary complexes and reserves ecosystems, residual spaces or administrated spaces (Clément, 2018:27) from forests, parks, squares, green corridors to waterways and woodlands, involving several scales and functions where people can share some expressions of wildlife.

The idea of 'Non-Urbanised Areas' (NUA) is related to open spaces such as green infrastructures which tend to improve the quality of the urban environment including urban fringes, suburban and central areas or cities. NUA include from farmlands, parks, rivers, canals, streams to forested roads and squares inside and outside the city. Their presence has been discussed and debated in regards of its environmental presence in the city, suitable for promoting wild life and landscapes as well as supporting the reduction of impacts of natural disasters (Silva, 2015). The scholar Matthew Gandy (2016) in the article entitled *'Unintentional landscapes'* treats these spaces as unintended, wild spaces in which nature has reclaimed parts of the city.

Richard Forman has been instrumental in the development of landscape ecology and, more recently, urban ecology. Together with Michel Godron, both studied landscape ecology looking at the pattern-process relationships

focussing on broad-scale ecological and environmental issues which include ecological flows in landscape mosaics (i.e., movement of water, nutrients, plants, animals), land uses, scaling, landscape conservation and sustainability, the relationship between landscapes patterns and ecological processes, and so forth.

> "Landscapes as ecological units with structure and function are composed primarily of patches in a matrix. Patches differ fundamentally in origin and dynamics, while size, shape, and spatial configuration are also important. Line corridors, strip corridors, stream corridors, networks, and habitations are major integrative structural characteristics of landscapes" (Forman and Godron, 1986:733).

Forman expanded the field to encompass the landscape ecology of regions and his particular interest was to address the ecology of landscapes and regional beyond the city limits.

Scales of the interstice

As explored, the extant literature on interstitial spaces offers a variety of terms, meanings and scales within architectural, ecological and urban studies. Urban interstices are distributed so as to demand an analytical perspective that shows multiple geographical scales. These scales are closely related to the functional capacities of the land (uses), ownership (private or private), size (dimension) and location (intra-, inter-, outer-), which will restrict its development and will determine its qualitative aspects.

The work of the scholar Cristian Silva presented in the seminar *'Creative Spaces: Urban Culture and Marginality in Latin America'* that took place in 2016 at the Institute of Latin American Studies (ILAS) in London served as a base to define three different scales of interstitiality from the diversity of terms exposed in this section. These scales have been depicted according to the location, nature and extension of the interstices in respect to the city, and have been defined as: interstices of proximity, interstices of transition, and interstices of remoteness (Phelps and Silva, 2017).

Interstices of proximity (or intra-urban) refer to those spaces that are placed within the urban core, emplaced within the administrative lines that define the city per se; these interstices of proximity are able to weave the different territorial situations of the city. Despite having different functions, interstices of proximity can be classified as a family of possible assemblage that produce a similar effect.

Interstices of transition (or inter-urban) are those that can be un- or under-development and help define the character of contemporary urban expansion of the metropolitan system. This second scale presents "a multi-level issue for governance, implying a need for coordination across different policy sectors and municipalities" (Phelps and Silva, 2017:8). They are located just at the edge of cities and can embrace vast areas of land. Silva and Phelps associate this scale to zoos, landfills, brownfields, metropolitan parks or industrial facilities.

Interstices of remoteness[7] (outer or sub-urban) are the largest non-urbanised areas that lie between heavily urbanised regions outside the urban core. These areas might be related to national planning policies, environmental

7. Cristian Silva identified another scale of interstitiality, called 'regional interstice territory', also referred in the article *'Mind the gaps! A research agenda for urban interstices'* that he co-authored with Nicholas Phelps. Both envision a regional interstice that is located amidst vast areas between two or more independent cities that are part of an urbanised region. However, as this scale refers to interstices located outside the city core, it has been incorporated in what has been termed interstices of remoteness, which is the third scale of interstitiality.

designations such as protected areas, large topographical and geographical features such as mountain ranges, lakes, etc.

The identified scales of interstitiality have served to understand that interstices can be analysed from different scales and approaches, and each scale accommodates a vast literature for theories, connotations and methodologies of study. While the interstices of proximity are smaller and more likely to represent the inhabitants of the city (Clément, 2018), interstices of transition and remoteness are larger and more likely to be subject to the growth machine politics, escaping the objectives and purposes of this investigation. This is, the identification of these three scales of interstitiality serves to concretise that the study of the in-between spaces means to focus on the intra-urban spaces of the city.

Therefore, in order to comprehend why in-between spaces are related to fragmentation processes and the sectorisation of the city, it is crucial to study their position within the city core, its context, flows, networks and the territorialities they conform, their functions, uses and transformation processes which will help understanding the existing relations between users and everyday practices that take place there.

2.2.2 The in-between space: an approximation

In-between spaces are conceived in this research as inherent parts of the city contrasting with the idea that these spaces are additional or independent separate entities functioning as sole artefacts. In fact, it is precisely the relational ontology what calls to analyse the notion of the in-between space (Can, 2012, Wall, 2011, Lévesque, 2013, Sieverts, 2003, Lefaivre and Tzonis, 1999, Mubi Brighenti, 2016, Stavrides, 2010, García Alcaraz, 2017) which embraces the space between two clear or accepted different stages or states, and therefore difficult to describe or know exactly.

The recognition and analysis of the in-between spaces requires a discussion of their planned or un-planned condition, their uses and functions, the recognition of social groups that occupy and use these spaces, and also the incorporation into the debate of other disciplines that study the city and the urban environment to decipher their importance.

After depicting the notion of the interstice, the theorist Andreas Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos offers a solid distinction to disassociate interstices from the in-betweens. He states that the urban pathology of the in-between space consists of offering a solution to the dualism problem:

> "the production of an in-between is the dreamland of the dualist contradiction" [so that] "the various in-betweens form part of the phenomenon of the politics of centre/periphery, whose aim is to reduce the antithesis into an in-between, which ultimately, however, turns against itself and self-cannibalizes in a cloud of political apathy" (in Mubi Brighenti, 2016:88).

The author alerts not to confuse the *in the middle* concept –using the words of French Philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari– with the term

between.

> "The middle [or *milieu*] is by no means an average; on the contrary, it is where things pick up speed. *Between things* does not designate a localizable relation going from one thing to the other and back again, but a perpendicular direction, a transversal moment that sweeps one and the other away, a stream without beginning or end that undermines its banks and picks up speed in the middle" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988:28).

For Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, *the middle* indicates a surface "without a discernible origin, a specific centre and territorial limits" (in Mubi Brighenti, 2016:89); a space in the middle "is precisely in the middle: neither this nor that side; but then again, not a boundary and therefore not flanked by sides. Likewise, it offers no direction" (2016:90). Contrarily to the arborescent conception of knowledge, which is based on totalising, binary and dualistic principles, Deleuze and Guattari opposed the *rhizome*:

> [A rhizome is an] "a-centred, non-hierarchical, non-signifying system without a general and without an organising memory or central automaton, defined solely by a circulation states" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988:23).

As both philosophers expose, whereas the tree is filiation, rhizomes incorporate the 'and' conjunction, where everything is connected and expanded –far from the binary logic or understanding of idea of a beginning and an ending. According to them, the rhizome works with horizontal, non-hierarchical and trans-species connections and resist the logic of an organisational structure of the root-tree system (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, 2005). The importance of the rhizome is what stands in the middle, neither the beginning nor the end:

> "coming and going, rather than starting and finishing (…) a rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle between things, inter-being, intermezzo" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988:27, 2005:56).

To formalise the concept of the rhizome, Deleuze and Guattari outline six principles of connection and heterogeneity (1 and 2), of multiplicity (3), of asignifying rupture (4) and of cartography and decalcomania (5 and 6):

Principles of connection and heterogeneity: "any point of a rhizome can be connected to any other or anything other, and must be" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:7).
Principle of multiplicity: "it is only when the multiple is effectively treated as a substantive, multiplicity, that it ceases to have any relation to the One as subject or object, natural or spiritual reality, image and world" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:8).
Principle of asignifying rupture: "against the oversignifying breaks separating structures or cutting across a single structure. A rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:9). The authors exemplify this case with ants as they form an animal rhizome that can rebound time and again after most of it has been destroyed.

> "Every rhizome contains lines of segmentarity according to which it is stratified, territorialized, organized, signified, attributed, etc., as well

as lines of deterritorialization down which it constantly flees. There is a rupture in the rhizome whenever segmentary lines explode into a line of flight, but the line of flight is part of the rhizome. These lines always tie back to one another" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:9)

Principle of cartography and decalcomania: "a rhizome is not amenable to any structural or generative model; it is a 'map and not a tracing'" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:12).

By taking a Deleuzian-Guattarian thought, Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos associates interstices with *rhizomes* (Deleuze and Guattari, 2005, 1988) which encapsulate the idea of horizontal, trans-species, heterogeneous growth and an area that does not constitute a linear or vertical hierarchy. Nonetheless, this research sustains that whereas in-between spaces imply a relational character between two *a priori* separated and different fragments that need or must be mended, interstices lie beyond prescription, controlled mechanics and systematic articulation of the result. In other words, in-between spaces stand between difference; interstices not. The in-between contains two or more different entities whilst interstices divide a sole entity. That is, the approach of this thesis encompass that in-between spaces reconcile polarities whereas interstices resist causality. As stated by Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, "rather than an outcome in the sense of causal link between affections and emergence, an interstice resist causality" (Mubi Brighenti, 2016:89).

In spatial terms, in-between spaces meet the notion of rhizomes as they are materialised as an encounter of different fragments, situations or states that interact together to form a multiplicity, not necessarily guaranteeing openness and flexibility but pursuing it.
As well as rhizomes and elements of the third landscape, in-between spaces are open to hybridisation and juxtaposition processes, in a horizontal and non-hierarchical manner, where the expression of the potential of cities emerge to defend difference in the production of urban space through a process of intertwining, exchange and recognition; that is, processes that pursue urban togetherness.

2.2.3 In-between-ness

According to Phelps and Silva (2017), the term interstitial denotes a 'pending quality' either for being conquered, occupied or transformed, which is associated to the understandings of Luc Lévesque, who affirms that the interstitial –as well as the in-between– "would tend to embody, as much spatially as temporally, a fundamental condition of 'indeterminacy'" (Lévesque, 2013:24).

This term also implies an oscillation of significations that are related to the undecidable (Eisenman, 2003), the uncertain, blurred, vague (Solà Morales, 1995), loose (Stavrides, 2010, Franck et al., 2007) terms that are associated to concepts of liminality (Turner, 2008), alienation (Lacan, 1973), alterity (Stavrides, 2016) or hybridity (Bhabha, 1994, Herrera Napoleón, 2006).

SCALES OF THE INTERSTICE

Scale of Proximity (intra)
Scale of Transition (inter)
Scale of Remoteness (outer)

Positive connotation
Negative connotation

Terms

Vacant lands
(Foo et al., 2013, Northam, 1971)

Non- spaces
(Banz, 1970; Trancik, 1943)

Inter-fragmentary spaces
(Vidal, 2002)

Cracks
(Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996,
Thrasher, 1963 [1927], Carmona et al., 2012)

Dead Zone
(Doron, 2007)

Zwischenstadt
(Sieverts, 2003)

Urban fringe
Fringe belts

Non-Urbanised Areas (NUA)

Rhizomes
(Deleuze and Guattari, 1988)

Elements of the Third landscape
(Clément, 2018)

Connotations

Leftover
Aperture
Residual
Latitude
Lost
Room for manoeuvre
Disconnected
Dependance of the surrounding fragments
Social divide through discontinuity
Relational
Undeveloped
Additional entity of the city
Underused
Reconciliation zone
Deteriorating
Articulation
Inert
Interconnection
Abandoned
Coexistance
Derelict
Multiple land uses
Vacant areas of post-industrial landscape
Open area
The space of the boundary itself
Preserved area
Macro-managed
Unbuildable
Linked in a set of multiple conflicts
Facilitate legibility of the city
Fragmented landscape
Natural landscape
Follow the logic of speculation
Connection
Edge spaces
Improve the quality of urban enviornment
Form-less (Has no form)
Promote wild life
Reduce national disasters
Horizontal
Diverse
Heterogeneous growth
Non-hierarchical
Not confined

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8. SIMPSON, J. A. & WEINER, E. S. C. 1989. The Oxford English Dictionary. *The Oxford English Dictionary.* Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press.

In anthropology, *liminality* (from the Latin word *līmen*, meaning "a threshold")[8] was first coined in 1909 by Arnold van Gennep, who in *'Rites de Passage'* associated this term to the quality of ambiguity or disorientation that occurs in the middle stage of a rite; an act that connects with spaces that symbolise transitions (from childhood to adolescence, or from single to married life). It is during the rite's liminal status that participants stand at the threshold between what they have already left and what are about to become or achieve.

This concept was later taken by Victor Turner (2008) in order to explore the context of ritual passages in small-scale societies. As per Turner explanation, what liminality implies is that "social life is a type of dialectical process" where the transition, the passage from one state to the other, creates a "limbo of statuslessness" (Turner, 2008:97), an intermediary experience of non-identity. At some extent, in a liminal space one's sense of identity dissolves, bringing disorientation, but it also appears the possibility of opening new perspectives because those spaces symbolically mark the possibility of deviation or transgression (Stavrides, 2005). That is, the liminality concept is related to the in-between-ness of those in a condition of dislocation, where uncertainty dominates. It also brings the heterotopia near the transitional ritual. Using Victor Turner's term, a liminal space is:

> "a space that, in its formal separation from the rest of the world presents a realm of instability and possibility. That space which is seedbed of culture, its condition and possibility –from ritual to theatre– provides a clearing within the conventional order of society, sheltered from the normalizing forces of the everyday" (in Muzzonigro and Boano, 2013:14).

However, the notion of liminality can be both a state of mediation as well as a state of rupture:

> "it describes an existential condition, socially and culturally defined, which centres on the threshold (*limen*). It is a state of limbo 'betwixt and between' normative structures of power" (Danon and Eilat, 2009:143, Stevens, 2006).

In a recent seminar '*Thresholds or barriers? Perspectives on boundaries and architecture*' organised the 14th June, 2019 as part of the London Festival of Architecture in the Royal Academy of Arts in London, it was discussed that in spatial terms, liminal spaces are associated to borders, frontiers, no-man's land, territories in dispute, or transitional edifices where people pass-by but do not live in. Amongst the examples presented, Eyal Weizman –director of Forensic Architecture– talked about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict which served to exemplify a liminal space because in that context, each side's existence depends on the negation of the other, creating an in-limbo situation in which both sides are betwixt and between. Particularly, this conflict is spatialised in a state of limbo between normative structures of power.

The assumption of the existence of an alternative viewpoint in the liminal space is related to the concept of alterity (Stavrides, 2016), which is understood as an entity in contrast to which an identity is constructed. It is in the liminal zones of uncertainty and ambiguity [between the other and the self] that is possible to challenge stereotypes and fear of alterity

Table 2.5 (left): This table summarises all terms depicted alongside sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, sorted in order as they appear in the text. This table classifies all the terms that are related to the notion of the interstice and are classified according to their scale of interstitiality and connotations (positive or negative). Author's own representation.

(Muzzonigro and Boano, 2013:10). In this case, alterity (or otherness) implies the ability to distinguish between the other and the self and, despite its many theoretical formulations in different disciplines, this concept provides a space for thinking about the formation of identity, which in anthropology may be referred to the construction of cultural others, or cultural differences (Bhabha, 1994, Hernández, 2010), relevant in this investigation.

As explored, the understanding of spatiality cannot ignore the 'third' or the 'other' dimension in spatial practise. Building on Lefebvre's idea of space participating in the social action, the architect and activist Stavros Stavrides introduces the notion of threshold (Stavrides, 2005, 2010, Franck et al., 2007) as "the spatiality of a public culture of mutually aware, interdependent and involved identities" (Stavrides, 2006:174) where "a rich network of practices transforms every available space into a potential theatre of expressive acts of encounter (Stavrides, 2006:175).
Stavrides believes that social action, through the direct involvement of people, has the power to activate "moments of encounter with socially recognisable otherness and to catalyse the potential physical transformation of space as a result of this encounter" (in Muzzonigro and Boano, 2013:11); but otherness needs to be faced in "the in-between spaces of encounter and appreciate situated identities as open and developing" (Stavrides, 2006:177).

> [Alterity emerges as a crevice in quotidian space, where] "this cleft produces a meaningful interruption in the continuity of quotidian space-time (…) the interruption does not simply establish an 'inside' and an 'outside', but an in-between space in which a comparison between in and out, identity and otherness, real and possible can take place" (Stavrides, 2010:81).

Building into the concepts of liminality, alterity or otherness, and adapting them into cultural terms, Homi Bhabha (1994) assures that the encounter of elements belonging to contradictory instances, produces a process of hybridisation that overcomes singular identities creating something new beyond them, fundamental to produce political change. According to the scholar Ankie Hoogvelt, this process is "celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owning to the advantage of in-between-ness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate difference" (Hoogvelt, 1997:158), a statement also shared in Bhabha's discussion on cultural plurality. Cultural plurality is linked to hybridity and creolization, which are concepts through which comprehend the post-colonial world where many communities find themselves today (Bhabha, 1994:21).

Bhabha developed the concept of hybridity from colonial, post-colonial and cultural theory to describe the construction of identity and culture within conditions of antagonism and inequity (Bhabha, 1994). For Bhabha, hybridity is the process by which the colonists undertake to translate the identity of the colonised (the other) within a singular universal framework, but the strategy failed in producing something familiar but new. A new hybrid identity emerges from interweaving elements of the colonised and the colonist challenging the validity and authenticity of any essentialist cultural identity. That is, this cultural hybridity provokes something

different and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation and representation (Muzzonigro and Boano, 2013).

In postcolonial discourses, the notion that any culture or local identity is fixed and pure is disputable so that Bhabha, aware of the dangers of fixity of identities within binary colonial thinking, argues in the interview conducted by Jonathan Rutherford that "all forms of culture are continually in process of hybridity" (in Rutherford, 1990:211). Bhabha identifies a 'mutual and mutable' (Bhabha, 1994) representation of cultural difference positioned in-between the colonised and coloniser. In this regard, hybridity is positioned as such a form of liminal or in-between space, where the 'cutting edge of translation and negotiation' occurs in what Bhabha terms the third space (Rutherford, 1990).

> "For me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'Third Space', which enables other positions to emerge" (Rutherford, 1990:211).

Néstor García Canclini (2013) in '*Culturas híbridas: estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad'* refers to the term hybrid to analyse socio-cultural processes in Latin American cities. For García Canclini, Latin America has 'suffered' a hybridisation process where creolisation, syncretism, trans-culturalism and fusion took place in the continent. Nonetheless, he argues that hybridisation processes not only generated integration and mixture but segregation, producing new inequalities that stimulated and empowered difference.

The architect Carola Herrera (2006), in her study '*Híbridos Urbanos: Una nueva mirada para intervenir a Caracas',* uses the work of García Canclini to state that hybridisation –as a process of intersection and transaction– is a source to recognise what is different (Herrera Napoleón, 2006:88) in the urban space; that is, hybridisation is used to recognise the other.

Carola Herrera uses hybridisation as a framework that allows the identification of spatial tensions between different city fragments that cohabit the city; and, in this particular case, Herrera studies hybridisation as an architectonic solution to diminish fragmentation, further explored in Chapter 4.

In her works, Herrera cites the early experiments on plant hybridisation (Laws of Inheritance) of Gregor Mendel to comprehend how other scientific disciplines pursued to investigate the varying understandings of hybridity, a term which has been used to refer to identity, culture, difference, inequality or multi-culturalism. Herrera (2006) argues that the excessive use of hybridity has favoured the assignment of discordant meanings increasing its fields of application but, at the same time, the term loses univocality (or non-duality); this is, hybridisation could palliate duality. Therefore, hybridisation processes can be considered as mechanisms to identify "the Other and the Self" (Muzzonigro and Boano, 2013).

Taking into account the concepts presented in this section, in-between-ness is understood as the condition of the in-between space, which is presented as a subjective intuitive space for indeterminacy, transition and possibility, where processes of hybridisation, liminality and otherness may occur.

In-between-ness is "a metaphor that has strong resonance in a post-structural understanding of societies where no fixed boundaries may exist that separate collective and individual identities in 'essential' or 'natural' ways" (Sieverts, 2003:52).

In-between-ness might involve the experience of temporality occupying a transitorily phase which might involve the encounter between identities instead of spaces characterised by a specific identity.
This assumption is envisioned in Sievert's *in-between city* concept assuring that "cultural plurality is a positive characteristic of the *Zwischenstadt*" (Sieverts, 2003:52).

In-between spaces, by nature, are liminal spaces as they cannot exist anywhere but between or beyond prior places. And this condition is present "in these less than determined spaces 'in-between' where urbanizing societies also develop the social spaces in which hybridity is cultivated through a mix of (exclusionary) state practices and (liberating or accommodating) popular activities" (Phelps and Wu, 2011:58).

Table 2.6 shows all the terms that contribute to define and nurture the concept of in-between space, where have been extracted their characterisations and their categorical aspects, which will serve to later establish certain attributes to analyse them. All terms are sorted and classified in order as they appear in the text.

Table 2.6 (right): Based on what have been exposed in section 2.2, this table summarises the charactersiation and the categorical aspects of the in-between spaces which will serve to later establish its attributes to further explore and analyse them (Chapter 3). Author's own representation.

Terms	Characterisation	Categorical aspects	
In-between space *(Sieverts, 2011, Can, 2012, García Alcaraz, 2010, Wall, 2011, Wandl et al., 2017, Lévesque, 2013, Mubi Brighenti, 2016, Bhabha, 1994)*	Hybridisation *(Bhabha, 1994)* Aesthetic contrasts	*Physical*	
	Dynamism Articulation Subvert the logic of a dominant space	*Functional*	
	Porosity *(Sennett, 2006, 2008; Stavrides, 2006)* Permeability *(De Certeau, 1984)* Infiltration *(Bhabha, 1994)* Encounter of difference *(Bhabha, 1994)*	*Relational*	
	Ambivalence and uncertainty Trascendance of assumed boundaries Threshold *(Stavrides, 2016)* Social constructions of otherness	*Symbolic*	
	Convergence of identities Collective meaningfulness Place of places *(Vidal, 2002)* Cultural plurality *(Bhabha, 1994)* Recreation of identity	*Artistic*	
	Meanwhile / Pending quality Transitional zones Interval (Derrida, 1997) Interlude (Gallet, 2002) Transitory period (Lévesque, 2013) Interval in time (Zanini, 1997) Passage (Bhabha, 1994, Smets et al., 2017)	*Temporal*	*imply* → TRANSITION TRANSFORMATION PROCESS EVENT
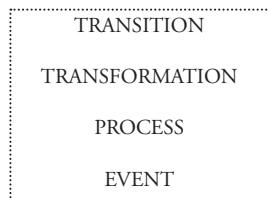
2.3 The prospect of the interstitial practice in the in-between space

As discussed in section 2.1, informality has emerged as a new field of investigation in Architecture and Urban planning still having diverse meanings and conceptions. Whereas for many, informality is seen as a mode of inhabitancy, the negation of planning, or the negative side of modernisation, for others this term is seen as a variegated form of practising architecture, particularly addressed to urban interventions that cross a line of acceptability and legality as envisioned by formal authorities.

Architecture has always been connected with sources of power (state), and the role of the design practice seems (in many cases) to be the translation of aspirations of the ruling power. The territorialisation of power is key to understand the functioning of cities, being the in-between spaces the undefined but powerful scenarios where state, society and architecture converge to display their intentions and message. The attention to the in-between spaces remains fundamental because these spaces engage in new critical projects, manifestations and interventions that claim the political, cultural and social natures through experiencing the message of architecture and art.

By looking at such reclamations, this section analyses what has been termed *interstitial practice* aiming to understand what stands between art and architecture as a resource to be shaped and directed with renewed interests and combinations. Therefore, this section advances a reflection on the territorial dimension of *interstitial practice* in the public domain (particularly developed in the in-between spaces), analyses the relation between people involved in the making, the inherently (political) nature of the practice and the impact upon the immediate surroundings. Particularly this section aims to put into manifest the importance of the *interstitial practice*, to explain alternative visions of the city from a wide range of actors, to consider the importance of the experience into the process of a common city, which will later serve as a reference to understand the role of the *interstitial practice* in the in-between spaces of Caracas.

2.3.1 The activation of the in-between through embodiment, experimentation and play

Activation of in-between spaces: Aldo van Eyck's playgrounds

The interstitial theme has gained interest at a theoretical level by the debate that has thrown the Modern Movement, particularly in the fields of architecture and urbanism. By the end of 1940, in reaction to the Modern Movement's vision of planning, it is detected the emergence of a critical sensitivity developed in Amsterdam in the constellation of residual post-war sites in the landscape of the metropolis (Lefaivre and Tzonis, 1999, Lévesque, 2013:29). By that time, the population growth and the urban sprawl in the Dutch capital coincided with the loss of certainties regarding the paradigms of urbanism and modern architecture (Lutzoni, 2016).

Team X (also Team 10) emerged within the sphere of the 9th. *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) in 1953 as an entity deliberately not structured that aimed to discuss and proceed ideas combined on architecture and urbanism. The primary constituents of Team X were the architects Jaap Bakema, Aldo van Eyck, Alison and Peter Smithson, Georges Candilis, all of whom were gradually able to guide the conference towards their own agenda. This group of architects was unsatisfied with the direction that CIAM was heading toward with respect to its outdated Rationalist views on urbanism and they sought an opportunity to restructuring this movement (Risselada and van den Heuvel, 2005). Team X considered relevant certain aspects that were abandoned by the modernist urban planning such as social requirements, self-organisation, spontaneity and opening-up design processes that could be applied in future spatial possibilities. One of the most fervent critics of the functionalist tendency was Aldo van Eyck, who stated in an article published in the Dutch magazine Forum:

> "Functionalism has killed creativity (…) It leads to a cold technocracy, in which the human aspect is forgotten. A building is more than the sum of its functions; architecture has to facilitate human activity and promote social interaction" (Van Eyck, 1959b).

In search of defining the organisation, members of Team X were interested in social structures and mental processes that contributed to urban design. In the urbanism field, they called for establishing various grades of human association developed from sociological relationships, replacing the functional divisions that the 1933 Charter of Athens adopted. Hence, the old rationalist and functionalist approach would be replaced by a new, modular and participative architecture, called structuralism.

The ideas of the philosopher Martin Buber were key for Van Eyck from the 1950s onward to develop the concept of the *in-between*. Buber's work is characterised by the notions of reciprocity, dialogue and meeting (Lévesque, 2013:30), and Van Eyck adopted Buber's contention that dialog is foundational for life considering the in-between as a relational space.

> [The in-between (*das Zwischen*)] "is not a make-shift but a real place and a bearer of inter-human events" (Buber, 2002 in Lévesque, 2013:30).

Buber used the term 'real third' to describe the only reality between real persons (Van Eyck, 2008:54). In this case, "the 'real third' is not something that happens to one person or another person separately and a neutral world containing all things, but something that happens in a dimension only accessible to both. [It is] the in-between acquiring form" (Van Eyck, 2008:54); a sort of dyadic relationship.

Inspired by Buber's real third, Van Eyck developed an architecture of the *in-between realm*, which job is "to provide this in-between realm by means of construction, i.e., to provide, from house to city scale, a bunch of real places for real people and real things" (Van Eyck, 2008:55). According to Van Eyck, these concepts needed to have a bearing on the daily life of people. In the development of this concept, Van Eyck sustained that the abstract concepts of 'space' and 'time' needed to be replaced by 'place' and 'occasion', concepts that include the real third (Van Eyck, 1962a).

In the 11th. CIAM (the last) held in 1959 at the Dutch town of Otterlo, the work of Aldo van Eyck was particularly significant as it was depicted the *Otterlo Circles* diagram that illustrated the form of a settlement located in the borderlands between Mexico and the United States, relating the realm of the in-between or intermediary space to the notion of collectively inhabiting the space. As Van Eyck expressed "to establish the 'in-between' is to reconcile conflicting polarities", which is, to "re-establish the dual phenomena" by creating and providing "a place where they can interchange" (1959a:27).

Among Aldo van Eyck's work, it is relevant to mention his research on a Dogon funeral ritual in Central West Africa where it was analysed the relationships between social structures and the built environment. Van Eyck's findings showed that residents are able to create a shared landscape in the absence of regulations that structure the space and, these processes imply to establish relationships between territory, space and practices. It was there where Van Eyck "developed the conviction that all cultures are equally valid and that Western civilization should not be regarded as the superior system it pretends to be" (Strauven, 2007:5).

But Van Eyck's most notable project, particularly for the aim of this thesis, is the design of hundreds of public playgrounds in the Dutch capital while he was working for the Urban Development Department of Amsterdam. This project conceived the city as a playground putting the needs of inhabitants, particularly children, at the centre of town-planning and urban renewal.

To put this project into context, it is needed to understand that after the Second Wold War, Dutch cities were confronted with the birth peak of the post-war baby boom; nonetheless, the city was unable to provide adequate urban spaces for children. It was between 1947 and 1978, when Van Eyck was involved in the design of more than 700 playgrounds based on the representation of unused sites in Amsterdam going towards an architecture that aimed to give space to the imagination. It was in the early 1960s when the notion of the in-between appeared formally in the city debate as an alternative to the functionalist urbanism proposed by the CIAM and a starting point to promote a ludic appropriation of the city.

The experiments developed in the Amsterdam playgrounds represented a change of paradigm in architecture and urban planning as they meant a different conception of the urban space. Whereas playgrounds could therefore be seen as an emergency measure for the city, these spaces were designed to be used and adapted to stimulate user's creativity. Each space provided minimal equipment made to activate user's imagination, giving them the chance to appropriate the space by its interpretation and openness. An important fact is that all playgrounds were free from fences, walls or barriers alike. Furthermore, Van Eyck's playgrounds also had a modular nature as their basic components could be combined in different ways depending on the requirements of the local context and, at the same time, offered an interactive relationship with the surroundings, which showcased the 'in-between' nature of the project. Temporality was part of this 'in-between' nature, recreating spaces through incremental adaptation which questioned the urban system proposed by the CIAM in favour of a people-centred approach (Lefaivre and Tzonis, 1999).

Figure 2.5: Otterlo Circles Diagram, 1959 drawn by Aldo van Eyck. Source: Strauven (2007).
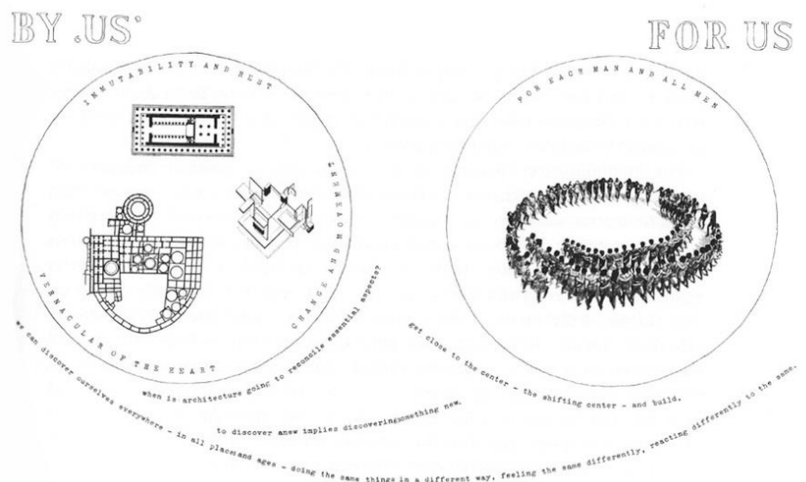
Figure 2.6: Aldo van Eyck's playground at the Buskenblaserstraat in Amsterdam. Amsterdam City Archive.

Figure 2.7: Aldo van Eyck's playground at the Van Boetzelaerstraat in Amsterdam. Amsterdam City Archive.

Although the importance of leisure and children's play was recognised by members of CIAM, their vision was completely different from Van Eyck's. Le Corbusier, for instance, imagined leisure in "idealised settings" (Lefaivre and Tzonis, 1999:51) often at long distances from children's homes. In a different manner, Van Eyck designed and created playgrounds in an already existing neighbourhood, accepting and taking advantage of all constraints that came with it. Thus, contrary to CIAM's program that pleaded for a massive rebuilding of cities, Van Eyck adopted an infill strategy using existing yet ignored spots to create places for social gathering and play (Lefaivre and Tzonis, 1999, Solomon, 2005). These playgrounds were placed into vacant or derelict sites in order to understand architectural design as a procedure for reading the social and spatial matrix.

For Van Eyck, playgrounds were an opportunity to test architecture, imagination and relationality, interpreting the latest in the sense that connections between elements were determined by mutual relationships rather than by a central hierarchical ordering principle. Each playground was not predetermined randomly but defined in participatory processes that involved both neighbours (local communities) and institutions (government).
Another significant aspect of this project is their micro-urbanity (Lutzoni, 2016:3); a playground on every street corner was just a first step on the journey to the ludic city or the city of play; hence, the relational nature of this project is vital to pursue a dialogical connection within people and place.

The example of Aldo van Eyck's playgrounds serve to display his motivation to articulate the space by creating something physical in the remnant spaces of cities. In this sense, Van Eyck's work gives the space a tangible 'shape' (Lévesque, 2013:30, Strauven, 1998:354-360) noticeable in the delimitation of these intermediary places. It also helps to visualise the leftover as a doorstep (or threshold) of different shapes, and facilitate transitions by articulating them (Van Eyck, 1960, 1962b, 1979). Despite this project was not conceived as an isolated architecture intervention but rather an extensive polycentric network, the Dutch architect "never accepted or defended the virtually destabilising aspect of this concept beyond the empiric demonstration of the projectual potential of urban interstices as a network or constellation of public places" (Lévesque, 2009:30).

Experiencing the city

In 1949, Aldo Van Eyck was invited to the first exhibition organised by the Cobra group, a shortly lived but influential avant-garde art movement inspired from children's drawings. Cobra members were influenced by Van Eyck's vision applied in Amsterdam's playgrounds; its members believed that the spontaneity of the child's imagination was one of the privileged sites of authenticity in a society where adults had to live "in a morbid atmosphere of artificiality, lies and barrenness" (Cobra #4, 1949, cited in Stockvis, 1980). Although the Cobra group only lasted three years (1948-1951), two of its former members, Constant Nieuwenhuys and Asger Jorn, co-founded the Situationist International (SI) years later; a movement of avant-garde artists, intellectuals and political theorist opposed to

functionalist urbanism that operated in the political, social and artistic fields.

After the dissolution of the Cobra group, The Letterist International (LI) formed by Guy Debord and Gil Wolman in 1952 emerged as a new Paris-based collective of radical artists, novelists, petty criminals, revolutionaries and theorists whose ideas greatly contributed in the formation of the Situationist International (SI) in 1957, when the LI dissolved.

One of the most relevant concepts and ideas developed by LI was the concept of the *dérive*, or drift, where members would wander through the urban environment for an indeterminate period of time; later in 1953, the term '*Psychogeography*' was used to designate what they saw in their drifts as a pattern of emotive force-fields that would permeate a city. The *dérive* became essential to map these emotions, all of which were then used as a basis upon to build a system of 'Unitary Urbanism', a critique to the status quo urbanism that was further developed by the SI. The 'Theory of the Dérive' and 'Formulary for a New Urbanism' are some of the most important writings by LI members regarding this matter.

Amongst psycho-geographers, several methodologies and proposals were made such as the abolition of museums in order to place art in bars, the opening of the metro day and night, or to facilitate the access to the city rooftops with escalators, open to everybody. The notion of the *détournement* (or hijacking) was also introduced by the LI which consisted of a technique of reutilise plagiarised material –literary, cinematic, artistic…– for a new and radical purpose as when propaganda is turned against their advertisers or the political status quo:

> "In truth, it is necessary to do away with the whole notion of personal property in this area. The emergence of new demands renders earlier 'great works' obsolete. They become obstacles, bad habits. It is not a question of whether we like them or not. We must pass them by" (Debord and Wolman, 1956).

In 1956, Gil Wolman represented the Letterist International in the 'World Congress of Artists' in Alba (Italy) organised by Asger Jorn –former Cobra member– and Pinot-Gallizio, members of the *International Movement for an Imaginist Bauhaus* (IMIB). It was there where an important connection between both groups emerged and Unitary Urbanism was announced as a praxis:

> "the theory of the combined use of arts and techniques as means contributing to the construction of a unified milieu in dynamic relation with experiments in behaviour" (Internationale Situationniste, 1958).

Despite Gil Wolman left Letterist International shortly after the encounter in Alba, Guy Debord and Michèle Bernstein fused LI with the IMIB and the *London Psychogeographical Association* to form the Situationist International in 1957. For the Situationists, the concept of play gained symbolic importance and served in its theoretic models to formulate new approaches for the social space of the city: "the work of the Situationists is precisely the preparation of ludic possibilities to come" (Debord, 1958) and their avant-garde ideas were related to "the action of playing, creating

playful possibilities associated with free, non-rationalised and even random movement in the city" (Brighenti, 2010:130).

Constant Niuwenhuys –former Cobra member– was a functionalist architecture critic of the post-war and together with Guy Debord both drafted a tract on 'Unitary Urbanism' (UU), where it was proclaimed the advent of a mass creative society. Niuwenhuys proposed that *Homo Faber*, the traditional figure of the working man of industrial society should be replaced by *Homo Ludens*, the playful or creative one (Wigley, 1998), taking as a reference the book 'Homo Ludens' written in 1938 by Johan Huizinga. Play was used and envisioned as a subversive strategy to rebel against modern capitalist and modern architecture.

UU envisioned a range of practices that included, but were not limited to, the situation, *Psychogeography*, the *dérive*, industrial painting, *détournement*[9], revolution, among others; critical practices developed later by other movements.

The Situationists had as a main purpose to construct *situations*, defined as "movements of life, concretely and deliberately constructed by the collective organisation of unitary environment and the play of events" (Internationale Situationniste, 1958).

The *dérive* was one of the Situationists practices operating in the realm of everyday life: a technique of rapid passage through different ambiances. The dérive is an urban practice that must be distinguished from 'classic notions of the journey and the walk' (Debord et al., 1996) as it proposes a new condition, which is a route dictated by indeterminacy and chance. This experience, the *dérive*, initiates with the image of the *flâneur*, introduced by Walter Benjamin and Charles Baudelaire, in which public spaces become an unforeseeable fabric determined by multiples itineraries. Both, the *flâneur* and the person on the *dérive* move among the crowd without being one with it.

Particularly, the *flâneur* was characterised by an acute observation skills, and could read the city as one reads a book, from outside. Walter Benjamin saw the *flâneur* as an historical figure of the streets of Paris, a passive spectator who could escape from the logic of consumerism of an already historical time. For instance, Benjamin assumes that the allocation of street numbers in the streets of Paris during the nineteenth century accompanied by a general increase in the pace of life were a threat to the *flâneur*.

The urban wandering, previously introduced by the LI, was defined as a *psychogeographical dérive* which consisted in exploring the city in order to understand "the effects of the space on the individual and his behaviour, separating the social aspect of the topography and the effective dimension of built spaces, acknowledging the psychic effects of the urban context" (Lutzoni, 2016:3). With the *psychogeography* and the *dérive*, the Situationist International movement contributed to change the urban perspective of the city from only seeing the urban built of the city (streets, buildings and businesses) to understand how people inhabit the space and the collective psychic ambiance projected, in parallel to Van Eyck's stress on place and occasion (Van Eyck, 1962a) and the trialectics of the space developed by Henri Lefebvre (1991). The *Naked City* map, for instance, is a composition of nineteen sections of Paris which shows the desire to comprehend the city in a different manner. Debord removed the structures

9. "[t]he integration of present or past artistic productions into a superior construction of a milieu. In this sense, there can be no situationist painting or music, but only a situationist use of those means. In a more elementary sense, *détournement* within the old cultural spheres is a method of propaganda, a method which reveals the wearing out and loss of importance of those spheres" in SITUATIONNISTE, I. 1958. Definitions. *In:* DEBORD, G. E. (ed.) June 1958 ed. Paris: Central bulletin published by the sections of the situationist international.

of cartography manipulating the *dérive* in a "psycho-geographic" map in order to demonstrate a subjective and temporal experience of the city as opposed to the seemingly omnipotent perspective of the planimetric map (Sant, 2004).

For centuries, maps were understood as tools that allowed navigation through the space, providing dependable directions to get to a destination. Yet, SI's work provided with great examples that allow a subjective visualisation of the city. Particularly, in Situationist maps the city is understood more as a background where its built structure is linked to social behaviour. Even though the Situationists regarded these maps as a record of the drift, they also showed a valuable method for creating new cartographic representations of the city. The ephemeral nature of psychogeographic spaces put into manifest the temporal aspect of the city as these sites could rapidly change due to development pressures. This is, these maps were seen as an archive of a specific moment in the life of the city (Lutzoni, 2016).

After leaving the Situationists, Constant Niuwenhuys worked in his New Babylon project (1956-1974) –inspired by the work of the Situationists– which consisted of the projection of a perceived city through sketches, paintings and architectural models in order to illustrate the shape of a post-revolutionary society. New Babylon was a networked city, a situationist city, for the total fulfilment of life; it was the approach to urbanism based on the freedom of the individual through the power of creativity and play. Constant Niuwenhuys imagined a type of architecture that served as a leading instrument of social change through the making of utopian architectural projects. As he exposed in an interview conducted by Linda Boersma (2005) in 1966:

> "What is New Babyon actually?" (…) Is it a social utopia? An urban architectural design? An artistic vision? a cultural revolution? A technical conquest? A solution to the practical problems of the industrial age?" He then answered himself: "Each of these questions touches an aspect of New Babylon" (Constant in Boersma, 2005).

New Babylon was designed to deal with these questions envisioning a society in which traditional architecture and its social institutions have disintegrated in favour of a creative and a free society. In the interview conducted by Kristin Ross to Henri Lefebvre (1983), Lefebvre stated:

> "New Babylon was a provocative name since in the Protestant tradition Babylon is a figure of evil. New Babylon was to be the figure of good that took the name of the cursed city and transformed itself into the city of the future" (Lefebvre, 1983).

The spaces of Constant's New Babylon were intended to be spaces of disorientation and reorientation, from rational, functionalist society to one that is self-inventing (in Woods, 2009). It was a labyrinth-like city in constant transformation where its architecture was unpredictable, determined by changing personal desires of its users, always overwhelmed by play, radical spontaneity and monumental scale. Constant Niuwenhuys positioned New Babylon at the threshold of the end of art and architecture, and he created a metaphor for the advent of a creative society through

GUIDE
PSYCHOGEOGRAPHIQUE
DE PARIS

DISCOURS SUR LES PASSIONS DE L'AMOUR
par G.-E. DEBORD
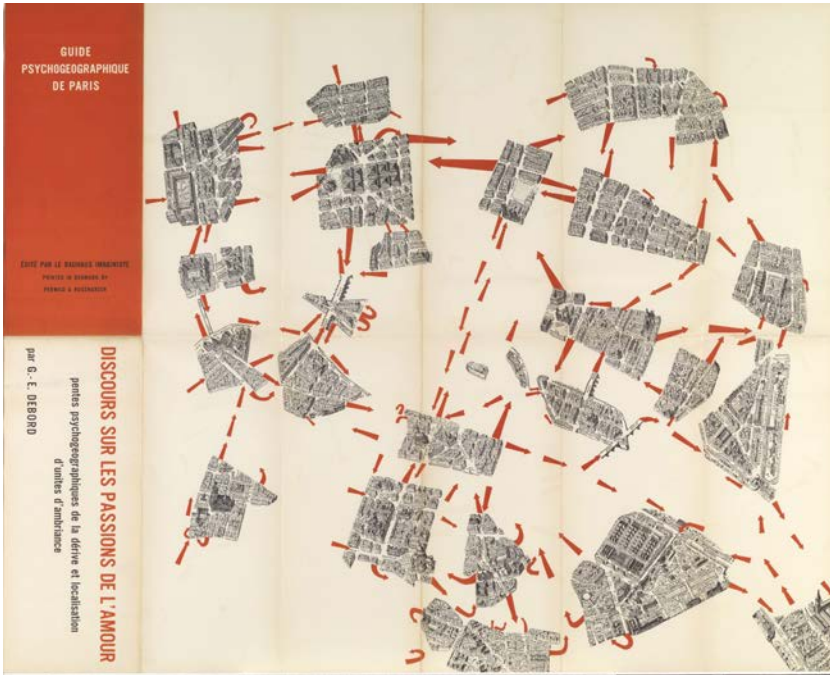
Figure 2.8: Guy Debord 'Guide psychogéographique de Paris: discours sur les passions de l'amour: pentes psychogéographique...', 1957. Source: MACBA.[10]

10.   https://www.macba.cat/en/guide-psychogeographique-de-paris-discours-sur-les-passions-de-lamour-pentes-psychogeographiques-de-la-derive-et-localisation-dunites-dambiance-3779

CONTINUOUS CITY

Figure 2.9: Constant Nieuwenhuys, Symbolic Representation of New Babylon, Collage, 1969. © Gemeentemuseum Den Haag.

Figure 2.10: New Babylon © Collection Gemeentemusem Den Haag, The Hague, The Netherlands.

CONSTANT
New Babylon - Den Haag, 1964
[Nueva Babilonia - La Haya] - [New Babylon - The Hague]
Acuarela sobre papel sobre contrachapado
220 x 279,9 cm
Gemeentemuseum Den Haag

Figure 2.11: New Babylon. Source: The Funambulist (Andreotti et al., 1996).
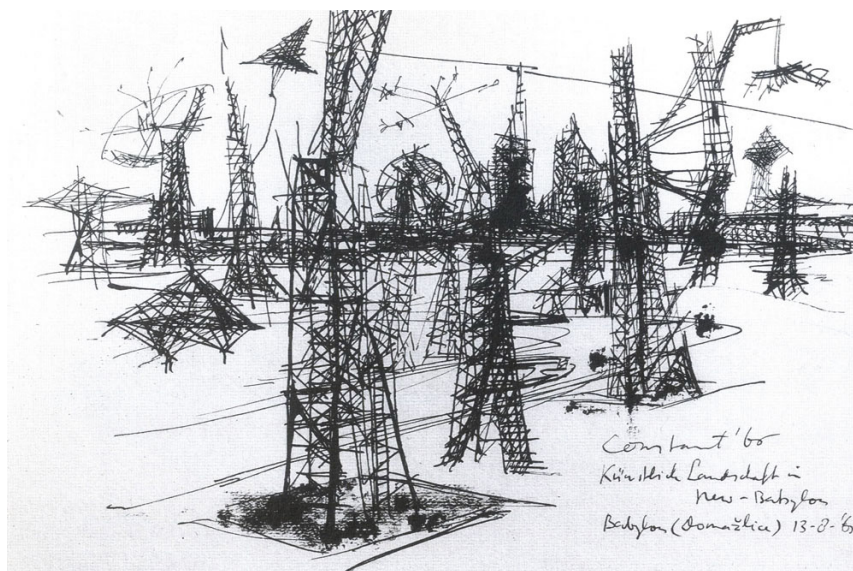
provocation and playful tactics that years after were applied in the city of Amsterdam and debated at architecture and arts schools.

The explanation of the structuralist architectural philosophy introduced by Aldo van Eyck, the influence of Letterist International, The Situationist International and the New Babylon project are essential in this research to raise important questions related to current issues that can be applied to contemporary cities, particularly in suggesting new relationships to intertwine people and places through common experiences. And so, understanding that the social space and the role architecture and the arts can play in favour of urban togetherness.

2.3.2 Interstitial practice: between art and architecture

After the dissolution of LI and the SI, major approximations to the explorative practice of the city came from the world of the arts. Disciplines such as architecture, urbanism, sociology or geography approached the city to decipher its uses, forms, population, urban dynamics as well as its morphological and physical aspects. However, the immediate experience –the one that promotes a dialogue between citizen and city suggested by Letterist International– did not go any further. And, it is through art that the urban experience is clearly manifested.

The representations and practices that intervene in the urban sphere can be understood as a social field or a semi-independent arena inside which there are many related disciplines, positions, skills, orientations and attitudes that encompass the field of the arts. Thus, the artistic underground practice scene (i.e. skaters, street artists, activists) is a territorial ensemble of actors relatively differentiated by grades of profession, purpose, dedication and militancy.

Urban interventions such as temporal actions in the urban space, spontaneous encounters, performances, ephemeral works, murals, street art, and so forth, constitute a field whose definition is problematic as it is difficult to establish or define their boundaries. That is, all these actions overlap and intertwine with many other disciplines and practices. However, these actions cannot be separated from a number of other practices such as: architecture, art and design, law, politics or the market respectively related to temporal structures, aesthetics, vandalism, messages of resistance or liberation, and merchandisable products (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a).

As discussed in previous sections, the boundaries drawn around notions of public and private, east and west, inside and outside are not descriptive lines but contours that are culturally and socially constructed; they change historically and denote specific value systems. In this regard, the theorist and architectural historian Jane Rendell (2006) refers to the philosophy of deconstruction developed by Jacques Derrida in order to understand how the hierarchical relationship assigned to binary terms can change according to how one is positioned:

"everything that one is, the other cannot be, thus limiting the possibility of thinking of two terms together" (Rendell, 2006:9).

Rendell argues that the term public and private –and the variations between both terms– mean different things to different people and, with the rapid privatisation of the public space it is necessary to define carefully how both terms are used. Rendell uses this example to define the place between art and architecture focusing on what remains in-between.

"Art has to engage with the kinds of restraints and controls to which only architecture is usually subject. In many public projects, art is expected to take on 'functions' in the way that architecture does, for example to alleviate social problems, comply with health and safety requirements, or be accessible to diverse audiences and groups of users. But in other sites and situations art can adopt the critical functions outlined above and works can be positioned in ways that make it possible to question the terms of engagement of the projects themselves. This type of public art practice is critically engaged; it works in relation to dominant ideologies yet at the same time questions them; and it explores the operations of particular disciplinary procedures –art and architecture– while also drawing attention to wider social and political problems" (Rendell, 2006:4).

The concept of 'Critical spatial practice' coined by Rendell in 2003 mainly addresses to transgress the limits of art and architecture, engaging with both the social and the aesthetic, the public and the private. Critical spatial practice draws attention not only to what is critical but to the spatial, with particular interests in exploring the spatial aspects of interdisciplinary practices or processes that operate between Art and Architecture. The use of the term *Practice,* in the singular, denotes a sense of cohesion among a loose collected set of *practices,* in the plural, and in part, looks at works that encourage active participation in shaping every-day spaces that have been unevenly affected by current capitalist developments.

The work of Rendell has been the basis to introduce other terms in academia such as 'Liminal spatial praxis', introduced by the Belfast architect Aisling Shannon Rusk during the Symposium *'Thresholds or barriers? Perspectives on boundaries and architecture'* celebrated at the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 2016. During her talk, Rusk used this term to evoke a practice of being 'in-between' that for her is understood as a practice that pushes the boundaries of architecture to explore the space in the margins, particularly through community projects. Rusk understands the in-between as a liminal space that binds knowledges and erases hierarchies; a space where psycho-social, physical and palimpsest places converge; and a space where practices redefine, invert and manipulate the conceptions of the 'proper' place through practice.

Similarly, the scholars Ben Campkin and Gerlachlus Duijzings use the term 'engaged urbanism' to define:

[the] "work that critically and purposefully responds to the concrete problems and issues that are important to improving quality of life for city dwellers" [that involves] "collaboration across disciplines and other knowledges and a dynamic use of bodies of historical and theoretical knowledge" (Campkin and Duijzings, 2016:3).

In interventionist methods, engaged urbanism is aligned with Rendell's term as it takes place outside the traditional academic environments, and features strong collaborations between professionals, academics, artists, community-based organisations, activists, among others. It is in this type of practices that most actors implicitly or explicitly support an engaged, hands-on urbanism that is sensitive to the local context particularly, addressed to vulnerable groups using collaborative and interactive tools.

Andrea Mubi Brighenti (2010a), in a paper based on analysing the territorial dimension of graffiti writing in Northern Italy and its relation between walls, social relationships and public domain, defines the act of graffiti writing as one of the 'interstitial practices' that occur in the urban sphere:

> "An interstitial practice is precisely a practice about whose definition and boundaries [of] different social actors hold inevitably different conceptions. It is interstitial because, when we look at it from the perspective of one of the different social fields (…), writing seems to be located precisely in a *residuum* of one of those fields" (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a:3).

For Mubi, graffiti writing is a sort of practice that encompasses a broad definition of actors that inevitably hold different spatial conceptions and, it is interstitial just because there is no agreed-upon definition for these types of practices. Mubi applies the term 'interstitial' as the effect of porosity between all these practices.

The anthology presented in this section does not pretend to expose a simplistic blueprint of terms but intends to offer a wide spectrum of concepts in order to contextualise what has been termed in this thesis as *'interstitial practice',* in a singular form. Indeed, the term interstitial is understood as a residuum between disciplines, a sort of 'yes, but…' form[11], as Mubi suggests (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a:3).

In this thesis 'interstitial practice' not only applies to the technique of graffiti writing as studied by Mubi Brighenti, but to all interdisciplinary practices and processes that operate between Art and Architecture and take place in the urban space. This term is aligned with the concept of 'critical spatial practice' coined by Jane Rendell although it slightly differs in that not always 'interstitial practice' is critically engaged, in a sense that some interventions may not work in relation to dominant ideologies and may not even question it. Similarly, the 'interstitial practice' is always engaging but not necessarily looking at the most vulnerable, as the concept developed by Campkin and Duijzings.

Even though 'interstitial practice' is also related to the idea of 'liminal spatial praxis', Rusk's term particularly centres in participatory methods and tools to transform the urban space, mainly addressed to benefit a local group. So, 'interstitial practice' may also encompass artworks done by sole artists that aim at reflecting every-day issues of city dwellers, not necessarily involving people into the making. Yet, the interstitial practice draw attention to wider social, urban, cultural, natural or political problems addressed to reflect, impact or change people's relationship with their surroundings.

11. Mubi uses this 'yes… but' expression to explain the usual responses when it is asked, for instance: 'Can you call this street intervention as art? yes… but' or, 'Can you call it illegal? yes… but'. Responses always follow the same patters: Yes… But.

2.3.3 Identity, power and territorialisation

The history of cities is a history of borders and segregation (Mumford, 1961, Soja, 2000, Calame and Charlesworth, 2009, Casaglia, 2010).

Walls can be seen as planned and built elements that are part of a strategy aimed at controlling people and their activities as a means to control the space; so, in a broader sense, "walls are among the primary boundary-creating objects" (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a:8). However, the category of walls encompasses diverse artefacts such as fences, parapets, gates, wires, barriers, in which each element has its own specific boundary-making feature and function such as security, privacy, protection or control. Whilst some of these artefacts are necessary, others are dispensable.

Translating the metaphor of the [medieval] city wall into the modern history of governability, it is possible to detect a spread of (invisible) walls and wall-like artefacts that cross and distinguish different city fragments, and as discussed in previous sections, in-between spaces could be associated to these boundaries –or invisible walls– of the modern city:

> "it is the passage from the encompassing boundaries of the walled medieval city to the dispersed, articulated, and selective boundaries granted by the complex functioning of walls and zonings within the modern city" (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a:8).

Even though the wall introduces a sort of boundary-making that inevitably distinguishes and demarcates the within and beyond, it also defines flows of circulation, paths and trajectories, and determines the (im)possibility of encounter. In fact, is in its surroundings where situational interaction occurs and where interstitial practice pursue to reinvert and accommodate a new understanding of the artefact's presence, provoking reactions from both sides.

In the case of divided cities, Berlin serves as an example to nurture the history of an urban dividing line, comprehend the social impacts of it, and the appearance of interstitial practices in its adjacencies. Since the construction of the partition wall that split the German capital in half, the Berlin Wall (1961 to 1989) became a well-known symbol and device of division and control. During the 1980s, the west side of the wall was intervened by renown artists such as Thierry Noir in 1984 or Keith Haring in 1986, both painting murals that were meant to make a political statement, and help on a psychological level to demolish the wall. Particularly, Noir's work subverted the wall into a symbol of hope.

No less important was the fact that a viewing platform was installed in *Potsdamer Platz* –one of the largest open areas next to the Berlin Wall that was desolated after heavy bombings in World War II–to look at the other side. Subsequently, many structures were built spontaneously alongside the west side of the Berlin Wall in order to pursue an interaction with the east (Fig. 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14). Not only these platforms displayed curiosity for Westerners and tourists alike but symbolised the repression imposed by the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Soviet Union.

In the case of transnational borders, the book *'Borderwall as Architecture: A Manifesto for the U.S. – Mexico Boundary'* (Rael, 2017) collects many interventions carried out in the border that separates Mexico and the United States of America since the 'Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo' in 1848, also known as the 'Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits and Settlement between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic'. Even though this border has been redesigned and reinforced since its creation, interstitial practice has always existed in some form; many interventions have been placed and performed in the borderlands such as 'The Horse Race Wall' where two horses –one in each country– run in parallel to the border fence, or 'The Wally Ball' where the wall was used as a net to play volleyball (Fig. 2.17).

In 2017, the French artist Jean René (JR) lifted over the aforementioned border a scaffolding installation displaying a giant printed image of a Mexican child, called Kikito, particularly in Tecate in Baja California, looking towards the guards located in the United States' side. Kikito's face symbolised the innocence of a one-year-old boy and manifested how regular people are in the midst of a politically heated environment. Not only that but, for the last day of the installation, the artist organised a gigantic picnic on both sides of the border where hundreds of guests were invited to share a meal together; musicians of the same band positioned themselves on both sides and coordinated to play the same music. The long table was folded with two printed images of the eyes of a 'dreamer' –as the artist calls it– crossing the border-fence which generated a direct exchange and interaction between the two sides (Fig. 2.18 and 2.19).

Similarly, the Teeter-Totter Wall installation built in 2019 was placed in the border-fence that crosses the outskirts of El Paso, in Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, in México, as part of an initiative ideated by the architects Ronald Rael and Virginia San Fratello that pursue exchange and activation of the borderlands. The installation consisted of a row of long pink seesaws with their fulcrums integrated in the fence beams that seek to bring a playful concept of unity to the two sides. Both architects aim to envision the wall beyond a solid security infrastructure through interstitial practice (Fig. 2.15 and 2.16).

In a similar vein, the anonymous England-based street artists and political activist known as Banksy has placed its most notable and though-provoking works on the Palestine's West Bank wall and surroundings (i.e. the temporary walled-off hotel in Bethlehem) where the author has made his statement and stance in support of Palestine people (Fig. 2.20). Banksy's works highlight and encourage a critical debate on people struggles, rights, world politics and activities that affect daily lives.

Despite the cases exposed correspond to geo-political borders that distinguish two entities ruled by different bodies, these examples serve to contextualise and manifest the role of borderlands and the relevance of interstitial practice altogether seen not only as sites of oppression and irritation but sites of reassurance and inspiration. Even though interstitial practice itself cannot eliminate or demolish the physical border wall, it invites users to experience, think beyond and exchange with the other (side) in an effortless communication strategy because borders are a social construct that can be easily removed when interaction occurs.

Figure 2.12: Platform built at Potsdamer Platz, Berlin, 28 August 1962. Source: Flickr.

Figure 2.13: Sightseers on a viewing platform peer over the Wall toward East Berlin. Photography: Barbara Klemm. Source: Deutche Boerse Photography Foundation.

Figure 2.14: Tourists on a viewing platform in front of the Berlin Wall at the Brandenburg Gate in 1988. Photography: Ullstein Bild.
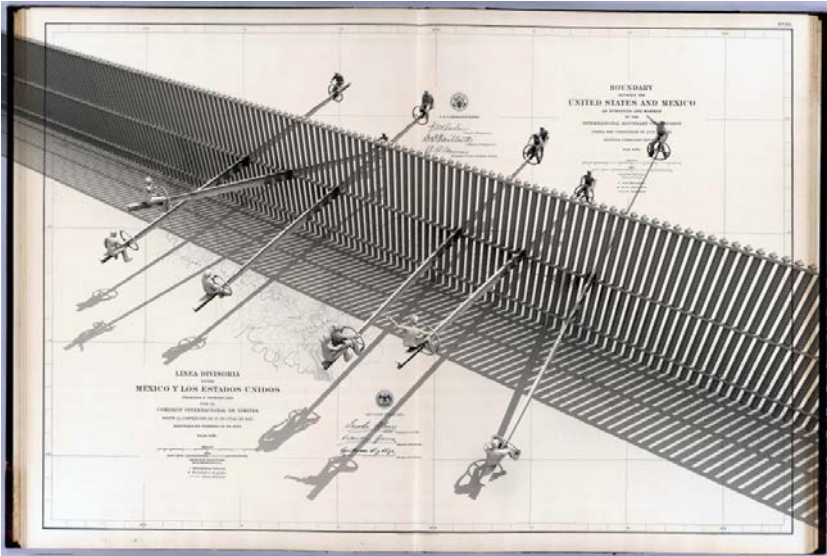
Figure 2.15: "Borderwall as architecture". Ronald Rael and Virginia San Fratello. Source: Fundación Arquia.

Figure 2.16: Aerial view of "Teeter-Totter Wall." Photo courtesy of Rael San Fratello. Source: Stanford Arts.

Figure 2.17: Residents of Naco, Arizona, and Naco, Sonora, play volleyball during the Fiesta Binacional in 2007. Copyright Rael San Fratello; used with permission from University of California Press. Photo: unknown.

Figure 2.18: Migrants, Picnic across the border, Tecate, Mexico - USA, 2017. Source: JR-art.net.

Figure 2.19: Giants, Kikito, October 7th 6-40 p.m, Tecate, Border Mexico-USA, 2017. Source: JR-art.net.

Figure 2.20: The Walled Off Hotel, opened by the artist Banksy, stands just across from the Israeli security barrier in the West Bank city of Bethlehem. Credit: Dan Balilty for The New York Times.

In the case of fragmented cities, at the absence of physical walls, the public sphere offers a visible surface where interstitial practice puts into manifest what is culturally or socially desired or hidden. Thus, the urban space becomes a canvas of inscription for criss-crossing and overlapping traces, which correspond to actions that define a sort of people-place relationship as it may attract neighbours or passers-by, it may become part of the struggle for public attention, or may contribute to make visible the invisible.

As further explored alongside this work, the in-between space through interstitial practice actually becomes a space of exposure for those who intervene in it. Whereas some understand those spaces as territorial devises that are part of the struggle for visibility and power (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a:8-9), others associate them to a sort of thirdspace, where cultural differences become manifested. In this regard, in-between spaces acquire a complex status that links visibility and territoriality which are determinants of the social sphere and the articulation of social and urban fields (Mubi Brighenti, 2010b).

Territorology

The Colombian philosopher Armando Silva uses the term 'Territorology' as a concept to understand the linkage between the visual and the territory, exploring graffiti's territories in Latin American cities. The Italian scholar Andrea Mubi Brighenti (2010a, 2010b, 2016) also uses this term as a concept to understand this linkage. Nonetheless, rather than explaining territory in terms of 'spaces imbued with power' or as a 'function of behaviours', Mubi uses territorology aiming to explain some types of social spaces and some types of social behaviours.

Territorology, as a layout to understand territorial formations, is presented to focus on a series of actions that draw boundaries and territories. This term pursues to grasp how zones of convergence of the material and immaterial are formed which define social relations and how these relations are materially enacted as territories (Mubi Brighenti, 2010b, 2010a:14-15). In this regard, in-between spaces are not treated as objects *per-se* but abstract forms of negotiation and interaction that aim to manage social distances. And these distances are the ones that define the thresholds, points, lines, gates or grades in which relationships are modified and inner experiences vary. It is precisely at this point where all interests of this work intertwine. Could the interstitial practice be able to reduce or shorten social distances –that is, to pursue urban togetherness– in the in-between spaces of Caracas?

Mubi explores the two-faceted dimensions of territorology: the primordialist (sustained by ethological and political views) and the strategist (supported by geography and social science disciplines). For the former, there exists a territorial instinct, whereby individuals are naturally attached to a place (i.e. fatherland, motherland) whereas the latter believes territory is a way of controlling people by establishing the control of a given space.
Mubi also exposes that the concept of territory is a social phenomenon, "not in a sense of human but in the sense that something is co-essential to the inner and outer relationships within a multiplicity of *socii*" (Mubi

Brighenti, 2010a:10). That is, it is not the land what defines a territory but the group of people and configurations that coexist within it. This means that it can exist a superposition of territories of various social groups in a given space.

In relation to this, as exposed by Hubert Mazurek, there can be no social behaviour without territory and, consequently, there can be no social group without territory (Mazurek, 2009:39). For Mazurek, an area can have different delimitations, each perceived as a territory to the extent that there is a structure of power, appropriation and a history behind. The superposition corresponds to the divergence of interests in the forms of appropriation and, as Mazurek states, the more superposed a region is the greater is the conflict (Mazurek, 2009).

In different ways, both primordialists and strategists sustain that territoriality entails the 'claiming of space', and a claim corresponds and entails a social relationship:

> "A claim is an act, an encounter that creates and gives shape to a relationship. A territory is such relationship 'fixated' and hinged upon the *socii* themselves" (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a:10).

In relation to this, space is a visual support although not all spaces are always territories; yet, every territory has its spaces. Territories exist when a convergence exists –either material or immaterial– between relationships and spaces so only lived spaces can pretend an appropriation.

Mubi also states that territories should be understood as an act or processes:

> "Boundary-drawing is the kernel of territorial claim: territory-making is in fact boundary-making. Territories are the operation, or effectuation, of boundaries" (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a:11).

This point is of vital importance in this work because the 'claim' creates territorial relationships when boundaries are introduced. According to Mubi, every act of boundary-making (as an act of territorial inscription) is connected to the visible, understanding that boundaries are drawn in public and for the public. Therefore, as exposed by Hubert Mazurek, territory is based on a process of appropriation, which is, the construction of an identity. For this reason, there exist signs of appropriation that range from denomination to boundary-drawing as well as other abstract forms of recognition (i.e. diaspora and nomad territories).
What Mubi suggests by analysing territorology is that territories are a layer that is distinct from the physical-spatial layer. Territories interact with spaces in a number of different ways: social actors are physical as they live spatially and are subject to spatial constrains. Yet, territory is also generated by an act of imagination and, seen as an expressive and functional device, territories are also a social event (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a).

As explored, in-between spaces are liminal forms by definition. And, at this point, it is relevant to question whether or not interstitial practice may stress this liminality through boundary-making; in this regard, issues of power and identity are directly related to boundary-making, which also revolves on the "axis of alterity" (Bhabha, 2006), or otherness:

"The authority or integrity of the boundary –its relation to the pressures of power and domination– depends, to a considerable degree, on this mobility and contingency that is constitutive of the liminal boundary –its axial alterity" (Bhabha, 2006:5).

In Bhabha's words, in-between spaces as liminal spaces "turn the spatial dynamics of identity-as-sameness (the exclusion of difference) into temporal dynamics of difference-as-the-revision/ relocation of identity as diversity (the creation of solidarities)" (Bhabha, 2006:5). In other words, it is in the thirdspace where cultural difference becomes manifested.

Nevertheless, within the interstitial practice's group, it is observed that many actions pursue the boundary-breaking by empowering and reinforcing a cultural identity which, paradoxically, is what maintains and highlights the existence of a limit, a close-bound that contributes to strengthen differences and to expand social distances. In this regard Bhabha writes:

"'Differences' must never become 'islands of identity' (…) Islands, nations, communities, groups, individuals: lifeworlds of diverse ecologies and ethicalities, different cultures and customs, washed by the same sheet of water, but deeply, if fluidly, connected by the shared sea of history" (Bhabha, 2006:7-8).

Interstitial practice through the experience of crossing emerges to make possible this form of recognition and acceptance of differences, where solutions may not be the empowerment of local identities clustered in one side but the exchange of collective stories that concern all. It is key the acceptance of boundaries and differences; otherwise, there is not difference. That is, it is precisely in the in-between space –the common ground and the relational sphere– where it is possible to recognise, suture, revise and restructure common interests and causes towards urban togetherness.

As further explored in this thesis, at the absence of gates, entrances, fences or security controls, cultural and artistic groups at all levels of society rely on dialogical systems of claim or counterclaim to establish the boundaries that define a [cultural] space. These interventions can be considered claims that define who is entitled to belong within the confines and who is able to claim ownership in [cultural] narratives and identities. In this regard, the role of the artist or the architect acting in the in-between space escapes the first-order territorial relationship and creates a second-order relational territory by acting in the public domain.

Even though in-between spaces are dynamic, that is, expand and decline, their condition always defines a sort of abstract limit between different territorial units within which an identity is conceived and kept. So, territory is a fundamental dimension of identity (Newman, 2005, Mazurek, 2009). Thus, the in-between space becomes the essence and receptacle of common memories that contribute to nurture its historical discourse. As explained by Mubi referring to Deleuze's words:

"a public space is not a plane of organisation of identities in an environment, but a plane of consistence where identities are problematized and situations become constantly re-definable" (Mubi Brighenti, 2010a:13)

This is, territories are dynamic and at the same time, relative to a social group.

As exposed in this section, there can be an overlapping of territories from various social groups which might lead to contestation and confrontation. In this regard, Homi Bhabha (2006) reflects on *'Boundaries, Difference, Passages'* –as a trio of *topoi*– that contested fields map the terrain of inter-cultural communication and transcultural living. So in-between spaces provide a space for forward thinking, innovative interpretation, and aspirational activism (Bhabha, 2006).

In this context, the in-between space has to be understood as a territorial and social construction where interstitial practice is key to suture and articulate its adjoining sides. The in-between space is connected to the interstitial practice because a multiplicity of actors intervenes there to raise a number of questions that concern its adjacencies, about the norms and rights, society and politics, religion and economics, all of which define the nature of social interaction in the urban sphere.

Final comments

This chapter constitutes an attempt to put together the main literature review to build a body of reflections that allows the reader to consider the importance of in-between spaces in the process of city building and why their relationships with interstitial practice is worth exploring to pursue the intertwinement of the city.

After reviewing the reasons to leave behind dual visions of cities and incorporating into the discourse the approximation of the in-between space, this chapter has reviewed and explored the process of territory formation, the boundary-drawing and boundary-making processes, space production as well as the role that the Arts play in its configuration.

In this chapter, it has been proposed a series of understandings of the in-between space from different lenses (the socio-spatial and the phenomenological) in order to fully comprehend its meaning from different disciplines and authors. The urban, social and artistic approaches introduced in the introductory chapter are constituted by the ideas that urban togetherness should be regarded and treated as a trigger and an asset. Thus, it is in this Chapter 2 where it is put into manifest that the proposition of the urban, social and artistic approaches has been a theoretical exercise.

In addition to the wide theoretical discussions sustained in this chapter, it lies the basis of this research which is translated into the very quotidian experience of the everyday life in cities, focussing in that in-between spaces are part of the lived realm of cities where interstitial practice not only can naturally promote exchange and interaction between strangers but become a powerful political tool to deploy power.

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CHAPTER 3

Position of this research and methodology process

Introduction

This chapter discusses the research strategy used in this thesis to collect and analyse data; it includes the analytical framework, the research methodology and the limitations and challenges.

As a mode of introduction, this section starts exploring the research questions and objectives to meet as well as the considerations for this particular research design, leading to understand the process behind the use of specific methods and approaches. In relation to this, it has been important not just to list the different procedures used to address the main research questions but to discuss what shaped the research design and the conceptual and practical approaches.

There are four general questions behind this research:

(1) What is an in-between space?
(2) Which are the forms, languages, meanings, perceptions and interpretations that define an in-between space?
(3) What are the relationships among people and places in the in-between space?
(4) Could interstitial practice in the in-between space trigger urban togetherness?

These enquiries, also stated in the first chapter, needed a series of sub-questions and methodological questions to define the research design. And this introductory section addresses this set of questions and definitions.

As showed in Table 3.1 (next page), four sub-questions nurture the main general questions of this research. This set of sub-questions are also associated with the methodological questions, which obliged me to establish two scales to study the context of this investigation, the city of Caracas: a general, which is based on a city-wide scale, and a specific, based on a local scale.
A series of methodological objectives are set based on one hand, by one question regarding the methodological standpoint: *what kind of research design, intellectual approach and methodology is proposed in this thesis?* and on the other hand, by the two scales of study which help to establish specific methods and criteria to collect and analyse data, directly related to the questions proposed to analyse the city of Caracas.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Main questions	What is an in-between space?	Which are the forms, languages, meanings, perceptions and interpretations that define an in-between space?	What are the relationships among people and places in the in-between space?	Could interstitial practice in the in-between space trigger urban togetherness?
Sub-questions	- How do we understand in-between spaces beyond their physical constitution (urban form), understanding also the relation between their quantitative and qualitative aspects?	- Are there any factors or urban elements within the in-between space that define the potential of the space and invite users to traverse it?	- What are the main aspects of space production that contribute to alter the sense of in-between-ness?	- To what extend interstitial practice located in the in-between spaces can contribute to intertwine the city?
Methodological questions	- Where are in-between spaces located? - How many in-between spaces can we identify in the Metropolitan Area of Caracas (AMC)?	- Have these in-between spaces triggered processes of socio-spatial integration in the built-enviornment? - Are all in-between spaces perceived and used similarly by users?	- What are the main purposes of intervening in the in-between spaces? - Who are the ones that intervene? And for whom? - Where are interstitial practice placed and located?	

What kind of research design, intellectual approach and methodology is proposed in this thesis?

General context: Metropolitan scale

- Identification and categorisation of the urban structure of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas. → - Cartography of the territorial units of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas.

- Identification and categorisation of the in-between spaces of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas. → - Cartography of the in-between spaces of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas.

- Identification and categorisation of the interstitial practice of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas. → - Cartography of the interstitial practice of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas.

Specific context: Local scale

- Selection of exploratory case studies.

- Definition of methods and criteria of analysis for each case.

Table 3.1: Research questions, sub-questions and methodological questions. Author's own representation.

In qualitative research, questions are most likely understood as an 'entrance' to the research by which processes are understood and narratives produced (Flick, 2002). Thus, instead of hypothesis, I take the research questions and the objectives of the research as guiding lines for the organisations of the methods and data collection techniques. Therefore, following the enquiries depicted in Table 3.1, Table 3.2 shows how the combination of all research questions (main questions, sub-questions and methodological questions) helped me to address different methods of analysis as well as to achieve the objectives of this study.

This chapter is organised in three parts. First, it presents the analytical framework, offering a description of the specific dimensions and approaches as well as the criteria of analysis. Second, it presents the research methodology offering a description of the methodological design, and it introduces a reflection about both the general and the more specific context of study, highlighting the selection and justification of three local cases. The methods used for analysis and data collection are also discussed further in this second section. The chapter ends explaining the limitations and challenges encountered, mostly related to the empirical work.

Considerations

The main methodological complexity of this research derives from the fact that it seeks to study a phenomenon that has not necessarily occurred. That is, this research is based on a hope, a desire, a projection that is to pursue urban togetherness, and analyses the present and the past to find practices and spaces that could offer an alternative to the future of cities, being Caracas the laboratory of study. This implies the need to observe a series of phenomena from a general to a more concrete context, namely, that I am looking at territories, people-place relationships and actions to identify if something that I define as desirable is taking place.

This means that rather than going into the field to prove a hypothesis, the methodological approach creates a discourse to observe a series of in-between spaces and the effects of interstitial practice located there to understand how all together can be an instrument to achieve urban togetherness.

Objectives	Research questions
- To identify, locate and classify the in-between spaces of Caracas according to their specific urban determinants; these spaces may be defined according to their adjacent territorial units, their use and design, and may be qualified through both their physical (location, distribution, permeability, landscape quality) and psychological (legibility, social appropriation) attributes.	- What is an in-between space? - How do we understand in-between spaces beyond their physical constitution (urban form), understanding also the relation between their qualitative aspects? - Where are in-between spaces located? - Is it possible to identify the in-between spaces of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas?
- To investigate consumption patterns, formation and transformation processes of selected in-between spaces from both functional and symbolic perspectives, particularly by looking at areas that prevent the integration process of their adjoining sides. - To contribute to the understanding of the in-between spaces and their potential as key to build an intertwined city by exploring the fragmentation phenomena from a multi-stakeholder perspective. - To determine the properties and attributes of selected in-between spaces that aim at enhancing physical, social and cognitive functioning and residents' well-being, hence reveal the attachment of urban residents towards the territory. - To generate an analytical model from the empirical analysis of the in-between spaces of the city and thereby contribute to the scientific debate on the meaning of urban togetherness with particular emphasis in reducing fragmentation.	- What is the relationship between space and users in the in-between spaces? - Which are the forms, languages, meanings, perceptions and interpretations that define an in-between space? - Have these in-between spaces triggered processes of socio-spatial integration in the built-enviornment? - Are all in-between spaces perceived and used similarly by users? - Are there any factors or urban elements within the in-between space that define the potential of the space and invite users to traverse it? - What are the main aspects of space production that contribute to alter the sense of in-between-ness?
- To gather and formulate an urban framework for Caracas that emphasizes and enhances interstitial practice in the in-between spaces, being adjusted to becoming socially inclusive and sensitive to the well-being of its residents.	- Could interstitial practice in the in-between space trigger urban togetherness? - What are the main purposes to intervene in the in-between spaces? - Who are the ones that intervene? And for whom? - Where are interstitial practice located? - To what extend interstitial practice located in the in-between spaces can contribute to intertwine the city?

- To deliver this theoretical and empirical research to local authorities, scholars and urban agents as an alternative and free tool to comprehend the city.

Data collection	Methods	Expected findings
- Literature review - Attendance to symposiums, congresses and events - Socio-spatial analysis	- Review of relevant books, academic works, journals and websites - Analysis of cartographic materials - Analysis of the built enviornment	- A general understanding and approximation of the in-between concept - Development of visual material to collect, identify and classify the in-between spaces of the AMC, promoting a new legibility of the city - Categorisation of the concepts learned from fieldwork and literature review
- Literature review - Observation - Interviews and casual conversations - Online questionnaires - Socio-spatial analysis	- Review of relevant books, academic works, journals, conference papers, magazines and websites - Site visits; city dérives; photography; fieldwork - Informal conversations, semi-structured interviews and active participation in workshops and events organised by community groups (it only applies in the case of El Hatillo) - Analysis of the built enviornment, graphic and descriptive material	- To deeply understand not only the urban but social, economic, political and psychological factors that prevent the achievement of urban togetherness in the Metropolitan Area of Caracas
- Literature review - Interviews and casual conversations - Observation - Discourse analysis	- Review of relevant books, academic works, journals, conference papers, magazines and websites - Informal conversations, semi-structured interviews with urban agents, and active participation in workshops and events organised by community groups - Fieldwork, site visits, photography, city dérive - Online questionnaires, graphic and descriptive material	- To map, identify and provide relevant data regarding the interstitial practice located in the in-between spaces - To evaluate the impact, the urban implications and the consequences of the implementation of interstitial practice in the in-between spaces towards people and places - To suggest an urban city framework
		- To consider this research as a contribution to the city of Caracas in order to comprehend, validate and further explore the importance of its in-between spaces.

Table 3.2: Table of objectives, research questions, data collection, methods and expected findings. Author's own representation.

3.1 Analytical framework

As observed in Chapter 2, literature on the in-between (in all its forms and meanings) shows that this term includes different concepts and disciplines that, somehow, are connected to Urban Studies and not exclusively to the disciplines of Architecture and Urbanism.

The main objective of this research is to tackle urban fragmentation and pursue what has been termed urban togetherness. As explained in the introductory chapter, this term in this thesis addresses the socio-spatial cohesion of the city by looking at its in-between spaces and the enhancement of interstitial practice in these specific locations from a theoretical and empirical perspective. Therefore, this thesis is comprehensive, exploratory and explanatory in nature; that is, its final objective is not to propound a solution for cities but to put into manifest the existence and importance of the in-between spaces and highlight the role interstitial practice play there as enabler of change.

Even though this research revises literature set on different cities, the evidence of the existence of in-between spaces was found in the exploratory analysis supported by the author's personal experience in the Venezuelan capital between 2009 and 2016, which provided a basis for the analysis of urban togetherness, as far as in-between spaces have been documented. Therefore, the analytical framework developed in this section draws on the knowledge gained from the literature review and the author's own experience in the field to identify concepts and criteria analysed and discussed in the empirical work.

3.1.1 Urban space framework to analyse urban togetherness

The in-between spaces of Caracas are complex elements of analysis; they require familiarity with their context, position and location, a deep understanding of their meanings, capacity and the risks and dangers that suppose traversing them because not all spaces have the same status. In this regard, the word 'passage', easily applied to the in-between space, is referred in Smets et al. (2017) as a term that has a separate status, in principle open to all but governed by rules imposed by the users, which indicates that are separate territories. In relation to this, Peter Marcuse affirms that "integration represents the elimination of barriers to free mobility and the establishment of positive and non-hierarchical relationships" (in Uszkai, 2015:1) which indicates a sort of interconnection between certain territories that suggests a sort of blurriness or even the elimination of the in-between space (as long as it is conceived as a barrier).

In this investigation, the in-between space is seen as one of the main scenarios to promote another way of coexistence, that is, to encourage socio-spatial cohesion among all the spheres of the city. Rather than pursuing its eradication, this work empowers the specifiable aspects of the in-between to help grasp the complex meaning of urban togetherness, not necessarily

understanding in-between spaces from a romanticised or positive vision as they are also spheres of and for confrontation and dispute.

Finding inspiration from the Urban Space Framework (USF) designed by the scholars Im Sik Cho, Zdravko Trivic and Ivan Nasution[1] to address the quality of public spaces in hybrid and dense contexts, this section outlines a modified Urban Space Framework (Cho et al., 2015, Uszkai, 2015) that has been designed to systemically study and analyse urban togetherness in the Caracas context.

The proposed USF recognises two categorical dimensions to analyse this phenomenon: the socio-spatial and the creative, both being moulded by the main research questions, sub-questions and methodological questions. These two categorical dimensions shape and define the three main approaches of this research: the urban, the social and the artistic. So, the socio-spatial dimension will encompass the urban and social approaches and the creative dimension will embrace the artistic approach. The study and analysis of the *urban* focusses on the territory to learn specifically about urban transformations, boundary-drawing and boundary-making processes as well as to comprehend the dynamics of power over people and places; the *social* looks at people-place relationships in order to understand meanings, perceptions and interpretations of the in-between spaces; and the *artistic* explores the interstitial practice positioned in the in-between spaces seen as a vehicle to facilitate an urban encounter between strangers in order to decipher whether or not processes of intersectionality and exchange occur. Table 3.3 shows the relation between all set of research questions, the two categorical dimensions and the three approaches that all together will help to analyse the chosen city, Caracas, from a general to a more specific context. Both contexts and approaches have served to mould and guide the general structure of this investigation.

From here, Chapter 4 explores the Metropolitan Area of Caracas (AMC) from a general context aiming to envision the city on a wider scale and being studied from an urban, social and artistic approach. Chapter 5 analyses three specific neighbourhoods of the AMC from a local context exploring in detail three in-between spaces located in the municipalities of Chacao, El Hatillo and Libertador.

This investigation contemplates five categorical aspects[2] to study each particular case study, namely: physical, functional, relational, symbolic and artistic, all of which are linked to the three aforementioned approaches. That is, each case study contemplates the urban approach, which refers to the *physical aspect* of the area of analysis characterised by its spatial configuration; the social approach refers to the *functional, relational* and *symbolic aspects* of the area of study characterised respectively by the access to opportunities and services, the interaction between the adjacent parts, and the identification users have with the space; and the artistic approach refers to the *artistic aspect* of the in-between space which is characterised by the interstitial practice that is materialised there.

So, in order to offer a more accurate analysis of each case study, the urban, social and artistic approaches are concretised by defining its categorical aspects and characterisations, as exposed in Table 3.4.

1. Those three scholars designed an Urban Space Framework inspired by the structure of Matthew Carmona's work to study urban design. CARMONA, M., HEATH, T., OC , T. & TIESDELL, S. 2003. Public Places- Urban Spaces, Great Britain, Architectural Press.

2. The five categorical aspects have been designed taking as a reference the socio-spatial dimensions identified by Andrea Uszkai. This scholar identifies four dimensions to analyse socio-spatial integration: the physical dimension is characterised by the physical proximity between social groups; the functional dimension is characterised by the effective access to opportunities and services in the territory; the relational dimension is understood as the non-hierarchical interaction between different social groups; and finally, the symbolic dimension by the identification with a common group. USZKAI, A. 2015. Spatial Integration and Identity: Cases of Border Regions. JOURNAL OF GLOBAL ACADEMIC INSTITUTE EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, 1, 1-13. in the paper 'Spatial Integration and Identity: Cases of Border Regions' (2015:2).

SOCIO-SPATIAL			CREATIVE
What is an in-between space?	**Which are the forms, languages, meanings, perceptions and interpretations that define an in-between space?**	**What are the relationships among people and places in the in-between space?**	**Could interstitial practice in the in-between space trigger urban togetherness?**
- How do we understand in-between spaces beyond their physical constitution (urban form), understanding also the relation between their quantitative and qualitative aspects?	- What are the main aspects of space production that contribute to alter the sense of in-betweenness?	- Are there any factors or urban elements within the in-between space that define the potential of the space and invite users to traverse it?	- To what extend interstitial practice located in the in-between spaces can contribute to intertwine the city?
- Where are in-between spaces located? - How many in-between spaces can we identify in the Metropolitan Area of Caracas (AMC)?	- Have these in-between spaces triggered processes of socio-spatial integration in the built-enviornment? - Are all in-between spaces perceived and used similarly by users?		- What are the main purposes of intervening in the in-between spaces? - Who are the ones that intervene? And for whom? - Where is interstitial practice placed and located?

URBAN	**SOCIAL**	**ARTISTIC**
General context: Metropolitan scale - Identification and categorisation of the urban structure of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas. - Cartography of the territorial units of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas. *Specific context: Local scale* - Selection of exploratory case studies. - Definition of methods and criteria of analysis for each case.	*General context: Metropolitan scale* - Identification and categorisation of the in-between spaces of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas. - Cartography of the in-between spaces of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas. *Specific context: Local scale* - Selection of exploratory case studies. - Definition of methods and critera of analysis for each case.	*General context: Metropolitan scale* - Identification and categorisation of the interstitial practice of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas. - Cartography of the interstitial practice of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas. *Specific context: Local scale* -Selection of exploratory case studies. - Definition of methods and criteria of analysis for each case.

Table 3.3: Relation between research questions, categorical dimensions and approaches. Author's own representation.

Table 3.4: Dimensions, approaches, categorical aspects and characterisation of the 'urban space framework'. Author's own representation.

DIMENSIONS	APPROACHES	CATEGORICAL ASPECTS	CHARACTERISATION
Socio-spatial	Urban	Physical	Spatial configuration
	Social	Functional	Access to opportunities and services
		Relational	Interaction
		Symbolic	Identification
Creative	Artistic	Artistic	Interstitial practice

....
Chapter 4
....
Chapter 5

The main features of the five categorical aspects identified in this investigation are summarised in Figure 3.1 (next page), which aims to represent an integrated versus a not-integrated area of different territorial units, and the integration dynamics adopted in the in-between towards urban togetherness.

3.1.2 Criteria of analysis: attributes

As previously explored in Chapter 2, the encounter of two different city units, states or spheres imply the existence of an in-between. And it is this encounter what deploys some sort of differentiation, an indicator of its existence. Without differentiation, there is no in-between.

Even though the in-between space might be evident by the blatant contrast between two different territorial units, sometimes this contrast is more phenomenological than physical. This means that, in order to analyse urban togetherness, it is essential to establish a criterion of analysis that encompasses a set of attributes that help developing a holistic understanding of the context where the in-between space is located.

It is important to mention that despite these attributes are classified in Table 3.4 and Table 3.5, their insertion into the analysis of each case study is not systematised (in a sense that these attributes are not specifically detailed and described in the order showed) rather all together serve to build the narrative to comprehend each case.
These attributes have helped to nurture and deepen the narrative of each case study though not directly in the order presented, namely: urban form, territorial diversity, accessibility, mobility, connectivity, territorial demarcations, perception, attractiveness and identity.

	Non- integration	*Integration*	*Integration dynamics in the in-between*

Physical

Density

Relative growth of density in the in-between space.

Territorial homogeneity

Hybridisation; adoption of characters in both sides.

Functional

Transport network

Build new linkages to connect the two network systems and to improve their connexity.

Distribution

Connection of the two territorial urban networks and increase city influence in the in-between.

Relational

Flows

Relative growth of transport flows, particularly enhancing to traverse the in-between.

Symbolic

Delimitations

Adoption of similar political and administrative spatial divisions.

Artistic

Impact

Increase area of influence in the in-between through interstitial practice.
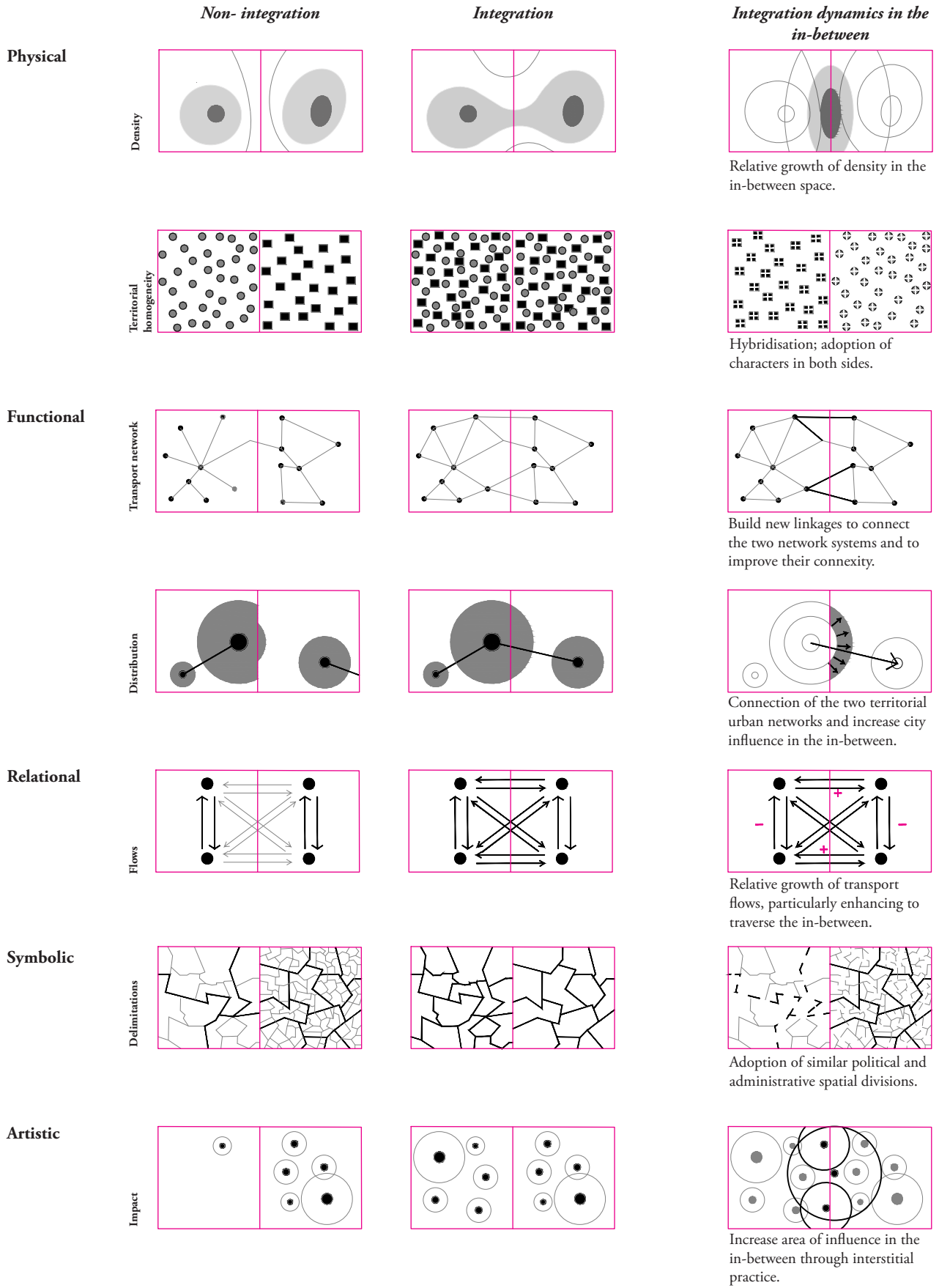
Table 3.5: Summary of the dimensions, approaches, categorical aspects, characterisation and attributes which are the basis of the 'urban space framework' to analyse urban togetherness. Author's own representation.

Dimensions	Approaches	Categorical aspects	Characterisation	Attributes
Socio-spatial	Urban	Physical	Spatial configuration	Urban form
				Territorial diversity
	Social	Functional	Access to opportunities and services	Accessibility
				Mobility
		Relational	Interaction	Connectivity
		Symbolic	Identification	Demarcations
				Perception
Creative	Artistic	Artistic	Interstitial practice	Attractiveness
				Identity

Chapter 5

Figure 3.1 (left): Illustration of selected indicators for a systemic analytical approach of spatial integration in the in-between space. Source: De Boe et al. (1999); Uszkai (2015a:70). Author's own representation.

Urban form

By analysing the **historical background** of each area of study, I will discover how specific in-between spaces originated, evolved, transformed or even disappeared throughout time. Through this attribute it is possible to discover macro-territorial formations and units, proportions, planning patterns, urban typologies and understand the logic behind the existence of the in-between space. This will allow to further understand urban processes, behaviours, densities, significances and urban transformations.

Territorial diversity

When studying socio-spatial relationships, it is important to look at the linkages that a specific in-between space has with the spatial configuration of its surroundings such as spatial distribution of residences, services and activities which are often translated into living conditions, wealth, architectural design, etc. In this case, **contrast** might be the term that defines better this attribute so that several parameters are observed and examined in this perspective such as the topography, land uses, density and architectural and design features in order to understand spatial patterns, typologies, uses and functions of the area of study.

Jane Jacobs pointed out in *'The death and life of Great American Cities'* (Jacobs, 1961) that diversity was an essential factor for liveability, economic growth and attractiveness in cities. In Caracas, some areas may seem diverse on one scale but widely homogeneous onto another, which implies the existence of some sort of visual imbalance that might depict that the area is socio-spatially segregated. As discovered, there are particular territorial units that have different means of social interaction from which their residents shape values, expectations, feelings or habits that not necessarily are shared with the near others.

In this regard, socio-spatial segregation refers to the existence of differences and social inequalities within an area and to the grouping of individuals

according to specific attributes (socio-economic, cultural, ethnic, etc.) in conurbations with a tendency to homogenise and reduce interactions with other social groups (in Tonon, 2016:202). As exposed in the introductory chapter, the meaning of togetherness might be specifically referred to the concept of community as a close group (Bauman, 2000).

Territorial diversity also seeks to understand the organic integration of the whole context taking into account the blue (water-based), green (vegetated) and grey (non-living) landscapes that exist in the area, named **urban networks**. Despite the terms 'urban' and 'ecology' may seem contrasted terms (McIntyre et al., 2000) or even an oxymoron (Forman, 2014), they both overlap and are compatible with each other. While some areas are abounded in green, others are surrounded by large infrastructures of movement a factor that contributes in shaping form and function. By analysing urban networks, it might be possible to establish connections between the rich variety of built spaces and further comprehend the area.

Mobility

This attribute is defined as the general capability of individuals and goods to move in a **transport network**. Particularly in this study, mobility is conceived solely as a spatio-temporal practice of movement focusing on the location of public transport routes, terminals and stations as well as the comprehension of mass public transport systems and its design (including its management and control).

As further explored, there are many in-between spaces that accommodate an array of different modes of transportation; nonetheless, this fact does not indicate that the transport network is fully inclusive; on the contrary, it may also indicate how imbalanced and despair the metropolitan transport network is. This is important because through this attribute it is possible to raise questions related to territorial redistribution and decision-making processes, which imply making transport routes accessible to people living in the AMC with all types of mobility –vehicular, public transport and cycling– thus, promoting criss-crossing and transversality between different units. In this regard, public institutions and other city agents working in the field have full responsibility to make transport networks accessible and inclusive hence to comprehend how the action of tracing routes over the space empowers difference.

Accessibility

Accessibility is described by many as "the measure of interaction between users and the cadastral patterns of the city" (Carmona, 2010, Cho et al., 2015:39) but also, accessibility [of place] can be defined as the capability of a space of movement to or through it. As referred in Cho et al. (2015:39), this attribute has been associated with increased interaction, smart growth, active living, social equity, safety and health.

As observed, places that are frequently visited in Caracas are active nodes of activity which might indicate that are accessible areas that attract function (i.e. old quarter areas, boulevards, plazas…). In relation to this, Professor Bill Hillier –pioneer of 'space syntax' theory that encompasses the analysis of spatial configurations– stated that the configuration of streets, its

accessibility and connectivity attracts [retail] activity at locations with more opportunities for profitable trade and social life (Hillier, 1996). That is, the **distribution** of urban networks and functions seems very much related to accessibility and the connectivity of streets. Hence, active spaces, understood as the ones that have the flexibility to adapt to a variety of uses, activities and functions, increase their users' comfort and choices of navigation encouraging social interaction, adaptability and control over the space from a user perspective.

Connectivity

Jane Jacobs argues that many features of urban life can decrease activity in public spaces creating what she calls 'border vacuums'. Jacobs dedicates one chapter to talk about border vacuums in her book *'The Death and Life of Great American Cities'* (Jacobs, 1961) where she also writes about borders, catalogued as 'zones of low value' and 'dead ends of use'. For Jacobs, a border vacuum emerges when a barrier seals what otherwise be an accessible space for pedestrians. She suggested that by increasing local activity and using these spaces more productively 'the curse of the border vacuum' could be improved.

> "A border—the perimeter of a single massive or stretched-out use of territory—forms the edge of an area of 'ordinary' city. Often borders are thought of as passive objects, or matter-of-factly just as edges. However, a border exerts an active influence" (Jacobs, 1961:257).

Jacobs' exploration explicitly builds on Kevin Lynch's book *'The Image of the City'* (Lynch, 1960), where she quotes Lynch's definition of an edge:

> "… an edge may be more than a simply dominant barrier if some visual or motion penetration is allowed through it- if it is, as it were, structured to some depth with the regions on either side. It then becomes a seam rather than a barrier, a line of exchange along which two areas are sewn together…" (Jacobs, 1961:267).

That is, to allow penetration through the in-between space would imply interaction and exchange between its two adjacent units, generating a subsequent intertwining of the area. In relation to this, the Danish architect Jan Gehl (1996) suggests that by providing a large number of pedestrian routes the opportunities for social exchange, interaction and the levels of connectivity will increase. And, as further explored, the in-between space influences all spheres of everyday life at different scales and levels, from the private to the public space, from defining patterns of movement to establishing connections and intersections. Therefore, connectivity is related to the street pattern and the way streets are linked.

In the Caracas context, the in-between space should provide a variety of easy pedestrian routes to be crossed or traversed in order to empower interaction with the 'other' side. **Permeability** is an essential indicator to understand this attribute as it allows users a choice of routes, ideally through and not alongside the in-between space. That is, this attribute looks at pedestrian flows and vehicle movement; it also analyses paths that lead to the in-between space and the hierarchy of roads in the area of study.

Territorial demarcations

The fact of studying socio-territorial demarcations for land and labour domination during colonial times has helped to raise important questions related to boundary-drawing and boundary-making processes to incorporate the concept of 'territorology' (Mubi Brighenti, 2010) into the narrative, and most importantly, to understand how territorial management, power and control affect people who live confined in certain spaces of the city.

Administrative delimitations as well as policy grids have been formally established in the AMC to distinguish, manage and regulate the urban built. Throughout this research, it is found that many of these administrative lines and zones are traced and drawn by different institutions and governmental bodies, which not only puts into manifest the lack of coordination between city municipalities and other entities to develop a unified system to study the city but makes the analysis of Caracas inaccurate in terms of mapping.

Current territorial demarcations in Caracas include populations of widely varying sizes with highly diverse residential patterns and very heterogeneous socioeconomic levels. But, aside from the official demarcations, there are also other sort of 'unofficial' divisions and invisible **delimitations** traced over the space that offer partitions that intrinsically contribute to demarcate certain territories. Either administrative and non-administrative demarcations distinguish and divide spaces and people. These distinctions stem from geographical boundaries, cultural, ideological or ethnic traces of the inhabitants, psychological unity among a group who feel that belong together, specific and concentrated territorial units of the city such as shopping complexes, leisure or educational facilities, among others.

This attribute is key to visualise new territories in order to deeply understand urban formations, local identities, and tactics of power and control over different spaces of the city.

Perception

Marcel Smets explains in the book 'Passages' (Smets et al., 2017) that some spaces require familiarity both with its position and direction. In a similar vein, Kevin Lynch states:

> "Primitive man was forced to improve his environmental image by adapting his perception to the given landscape" (Lynch, 1960:12).

Safety is one of the indicators that helps to understand better this attribute as it is a conditioning that understands the functionality of places, movements and pedestrian flows which narrate the way users are threatened by multiple hazards, sometimes facing volatile situations. In this respect, perception focuses not on the actions that take place in the space but how fear, crime or violence affect people's daily lives as well as the measures of protection and prevention that take form in the urban environment.

In Caracas, actions in the urban sphere are sometimes unpredictable; new types of security measures have been contemplated from how inhabitants perform in public spaces to how they inhabit, travel and work. As

encountered, in-between spaces can be perceived by many as insecure areas just for the fact of being either crowded or isolated, central, and located nearby specific city units (characteristics that are not necessarily related); or, contrarily, can be perceived as secured areas for being spaces of exposure, transition, or simply a destination.

This phenomenological attribute is purely subjective and expresses the allegorical distinction between insider and outsider, east and west, safe and non-go area. It pursues to describe which are the mental maps, conceptions and meanings of certain zones of the city from the researcher's perspective. It also helps to comprehend the idea of enclosure and the construction of stereotyped images which altogether generate an interesting discussion about distinction and prejudice.

Attractiveness
By analysing this attribute, it will be discovered the awareness of the actual panorama regarding the interstitial practice made in the area of study as well as the work and involvement of urban agents, community groups and institutions that contribute to promote coexistence among neighbours.
In Caracas, street artists usually showcase the common mode of life of citizens in a way that their work serves as a tool of mediation to enhance what is hidden. However, interstitial practice not only encompass street art but urban and public art, which is slightly different (as further explored in Chapter 4).

By observing interstitial practice in the selected in-between spaces, I will discover the role urban actors play in the implementation of each intervention in order to understand the aim, purpose and the message behind it as well as to observe the subsequent transformations and impact interstitial practice have had in the space.

If interstitial practice attracts passers-by and neighbours is more likely to achieve high levels of **appreciation**. So, this attribute explores the making process and the features of the intervention *per se* to comprehend what might attract users to visit or cross the in-between space, and subsequently, promote an encounter with the other. This condition is related to the right to appropriate urban spaces understood by Henri Lefebvre as the right of inhabitants to make 'full and complete usage' of the urban space in the course of their everyday lives (Lefebvre, 1968:179, 1991). For Lefebvre, the right to appropriate a specific space involves the right to use it: live in, play in, work in, represent, characterise, and occupy an urban space, becoming a common place for all.

This attribute will also help to explore what sort of **engagement** generates the interstitial practice in the in-between space which puts the right to appropriate the space into manifest.

Identity (urban image and character)
The fact to incorporate people into the process of designing an urban intervention in their immediate surroundings might provoke an attachment to a place enhancing a **sense of belonging**.

As Lefebvre announced, the city should be thought of as a work of art where the right to participate centrally in the production of urban space is one of the rights to the city. But, while many interventions relay on 'community participation' as a tool for local empowerment, other artworks don't depend on community bonds to be effective or beneficial to larger groups. By exploring interstitial practice on specific locations, it will be discovered the importance of the empowerment of [local] identity not only seen as a promoter of local values but as a tool to territorialise power and control over the space.

According to Kevin Lynch, identity is a two-way process between two observers as well as between observer and environment; between what the environment objectively suggests and what the observer subjectively filters from it.

The identity attribute particularly explores whether the empowerment of local values is beneficial to shorten distances or, on the contrary, puts into manifest the existence of the 'other' that excludes and is excluded from the rest. For this reason, this attribute is combined with the characteristics that define the scope of a particular urban space; this includes, for instance, colours, the inmediate surroundings, as well as the promotion of cultural, historical and natural features. This will allow to comprehend how the space is managed and controlled after the execution of an intervention, understand which are the meanings from its users, and discover how neighbours and passers-by use and envision the intervened space.

Table 3.6 (next pages): Summary of the dimensions, approaches, categorical aspects, characterisation, attributes, indicators and critiria of analysis. Author's own representation.

DIMENSIONS	APPROACHES	CATEGORICAL ASPECTS	CHARACTERISATION
SOCIO-SPATIAL	URBAN	PHYSICAL ┈┈>	Spatial configuration
	SOCIAL	FUNCTIONAL ┈┈>	Access to opportunities and services
		RELATIONAL ┈┈>	Interaction
URBAN TOGETHERNESS		SYMBOLIC ┈┈>	Identification
CREATIVE	ARTISTIC	ARTISTIC ┈┈>	Interstitial practice

DIMENSIONS	APPROACHES	CATEGORICAL ASPECTS	CHARACTERISATION

ATTRIBUTES	INDICATORS	CRITERIA OF ANALYSIS
URBAN FORM	**Historical background** Historical events Territorial formation Foundation [of the area or neigbhourhood] Evolution and growth Heritage	Origins Significance
TERRITORIAL DIVERSITY	**Contrast** Topography Land uses Density Territorial homogeneity Architectural and urban elements **Urban networks** Open spaces and green infrastructure Hydrography Basic services	Urban environment Design and architecture Architectonical security features Quality of the space Social life
MOBILITY	**Transport network** Public transport Stations, stops and terminals Mass public transport routes Bicycle	Cross-interaction (traverse) Level of walkability: Ratio (300m) Social exclusion of transport systems?
ACCESSIBILITY	**Distribution** Urban networks Activities Services Opportunities	Centrality nodes Legibility Equilibrium (balanced distribution) Space as a destination or a way through?
CONNECTIVITY	**Permeability** Pedestrian flows Vehicle movement Routes Parking spaces	Hierarchy of roads Flows
DEMARCATIONS	**Delimitations** Administrative and policy grids Physical boundaries Perceptive boundaries	Boundary drawing and making Type of delimitations
PERCEPTION	**Safety** Meanings and connotations	Control and power over the space Prejudices and stereotypes Talk of crime
ATTRACTIVENESS	**Appreciation** Urban actors Aims and purpose Impact **Engagement** Participation and involvement Further decisions and transformations	Type of intervention Message behind Reach ratio Management and control Activation -Activities and programmes - Uses and functions Place vs. space Inclusion and regulation vs. exclusion and restriction
IDENTITY	**Sense of belonging** Appropriation Meanings Adaptability	Impact in the surroundings Features that substantially contribute to visual identity New meanings and connotations Effects on the neighbourhood Empowerment of local identities

Urban space analysis: Area (1 Km2)
Descpritive analysis

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3.2 Research methodology

3.2.1 Methodology process

The organisation of this thesis has been a constant back and forth between the collection of primary and secondary data, the revision and concretion of literature, its subsequent incorporation into the narrative, and its illustration (imagery, diagrams, tables and maps). Despite the forms of organisation and collection of data throughout this journey have varied, the revision of literature has been fairly constant alongside the whole research and writing process.

So, the main process of this investigation has consisted in revising literature: first, on the theme related to in-between spaces, from a physical and a phenomenological perspective; second, on the concept of *fragmentation*, particularly applied to divided and contested environments; and third, on building an understanding of *interstitial practice* as enabler to activate fragmented and divided spaces.

Overall, the core of this investigation has been supported by:
- the revision of literature on the in-between space and urban issues regarding socio-spatial fragmentation, informality and interstitial practice.
- the collection of data and information from my attendance to conferences, talks, round-tables and other events related to the topic of this thesis.
- the collection of data and information from my participation in conferences, round-tables and events related to the topic of this thesis.

In parallel, the revision of literature has served to associate the main concepts of this investigation and apply them into the Caracas narrative. Three types of activities were developed to comprehend the urban structure of the AMC, its society and its artistic scene:
- the revision of [historical] literature on Venezuelan cities, particularly Caracas.
- the collection and revision of secondary data on urban conditions of specific neighbourhoods and municipalities.
- the conduction of casual conversations and interviews with:
    - local authorities
    - urban actors working on the ground (i.e. architects, designers, artists and activists)
    - academics
    - residents

The first phase of the work initiated in 2009, when I first visit Caracas during a fieldwork that was part of the MA *'Architecture of Rapid Changes and Scarce Resources'* at London Metropolitan University; it was then when I started researching and documenting the in-between spaces of Caracas. During three weeks, I mainly conducted interviews with urban agents, attended seminars and studied in detail the barrio of Julián Blanco and the Palo Verde area (both located in Petare), the Tiuna El Fuerte cultural park (in El Valle) and the barrios of Los Pajaritos, El Bucaral and La Cruz (all located in Chacao).

After this first visit to Caracas, the empirical work of this research continued during several fieldworks[3] in Venezuela that were complemented with my nearly two years working as an architect in Caracas.

Fieldworks consisted in a combination of activities: first, site visits to several vulnerable areas particularly the barrios of Julián Blanco, El Bucaral, Los Pajaritos, La Cruz, 23 de Enero, El Calvario, Zamora, Cerro Grande and Las Minas de Baruta. Other site visits included cultural and community spaces such as Tiuna el Fuerte Cultural Park, the Bellas Artes area, the *Gimnasio Vertical* building, the architectural museum, the Teresa Carreño's theatre, the Parque Central complex, Universidad Central de Venezuela complex, Parque del Este, Gardens of La Estancia, among many others.

Second, meetings and city walks with different local authorities and professionals from public institutions and the academia, particularly from the Carlos Raúl Villanueva's Architectural school of the Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV), *Centro Ciudades de la Gente* and Simón Bolivar University.

Third, attendance to community activities and events related to the specific areas of study, particularly in El Hatillo and El Valle. All these activities served to conduct a series of interviews, mappings and participatory observations across the city.

The experience of living and working in Caracas from 2010 until 2012 consisted in a combination of tasks, most of them related to talking, managing, exploring and experiencing the city by being involved in hands-on projects working together with local community groups, government institutions and other professionals; this allowed me to better understand the importance of inter-disciplinary teams to resolve complex situations. Among the activities I was involved in were:

- First, I worked as a local architect together with the Venezuelan architect Marianella Mora, communal councils, and government institutions in order to implement local programmes and planning solutions in the parish of Macarao. The aim of my work was to suggest, propose and design collectively urban projects to improve the urban environment.
- Second, I co-founded *Liga de la Partida Urbana* (LPU), an urban collective that intervenes in public spaces of the city by using traditional street games as a tool for a social change (García Alcaraz, 2018). Our work was based on improving living conditions of children and empowering them in the process of city making.
- Third, I had the opportunity to meet government officials, local authorities, professionals, practitioners, and other groups to discuss the urban problems that the AMC faces, which helped me to further understand the complex network of power and domination exerted over citizens and certain spaces.
- Fourth, I attended to relevant events, exhibitions, conferences and activities related to the Venezuelan arts, culture, architecture and urbanism mainly in Caracas, London and Barcelona.
- And finally, I collected and acquired data from second-hand bookstores and other local libraries in Caracas.

From there, next phases consisted of the revision of literature on the city of Caracas, the design of a coherent discourse and narrative, the design of a solid table of content, the selection of the imagery and the revision of additional secondary sources for the study of the historical context.

My subsequent visits to the Venezuelan capital during August, September and December 2016 not only served to re-visit specific neighbourhoods and collect additional data for the development of the case studies but to nurture conversations with a solid network of urban actors that altogether helped to define my vision of the city after Hugo Chávez's death.

During these last visits to the Venezuelan capital, I collected data from the GIS archives provided by the Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV) and the *Instituto Metropolitano Urbanismo Taller Caracas*[4] (IMUTC).

4. In this particular case, I had to sign an agreement between myself and this institution, addressed to Zulma Bolívar, to access the GIS archives for academic purposes.

3.2.2 Scales and techniques of analysis

My position entails a shift towards the analysis of the fragmentation of the city phenomena and hopes to contribute to envision hybridisation and interweaving as essential concepts to comprehend and read the city of Caracas. This section explains in detail the study techniques used in this research to analyse urban togetherness from two different scales: metropolitan and local.

Metropolitan scale

On a wider city scale, this thesis explores the Metropolitan Area of Caracas by using identification, categorisation and mapping analysis to set up a background of study. These three techniques complement and depend on each other.

Identification
By analysing relevant literature about the AMC (historical background, urban and social transformations, arts and cultural scene…) it is possible to comprehend formation patterns, behaviours, additional layers, political actions or decisions that lie behind certain urban projects and development plans that all together moulded the urban structure of the metropolis. The identification technique consists of three correlative different phases: to observe, identify and map:

- The observation of the urban structure of the city helps to identify the current macro-territorial units of the AMC, which are subsequently mapped in section 4.2.3 (see page 184).
- The observation of the macro-territorial units of the AMC helps to identify the in-between spaces of the city, which are mapped in section 4.2.4 (see page 232).
- And the observation of the interstitial practice encountered in the urban sphere of the capital city from 2009 to 2016 helps to identify and locate them on a map, illustrated in section 4.4.3 (see page 333) and further detailed on the appendix of this thesis.

Categorisation
What is fundamental for any type of analysis of the urban space is to develop or select a satisfying system of classification (Harvey, 1969, Wilson, 2000). Classification is understood as "the basic procedure by which we impose some sort of order and coherence upon the vast inflow of information from

the real world. … [It is] maybe regarded as a means for structuring reality to test hypothesis" (Harvey, 1969:326).

In most empirical studies, spatial analyses present a rich set of individualities that needs to be organised to be accessible for future investigation processes. In this case, a classification system has consisted of establishing a taxonomy of all the data previously identified; a number of library codes has served to label four macro-territorial units, six types of crossings in the in-between spaces, and ninety-two interstitial practice observed in the urban sphere of Caracas and set up a model to further study the city.

Mapping

As previously mentioned in this chapter, the cartographic material used in this investigation was provided by *Instituto Metropolitano de Urbanismo Taller Caracas* (IMUTC), *Gobierno del Distrito Capital*, the Urbanism Department of the *Universidad Central de Venezuela* (UCV) and independent professionals from Venezuela working in the field of architecture and urban planning.

Throughout the process of collecting information, it is found that city data is unprecise and most cartographic material is neither updated nor shared. Even though the book *'CABA: Cartografías de los barrios de Caracas 1966-2014'* (Silva et al., 2015) has complemented the analysis and classification of the areas of uncontrolled development, the information of the aforementioned book is not digitalised so that data has been incorporated manually.

Additionally, this thesis has considered the information and data provided by the already dissolved IMUTC for a more reliable and complete cartographic base of the city. Nevertheless, throughout the process of analysis and mapping, it has been found that the data provided by this institution is not accurate enough so that the information has been adapted and updated based on the data collected during my stays in Caracas.

Local scale

On a local scale, the main focus has been to look for an array of visions to understand the socio-spatial and artistic dynamics behind the chosen areas of study, and identify the way in which everyday life divisions are displayed and perceived in these specific areas of the city. This focus serves to explore in detail specific neighbourhoods, people and interstitial practice from the author's personal experience in the field.

Case studies

Being aware of the complexity of this research to explain an imprecise space, such as the in-between, the identification, classification and mapping techniques used to analyse the AMC facilitated the selection of three different neighbourhoods as well as the exploration of the interstitial practice that took place there between 2009 and 2016.

In each case, I combined different tools, methodologies and resources to obtain and analyse the collected data in the chosen scenarios. In terms of location, I considered in-between spaces of three different municipalities of the AMC: Chacao, El Hatillo and Libertador.

In terms of its position, it is studied the *4rth transversal street* that encompasses an area of uncontrolled development (barrio El Bucaral) and a growth-by-expansion area (La Castellana urbanisation); *Calle El Progreso*, a road that limits an old quarter area (*Casco histórico de El Hatillo*) and an area of uncontrolled development (barrio El Calvario); and a former vacant plot in El Valle placed in the adjacencies of an area of estates (Fuerte Tiuna), a growth-by-expansion area (Longaray urbanisation) and an area of uncontrolled development (barrios Zamora and Cerro Grande).

The context of each area of study follows the concept adapted from Ann Oakley illustrated in the book *'How to research'* (Blaxter et al., 2006) in respect to qualitative research, which is:

> "Concerned with understanding behaviour from actors' own frames and reference.
> Naturalistic and uncontrolled observation.
> Subjective.
> Close to the data: the 'insider' perspective.
> Grounded, discovery oriented, exploratory, expansionist, descriptive, inductive.
> Valid: real, rich, deep data.
> Ungeneralizable: single case studies.
> Holistic.
> Assumes a dynamic reality" (Blaxter et al., 2006:65)

The criteria to select each case study had to follow these indispensable conditions:
- an in-between space has been identified.
- an interstitial practice has been done in the observed in-between space (with or without success) aiming to trigger coexistence between neighbours.
- the researcher has visited the site and the intervention.
- the area is [easily] accessible by public transport.
- the researcher is familiar with the area; that is, she has previously engaged with local residents.
- there is a cordial relationship between community leaders, neighbours and urban agents.
- the area has not been exhaustively studied but it possesses enough information to be considered.

The modus operandi of the methodology applied to analyse each case has consisted in:
- Compilation and revision of documentation as well as historical literature regarding the context of each neighbourhood.
- Realisation of fieldwork: site visits, questionnaires, photographs, workshops, videos, notes and maps.
- Realisation of interviews and informal conversations with neighbours, academics, professionals, community leaders, and connoisseurs of the area according to the needs of the merit work.
- Compilation, consultation and revision of an appropriated bibliography in order to offer a critical lecture of each studied area.
- Analysis of the area following the attributes exposed in section 3.1.2.
- Reflexions from the researcher

This process is complemented with a critical documented analysis to explore both the activities that happened in each space between 2009 and 2016, the involvement and influence from agents, users, neighbours, and the theory that holds this investigation. For this reason, this process implied to organise information according to the content of this work, analyse data already organised and filter relevant information for the purspose of this thesis.

Table 3.7 summarises the three-fold technique of this research, the scales and the areas of study.

Table 3.7: Scales, technique and areas of study. Author's own representation.

SCALE	TECHNIQUE	AREA	
Metropolitan	Identification	Metropolitan Area of Caracas	Chapter 4
	Categorisation	Metropolitan Area of Caracas	
	Mapping	Metropolitan Area of Caracas	
Local	Case studies	El Hatillo municipality	Chapter 5
		Libertador municipality	
		Chacao municipality	

3.2.3 Methods of analysis and data collection for the cases

As exposed, three main approaches are used in the empirical research to analyse each case study and comprehend the importance of interstitial practice within the selected in-between spaces of the city. The various methods used to analyse each case are explained as follows:

Semi-structured interviews
A series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with several local authorities and policy makers as well as other professionals working either from their independent offices or directly on the ground. Architect Franco Micucci was interviewed at his office in La Floresta in 2010; architect Alejandro Haiek was also interviewed on the Tiuna El Fuerte site in 2009 and 2010 as well as at the Lab.Pro.Fab studio in Los Palos Grandes in 2012. Zulma Bolívar and Kenny Cayama were interviewed at the IMUTC headquarters in 2016; architect Penélope Plaza, co-founder of CollectivOX was interviewed in London in 2017 and 2018, and a conversation with Angel Zambrano, former director of *El Hatillo Cultura* took place in El Hatillo during the celebration of the festival *El Calvario-Puertas Abiertas* in 2016.

Other interviews were conducted via Skype calls (i.e. Elisa Silva, Félix Molina, Cristina Müller and Cheo Carvajal) because interviewees were

not in Caracas by the time I was there. All interviewees were informed beforehand of the aim of the interview; however, despite the fact all questions were previously structured, it was primordial to allow interviewees to express themselves and not particularly follow the pre-established guideline ideated if the conversation was leading towards another valuable contribution for the investigation. It is important to mention that some names and answers had to be removed to protect interviewees' critical opinions, as they requested.

Also, this study has respected the anonymity of interviewees and participants who rather preferred to express their desires and opinions without being publicly published. Particularly, the conducted interviews were envisioned to nurture and enrich the narrative, incorporate different points of view and further comprehend specific projects and urban developments that occurred in the city. For this reason, the data collected from these conversations is displayed in form of figures, maps, images and quotations.

The criteria used to choose the appropriate interviewee was:
- he or she is or has been a city official or representative of an institution.
- he or she is an urban agent (architect, journalist, designer, sociologist, academic…) that is or has been actively involved in the particular area of study.

Informal conversations

Informal conversations were at the core of the empirical research, and provided most of the primary data. These talks provided a gateway to understand the dynamics of the neighbourhood, everyday life, perceptions, routes and different points of view from neighbours. Given the delicate and critical situation of the country, these conversations were particularly important as allowed me to discover personal stories, visions and understandings of the whole context.

These conversations were conducted with co-founders and users of Tiuna El Fuerte Cultural Park, residents of El Calvario and the old quarter area of El Hatillo as well as inhabitants of La Castellana and El Bucaral. These talks took place on the street, at residents' homes or in community centres which is why most of the data was collected in the form of quotes, short descriptions and personal notes, and was compiled in what I was carrying at the time: notebooks, a mobile phone or pieces of paper. Later, all data was transcribed onto the computer.

Participatory observation

To assist and participate as an observer in local meetings, celebrations, workshops or activities provided an important insight into the community dynamics as it helped to comprehend the way urban actors conceived, perceived and interpret the space they inhabit.

These events included: the attendance to an urban symposium in the María May community centre in El Hatillo during 2016, several neighbourhood celebrations and community events in Tiuna El Fuerte Cultural Park during 2009, 2010 and 2012, the observation and participation in an ecological workshop with children in barrio El Calvario in 2016.

Online questionnaires

This method was understood as an empirical tool to evaluate users' perceptions as well as the impact of *El Calvario-Puertas Abiertas* event, a temporary festival celebrated in El Hatillo, which helped to reach a wider spectrum of visions. The fact that I had to evaluate a temporal intervention and that two weeks later I had to fly back to Europe was decisive to consider an online-questionnaire as the most feasible and appropriate method. This method was only used to study this specific event.

I designed an online questionnaire on Google forms in order to send it to all festival attendees. This is, during this event, I collected all sort of data and emails in order to receive feedback from attendees and neighbours. Additionally, I posted the questionnaire online using the social media page of *'El Calvario-Puertas Abiertas'* event aiming to receive more responses and feedback. I also send this questionnaire to organisers and local authorities of El Hatillo by email. I opted to offer users the option to voluntarily appear anonymous on the questionnaire in order to empower participants to add more personal views and thoughts on the online form.

The questionnaire was based on the idea to respond around these issues:

- The elements that constitute and are related to the city of Caracas.
- The reason(s) that prevent people to visit specific territorial units of the city.
- Regarding artistic interventions, are they important and necessary for the city? and if so, why?
- Verifying whether or no cultural events (i.e. *El Calvario- Puertas Abiertas*) contribute to change the perception towards the barrio.

Despite the fact the online questionnaire was sent to over 300 people, less than 50 responses were received being aware that many participants might had limited internet data, no access to internet, or they were simply not interested in taking part of this research. Also, information about users' profiles and the number of people engaged was used exclusively to have an idea of the people I was able to reach, not linking the information collected to specific personal profiles (gender, race, age…), nor quantifying the preferences given to the different ideas and points of view.

Literature review

An extensive literature review on each area of study was conducted at most of the stages of this research. Unpublished documents, archival material, popular literature, local stories, government reports and studies on the neighbourhoods of Caracas was a fundamental step to clarify the research direction as well as to find and select the imagery. Most of the documents were found in public libraries, second-hand shops and bookstores in Caracas, Barcelona and London. Other files were either downloaded from public sources on the municipalities' website or academic platforms.

Online revision such as blogs and community sites were conceived as a complementary source of information in the early stages of the research to find images related to interstitial practice, find testimonials and local voices, and discover the impact of early urban developments that occurred

in specific areas of the city. This allowed me to identify key actors and to discover local stories and events that occurred in the studied in-between spaces. This revision also helped to provide a valuable description of the cases analysed.

Socio-spatial analysis
This research has established **an area of one square kilometre** to examine and analyse each case. A grid pattern has been traced over the Metropolitan Area of Caracas map (Chapters 4 and 5) so that each territorial unit, in-between space or other zone of the city can be identified and located. This grid is designed with the objective to be presented to city authorities and establish a formal base to study the city. The socio-spatial analysis was conducted together with the review of literature and imagery to understand formation patterns and transformation processes, explore territorial diversity, mobility, connectivity and locate existing territorial demarcations.

Table 3.8 illustrates the methods of analysis and data collection used in each case study.

	EL HATILLO	LIBERTADOR	CHACAO
Urban	- Literature review - Socio-spatial analysis - Semi-structured interviews with urban agents (Angel Zambrano, Cheo Carvajal, Cristina Müller) - Online questionnaire	- Literature review - Socio-spatial analysis - Semi-structured interviews with urban actors (Alejandro Haiek)	- Literature review - Socio-spatial analysis - Semi-structured interviews with urban actors (Penélope Plaza and Félix Molina)
Social	- Fieldwork - Literature review - Socio-spatial analysis - Semi-structured interviews with urban agents - Informal conversations with residents and users of the space - Participatory observation in events related to socio-spatial integration through arts and culture - Observation - Online questionnaire	- Fieldwork - Literature review - Socio-spatial analysis - Semi-structured interviews with urban actors - Informal conversations with users, collaborators and founders of the space - Participatory observation in events related to socio-spatial integration inside and outside Tiuna El Fuerte Cultural Park, organised and coordinated by Tiuna el Fuerte community - Observation	- Fieldwork - Literature review - Socio-spatial analysis - Semi-structured interviews with urban actors - Informal conversations with residents - Observation
Artistic	- Fieldwork - Literature review - Semi-structured interviews with urban agents - Informal conversations with residents and users of the space - Participatory observation in events related to socio-spatial integration through arts and culture - Observation - Online questionnaire	- Fieldwork - Literature review - Semi-structured interviews with urban actors - Informal conversations with users, collaborators and founders of the space - Participatory observation in events related to socio-spatial integration through arts inside and outside Tiuna el Fuerte Cultural Park, organised and coordinated by Tiuna el Fuerte community - Observation	- Fieldwork - Literature review - Semi-structured interviews with urban actors - Informal conversations with residents Observation

Table 3.8: Methods of analysis and data collection used in each case study. Author's own representation.

3.3 Limitations and challenges

There is a series of limitations and challenges related to the empirical work that needs to be addressed. I have designed a research strategy to ensure the validity of the study by collecting both primary and secondary data from different sources and by using diverse methods. This quest did not lead to produce an exact result but it increased the multidimensionality of the subject allowing me to analyse the complexity that is to study the city.

- As the research takes place in different neighbourhoods, there is a series of aspects that moulded the analysis such as the conditionings of the area, type of agents and actors involved, accessibility, history… Even though the three neighbourhoods might share particularities (i.e. socioeconomic composition, political views, access to opportunities and services), different methods of analysis had to be established in order to analyse each context more accurately. Taking into account the methods used, I have opted to represent a reality worth knowing and not rely on outdated statistics.

- I wanted to study neighbourhoods that were located in separate municipalities to expand the knowledge of 'unpopular' areas that have not been studied in detail. Consequently, I had to deal with three different local authorities and municipal sources, being particularly the *Alcaldía de Caracas* and *Gobierno del Distrito Capital*, the most difficult to obtain information from, mainly for its lack of numbers and accurate data.

- I am also aware that the data gathered when analysing the AMC might not be precise such as the analysis of macro-territorial units, which can be more detailed and acute, but the work is conceived as a starting point for future investigations. And the same is applied when identifying and classifying the interstitial practice observed in the city as I am more than aware that between 2009 and 2016 there were more interventions than the 92 identified. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this thesis has an exploratory character serving as a starting point to open up new discoveries and investigations.

- Timing and distance have been real constrains because it was difficult to measure reactions, visions and changes at different points in time; this is, to document a before-and-after intervention of the different actions that took place in the city was difficult because some interventions ended (or were about to start) when I was not in Venezuela. Also, being from a different country where the research is conducted has its limitations in terms of reaching trusted actors because [most of the time] open data is not available.

- Access to [quantitative] data is limited and inaccurate in Venezuela and the information provided by authorities has been qualified as "unreliable and outdated"[5]. This is precisely why this study has used alternative methods to complement specific data; additionally, the production of qualitative data has filled some of the gaps.

Also, I am aware that opinions and points of view of interviewees do not

5. Extracted from the roundtable organised in the LASA 2018 Congress held in Barcelona, "*Urban Futures: Mapping Theories and Methodologies for Interdisciplinary Research on Venezuelan Cities*", where researchers and academics debated on the current role of doing research in Venezuela.

represent the views of a whole social category although it is important to understand the variety of ideas and visions if the aim of this thesis is to pursue urban togetherness.

- Safety has been the biggest constrain in this thesis. Walking some parts of the city on my own, particularly when I was doing fieldwork, was difficult. Also, the fact of carrying a photographic camera to document certain places or situations was sometimes complicated, which explains why some images are not my own. Additionally, the complex situation of Venezuela in all aspects (social, economic, cultural, urban, political…) has been critical since 2012 and my condition as a foreigner while doing fieldwork produced either distrust or became a potential target, as experienced. This is why I had to take safety measures and precautions during my last fieldtrips to Caracas.

- The fact that this thesis involves concepts related to other disciplines such as Urban Geography and Social Science has been a real challenge as I had to learn new methods of analysis, meanings, visions, approaches and theories to comprehend the city. It is important to mention that having an architectural background, an effort has been made to make this work inter-disciplinal.

- And finally, it has also been a personal challenge to write this thesis in English even though English is not my native language. Nevertheless, I opted to keep Spanish names, locations and quotations into the narrative so that meanings and connotations are not lost when translated.

Final comments

This chapter attempts to explore the main argument of this thesis: that interstitial practice located in the in-between spaces of the city might have an impact in improving socio-spatial cohesion, which is necessary to sustain and deepen the understanding of the city as an urban continuum. To do so, a mix of qualitative methods of analysis have been applied.

Also, it is important to remark that this work aims to observe a series of phenomena to identify if something that it is defined as desirable –urban togetherness– might occur. It is the purpose of the research to approach rational questions, placing at the centre of the debate socio-spatial and creative dynamics that are happening in the in-between spaces of the city. Thus, the selected methods have focused on understanding different actors in the process, providing knowledge and different points of view into the narrative.

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