

**Reframing the Reclaiming of Urban Space:
A Feminist Exploration into Do-It-Yourself Urbanism in Chicago**

BY

MEGAN E. HEIM LAFROMBOIS
B.S. University of Wisconsin at Green Bay, 2002
M.U.P.P University of Illinois at Chicago, 2006

THESIS

Submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning and Policy
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Chicago, 2016

Chicago, Illinois

Defense Committee:

Brenda Parker, UIC, Department of Urban Planning and Policy, Committee Chair and Advisor
Janet Smith, UIC, Department of Urban Planning and Policy
Nik Theodore, UIC, Department of Urban Planning and Policy
Andy Clarno, UIC, Departments of Sociology and African American Studies
Norma Moruzzi, UIC, Departments of Political Science and Gender and Women's Studies

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. Introduction	1
II. Theoretical Frameworks, Literature Review, and Theoretical Research Claims	12
a. A Brief History of and Introduction to Feminist Approaches to Urban Planning	13
b. Understandings and Applications of Feminism and Gender	15
c. Defining Foci of Feminist Approaches to Urban Planning	17
d. Appropriateness of Theoretical Frameworks to my Research	29
e. Do-It-Yourself Urbanism: Definitions and Theorizations.....	31
f. Troubling (the) Conceptualizations of DIY Urbanism.....	48
g. Transformative Potentials of DIY Urbanism	61
h. Conclusion: Working Towards Addressing the Gaps in DIY Urbanism Scholarship	63
III. Methodology, Research Methods, and Design	65
a. Knowledge Production and Methodology	65
b. Research Design, Methods and Techniques	78
c. Conclusion	104
IV. DIY Urbanism Processes, Potholes, Power Struggles, and Possibilities – the Case of Critical Mass in Chicago	109
a. Bike Culture and the Creative Class	111
b. Critical Mass: a Brief Overview in Time and Space	116
c. Driving Philosophies	122
d. Potholes and Power Struggles - Issues of Race, Class and Gender	129
e. Silences in the Conversations	144
f. The ‘Institutionalization’ of Critical Mass	146
g. Conclusion	152
V. A Slight Detour in the DIY Urbanism Road – the Gendered Nature of Bicycling	154
a. Women and the Bicycle – a Brief Historical Ride	155
b. Bicycling Rates and Barriers	158
c. Gendered Regulations of Public Space.....	159
d. Gender Roles, Social Reproduction, and Bicycling	166
e. Activities like Critical Mass as a Strategy	169
f. Conclusion	172
VI. Institutionalized DIY Urbanism – the Case of Tactical Urbanism and the Struggle over Public Space	174
a. Defining Tactical Urbanism	175
b. De-Politicizing DIY Urbanism and Urban Space through Tactical Urbanism ..	183
c. The ‘Tactical Urbanism Slam’	190
d. The Context of the Uptown Neighborhood of Chicago	193
e. ‘Brightening’ Contested Space through Tactical Urbanism	201
f. Conclusion: Re-Politicizing DIY Urbanism and Urban Space through Tactical Urbanism	210

TABLE OF CONTENTS, CONTINUED

VII.	The Sticky Places of Loose DIY Urbanism Spaces	212
	a. Slippery, Temporary, Loose, and Second Hand Spaces	213
	b. Sticky Places in Slippery, Temporary, Loose, and Second Hand DIY Urbanism Spaces	223
	c. Conclusion	234
VIII.	Conclusion	237
	a. Review of Research Findings	238
	b. Implications of Findings and Policy Considerations	248
	Cited Literature	258
	Appendix	282
	Vita	285

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
I: Demographics of Survey Participants	100
II: Demographics of Bike-Related Interview Participants	102
III: Research Questions and Aims, Sites, Site Specific Research Questions, and Methods	107-8

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
1: Research Sites – Chicago	106

SUMMARY

This research explores the concept of do-it-yourself (DIY) urbanism from an intersectional feminist analytical framework. DIY urbanism refers to unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen/community-led urban planning interventions. These interventions are small scale, functional, temporary, creative, and place specific, and they are focused on reclaiming and repurposing urban spaces. DIY urbanism often takes place outside formal urban planning structures and systems. This research specifically focuses on the areas of: the discourses surrounding DIY urbanism, the processes of DIY urbanism in practice, the surrounding contextualization of the specific activities in which DIY urbanism is enacted, the institutionalization of DIY urbanism into tactical urbanism and its practice, and the sticky or place-bound nature of DIY urbanism. Multiple, partial, and situated sites and sources have been weaved together in order to reveal some of the ways that DIY urbanists make sense of their participation and experiences with DIY urbanism activities, as well as the broader political, social, and economic contexts in which these activities take place. The resulting research findings contribute to a much larger and significant body of research that argues that gender, race, class, and sexuality matter to urban planning and cities. These research findings illustrate some of the ways that this plays out through one particular case study in Chicago, Illinois.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps, then, DIY urbanism constitutes a partial or piecemeal claim to spatial justice, in that it uses the rhetoric of amateurism, marginality and informality to make space in the city—to occupy or build its ‘favelas’. At the same time, it is a partial, or interested, claim; it cannot account for the marginality of others, and risks overriding it with an appropriative ‘chic’ (Deslandes, 2013; 218).

It was an interest in social justice issues, as well as community-based and participatory forms of urban planning, which brought me to do-it-yourself (DIY) urbanism as a research topic. Having worked as a community development planner for over six years, focusing on ending homelessness in Chicago, I was dissatisfied with traditional market-based and state-based approaches to urban planning and community building as they seemed to evade the root causes of social injustices. Often, in the non-profit agency where I worked, our hands were tied because we didn’t have the money or support to offer the progressive programming and services we wanted to. The programming sometimes was too edgy for mainstream funders to consider or we were constrained by the more conservative parameters and restrictions that funders would place on our activities. We also had the concerns of the surrounding community in which we were located to consider and manage. Serving some of the most vulnerable members of society – men and women who have experienced long-term homelessness and mental health and substance use issues – our agency, like many others in the community, had to maintain a delicate balance between providing social justice-informed and human-rights based services and ensuring we

were not creating fissions within the larger community that we had been in located in for decades – an increasingly gentrifying community that was not always conformable living alongside social service agencies and the individuals that relied on their services. Despite the challenges of working in this complex and power-laden environment, I witnessed countless ways that individuals tried to make the city work for them. In working alongside a number of formerly homeless individuals I was continually struck by the sophisticated ways in which they, when they were experiencing homelessness, navigated space and the larger homeless service system, creating new spaces for themselves and patching together what they needed from a massive, fragmented system. I lead me to wonder – what if individuals were able to decide for themselves how best to address their needs and then create, with the necessary tools and resources, their own solutions? What if governments, funders, and even the social services agencies, stopped trying to dictate the ‘proper’ solution and instead let those most directly affected by a given issue decide on the solution? It seemed like DIY urbanism – as a grassroots and citizen-led approach to re-adapting or re-purposing urban spaces through small scale, direct action interventions – was the place to start in order to explore if this was a feasible urban planning and community building approach.¹

However, when I started really digging into the literature on DIY urbanism, my excitement waned. Very few urban scholars and pop culture writers were addressing issues of deep seated inequality and social relations, such as the lack of basic shelter and food. The activities that they were primarily focusing on were architectural or physical design based interventions that were largely focused on artist and cultural consumption. When cities and other formal institutions

¹ The use of the term ‘citizen’ does not refer to a legal status. Rather, it is used throughout this work to refer to city inhabitants and residents, regardless of specific legal classification and recognition.

engaged with the presented cases of DIY urbanism found within the literature, this picture started to look a bit like the repackaging of creative class politics (i.e. the attracting and catering to young, professional, employed in so called creative industries, with high levels of education and social capital, as an economic driver for the city (Florida, 2003)). There was little attention paid to the contexts and processes that these activities were tangled in – voluntarily or involuntarily – or what the impact of these activities was on the community. And, most importantly, no one was talking about issues of race, class, or gender.

While I was disappointed with what I found within the existing literature on DIY urbanism, I still believed it had potential, which is why I choose to study it from an intersectional feminist approach. I wanted to explore the silences within this literature and the general conceptualizations of the topic – are there racialized, classed, gendered, and sexualized dimensions to DIY urbanism, its activities, its actors, and its spaces? What social privileges, marginalities, and multiple subject positions are present within DIY urbanism practice? How does this, if at all, affect the types of spaces that are being created through these activities? How are DIY urbanism activities and actors connected to larger urban policies and systems of meaning? My belief at the beginning of this research program, and my conviction at the end of it, is that these are important questions that need to be grappled with in order for DIY urbanism to be a transformative social justice practice. In the research findings that follow, I highlight the various ways that DIY urbanism practices play out in Chicago and draw attention to a number of its problematics. I do this, however, because I believe we can do better. Awareness of and a commitment to address some of these complex social justice issues is a good place to start – for

DIY advocates and actors, city residents, and formal planning entities looking to test out some of DIY urbanism's principles.

The need to empirically study DIY urbanism, at this particular moment in time, is somewhat urgent. While many have argued that DIY urbanism has existed as long as cities have existed, within that last five years DIY urbanism has been gaining considerable traction in cities. For example, case examples and photos of DIY urbanism activities proliferate on the internet – from handmade bike lanes and traffic signage to creatively infilled potholes. Urban planning institutions, such as Planetizen, are offering online courses on the topic and on how to execute DIY urbanism activities in your own city. Lydon and Garcia's *Tactical Urbanism: Short-term Action for Long-term Change* (2015) was named one of the top ten planning books of 2015 by Planetizen. The Congress of New Urbanism, a national professional planning organization, has sponsored guidebooks on DIY urbanism (or tactical urbanism, as they call it). The Next Generation of New Urbanists, a spin off group focused on the 'next generation of new urbanists,' has a major DIY urbanism proponent on its steering-committee. In Chicago, DIY urbanism activities are being executed by economic development corporations and through public-private partnerships as an economic development strategy. The Illinois Chapter of the Congress of New Urbanism has also been sponsoring DIY urbanism events and practicing DIY urbanism activities in Chicago.

However, no one is talking about issues of race, class, and gender, or social justice more broadly in many of these forums. Therefore, in the research that follows, I explore the concept of DIY urbanism from an intersectional feminist analytical framework in order to bring to the forefront

some of these issues and silences, as well as to explore how, and if, they play a role in DIY urbanism, conceptually and in practice. Specifically, I weave multiple, partial, and situated sites and sources together to extend theory and reveal some of the ways that the research participants make sense of their experiences with DIY urbanism activities, as well as the broader political, social, and economic contexts in which these activities take place. My research questions were: In what ways does DIY urbanism reflect, reinforce, and challenge social privileges through the creation and use of its urban spaces? How do these social privileges, or the challenging of them, interact with the prevailing urban politics of the city? How are these interactions related to the level of acceptance and legitimatization of DIY urbanism within urban planning and policy contexts? What are the consequences and implications of DIY urbanism?

I examined DIY urbanism, and the above questions, through multiple sites and points of inquiry. Each site offered a slightly different perspective on the topic. Chicago is the geographic site of this research. Chicago was chosen because of its long history of active DIY urbanism practice and of social and political activism, and it is known as having a hospitable political environment for DIY urbanism activities. The Congress of New Urbanism's Illinois Chapter also began organizing tactical urbanism, its branded variation on DIY urbanism, events in Chicago. It is for these reasons, then, that I chose Chicago specifically in order to explore DIY urbanism. Within Chicago and through multiple sites and points of inquiry, then, I explored: the discourses surrounding DIY urbanism, the processes of DIY urbanism in practices, the surrounding contextualization of the specific activities in which DIY urbanism is enacted, the institutionalization of DIY urbanism into tactical urbanism and its practice, and the sticky or place-bound nature of DIY urbanism. Addressing my research questions through these multiple

sites provided rich data from a number of different sources and from a number of different angles. The findings from all of these sites are put in conversation together in order to examine DIY urbanism in a comprehensive manner.

In the end, this research has resulted in more questions than answers, but it reasserts the need to continue to explore DIY urbanism from an intersectional feminist perspective, something that has not been done to date. The research findings that follow contribute to a much larger and significant body of research that argues that gender, race, class, and sexuality matter to urban planning and cities, especially if our aim is to create more just cities and communities. My research findings illustrate some of the ways that this plays out through one particular case study in Chicago. I move through these multiple sites to explore my research questions, zooming in on particular areas and making some tentative connections, before moving on to examine the case study from another angle.

In the first two chapters (Chapters Two and Three) that follow, I provide background information on the frameworks and foundations that guided this research – my theoretical and analytical frameworks, literature review, and methodology. In the remaining chapters (Chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven), I present my findings that resulted from this research. A more detailed summary of each chapter follows.

In Chapter Two, I detail the theoretical frameworks that I used throughout my research and I then apply it a review of the literature that is relevant to this research. I drew explicitly from feminist urban scholarship, in which an intersectional analysis of multiple and compounding

relations of power were explored. I paid close attention to the everyday lived experiences of individuals and how those experiences connect to larger systems and structures of meaning. I also explored notions of space with the understanding that social relations (e.g. gender, race, class, etc.) shape space and that space is shaped by social relations. In line with other feminist urbanists, I highlighted, explored, and blurred the distinctions between ‘public’ and ‘private’ spaces. Similarly, I used Jarvis’s, et al (2009) broadened feminist concept of ‘infrastructures’ in order to give social and immaterial infrastructures the same attention as built and physical infrastructures. I also articulate several other key concepts (i.e., feminism and gender, intersectionality, and lived experience), which comprised my theoretical framework. I then applied this theoretical framework to DIY urbanism. I define the concept of DIY urbanism and review its surrounding literature. I also review of the literature on anarchism and the ‘right to the city,’ as threads of both of these theories and discourses are laced throughout the literature on DIY urbanism and research participants’ narratives. In reviewing these bodies of literature, I put forth a number of theoretical research claims that are explored further in later chapters through specific aspects of my research.

In Chapter Three, I describe the methodological approach that guided my research, as well as my research design and techniques. I used feminist approaches to knowledge production and a feminist based methodological approach. I utilized ethnographic methods and the extended case method and I collected data through multiple sites of inquiry, as noted above. A multitude of methods were also used in order to collect data – including interviews; participant-observations; an online survey; document review, including review of plans and online discussions and videos; secondary data, including published first person narratives; theoretical research; and historical

research; as well as my own personal experiences in several of these sites and case examples. Over 100 individuals directly participated in this research either via the online survey or an interview. I weaved together these multiple, partial, and situated sites and sources in order to reveal some of the ways that the research participants made sense of their participation and experiences with these activities, and connect them to the broader context in which these activities take place.

In Chapter Four, I explore the processes of DIY urbanism in practice through a case study of Critical Mass in Chicago. Critical Mass is a now international phenomenon that began in the early 1990s in San Francisco and has actively existed Chicago since 1994. It is a monthly bicycle ride that is focused on reclaiming urban space and re-purposing it for non-dominant activities. Critical Mass in Chicago, specifically, is a site of my research and the focus on this chapter. I blend data from a number of sources to provide a history, description, and contextualization of Chicago Critical Mass. I share findings on who participates and what their motivations, experiences, and barriers are as participants. I highlight the racialized, classed, and gendered experiences of this particular activity, as well as bike culture more broadly; and how this affects the types of spaces that are being created through Chicago Critical Mass. I also share findings on how participants, through Critical Mass activities, interact with and are enmeshed in the prevailing urban politics of the city, including creative class politics.

In Chapter Five, I zoom out from Chicago Critical Mass and DIY urbanism briefly in order to explore the history and context of bicycling from a gendered angle. It is meant to supplement and speak back to Chapter Four by providing greater contextualization of bicycling as an activity –

the activity that Chicago Critical Mass, as DIY urbanism, is organized around. I link secondary data on women's biking participation rates with research participants' experiences to highlight the gendered significance of bicycling specifically. I argue that, given the gendered history and patterns of bicycling in the US, the relationship between gender, public space, and bicycling is an important additional site through which to explore DIY urbanism. In other words, I argue that DIY urbanism needs to be explored through its specific activities, and these specific activities need to be explored through their history, context, social meanings, and lived experiences. The findings I share in this chapter further speak to how spaces embody social relations of power and why gender, race, sexuality, and class matter when initiating and sustaining DIY urbanism activities.

In Chapter Six, I explore the concept of tactical urbanism and a case of how it has been practiced in Chicago. Tactical urbanism refers to a very specific and branded urban planning approach that is gaining considerable influence within the urban planning community. Lydon and Garcia (2015), the urban planners behind the concept, define tactical urbanism as “an approach to neighborhood building and activation using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions and policies...used by a range of actors, including governments, business and nonprofits, citizen groups, and individuals” (2). While not all DIY urbanism is tactical in nature and not all tactical urbanism is DIY in nature, there is significant overlap between these two concepts, and I argue tactical urbanism represents an institutionalized form of DIY urbanism. This chapter explores the concept of tactical urbanism, using the theoretical frameworks detailed in Chapter Two, and some of the problematics of this urban planning approach. In particular, I examine tactical urbanism in practice in Uptown, a gentrifying Chicago neighborhood where space is hotly

contested. Interviews and field observations are primarily used to contextualize and examine this case. While it strays slightly from bicycling, this chapter is foreshadowed by and links back to Chapter Four by connecting creative class and other urban politics, bicycling, and gentrification.

In Chapter Seven, I share several research participants' narratives about how they make sense of their involvement in DIY urbanism as a spatially rooted practice. While DIY urbanism is defined as a place-specific activity, many scholars focus on the dynamic and unrooted nature of urban spaces and how DIY urbanism works in tandem with this dynamism – using terms and phrases such as loose, experimental, temporary, pop-up, and fluid space to describe and theorize DIY urbanism. However, in talking with participants about their experiences and motivations with DIY urbanism activities, it became clear that they made sense of their activities and experiences in ways that were spatially fixed and rooted in their communities. Therefore, in this chapter, I share participant narratives and put these narratives, along with the literature on DIY urbanism more broadly, in conversation with Markusen's (1996) conceptualization of 'sticky places in slippery space.' I draw attention to some of the ways that DIY urbanism can be sticky – meaning the ways in which DIY urbanism activities and their implications are tied to place and embedded in larger political, social, and economic structures and systems of meaning – as well as how it exists within the slippery spaces of social relations and economic restructuring.

In Chapter Eight, I summarize my research findings, highlight the implications of these findings, raise questions for further research, and put forth some policy considerations. I argue, along with many others before me, that gender, race, class, and sexuality matter to urban planning and cities, including those that are engaging in DIY urbanism activities. The goal of this research was to

illustrate some of the ways that these power relations play out through one particular case study and a number of case examples. I conclude that DIY urbanism, which is continuing to gain traction within cities and formal institutions, does have potential. However, greater attention to some of its complexities and problematics are needed in order for this to be a truly progressive approach to urban planning and community building.

CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS, LITERATURE REVIEW,
AND THEORETICAL RESEARCH CLAIMS ²

This chapter details the theoretical frameworks that I used throughout my research, which draws explicitly from feminist urban scholarship. I also review the literature relevant to my research, while extending my theoretical framework into this literature. Feminist urban scholars have highlighted the need for intersectional analysis in which multiple and compounding relations of power can be explored; they have shifted the attention of urban planning on to the everyday lived experiences of individuals; they have argued and demonstrated how spaces are gendered; they have blurred the line between ‘public’ and ‘private’ while moving so-called ‘private’ activities into the ‘public’ view; they have broadened our understanding of ‘infrastructures’ (Jarvis, et al, 2009) in which social and immaterial infrastructures are given the same attention as built and physical infrastructures. The following is an in-depth exploration of these concepts, along with an articulation of several other key concepts (i.e., feminism and gender, intersectionality, and lived experience), which comprise the theoretical framework that I used throughout this research.

I then turn my attention to DIY urbanism, defining the concept and reviewing the literature on it. Two additional concepts – anarchism and the ‘right to the city’ – that were present in the DIY urbanism and research participants’ narratives are also explored. This chapter serves not only as a literature review; it also includes theoretical research and puts forth a number of theoretical arguments that are explored further in later chapters through specific aspects of my research.

² Sections of this chapter have been published; see Heim LaFrombois, M. (2015). Sage Publications allows authors and their institutions to post online versions of their articles (in non-copy-edited, non-final published version). See <https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/journals-permissions>.

Specifically, I extend my theoretical frameworks into the literature on DIY urbanism, and to a smaller extent, anarchism and ‘right to the city’ concepts, theories, and discourses.

A Brief History of and Introduction to Feminist Approaches to Urban Planning

The emergence of a feminist presence in US urban planning scholarship is often traced back to as recently as the 1970’s, when in 1978 the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* put out an issue titled “Women and the City” (Fainstein and Servon, 2005; Parker, 2012).

Following this publication, numerous other journals, books, and scholars began examining urban planning from a feminist theoretical framework, exploring issues of transportation, housing, design, economic development, and the built environment. As a result, the contributions of feminist urban planning scholarship represent:

A highly sophisticated and diverse body of research related to the city. Through this work, we have a better understanding of space and gender relations as mutually constituted and challenged in cities (Parker, 2012, p. 615).

Feminist urban planning scholars have not only examined a vast array of urban issues, but they have also used gender as an analytical category in a diversity of ways. Bondi (2005) provides three general and non-mutually exclusive categories for ways in which gender has been used as an analytical device within feminist urban scholarship. The first analytical device category focuses on gender as a set of embodied experiences that are related to identity attributes. It relies on the notion that bodily differences are sources of inequality in society and that those who share some identity attribute or embodied identity will also share certain experiences. The second category focuses on how gender is used as an organizing element in society and in which gender

is seen as being ‘outside’ actual bodies. Bondi (2005) claims that within this analytical approach, “gender is a social relation that ‘shapes’ the forms, functions, structures and governance of cities” (7). The third category is focused on performances, in which gender is “simultaneously attached to bodies and transcend[es] them” (Bondi, 2005; 10). As such, “gender is produced performatively, that is through the routine, unselfconscious citation or enactment of gender scripts in the ordinary practices of urban life” (Bondi, 2005; 10). The gendered nature of these taken for granted behaviors, or performances, are often made visible through the behavior of nonconforming individuals or ‘gender dissidents’ (Bondi, 2005; 10). While each analytical approach sees gender as being attached to individual bodies in varying degrees, central to each approach is a focus on how gender and urban space are mutually constituted, and on how gender relations and inequalities can be seen as being spatialized.

Through these various analytical approaches to gender relations and inequalities in the city, feminist urban scholars have critiqued a multitude of urban planning theories and practices, as well as proposed alternative ways of approaching urban planning. Many feminist urban scholars point out that most of our urban planning theories have been developed by white men in the northern hemisphere who have employed narrow views of science and society. These historical and dominant (often still today) approaches to urban planning, therefore, have been limited in their ability to understand the complexities of society and often end up reinforcing existing power relationships (Parker, 2011; Rahder and Altilia, 2004; Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992; Spain, 2002). Feminist urban planning scholars have claimed that traditional urban planning approaches have resulted in—among other things— exclusionary decision making processes, analytical methods that devalued women and other minorities, a bureaucratic government that

failed to recognize the service needs of women, and the feminization of poverty supported by policies and practice (Fainstein, 2005). The application of feminist theories to urban planning has allowed us to see and challenge these limitations in theory and practice (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992; Spain, 2002).

Understandings and Applications of Feminism and Gender

Much like the scholars noted above, my theoretical conceptualization of feminism is focused on investigating, and at times challenging, the “socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for certain individuals” (The World Health Organization, 2016). The focus is not on the notion of ‘sex,’ which is based on biological characteristics; rather, the focus is on the socially constructed roles that have emerged based on ideas of sexual difference and the values we assign to those differences (i.e. gender roles) (Bondi, 2005; Gilbert, 2000). Notions of gender are fluid and dynamic in nature and are specific to both time and place in which they are rooted (Jarvis, et al., 2009). They are unfixed and unstable (Butler, 1999). However, as a society we tend to ‘read’ certain bodies and code certain behaviors and attributes as female or male, or feminine or masculine (Domosh and Seager, 2001). We also attach values to these notions. The focal point then becomes an examination of the inequalities that do currently exist based on perceived gender and other social qualities or differences (e.g. the roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for certain individuals and the valuation of those roles, etc.).

I intentionally do not attach a label (e.g. materialism, poststructuralism, etc.) to how I theorized and used feminism as an analytical concept. There are certainly strengths and limitations to each

variation, and some variations are better suited for exploring certain topic and questions more so than others. Instead of limiting myself to just one feminist school of thought, I analytically understood feminism in all its vestiges, which are multiple, complex, and contradictory. I let the research results and research participants' narratives dictate what threads of feminist theory I would reflect back to. Realizing, of course, I played a heavy hand in this interpretation process. Similarly, I used a multi-dimensional theoretical approach to analyzing gender and other social identities. I drew from Bondi's (2005) three general and non-mutually exclusive categories. This means that gender and other social identities, as an analytical device, were viewed simultaneously as: 1) a set of embodied experiences that are related to identity attributes in which those who share some identity attribute will share certain experiences; 2) a social relation and organizing feature in which the structures, functions, and regulations of cities are shaped; and 3) a performance of behaviors or scripts that are often taken for granted and are routinely enacted.

While this approach may seem contradictory, meaning in some cases gender is attached to the body and in other cases it is not, my research explored the diverse ways in which gender and other social identities played into DIY urbanism activities and experiences. For example, research participants that participated in 'women's only' bike rides or other DIY activities shared feelings that there was a set of experiences that they shared, as women, that precipitated them to create alternative 'women's' spaces. At the same time, experiences of biking riding or participating in other DIY activities was often colored by feelings of how the city was organized based on gendered social relations – i.e. women cyclists being catcalled and threatened by male motorists, not being able to fulfill all of one's household roles on a bike, such as shopping and

picking kids up from school. And lastly, a great deal of gendered performances were enacted, as well as challenged in DIY urbanism spaces, including ‘women’s only’ spaces in which many former participants complained of constricted forms of femininity being performed by the group members. Throughout my research, then, these various analytical categories for examining gender were used simultaneously and were held in tension with one another, highlighting the various ways that DIY actors employed and performed gender and how that related to the spaces created, challenged, and reworked.

Defining Foci of Feminist Approaches to Urban Planning

Others have provided excellent histories and syntheses of gender and urban planning (see for example, Parker, 2012). Instead of repeating the histories and syntheses of gender and urban planning here, I highlight five key areas, which are not mutually exclusive and are in fact deeply entwined, which are often the focus of feminist urban planning scholarship. These five defining foci are: 1) the use of intersectional analysis in which multiple and compounding relations of power can be explored; 2) a focus on to the everyday lived experiences of individuals; 3) an examination of how space is gendered; 4) the moving of so-called ‘private’ activities into the ‘public’ view and a blurring of the distinction between the two; and 5) a broadening of our understanding of ‘infrastructures’ (Jarvis, et al, 2009) to include social and immaterial infrastructures as well as built and physical infrastructures. A more detailed examination of this literature follows in which gender and other social identities as analytical categories are used in a variety of ways. While each defining attribute or area of focus will be treated as a separate subsection for convenience and clarify, all five are interconnected and interrelated. It is these five areas that define the theoretical framework that I used in my research.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality refers to the multiple and intersecting identities that make up individuals (e.g. race, class, gender, sexuality, etc.), which cannot be pulled apart and examined in isolation from each other. It also refers to the complex systems and structures of meaning and power in which these identities are embedded, which cannot be neatly extracted. There are two parts to this – individual intersectional identities and larger intersectional power relations. When taken together, according to Hesse-Biber (2012), intersectionality refers to the “the interlocking affects” of multiple identities and systemic oppressions (13). Hooks (2000) uses the phrase ‘white supremacist capitalist patriarchy’ (and I would add ‘heterosexist’ to this phrase) to explain the larger structures and systems of power at play and how they are intertwined. Collins (2009) refers to this as the ‘matrices of domination.’ There are a multiple scales through which an intersectional analysis focuses, in which politics and relationships of power are “deeply contextual, situational, and spatial” and that take place at multiple scales, such as the city, the community, the human body, etc. (Isoke, 2013; 25).

Intersectionality is also visible at the individual level, although it is deeply embedded within these large systems, in which multiple subject positions are present. Meaning, there are multiple subject positions within categories of such as ‘man’ and ‘woman,’ in which intersectional identities become visible. Furthermore, individual identities shift and morph in different contexts and through time, along with politics and political dynamics (Cameron and Gibson, 2005; Strega, 2005). Through the use of an intersectional analytical lens, we can explore multiple subject positions, and multiple and compounding relations of power (Isoke, 2013; Strega, 2005).

The analytical concept of intersectionality is not without its critics. Opponents argue that an intersectional analysis is overly focused on visible identity attributes – attributes that are often seen as being too rigid and overly simplistic (see for example, Puar, 2007, 2012). They argue that seen attributes are often seen as being fixed and static in time and place, and that they are in fact the reflection of colonial domination in which the meanings behind these identity attributes were created (see for example, Lugones, 2007, 2010; McKittrick, 2011).

This critique, however, is not completely damning. As I have argued above, when social identities, such as gender, are seen from multiple dimensions and care is taken to contextualize and historicize those identities and relationships, an intersectional analysis makes visible the multiplicity and complexity of everyday real life and the inherent power struggles. When intersectional analyses go beyond merely describing the experiences of some specific marginalized group, as I have tried to do in my work, it “reveal[s] how identities are produced, forged, and then [they can be] deployed to disrupt oppressive vehicles of power” (Isoke, 2013; 18). Or as Lugones (2007) argues, “once intersectionality shows us what is missing [from an analysis], we have ahead of us the task of reconceptualizing the logic of the intersection so as to avoid separability” (192). It is with awareness to these nuances and tensions that I used an intersectional analysis in my research. By intentionally refusing to label what thread of feminism I pledge allegiance to, I have allowed breathing room for this fluidity and for research participants’ narratives to be traced back to and put in conversation with the relevant theories and concepts.

Nonetheless, a focus on intersectional relations of power and relationality is a running theme throughout feminist urban scholarship, as will be seen below. Intersectionality is important for studying DIY urbanism because it reveals a number of absences. For example, as will be argued in Chapter Two, there is a critical lack of attention paid to the issues of race, class, and gender in the current scholarship on DIY urbanism. Or, as will be questioned in Chapters Four and Six, what does it mean when only white professional men are participating in DIY urbanism activities and it is their activities that are being celebrated by cities? Meanwhile, DIY urbanism activities that are performed by more marginalized members of society are criminalized. Or, as will be explored in Chapters Four and Five, how do different individuals experience and narrate DIY urbanism? As Hesse-Biber (2012) puts it, intersectional and “multiple feminist lenses wake us up to layers of sexist, racist, homophobic, and colonialist points of view” and practices (4).

Everyday Lived Experiences

Intersectional analyses often focus on lived experiences as a major source of data and knowledge. In particular, this ‘bottom-up’ intersectional approach zeroes in on the complex lived experiences of individuals and how they are situated within larger structures and systems of meaning (Isoke, 2013). Using the everyday lived experiences of individuals as the starting point, then, we can explore how individuals are connected to larger networks of meaning, how we control our bodies in these environments, and how they are controlled for us (Fenster, 2005; Harding, 1992; Jarvis, et al., 2009). As will be seen throughout the discussion that follows, feminist urban planning scholars have focused on the everyday lived experiences of the individuals, with their complex and intersecting social attributes and relationships, who make up our cities as a way to explore why our lives are organized the way they are. Examining the city

through the lives and experiences of those who make it up allows us to address multi-scalar complexities and the interconnectedness of urban processes. Feminist urban planning scholars have often challenged the masculinist ‘bird’s eye views’ and ‘views from above’ type approaches to urban planning (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992; Spain, 2002). Instead, they have offered an approach that is focused on the everyday lived experiences of individuals and how those experiences connect to larger urban systems and policies (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1992, 1998 and 2002; Isoke, 2013; Leavitt, 2003).

As stated above, feminist theories seek to reveal how certain roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for certain individuals are assigned to bodies and valued by society. As a theoretical approach it seeks to uncover, and at times challenge, these beliefs and the sources of them. To do this, the everyday taken for granted aspects of life are examined (Jarvis, et al, 2009; Parker, 2012). By focusing on the lived experiences of daily life, we can see how individuals are connected to larger systems and structures, such as capitalism, urban politics, or gender norms, for example (Harding, 1992; Parker, 2011). The everyday lived experiences of DIY urbanists are important to examine because it reveals how these individual DIY urbanists make sense of their participation and their experiences. It also reveals the multiplicity of those experiences and narratives. For example, many female research participants readily shared how traditional gender norms made them feel constrained in space (many of them also overtly challenged the factors that they felt were constraining). Other research participants made sense of their experiences in relations to urban politics – such as ‘voting with their feet/wheels’ to make city planning official more aware of their infrastructural

needs. By focusing on the lived experiences of individual DIY urbanist participants, these connections, relationships, and enmeshments can be seen and explored.

Gendering of Space

Feminist urban planning scholars argue that urban space is produced through gender and other intersecting social relationships (Bondi, 2005). Furthermore, urban space is not only produced through these intersecting relationships of power, but urban space can also reproduce masculine and feminine ideologies in terms of how spaces are assigned gendered characteristics (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Jarvis, et al., 2009). As a result, feminist urban scholars have sought to explore gender and other intersecting social identities as they relate to and are constituted through urban space. Or, in other words, the ways in which space is gendered.

For example, feminist urban scholars argue that most US and European cities have been designed using gendered, racialized, and classed notions of divisions of labor (Hayden, 1981; Massey and McDowell, 1984; McDowell, 2008; Jarvis, et al., 2009; Katz, 2001). It has been historically assumed that the female member of the household would stay at home and be responsible for all domestic functions of the households while the male member of the household works, for a wage that supports the household, outside of the home. It is important to note that this division of labor is based on a presumed nuclear, heterosexual, white, middle class household (and represents an area of stiff critique that has been levied against feminism more generally, see for example Hollibaugh and Moraga, 1981). From this division of labor, the separation between “work” (i.e., paid work done by men) and ‘home’ emerges. There is a resulting distinction between waged labor/production, which is coded as masculine, and unpaid

household labor of reproduction, which is coded as feminine (Bondi, 2005; Katz, 2001; Markusen, 1981). Feminist scholars argue that these historically prevailing ideas about the division of labor have been translated on to urban space. Zoning practices that separate residential and commercial spaces, suburbanization, a reduction in public services, and fragmented public transportation systems all support, materially and immaterially, this division of labor (Hayden, 1981; Markusen, 1981; McDowell, et al., 2006; Rosenbloom, 1978). The results of such planning practices include: a separation of home from work, isolation from the community and social networks, and a spatial and economic differentiation between unpaid home labor and wage labor. These policies and practices have also produced and reproduced notions of space, such as a ‘man’s’ place or a ‘woman’s’ place.

Many of these feminist approaches to urban planning are often referred to as materialist as their attention is generally focused on the material conditions of women’s unpaid labor, women’s work, and women’s place (Hayden, 2000 and 2002; Massey and McDowell, 1984). As a result, they focused on quite material solutions. As Hayden (2000) states, many feminist urban planners “proposed a complete transformation of the spatial design and material culture of American homes, neighborhoods, and cities...while other feminists campaigned for political or social change with philosophical or moral arguments, the material feminists concentrated on economic and spatial issues as the basis of material life” (3).

It is important to note, as Bondi (2005) does, that these gendered associations of ‘work’ and ‘home’ have a great deal to do with the emergence of a large white middle class in US and Europe that began after WWI. A wave of consumerism that was targeted specifically to women

and the domestic sphere took hold, in which only middle class women could participate in. In fact, homeownership implies a certain level of economic privilege and many single women and non-white households were not permitted to be homeowners or were faced with significant barriers to homeownership (Jarvis, et al., 2009; Satter, 2009). Furthermore, only married women, who have well employed partners, have the option of occupying an exclusively domestic space. In other words, gender works in relation to and in tandem with other intersecting social relationships of power, and in which an intersectional analysis is required. As a further example, as of 2013 almost 60% of females aged 16 years of age and older participate in the labor force in the US (US Census Bureau, 2013). However, women still disproportionately take care of the majority of the domestic responsibilities of the home (i.e., unpaid work) in what is known as the ‘second shift.’ Those who are wealthy enough hire domestic help, which tends to be the labors of non-white, immigrant women. The hiring of domestic help is not only gendered, racialized, and classed, but is also related to the larger system of urban economic restructuring, globalization, and transnational migration (Jarvis, et al., 2009; Katz, 2001). So while the gendered notions of ‘work’ and ‘home’ are challenged and reworked in particular ways, new racialized, gendered, and classed forms of these spaces emerge.

From a more discursive angle, we can also understand the spaces of urban politics as being gendered, along with physical spaces they create (Fenster, 2005; Hayden, 2006; Miranne, 2000; Wekerle, 1999; Young, 1990). Many feminist urban planning scholars have critiqued current and dominant planning processes in which non-elected business elites create plans and policies for cities outside of city hall and in isolation of the residents who live in the city, arguing that this represents hegemonic masculinity (Kern and Wekerle, 2008; Parker, forthcoming; Reichl, 2002).

Namely, they argue that redevelopment efforts in cities are increasingly dominated by privatization agendas and city governing processes and policies are becoming less democratic – both of which have gendered, classed, and racialized implications. Since the investors, bankers, and developers are an exclusive group (and tend to be white and male), their interests are dominating urban policies and the built environment, contributing to an ongoing masculine, neoliberal urban political agenda (Brownill, 2000; Kern and Wekerle, 2008; Parker, forthcoming; Reichl, 2002; Tickell and Peck, 1996). As will be explored in the chapters that follow, DIY urbanism has the potential to also operate as a non-democratic urban development agenda, initiated by a small, exclusive group of actors, as well as be aligned with neoliberal urban agendas.

Reararticulating and Blurring the Notions of ‘Public’ and ‘Private’

As suggested above, the sphere of ‘home’ has a long and deeply ingrained history of being coded as feminine, as a women’s place, and as a place in which the work of caring and nurturing is done. Also mentioned above, ‘women’s work’ is often coded as non-work and is unpaid or underpaid (Bondi, 2005; Domosh and Seager, 2001; Jarvis, et al., 2009). The notions of work and non-work align with notions of public and private spaces. Both of the notions of ‘home’ and ‘work’ are gendered, sexualized, raced, and classed, which then informs ideologies such as “a man’s place” (i.e., productive paid work in the public) or “a women place” (i.e., reproductive unpaid work in the home/private) (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Jarvis, et al., 2009; Ockman, 2000). From these dualistic ‘home/work’ and ‘men’s/women’s place’ ideologies we can see how the professionalization of urban planning represents a ‘masculinist’ space in which productive paid work is being done in the public to create space and allocate resources for the public.

Feminist urban planning scholars have also argued that ‘public’ spaces are often privileged in urban planning scholarship and practice, and have raised a critical awareness of ‘private’ spaces (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992). At the same time, feminist urban scholars have also highlighted how the notions of public and private space are not so easily defined or delineated (Fenster, 2005; Markusen, 1981). They have demonstrated how so called private or personal spaces are deeply social and political ones as well (Spain, 2001; Ritzdorf, 1996; Wright, 1985). Feminist urban scholar Daphne Spain (2001), in discussing the community work done by women’s voluntary associations of the early 1900’s – a key site in which women engaged in urban planning at the time – states:

Community work is a separate area of productive effort that connects the concerns of both private and public spheres. It brings domestic problems like sick children and drunken husbands into the public eye. Community work simultaneously addresses the effects of trends influenced by the market and state, such as unemployment and housing shortages, on private lives. The boundaries between domestic, community, and paid work are porous, just as they are between private, parochial, and public spaces. Women’s voluntary associations breached those borders when they translated private troubles into public issues (7).

Furthermore, Marsha Ritzdorf (1996) states:

Since planning is inherently political, planning theory and practice need to attend to [the] debate as well. The boundaries between the personal and the political are merged for women. Women are generally interested in expanding the range, intensity, and modes of

action in planning. They are interested in holistic approaches to problems and cooperative problem solving and see issues impacting their bodies, their families, and their neighborhood as both political and personal (448).

As will be seen in the following chapters, the discourses surrounding DIY urbanism tend to privilege ‘public’ and ‘economically productive’ urban spaces and treat them as disconnected from ‘private’ and ‘economically unproductive’ urban spaces.

Broadening Conceptualizations of ‘Infrastructures’

Through the literature of feminist urban planning scholars we can see how private and public spaces are gendered and shaped by other intersecting social relationships, how urban planning can create and maintain such distinctions and relationships, and what the implications are for residents of a city. One way of examining these issues, as proposed by feminist urban scholars, is through the ‘infrastructures of everyday life’ (Jarvis, et al., 2009). Jarvis, et al. (2009) define ‘infrastructures of everyday life’ as the frameworks that support the daily activities of people in a specific place (127-156). They identify four basic types of infrastructures – material, institutional, moral, and emotional. Material infrastructures refer to the distribution and affordability of specific amenities. Institutional infrastructures refer to the regulation of states, cities, households, and bodies. Moral infrastructures refer to local or regional norms of behavior. Emotional infrastructures refer to an ethic of care.

As mentioned above, many feminist urban planning scholars have pointed out that the built, physical environment is often privileged over other ‘infrastructures’ that create and support

urban systems (Jarvis, et al., 2009; Parker, forthcoming). Traditional and dominant approaches to urban planning tend to only focus on material infrastructures and on a confined notion of institutional infrastructures. Often ignored by traditional approaches are the unpaid, private activities that take place in and support cities. The extent to which households and bodies are governed is also often ignored, which has gendered implications as indicated above.

For example, Gilbert (2000) suggests that the infrastructures that women create and depend on to maintain their daily lives, such as find housing, childcare, transportation, and employment, are not only bound in space and determined by material infrastructures, but are also influenced by the fulfillment or performance of certain roles (e.g. institutional, moral, and ethic infrastructures). According to Gilbert (2000):

Women's locations in different constellations of power relationships shape the spatial boundedness of their lives, the ways in which rootedness is used in survival strategies, and the ways in which spatial boundedness and rootedness may be enabling as well as constraining. The shapes of different networks [are] based upon the performance of different identities (81).

The 'infrastructures of everyday life,' as conceptualized by Jarvis, et al. (2009), draw attention not only to physical infrastructures and the distribution of tangible amenities, but also all the other frameworks that support the daily activities in cities – the unpaid, informal, emotional, reproductive, etc. Feminist urban planning scholars have highlighted how the performance or embodiment of certain identities and roles impact one's interaction with urban infrastructures (Bondi, 2005; Gilbert, 2001). Also important, feminist urban planning scholars have noted how

these infrastructures are situated within intersecting relationships of power; relationships that can be constraining as well as enabling. As will be seen in Chapter Five, many female DIY urbanist research participants were acutely aware of both material and immaterial infrastructures. They shared how material infrastructure was important to the performance of their household roles, such as safe and accessible roads to pass along. However, they also shared how household roles and sexist attitudes made certain things, such riding a bicycle as a primary mode of transportation, difficult – from not having the energy to bike to work, the store, pick up the kids from school, etc. to being catcalled and threatened by male motorists while biking.

Appropriateness of Theoretical Frameworks to my Research

As can be seen from the above theoretical frameworks articulated through the literature, feminist urban planning scholarship has provided, and continues to provide, a number of important contributions, and in which gender and other social identities as analytical categories can be used in a variety of ways, that allow us to analyze and understand cities. Paramount to feminist urban planning scholarship are the application of an intersectional analysis in which multiple and compounding relations of power can be explored, and a focus on the everyday lived experiences of individuals and how these experiences, used as a starting point, connect to larger structures of meaning. The interplay between gender and space has been articulated through this scholarship, in which the processes of gendering space have been made visible. The line between ‘public’ and ‘private’ has been blurred, while so-called ‘private’ activities have been moved into the ‘public’ view. Our understanding of ‘infrastructures’ has been broadened, and in which social and immaterial infrastructures are given the same attention as built and physical infrastructures. It is

these analytical frameworks that I use throughout my research to examine the theoretical and practical dimensions of DIY urbanism as an urban planning approach.

These theoretical frameworks have also allowed me to explore the questions that guided this research. Namely, the feminist analytical theories that I drew from (i.e. intersectional feminism) provided a theoretical framework for examining the gendered, classed, sexualized, and racialized aspects of DIY urbanism and the consequences of and reactions to these aspects. As will be seen, it has also allowed me to examine the spaces that are created through DIY urbanism, how certain bodies are regulated through the construction of and within these spaces, and how these spaces and bodies are connected to larger systems of meaning and urban structures and policies.

As discussed above, the feminist urban planning frameworks that I drew from allowed me to examine how gender and other social identities are constructed, challenged, and constituted through an interaction with space; urban processes, structures, and politics; and societal expectations and attitudes – or, in other words, through the everyday lived experiences of individuals in cities. Through this theoretical framework, I connected everyday lived experiences to larger structures, such as urban politics and social norms. I highlighted the connections between the personal and the political, the private and the public. I also examined identities as being multiple and intersecting and situated within larger social relationships. Through this approach, I examined the multiple subject positions that constitute gender-based and other identity-based experiences. I also examined how these social relationships and interactions form the basis for determining participation and experiences in DIY urbanism activities and, in turn, the spaces that are produced through such activities. With this in mind, I now turn our attention

to the literature relevant to this research, extending the above theoretical framework into the literature.

Do-It-Yourself Urbanism: Definitions and Theorizations

DIY urbanism is defined as unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen-led urban planning interventions that are small scale, functional, temporary, creative, and place specific. Again, the term ‘citizen’ refers here to city inhabitants and residents, regardless of specific legal classification and recognition. Its activities are focused on reclaiming and re-purposing urban spaces and they often take place outside formal urban planning structures and systems. Activities that are generally the focus of DIY urbanism scholarship, within this Eurocentric context, include pop-up cafes and shops, temporary re-appropriation of streets and parking spaces for non-automobile-based activities, and public art exhibits and beautification efforts.

DIY urbanism is often hailed as a transformative spatial practice that shifts planning power away from city authorities towards marginalized, creative do-it-yourselfers (Groth and Corijn, 2005; Hou, 2010; Schwarz, et al., 2009). Through DIY processes, urban spaces are ‘reanimated,’ facilitating economic development (Oswalt, 2013). These activities are seen as being ‘quick,’ ‘cheap,’ and ‘easy’ ways to improve urban spaces in an era of tightening public and private investment. They are argued to represent a ‘win-win’ approach to urban planning in which city inhabitants are active agents in improving and creating urban space, while city authorities reap the benefits of these improved spaces with little or no financial investment (Greco, 2012; O’Connell, 2013).

While a number of scholars recognize the possible link between DIY urbanism and gentrification and larger creative urban politics (Colomb, 2012; Mould, 2014; Pinder, 2008), there are a number of critical oversights and gaps within DIY urbanism discourses. As cities rapidly adopt/adapt DIY urbanism approaches as solutions to some of the challenges facing cities today, it's imperative to critically examine these activities and their implications. While DIY urbanism has the potential to radically transform and democratize urban spaces and the field of planning, I raise some important questions about DIY urbanism in the sections that follow; questions that should be explored before it's widely adopted and hailed as 'newest urbanism' (O'Connell, 2013), and before scarce city resources are diverted away from social programs.

Conceptualizations of DIY Urbanism

The concept of DIY urbanism – which goes by a number of names, including tactical urbanism, pop-up urbanism, temporary urbanism, experimental urbanism, and insurgent urbanism, to name a few – is gaining attention in recent urban scholarship and mainstream urban planning practice in the US and Europe. Meanwhile, case examples and photos of such activities proliferate on the internet – from pop-up shops and libraries to public art interventions to handmade and temporary spaces for bikes and pedestrians (see for example, 'Hack Your City' and 'Tactical Urbanism Here!' websites). DIY urbanism approaches and activities go by many names, each with nuanced differences. However, they all share a set of definitional characteristics and it is in these spaces of overlap that I focus my analysis. I define DIY urbanism unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen/community-led urban planning interventions that are small scale, functional, temporary, creative, and place specific. Its activities are focused on re-adapting or re-purposing urban spaces and they take place outside formal urban planning structures and systems.

DIY urbanism is often characterized as an approach that, while unauthorized and often illegal, seeks to augment or fill gaps in the current urban planning process, at times mimicking formal urban planning, as a way to make improvements to cities (e.g. homemade bike lanes and crosswalks, pop-up consumer-based activities, beautification efforts). They are “unauthorized, place-based direct actions that challenge the usual or regulated uses of particular urban spaces” (Douglas, 2014: 6) but at the same time they are “intentionally functional and civic-minded contributions’ or ‘improvements’ to urban spaces in forms inspired by official infrastructure” (Douglas, 2014: 6). They are activities that are “enacted in public space that to some degree attempt to emulate or augment formal municipal designs and infrastructure” (Finn, 2014; 2). Overall, DIY urbanism activities are defined as being functional, as opposed to being purely aesthetic, political, or deviant.

While DIY urbanism often times ‘emulates’ formal urban planning, it is seen as a counter approach to traditional forms of urban planning. DIY urbanism activities “are instigated, designed, created, paid for and implemented by single users or small voluntary groups and not municipalities or corporations... the very nature of the intervention is to eschew municipal involvement, funding or sanction” (Finn, 2014; 3). Through DIY urbanism, urban space, which is characterized as being unused or underused, is often appropriated “in a bottom-up, grass-root manner, with little financial investment, minimal interventions, and a high degree of recycling of existing structures” (Colomb, 2012). The general public is seen as the beneficiaries of DIY urbanism, as the DIY interventionists and users have no direct financial gain from such activities (Finn, 2014; 3).

It is sometimes argued that a particular type of space – ‘insurgent’ urban space – is created through the process of DIY urbanism (Hou, 2010). Insurgent urban space is created through everyday practices, city inhabitant initiatives, and informal activities in which new forms and uses of public space are created. These practices, initiatives, and activities circumvent formal rules and regulations while seeking to create alternative social and spatial relationships. Hou (2010) claims that insurgent urban space is created through:

...the ability of citizen groups and individuals to play a distinct role in shaping the contemporary urban environment in defiance of the official rules and regulations. Rather than being subjected to planning regulations or the often limited participatory opportunities, citizens and citizen groups can undertake initiatives on their own to effect changes...Because of the scale and mode of production, the making of this alternative public space is more participatory and spontaneous, and therefore more open and inclusive (15).

From these general and flexible definitions of DIY urbanism sprout, much like a seed bomb, a plethora of thinly theorized case examples of various DIY urbanism activities. From public art installations (Barnard, 2004) to art studios in abandoned buildings (Groth and Corijn, 2005) to repurposing unused urban artifacts for public book exchanges (Douglas, 2014) to pop-up spaces, including shops and parks (Greco, 2012; Merker, 2010; Sankalia, 2014) to temporary appropriation of urban space for bike and pedestrian activities (The Street Collaborative, 2012) to community gardens (Radywyl and Biggs, 2013) to handmade bike lanes (Douglas, 2014).

The Street Collaborative (2012) provides a large set of activities that fall under DIY urbanism. Their categorization of DIY urbanism activities include: build a better block, parking day, play streets, open streets, pavement to plazas, pop up cafes, pop up shops, chair bombing, guerilla gardening, street fairs, food carts, mobile vendors, de-pave, site pre-vitalization, pop-up town hall, informal bike parking, intersection repair, ad-busting, reclaimed setbacks, park mobile, weed bombing, micro-mixing, park-making, and camps. Douglas (2014) more generally organizes DIY urbanism activities into three categories:

Guerrilla greening—planting or functionally converting unused land, infrastructure, or facades; spontaneous streetscaping—painting trafficmarkings or installing design elements such as signage, ramps, and seating on streets or structures; and aspirational urbanism— promotional signs, public notices, or other informational installations by which community members express their own policy and development ideas or alternatives (6).

As can be seen from this long, but abbreviated, list of DIY urbanism activities, they range in their level of grassrootsness and “defiance of the official rules and regulations” (Hou, 2010; 15). While Finn (2014) argues that DIY urbanism is not, and should not be, done by “municipalities or corporations... [because] the very nature of the intervention is to eschew municipal involvement, funding or sanction” (3), others see the government and business community as being involved in various ways and to varying degrees. Oswalt, et al. (2013) describes a number of different approaches where DIY urbanism can work in tandem with more formal institutions. For example, their ‘consolidation’ approach refers to temporary DIY urbanism uses of space that turn into longer term uses, often through formal permitting and

leasing. The Street Collaborative (2012) notes that DIY urbanism activities “can be placed along a continuum of unsanctioned to sanctioned efforts” and in which many activities that “began as unsanctioned grassroots interventions...proved so successful that they soon became sanctioned or permanent” (7; see also Lydon and Garcia, 2015).

What is clear is that the concept of DIY urbanism is broad and dynamic in nature and encapsulates a wide range of activities. My goal is not to provide an argument on what should or should not be considered DIY urbanism or how to classify activities. Rather, within this vastly defined milieu, my goal is highlight how dominant conceptualizations of DIY urbanism reflect a racialized, gendered, and classed bias. To do so, however, I define DIY urbanism by a set of shared characteristics – namely, as unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen-led urban planning interventions that are small scale, functional, temporary, creative, and place specific; are focused on reclaiming and re-purposing urban spaces; and take place outside formal urban planning structures and systems. In conjunction with this definition, I use the term ‘do-it-yourself urbanism,’ as opposed to ‘tactical urbanism’ for example, which refers to more a specific, branded practice (see Chapter Six for a discussion on tactical urbanism specifically). The definition I use to describe DIY urbanism, however, is inclusive enough to include many of these more specific and nuanced urban activities, including ones that eventually work in tandem with more formal planning entities and governments. I focus on the spaces of overlap between these related practices, but the definitional boundaries I have set are permeable and are riddled with exceptions.

My analysis that follows focuses on a diverse array of DIY urbanism activities. The activities that are the primary focus of this analysis include the more dominantly defined DIY urbanism activities, such pop-up shops, plazas, gardens, and parks; temporary appropriation of urban space for bike and pedestrian activities; repurposing of urban artifacts for alternative uses; and conversion of vacant property into arts spaces. I also include in my analysis DIY urbanism activities that are focused on the ‘everyday’ ways we shape our cities through social reproduction efforts, such as securing food and housing. These activities, which make up a much smaller portion of DIY urbanism scholarship, are used to counter the dominant narratives and to highlight the biases that are overwhelmingly present in the surrounding discourses of the former activities.

Connections between DIY Urbanism, Anarchism, and ‘Right to the City’ Discourses

The discussion on DIY urbanism is paused momentarily here in order to introduce two additional theoretical bodies of literature – anarchist political thought and the ‘right to the city’ concept. As will be seen in the research that follows, namely in Chapter Four, a number, but certainly not all, of DIY urbanists and research participants linked their activities to anarchist political theory and evoked ‘right to the city’ claims. In this section, I provide an overview of anarchism and the right to the city concept, and draw a number of parallels between DIY urbanism and these concepts. I also extend my theoretical framework from above into these concepts and their connections to DIY urbanism. In doing so, I make several theoretical claims that are articulated further throughout this research and its findings.

Anarchist and Feminist Anarchist Theories

The scholarship on anarchism is vast in scope, yet a commonality in philosophical underpinnings and principles can be articulated from it. For this synthesis of the philosophy, I draw from early historical literature on anarchism, namely from the work of Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1840-1865), Mikhail Bakunin (1869-1871), Lucy Parsons (1878-1937), Peter Kropotkin (1880-1913), Voltairine De Cleyre (1893-1914), and Emma Goldman (1906-1916). While each of these anarchist scholars tend to emphasize different aspects or sites of analysis in their work (e.g., private property; capitalism; the state; cooperation and mutual aid; marriage; religion; social institutions, such as class, race, and gender; etc.), general themes and principles can be seen running through this body of literature.

Anarchism is a philosophy that represents two things: 1.) a mode of critique; and 2.) a vision for an alternatively ordered society. At the core of anarchism is a critique of the state, capitalism, and any other oppressive, involuntarily imposed institution, as well as the interconnectedness between these institutions. Anarchists claim that such institutions are created and maintained to protect elite groups' interests, in which these institutions exist outside of those that they govern or rule over. Anarchism seeks to dissolve, and not redirect or reassign, power and authority. As such, it does not uphold the belief that social transformation, justice, equality, and liberty can be achieved through the state or any other external institution. They contend that human rights cannot be granted from an authoritarian institution; they exist without acknowledgement and guarantee from the state. Anarchism as a philosophy upholds the notion that people are naturally free and are capable of self-management based on free and voluntary association that is directed from the bottom up.

Proudhon is often referred to as the grandfather of anarchist thought since he was first to explicitly use the phrase ‘anarchism’ in describing his social, political, and economic philosophy. A major component of Proudhon’s work, and others’ such as Bakunin’s, is a critical focus on capitalism and private property; in particular, a focus on dispelling claims that private property is a natural right of man. It is important to note that often lacking from this analysis is an exploration into the ways in which private property has been used to create and maintain hierarchies beyond those based on class. Meaning, why are women and people of color prohibited from owning property (within this historical context)? Another key theme in anarchist scholarship is a focus on cooperation and mutual aid, and a call for all power and authority to be dissolved, most notably the power of the state. Anarchists argue that a natural order will replace the unnatural order of the state, and the resulting society will be governed through free association, mutual aid, cooperation, and coordination. Kropotkin, in particular, has contributed to anarchist theory through his analysis of how a society without government is not only possible, but desirable. While many believe that a lack of government will result in chaos and that society needs government to maintain order, Kropotkin claims that when agreements are entered through free consent, there is no need to enforce them because the agreements are entered freely and reciprocally. Conversely, enforced agreements (e.g., agreeing to work for poverty level wages) represent no agreement at all. Kropotkin’s analysis problematically tends to be rather reliant on natural law and natural order, which assumes a certain degree of universalism and essentialism – two ideologies that feminists and other critical scholars have long challenged and disputed.

Most anarchistic thought stops here with a critique of the state, capitalism, and private property, while calling for a society that is based on free federations, cooperation, and mutual aid. Among research participants that referenced anarchism, this conceptualization was the one most commonly articulated, as will be discussed in Chapter Four. However, as hinted above, this conceptualization of anarchistic thought is limited in that it ignores a number of other systems and structures of power. Contributions of feminist anarchists, therefore, are especially important in addressing some of these limitations. Feminist anarchist thought is also pertinent to this research and discussion since issues of gender, race, and sexuality are a primary focus.

Feminist anarchists, such as Parsons, de Cleyre, and Goldman, focused their critique not only on the state, capitalism, and private property, but also on interrelated social relations based on gender and racial domination. These feminist anarchist women also called for societies based on free association, cooperation, and mutual aid; however, they were not blind to the ways in which hierarchies produced by gender and race can still operate within such societies. For example, Parsons' anarchist critique has highlighted how social institutions, such as racism and patriarchy, work closely with economic institutions, which are aligned with the state as to protect their interests, to systematically oppress certain groups of individuals. Parsons also extended her critique to the home, bringing attention equality issues that take place in the home between men and women. While de Cleyre, like other anarchists, envisioned society as being based on free association, cooperation, and mutual aid, she outright denied such claims of naturalness and universal truths, which others such as Kropotkin have relied on. De Cleyre also reflexively extended her critique of institutions to the larger anarchist movement and pointed out how the anarchist movement has not whole-heartedly taken up gender issues nor has its proponents

practiced gender equality in their own homes. Goldman offers us a mode of critique that highlights the intersections and interconnections among the state, economy, and social institutions. For example, Goldman provided a critique of marriage, arguing that it serves to benefit the state and the economy, as well as patriarchy. For Goldman marriage is an institution that ensures women stay socially, politically, and economically subordinate to men. As such, Goldman argued against women's suffrage, claiming that women's ability to vote will not make the political system any less corrupt or oppressive. Goldman also recognized the dual role working women play – working all day at a (under)paid job and then having to come home and provide all the unpaid domestic work for the household. As such, she argued that the right to a wage and a vote will not make women less exploited in neither the work place nor the home.

As can be seen from the work of these three feminist anarchists, anarchist critique can (and should) extend to the diverse, intersecting, and complex ways that systems of oppression work together. Their work draws out how oppressive social institutions, such as racism and patriarchy, are closely aligned with oppressive economic and political institutions and how all these oppressive institutions constitute and reinforce the other (i.e. intersectionality). Their work brings to the forefront how personal issues are political issues, blurring the lines between the private and the public – all which are key sites of feminist analyses.

Anarchism, Urban Planning, and DIY Urbanism

A number of anarchist scholars have addressed the topic of how society would be organized in space within an anarchistic ordered society. For example, Goldman (1908) proposed “a society based on voluntary co-operation of productive groups, communities and societies loosely

federated together, eventually developing into a free communism, actuated by a solidarity of interests” (50). De Cleyre (1908c) claimed that once private property is abolished and replaced with a system of collective access and rights, and industry is organized so that money is no longer necessary, large cities would break up into small communities and all goods and services would be produced locally (53-65). More contemporarily, Bookchin (1967) provided an outline for what his post-state, post-capitalism world would look like – cities would be replaced by “decentralized” “rounded, ecologically balanced communes,” representative forms of government are replaced by face-to-face interactions, the centralized economy is replaced by a regional, locally managed one, and the patriarchal family is replaced by a sexually liberated and equal one (7-8). Ward (1988, reprinted in 2011) advocated for anarchist solutions to contemporary problems through the use of participatory forms of planning with full citizen control as the goal. He called for anarchist-influenced communities that would be self-built among a community of mutual aid and cooperation. These communities would be managed by a cooperative and services would be communal in nature. For Ward (1988, reprinted in 2011), an anarchistic approach to planning is a participatory approach where the plan becomes a tool for liquidating the present social order and changing its direction and aim to one of a different order. Ward (1988, reprinted in 2011) did not believe that the government should have no role in the process, however. He believed that the government should provide basic infrastructure, such as roads, water, sewer, electricity, and the basis shell of a house, and then let the residents develop the rest. Such an approach to city building and planning shifts the residents’ role from consumer to producer of the city.

These are all themes that can be seen running through the DIY urbanism literature, as will be described in this chapter, and through the narratives provided by research participants (see specifically Chapter Four and Six). While a minority of research participants explicitly connected their participation in DIY urbanism activities to anarchist thought and tradition, many of them offered narratives that shared similar discourses with anarchism and anarchistic approaches to city and community building. However, the connections and parallels that I draw in the following section are mine alone. I offer them, however, as a means to set the stage and provide context for the research participants' narratives in other chapters.

Again, DIY urbanism refers to unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen-led urban planning interventions that are small scale, functional, temporary, creative, and place specific. Its activities are focused on re-adapting or re-purposing urban spaces and they often take place outside formal urban planning structures and systems. Central to this mode of planning is the deinstitutionalization and decentralization of the notion of planner. Community residents, under this mode of planning, have direct control over the planning process and are seen as having unique knowledge and skills that are rooted in their experiences as community members. The planning process is participatory, voluntary, functional, temporary, and local and is done through direct action that focuses on transforming everyday life through small scale change. DIY urbanism does not seek to overthrow the formal, institutionalized planning process. Rather, it seeks to create strategies for addressing community issues from within the community, strategies and solutions that can be incorporated into and transform formal planning practice. Many DIY urbanism strategies are focused on keeping urban space in the public sphere and ensuring it is open to all for a variety of uses.

However, there are a number of issues that are left unexplored within these constructs. These issues will be explored throughout this research, but I highlight a major one here as it relates to the above literature in particular. A key theme running throughout is a focus on small, local, and democratic societies as the foundation of a free and just society. However, an exploration of how these societies will promote justice and equality is left unattended to. The issue, therefore, reveals itself in part as one simply of scale (e.g., big versus small, regional versus local) and not a matter of justice or equality in and of itself. Justice and equality will not necessarily be achieved simply by making something small, local, and ‘democratic’ (Purcell, 2006; Young, 2003, 2011). Rather, it will more likely be achieved through how society (or various societies) understand and operationalize the concepts of justice and equality. In other words, small voluntary collectives can still have inequality and injustice present (e.g. patriarchal households), just as inequalities and injustice can be present between and among various collectives. Just as conceptualizations of justice and equality are lacking from these arguments, so too are conceptualizations of what is meant by ‘small,’ ‘local,’ and ‘democratic.’

Right to the City Discourses

Like anarchistic thought, the literature on DIY urbanism and many research participants’ narratives evoked ‘right to the city’ discourses (as will be seen in Chapter Four, specifically). The right to the city concept, originally set forth by Lefebvre (1996), contends that all individuals should have the opportunity to change their lives, their environment, and the institutions that govern them through their common ‘right to the city.’ It is important to note that this is a collective right, not an individual right. Lefebvre (1996) views both the city and its

residents as 'oeuvre' – a collective body of art made up of all the inhabitants and users of a city. Through their interactions with the city's space and their appropriation and production of the city's space, city residents, along with the city itself, create oeuvre, or a work of art. Lefebvre (1996) claims that "only groups, social classes and class fractions capable of revolutionary initiative can take over and realize to fruition solutions to urban problems...it is from these social and political forces that the renewed city will become the oeuvre" (154).

In order for this to happen, dominant ideals must be overcome. Therefore, reform is possible as long as it's counter-hegemonic and includes city inhabitants' "appropriation of time, space, physiological life and desire" (155). Policy is not enough; social force is also, and more importantly, required for social transformation. After all, social force and social relations are what create urban society in the first place. Therefore, the right to the city, according to Lefebvre (1996), is really a right to urban life, which consists of a "place of encounter, priority of use value, inscription in space of a time promoted to the rank of a supreme resource among all resources" (158). Lefebvre (1996) claims that only the working class – those who actually live and inhabit urban space and place use-value over exchange-value – can bring the concept of the right to the city to realization. It is through their production and appropriation of space that these individuals transform space and social relations of urban space. And it through this production, appropriation, and transformation that individuals secure a right to the city.

Marcuse (2009) claims that a right to the city is "both a cry and a demand, a cry out of necessity and a demand for something more" (190). He claims that it from experiences of exclusion and a lack of access to basic human rights that the demand for a right to the city emerges. He states, "It

is the right to the city of those who do not now have it with which we are concerned” (191).

Conversely, Schmid (2011) argues that Lefebvre did not conceive of the right to the city concept as a call for basic human rights, but rather a call for an alternative city and way of life – one in which all members of society have equal access to all of the city’s resources. The concept, however, has been used for both - a call for basic human rights and as a model for an alternative urban system and structure – as can be seen by the concept’s use by urban social movements. Some scholars have pointed out, however, how the right to the city concept has been watered down and overused, resulting in the concept’s radical transformative potential to be limited. Souza (2010) claims that the common use of the concept is often restricted to imply a right to basic human rights and the opportunity to participate in the decision making process. This, according to Souza (2010), limits us to a micro-level view of the root problems. He claims, “in many cases the ‘right to the city’ seems to mean the following: the right to a better, more ‘human’ life in the context of the capitalist city, the capitalist society and on the basis of a (‘reformed’ and ‘improved’) representative ‘democracy’” (Souza, 2010; 317). The application of the right to the city concept that Souza (2010) outlines recognizes the heterogeneous and hegemonic nature of both the state and the capitalists, proposes direct action to solving problems, and suggests that we not foreclose on the opportunity to work with the state when it serves the greater interest.

Despite some scholars pushing the right to the city concept further towards progressive and transformative means and ends, such as Souza (2010), much of the scholarship on the right to the city concept, however, fails to recognize the social structures and mechanisms that affect the production of space, the use of space, the accessibility of space, and movement through space

(see Chapters Two, Four, and Five for examples). Fenster (2005) offers us a feminist critique of the right to the city concept, which illuminates the complex and oftentimes paradoxical ways that social structures impact the degree to which a right to the city can be exercised. She uses Lefebvre's right to the concept as a way to understand citizenship within cities and offers a gender sensitive approach to examine the lived experience of women living in Jerusalem and London. Fenster (2005) claims that women's rights within the home are often denied or restricted, both in terms of appropriation of space and participation, due to patriarchal domination. While this can also be the case in the public spaces of the city, many of the women Fenster (2005) interviewed viewed the city as freedom and the home as prison, which flips the notions of public and private around (with home becoming public [controlled] and the city becoming private [freedom]). Yet, appropriation and use rights to the city are also restricted for women at the city scale, as well. Factors that create this restriction of mobility include fear and cultural meanings of space that make mobility impossible. Fenster (2005) further claims that women's right to participate in the city decision making processes are also restricted, with some groups (based on gender and nationality, for example) having more access to participate in the city's decision making process than others. Therefore, Fenster (2005) claims that we need to understand the multiple ways in which identities and social positionalities affect rights to the city and recognize the complex and heterogeneous nature of how rights are actually lived.

This brings us back to the importance of exploring urban spaces, processes, and systems through an intersectional feminist theoretical lens, which we will now turn our attention back to and refocus on DIY urbanism more specifically. Importantly, as will be seen in this chapter and the chapters that follow, the literature on DIY urbanism and many DIY urbanists who participated in

this research often referenced, explicitly or not, the above right to the city discourses, as well as anarchistic traditions. The purpose of this section was to introduce, albeit very briefly, these two theories and discourses, so they can be contextualized through the research findings detailed in the chapters that follow. I have also applied my theoretical framework to this scholarship and these concepts to make some theoretical claims, which will be explored further throughout this research. I would like to now return to the concept of DIY urbanism specifically and extend my analytical lens further into the DIY urbanism literature. In doing so, I again make some theoretical claims that will be explored throughout the entirety of this research.

Troubling (the) Conceptualizations of DIY Urbanism

Drawing upon the existing literature, this section questions and complicates dominant discourses surrounding DIY urbanism. Specifically, it draws attention to the gaps in current scholarship by highlighting the racialized, classed, gendered, and sexualized biases found within these conceptualizations of the topic, its activities, actors, and spaces. It also investigates how DIY urbanism activities and actors are connected to larger urban systems and policies. I use the intersectional feminist theoretical framework detailed above to theoretically explore the discourses surrounding DIY urbanism. This section is also informed by my personal experience as a community planner working on ending homelessness in Chicago, as well as participant-observations of DIY urbanism activities. I argue that the dominant discourses of DIY urbanism focus on a narrow set of unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen-led urban planning interventions, which may have major implications for cities and their residents. However, the terrain of DIY urbanism is diverse, fluid, paradoxical, and at times subversive, revealing bright spots for more inclusive and reflexive practice.

The Gendering, Classing, and Racializing of DIY Urbanism

Central to all the case examples and activities detailed in the literature under the general rubric of DIY urbanism is a focus on public spaces and the physical built environment – from chair bombing to homemade bike lanes to guerrilla gardening to appropriating streets for non-automobile activities. As detailed above, feminist urban scholars have highlighted the gendered biases that are present within the privileging of public and physical space in urban planning discourses (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Hayden, 1981; Jarvis, et al., 2009; Markusen, 1981; Massey and McDowell, 1984; McDowell, 2008; Parker, forthcoming). Public spaces have a long history of being coded as masculine and being the focus of urban planning. Often ignored are the unpaid, private, reproductive activities that take place in and support cities, and how they are bound in ‘space.’ Feminist urban scholar Katz (2001) refers to this process as the ‘unhinging’ of social reproduction from production. She defines social reproduction as “the messy, fleshy, and indeterminate stuff of everyday life” that is focused on “the acquisition and distribution of the means of existence, including food, shelter, clothing, and healthcare” (Katz, 2001: 711). As such, DIY urbanism is discursively framed as a masculinist practice and space. In this section I examine these arguments by comparing two types of DIY urbanism practice – the occupation of abandoned space to promote the arts and as a response to homelessness. The arguments put forth in this section are not meant to say one form is more important than the other; rather it is to highlight how DIY urbanism is discursively framed along narrow masculinist lines.

DIY urbanism is also often seen as transforming power relationships and urban inequalities by transferring the power to plan from city developers and authorities to city residents. For example, Radywyl and Biggs (2013) claim that DIY urbanism:

...offers a mechanism for instigating more targeted disruptions within urban systems. It represents particular value as a short-term process for instigating long-term change and which mitigates political or financial risks while engaging the public at a normative, values based level by making the value of public space as a common asset visible and explicit. These opportunities for the public appropriation of space are important for driving a more equitable redistribution of power and resources (Oldenburg, 2010), as a participatory culture of access and membership are the first steps towards turning a public space into an urban commons (Radywyl and Biggs, 2013: 168).

However, there is an environmental deterministic logic driving this, which is founded on the belief that changing the physical, and sometimes economic, environment will translate into social transformation. For example, occupying an abandoned warehouse and repurposing it as an arts community challenges assumptions and laws about private property, ownership, and use- versus exchange-value. However, through this contestation of space, the artist commune might get to stay in the building, but the systematic conditions that result in people not having access to shelter remains untouched. In relation to the above, and often cited, example from DIY urbanism literature, the focus is placed on putting the abandoned building back into economically 'productive' use, while ignoring the social reproductive issues that affect one's access to the means of existence. This narrow focus on physical intervention privileges 'masculinist' ideals about the built environment and economic spaces, while ignoring more 'feminine' ideals about

the infrastructures of care and survival (the effects of which are described in Chapter Five). It disconnects social reproduction from production, privileging masculinist views of production and uses of physical space.

But are the activities and spaces created by homeless individuals any different than those created through celebrated forms of DIY urbanism, such as the public arts? After eight years working on community planning initiatives related to ending homelessness in Chicago, the difference between the two is not clear. Creating space for yourself in the city, as a homeless individual, is an unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen-led urban intervention. It's also small scale, functional, temporary, creative, and place specific. It takes place outside formal urban planning structures and systems, and seeks to fill in the cracks of traditional planning practice (e.g. a lack of appropriate housing and services). Deslandes (2012) asks a similar question and claims that "DIY urbanists respond to the scarcity of urban space by opening it up to culture, community and the grassroots economy;" whereas, individuals who are homeless "demonstrate the scarcity of housing, social services and community resources in urban space by appearing in that space and using it for shelter and other necessities." Deslandes (2012) concludes that both "share a reliance on marginal urban space," however, "the 'creative city' policies that support DIY urbanism are unlikely to foster solutions for the homeless or similarly disadvantaged." So while certain forms of DIY urbanism (e.g. appropriating public or unoccupied space for an arts project) are celebrated in many cities and may become formalized or legalized, other forms of DIY urbanism (e.g. a homeless person sleeping in a public or unoccupied space) remain illegal and criminalized. In Chicago, this double standard is apparent through the process of city staff clearing from the streets and discarding homeless individuals' belongings, despite efforts of

housing providers to collaborate with them, while the shrapnel from yarn bombings [i.e. the decorating of public objects with knitting, often done by anonymous artists] remain in urban spaces.

The extent to which households and bodies are governed in urban space is also often ignored, which likewise has gendered, raced, and classed implications. For example, the literature on DIY urbanism explores how urban space is regulated, but not how certain bodies are regulated within that space and how that affects one's relationship to resources (Gilbert, 2000). How these 'DIY' bodies are regulated in space also matter. Homeless individuals that are visibly present in public spaces are a racialized and classed group and their bodies are strictly regulated in space.

According to a recent survey, Chicago's unsheltered homeless population (i.e. those living in public spaces) was 82 percent male and 74 percent African American, with 19 percent reporting receiving mental health services and 28 percent receiving substance use services (City of Chicago, 2014). The regulation of bodies in space becomes an important analytical dimension, one that is often ignored, in order to explore the dominant discourses surrounding DIY urbanism.

Therefore, dominant conceptualizations of DIY urbanism reflect and reinforce the masculinist privileging of public urban spaces, physical and economic infrastructures, and the public activities that take place in these spaces. They overlook the vast array of other, and often more 'private,' do-it-yourself activities that also take place in cities; activities that are often done by individuals that are not recognized or supported, and often criminalized, by the state, such as the activities low income individuals, homeless individuals, and documented and undocumented

immigrants engage in in order to survive and ensure the basic needs of themselves and their families are met (Chavez, 2012; Gilbert, 2000; Rojas, 2010; Webb, et al., 2009).

There are exceptions to this trend. The everyday urbanism concept, which shares large spaces of overlap with DIY urbanism discourses, analytically links and blurs physical and social, public and private urban spaces; and uses everyday lived experiences, which are complex, power laden, and paradoxical, as a way to approach urban planning (Chase, et al., 2008). However, while many DIY urbanism scholars reference everyday urbanism, the majority tend to focus on a narrow set of activities that don't necessarily reflect the everyday ways individuals shape cities through their social reproduction efforts. Rojas' (2010) work on Latino 'improvisation and reinvention' in Los Angeles provides an excellent example of DIY urbanism scholarship that focuses on both social reproduction and economic production activities, and the relationship between the two, as individuals create spaces. Other examples of DIY urbanism activities that focus on issues of social reproduction and that are designed to address a lack of access to mainstream resources include garage sales, urban homesteading, informal economic activities that are often home-based, social centres, and cooperative housing arrangements. Many of these activities are discursively framed as 'informality' (see, for example, Mukhija and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2014). Despite this, the dominant discourses of DIY urbanism scholarship focus on a narrow set of unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen-led urban planning interventions, which has racial, gendered, and classed implications. In this sense, many practices of DIY urbanism rely on social privilege, in that city authorities chose to ignore, but also may adopt/adapt into policy and practice, more 'creative' forms of DIY urbanism, despite its illegality, because it aligns with

desired images of a liberal and creative city and the actors are seen as non-threatening (Sankalia, 2014).

DIY Urbanism, New Urbanism, Creative Cities, and Neoliberal Urban Politics

Several scholars have pointed out the connections between DIY urbanism and larger urban political agendas, such as new urbanism, creative cities, and neoliberalism (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Deslandes, 2013; Douglas, 2014; Malloy, 2009; Mould, 2014). While their arguments vary considerably, these scholars recognize that DIY urbanism is embedded in larger, multi-scalar processes of economic restructuring. Some argue that this presents an opportunity for cities to be creative and flexible, while others argue that these urban political agendas reify social inequalities. An exploration of both arguments is presented in this section. However, I argue that the embracing of DIY urbanism by city planning entities has racialized, gendered, and classed implications in terms of what activities, as performed by what groups of individuals and for what purposes, are celebrated.

The notions of ‘temporary’ (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Colomb 2012; Oswalt, et al., 2013), ‘loose’ (Franck and Stevens 2007), ‘experimental’ (Lehtovuori, 2012) or ‘second hand’ (Osswald, et al., 2012) space are often used in conjunction with the theorization of DIY urbanism. The general guiding logic behind these conceptualization of space is that in a time of shrinking public and private financial resources; rapidly changing urban economic, political, and social landscapes; an abundance of vacant space; and a need to revitalize urban space in the face of all these things, we need to look to more dynamic, fluid, and flexible forms of urban planning and development (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Groth, and Corijn, 2005; O’Connell, 2013;

Schwarz, et al., 2009). Namely, we need to view the use of urban space as being fluid and flexible. The uncertainty of urban political, economic, and environmental conditions require an approach that is suitable for “innovation and experimentation” (Bishop and Williams, 2012; 23; Osswald, et al., 2012).

DIY urbanism is often said to offer cities cheap, quick, and easy fixes to some of the challenges city officials and planners are faced with today, such as shrinking resources and an abundance of ‘unproductive’ urban space (Greco, 2012; O’Connell, 2013; Schwarz, et al., 2009; The Street Plan Collaborative, 2012). DIY urban planning activities are seen as being “both part of a top-down drive to encourage active communities and diminish the burden on the state, and a grassroots desire to ‘do something’” (Bishop and Williams, 2012; 213). According to the literature, there are a number of urban planning tools that can be employed through the city government to make such an urban planning approach possible – such as creating flexible zoning laws and leasing requirements and allowing ‘free zones’ for experimentation (Bishop and Williams, 2012).

Social and economic arrangements of urban areas are also changing as a result of economic restructuring and deindustrialization. The workforce in the US and Europe is increasingly becoming characterized by “flexible working, self-employment, virtual organizations, virtual meetings, work-life integration, greater diversity in the workplace, and more creativity and playfulness” (Bishop and Williams, 2012; 26). Such working patterns require new urban spatial arrangements to meet these needs. It has also been argued that the intensity of the use of urban space is increasing. Given this changing nature of work and the workplace, spaces now need to

serve multiple functions – a coffee shop becomes a board room, schools rent out space for farmer’s markets, businesses rent out conference room that are rarely used, streets become festivals, etc. (Bishop and Williams, 2012). Or, in other words, cities are increasingly being comprised of creative class workers and cities need to adapt policies that cater to the creative class.

The creative class refers to a specific class of workers – highly educated and mobile individuals who are employed in professional occupations that “function is to create ‘meaningful new forms’” (Florida, 2003; 8). The creative class is seen as an economic driver for cities and regions. It is argued that “regional economic growth is driven by the locational choices of creative people — the holders of creative capital — who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas” (Florida, 2002, cited in Peck, 2005). As such, cities are to compete for this class of worker by creating the conditions (i.e. creative class politics) that will attract this group of individuals. Bishop and Williams (2012) claim that temporary uses are most common/needed among the creative class and, as cities continue to market themselves as creative, the opportunities for creative, temporary uses grows. They state,

It has long been observed that creative entrepreneurs, artists and others are often early entrants to marginal areas, squatting or occupying vacant buildings on temporary leases, adapting them, testing the market and helping to change the image of an area. In fact the role and impact of temporary uses has received most attention in relation to such ‘creative milieus.’ This is not a new phenomenon or driver, but in recent years there has been growing interest in culture and creativity as essential components of the vibrant, competitive post-industrial city. The creative industries are an important economic sector

and many cities are now using cultural policies to project a new image in an increasingly global market” (Bishop and Williams, 2012; 34).

Creative class urban politics, however, are not universally celebrated and many critics have linked such urban politics as being embedded within larger processes of the neoliberalization. Using the conceptualization set forth by Brenner, et al. (2010), neoliberalization here is understood as “a variegated form of regulatory restructuring” that “prioritizes market-based, market-oriented, or market-disciplinary responses to regulatory problems; it strives to intensify commodification in all realms of social life; and it often mobilizes speculative financial instruments to open up new arenas for capitalist profitmaking” (329-330). According to Kratke (2001), the ‘rise of the creative class’ can be viewed as a symptom of economic restructuring that is guided by this process of neoliberalization within cities. Furthermore, Peck (2005) claims that “creative-city strategies are predicated on, and designed for, this neoliberalized terrain” 764). As Peck (2005) points out, creative city type rhetoric “both glorifies and naturalizes the contracted-out, ‘free-agent’ economy, discursively validating the liberties it generates, and the lifestyles it facilitates, for the favored class of creative...while paying practically no attention to the divisions of labor within which such employment practices are embedded” (Peck, 2005; 756). Furthermore, Kratke (2001) argues that certain segments of the “creative class” are actually an exploited group characterized by vulnerable, unsteady freelance work that is without medical benefits.

Turning back to DIY urbanism, specifically, we can see how DIY approaches to urban planning and policy can be aligned with the larger processes of neoliberalization (Douglas, 2014; Malloy,

2009). DIY urbanism, as described in the literature, emerges from and relies on a lean state, financial disinvestment, free and flexible modes of production, flexible capital accumulation, and deregulation of urban rules and regulations, meanwhile promoting individual responsibility and self-help. So, for example, both DIY urbanists and private financial interests, for very different purposes, are advocating for the deregulation of urban space. However, the temporary and precarious spaces that DIY urbanism exists within allow city officials and landowners to capitalize on DIY urbanism's slightly more financially productive uses of vacant property until something more profitable comes along.

Deslandes (2013) argues that DIY urbanism is tied to capitalistic speculation, real estate development, and gentrification. While the overall goal of DIY urbanism is to improve and not to explicitly extract wealth from an urban space, there is a tension between DIY urbanism as a transformative social practice and as a practice that is easily aligned with neoliberal urban agendas. Arguably, this creates conditions in which DIY urbanists are tasked with reanimating the spaces that private financial interests have stripped the wealth out of and then abandoned, only so private financial investment can move back in these areas and extract the wealth that DIY urbanists may have created. So, as Douglas (2014) points out, "the creators of these [DIY] interventions may not only be acting in the context of neoliberal processes, but may be inherently part of these processes through both their direct actions and their longer term impact" (19). Furthermore, Mould (2014) argues that the 'tactical urbanism' brand of DIY urbanism "represents the latest cycle of the urban 'strategy' to co-opt moments of creativity and alternative urban practices to the urban hegemony – it is the new Creative City" (537). Therefore, DIY urbanism, capitalism, and urban politics become entrenched in one another.

There are also racialized, gendered, and classed dimensions running through all this. As feminist urban scholar Parker (2012) notes, “popular planning initiatives, such as New Urbanism and ‘creative class’ economic development strategies, perpetuate gender and other inequities; may fail to be inclusive; reify masculinist, racialized, and elite subject positions; and devote critical urban resources to gentrification” (Parker, 2012: 621; see also McLean, 2014; Parker, 2008). Furthermore, Douglas (2014) argues that DIY urbanism activities in the US “appear to be more common in newly hip and ‘gentrifying’ neighborhoods than in the impoverished inner-city ‘ghettos’ or derelict industrial districts one might think of as the more visible ‘victims’ of neoliberal policy and state disinvestment, where DIY actions should ostensibly be most ‘needed’” (18). It should be no surprise then that the Next Generation of New Urbanists (NextGen), which is part of the national planning group the Congress of New Urbanism, sponsored the publication of The Street Plan Collaborative’s (2012) handbooks on DIY urbanism, and that one of its ‘tacticians’ is also a steering-committee member of the NextGen (O’Connell, 2013). The result, as Mould (2014) argues, is that DIY urbanism activities “are being co-opted by urban governments in order to exude an urban ‘brand’ that aligns with a cool and creative, even edgy, PR-riddled narrative, while maintaining an essence of control over such interventionist urban activities” (Mould, 2014: 535).

It has also been noted that city officials and law enforcement officials are generally not concerned with the legality of many DIY urbanism activities, provided there are no safety concerns and the activities fall within socially acceptable parameters (Pagano, 2013; Sankalia, 2014). Given what we know, according to the literature, about the nature and type of actors

involved in DIY urbanism, we can begin to see how social privileges are reflected and reinforced through DIY urbanism activities and the spaces that they create. As noted above, homeless individuals who occupy/reclaim urban space generally do not enjoy the same degree of acceptance and privileges afforded to other DIY urbanists who occupy/reclaim urban space.

Conversely, urban governments may provide mechanisms of accountability and equity. As noted above, many feminist urban scholars have critiqued planning processes, in which non-elected elites create plans and policies for cities through non-democratic processes and mechanisms (Kern and Wekerle, 2008; Parker, forthcoming; Reichl, 2002). DIY urbanism has the potential to operate in a similar fashion. For example, Finn (2014) argues that “despite laudable ends, DIY means are unorthodox, skirting formal processes and exercise of police powers that planners and public officials rely on to ensure values such as consensus, public safety, equity, efficiency, coordination of urban systems and others” (2). In other words, DIY urbanists create plans and urban spaces without necessarily engaging in community-based democratic processes. DIY urbanists are also not accountable to the public in the same way that urban planners and city officials are in that there are no formal (or informal) measures to ensure equity and consensus. By selectively blending of DIY urbanism and more formal planning mechanisms there may be opportunities for more equitable practice, but there are also dangers, as described above.

Therefore, the embracing of DIY urbanist interventions by city planning entities has racialized, gendered, and classed implications in terms of what activities, as performed by what groups of individuals and for what purposes, are seen as appropriate and inappropriate. DIY urbanism is also embedded within larger urban systems, structures, and policies. Namely, it operates within

neoliberalizing urban spaces where creative class type activities are leveraged to foster economic development. While DIY urbanism activities may be responding to and challenging these urban policies and processes, they also become implicated in them, especially as city authorities seek flexible modes of production in order to increase the economic prosperity of the city.

Transformative Potentials of DIY Urbanism

While the discussion above, and this research in endeavor in general, is critical of DIY urbanism, the possibilities and potential of it as an approach to urban planning should not be dismissed.

Many DIY urbanism scholars point out how private property/ownership boundaries are challenged (Douglas, 2012; Pagano, 2013), alternative spaces focused on use- instead of exchange-value are created (Malloy, 2009), new forms of non-legally based urban citizenship are enacted (Holston, 1998), power is shifted away, if only temporarily, from city officials and private developers to citizens (Andres, 2013; Groth and Corijn, 2005), and new and progressive approaches to urban planning can be tested (Iveson, 2013).

While I have argued above that DIY urbanism can become complicit in neoliberal and creative class urban politics, others point out how DIY urbanism activities challenge such doctrines. For example, Malloy (2009) states that DIY urbanists:

...temporarily remediate the leftovers of capitalism through radical intervention in urban spaces that begin to poke holes in the dominate frame of the city as an avenue for competition and exchange. Instead, the city is viewed as a place where community can be built and experienced, temporarily, while simultaneously creating alternative temporary uses for, and opportunities within, disused urban spaces (21).

Some DIY urbanism scholars also highlights how creative class groups can be reflexive in their involvement in these types of politics and continually seek to challenge and subvert them through their activities (Malloy, 2009; McLean, 2014).

Many DIY scholars argue that DIY urbanism creates more democratic urban spaces and urban planning approaches. Groth and Corijn (2005) claim that DIY urbanism is a response to “a lack of democratic planning and one-sided planning visions” (522). It is dissatisfaction with these traditional, top-down urban planning modes that have led to the creation of “deliberately transformative” forms of urban planning, like DIY urbanism (Groth and Corijn, 2005; 522). Furthermore, Douglas (2012), states, “the movement toward informal, spontaneous, DIY urbanism suggests a more malleable, democratic, and dynamic city” (4). Some DIY scholars claim that “the eventual acceptance of many illegal DIY urbanist acts signals the successful creation of new common property” (Pagano, 2013; 376). Pagano (2013) states:

As it turns out, many instances of DIY urbanist lawbreaking point to flaws in democratic processes in cities. Additionally, regardless of the reasons for the illegality of the action, many acts of DIY urbanism are in fact democracy-enhancing. Though they avoid formal governmental processes, well-executed DIY urbanist interventions actually strengthen the conditions needed for healthy local democracies. They create spaces for community. They simultaneously demonstrate possibilities for use of urban space and point to the democratic deficiencies that prevent localized innovations from happening through legal channels (378).

It has also been argued by some scholars that DIY urbanism creates spaces and opportunities for ‘insurgent citizenship’ (Holston, 1998). Insurgent citizenship challenges of the idea that the state is the only vehicle through which claims to citizenship can take place. Rather, insurgent citizenship is enacted through everyday urban practices, such as DIY urbanism. Such practices illuminate the “struggles over what it means to be a member of the modern state” (Holston, 1998; 47).

Conclusion: Working Towards Addressing the Gaps in DIY Urbanism Scholarship

I have argued that the dominant discourses of DIY urbanism are problematically narrow, which affects its potential for radical transformation and democratization of urban spaces and politics. Within these discourses, there are a number of gaps in terms of a critical lack of attention paid to the racialized, classed, gendered, and sexualized conceptualization of the topic, its activities, its actors, and its spaces. While some scholars partially investigate how DIY urbanism activities and actors are connected to larger urban systems and policies, most fail to offer an in-depth exploration of how these issues are embedded in urban systems and policies, and surrounding systems of meaning.

An intersectional feminist analytical lens brings these critical areas into focus. I have argued that the discourses of DIY urbanism are gendered, racialized, and classed in which masculinist ideas about public space, physical and economic infrastructures, and public activities are privileged, while a vast array of other do-it-yourself activities, which are private and focused on social reproduction and survival, are ignored. Dominant conceptualizations of DIY urbanism are also skewed by assumptions about who participates, through what activities, and for what purposes;

and therefore who creates DIY urban spaces. While DIY urbanism activities may be responding to and challenging certain urban policies and processes, they also become implicated in them, especially as city authorities seek to reduce expenditures and increase economic prosperity. DIY urbanism, capitalism, urban politics, and social relations are entrenched in one another and can operate in ways that reinscribe relationships of power. As DIY urbanism approaches are tolerated and adopted/adapted by city authorities, these narrow conceptualizations become all the more problematic.

While DIY urbanism can be socially transformative and offer new approaches for residents to (re)claim their right to the city, important questions remain. As currently conceived, DIY urbanism has the potential to represent an enactment of social privileges, which may negate its radical potential. Greater attention needs to be given to the ways in which DIY urbanism may be aligned with neoliberal urban politics, which serve purposes counter to those offered as socially transformative. Using an intersectional feminist analytical framework, some of the limitations and possibilities of DIY urbanism can be put into better view.

The theoretical framework detailed in this chapter informs the research findings that follow. The key issues related to DIY urbanism that have been identified in this chapter are also explored more fully in the chapters that follow as I explore several different facets of DIY urbanism in practice. In particular, I attempt to fill some of these gaps in the scholarship and broaden our understanding of DIY urbanism in theory and in practice. Before turning our attention to those research sites and findings, I describe my methodological approach, research design, and techniques in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY, RESEARCH METHODS, AND DESIGN

This chapter details the methodological approach that guided this research, as well as the research design and techniques used. Specifically, I drew upon feminist approaches to knowledge production and feminist based methodologies. I used ethnographic and the extended case methods and collected data through multiple sites of inquiry. I also used a multitude of methods in order to collect data. I have weaved these partial and situated sites and sources together in order to extend theory and reveal some of the ways that research participants made sense of and narrated their experiences. I also situated these experiences and narratives in the broader context in which their activities took place. Drawing from feminist theories and forms of knowledge production, my methodology and methods are deeply entangled with one another. A more detailed description of my methodological approach, research methods and design, and sites of inquiry follow.

Knowledge Production and Methodology

Feminist Approaches to Knowledge Production

A feminist approach to knowledge production has become a useful approach among critical feminist scholars. A feminist approach to knowledge production refutes the main principles of the more traditional philosophies of science, such as positivism and logical empiricism, which, feminist scholars have argued, were developed predominantly by white European and American men (Harding, 2002). As a result, the production of knowledge through research approaches such as positivism and logical empiricism often fail to recognize how social privileges are bound up in research, negating their claims to objectivity and neutrality. For example, as Strega (2005)

states, “the idea that there is only one path to truth, that its discovery is guaranteed by objectivity and the rigorous pursuit of a scientific methodology by a rational subject, disguises both the gendered, raced, and classed nature of this discourse and its privileging of White, upper/middleclass masculinity” (203). Or as Ritzdorf (1996) states, “when theory is put forth in general categorical language as ‘gender blind’ [or race blind, etc.] it denies that the analysis is most often based on the experience of white, middle-class and upper-class men in Western societies” (445). Furthermore, a number of anti-colonial feminist scholars have also revealed the ways in which Eurocentric theories of scientific knowledge, such as positivism, has served a larger colonialist agenda. This agenda has historically been used to ‘demonstrate’ and ‘document’ colonized groups’ inferiority to European whites (Mohanty, 2003; Shohat, 1998; Smith, 1999; and Visweseran, 1994). As Smith (1999) states, “‘research’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary” (1). Much of this research and the knowledge produced through it hid behind positivism’s claims of neutrality and objectivity, when in fact it served to reify white power and privilege. Therefore, feminist methodologies require a critical examination of how (purportedly value and culturally neutral) conceptual frameworks serve hierarchical structures, specifically refuting the ideas of white capitalist patriarchic Eurocentric theories of scientific knowledge (Haraway, 1988; 583).

Feminist scholars have sought alternative means through which to produce knowledge. One of the primary divergences between feminist approaches and the dominant/traditional view of the philosophies of science is that the feminist approach does not believe that there is one way to achieve objectivity and structure inquiry. Rather, feminist approaches recognize that there are multiples ways in which, or standpoints from which, scientific knowledge can be produced, all of

which will be affected by one's social position (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1992, 1998, and 2002). In order to refute "the idea that there is only one path to truth," feminist approaches to knowledge production examine institutions, both formal and informal, from non-dominant perspectives or standpoints (Collins, 2009; Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1992, 1998, and 2002; Strega (2005; 203). Meaning, marginalized and alternative perspectives – perspectives that are often the least likely to be heard through traditional research approaches, such as the perspectives of women, non-whites, non-heteronormative individuals, etc. – are explicitly sought. In seeking out alternative perspectives and voices, there is greater opportunity to see limited and distorted conceptual frameworks, methods, rules, values, and procedures of inquiry. In doing so, the privileging of white masculinity within knowledge production arenas is also challenged, while alternative modes of knowledge production are developed. A primary goal, then, is to reveal biases, ask new questions, and generate new knowledge and knowledge production mechanisms (Harding, 1998 and 2002).

Feminist knowledge production focuses on the notion of multiple knowledges, reinforcing the understanding that there is not one singular "truth," but rather many perspectives and experiences which intersect in diverse and complex ways to create multiple ways of knowing. A focus on these multiple knowledges requires an examination of the relationships between knowledge and power. As Collins (2009) notes, knowledge is socially situated, in power-imbued ways, and is produced through lived experience. In Collins' (2009) work, she states that she "felt it was important to examine the complexity of ideas that exist in both scholarly and everyday life...Approaching theory in this way challenges both the ideas of educated elites and the role of theory in sustaining hierarchies of privilege" (viii). She goes to explain how black feminist

thought, in particular, has been rendered invisible by mainstream scholarship – initially because black women were explicitly excluded from academic institutions and then later because their knowledge challenged white male elites’ claims to knowledge. As Collins’ (2009) work highlights, feminist methodological approaches and forms of knowledge production engage with both theory and practice – from the formulation of a research question to the reporting of findings. It links epistemology (“a theory of knowledge”; who can know and what can be known), methodology (“a theory of how research is done or should proceed”), and method (“a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence”) together (cited in Hesse-Biber, 2012: 5).

A focus on lived experience also highlights how intersecting relations of power affect knowledge production, as is evident in Collins’ (2009) work. As described in Chapter Two and which will not be repeated here, the concept of intersectionality refers to the multiple and intersecting identities that make up individuals, such as race and gender, which cannot be pulled apart and examined in isolation from each other (a discussion on how I methodological approached this in my research follows). Similarly, the complex systems and structures of meaning and power in which they are embedded cannot be easily extracted. By focusing on these multiple knowledges and explicitly seeking marginalized voices, intersectionality can be revealed. Feminist approaches to knowledge production leverage lived experience and multiple knowledges as a way to break down white privileged research by examining multiple, intersectional, and power-imbued voices and perspectives, and by understanding that there are multiple ways of knowing.

Applying Feminist Knowledge Production my Research

I have thus far provided a number of a summary of defining features of feminist approaches to knowledge production. However, it is important to note, as Hesse-Biber (2012) does, that “...there is no single feminist epistemology or methodology. Instead, multiple feminist lenses wake us up to layers of sexist, racist, homophobic, and colonialist points of view” (4).

Furthermore, as Shohat (1998) argues, feminist knowledge production is not about a universal vision or a metanarrative; seeing things as either black or white, good or bad. Rather, it examines the “palimpsestic complexity” of identity and power relations as part of larger processes, which are full of contradictions and shifting landscapes and positions (32).

The features I have described above are the ones I utilized in my research in order to produce knowledge, but I recognize there are countless others ways in which feminist scholars produce knowledge, many guided by various theoretical disciplines, such as post-structuralism, materialism, transnationalism, etc. As I developed this research project and carried it out, I decidedly did not focus on or privilege one type of feminism over another. Rather, I kept all possible theorizations and methodological tools available to me, and allowed my research findings to speak back to the relevant theories and feminisms. As will be discussed in the following chapters, many research participants made sense of their experiences and relayed narratives that were quite materialistic in nature. Meaning, they focused on the material conditions that they experienced on a day to day basis and proposed material solutions to improving those conditions (Hayden, 2000). Or as Blackwell (2010) states, research participants narrated how they “negotiate[d] and navigate[d] the materiality of power in their ‘fixed’ positions” (30). As such, those material aspects are most present in this work.

I did not approach nor do I present my research as objective or representative. I do not attempt to put forth grand, master narratives, singular truths, or universal laws that are to be generalized beyond the contexts of this research. Drawing from the extended case method, which is detailed below, the goal of this research is not to reduce cases to some general or universal law. Rather, the goal is to “causally connect cases” (Burawoy, 1998: 19). While I do make generalizations within my research, I highlight how the construction of the knowledge put forth by my research is partial and socially situated and is created by lived experience, including my own. This research focuses on a diverse array of perspectives and experiences and brings them together in order to reveal the diverse and complex ways that multiple ways of knowing are created. Contradictions, tensions, and absences were revealed in the various narratives that research participants put forth, as well as within the existing literature. Instead of trying to reconcile these differences or fill in omissions, I highlighted them.

I also engaged with both theory and practice, putting them in conversation with one another and letting my research results dictate that conversation. I did not rely on positivist or logical empiricist approaches to knowledge production or research methods or designs. As will be discussed in greater detail below, I did use one method that is commonly aligned with positivistic, quantitative research. However, in a deliberate methodological move, I used this method in an alternative manner that is more closely aligned with my larger methodological framework. My research also has an explicit focus on issues related to gender, race, class, and other relationships of power, which is extended throughout my research. I paid great attention to my role as a researcher, the social privileges that I brought to that role, and the role I played in constructing the analysis and narratives of this research.

Feminist Methodological Approaches

So what makes a research methodology ‘feminist’? It challenges and disrupts positivism and logical empiricism (e.g., the belief in objective, value free research, that is performed using rigid models and methods, that creates universals, laws, and truths that can be generalized to the entire world). As a research methodological approach, it recognizes that “knowledge and truth are partial, situated, subjective, power imbued, and relational” (Hesse-Biber, 2012; 9, drawing from Haraway). As such, a feminist methodological research approach calls for and provides alternative ways for producing knowledge. Two key components include the use of reflexivity (as opposed to objectivity) and a conscious focus on ethics, lived experiences, difference, and intersectionality (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Feminist research tends to be anti-dichotomous in that it seeks to blur or trouble dualistic distinctions (e.g., qualitative-quantitative, public-private, male-female, etc.). It seeks to elicit subjugated knowledge, address issues of power and authority, move marginal knowledge to the center, and to bring about social change and transformation through research.

It could be argued that the above characteristics are not uniquely feminist and that many other critical scholars’ and theorists’ use similar methodological approaches. To create a distinction, many scholars who employ feminist methodological approaches tend to focus heavily on gender or ‘women’s’ issues, explicitly aligning the methodologies with gender. This focus can lead to questions such as: Can only women conduct feminist research? Can only women be the subjects of feminist research? Are women the sole benefactor of feminist research? Are feminist research projects only concerned with ‘women’s issues’ and concerns? I assert that what make these

methodologies feminist are their theoretical origins, which has translated into a distinct methodology approach suitable for a diversity of critical and anti-oppressive research endeavors (see Smith (1999) for an example of this). Meaning, that is was feminist scholars that challenged the traditional and dominant research paradigms, and proposed alternative ones. And it is these feminist scholars and their methodological work that I drew from in this research.

In addition to being extremely well suited for examining the complex and intersecting nature of the social world from a gendered perspective, feminist methodological research approaches offer us several other important tools. Feminist methodological approaches recognize that knowledge can only be partial and is situated within larger relations of power. Individuals are explicitly positioned as being institutionally and systemically gendered, raced, classed, etc. beings (Hesse-Biber, 2012). As an approach it relies on reflexivity as opposed to objectivity, since true objectivity is not possible in research (Harding, 1992; Naples, 2003; Parker, forthcoming). Reflexivity in turn demands a conscious focus on ethics, lived experiences, difference, and intersectionality as analytical tools. Reflexivity is particularly important in that:

It highlights rather than obscures the participation of the researcher in the research process. It makes clear that interpretation is taking place, and by implication calls into question the alleged neutrality and objectivity of other research/researchers, thus offering an important political and methodological challenge to standard research practices (Strega, 2005; 229).

Methodological Approach for Examining Gender and Social Identities in my Research

As detailed in this chapter and in Chapter Two (and as articulated throughout this entire research endeavor), my research has an explicit focus on the lived experiences of individuals and how social identities intersect with one another and the world around them in order to produce their partial and socially situated knowledge. I zeroed in explicitly on the gendered, raced, and classed nature of urban planning and urban processes, while attempting to blur and complicate dichotomous relationships (e.g., qualitative-quantitative [see below], public-private [see Chapter Two], etc.). I focused on the dialogical relationship between lived experiences and larger urban processes and systems of meaning. As stated above, I do not present this research as objective. It is, however, reflexive in that I draw attention to my role, as the researcher, in constructing the knowledge and narratives put forth by this research.

While I stated above that feminist approaches to research offer us more than just an approach to examining gender related issues, I did in fact use this methodological approach to explicitly examine gender and other social relations. As stated in Chapter Two and drawing from Bondi (2005), I theoretically and analytically approached gender and other social identities multi-dimensionally as to be able to explore the diverse ways in which gender and other social identities affected DIY urbanism activities and how experiences are narrated. Meaning, gender and other social relations of power are simultaneously viewed analytically in three ways: 1). as a set of experiences that are related to identity attributes in which those who share these attributes also share certain experiences; 2.) as a social relation and organizing feature in which the structures, functions, and regulations of cities are shaped; and 3.) as a performance of behaviors or scripts that are often taken for granted and are routinely enacted (Bondi, 2005).

Methodologically, I approached my research in a similar fashion. My methodological approach

recognized that individuals may choose to identify with certain social groups often due to a sense of shared experience, whether that is a result of embodiment or performance. At the same time, my approach recognized that our bodies and behaviors are ‘read’ and coded for us by others in which certain identities are assumed and in which there are material manifestations and implications. Both of these impact how space is organized and used.

So, how will such an intersectional theoretical, analytical, and methodological approach be translated into research? McCall (2005) offers us three general research approaches for examining gender and social identities from an intersectional perspective – the ‘inter-categorical complexity’ approach, the ‘intra-categorical complexity’ approach, and the ‘anti-categorical complexity’ approach. These categories also roughly align with Bondi’s (2005) categorization for using gender as an analytical device (see Chapter Two). The inter-categorical complexity approach uses categories, however artificial, to document relationships of inequality. This approach is often associated with logical empiricism and positivism, two philosophies of science that feminists have long taken aim at, as discussed above. Research methods are generally multi-group and comparative. While these categories should be questioned, McCall (2005) argues that we are still able to use them as a way to show the complex, multi-dimensional, and conflicting nature of inequality. The inter-categorical complexity approach would be one that binds gender and other social identities into a set of experiences that are related to a particular identity attribute in which those who share this attribute also share certain experience (Bondi, 2005).

The intra-categorical complexity approach examines the category formation process in and of itself, while believing that categories can be used to describe and examine stable relationships at

a given time and in a given place. Such an approach would allow us to examine gender and other identities as social relations and an organizing feature in which the structures, functions, and regulations of cities are shaped (Bondi, 2005). The anti-categorical complexity approach seeks to deconstruct categories. It is associated with poststructuralist and anti-racist theories and research methods. Personal narratives and single group analysis are often used as methods for examining gender and intersectionality from the intra-categorical and the anti-categorical complexity approaches. In this case, gender and other social relations are seen as a performance of behaviors or scripts that are often taken for granted and are routinely enacted (Bondi, 2005).

As can be seen from McCall's (2005) conceptualization of the various ways in which intersectionality can be examined, certain methods are often attached to the underlying methodological approach. However, while certain methods are often used within each approach, McCall (2005) argues that using a full array of methods that are best suited to the research question will produce the best research results. In other words, a number of different methods are needed to examine intersectional social identities and relationships, and we should not rule certain ones out because we don't agree with its underlying epistemology. However, there may be some contradictions and incompatibilities in aligning, for example, positivist-based methods with a feminist methodological approach. As will be discussed below, research methods may be reworked and adapted in ways that better align with one's methodological approach – as I have done in my research.

My methodological approach to examining social relations and intersectionality utilized all three of McCall's (2005) approaches, as I utilized Bondi's (2005) analytical devices of gender and

other social identities, in varying degrees and for distinct purposes. As will be discussed further in the methods section, I utilized a web-based survey which in part collected basic demographic information on the participants of three DIY activities. It required using categories (such as race and gender), however artificially determined, to document who participates in this particular activity and in turn the relationships of inequality that may be present. For example, if someone identified as female, it was assumed that they shared some identity attribute or set of attributes in which there was also a shared experience. It is important to note, however, that this allowed research participants to identify, or refuse to identify, for themselves which social attributes they identify with at that given moment, as opposed to me assuming those social attributes during observations and interviews.

My research also examined how identities are constructed and constituted through particular DIY urbanism activities. Therefore, it was particularly important to examine how identities are formed, embodied, performed, constituted, reproduced, and challenged in this specific context. For example, many research participants, through their narratives shared with me, constructed identities related to bike culture, anti-institutionalism, and self-sufficiency. These identities often were embodied and reproduced during group activities. Similarly, masculinity and femininity was performed (and subverted) during these group activities, such as during the ‘underwear ride’ which is described in Chapter Four. It was also important to my research that I was able to examine inequalities that may be based on some shared characteristics of particular groups (even if we understand that these identities are socially constructed, dynamic, and subjective). For example, there was less of a female presence in many of these DIY urbanism activities and the women that were present presented different narratives about their experiences. At the same

time, however, my research approach had a critical awareness to the ways in which categories contain multiple subject positions and don't always accurately reflect the actual experiences of a particular individual. In order to examine these multiple subject positions, a deconstruction of certain categories was necessary. For example, within a 'women's only' bicycling group, several research participants pointed out that narrow versions of femininity were being enacted; that the space was made up of middle class, white cisgender women. These research participants felt that the category of 'woman' in this case was not meaningful.

Since my research sought to explore the diverse ways in which gender and other social identities play into DIY urbanism activities and experiences, I used a purposeful and strategic use of all of McCall's (2005) approaches in order to examine the different types of relationships, each offering a unique point of inquiry and source of data. At various stages, one approach was used more dominantly than another. However, this multi-dimensional analysis of gender and social relations was necessary in order to examine the diverse and complex ways in which gender was used by the actors, how that was reflected in their activities, and how that affected DIY urbanism experiences, activities, and urban spaces. This multi-dimensional data was collected through the strategic use of multi-site data collection methods, including a survey, ethnographic observations, and in-depth interviewing. I also reviewed documents, including review of plans and online discussions and videos, and used secondary data, including published first person narratives, theoretical research, and historical research, as well as my own personal experiences in several of these sites and case examples. This analytical and methodological approach will be contextualized through my research findings (see Chapters Four - Seven specifically).

Research Design, Methods and Techniques

Research Question

This research endeavor sought to explore and speak back to the limitations, biases, and silences found within the current scholarship on DIY urbanism, and urban planning more generally, through one extended case study. Specifically, I aimed to: 1) explore the racialized, classed, gendered, and sexualized conceptualization of DIY urbanism, its activities, and its actors; 2) examine the social privileges and multiple subject positions that may be present within DIY urbanism practice and how this may affect the types of spaces that are being created through these activities; and 3) investigate the ways in which DIY urbanism activities and actors are connected to larger urban systems and policies. Therefore, my research questions asked: In what ways does DIY urbanism reflect, reinforce, and challenge social privileges through the creation and use of its urban spaces? How do these social privileges (or the challenging of them) interact with the prevailing urban politics of the city? How are these interactions related to the level of acceptance and legitimatization of DIY urbanism within urban planning and policy contexts? What are the consequences and implications of DIY urbanism?

My research explored these questions primarily through an examination of who participates (and by extension who does not participate), why they participate, what their experiences are, and how they narrate their experiences as participants in DIY urbanism activities. The ethnographic method was used and multiple sites of inquiry were used beyond just participants' experiences, as will be more fully discussed below.

Research Design and Methods

The Extended Case Method

The extended case method, as articulated by Burawoy (1998), provides a framework for the reflexive and relational research that I used to conduct this study. It is an approach that embraces engagement, dialogue, and interaction between the researcher and the research participants, sees the researcher as a participant observer, and calls attention to the effects of power inherent in research endeavors. The extended case method is focused on examining everyday lived experiences while locating them within their various contexts (e.g. historical, political, social, etc.) and building upon existing theory. Like the feminist methodological approach I used for this research, as detailed above, the extended case method also questions and violates a number of key aspects of positivistic research – reactivity, reliability, replicability, and representativeness. Instead, as a research approach, “it enjoins what positive science separates: participant and observer, knowledge and social situation, situation and its field location, folk theory and academic theory” (Burawoy, 1998: 14). It recognizes that the importance of the research intervention itself in revealing important aspects of social phenomena and institutions. It is focused on the dialogical process of “moving with the participants through their space and time” as a way to explore knowledge that is situational, fluid, multiple, and positioned within larger social situations and institutions (Burawoy, 1998: 14). The extended case method is focused on examining everyday life and how it is “shaped by and shaping an external field of forces” (Burawoy, 1998: 15). The uniqueness or representativeness of the case being examined is not of importance nor is its ability to derive some ‘truth;’ rather, it’s the case’s ability to reconstruct theory that is of importance. The goal is not to reduce cases to some general or universal law. Rather, the goal is to “causally connect cases” (Burawoy, 1998: 19).

Burawoy's (1998) extended case method appropriately aligns with my larger feminist theoretical and methodological frameworks. The extended case method, along with feminist research approaches, offers an alternative to more positivistic modes of research. Both recognize the "partial, situated, subjective, power imbued, and relational" nature of knowledge and research (Hesse-Biber, 2012: 9). Both are focused on reflexivity, which "highlights rather than obscures the participation of the researcher in the research process [and] makes clear that interpretation is taking place" (Strega, 2005: 229). Both rely on dialogical and relational approaches to research – engagement, dialogue, and interaction throughout the research process. Both focus on examining everyday lived experiences, within their specific contexts, and connecting them to larger systems and structures. Both recognize that these experiences and processes are situated within relationships of power.

As described in this chapter, I used a relational and reflexive approach to my research, which is guided by feminist research approaches and the extended case method. Such a research approach acknowledges and requires the extending of the observer to the participant. My interventions into the field, whether that be via the survey, interviews, or observations, created 'ripples' throughout the sites, and in which required research participants to reflect upon their experiences in ways they may not have previously. Rather than isolating and controlling this impact in the field, I examined these 'ripples' as part of the research process and viewed them as opportunities for relational dialogue and reflection. For example, a number of research participants would pause after a question was posed to them and then eventually respond that they hadn't considered that particular issue before. This was most marked when we discussed issues of race and gender.

My intervention into the various research sites was also extended over space and time. This was done through ongoing fieldwork that took place in various spaces and over courses of time, and which allowed me to revisit, reconstruct, and retest ideas as new ones emerged. This extending over time and space was also done as research participants reflected on past experiences and events, bringing them into the current time and place and reflecting on them in this new context. By using historical data, secondary data, and data from other contexts, I was further able to extend through space and time. It was through this contextualized and ongoing iterative and reflexive process that social situations were examined as social processes that are linked to larger systems of meaning and structures of power.

This brings us to another key aspect of the extended case method – extending social processes into analysis, comparison, and interrelate cases. Burawoy (1998) claims that it is through the “locating [of] social processes at the site of research in a relation of mutual determination with an external field of social forces” that we are able to connect one specific case with other cases (20). Or, in other words, we need to extend out from process to force. The goal is not to reduce cases to some general or universal law. Rather, the goal is to “causally connect cases” (Burawoy, 1998: 19). My research sought to do just this. It located social processes at the site of research and does not seek to speak to some general law. Rather, it examines social processes (i.e. racializing, gendering, and classing) at and through a specific research site (i.e. DIY urbanism in theory and practice). Through an examination of these social processes, I explored how they connect to other DIY urbanism cases and other social processes.

Lastly, as Burawoy (1998) states, “theory is essential to each dimension of the extended case method” (21). As specifically detailed in this chapter and Chapter Two, I used existing theory to guide my research, but I also extended theory through my research. As part of this theoretical extension and reflexive approach to research, I have highlighted both confirmations of existing theory and theoretical hypotheses, as well as contradictions, paradoxes, and refutations, which at times destabilized by own analysis and findings.

Research Sites

The Case of Chicago

Chicago was chosen as the location to study DIY urbanism for a number of reasons. First, it has an active Critical Mass (i.e. a monthly bike ride that is focused on reclaiming the streets from cars and repurposing them for bicycling) that has been active continuously for the last twenty years. While the focus of my research is on DIY urbanism, it explores bicycle-related DIY urbanism activities. As such, Chicago was named the second best places in the US to bicycle by *Bicycling Magazine* (Koch, 2014). In addition, in 2012 the City of Chicago released its *Streets for Cycling Plan*, which assertively calls for making Chicago “the most bike-friendly city in the United States.”

Chicago also has a long history of social and political activism (Burton, 2002). Since DIY urbanism actors are often motivated by desires to socially and politically transform urban spaces, this creates fertile grounds for DIY urbanism activities. This is reflected in a number of other DIY urbanism activities that I explored through this research, such as urban exploration and graffiti art. And lastly, it was in Chicago that the Congress of New Urbanism’s Illinois Chapter

began organizing tactical urbanism (a branded variation on DIY urbanism) events. It is for these reasons, then, that I chose to explore DIY urbanism specifically in Chicago.

A Multi-Site Approach

As mentioned above, this research endeavor uses multiple sites and points of inquiry in order to explore DIY urbanism. As one point of inquiry, I explored the discourses surrounding DIY urbanism. The questions I explored were: How was the topic discursively framed, what activities were included, who were the actors, what was the context in which the activities were taking place, what were the motivations and implications of the activities? As discussed in Chapter Two, I had a keen eye to how issues of gender, race, and class were addressed, and if they were addressed at all.

A second site of inquiry was Chicago Critical Mass. This site represented one particular type of DIY urbanism practice. As a grassroots, horizontally organized, and self-governing collection of individuals, I focused on the processes of DIY urbanism on the ground. Who participated; what were their motivations, experiences, and barriers related to participation; how has the group changed over time – socially, demographically, politically, etc.; and how has the city reacted – were the questions that I explored through this site. Again, I paid close attention to how issues of gender, race, and class were interwoven. Since Critical Mass is a bicycling related DIY urbanism activity, as an additional site I historicized and contextualizing bicycling. I specifically examined the relationship between bicycling and gender (and to a less extent, other social identities). For example, I explored the history of bicycling as a form of women's liberation, and the resulting backlash. I put this in conversation with contemporary data that shows that women bike a lower

rates than men. I also explored female research participants' specific experiences related to bicycling. It is important to note here, that I am not proposing that bicycling specifically is a DIY urbanism practice. Rather, I am stating that Critical Mass is a DIY urbanism practice, which happens to be bicycling related. Historicizing and contextualizing bicycling, as well as social relations in space, lent additional information to the larger discussion on Critical Mass as a DIY urbanism activity.

Another site of inquiry was tactical urbanism. Tactical urbanism refers to a very specific and branded variation of DIY urbanism. The creators of this particular brand of DIY urbanism define it as "an approach to neighborhood building and activation using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions and policies" (Lydon and Garcia, 2015; 2). Or as O'Connell (2013) states, tactical urbanism "efforts give concerned citizens and creative thinkers ways to reclaim built environments, encourage pedestrian traffic and street life..." (38-39). In this regard, tactical urbanism is very much like DIY urbanism. The two concepts depart in theory and practice, however, in that tactical urbanism has more of a focus on including "a range of actors, including governments, business and nonprofits, citizen groups, and individuals" (Lydon and Garcia, 2015; 2). Tactical urbanism also has the goal of "promot[ing] economic investment without being bogged down in big politics and strangled budgets" (O'Connell, 2013: 38-39). As such, there is greater focus on using tactical urbanism as a way to generate economic activity and in which neoliberal discourses of 'big politics' are employed. Therefore, the discourses of tactical urbanism are also a site of inquiry. I also explored a case of tactical urbanism in practice in one Chicago neighborhood. This site of inquiry represented a more formal or institutional variety of DIY urbanism (as compared to Critical Mass). Issues of gender, race, and class were examined,

but more importantly issues related to social reproduction, which extends from a feminist critique of cities, were examined.

And then lastly, the ‘sticky’ nature or spaces of DIY urbanism was a site of inquiry. The literature on DIY urbanism tends to focus on the dynamic and unrooted nature of urban spaces and how DIY urbanism works in tandem with this dynamism. However, research participants often made sense of their experiences with DIY urbanism activities in ways that were spatially rooted. Through this site, then, I explored the questions of when, where, and how DIY urbanism activities emerge, as shared through a number of smaller, anecdotal examples that research participants provided. While issues of gender, race, and class were explored through this site, as well, they were not as visible. I do, however, use feminist urban scholar Markusen’s (1996) concept of ‘sticky places in slippery space’ as an analytical device.

Each site offers a slightly different perspective on the topic – the discourses surrounding DIY urbanism and tactical urbanism, the processes of DIY urbanism in practices (through Critical Mass), a contextualization of a specific activity in which DIY urbanism is enacted (bicycling), the institutionalization of DIY urbanism into tactical urbanism in practice, and the sticky or place-bound nature of DIY urbanism. Addressing my research questions through these multiple sites provided rich data from a number of different sources and from a number of different angles. The findings from all of these sites are put in conversation together in order to examine DIY urbanism in a comprehensive manner. In what follows I briefly provide an overview of these sites (also see each respective chapter for a fully description of each of these sites;

specifically see Chapter Two for a description of the discourses of DIY urbanism as a site of inquiry as that information will not be repeated here).

Chicago Critical Mass (...plus two similar, but smaller group rides)

As stated in previous chapters, DIY urbanism is defined as unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen-led urban planning interventions. They are small scale, functional, temporary, creative, and place specific. The activities are focused on re-adapting or re-purposing urban spaces and they often, but not always, take place outside formal urban planning structures and systems. Chicago Critical Mass is an example of a DIY urbanism activity and was one of the sites of my research.

Chicago Critical Mass describes itself as:

A bike ride plain and simple. A Critical Mass is created when the group of riders comes together for those few hours to take back the streets of our city. The right of the people to assemble is guaranteed in the Constitution, and Critical Mass helps people remember that right. The Mass itself has no political agenda, though, no more than the people of any other community do. Critical Mass is open to all, and it welcomes all riders to join in a celebration of riding bicycles (Chicago Critical Mass website, 2013).

Critical Mass as an international phenomenon and its history is described in greater detail in Chapter Four. Briefly, however, Critical Mass is a loose collective of individuals with no leaders or official membership and no political agenda other than to temporarily appropriate space for bicyclists and raise aware of their rights to public urban space. As a group, or a mass as it may be, Critical Mass is a public challenging of the dominant use of urban public spaces. Critical

Mass riders create spaces for themselves through participation in the rides while raising awareness of their usage rights of the streets. Critical Mass is an example of DIY urbanism because of its overall organization and mission, and how it is practiced. For example, Critical Mass has no official leaders or membership requirements (e.g., non-hierarchical) and their activities take place outside formal urban planning structures and systems. The group and the rides are open to all and anyone can plan the route for the monthly ride (e.g., inclusive and democratic). In practice, the riders appropriate space for bicyclists on the roads (e.g., challenge dominant paradigms and perspectives, advocate for and temporarily appropriate and repurpose public urban space). It is an unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen-led activity that takes place in urban space. It is small scale, functional, temporary, and place specific. Similar to the discourses found within DIY urbanism more generally, the discourses surrounding and the practices of Critical Mass in particular highlight the radical potential of grassroots, self-governing initiatives as a way to experience and reclaim space (as discussed in Chapter Four; see also Chapters Four and Five for a discussion on some of the problematics of such self-governing initiatives).

Two other sites, which are similar to Critical Mass and are both Chicago-based, were also included in this research – a women’s and transgender only group ride and an urban exploration group ride. The women’s/transgender group ride is an offshoot of Chicago Critical Mass and is therefore quite similar in organization. However, their mission is to explicitly create a safe space for women and transgender individuals to participate. The urban exploration group ride is also similar in terms of it being a regularly scheduled and coordinated ride. The ride is also structured as a grassroots and participatory ride. However, this ride is explicitly focused on ‘exploring’ urban space. Both of these groups are smaller than Critical Mass in terms of participants, but

they have a more stable and regular group of participants, have shorter histories, and have more visible leaders/organizers. As such participants' identities are less anonymous than Chicago Critical Mass participants.' As to not 'out' these groups or have the identities of those who participate in them revealed, I do not refer to these groups by their names. These two additional sites were originally chosen because they each offered an explicated gendered and raced site respectively (the urban exploration group is comprised mainly of non-white teen boys). However, as I collected data and engaged with these groups, they proved to be not as productive as I originally had anticipated. As such, there is not a great focus on them in my findings. Nonetheless, these two group rides were also sites of inquiry as smaller, parallel sites of Chicago Critical Mass, and the data collected, however small, is included in my research.

The selection of Chicago Critical Mass as a research site was pragmatic. Many DIY urbanism activities are done by a sole individual or small groups of individuals, most of whom prefer to remain anonymous because their activities are unauthorized and often illegal. This makes connecting the actors of DIY urbanism to their activities difficult. Furthermore, as Iveson (2013) points out, many DIY urbanism activities are fragmented and not connected to a larger political agenda, making it difficult to view such activities in the aggregate. The selection of Chicago Critical Mass as a site overcomes these logistical barriers. There are a number of online forums and email groups through which to connect with participants. Although this is a dynamic and unfixed group, it is somewhat established in terms of having a 20 year history in Chicago, regular activities, a large number of participants, and a general mission that guides activities. This created a pool of easily accessible research participants to draw from--participants who shared in the specific type of DIY urbanism activity in which they participated. Furthermore,

since Critical Mass activities are intentionally very public, field observations were easily conducted and highly productive.

The Relationship between Gender (...and other social identities...) and Bicycling

As noted above, I do not define bicycling specifically as a DIY urbanism practice or activity. I define Critical Mass as a DIY urbanism practice and activity – which happens to be bicycling related. Therefore, it was important that I specifically examined the relationship between bicycling and gender (and to a less extent, other social identities). Part of that examination was about bodies in space. Meaning, bicycling, as well as DIY urbanism activities more broadly, are performed in public spaces. And as argued in Chapter Two, space, including public space, embodies social relations of power. Therefore, historicizing and contextualizing bicycling, and by extension the gendered nature of public spaces, was necessary in order to extract additional information that speaks back to the larger discussion on Critical Mass as a DIY urbanism activity.

Shepard (2014) argues that bicycling can be seen as a vehicle for social change, as it creates opportunities for individuals to interact with public space on new levels and with new meanings. He states, “...cycling...involve[s] the contested nature of public space and the people who moved through it” (Shepard, 2014; 45). He goes on to state, “for many, the practice of cycling is about bodies in space and the ways they impact the streets and public spaces of our cities” (Shepard, 2014; 52). However, it’s important to note, as Shepard (2014) does, that not all bodies are seen and treated the same in space. He states,

What are differences in the way we see people in public space? How does cycling highlight this specter of difference? What is the difference between the ways people see a white blond woman riding her bike through Saudi Arabia or an African American teenager riding with friends and profiled by police in a Dallas suburb, or a Black body dancing on roller skates in Washington Square Park?” (Shepard, 2014: 51).

Bicycling, in particular, then emerges as an interesting site through which to explore DIY urbanism because of how different bodies are seen and treated in public space – or in other words, how DIY urbanism is racialized, classed, gendered, and sexualized. As will be discussed further in Chapters Four and Five, certain bodies tend to be more visible than others in terms of who bikes and for what purposes. The visibility of certain bodies is also often reproduced through ‘bike culture.’ As such, the historical relationship between women and bicycling and the continued gendering of this activity is another site of inquiry, as is briefly described below and more fully detailed in Chapter Five. As revealed in this research, the history, context, and social meanings of specific DIY urbanism activities need to be examined in order to more fully explore DIY urbanism more generally.

A number of scholars have detailed the ways in which the bicycle historically has been a source of liberation and empowerment for women, for example in terms of dress reform and greater physical mobility (Bussey, 2013; Macy, 2011; Shepard, 2014). During the late 19th century, however, this new found liberation was met with resistance as it challenged the gendered social norms of the time (Stromberg, 2014). For example, doctors claimed that women who bicycled would be afflicted by a number of serious medical conditions (Bussey, 2013; Macy, 2011). There

was also a long list of gendered social codes of conduct that needed to be followed by women cyclists (Macy, 2011). Given this gendered history, the relationship between gender and bicycling, and by extension the gendered nature of public space, is an important site through which to explore DIY urbanism activities, such as Chicago Critical Mass. In other words, DIY urbanism needs to be explored through its specific activities, and these specific activities need to be explored through their history, context, and social meanings.

Tactical Urbanism

As noted above, tactical urbanism refers to a very specific and branded form of DIY urbanism. It is one that is gaining considerable influence within the urban planning community, including being sponsored and endorsed by the Congress of New Urbanism, a national professional urban planning association (Lydon and Garcia, 2015; The Street Plan Collaborative, 2012). While all DIY urbanism is not tactical in nature and not all tactical urbanism is DIY in nature, there is significant overlap between these two concepts, which will be discussed in Chapter Six (Lydon and Garcia, 2015). Interestingly correlated with Critical Mass, tactical urbanism activities include biking initiatives. Bike culture and creative class politics are also promoted as economic development tools cities should invest in/foster. The Illinois Chapter of the Congress of New Urbanism, which has been a strong proponent of creative city politics, has recently taken up tactical urbanism as an area of focus, hosting a mini-conference on the topic and sponsoring tactical urbanism activities in a gentrifying Chicago neighborhood where space is hotly contested. The discourses of tactical urbanism, as one specific variation of DIY urbanism, along with this particular case study of tactical urbanism in practice and in place (i.e. in this specific

and contextualized Chicago neighborhood) are also sites of inquiry.). Through this site I extend the feminist critique of cities which is related to issues of social reproduction.

The Sticky Places of Loose DIY Urbanism Spaces

The last set of sites I group together since they are smaller and more anecdotal in nature, and which I refer to as the sticky places of loose DIY urbanism spaces. DIY urbanism scholars tend to focus on the dynamic and unrooted nature DIY urbanism and the spaces it creates. However, as I collected and analyzed data, sticky examples emerged as a very important dimension of DIY urbanism. By ‘sticky’ I am referring to the ways in which DIY urbanism is stuck in specific contexts in terms of when, where, and how they emerges; as well as how the resulting and lasting benefits, consequences, and implications of DIY urbanism activities are distributed and felt. In particular, I used feminist urban scholar Markusen’s (1996) concept of ‘sticky places in slippery space’ as an analytical device. The sticky places or sites that I explored were: urban exploration (i.e. the exploration of abandoned buildings that are the ghosts of economic restructuring), the Chicago Cruisers (i.e. a group of individuals that come together to remember the impact of the Schwinn bike factory, and its closing, on a largely Latino community), graffiti artists and their work in the community. These anecdotal examples emerged from interviews with DIY urbanists, as a number of them were involved in several other DIY urbanism activities. What was clear from those conversations was that they made sense of their participation in DIY urbanism in ways that were rooted, or stuck, in the community.

Tying the Sites Together

As stated above, each of these sites offered a slightly different perspective or glimpse into DIY urbanism. This included the discourses of DIY urbanism, the processes of grassroots based activities on the ground, a contextualization of the specific activities in which DIY urbanism is enacted, the institutionalization of DIY urbanism in practice, and the place-bound nature of DIY urbanism. They all, however, take place within the location of Chicago. A focus on gender, race, and class were weaved into each site and the specific questions I explored through each site. By addressing my research questions in this multiple site approach, I was able to collect rich data from a variety of different sources. I was able to see the different ways that issues of gender, race, and class play out in each site. And by bringing these sites together, DIY urbanism was examined in a comprehensive manner from a multitude of different angles.

Research Techniques

As stated above, ethnography and the extended case method were used in this research and data was collected through multiple sites of inquiry. A multitude of data collection methods were also employed, including interviews; participant-observations; an online survey; document review, including review of plans and online discussions and videos; secondary data, including published first person narratives; theoretical research; and historical research; as well as my own personal experiences in several of these sites and case examples. Each data collection method elicited unique data and through reflexive practice I have attempted to weave all of these pieces together in order to reveal some of the ways that the research participants made sense of their participation and experiences with these activities, as well as the broader context in which these activities take place. However, despite my commitment and attention to reflexivity, all of the

data collected and presented is partial, situated, and shaped by my role as a researcher and editor of these narratives.

Over 100 individuals participated in this research either through the survey or an interview. A total of 88 individuals participated in the survey and a total of 33 individuals participated in an interview. These are not mutually exclusive groups as some research participants participated in both the survey and an interview. While neither the sample of survey participants nor the sample of interview participants is representative of the entire population (nor is it meant to be), interestingly the demographics of both groups are very similar. The four primary data collection methods - including discourse analysis, an online survey, interviews, and participant-observations – and how I used them in this research are described below.

By using these four different methods, and in concert with one another, I was able to engage with a greater number of individuals than if I were to have only used one or two of them. By using multiple data collection methods I was also able to meet research participants where they are at – meaning that some people may have been more comfortable sharing information via the online survey than in person because they could preserve their anonymity. Participating in the online survey was also less of a burden on the research participants' behalf in terms of time and travel. The sacrifice, of course, was less in-depth data. I used personal interviews to collect this more detailed data and engaged with research participants that were more comfortable and able to meet with me in person and talk about their experiences. The trade-off was that not as many individuals were willing to be interviewed than were willing to participate in an online survey, so I had a smaller sample of interviews. Participant-observations in the field allowed me to see

firsthand some of the interactions between individuals as they conducted their DIY urbanism activities. While I engaged individuals in the field, this data collection method didn't require anything, in terms of time or trust, from research participants. However, I was limited in the amount I was able to take in and absorb during these observations, and I often didn't have the opportunity to ask questions about what just happened or what something meant (however, I often shared certain things I observed with interviewees as to get their reactions on a specific interaction or event). In the reviewing of documents, including published first-person narratives and online discussions (and in addition to plans, and academic and popular literature), I was able to engage with individuals from across the globe. They were able to provide information that they had thoughtfully and carefully constructed before it was shared. Again, the trade-off was that it was a one-direction conversation.

All three methods, then, provided different levels of engagement (and commitments) from participants. Since I asked sensitive questions about diversity and unpleasant experiences, for example, my multi-mode data collection approach different forums in which information could be conveyed (meaning, it may have been easier for some individuals to discuss this through an anonymous online survey than in person with a white woman). As can be seen, each method also addressed some limitation in another method that was used. A more detailed description of each method follows, as well as information on those that participated through each data collection mode.

One important dimension that spans all of these data collection methods is the silences or absences in the data. According to Visweseran (1994), 'silences' are an important site of

analysis. She claims that “acts of omission are as important to read as the acts of commission constructing the analysis” (Visweseran, 1994; 48). Or, in other words, by examining what is not said and/or who is not present/participating, adds important additional information into the analysis. Examining the silences in data can re-centers the focus on those individuals who have chosen to resist through non-participation, as Visweseran (1994) suggests. In relation to my research, an examination of silences means that I looked at who was participating in DIY urbanism, as well as who was not. I looked at what was said, as well as what was not said. Since my research focuses on issues of gender, race, and class, this was an important analytical device – as there were many silences around these issues. An attention to the silences, or what wasn’t present, in the data was also the focus of my analysis, and it relates to each of the following data collection methods.

Discourse Analysis and Document Review

Discourse analysis was used as a means to explore how the notion and practice of DIY urbanism was constructed, understood, and practiced. Critical discourse analysis comes out of a critical theory tradition, often traced back to Foucault (Naples, 2003). As a method, it explores the relationship between language and power by revealing how power is enacted through talk and text (Van Dijk, 2001). Meaning, data is collected on what language is used to discuss a particular topic and by whom, and what was included and what was excluded in those discussions. This is an important point of analysis, as feminist ethnographer Naples (2003) states, because “discourse limits what can be discussed or heard” on a particular matter (90). Furthermore, she argues that “gender, race, class, religion, among other patterns of inequality, shape whose voices are represented and heard” (90). Discourse analysis relates back to the notion of silences mentioned

above, in terms of focusing analyses on what is said or present, as well as on what is not. And as Naples (2003) highlights issues of gender, race, and class get snarled up in this, making this an important set of data to collect for my research.

I used discourse analysis in my research in order to review and analyze the literature related to DIY urbanism, as well as individual narratives – what language was used, who was authoring the material or providing the narrative, what was included, and what was not included. I focused on how these discourses framed, guided, and limited what was discussed and whose voices were heard. Hundreds of hours were spent pouring over a diverse array of different documents in this manner. I reviewed Chicago planning and policy related documents, such as the city's pedestrian and bicycling plans, the city's 'people's spots' policy initiative, and academic evaluations of these plans and policies. I analyzed over one hundred academic articles on DIY urbanism, as well as a number of popular literature sources. I read over fifty published first person narratives by DIY urbanism participants. I spent countless hours reviewing online discussions and watching online videos related to DIY urbanism activities. I also used discourse analysis in order to examine the data that was collected through the methods that follow (i.e. an online survey, interviews, and participant-observations). Similarly, I examined what language was used, who was providing the narrative, and what they included and did not include in those narratives.

Web-Based Survey

A web-based survey was distributed via a number of online forums to Chicago Critical Mass participants. The survey was sent out in February 2015, there was one reminder message sent,

and the survey was closed in March 2015. Since participation in Chicago Critical Mass is dynamic and fluid, with people shifting in and out of the rides each month, the purpose of the survey was to efficiently reach a large number of riders who may have participated in the groups at various points in time. The survey, containing both multiple choice and open ended questions, collected basic demographic information, as well as qualitative data on motivations, experiences, and barriers to participating.

The survey was constructed to be intentionally relational and reflexive. Research participants were able to select the social attributes they identify most closely with, as opposed to having them assumed based on physical appearances. They also had the option of filling a response if they didn't think the ones provided were adequate. Additionally, they could refuse to answer any of the questions in the survey. I provided my name and email address multiple times throughout the survey and invited participants to contact me with questions, concerns, or if they wanted to have a discussion about the topic. One individual did take me up on the offer. I also shared the survey data with interview participants to get their perspectives on it.

Surveys, as a data collection tool, are traditionally used with more positivistic research designs and quantitative methods. However, I unconventionally used a survey in this research in a manner that more closely aligns with qualitative research methods and the larger feminist methodological approach detailed above. While survey-based research designs traditionally need to be concerned about the representativeness of the sample, the goal of this survey was not to extract a representative sample of the population in order to generalize it to the entire population. Rather, I understand the survey participants, as a sample, and the data they provided as partial.

Just like the sample of individuals that participated in an interview, the survey participants represent a partial and ‘particular’ sample. Furthermore, given the dynamic and fluid nature of the participants in these groups, a ‘representative’ sample likely does not exist. Therefore, the survey allowed me to make contact with a larger group of individuals than interviews alone would have made possible, and in a non-intrusive manner. It offered an additional point of engagement with research participants.

A great deal of qualitative data was collected through this survey (see Chapters Four and Five). Basic demographics were also collected from the individuals that provided this data. I compared this demographic information to what I observed in the field. I also shared this information with interview participants in order to get their perspectives on it. Again, while the survey data is not intended to be representative of the entire group of people who have ever participated in Chicago Critical Mass, the vast majority of interview participants said that they thought the demographics of the survey participants accurately reflected the larger body of Critical Mass participants.

A total of 88 individuals participated in the survey. The majority of survey participants were white males in their 30s. The below table (Table I) summarizes the basic demographics of survey participants.

Table I: Demographics of Survey Participants

Gender		Race/Ethnicity		Age	
Male	53%	White	75%	Under 20 (18-20)	2%
Female	39%	Hispanic	8%	20s	20%
Queer	1%	Asian	3%	30s	35%
Declined to answer	7%	African American	2%	40s	11%
		Other/more than 1 race	1%	50s	15%
		Declined to answer	11%	60s	7%
				70s	1%
				Declined to answer	8%

In regards to Chicago Critical Mass specifically, seven percent reported being involved with the group since its inception and early days (1995-2005). The vast majority of survey participants had been involved with the group since 2010 - 2015. Nineteen percent of survey participants were involved in a ‘women’s or transgender only’ group ride and eleven percent were involved in urban exploration group rides.

In-Depth Interviews

Individuals were recruited for interviews in June 2015 via the same online forums used to distribute the survey, with one follow up message being sent in July 2015. The purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to explore in greater depth individual participant’s motivations, experiences, and barriers as participants in various DIY urbanism activities. Like the survey, interviews were intentionally relational and reflexive, and aligned with the larger feminist methodological approach detailed above. Interview participants represent a partial, situated, and ‘particular’ sample, as does the data they provided. Interviews offered yet another point of engagement with research participants and allowed for greater dialogue than the survey. Survey

data, observational data, and interview data, as well as preliminary research findings, were all shared with interview participants in a reflexive manner and in which they were asked to react to the findings and participate in making sense of the findings, as they unfolded (see Chapters Four and Five).

A total of 33 individuals participated in an interview. Twenty individuals responded to recruitment efforts and participated in a semi-structured interview. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 2.5 hours and interview participants were compensated \$20 for their time. The average interview lasted 45 minutes. One interview participant shared with me that many members of the groups she is a part of (and which received a recruitment message from me) were quite suspicious of my research and, therefore, were not responsive/did not want to participate in it. Some feared that I, as a representative from an institutionalized entity, was ‘checking up’ on them or wanted to know what they were up to, assuming it was deviant. Given the nature of the sites of inquiry that comprise this research, I had anticipated that this would be an issue. However, it may have been a more significant issue than I had originally anticipated. In either case, I will never really know. However, in order to address this, I began engaging individuals in the field in casual conversations about the activities taking place. An additional 13 individuals were engaged in the field and interviewed. These interviews were much shorter, lasting between 5 minutes and 30 minutes, and were less in-depth in that the focus of conversation was likely only a single topic. These more informal and shorter in duration interviews not only provided additional data, in particular as events were taking place in real time, but also offered yet another point of engagement with research participants that was sensitive to the degree in which they wanted to engage with me.

The majority (81 percent) of interview participants were interviewed due to their involvement in bicycling related DIY urbanism activities, including participation in Chicago Critical Mass. Several other interviews were conducted with individuals that were involvement, directly or indirectly, in the tactical urbanism initiative that took place in a Chicago neighborhood (see Chapter Six). These interviews were with participants in the tactical urbanism event, as well as social service workers from the community in which the event took place. The tactical urbanism event participant interviewees included a white male in his 30s, who worked with one of the agencies that organized the event, as well as three other individuals (all were female, two white, one black, one in her 20s and two in their 30s). The social service workers were both white females, one in her 30's and one in her 50s.

Of the bike-related DIY urbanism interview participants, the vast majority were white individuals in their 30s, much like the survey participants. The table below (Table II) summarizes the basic demographics of the bike-related interview participants.

Table II: Demographics of Bike-Related Interview Participants

Gender		Race/Ethnicity		Age	
Male	50%	White	81%	20s	5%
Female	50%	Hispanic	11%	30s	61%
		African American	8%	40s	14%
				50s	11%
				60s	5%
				70s	5%

As it relates specifically to Chicago Critical Mass participation, sixteen percent of interview participants were founding members of Chicago Critical Mass or participants in the early days of

its formation. Sixty-three percent had been participating in Chicago Critical Mass for the last several years, and twenty-one percent had only participated in a few rides.

While demographically the bike-related DIY urbanism interview participants were primarily whites in their 30s, they were a rather diverse group in terms of the variety of other activities they were involved in as it relates to this research. Interview participants included: an individual that is appointed to one of the Mayor's bike advisory committees; two bike ambassadors for Chicago's Department of Transportation and in partnership with the Active Transportation Alliance; two police officers assigned to Chicago Critical Mass rides; an author of a book on biking; two graffiti artists; two bike mechanics and volunteers; two urban explorers; four 'women's only' group riders; and three mothers of young children.

Participant Observations

Over 20 hours of participant observations were conducted in the field, in addition to the interviews. There were three sites in which observations took place: monthly Chicago Critical Mass rides (January 2015 – August 2015), a 'tactical urbanism slam' event put on by the Illinois Chapter of the Congress of New Urbanism (May 2015), and a tactical urbanism community activity/initiative that took place in a Chicago neighborhood (also organized and marketed by the Illinois Chapter of the Congress of New Urbanism; August 2015). The purpose of these observations were to get first-hand accounts of who was participating in the activities, what was taking place in these spaces, and what the interactions were between participants. Like the survey and interviews, observations were conducted in a relational and reflexive manner, recognizing that my presence was one of a participant, and not of an impartial and detached observer.

In relation to the Chicago Critical Mass rides (as well as the tactical urbanism event that took place in August 2015) in particular, there was always at least one other person with me that was assisting with observations. This individual was made aware of the things I was focusing on during the observations. We would then debrief after each event, comparing what we saw and experienced, and reconciling any differences. As stated above, I shared my observational data, along with the survey data and interview data, as well as preliminary research findings, with interview participants, and they were asked to react to the findings and participate in making sense of the findings (see Chapters Four and Five).

Conclusion

The methodology and the methods that I used in my research, as described in this chapter, allowed me to conduct an in-depth examination of DIY urbanism from a diversity of angles, and to explore issues related to gender, race, and class. I strategically used a multitude of sites of inquiry and data collections methods in order to do this. My research was designed specifically so I could focus on a diverse array of perspectives and experiences. I then brought these sites and data together in order to reveal the multiple and complex ways that DIY urbanism is understood, practiced, and experienced. My research approach and techniques, guided by feminist methodologies, were flexible and interconnected, and were focused on ethics and reflexivity. The knowledge put forth by my research is partial and socially situated and is created by lived experience, including my own.

Qualitative methods, which I primarily used, are known for their high level of validity and their ability to examine complex systems of meanings and social processes, including relationships and processes related to gender, race, and class (Babbie, 2007; Horvat, 2013). However, the reliability of qualitative methods is often questioned (Babbie, 2007; Horvat, 2013). Due to the high level of interviewer – participant interaction, some would argue that an interviewer’s own positions and views will strongly be represented in the research findings, and that if another researcher would conduct the same study, they would find different results. Reflexivity and a dialogical or relational approach (both of which characterize feminist-based research) were used as a tool to strengthen the reliability of my data collection and research findings (Parker, forthcoming; Naples, 2003). In addition, as guided by feminist methodological approaches and the extended case method, the strengths in my research approach lie in its ability to extend theory, casually connect cases, and explain social processes. A goal of this research was not to put forth some master narrative or grand law. As stated above, I do not present this research as objective. It is, however, reflexive in that I draw attention to my role, as the researcher, in constructing the knowledge and narratives put forth by this research. I also explicitly engaged research participants in regards to them taking part in the constructing of this knowledge and narrative.

My research has an explicit focus on the lived experiences of individuals and how social identities intersect with one another and the world around them in order to produce their partial and socially situated knowledge. I zeroed in explicitly on the gendered, raced, and classed nature of urban planning and urban processes. I focused on the dialogical relationship between lived experiences and larger urban processes and systems of meaning. The methodological approach I

described in this chapter and the techniques used were carefully aligned with my research questions and larger research aims.

The following figure (Figure 1) and table (Table III) summarizes the research sites, questions, and techniques that I used, which are described above.

Figure 1: Research Sites – Chicago

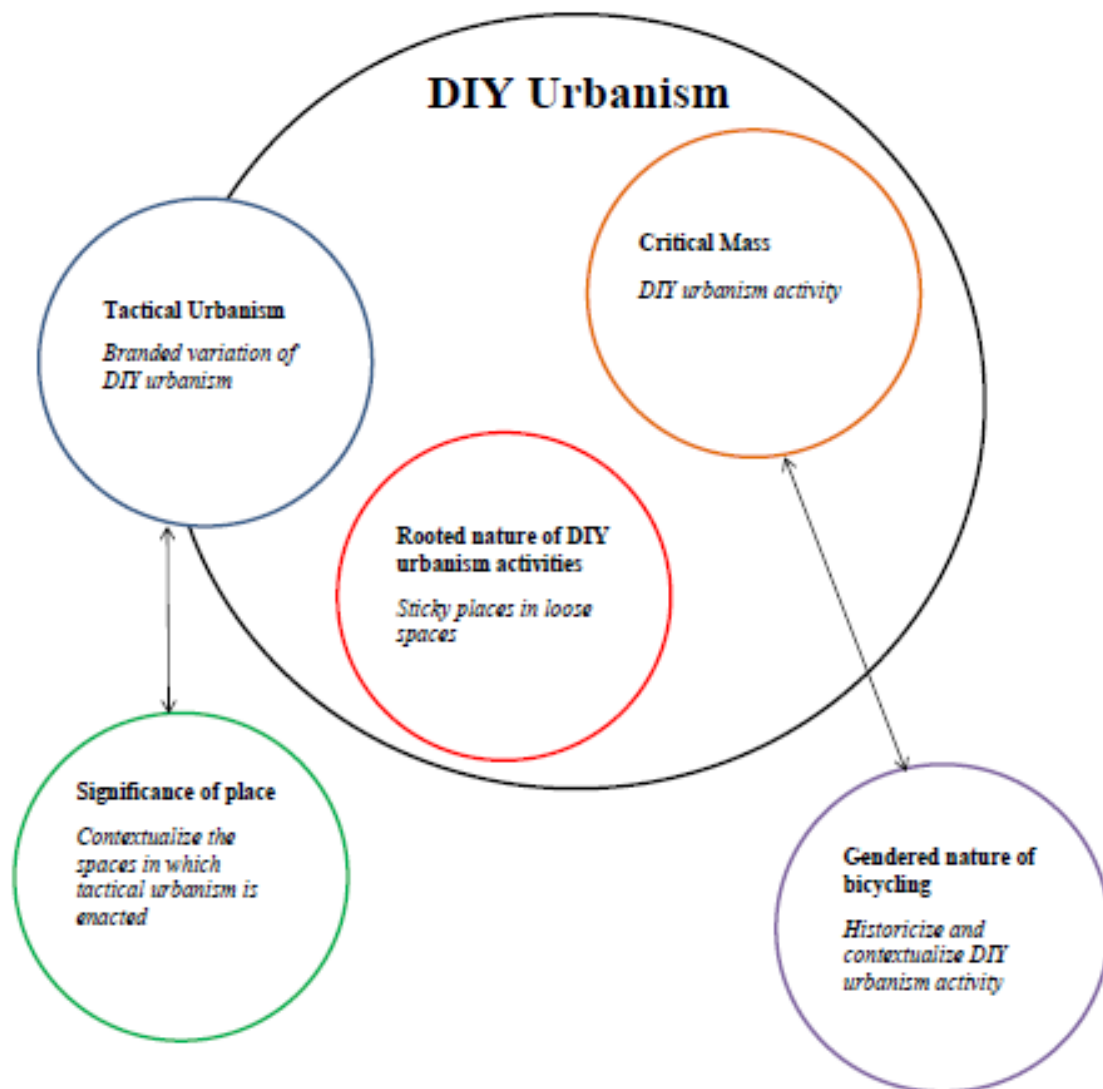


Table III: Research Questions and Aims, Sites, Site Specific Research Questions, and Methods

Research Questions <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. In what ways does DIY urbanism reflect, reinforce, and challenge social privileges through the creation and use of its urban spaces?2. How do these social privileges (or the challenging of them) interact with the urban politics of the city?3. How are these interactions related to the level of acceptance and legitimatization of DIY urbanism within urban planning and policy contexts?4. What are the consequences and implications of DIY urbanism? Research Aims <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Explore the racialized, classed, and gendered, conceptualization of DIY urbanism, its activities, and actors.2. Examine the social privileges and multiple subject positions that may be present within DIY urbanism practice and how this may affect the types of spaces that are being created through these activities.3. Investigate the ways in which DIY urbanism activities and actors are connected to urban systems and policies.

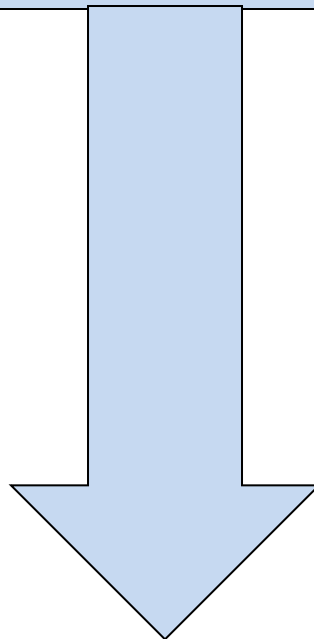


Table III: Research Questions and Aims, Sites, Site Specific Research Questions, and Methods,
CONT.

Site	Site Specific Research Questions	Methods
DIY urbanism	<u>Discourse:</u> How is DIY urbanism discursively framed, what activities are included, who are the actors, what is the context in which the activities are taking place, what are the motivations and implications of the activities? How are issues of gender, race, and class narrative, or not?	Discourse analysis and document review
Chicago Critical Mass <i>Specific DIY urbanism activity</i>	<u>Processes:</u> Who participates; what are their motivations, experiences, and barriers related to participation; how has the group changed over time – socially, demographically, politically, etc.; and how has the city reacted? How are issues of gender, race, and class experienced and narrated, or not?	Discourse analysis and document review Online survey Interviews Participant-observations
Gendered Nature of Bicycling <i>Form above DIY urbanism activity takes</i>	<u>Contextualization:</u> What is the relationship between bicycling and gender and to other social identities? What is the relationship between space and gender? How do these questions and answers speak back to Critical Mass's activities in particular and DIY urbanism in general?	Discourse analysis and document review Online survey Interviews Participant-observations
Tactical Urbanism <i>Institutionalized and branded form of DIY urbanism</i>	<u>Discourse:</u> How is tactical urbanism discursively framed, what activities are included, who are the actors, what is the context in which the activities were taking place, what are the motivations and implications of the activities? How are issues of gender, race, and class narrated, or not? <u>Institutionalization:</u> Who participates; what are their motivations, experiences, and barriers related to participation? What is the role of formal planning entities? How are issues of gender, race, and class experienced and narrated, if at all? How do issues related to social reproduction get played out?	Discourse analysis and document review Interviews Participant-observations
Rooted nature of DIY urbanism <i>Sticky places in loose spaces</i>	<u>Place-boundedness:</u> How do participants make sense of their activities? When, where, and how do DIY urbanism activities emerge? How are issues of gender, race, and class experienced and narrated, or not? How does the concept of 'sticky places in slippery space' help explain these activities and experiences?	Discourse analysis and document review Interviews Participant-observations

CHAPTER FOUR

DIY URBANISM PROCESSES, POTHOLES, POWER STRUGGLES, AND POSSIBILITIES -

THE CASE OF CRITICAL MASS IN CHICAGO

This chapter explores the processes of DIY urbanism, along with its limitations and possibilities, through the case of Critical Mass in Chicago. I blend primary survey, observational, and interview data together with secondary data, including data from personal narratives and online discussions and videos, to provide a history, description, and contextualization of Critical Mass in Chicago. Using primary data collected through this research, I share findings on who participates and what their experiences are as participants in Chicago Critical Mass (i.e. the everyday lived experiences of participants). Specifically, these findings are the result of twenty-two interviews, eighty-one survey participant respondents, and over twenty hours of observation. I highlight the racialized, classed, gendered, and sexualized conceptualization and experiences of this particular activity, as well as bike culture more broadly; the multiple subject positions that are present; and how this affects the types of spaces that are being created through Chicago Critical Mass. I also share findings on how participants, through these activities, interact with and are enmeshed in the prevailing urban politics of the city, including ‘creative class’ politics. Similar to the discourses found within DIY urbanism more generally, the discourses surrounding and the practices of Critical Mass in particular highlight the radical potential of grassroots, self-governing initiatives as a way to experience and reclaim urban space. However, I call to attention some of the problematics, or potholes in the road, and suggest that there may be lessons to be learned for similar types of activities.

Specifically, in this chapter I situate Critical Mass, as a DIY urbanism activity, within the context of bike culture and make some tentative connections between bike culture and ‘creative classes.’ I provide a description and history of Critical Mass in Chicago and elsewhere, playing particular attention to the specifics of the Chicago context. Through this description and history, I highlight connections between Chicago Critical Mass, anarchistic traditions, and DIY urbanism. Much like the discourses of DIY urbanism in general, the activities of Critical Mass and bicycling in particular are predominately focused on the physical, built environment and infrastructures, as well as public spaces – a feminist critique that was made in Chapter Two and that is carried over into this chapter.

This research attempts to decenter dominant masculinist discourses about reclaiming urban space that are common in popular literature, online forums, and academic literature. In this vein and in line with my intersectional analysis, I explore issues of race, class, and gender within the context of Chicago Critical Mass, offering additional perspectives to those (often provided by a male subject) that romanticize the activity specifically and self-governing groups more generally. Meanwhile, social reproduction related questions remain unanswered about who has the privilege to participate in this activity in terms of being available on a Friday at 5:30pm for a 20-30 mile bike ride that starts downtown and ends at some unknown location. The physically agile young professional who works in an office downtown Monday through Friday from 9am until 5pm? The individual who is getting ready for their dishwashing shift at an upscale restaurant in Lincoln Park? The mother of young children who is just leaving her job for the day so she can relieve the childcare provider? As I argued in Chapter Two, space embodies social relations of power and in which spaces become coded along these social lines based on who is using the

space and the relationships within the space. Despite its ‘potholes,’ Chicago Critical Mass has consistently existed for over 20 years. While it is often thought of as an anti-institutional, anti-elitist activity, it has in many ways become an institution in and of itself in Chicago and has had an impact on the city. This raises questions about DIY urbanism more generally in terms of the implications of these activities on the broader city, and the degree to which they can (if they ever did) remain outside and separate from formal urban institutions.

But First...a Quick Reminder about the Research Participants that Informed these Findings

The findings in this chapter are informed by the results of eighty-one survey participant respondents and twenty-two interviewees (see Chapter Three for a fuller description of research participants’ demographics). Among those that participated in the survey, the majority were white (75 percent) males (53 percent) in their 30s (35 percent). The vast majority of survey participants were college educated and employed in professional occupations, including occupations that have median earnings over 200% that of the median for Chicago as a whole. Interview participants were equally male and female (50 percent male and 50 percent female), but were primarily white (81 percent) and in their 30s (61 percent).

Bike Culture and the Creative Class

Truly entrepreneurial cities were cities that encouraged bike lanes, as enunciated by the new neoliberal mayor of Chicago, Rahm Emanuel, and as practiced by Mayor Michael Bloomberg in New York City. In San Francisco, as neoliberals demanded tax breaks to keep the social networking firm Twitter from moving to the suburbs, bicycling was promoted as vital in keeping creative class companies in the city (Henderson, 2013:135).

To start a chapter on an anti-institutional, if not anarchist, DIY urbanism activity with a quote about how cities are using bicycling as a neoliberal leverage to attract and keep creative classes and large corporations in their cities may seem a bit contradictory and out of place. However, to set the stage for the conversion that follows, the above quote illustrates how bike culture has been linked with creative class politics and used as a tool to spur the economic growth of cities. It also demonstrates how radical and progress politics can be coopted by, or at the very least aligned with, dominant and formal urban institutions, often for purposes counter to the original. In the sections that follow I focus my attention squarely on one particular DIY urbanism activity, but with this opening section foreshadowing the others. At the end of this chapter I return to these topics, with this section and the last serving as bookends. By organizing this chapter in this manner, I seek to complicate our understanding of radical, anti-institutional politics and self-governing practices, including DIY urbanism activities and practices, and raise some important questions about them and how they are enmeshed within larger systems and structures of power and meaning.

As described in Chapter Two, the creative class refers to a group of workers “whose function is to create ‘meaningful new forms’” (Florida, 2003; 8). Creative class occupations include: “scientist and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, and architects, as well as the ‘thought-leadership’ of modern society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts, and other opinion makers” (Florida, 2003; 8). As a highly educated and mobile group, the creative class seeks cities to locate in cities where they can blend their occupations and lifestyles, and “actualize their

identities” (Peck, 2005; 744). Creative class politics rests on the logic (however faulty) that “regional economic growth is driven by the locational choices of creative people — the holders of creative capital — who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas” (Florida, 2002, cited in Peck, 2005). It is the job of cities then to create the conditions necessary in order to attract the creative class. Economic investment and prosperity, it is argued, will follow.

In Chapter Two, I also noted how a number of scholars have made connections between DIY urbanism and larger urban political agendas, including creative class urban politics (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Deslandes, 2013; Douglas, 2014; Malloy, 2009; Mould, 2014). A similar connection can be made here in that several scholars have also linked bicycling to the so called creative class, new urbanism design principles and philosophies, and smart growth initiatives (see for example Camarena, 2012; Malanga, 2004; Mapes, 2009). In fact, the ‘master’ of all things creative class related, Richard Florida, waxes on about the importance of biking to the creative class in his book, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002). In fact, Florida claims that, “cycling to work is positively associated with the share of creative class jobs...and negatively associated with working class jobs” (Florida, 2011). Cities then, in their attempts to attract the creative class, find themselves creating bike lanes and infrastructure (Malanga, 2004). This infrastructure, however, is being created for a certain segment of the population – the so called creative class – and is catering to their specific needs. For example, Chicago’s *Streets for Cycling* plan has come under fire for directing the most amount of bike related resources to the wealthier (and whiter) areas of downtown and the north side of the city, leaving many low-income residents with no access to the infrastructure created through the \$150 million that Chicago Mayor Emanuel plans on spending (Lepeska, 2011). As noted in Chapter Two, and

important to note here again, a substantive critique has been levied against creative class urban politics, with critics linking creative class urban politics to the larger processes of the neoliberalization, and pointing out how they foster social inequalities along racial and gendered lines and redirect scarce city resources towards gentrification (Kratke, 2001; McLean, 2014; Parker, 2008, 2012; Peck, 2005).

This focus on biking, the creative class, and economic development mirrors Henderson's (2013) point in the opening quote in that 'entrepreneurial' cities, often governed by neoliberal sentiments, are those that are paying a lot of attention to and spending a lot of money on creating bike plans and infrastructure. For example, Mayor Emanuel, in Chicago's *Streets for Cycling* plan, states "developing this infrastructure...will catalyze economic growth in the neighborhoods throughout our City" (Chicago Department of Transportation, 2012; 5). In fact, "increased economic development" is a theme that runs through the entire bike plan (Chicago Department of Transportation, 2012; 8). Many bike advocacy groups have also aligned themselves with such neoliberal discourses within urban politics, including using rhetoric related to family values, livability, and economic development to promote biking (Henderson, 2013).

This image of bicycling as an activity of the creative class – an image cities are willing to literally buy into – challenges old ideas and stereotypes about cyclists and creates a new, hip, and edgy image and culture. As Mapes (2009) states, the current biking movement and resulting culture is about "painting a new image of urban hip that is slowly replacing that old picture in America of adult cyclists, as either hapless losers or elite but niche athletes in garish spandex" (90-91). Jumping ahead a moment, many Chicago Critical Mass participants echoed almost the

exact same sentiments and stated that one of the primary reasons they were attracted to or like Critical Mass rides is because they are changing the image of cyclists. For example, several interview participants mentioned that they came from small to mid-sized cities before moving to Chicago. In those settings, they stated that it was assumed that if you were biking someplace it was because you couldn't afford a car or because you had your driver's license revoked due driving under the influence convictions or non-payment of traffic related fines or fees. In other words, you were biking because you had to, which was related to your socioeconomic status. In this sense, biking was stigmatized as an activity of the poor, criminal, or irresponsible.

On the other end of the spectrum, many Chicago Critical Mass participants stated that the non-elite nature of the rides is what drew them to the rides in the first place and what keeps them coming back to them. The lack of spandex and matching racing jerseys, along with the slower pace, is why they find Chicago Critical Mass so attractive. However, as Henderson (2013) notes, the San Francisco Critical Mass rides drew "young, professional workers who worked in the support of the postindustrial, high-tech economy, as well as nonprofit employees, artists, and students" (118). Other scholars have also noted that white males, in particular, make up the lion's share of cyclists in Chicago, as well as other major cities (Pucher, Buehler, and Seinen, 2011; Vance, 2014). It is important to note, however, that according the study done by Pucher, Buehler, and Seinen (2011), as well as one by commissioned by the Active Transportation Alliance in Chicago (Vance, 2014), income among the Chicago cyclists studied was relatively equally distributed. My own research findings on Critical Mass riders specifically both confirm and refute these trends. The majority of Critical Mass riders in Chicago are white men. However, according to those that participated in my online survey, the overwhelming majority was college

educated, they worked in professional occupations, and the occupations that they worked in were ones that garnered median incomes well above Chicago averages. Or in other words, the creative class was a major proportion of the ride (and research) participants. The problematics that this raises then is: in what ways are social inequities and exclusionary politics fostered; how are “masculinist, racialized, and elite subject positions” reified; and to what degree are “critical urban resources [redirected] to gentrification” (Parker, 2012: 621; see also McLean, 2014; Parker, 2008)?

Critical Mass: a Brief Overview in Time and Space

[Critical Mass] has become a rallying cry for bicyclists, rejecting the priorities and values imposed on us by oil barons and their government servants. But Critical Mass bicycle rides are no protest movement as we commonly imagine. Instead, riders have gathered to *celebrate* their choice to bicycle, and in doing so have opened up a new kind of social and political space, unprecedented in this era of atomization and commodification. Bicyclists are reclaiming city life from San Francisco to St. Louis, Melbourne to Milan, Berlin to Bombay, and hundreds more cities across the planet (Carlsson, 2002b: 5-6; emphasis original).

Critical Mass confuses people because it is not an organization, and it has no ‘purpose’ in the common political way of thinking. Yes, we’re on bicycles. An early and ongoing motivation for most riders is to make ourselves seen and felt as legitimate users of city streets (Carlsson, 2012: 13).

Critical Mass is a monthly bike ride that takes place in a number of cities across the globe, including Chicago, as a way to raise awareness of and exercise bicyclists' rights to the streets through the temporary appropriation of urban space. As described in Chapter Three, Critical Mass is an example of a DIY urbanism activity (see also Shepard, 2014, who similarly defines Critical Mass type activities as DIY urbanism). This specific DIY urbanism activity expresses what Hou (2010) terms as 'appropriating' (i.e. "meaning, ownership, and structure of official public space is temporarily or permanently suspended" (13)) and 'contesting' (i.e. "struggles over rights, meanings, and identities in the public realm" (14)). Again, the focus here is on public, physical spaces and infrastructures.

In this section and the following, I provide a brief history of Critical Mass, playing particular attention to the specifics of the Chicago context. Through this description and history, I highlight connections between Critical Mass, anarchistic traditions, and DIY urbanism. While this research attempts to decenter the masculinist narratives present in much of the existing literature, by and large male subject positions and masculinist discourses of 'reclaiming' space are prevalent. For example, the vast majority of personal narratives about Critical Mass that can be found in popular literature are from male subject positions. In particular, two books on Critical Mass, comprised of essays from individual Critical Mass participants, have been published (Carlsson, 2002; Carlsson, Elliot, and Camarena, 2012). A total of 92 essays can be found in these two books combined. However, over 63 percent are from male authors. Online discussions, either via listservs or discussion forums, are also dominated by male voices. While I attempt to offer additional and alternative narratives throughout my research, I do rely on these narratives in this section to give history and context to Critical Mass.

The first Critical Mass ride, which was then known as Commute Clot, is said to have taken place on September 25, 1992 in San Francisco (Carlsson, 2002b; Henderson, 2013). The ride was the result of frustrations with the city of San Francisco over not implementing more bicycle friendly policies and projects, frustrations that date back to the 1970s (Henderson, 2013). It was also a statement against the oil wars going on in the Middle East, rampant consumerism, individualism, competition, and automobile domination and dependency (Henderson, 2013). “Critical Mass started in the dark days of 1992 not long after Bush #1 had manipulated Iraq into becoming the new boogeyman, massacred thousands in the Gulf War and declared a New World Order” (Carlsson, 2002b: 6). Others claim that the rides have provided an avenue for everyday citizens to be involved in urban decisions: “Critical Mass rides are an apparent statement of bicyclists’ urban needs and their frustration of feeling marginalized in the realm of urban planning and transportation” (Morhayim, 2012: 127). Whatever one’s personal motivation is for participating in Critical Mass, the ride seemed to have struck a chord with a large segment of the city’s population. In San Francisco, the first ride in 1992 drew 48 cyclists; the second ride drew over 100 cyclists; future rides drew hundreds and thousands of riders (Henderson, 2013). Similar rides started sprouting up throughout the US shortly thereafter.

As the ride grew in size and gained more attention by the public, city officials, per San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown’s request, began trying to control and tame the rides with a strong police presence that wasn’t afraid to make arrests (Henderson, 2013). In response, the rides only grew larger. In July 1997, over 5,000 riders turned out for Critical Mass in San Francisco (Henderson, 2013). Police officers and riders violently clashed and over 200 riders were arrested; however, all

charges were later dismissed in court (Henderson, 2013). Clashes between Critical Mass and the police were not unique to San Francisco. Many cities throughout the US, and even the world, have had instances of conflict, of varying degrees of severity, involving riders and the police, including in Chicago (Burton, 2002), Toronto (Bruidoclarke, 2002), Austin (Carlsson, 2002a), Portland (Carlsson, 2002a; Nemo, 2002), Minneapolis (Carlsson, 2002a), Los Angeles (Carlsson, 2002a), New York (Carlsson, 2002a; Shepard and Moore, 2002), and even as far as Germany (Humphries, 2002).

Predictably, a great deal of media attention followed as a result of the scuffling between the San Francisco riders and police, and in response Mayor Brown decided to work with a bicycle advocacy group, the San Francisco Bicycle Coalition (SFBC), to make the city more bicycle friendly and to repair his and the city's damaged image (Henderson, 2013). However, most of the efforts resulted in stalled and unimplemented bicycle plans and projects (Henderson, 2013). Meanwhile, many bicycle advocacy groups distanced themselves from Critical Mass due to its confrontational and politically charged nature (Henderson, 2013; author's field notes). Despite formal advocacy groups and city officials condemning the ride, many still argue of its relevance and ability to affect change. According to Bruidoclarke (2002), "over the years CM [Critical Mass] has changed from a ride of confrontation to that of a social ride with teeth" (41). Critical Mass in San Francisco has continued on since its inception in 1992 and has spread to cities across the globe.

Meanwhile, in Chicago...

They were just having a good time, as if the work of grassroots activism had gotten somehow confused with celebration (13)... The demonstrators were circling and shouting, using the street as a stage... *This* was the theater I had come to Chicago for. *This* was the point where theater could change the way people think and live. This was a mission achieved, a performance well worth its acclaim – and, I was only one small part of its whole (Culley, 2002: 17; emphasis original).

One such place that Critical Mass spread to was Chicago, which arrived in the summer of 1997 (Burton, 2002). While several individuals and groups had organized Critical Mass-like rides in the past, it wasn't until 1997 that these fragmented groups came together to coordinate their efforts. This original group consisted of a member of the Windy City Messenger Association; “three or four women from the local anarchist collective, the A-Zone, who had ‘organized’ a few Chicago CM rides over the years that had been plagued by police harassment and arrests;” and other bike commuters, messengers, and interested citizens (Burton, 2002: 19). The first ‘official’ Chicago Critical Mass ride drew over 100 participants and two dozen cops (Burton, 2002):

The mass was far too large for the police to do anything but facilitate our movement. We slowly wheeled northwest, waving to surprised pedestrians, giving fliers to idling motorists, and most of all, sharing conspiratorial smiles with each other at our creation of a beautiful social space in the usually cold, congested city streets (21).

Chicago Critical Mass describes itself as:

A bike ride plain and simple. A Critical Mass is created when the group of riders comes together for those few hours to take back the streets of our city. The right of the people to

assemble is guaranteed in the Constitution, and Critical Mass helps people remember that right. The Mass itself has no political agenda, though, no more than the people of any other community do. Critical Mass is open to all, and it welcomes all riders to join in a celebration of riding bicycles (Chicago Critical Mass website, 2013).

Chicago Critical Mass, like Critical Mass in other cities, has resulted in some degree of negative reactions and tense co-existences. As Burton (2002), one of the founding members of Chicago Critical Mass, recalls:

Though Chicago has a proud history of progressive social action, it also has a past checkered with overzealous police response to these movements, including the Haymarket Massacre in 1886 and the violent police reaction to protests during the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago (20). We were going to assert a positive vision of how things should be in order to expose the current injustice of car dominated public space and let the powers-that-be respond. Though the police might reaction violently, we felt that our righteous assertion of our rights to the road, demonstrating a simple solution to the pavement and pollution that plagued our city, was worth the risk (21).

However, as the majority of interviewees shared, relations between Chicago Critical Mass participants, the police, and the city have been fairly neutral and peaceful. This could be the result of many factors, such as Critical Mass not being an explicit public protest or demonstration, or losing this edge over time. It also doesn't necessarily directly challenge dominant structures such as capitalism, property rights, and other socially and economically embedded power relations – things the city and police might take greater issue with.

Nonetheless, research participants attributed this to the larger political pro-bicycle climate in Chicago dating back to the late 1800s (author's field notes; Baer, 2015; Mapes, 2009).

In 1897, mayoral candidate, Carter H. Harrison II, used biking as a campaign strategy, biking all over the city and handing out flyers (Baer, 2015). Mayor Richard J. Daley (1955 – 1976) created the lakefront bicycle path and a number of other bicycling paths and routes throughout the city (Baer, 2015). Former mayor Richard M. Daley (1989 – 2011) continued this tradition by further expanding Chicago's bicycle infrastructure and creating a city-wide bike plan (Bauer, 2015). Many interview participants attributed former mayor Richard M. Daley's commit to expanding Chicago's bike infrastructure to his own personal love for biking and his commitment to making Chicago one of the most bike-friendly cities in the US. A tradition the current mayor, Rahm Emanuel, continues today (Chicago Department of Transportation, 2012). Many interviewees also pointed out that former mayor Richard M. Daley put a large number of police officers on bikes, attributing to the police force being more understanding of what Critical Mass is trying to accomplish. While a number of research participants pointed out examples of tense relations between Chicago Critical Mass riders, the police, and the city more broadly, the majority, if not all, described the relationship between the two as positive.

Driving Philosophies

Many link Critical Mass to anarchism with its lack of leaders and hierarchy; spontaneity; critique of capitalism, oil dependency, and consumerism; and call for more public and democratic spaces (Blaug, 2002; Carlsson, 2002a). In fact, early Critical Mass rides in Chicago were often organized by an anarchist group of women (Burton, 2002). As described in Chapter Two,

anarchism is a philosophy that represents a mode of critique and a vision for an alternatively ordered society. At the core of anarchism is a critique of the state, capitalism, and any other oppressive, involuntarily imposed institution, as well as the interconnectedness between these institutions. Anarchism seeks to dissolve, and not redirect or reassign, power and authority. As such, it does not uphold the belief that social transformation, justice, equality, and liberty can be achieved through the state or any other external institution. Anarchism as a philosophy upholds the notion that people are naturally free and are capable of self-governance based on free and voluntary association that is directed from the bottom up. In practice, it responds to the specific demands and needs of society at a particular time, recognizing the dynamic and fluid nature of society. It is a process of evolution that requires flexible and fluid goals and strategies that respond to the situation at hand in the present. As Carlsson (2012) claims, Critical Mass “was a hybrid product of late capitalist urban design, long submerged anarchistic political ideas, a growing refusal to submit to the imposed necessity of embedded technologies, and an urgent reclaiming of cities as a lost public commons” (10).

Anarchistic themes, such as the ones noted above, run through the description of Critical Mass provided by Carlsson (2002a) – the often cited master mind and originator of Critical Mass. He states:

The contagious pleasure of a movement like Critical Mass threatens the precariousness of today’s world, which depends on cooperative participation by the majority of people as workers and consumers. Critical Mass is an unparalleled practical experiment in public, collective self-expression, reclaiming our diminishing connectedness, interdependency and mutual responsibility. CM provides encouragement and

reinforcement for desertion from the rat wheel of car ownership and its attendant investments. But even more subversively, it does it by gaining active participation in an event of unmediated human creation, outside of economic logic, and offering an exhilarating taste of a life practically forgotten – free, convivial, cooperative, connected, collective (Carlsson, 2002a; 78). Critical Mass is also a practical lesson in direct action for all its participants, focused on the moment and the immediate experience rather than towards representatives, government, politicians, and demands (Carlsson, 2002a; 81).

I have positioned Critical Mass as a DIY urbanism activity and as an activity that many have claimed is driven by anarchistic traditions and philosophies. To further connect these three concepts, we can look back to Chapter Two, where I claimed that the concept of DIY urbanism shares a number of key philosophies with anarchism. Again, DIY urbanism, as defined here and elsewhere, is unauthorized, grassroots, and citizen-led urban planning interventions that are small scale, functional, temporary, creative, and place specific. They are focused on re-adapting or re-purposing urban spaces, and they take place outside formal urban planning structures and systems. Both anarchism and DIY urbanism share philosophies in which there is a deinstitutionalization and decentralization of the notion of planner. Community residents have direct control over the planning process and are seen as having unique knowledge and skills that are rooted in their experiences as community members. The planning process is participatory, voluntary, functional, temporary, and local and is done through direct action that focuses on transforming everyday life through small scale change. DIY urbanism, like anarchist thought, does not seek to overthrow the formal, institutionalized planning process. Rather, it seeks to create strategies for addressing community issues from within the community, strategies and

solutions that can be incorporated into and transform formal planning practice. Like anarchism, many DIY urbanism strategies are focused on keeping urban space in the public sphere and ensuring it is open to all for a variety of uses. This philosophical approach is often enacted in practice through one's 'right to the city.' As detailed in Chapter Two, the right to the city concept, originally set forth by Lefebvre (1996), contends that all individuals should have the opportunity to change their lives, their environment, and the institutions that govern them through their common 'right to the city' – a right that is enacted through interactions with, and appropriation and production of a city's space (see also Chapter Two for a feminist critique of these concepts that I extend into this chapter as well).

From these broad ideologies, discourses surrounding Critical Mass, such as the following, emerge:

The best solutions to all kinds of problems across the nation have long come from the ground up. Communities take their problems in hand and find a solution...And it is almost guaranteed that the answers will again be found by groups in one's own community rather than on Capitol Hill...Critical Mass resonates with so many because it exemplifies this very act of taking matters into one's own hands. It does not protest for change, it simply changes (Stender, 2002).

Reclaim the Streets, Critical Mass, and a burgeoning global justice movement aimed at a do-it-yourself reclaiming of public space were part of this response [to injustice] (Shepard and Moore, 2002: 201).

Most fundamentally, Critical Mass is a reclaiming of public space from a culture bent on privatizing everything and reducing human life to a series of commercial transactions.

Critical Mass always existed outside of that logic, a zone of free association without buying and selling, as its defining activities. We're inhabiting city streets on a new basis, reinventing them at least temporarily. We roll along, never stopping, so it's fundamentally mobile public space, changing with the geography and the ebb and flow of participants. We don't petition the government, we don't ask for reforms, we don't make demands, we just get on with making and inhabiting a world we can only dream the rest of the month (Carlsson, 2012: 14).

The participants that were involved in this specific research project also commonly used discourses about reclaiming public space. I argued in Chapter Two that 'right to the city' type discourses often represent male subject positions and masculinist understandings of space. Both men and women can narrate these masculinist discourses, and in the data collected through this research both male and female research participants alike presented them. However, while male and female interviewees engaged in equal proportion in these discourses, the majority of survey respondents were primarily white men. For example, as one female interview told me, "I loved the idea of 'taking over' the streets of Chicago to cars with a group of like-minded people who love biking as much as I do." Or, as one individual stated in the survey, "there is something about taking over the street with tons of other people that is wonderful and powerful."

Male and female research participants in equal proportion also highlighted how the 'urban exploration' element to Chicago Critical Mass was important to them. One female interviewee

stated, “I was interested in exploring other physical communities...I was drawn to the fact that I could explore other communities.” Over 40 percent of survey respondents stated that experiencing or ‘exploring’ the city was a primary motivating factor for participating in the rides. While several research participants pointed out the masculinist nature of ‘urban exploration, women were just as likely as men to be interested in and to engage in these rides as a way to explore the city. Therefore, gendered assumptions and stereotypes may be challenged, but raced and classed ones were not. For example, Mott and Roberts (2014), linking urban exploration (or ‘urbex’ – a much more extreme form of exploring abandoned urban infrastructure) with early settler and colonial exploration, state, “but, by and large, geographical scholarship on urbex has not questioned the power of the archetypal explorer inherited from history: a white, able-bodied, risk-taking man who, with ‘stout boots and a stout heart’, can go where more frail and less well equipped others dare not venture (Domosh, 1997)” (7). Furthermore, this reflects an argument made by anti-colonial feminist scholars – we continue, still today, to employ a great deal of language and imagery that reflects the logic of gendered imperialistic assumptions about the world (Shohat, 1998). For example, one interviewee likened Chicago Critical Mass and its urban exploration bend to a form of ‘white tourism’ in which white people go parading through non-white neighborhoods, with a police presence which may or may not be welcome by those in these neighborhoods, and treating the neighborhoods and their residents like an attraction or a spectacle. This in turn raises questions about to what extent group rides in general, and Critical Mass in particular, may provide a ‘safe space’ for white people, especially white women, to go into neighborhoods that they perceive as less safe or comfortable. For example, as one white female interviewee stated, “I also wanted to see parts of the city that I wouldn't normally explore on my own on a bike.”

However, despite these heavily theoretical motivations for the existence and participation in Critical Mass, the vast majority choose to participate due to personal enjoyment. An online survey distributed in 2012 found that 78 percent of San Francisco Critical Mass participants most strongly agreed with the statement “It is simply fun to ride together with other bicyclists” (Morhayim, 2012: 128). The notion of the ride being ‘fun’ also came up regularly in interviews done in 2010 with San Francisco Critical Mass participants (Morhayim, 2012: 128). This mirrors the findings that resulted from my own research on Chicago Critical Mass – both in the online survey and the interviews. Over 73 percent of survey participants stated that one of the most important reasons for their participation in Chicago Critical Mass is for the purposes of ‘fun’ and ‘enjoyment.’ It was the second most common response; the first being social camaraderie and networking (79 percent). Bicycling advocacy/awareness (54 percent), experiencing the ride and city (43 percent), and exercise (16 percent) were the remaining most common responses to this open ended survey question.

Almost all of the interview participants shared that a primary driving motivation for participating in Critical Mass is its anti-elitist attitude. There are no registration processes and fees (like Bike the Drive, which was been criticized by research participants as being excessively expensive), there are no spandex clad riders with matching jerseys, and it’s not a test of speed and endurance. As one male interviewee stated:

In an extreme sense of what they do is they would be considered anarchist. Then on the very other end, it could just be a fun way to ride a bike with a bunch of people. But that was like novel to me... and I’m not the sort of the person that’s big on the Lance

Armstrong sort of bike riding...in spandex with logos and riding the down the lake going...I have a little bit of a punk mentality in me and a little bit of rock and roll in me and that was more appealing to have this group of people that were different than the typical groups of people that rode bikes who were more like let's ride as fast as we can down the street or up to Winnetka or something like that.

Potholes and Power Struggles - Issues of Race, Class and Gender

The beauty of Critical Mass – one of them, anyway – is the chance it provides for people to face each other in the simmering cauldron of real life, in public, without pre-set roles and fixed boundaries (Carlsson, 2002b: 6).

Critical Mass explicitly assumes itself to be a 'leaderless' movement, and as such expects itself to somehow, by fiat of its leaderlessness, be freed from power regimes. It's not that free (Bruzzone, 2012: 135).

In this section, I explore some of the multiple, complex, and dynamic ways issues of race, class, and gender swirl together within the case study of Chicago Critical Mass, offering additional perspectives to those (often provided by a male subject) that romanticize the activity specifically and self-governing groups more generally. The above two quotes stand in contrast to one another. On the one hand, Critical Mass provides a flexible, and arguably autonomous, space for challenging dominant paradigms and testing boundaries. On the other hand, it is not that easy to shake free from existing power relations and hierarchical social ideologies. In particular I highlight, despite the group's mission to be a horizontal, leaderless group, a small segment of

participants tend to domineer – a group commonly referred to by other participants as the ‘testosterone brigade,’ which is comprised of young white males that are known for their aggressive, confrontational, and macho behavior. However, it is racial coded language that frequently emerges when participants point out aggressive behavior among the group – i.e. they blame the ‘fixie pixies,’ which refers to a separate group of individuals, primarily young Latino males. Furthermore, several research participants pointed out that only certain individuals may have the privilege to participate in Critical Mass, in terms of being available on a Friday at 5:30pm for a 20-30 mile bike ride that starts downtown and ends at some unknown location. Again, space embodies social relations of power and spaces become coded along these social lines based on who is using the space and the relationships within the space. These research findings illustrate some of the ways raced, gendered, and classed social structures and dominant urban institutions, including the state and the market, are challenged, reified, and naturalized simultaneously through Chicago Critical Mass.

The Leadership Paradox

As described above, Critical Mass is a loose collective of individuals with no leaders or official membership and no political agenda other than to raise awareness of bicyclist rights. As a group, or a mass, they are contesting the dominant use of the built environment and the existing physical infrastructure (i.e., the streets) and are attempting to make space for bicyclists while raising awareness of their usage rights of the streets (i.e. public space). There are no leaders or membership requirements, fees, or rules (although, some would argue there is a code of conduct that should be observed). The rides are open to anyone who can make it to the meeting spot at the designated time. Anyone can plan the route for the monthly ride by either making and map

and distributing it or working their way up to the front of the pack. Critical Mass seeks to create space for bicyclists on the roads by challenge the dominant use of the space, appropriating and repurposing it. Despite Critical Mass's lofty goals of being horizontal and democratic, the processes in which this 'leaderless' group operates on the ground are complex and power-laden. While the spaces created by Chicago Critical Mass allow for experimentation and the challenging and working out of power relations, deeply embedded social relations and power dynamics continually seep into such spaces and practices. These relations and dynamics are challenged and reworked, but they are also often accepted, naturalized, and reified.

One of the most commonly mentioned issues - both in positive and negative contexts, and by research participants and online discussants alike - was related to leadership. Many research participants mentioned the horizontally organized, democratic nature of Chicago Critical Mass in which new forms of self-governance can be experimented with as what drew them to the ride in the first place. However, in practice, the purportedly leaderless nature was problematic. One listserv participant summarizes these issues eloquently, which are representative of the issues highlighted by survey respondents and interviewees:

The line that "Critical Mass is a leaderless community" has always been, at best, a half-truth. It insulates the group's six or so organizers—and let's face it, we all know who they are—from responsibility for this unruly group's actions, but doesn't really reflect the reality on the ground. Just as CCM is not without its organizers, nor is it without its ambassadors: unfortunately, those ambassadors are those individuals literally taking the lead on the ride: The fast guys in the front: they set the pace, they set the tone, they establish the degree of law-breaking or compliance...For better or worse, in the absence

of anyone stepping up... these are your de facto leaders...I stopped riding on Chicago Critical Mass about two years ago for these very reasons. Fixed gear guys in the front treating it like a race; mile-long straight-line stretches completely borking traffic; summer rides taking 20 minutes to pass through a single intersection; mass being lost, rides splitting; calls of "Mass up" resulting in nothing but strained vocal cords; riders causing havoc for entertainment; confrontations with motorists, even escalating to violence and property damage; and an incredible amount of ill will created toward cyclists...It can change, but this would require leadership---or, if the anarchic model is what is preferred, consensus---and commitment from the community. But as long as the community denies it has leaders, denies it has an agenda, and denies that its behavior is sending a message.

Therefore, 'leaderlessness' often does not mean there are no leaders. While there was a strong commitment among many of the participants to maintain peaceful, cooperative, and equalitarian relations within the rides (i.e. maintain a code of conduct), according to interviewees, there are a number of individuals who are drawn to such activities and exploit the opportunity to seize and redirect the energy and intentions of the group (see also D'Andrade, 2012). As a number of research participants shared, the loose organizational structure that characterizes Chicago Critical Mass, and its defiance of traditional norms, has the unfortunate effect of attracting individuals looking for confrontation and wanting to create "YouTube moments." Almost all interview participants were quick to point out that this represents a small minority of those that participate in the rides – the vast majority is peaceful, cooperative individuals looking to have fun on a Friday evening with other like-minded cyclists and to promote cycling in the city. However, several research participants and online discussants also highlighted that, despite this overly

aggressive group being the minority, they become the ‘face’ of Chicago Critical Mass, as the above Critical Mass participant narrative illustrates. It is this group that the general public comes to associate with the ride, which in turns results in negative associations with Chicago Critical Mass.

A majority of interview participants commented on how maintaining positive relationships with the community was of importance to them and how they made it their mission to create a positive image of the ride. They noted that the above issues are likely to occur in such settings and that Chicago Critical Mass riders, as a community of individuals, should focus on ‘self-policing of rowdies.’ As one of the long time organizers stated on the listserv, “...I'd encourage the wise and able to increase their involvement rather than bitching and quitting. Come on the rides, wear a critical mass shirt, educate newbies on the culture, call out shenanigans, help plan or lead, get to the front, be and share the change you wish to see (but also accept that it may never be exactly what you wish it was).” What is clear is that there a multiple, and sometimes conflicting, ideas about how the rides and the group should be ‘led’ and by whom.

At both ends of the spectrum, as presented here, there is some form of leadership. However, as masculinist and aggressive behavior is ignored and ‘leadership’ is denied, this type of behavior is de facto accepted and has the potential to be reified as the ‘leadership’ norm. These issues related to leadership and power struggles in horizontal, self-governing, or autonomous groups are not unique to Critical Mass. Scholars have argued that progressive politics, including and especially those that subscribe to right to the city type discourses, can have the tendency to fall in the ‘local trap,’ meaning “the local scale is assumed to be inherently more democratic than other

scales” (Purcell, 2006, 1921). While local groups can be more democratic, one aspect (i.e. local) does not necessarily lead to the other (i.e., democratic; and vice versa). Furthermore, this ‘local trap’ may result in a lack of attention on how non-democratic practices can seep in, along with power dynamics related to social hierarchies.

Returning to self-organizing groups in particular, a number of scholars have noted how politics related to identities and affinities are difficult to navigate and power-laden, especially when there are conflicting visions for the group (see for example Rouhani, 2012). Others have noted that despite intentions to be truly leaderless, many often result in some form leading – a process that is riddled with tension and power dynamics (Mudu, 2012). As Uitermark (2015) states, “while exclusion, power concentration, and bureaucratization are often considered as counter or alien to self-organization, these tendencies can emerge from self-organization” (9). How then do issues of gender, race, class, and sexuality factor into this? As noted above, bicycling as an activity in general has been equated with middle class, white males; and Critical Mass in particular (as will be discussed below) is comprised mainly of middle class, white males and that performs heteronormativity. When exclusions take place and power is concentrated, it is often along gendered, racialized, and classed lines – a topic we will turn our attention to now.

Challenging, Reifying and Naturalizing Race, Class, and Gender

While leaders are temporary and rotating, it’s a specific form of masculine leadership – one that looks a lot like the deeply gendered values of strength and independence and assertiveness – that is consistent. Such forms both exclude people who don’t fit within the proper boundaries, and they discipline anyone who wants to have a say into male-

gendered ways of acting. Volunteerism tends to reproduce unequal power relationships when those relationships are not intentionally and deliberately addressed (Bruzzone, 2012: 136).

Critical Massers like to think of ourselves as an open-ended group, welcoming to all, irrespective of race, ethnicity, gender, income status, or politics. The panoptic nature of the ride seems to have kept is going through the years, riders preferring inclusiveness and a reclamation of public space over political divisions. Yet, for all its free-wheeling nature, the culture of Critical Mass is simply not as inclusive as it thinks itself to be (Camarena, 2012: 117).

Building on the issues raised in the previous section, race, class, and gender are also wrapped in up these power struggles. As noted above, despite the group's mission to be a horizontal leaderless group, a small segment of participants tend to domineer in masculinist ways. This is such a common issue with Critical Mass rides around the county that there is a specific name for the group of individuals – the 'testosterone brigade,' which is made up of young males, primarily white 'punk rock' males. However, racial coded language often emerges when participants point out aggressive behavior among the group. Amidst this, there are also questions about who has the 'privilege' to participate in the rides given their timing and location.

The performance of masculinity and the coding and valuing it by society can take many forms. I use Connell's (2005) conceptualization of masculinity, noting, like Connell (2005) does, that there are 'multiple masculinities,' in which issues of race, class, and sexuality add complexity

and contradiction. Masculinity is “simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through with men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality, and culture” (Connell, 2005; 71). There is a collective dimension to masculinity. While masculinity is performed at the individual level, it is often through social groups that these relations and practices are constructed, enacted, and reified. The dominant forms of masculinities that emerge become the hegemonic form – “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted” form of masculinity (Connell, 2005; 77). Connell’s (2005) notion of ‘masculinity politics’ then becomes the form through which social relations are organized and governed. An important reminder: I am not talking about men versus women. “Masculinist power implies much more than the power exercised by men; instead it indicates the construction of the idealized subject-citizen, a regulatory fiction whose presence delimits the field and agenda of politics” (Parker, 2012; 620, citing Roy, 2003; 108). As argued in Chapters Two and Three, the focus in this research is on gender and other social identities as a set of relations and practices, and the resulting affect.

Research participants, both men and women, readily acknowledged and gave examples of ways in which Chicago Critical Mass has masculinist tendencies. Almost all of them noted the heavy levels of testosterone present at the rides, in terms of a larger presence of masculine bodies, aggressiveness, and machoism. Many female participants noted how this was intimidating for them, making them reluctant to participate in the rides in the first place. Several used the specific term ‘testosterone brigade’ to describe this - “this is the name given to those macho folks who race to the front of the ride and lead it wherever they feel ready to go” (Bodzin, 2002: 103). As one male interview told me:

There was what is called the testosterone crew. These are like the young kids who are drinking, with their Pabst Blue Ribbons, on the fixed gears, smoking cigarettes. And they are getting rowdy and drunk and they are getting obnoxious and aggressive with anybody, but the police. There's a little bit of gang, mob mentality in their heads. But they are young kids, they don't know any better.

Another term used by research participants to describe a similar group as the 'testosterone brigade' is the 'Lance Armstrong's.' Both terms refer to a group of young, white, macho men that tend to take control of the rides, often turning them into races and competitions. The term 'Lance Armstrong's,' however, refer to a more elitist male rider. The fact that such terms exist, are commonly used, and are prevalent in a number of cities, including Chicago, points to the issues addressed above about a small segment of power-hungry individuals commandeering Critical Mass rides across the globe. The widespread presence of such masculinist groups, which tend to lead and be the face, also naturalizes and reifies their behavior. While women may participate in masculinist behaviors during Critical Mass, they were rarely mentioned by research participants as doing so (and I never observed it during my field work).

All interview participants were asked about diversity of the riders. Almost everyone was quick to say that the riders are extremely diverse in terms of race, gender, and socioeconomic status. However, when I asked them about the diversity of the core group that tends to lead the rides, the majority would respond that it is a very visible white male presence. One African American male interviewee responded with "that's just America." Another interviewee, a white female, responded, "part of that too probably is though, by default, if there's some older, white man

somewhere who's willing to do something, most people are like, 'All right, let that guy do it, he probably knows what's going on' ...there's 4,000 of us, let's let him do it." Again, white masculinist leadership styles, even in the absence of so called leadership, emerged and dominated the space. Ambivalence towards this behavior and accepting it as just the way things work not only reifies it, but it also naturalizes it. This has serious implications. As Bruzzone (2012) state:

...the body itself is a site where politics is enacted; and that an individual's identity and individual practices are not separate from power. The consequence, then, is to both reinforce behaviors gendered masculine as the political and powerful, and to reinforce that bodies gendered feminine are not powerful or political...For Critical Mass, advocacy, or 'effectiveness,' requires taking up ways of thinking inflected by patriarchy precisely because we live in a patriarchal society (134).

Another term that regularly came up with among research participants is 'fixie trixies.' This term was used, often with negative connotations, to describe young Latino males that demonstrate similar behavior, albeit by a different group of individuals, as the testosterone brigade. As one white male interviewee shared:

More Latino kids are joining up with the group just because I think once a few of them at a high school do it, then they spread the word to all their friends. All of a sudden all their friends are here. Just being aware of the cycling community just from a social media aspect even, like through Facebook groups and that kind of thing, you see a lot of these kids who are into the fixie scene - you know, fix your bikes. You see a lot of kids who are into that and I think what they do is they get their friends-- they get these relatively

inexpensive fixies and they all go for rides and they all swap their parts and they all do this kind of stuff, steal parts, but that's a topic for another time, I guess. You know, these high school kids who think this is a party time because, again, they're part of the Mass and they think they can do whatever they want because the cops are with us. I don't think they realize that the cops can also arrest them. So they're racing down the sidewalks and salmoning [i.e. riding the wrong direction down a street], so they're going in the other traffic that's going the opposite way, they're getting in that lane.

Furthermore, listserv participants state things such as: “the fixie pixies, who do not subscribe to the listserv or contribute anything to the universe, get to the front and go as fast as they can.” “They are morons and should be ignored... You'll find the best course of action is to gather a group at the front that knows how to listen and explain that we will let the fixies go as fast as they want.” The raced, classed, and gendered connotations are significant here. When white masculinist and aggressive forms of leadership were called to attention, it was often done in race blind language. However, when similar behavior was performed by Latino males, it took on a very race specific tone and to a lesser extent a classed tone (i.e. the ‘fixie’ kids having inexpensive bikes and stealing parts). This speaks back to the idea of multiple masculinities, in which hegemonic masculinities – to use Connell’s (2005) term – embody the performances, relations, and practices of a given space. The above examples also further illustrate how spaces can be embodied by these social relations and ideologies. This is particularly significant for DIY urbanism more generally and self-governing groups more broadly. Susceptible to the local trap, it is often that these groups will be naturally democratic and that power will be equally distributed (Purcell, 2006). However, in the absence of a strong commitment and awareness by

all of its members to be such, there is no guarantee this will happen (Uitermark, 2015). The lack of official leaders, rules, etc. makes this all the more challenging.

Another example of how white masculinist and heteronormative paradigms seep into Chicago Critical Mass is the ‘underwear ride’ that takes place every summer. The goal of the ‘underwear’ ride is apparently to raise awareness for gender equality. While it was not clear to me or a number of other riders I talked to in July 2015 how such an event did this, according to one rider, the ride’s focus on ‘gender equality’ seemed to be only concerned with women being legally able to bear their breasts in public. When probed about why he thought this, he pointed out how there is no signage (e.g. posters, signs, flyers, etc.) that mentioned other gender issues, such as fair pay, access to resources, etc. He pointed out that all you see are men and women in their underwear with orange tape over their nipples. This same rider mentioned that at last year’s underwear ride there were also protests over the violence in Palestine going on at the same time and in the same place. So, essentially Critical Mass riders, raising awareness for biking, along with people raising awareness for ‘gender equality’ in terms of being able to bare their chests and perhaps other gendered dress reforms, alongside individuals protesting the extreme violence and war, and unfair global policies and priorities that are literally a situation of life or death were all in the same space. The level of social privilege and the racing, gendering, heteronormalizing, and classing of all these activities are apparent here.

At the July 2015 ride, those in their underwear were about 1/3 female and 2/3 male, ranging in age from mid 20s to 40s, and the vast majority appeared to be white. However, looking at the pictures that one Critical Mass rider regularly takes at the rides, and has for years, and posts them

online for public viewing, you would have thought there were a lot more women in their underwear than there were at this ride. Of the 55 photos posted by this individual, 55 percent of them had scantily clad females as the central object of focus. Sixty-four percent had scantily clad females included, but not necessarily the central object of focus. These photos included women with only orange tape covering their breasts or women fully baring their breasts. This is interesting since only about 35 percent – 40 percent of the riders at this ride were female and only about 10 of them were actually in their underwear. During the ride, there were also instances of men looking women without shirts on up and down and making comments to them, or ‘paying them complements.’ In this example, like the others, white masculinist and heteronormative behavior is enacted, not disrupted, and normalized. From a male glaze or point of view, female participants’ bodies became an object of focus.

This example illustrates a trend that a number of feminist scholars have called attention to. For example, Douglas (2010) argues that there has been a coopting of embedded feminism by enlightened sexism in contemporary society. Meaning, deeply feminist political issues, such as the gender wage gap, reproductive rights, gendered forms of violence, etc. (embedded feminism) sometimes are not the focus of attention during seemingly gender equity focused activities. Rather, feminism is coopted, as enlightened sexism, and used to focus on issues of sexuality, sexualization of the female body, and overtly heteronormative performances of femininity. This can take the form of ‘raunch culture,’ in which women present themselves in highly sexualized manners that reinforces hegemonic masculinity and capitalism (Levy, 2005). As to not be prudish here and assume that women are not sexual beings; the argument Levy (2005) makes is that this sexualization and performance of sexuality is not done as a form of empowerment. It is

performed for male, heteronormative pleasure. McRobbie (2007) makes a similar argument – in an era of ‘post-feminism’ (i.e. gender equality has been achieved), there is a new sexual contract in which we engage and that supports (or at least does not challenge) hegemonic masculinity. The focus of this new sexual contract is on sexual freedom and consumerism through which stereotypical femininity is performed.

Another important issue here is that Critical Mass has historically not had a presence of feminist centered politics. Granted Critical Mass has historically and intentionally shied away from directly political issues of any kind. For example, the ambassadors of Critical Mass explicitly state that “the Mass itself has no political agenda, though, no more than the people of any other community do” (Chicago Critical Mass website, 2013). So, on the one hand, it shouldn’t be surprising that the ‘underwear ride’ didn’t tackle deep seated issues related to gender equality. On the other hand, however, it’s unclear why then that the ‘underwear ride’ takes place at all. In the end, it appears to have been a display of heteronormativity and ‘enlightened sexism’ more so than a call for gender equality.

Needless to say, Carlsson (2002b) may have missed the mark slightly when he states that Critical Mass provides a space for social interactions “without pre-set roles and fixed boundaries” (6). In the research findings highlighted above, pre-set and fixed social ideologies related to race, class, and gender seem to be the norm. Complacent acceptance of these ideologies and behaviors further reifies them, particularly when we are talking about ‘leadership’ and control in which white patriarchal forms dominate and are naturalized. For example, Bruzzone (2012) points out, “its’ one thing to be tired of fixing the same problem, and it’s another entirely to forget, to

ignore, to attach our blinders to the rest of the problems that we ourselves have had a hand in constructing” (31).

There were also many examples where these ideologies and practices were challenged. Research participants shared with me a number of stories about times in which consensus, cooperation, horizontality, and democracy prevailed. For example, each time someone stops on the ride to help another cyclist fix a flat tire. Or the times that the ‘leaders’ ride slow, make sure the mass stays together, provide a map in case someone gets lost, and share the ‘leading’ responsibilities with others. Or the times racist, classist, and sexist behavior is directly challenged or thwarted. Or the time a participant stopped to talk to a group of young African American men that were hostilely watching the ride cruise through their neighborhood and encouraged them to join in. Or the time that a rider called out another rider for making derogatory comments. Or the rides that spiraled out of Critical Mass, offering an alternative to Critical Mass in light of some of the above critiques, that have an explicit goal of encouraging and creating more hospitable spaces for riders from under-represented groups, such as African Americans, women, families, and transgendered individuals. Many research participants shared these stories and more. The potential and possibilities should not be overlooked.

The questions then surfaces: what would it take for the rides to be more inclusive and socially aware? Uitermark (2015) argues that self-organizing groups are too desirable to completely abandon – they can offer direct participatory avenues for citizens to be involved in shaping their cities, they punch holes in notions of capitalism and private property, and they can practice with utopian ideas. Uitermark (2015) also argues, as do I, that our vision shouldn’t be clouded by the

radical potential of self-organizing groups in which we fail to see some of their problematics. It is through exploring how power gets concentrated, how spaces become exclusive, etc., that we are able to make self-organizing groups a more progressive and transformative option. As many research participants shared that they thought riders should model the behavior that they would like to see from the group and call attention to those who are behaving inappropriately in hopes they would change. Many research participants were optimistic about the positive and constructive riders outnumbering those that were looking for a confrontation or were looking to dominate the group. Others actively sought to invite individuals from diverse social groups to the rides. There are, of course, no easy answers to this question. To further complicate it, the group is ever changing and evolving; no two Critical Mass rides are ever the same in any sense – the group or riders or the social interactions that ensue. Given the driving philosophies of Critical Mass more broadly, imposing stricter guidelines would be contradictory. These are issues that a number of other horizontal, self-governing groups have also struggled with (see for example Hodgkinson and Chatterton, 2006; Mudu, 2012; Rouhani, 2012; and Uitermark, 2015). The point, however, that came through in academic scholarship as well as in interviews is that there needs to be an explicit focus on these issues in order for the behaviors, practices, and patterns to be challenged.

Silences in the Conversations

As I noted in Chapter Three, I analyzed the silences in the conversations and narratives, as well as the noise (Visweseran, 1994). While the above mentioned ‘underwear ride’ highlights how heteronormative ideologies and practices were present within Critical Mass, there was absolutely no discussion among research participants about sexuality. Similarly, there were major silences

in the narratives when it came to physical abilities. A number of research participants noted that, prior to their first ride in Critical Mass, they were concerned about being able to keep up with the group. Meaning, they were worried that they were not physically fit enough. However, the visible presence of healthy, physically mobile bodies was overwhelming at the rides. There were also silences in terms of citizenship status. According to the data I collected via the online survey, 5 percent indicated that they were not US citizens (another 7 percent declined to answer). The 5 percent of respondents that indicated that they were not US citizens does not mean that they are undocumented. They could have student and work visas, for example. The extent to which citizenship status (or a lack thereof) acted as a constraint to participation in Critical Mass is unknown. However, there was no discussion of it by research participants.

There were also silences in the conversation when it came to issues of social reproduction and immaterial infrastructures (i.e. bike lanes versus babysitters). Meaning, the activities that surround Critical Mass are predominately focused on the physical, built environment and public spaces. There was little discussion on how individuals linked their participation in Critical Mass with their social reproductive responsibilities – picking kids up from school instead of going straight to a Critical Mass ride, for example. While there were consistently two to three families during the summer months at Critical Mass rides, they represented a very small minority of the hundreds of riders that were present. As will be discussed below, several interview participants noted that class related privileges when it came to being able to do Critical Mass – not having to go to your dishwashing shift, for example. These silences around social reproduction and immaterial infrastructures are likely the result of the demographic that participates in the rides – young singles with few social reproductive responsibilities.

The ‘Institutionalization’ of Critical Mass

It is not the same as it was in the remarkable first years... The sense of something unprecedented, indefinable, open-ended, is slowly lost. Instead it is a semi-institutionalized, monthly event, accepted as a part of the fabric of a city’s life with enthusiasm or resentment, but with much less curiosity than it engendered during its early, less easy to box-up years (Carlsson, 2012: 12-13).

Critical Mass has come to be associated with a political message of hip, radical, cool bicycling, most likely to draw in the young and trendy who are already willing to consume and reproduce the image of what it means to be politically progressive in the city. For poor and working class people struggling to make ends meet, our new bicycling culture may seem politically alien (Camarena, 2012: 124).

In this final section, I return back to the topic of bike culture in general and how it has been linked with creative class politics to spur economic growth. I also return to my questions about how radical and progressive politics can be coopted by, or at the very least aligned with, dominant and formal urban institutions, often for purposes counter to the original. Despite its pitfalls and possibilities, some of which have been highlighted above, Chicago Critical Mass has consistently existed for over 20 years. While it is often thought of as an anti-institutional, anti-elitist activity, it has in many ways become an institution of Chicago and has had an impact on the city, which raises questions about DIY urbanism more generally in terms of the implications

of these activities on the broader city, and the degree to which they can (if they ever did) remain outside and separate from formal urban institutions.

In the opening section I made some tentative connections between biking, bike culture, and the creative city. These connections are interesting in that biking in the US has often been seen as an activity for the elite, while at the same time being seen as a vehicle for the poor. For example, Mapes (2009), states that in the late 1800's, as the bicycle was becoming a popular toy and vehicle, it "was more for the elite than the masses" (32). He goes on to state that "the high wheeler, with an oversized front wheel that provided the greatest movement for each stroke of the pedal, was both expensive and difficult to ride" (32-33). The idea of biking being for elites and highly physically mobile individuals is something that came through in my interviewees time and time again. Many interviewees, as noted above, stated that it was Critical Mass's anti-elite nature that attracted them to it. However, as also noted above, interviewees also recognized that biking is also associated with low income individuals and those who have had their driver's license revoked. Furthermore, the majority of the world's working class and poor rely on bikes as their primary and only available mode of transportation (Camarena, 2012). These images of the bicyclist were ones that participants were rejecting and found Chicago's bike scene and friendliness to bikers as a hospitable place to challenge those images.

Many research participants and others who have written about their own personal experiences with Critical Mass have noted that the rides are dominated by middle class white people. My own research findings, in terms of who participated in the survey and interviews and who I observed in the field, mirror this trend. For example, Camarena (2012) states that Critical Mass

currently is dominated by ‘middle class whites’ and in which diversity is sadly lacking and spaces of exclusivity may be created. Looking at other horizontal, self-governing, and autonomous groups, this is not a unique feature. In reference to social centres (i.e. intentional autonomous communities similar to Critical Mass, but often rooted to a physical location, such as a residence) in the UK, Hodkinson and Chatterton (2006) note, “in reality, however, all social centres become ghettoized around fairly homogenous class, race and cultural identities (middle class, white, sub-cultural) and putting the emphasis on those on the outside to ‘break in’ to what can often appear as a closed, private space or club for activists and their friends” (312). Others have noted that women make a small minority of social centre participants (Mudu, 2004). This again raises questions about how Critical Mass, DIY urbanism, and self-governing activities can be inclusive spaces. This is further complicated by the social relations that embody the space, which as noted above are often not free from power dynamics.

Given the somehow homogeneous nature of Critical Mass in particular and bicycling in general, when related activities, including other DIY urbanism activities, are incorporated into urban agendas and politics, the situation gets even more complicated. As noted above, bicycling and Critical Mass have become associated with the young, hip, and creative classes in the US, despite the fact that, historically and in many other parts of the world, bicycling is a survival activity associated with the poor and disenfranchised. However, with this association between bicycling, trendiness, and middle class whiteness in mind, we are witnessing city planning officials creating more and more bike infrastructure and co-opting activities and initiatives similar to Critical Mass.

Much like some individuals refusing to acknowledge 'leadership' within the group, some also refuse to acknowledge class differences. In what comes off as 'middle class white people need a social movement, too,' Carlsson (2012) states:

Instead of a formulaic embrace of the 'working class' defined as industrial workers, or even as 'new' service sector workers, Critical Mass sidestepped that pitfall by welcoming everyone, not on the basis of their employment, but on the basis of their transportation choices. By doing so it activated people who had found their own political agency dismissed in the paradigms of the Left, as so-called 'privileged' or 'middle-class' people" (16).

Carlsson (2012) later acknowledges, "True enough, many of the people who have joined Critical Mass in cities everywhere are not the everyday users of bicycles who traditionally have had no other choice due to poverty" (16). One white male interviewee described this class-based differentiation as the "need to's versus the want to's." The need to's are less likely to participate in activities like Critical Mass than the want to's. He stated:

I'll say it this way, is that if you have money and affluence you have the time to take time to ride Critical Mass. If you were working a minimum wage job - if you're working at a fast food restaurant, if you're a valet car driver, if you're a waiter, waitress, bartender, babysitter, all these kinds of different jobs that impact lower income communities - you don't have the time to do Critical Mass. It's only people that are affluent enough to be able to afford to take the time to be able to do it. Then in addition to that it starts, and sometimes stops, it always starts downtown so it caters to-- Who else is available at 5:30 PM on a Friday afternoon downtown?

Many survey and interview participants mentioned how their involvement in Chicago Critical Mass was related advocating for bicyclists' rights and improved physical infrastructure.

Comments were made on the open-ended survey questions such as: "to support progress in bicycle awareness and hopefully support positive changes in urban development for cycling;" "to pressure politicians to invest in better protected cycle infrastructure;" "to show that cycling is important mean of transportation;" "to vote with my bike;" and "showing the city that we are here, we are polite, and we have a place on the streets." However, few research participants were involved in formal bicycling advocacy groups; some, including white men, stated that was a 'white man's thing.'

Several interview participants were involved formally with City of Chicago led bicycling advisory councils and advocacy groups. They reported that city transportation officials did not concern themselves with Critical Mass related issues and that it did not have much impact on their work. Others who were involved with bicycle advocacy work had strict instructions not to mix their work up with Critical Mass. As one such interviewee told me, the city and advocacy organizations need to be careful about public relations and their image with the general public. Critical Mass is seen as being 'polarizing' and 'dangerous' by many, and these formal groups want to distance themselves from it.

So while Chicago Critical Mass participants may intentionally distance themselves from formal institutions as a political grassroots move, formal city and advocacy groups intentionally distance themselves from Chicago Critical Mass due to its negative associations. This leaves one

wondering what impact Chicago Critical Mass is having on actually changing the city. Many research participants were quick to point out the fact that police officers ride with the Mass as an indicator that the city sees the group and their mission as legitimate. As one interviewee argued, because Chicago Critical Mass has become a mainstream activity, it has made an impact on the city and its politics. He stated:

When people start these types of activities they want them to be kind of their own. Like, "Man, could you imagine a world where everybody's doing these kind of things? It'd be so incredible." But then as soon as the soccer moms and nerdy business people like ourselves start doing it, it's not cool anymore, which is fine, but that's how you know that it's been effective. Right? Because it's reached a mainstream sort of thing. We're both urban professionals, and when we invite people out, we get a pretty good amount of people from our offices that come out, and I wouldn't be surprised if half the people there all had professional jobs.

This brings us back to questions about who is Critical Mass for and for what purposes. While Critical Mass may have emerged from a radical political space and has the goal of transforming urban space and dominant ideologies about who can use the space, it also gets tangled up with social hierarchies and less than progressive politics. My own research findings and others suggest that white middle class individuals make up the majority of those that participate and, through various mechanisms, create spaces of exclusion in which racist, classist, and sexist ideologies can prevail (but don't necessary have to prevail). This also brings us back to the topic of bike culture and how it has been linked with creative class politics, raising questions about how 'radical and progress' politics can be coopted by, or at the very least aligned with, dominant

and formal urban institutions. As Camarena (2012) states, “bicycling, sustainability, urban redesign, enjoyable public space have all become policy choices in our cities as a result of tenacious direct action. However, a movement that never grows through incorporation of numbers of poor or disenfranchised people is a movement that will never success in challenging existing hierarchies and injustices” (177-118).

Conclusion

I share Uitermark’s (2015) optimism that DIY urbanism and self-organizing groups, such as Critical Mass, have the potential to transform urban spaces by creating avenues for direct citizen participation in urban planning activities and challenge the dominant uses of spaces. However, I am also cautious about the degree to which DIY urbanism can be truly transformative based on the findings presented in this chapter of one such activity. An intersectional feminist analysis was used through the analysis of the research findings presented in this chapter and in the examples, derived from the everyday lived experiences of participants, of how space embodies social relations of power (i.e. the gendering, racing, and classing of space). As a result, the above research findings and discussions highlight some of the ways raced, classed, and gendered hierarchical relationships can seep into practices and activities that claim to be open and welcoming to all. I focus on Chicago Critical Mass as a case to illustrate this, but the findings also speak to DIY urbanism in particular and self-governing initiatives in general. The claim, or perhaps the desire, to be a leaderless, horizontal, democratic group has the potential to result in an enactment, reification, and naturalization of white masculinist politics and leadership. Examples were provided that illustrate the varied mechanisms that are used, intentionally and unintentionally, to create spaces of exclusion in which racist, classist, and sexist ideologies could

prevailed. Meanwhile, as bike culture in the US continues to be defined as an activity for the creative class and activities such as Chicago Critical Mass are populated with such participants, policy shifts, infrastructure development, and increased resources targeted at bicycling can be seen as arising only to benefit these groups. The question remains – how best to address these issues?

Thinking about DIY urbanism in particular, these research findings raise questions about the degree to which ‘informal’ groups and activities have the potential to enact, reify, and naturalize white masculinist forms of leadership and politics. As DIY urbanism is increasingly embraced and celebrated by formal institutions, these research findings also raise questions about who these activities are for and for what purposes - a topic that was also explored in Chapter Two and that highlighted explicitly how public-private, material-immaterial, and productive-reproductive dualities are maintained through DIY urbanism practice. These same themes run throughout this chapter. The case study that was the focus of this chapter is a traditionally defined ‘DIY urbanism’ activity. As such, it is focused on public space, the physical built environment, and productive labor – a bias that Chapter Two explicitly takes aim at. However, this bias towards public and physical space and infrastructures was also reflected in the ways research participants related their experiences and motivations to me. As a result, there is some, but not a great deal of attention paid to private spaces, reproduction, and immaterial infrastructures. Much of this is addressed in Chapter Five, however.

CHAPTER FIVE

A SLIGHT DETOUR IN THE DIY URBANISM ROAD –

THE GENDERED NATURE OF BICYCLING

In this chapter I extend my intersectional feminist theoretical framework into an examination of the history of bicycling as a vehicle for women's liberation in the US and the gendered context in which bicycling takes place today. It is meant to supplement Chapter Four by providing greater contextualization to the one specific DIY urbanism activity that was that chapter's focus (i.e. bicycling). I link historical data and secondary data on women's biking participation rates and experiences with contemporary, primary data on the demographics of Critical Mass participants and interviewee's experiences to highlight the gendered significance of bicycling specifically. Female-identifying cyclists, those that participated in Chicago Critical Mass or other group rides and those that have not, make up the interviews that I draw from in this chapter; twelve in total. The narratives put forth by this subsection of research participants – all of which were female-identifying individuals – were selected for this chapter because there are common themes running their narratives.

While bicycling is not a DIY urbanism activity per say, the DIY urbanism activity that I explored in the previous chapter is organized around bicycling as the activity. Given bicycling's gendered history and patterns, the relationships between gender, public space, and bicycling is an important site through which to explore Critical Mass in particular and DIY urbanism activities in general. In other words, I argue that DIY urbanism needs to be explored through its specific activities, and these specific activities need to be explored through their history, context, social

meanings, and lived experiences. The findings that I share in this chapter supplement the previous' and further speak to how spaces embody social relations of power and why gender, race, sexuality, and class matter when initiating and sustaining DIY urbanism activities.

In this chapter, I return explicitly to the key themes of Chapter Two in order to examine the relationships between women, public space, and bicycling. I examine how gender and other social identities are constructed, challenged, and constituted through an interaction with space; urban processes, structures, and politics; and societal expectations and attitudes – or, in other words, through the everyday lived experiences of individuals in cities. These experiences are shaped by personal identities, which are multiple and intersecting and situated within larger social relationships. I highlight the connections between the personal and the political, the private and the public. I also examine how these social relationships and interactions form the basis for determining participation and experiences in public activities, such as DIY urbanism, and, in turn, the spaces that are produced through such activities.

Women and the Bicycle – a Brief Historical Ride

...the bicycle in world culture is a strangely ambiguous, contradictory object. It is seen in certain contexts as an instrument of liberation ('Socialism will arrive on a bicycle,' rational dress for women, unchaperoned mobility for children), in other as a sign of poverty and backwardness. It is a quintessentially Victorian object (the canonical bicycle *qua* logo is still the high-wheeler), and at the same time a utopian machine of the future. It is thought of as a green mode of transportation, yet it is intimately linked to the history and culture of automobilism and to the development of ecologically destructive roads. It

is both a cause of exploitation (rubber slavery) and a means of open-air pleasure, providing us with the lovely word ‘freewheeling’ (Boal, 2002).

Exploring DIY urbanism through a bicycle-based activity, such as Critical Mass, is significant because of the historical relationship between women and bicycling, and the continued gendering of this activity. A number of scholars have noted how the bicycle has historically been a source of liberation and empowerment for women (Bussey, 2013; Macy, 2011; Shepard, 2014). As Macy (2011) states,

...It’s hard to grasp the full extent of the bicycle’s impact on Americans in the late 19th century – particularly female Americans. Imagine a population imprisoned by their very clothing; the stiff corsets, heavy skirts, and voluminous petticoats that made it difficult to take a deep breath, let alone exercise. Add to that the laws and social conventions that cemented a man’s place as head of the household and holder of the purse strings. How suffocated women must have felt. And how liberated they must have been as they pedaled their wheels to new horizons (8-9).

As the bicycle continued to grow in popularity in the early 1900s, it was often seen as providing women with greater health, physical mobility, and independence – for good or ill, depending on one’s beliefs. It also is credited with leading to women’s dress reform and wheeling the 19th amendment through Congress and into law, granting women the right to vote (Macy, 2011). Well known suffragette Elizabeth Cady Stanton was an advocate of biking and getting other women to bike (Macy, 2011). Frances Willard, also a suffragette and the founder of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, wrote an entire book, *A Wheel within a Wheel: A Woman’s Quest for*

Freedom, about her trials and tribulations of learning how to ride a bike (1895). In explaining why she took up the bicycle, she states, "...from the day when, at sixteen years of age, I was entrapped in the long skirts that impeded every footstep, I have detested walking and felt with certain noble disdain that the conventions of life had cut me off from what in the freedom of my prairie home had been one of life's sweetest joys...I also wanted to help women to a wider world" (Willard, 1895; 72-73).

However, this new found liberation for women in terms of dress reform and greater physical mobility was met with resistance by many during the late 19th century. For example, women bicyclists of the time were warned against bicycling because it could cause a serious medical condition known as 'bicycle face;' a condition that women were at a greater risk for (Stromberg, 2014). The symptoms of this sometimes 'permanent condition' included a face that was "usually flushed, but sometimes pale, often with lips more or less drawn, and the beginning of dark shadows under the eyes, and always with an expression of weariness" (quoted in Stromberg, 2014). In addition to serious medical conditions, such as bicycle face, women bicyclists had a list of rules to which they needed to abide. Such rules included: "don't wear a man's cap," "don't say 'feel my muscle,'" "don't boast of your long rides," "don't wear loud hued leggings," and "don't try to ride in your brother's clothes 'to see how it feels'" (quoted in Macy, 2011; 38).

Fast forward over 100 years and we can see bicycling as still being a highly gendered activity. Bicycle manufacturers still produce 'men's' and 'women's' bicycle frames. Dress and fashion considerations remain a popular topic in books on cycling for women, often re-feminizing dress codes in ways that are not that much different than the time period that Frances Willard was

learning how to ride her bike. For example, Bussey's (2013) *The Girl's Guide to Life on Two Wheels: A Handbook for the Chic Cyclist* has an entire chapter dedicated to "looking good while cycling," which includes "the ultimate cycling beauty regime" (86). Katie Daily's *Heels on Wheels: A Lady's Guide to Owning and Riding a Bike* (2012), offers make-up advice and explains how to "arrive at work looking polished" (42-43). It is important to note that both books also contain very practical and useful information about biking, such as how to maintain your bike. Nonetheless, while 'bicycle face' may be a thing of the past, 'helmet hair' is a current day pandemic striking women across the US.

Bicycling Rates and Barriers

Women cyclists in the US have much lower bicycling participation rates than men (Mapes, 2009). Women represent about one-third of all recreational cyclists and one-fourth of all commuter cyclists (Garrard, Handy, and Dill, 2012). This matches local data in that women bike commuters in Chicago make up only about 20 percent to 31 percent of all bike commuters (Chicago Department of Transportation, 2014). White males, in particular, are the majority of cyclists in Chicago, as well as other major cities (Pucher, Buehler, and Seinen, 2011; Vance, 2014). A number of theories for why there is this gender gap have been presented, including safety concerns and social reproduction responsibilities. However, since many European countries do not experience the same gender gap in terms of female bicyclists, it begs the question: "why do these factors appear to constrain women in low-cycling countries [e.g. the US] more than women in high-cycling countries [e.g. the Netherlands, Denmark]" (Garrard, Handy, and Dill, 2012)? As will be explored below, the answer may have something to do with the

interconnected meanings and experiences of gendered identities, mobility, and the gendered coding of bodies, spaces, and activities.

Gendered Regulations of Public Space

We learn early that the public sphere is not designed for drag queens, people of color, those who look different, or decide to form circles outside corporate structures (Shepard and Moore, 2002: 201).

The bicycle is a means of transportation that has a very intense relationship to the body (it intensifies the body's inherent potential), but also makes the body visible in the city...

Therefore, it is not a coincidence that initiatives arise where the bicycle, body, and gender identity are related (Lorenzi, 2012: 67).

Throughout this research, I have highlighted how public space has historically been coded as a masculine space in which economically productive work is done. When women, gays, lesbians, transgendered individuals, etc. have a presence in public space, it has proved to be problematic, as it challenges existing social structures and norms. The regulation of certain bodies in and through public space has emerged as a response to maintain these structures and norms. For example, as Wilson (1991) and Jarvis, et al (2009) point out, early urban planners in the US and Europe constructed urban space that explicitly relied on and reified gender norms of the time. This was done by creating spaces that were considered appropriate places for middle class women to be, such as commercial shopping districts. Being present, as a woman, in a space that was not deemed appropriate came with social and legal consequences, such as being considered

a sex worker. This had dire effects on working women, who needed to travel to work but were unlikely to be shopping in high end boutiques, in that there were no public spaces that were appropriate for them to be in in order to fulfill their daily responsibilities (Wilson, 1991).

The intensely personal nature of one's sexuality has also been highly regulated in and through public space. For example, Chauncey (1994) provides a detailed history of urban culture and the regulation of gay men in New York City. Reworking and blurring notions of public and private, Chauncey (1994) describes how the only place for privacy for gay men was in public – commercial and residential spaces were highly regulated, leaving public space more open and accepting, especially in large metropolises such as New York City. As a result, public parks became an important space for gay men. Over time, however, these public spaces also became regulated. As Hanhardt (2013) details, public spaces eventually became the target of policy makers, who used safety related rhetoric to remove gays, lesbians, and transgendered individuals from public parks, often through the policing and privatizing of them. These exclusions from public space that women, gay men, lesbians, and transgendered individuals experienced also had racist and classist tendencies running throughout (Hanhardt, 2013).

Bicycling requires a public presence – or as Lorenzi (2012) states, it “makes the body visible in the city” (67). As noted in the previous section, the participation of women, in particular, in bicycling has historically presented some challenges to existing gender norms and social structures. When coupled together, bicycling is a gendered activity and the gendered nature of public space presents a number of significant issues for female cyclists. Almost all female-identifying cyclist who were research participants mentioned issues related to aggressiveness,

street harassment, and safety during their interviews as barriers to biking in the city. These topics rarely came up with male-identifying cyclists who were research participants, and when it did it was in gender neutral ways (e.g. aggressiveness of car drivers towards cyclists in general). Female-identifying cyclist research participants were much more articulate and aware of gender norms and socialization along gendered lines, and how that has affected their experiences as cyclists and access to public space. Or, as Hanson (2010) claims, mobility shapes gender and gender shapes mobility.

‘Get a Pair:’ Demanding and Negotiating Public Space

One theme that emerged from this group of research participants was that bicycling requires the ‘demanding’ of public space. As they pointed out, women are often deeply socialized to feel like they should either not be in public space or to take up as little of it as possible. As one research participant shared with me, “All I know is that confidence plays a large part in all public space use, and all physical endeavors.” Another stated, in relation to women being underrepresented among bicyclists, “I think its sexism...all the different threads of sexism. I think from an early age women are told that they're not sporty or athletic, and I think that's changing, but these [are the] messages I think many of us receive growing up about our athletic abilities.” Yet another stated:

I was thinking, as a kid I biked all over and my friends biked all over. But now as women they don't bike... [because] you are exposed to the unknown, you're exposed to inclement weather, you're exposed to asshole drivers, you're exposed to potentially dangerous situations. So I think to be a cyclist in the city, you have to have a certain amount of...I guess I just call it assertion, maybe it's aggression, and I don't think women are

necessarily schooled to do that....I did read some books and they were very helpful in terms of being able to command space, how to navigate through congested traffic, how to respond to cars that were aggressive, and how to dress. One of the things they talked about was, when you're riding at night as a woman you should dress like a man, you should bulk up.

In a similar vein, many female-identifying cyclist research participants mentioned in interviews how biking is an aggressive activity and how being present and visible in public space requires being aggressive. As noted above and by many female-identifying research participants, women are not traditionally socialized to be aggressive or be visible in public spaces. Reinforcing ideas about the masculinities of public space, one interview stated:

It's more intimidating for women than men. The first time I rode to work, I told my friend I had to 'develop a pair' pretty quickly because I had no choice. In other words, it was scary as hell. All these cars, buses and trucks to contend with and at that time, there were no bike lanes. I think women don't want to deal with those hassles.

These experiences, like the ones highlighted above, that female-identifying research participants shared with me underscored the gendered nature of public space – i.e. the masculinist understanding of public space and the perceived need to be aggressive and commanding of it. Research participants' own personal identities collided with the gendered coding of their bodies by others as they moved through public space and performed an activity that is largely coded as a masculine activity. While they were challenging these gendered ideologies, they were also constrained by them.

Constraints in Public Space

Much of the research on gender and bicycling attributes the lower number of women bicyclists to safety concerns (Garrard, Handy, and Dill, 2012; Mapes, 2009; Whitzman, 2013). While women are no more likely than men to be injured while bicycling, safety concerns continue to be a major barrier to women cyclists. These safety concerns are not just about traffic risks; they are also about the aggressive nature of biking in automobile traffic, personal safety, ‘being on public display,’ and ‘blamed for risk-taking behavior’” (Garrard, Handy, and Dill, 2012). These concerns about personal safety in public spaces in turn can act as constraints to women’s mobility (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Law, 1999; Whitzman, 2013). Whitzman (2013) argues that women’s constrained mobility needs to be understood and confronted on three fronts, or “social logics of planning,” – redistribution (i.e. creating greater access to safe urban spaces), recognition (i.e. an intersectional awareness of differing concerns and needs), and encounter (i.e. interactions in public space in which notions of difference is encountered) (49). This research stops short in a key area – the embodiment of social relations in and through space, and the gendering of space.

Law (1999) proposes incorporating an analysis of the “cultural meaning of mobility practices and settings” (575). To do this, we need to analyze embodiment (i.e. gendered identities and how those identities affect travel patterns), masculinity (i.e. the symbolic gendered coding of bodies, spaces, and activities and their effect on mobility), and urban public space (i.e. a gendered understanding of the built environment that examines how and where social meaning and the built environment intersect) (575-577; Law (1999) also includes in her analytical framework

travel patterns related to gendered responsibilities and roles, and access to technology/transportation infrastructures). It is through an analysis then of all of these dimensions that we can begin to understand the complexity of mobility, including constrained mobility, as it relates to gender and other social identities, and the multiple ways in which symbolic meanings of mobility practices are constructed and constituted.

These factors, found within the scholarship on bicycling and mobility, which constrain women in general and cyclists in particular in public space, were echoed in many female-identifying research participants' narratives. They understood their use of and regulation in public space as being bound, or constrained by, street harassment and safety concerns. Female-identifying interviewees often mentioned being much more aware of the spaces they were in or the spaces they needed to travel through in order to get to their destinations. As one interviewee told me, "I also have to be cautious because I ride solo through the west side of Chicago to get home and I don't want to make the ride after dark. So when I [ride], it has to be when the days are long enough for there to be enough light when I ride home." Another stated:

Women are a little bit more aware of risks. So women they're a little more afraid to bike in the city, they're a little bit more afraid to get a flat and just be abandoned in a strange part of town at night. Absolutely, even myself. I wouldn't call myself generally skittish about that kind of thing. But I definitely have moments where I'm alone at night in a strange part of town with a flat.

Yet another stated:

At 11:00 at night, going back to my neighborhood, sometimes I would just get nervous. Sometimes my partner would come and pick me up with the kids even though it was late, but it just made me nervous coming home so late by myself on a bike. I get it. It's sexism. It sucks, but at the same time it's also reality. There were times when I was riding home, and people would yell at me, or come close to me, and it just made nervous – that was one piece of it that made it difficult.

Many others reported being yelled at, catcalled, and threatened by drivers and others on the streets. Perhaps this helps explain Beecham and Wood's (2014) heavily quantitative findings that "women's [bicycling] journeys are highly spatially structured" (83). Like in Chapter Four, these experiences that were shared with me were not the result of some policy decision or formal planning initiative, unlike the examples detailed by Chauncey (1994) and Hanhardt (2013). Rather, these experiences were the result of social relations that take place outside formal institutions. Again, the experiences that these female-identifying cyclists shared with me during interviews reinforced the idea that space embodies social relations of power. Being present and visible in public space was articulated differently by female-identifying cyclists than it was by male-identifying cyclists. They spoke of needing to aggressively and assertively 'demand' their space in public, something that they felt was counter to traditional gender norms and what they've been socialized to do. At the same time, the spaces that they did create, or were attempting to create for themselves, were constantly challenged through harassment and fears of their safety being compromised.

These experiences underscore the multiple ways in which mobility can be constrained based on gendered ideologies – or knowing one’s place. They also underscore the importance of symbolic meanings of mobility practices, such as bicycling. This raises some important questions for DIY urbanism, which relies on the reclaiming and demanding of public space. The vast majority of DIY urbanism activities take place in public spaces. Little, if any, of the literature on DIY urbanism explores the coding of public space or the built environment, how it intersects with gendered ideologies, and how that affects participation and experiences. As argued above, many research participants shared experiences that were rooted in an understanding of the masculinist nature of public space and the need to perform masculinity in those spaces. Their experiences highlight the messy and complex ways that gendered identities, mobility, and the gendered coding of bodies, spaces, and activities interact. While many research participants challenged these ideologies through their everyday practices, issues related to personal safety and ‘being on public display’ have the potential to constrain women and other marginalized groups’ participation in bicycling, as well as DIY urbanism activities (Garrard, Handy, and Dill, 2012).

Gender Roles, Social Reproduction, and Bicycling

The performance of gender roles and social reproductive issues were also topics that frequently came up with female-identifying cyclist research participants and one that is seldom addressed in the larger DIY urbanism literature, as argued in Chapter Two. These are issues, however, that are addressed within bicycling literature, albeit to a very small degree. For example, a number of scholars note how fulfilling multiple gendered roles in the household and in society can act as a barrier for women to cycling in particular and mobility in general (Blue, 2011; Garrard, Handy, and Dill, 2012; Whitzman, 2013). They argue that greater access to biking infrastructure holds

the key, since countries such as the Netherlands have much better infrastructure and much higher rates of utilitarian biking among women. Such material infrastructure would include separate biking paths (as opposed to painted lanes on busy streets), carefully controlled intersections, and direct routes that are well-connected to daily amenities. Focusing on the immaterial aspects, Garrard, Handy, and Dill (2012) highlight how there have also been public campaigns to improve the image of bicycling as a safe, convenient, non-masculinist, and non-athletically elitist mode of transportation for women, especially women with children. Many argue that this is how places such as Amsterdam in the Netherlands has closed its gender gap (Garrard, Handy, and Dill, 2012; Mapes, 2009). Key to this public campaign's success, arguably, was an awareness of the symbolic meanings and experiences related to gendered identities, mobility, and the gendered coding of bodies, spaces, and activities (Law, 1999; Whitzman, 2013).

Nonetheless, social reproductive activities presented an issue for a number of female-identifying cyclist interviewees. As noted in Chapter Two, female members of households continue to provide the majority of social reproductive work. This, in turn, contributes to ideologies that support and split the female/private/unpaid-labor-of-social-reproduction versus male/public/paid-economically-productive binary. While almost all female-identifying cyclist research participants challenged this binary – most notably by biking and being visible in public space, they also recognized the impact it has on their lives.

Several research participants noted that they stopped biking due to pregnancies, both out of biologic-related health precautions as well as larger safety concerns. One interviewee stated, “I’ve been pregnant twice in Chicago and both times I didn’t feel safe biking. I did early on with

my second pregnancy, and had my first child in a seat on my bike, but got too nervous balancing her and my tummy eventually.” Others noted that they had close calls with drivers while riding their bike with their small children and didn’t want to risk the safety of their kids. Still others noted that drivers tend to be more cautious around cyclists when children are present. According to one interviewee, “they’re more careful with kids, too. I know that’s kind of ridiculous that I use my kids as a buffer, but I do. I feel most safe when I’m in a group, second most safe when I have my kids with me, but by myself riding on Chicago streets, I don’t always feel safe.” Interestingly, female-identifying cyclist research participants noted that when they were seen as mothers in public they felt that they were treated with more caution and respect by others on the streets. Nonetheless, a number of female-identifying cyclist research participants noted how being pregnant or having small children with them affected their ability to participate in bicycling. This was not a topic that came up with male-identifying research participants.

Another theme that emerged from interviews with female-identifying cyclists was that they perform multiple duties for the household and biking is often not a realistic transportation choice. This is further complicated by economic factors, in which all adult members of the household need to work full time. As one interviewee eloquently summarized:

If you’re in a heterosexual relationship, women tend to carry more of the weight of the household chores and what-not, and I think women in general have more on their plate....so that whole thing of getting the kids up, getting to the grocery store, making multiple stops, that takes real commitment. I’m committed to biking, but I would never do that. And granted, I’m not a stay-at-home mom, so I think it’s a little bit different. But when I think about it for myself, I really wanted to bike every day, but I was tired from

working a full day. Then I think my partner and I are pretty even, but it's not totally even. I still take on more. So imagining doing a 40-minute bike on the front end and on the back end, it just took too much of a commitment for me to do that.

Returning to the female/private/unpaid-labor-of-social-reproduction versus male/public/paid-economically-productive dichotomy, we can see in the above quote the blurring and blending of public and private spaces, economically productive and socially reproductive work. Again, female-identifying research participants clearly articulated these barriers and issues related to biking and navigating space; whereas as male-identifying research participants did not. This brings us back to a question I raised in Chapter Four – who has the privilege or the ‘balls’ to participate in DIY urbanism, whether it be biking related or not?

Activities like Critical Mass as a Strategy

With this last question in mind, it should not be a surprise that female bike commuters in Chicago make up only about 20 percent to 25 percent of all commuters during the colder months of the year and up to only 31 percent during the warmer months of the year (Chicago Department of Transportation, 2014). My observations of Chicago Critical Mass rides roughly correlate with these rates – less than 20 percent of the riders were women in the cold, winter months, and up to about 40 percent of the riders were women in the warmer, summer months.

The slightly higher rates of females participating in Chicago Critical Mass (than the rates of female bike commuters) raises the question: does Chicago Critical Mass provide a safer, more comfortable space for women to bike – despite the issues I highlighted in Chapter Four and in

the above sections? The above quote from one interview participant demonstrates that she felt more comfortable riding in a group as opposed to alone. And certainly many female-identifying cyclists I spoke to did not participate in any group rides at all for a variety of reasons – they didn’t know about them, had no desire or time to bike in an organized group ride, perceived them as social cliques for young people, or saw them as promoting unsafe cycling behavior. However, when I asked this question (i.e. does Chicago Critical Mass provide a safer, more comfortable space for women to bike compared to riding solo on the streets?), I got mixed results from interview participants. One male-identifying interviewee responded, after some hesitation, “it’s a great way to meet guys, a great way for guys to meet girls. It’s fun, hip, and it’s a party, and chicks dig that.”

Several female-identifying cyclist research participants noted how Chicago Critical Mass was their entry into biking and bike culture. They found it provided a safe space for them to learn the rules of the road and get comfortable navigating through car traffic with a larger buffer of other cyclists. One interviewee stated:

I think that women are over-represented in Critical Mass compared to commuting or other forms of cycling...women are really under-represented among the commute to work bike crowd for a lot of reasons, but I feel Critical Mass is a more approachable, acceptable way for people because it's a bike party and you're not dealing with trying to go into work after you've biked [and]...it is safer.

It is also important to note, as I do in Chapter Four, that many organized groups rides spiraled out of Chicago Critical Mass that offer an alternative to Critical Mass in light of some of the

critiques, and that have an explicit goal of encouraging and creating more hospitable spaces for riders from under-represented groups, such as African Americans, women, families, and transgendered individuals. Unfortunately, a number of research participants critiqued these spin-off rides, most notably the ‘women’s and transgender only’ rides. Their critiques of these rides highlight how class, sexuality, and race are important factors as well. One interviewee stated that the individuals that make up one such group are comprised of “not very self-aware, middle-class white women, who had a very narrow idea of what women's cycling issues are.” Another interviewee, who participated regularly for a number of years in a Chicago based ‘women’s and transgender only’ ride, noted:

Even though I think it was a pretty liberal, radical, political space, it was mostly white, and it was mostly cisgender folks. There were occasionally women of color, and I tried to bring a friend of mine who is a trans-woman. She came once or twice, but for the most part it was a single demographic. I will say that there were gay folks there, so the sexual identity piece was pretty diverse. But the fact that it was mostly white women -- it just made me a little bit uncomfortable. Like, "Why isn't this more of an inclusive space?" They claim to be-- I was in that group too, so we claim to be politically liberal and radical, but why are we attracting this single demographic? So that just made me a little bit uneasy.

Despite these critiques, research participants who were involved in these group rides also noted that they provided them with an important space to create a community that challenged some of the larger social structures and to gain the confidence necessary to bike in the city. As one interviewee stated, “I also benefited a lot from them. I was able to break into this world because I

went to [women's only bike] events...I guess they're another entry point, but sometimes their politics can be really shitty, and they're not particularly helpful, and just very limited.”

It is important to note that these barriers, and the ones detailed above, are significant for female-identifying, non-white, and gender non-conforming cyclists. The presence of online forums that support women cyclists, women's only rides, books or book sections that address issues related to cycling as a woman and public events specifically for women cyclists speak to the reality of these barriers.

Conclusion

This brings us back to the contradictory and paradoxical nature of biking in general, as the quote from Boal (2002) in the beginning of this chapter illustrates. On one hand, biking has been seen as a vehicle for women's liberation. While on the other hand, gendered biking patterns and the restricted use of public space persist. On one hand, biking groups, such as Chicago Critical Mass, may represent a masculine form of leadership and use of public space. But, on the other hand, many research participants, especially women, saw them as a safe space to bike in and explore the city through. On one hand, new groups are constantly being created that challenge the structures of the old. On the other hand, they are still plagued by their own set of issues that led to spaces of exclusivity.

The goal of this chapter was to highlight the gendered history and patterns of bicycling, as well as the relationships between gender, public space, and bicycling – however paradoxical these relationships may be. In doing so, I have illustrated how gender and other social identities are

constructed, challenged, and constituted through an interaction with space and larger societal behaviors. The experiences that interview participants shared with me were shaped by their own personal identities, which are multiple and intersecting and situated within larger social relationships – as a number of them noted during their interviews. I have also highlighted the connections between the personal and the political, the private and the public, and how these social structures form the basis for determining participation and experiences in public activities, such as bicycling and DIY urbanism, and, in turn, the spaces that are produced through these activities.

Therefore, this chapter, as a supplement Chapter Four, reinforces the point that the gendered nature of public space and bicycling are important sites through which to explore DIY urbanism activities, especially when they are focused on biking as the activity, such as is the case with Chicago Critical Mass. In other words, I have demonstrated throughout this chapter that DIY urbanism needs to be explored through its specific activities, and these specific activities need to be explored through their history, context, social meanings, and lived experiences. An essential part of this endeavor needs to be an awareness of gendered identities, mobility, and the gendered coding of bodies, spaces, and activities. The findings I share in this chapter also further speak to how spaces embody social relations of power and why gender, race, sexuality, and class matter when initiating and sustaining DIY urbanism activities.

CHAPTER SIX

INSTITUTIONALIZED DIY URBANISM –

THE CASE OF TACTICAL URBANISM AND THE STRUGGLE OVER PUBLIC SPACE

Tactical urbanism refers to a very specific, if not branded, urban planning approach that is gaining considerable influence within the urban planning community, including being sponsored and endorsed by the Congress of New Urbanism, a national professional planning organization. While not all DIY urbanism is tactical in nature and not all tactical urbanism is DIY in nature, there is significant overlap between these two concepts. It is in these spaces of overlap that I focus my research in this chapter and argue that tactical urbanism represents an institutionalized or formalized version of DIY urbanism.

This chapter specifically drills down into the concept of tactical urbanism, and explores, from the intersectional feminist theoretical framework detailed in Chapter Two, some of the problematics of this urban planning approach. In particular, a case of tactical urbanism in practice in a gentrifying Chicago neighborhood where space is hotly contested is explored. Interviews and field observations are weaved together with secondary data (i.e. academic literature, online discussions, and popular news) to contextualize and examine this case. Observations from two tactical urbanism events and interviews with seven individuals inform these findings, along with my own personal experiences working in this community for eight years. I focus on the everyday lived experiences of research participants, as well as the intersectional power relations that swirl around the community. While this chapter strays slightly from bicycling, it is foreshadowed by and links back to Chapter Four and the connections made between creative class politics,

bicycling, and gentrification. Through an exploration of this one case, I highlight some of the problematics with tactical urbanism in practice, including its potential to: 1) be a professionally-led activity that takes place in isolation of the larger community; 2) hide and obscure the political and contentious history and nature of a space; and 3) reclaim and reinvigorate urban spaces that promote gentrification and social polarization and exclusion within the community.

Defining Tactical Urbanism

My lonely 8-mile bicycle commute from Miami Beach to Miami's Little Havana neighborhood seemed like a good place to start. At work I voiced concerns to my colleagues that more could be done to make Miami a safe, inviting place for cyclists, and I was dedicating my free time to local bicycle advocacy... 'Make Miami a Bicycle-Friendly City' was the title of my December 2007 op-ed in the *Miami Herald*. In it I claimed that Miami was choosing not to compete with other leading American cities in attracting and retaining talent, ensuring low-cost transportation options, and ultimately, fulfilling the long-term promises of Miami 21... I also suggested that Miami could adapt Bogota, Colombia's Ciclovía, a weekly livability initiative that transforms approximately 70 miles (112 km) of interconnected streets into linear parks that are free of motor vehicles... We certainly didn't call it Tactical Urbanism at the time, but that's exactly what it was. I was hooked (Lydon and Garcia, 2015: Mike's Story, pp. xiv-xv).

Through my writing I became heavily involved in the aforementioned Miami 21 approval process, the implementation of the 2012 half-cent transit tax, and the rise of bike culture in Miami. These experiences crystalized in my mind several ideas presented in this

book...It was in the growth of bicycle culture and infrastructure in Miami that I first witnessed how small-scale changes can lead to longer-term results. From Bike Miami Days and Critical Mass to the growth of bike infrastructure, there was a string of low-cost projects that individually were not so important but together convinced me that small, often short-term, easy-to-implement projects could have just as powerful an impact on the culture of a city as the megaprojects (Lydon and Garcia, 2015: Tony's Story xx-xxi).

The above two quotes come from the authors of *Tactical Urbanism: Short-term Action for Long-term Change* (Lydon and Garcia, 2015). In the preface of their recently released book, both authors trace their inspiration for tactical urbanism to their participation in bicycling and urban bicycle culture, including Critical Mass. This book represents the latest culmination of their tactical urbanism model. In 2011, the Streets Plan Collaborative, comprised in part by Lydon and Garcia, released their 'Tactical Urbanism: Short-term Action, Long-term Change' introductory guidebook. In it, they briefly described what 'tactical urbanism' is and provided a number of examples of tactical urbanism in practice. Revised versions of this guidebook followed in the next several years and in 2015 two of these original tacticians published their book on a more refined version of the concept with even more examples (Lydon and Garcia, 2015).

In the 2011 debut tactical urbanism guidebook, the authors define tactical urbanism as an:

...approach [that] allows a host of local actors to test new concepts before making substantial political and financial commitments. Sometimes sanctioned, sometimes not, these actions are commonly referred to as 'guerilla urbanism,' 'popup urbanism,' 'city repair,' or 'D.I.Y. urbanism.' For the moment, we like 'Tactical Urbanism,' which is an

approach that features the following five characteristics: a deliberate, phased approach to instigating change; the offering of local solutions for local planning challenges; short-term commitment and realistic expectations; low-risks, with a possibly a high reward; and the development of social capital between citizens and the building of organizational capacity between public-private institutions, non-profits, and their constituents (The Streets Plan Collaborative, 2011: 1-2).

Four years later, Lydon and Garcia (2015) offered a more sync definition of tactical urbanism, which they characterize as “an approach to neighborhood building and activation using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions and policies...used by a range of actors, including governments, business and nonprofits, citizen groups, and individuals” (2). In particular, in their 2015 book, the authors strongly make the case that tactical urbanism is an approach that everyone can benefit from:

For citizens, it allows the immediate reclamation, redesign, or reprogramming of public space. For developers or entrepreneurs, it provides a means of collecting design intelligence from the market they intend to serve. For advocacy organizations, it is a way to show what is possible to garner public and political support. And for government, it’s a way to put best practices into, well, practice – and quickly! (3).

DIY urbanism and tactical urbanism are quite similar as concepts. Both are grassroots urban planning interventions in which a range of actors participate, including more formal and institutional actors. The activities of both are small scale, functional, temporary, creative, and place specific. The interventions of both are focused on re-adapting or re-purposing urban

spaces. Both concepts claim that such an urban planning approach is necessary at this particular moment in time because of city budget shortfalls and the larger economic recession. For example, The Streets Plan Collaborative (2012) states that “a benefit of the recession is that it slowed the North American growth machine. This effectively forced citizens, city departments, and developers to take matters into their own hands, get creative with project funding, and concentrate on smaller, more incremental efforts” (3). They also note how “more and more people—especially the young and well educated—have continued to move into once forlorn walkable neighborhoods” and how these individuals are “interested in re-making their chosen neighborhoods” (The Streets Plan Collaborative, 2012: 3). They highlight how the benefits of tactical urbanism are that “it makes use of open and iterative development processes, the efficient use of resources, and the creative potential unleashed by social interactions” (Lydon and Garcia, 2015: 2).

Lydon and Garcia (2015) use a paradoxical mix of political rhetoric to describe tactical urbanism and its usefulness and appeal – it is both a planning method and tool for progressive, citizen-led community building and a reaction to big, slow, and inefficient government. This is most apparent when they describe tactical urbanism’s relationship with the state and formal planning institutions. They reiterate time and time again, with neoliberal discursive undertones, how governments are inefficient beasts that are governed by archaic rules and how formal planning institutions and public planning processes are ‘dysfunctional.’ As such, tactical urbanism is “a learned response to the slow and siloed conventional city building process” (Lydon and Garcia, 2015: 3). Yet, they claim that tactical urbanism exists on a continuum of sanctioned to unsanctioned efforts. They claim that tactical urbanism can and should be performed by

municipalities, developers, and other formal city institutions – and that this is a key feature that sets tactical urbanism apart from other urbanisms (a point that will be addressed in greater detail below). It can be used as “a tool for city governments, developers, or nonprofits to more broadly engage the public during project planning, delivery, and development processes (Lydon and Garcia, 2015: 12). It can also be used as a “‘phase 0’ early implementation tool used by cities or developers to test projects before a long-term investment is made” (12). These contradictions and tensions run throughout The Streets Plan Collaborative (2011, 2012) and Lydon and Garcia’s (2015) work in which the state is demonized and seen as the cause of, or at least contributing to, many urban issues, yet they recognize the role the government plays in legitimizing tactical urbanism as a formal planning approach.

While it’s unclear how The Streets Plan Collaborative (2011, 2012) and Lydon and Garcia (2015) reconcile these tensions, it appears as though they are trying to appeal to a broad array of political interests – a one size fits all model that everyone can benefit from. The following quote highlights this paradoxical mixing of discourses – comparing tactical urbanism to Occupy-like movements and grassroots interventions, which are a reaction to big, bogging politics. According to an *Architect* article, titled ‘Newest Urbanism,’ O’Connell (2013) states,

Tactical urbanism refers to temporary, cheap, and usually grassroots interventions-- including so-called guerrilla gardens, pop-up parks, food carts, and ‘open streets’ projects--that are designed to improve city life on a block-by-block, street-by-street basis. In the post-Occupy Wall Street era, these efforts give concerned citizens and creative thinkers ways to reclaim built environments, encourage pedestrian traffic and street life,

and promote economic investment without being bogged down in big politics and strangled budgets (38-39).

Returning to how tactical urbanism is defined, it is suffice for the point here to say that tactical urbanism includes a full range of sanctioned and unsanctioned activities, and a full range of actors. As such, tactical urbanism can be seen as representing an institutionalized or formalized version of DIY urbanism. The Streets Plan Collaborative (2011, 2012) and Lydon and Garcia (2015) are proponents of working with local governments, businesses, and formal planning entities in order to develop and execute projects. They also suggest that governments and other formal institutions can benefit from incorporating tactical urbanism principles into their work. This institutionalization is echoed in the activities that The Streets Plan Collaborative (2011, 2012) and Lydon and Garcia (2015) share as being examples of tactical urbanism. For example, there are ‘build a better block’ type activities that have the goal of transforming an ‘underutilized’ block. They (The Streets Plan Collaborative, 2011) state:

Local artists, musicians and potential business owners joined together to temporarily program vacant storefronts and reclaim public space. Food vendors and sidewalk cafe tables were added and became places to congregate. A key element...[is] engaging existing vacant retail space. Working with property owners, temporary ‘pop-up’ shops demonstrated the presence of retail market demand in the neighborhood (3).

Many of the activities that The Streets Plan Collaborative (2011, 2012) and Lydon and Garcia (2015) include in their list are temporary in nature. This allows for experimentation and the testing of markets, and it also keeps costs low. The Street Collaborative (2012) also notes that

tactical urbanism activities “can be placed along a continuum of unsanctioned to sanctioned efforts” and in which many activities that “began as unsanctioned grassroots interventions...proved so successful that they soon became sanctioned or permanent” (7; see also Lydon and Garcia, 2015). For example, their ‘open streets’ activities are focused on “temporarily provide safe space for walking, bicycling, and social activities; promote local economic development; and raise awareness about the detrimental effects of the automobile on urban living” (The Streets Plan Collaborative, 2011: 6). Other activities include ‘pavement to plazas,’ pop up cafes and shops, street fairs, ‘chair bombing,’ ‘guerilla gardening,’ mobile food vendors including food carts and trucks, ‘pop-up town hall,’ informal bike parking, intersection repair, ‘weed bombing,’ and ‘park-making’ (The Streets Collaborative, 2011, 2012).

Lydon and Garcia (2015) also explicitly embrace and integrate concepts of creative class politics and New Urbanism into their brand of tactical urbanism. They cite Richard Florida’s work, they play off his book title *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) with a chapter on “The Rise of Tactical Urbanism,” and they rely on New Urbanism design principles, such as walkability, economic activation, public space creation, etc. A number of scholars have critiqued creative class politics and New Urbanism, arguing that social inequities and issues of inclusivity are left unaddressed or worsened; and that scarce public resources tend to be redirected towards gentrification (Kratke, 2001; McLean, 2014; Parker, 2008, 2012, Peck, 2005).

As noted in Chapter Two, the activities and spaces that are the focus of tactical urbanism specifically and DIY urbanism more generally are public spaces, the physical built environment and infrastructures, and economically productive spaces. Again, noting here, that feminist urban

scholars have highlighted the gendered biases that are present within the privileging of public and physical space in urban planning discourses (Domosh and Seager, 2001; Hayden, 1981; Jarvis, et al., 2009; Markusen, 1981; Massey and McDowell, 1984; McDowell, 2008; Parker, forthcoming). Tactical urbanism specifically then can also be discursively framed as a masculinist practice and space.

Gaining Traction

Tactical urbanism is gaining traction in cities. For example, Planetizen, a “public-interest information exchange for the urban planning, design, and development community,” which offers several online courses, is currently offering one titled “Tactical Urbanism: An Introduction,” and in which participants can earn one continuing education credit towards their AICP, a prestigious planning certification (Planetizen website, 2015). Planetizen also named Lydon and Garcia’s (2015) book as one of the top ten planning books of 2015 (Planetizen website, 2015).

The Congress of New Urbanism’s Next Generation of New Urbanists (NextGen) has sponsored the above mentioned guidebooks on tactical urbanism (The Street Plan Collaborative, 2011, 2012) and one of its tacticians is a steering-committee member of the NextGen (O’Connell, 2013). In Chicago, tactical urbanism activities are being executed by economic development corporations and through public-private partnerships, and are being used as an economic development strategy (author’s field notes; Jaffe, 2014; Metropolitan Planning Council, 2014). The Congress of New Urbanism – Illinois has also sponsored two tactical urbanism events,

including one in which they put tactical urbanism to practice in a Chicago neighborhood – a case example that will be explored further below.

De-Politicizing DIY Urbanism and Urban Space through Tactical Urbanism

As noted above, there is a paradoxical uneasiness that runs through Lydon and Garcia's (2015) work on tactical urbanism. One such example can be found in how they theoretically separate tactical urbanism from other types of urbanisms. While The Streets Plan Collaborative (2011: 1-2), which is partially made up of Lydon and Garcia, claim that tactical urbanism goes by many names, including DIY urbanism; Lydon and Garcia (2015) explicitly state that tactical urbanism is a distinct urban planning model and differs from other similar concepts, such as DIY and everyday urbanisms. The distinctions they make are messy, leaving one to wonder if they are trying to brand a concept as their own that has actually existed in scholarship and practice long before 2011 when they just happened across this idea all by themselves as they pedaled on their bicycles to their urban planning professional jobs. As they walk a tightrope of trying to differentiate tactical urbanism from similar practices, they also (re)create a number of tensions in which the practice of DIY urbanism related activities are de-politicalized and in which issues of deep seated inequality are shrugged off.

In the first chapter of their book, Lydon and Garcia (2015) note that DIY urbanism can be tactical and tactical urbanism can be DIY-based. However, they claim that there are two features that define DIY urbanism and tactical urbanism as two distinct practices – 1.) DIY urbanism “is not usually intended to instigate long-term change,” whereas tactical urbanism does; and 2.) tactical urbanism explicitly seeks to work with municipalities and formal planning institutions

and to integrate its principles and practices into formal institutions, whereas, DIY urbanism doesn't. While most DIY urbanists would agree with the second point, most would strongly disagree with the first, in that DIY urbanism does in fact to seek to create long-term and systemic change (e.g. creating more public space and opportunities for public involvement in urban planning and community building). As Lydon and Garcia (2015) share examples to further make clear the distinctions between these two urbanisms, the problematics of their criteria become all the more visible. This is important because it discursively demarcates some activities as tactical urbanism and worthy of cities' attention, and others as deviant, insignificant, or immature antics. For example, they claim that 'yarn bombing,' and "type[s] of street art or opportunistic place-making" are DIY urbanism practices, but not tactical urbanism ones (8). The basis for this argument is that such DIY urbanism practices do not have the goal of creating long-term change, such as "revising an outdated policy or responding to a deficiency of infrastructure" (8). However, later on in the book Lydon and Garcia (2015) share examples of tactical urbanism before Tactical Urbanism, such as 'Park(ing) Day,' which they trace to artist Bonnie Ora Sherk. They state:

In the early 1970s, Sherk developed a series of art installations in San Francisco that provided commentary on the allocation and use of public space...for Sherk, the motive was to use art to make people think differently about public space...her most well-known intervention of this type, titled *Portable Architecture*, began in 1970 and should be considered the forerunner of pop-up parks and Park(ing) Day installations found in cities across the globe (43).

The distinction between Sherk's 'tactical urbanism' public art and the type of public art that Lydon and Garcia (2015) would characterize as DIY urbanism is unclear. Even if we accept Lydon and Garcia's (2015) claim that DIY urbanism is simply "street art or opportunistic place-making," how are public art based DIY urbanism practices, which also 'provide commentary on the allocation and use of public space,' any different than Sherk's and tactical urbanism's (8)? These distinctions are messy and unclear. The real distinction may actually be that the political nature of DIY urbanism has been stripped out of tactical urbanism. Or in other words, "within the framework and narrative of tactical urbanism, the resistive and oppositional nature of yarn-bombing, and indeed other more subversive (or 'unsanctioned,' to use tactical urbanism language) activities, is absent" (Mould, 2014; 536; see also Spataro, 2015 for a similar critique).

This absence of subversion and resistance may in part be related to how Lydon and Garcia (2015) attempt to separate tactical urbanism from the concept of everyday urbanism and the work of de Certeau. They use de Certeau's language of 'tactics' and 'strategies' but depoliticize them and remove the power dynamics inherent in them. They state:

In his seminal *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau argues that strategies are the formal tool of the powerful (government), and tactics serve as the response of the weak (citizens). Those wielding the former are constantly in competition with those advancing the latter... Our view is that governments can – and should – work more tactically, just as citizens can learn to work more strategically. Strategies and tactics are therefore of equal value and should be used in concert with each other (Lydon and Garcia, 2015: 9-10).

Essentially what Lydon and Garcia (2015) have done in their reworking and adaptation of de Certeau's work is de-politicalize and neutralize the power relations related to tactical, and DIY, urbanism along with their corresponding deep seated issues of inequality. Or, as Mould (2014) argues:

The divorcing of rhetoric and practice is all the more perplexing (and in many ways, frustrating) given the presence of the very word 'Tactical.' The word itself inculcates a transgression, a 'soft' subversion that the mainstream usage has ideologically admonished in favor of a more palpable and accessible (and hence, easier to capitalize upon) form of urban interventionism (533)... Tactical urbanism therefore is becoming a vernacular empty of tactics that is being used more as a political tool to engender neoliberal urban development than a means of empowering the socially, politically and economically excluded (537).

This glossing over of relations of politics, power, and place, as well as history and context, can be seen in critiques made of the Museum of Modern Art's (MoMA) *Uneven Growth: Tactical Urbanisms for Expanding Megacities* exhibit. The exhibit brought together six teams, comprised of researchers and practitioners from interdisciplinary backgrounds, to develop, over a 14 month period, architectural projects for six megacities - New York City, Istanbul, Hong Kong, Mumbai, Lagos, and Rio de Janeiro. The goal of the exhibit/project was to "challeng[e] assumed relationships between formal and informal, bottom-up and top-down urban development... [and] consider how emergent forms of tactical urbanism can respond to alterations in the nature of public space, housing, mobility, the environment, and other major issues of near-future urbanization" (MoMA's *Uneven Growth* website, 2015). In other words, teams of professional

designers and planners were tasked with developing tactical urbanism based solutions for addressing a variety of issues that some of the largest cities on the globe are currently experiencing. The proposals that the teams put forth included, for example, in Hong Kong the creation of a series of small islands to expand livable space. In Istanbul the team called for creating place-making spaces, such as public sand boxes, as a way to foster greater civic engagement. They also called for shared meals and spaces for public housing residents as a way to address affordable housing (Davidson, 2014; MoMA's *Uneven Growth website*).

A great deal of critique emerged as a response to the exhibit. For example, Davidson (2014) argues that the underlying belief that architecture can fix capitalism, corruption, and urban inequalities is false. The end result, according to Davidson (2014), is that “MoMA’s proposals rely not on tent cities but on big money, implausibly efficient governments, and the slow work of changing cultures.” The critique Davidson (2014) makes of the MoMA tactical urbanism exhibit is similar to the ones I have made in Chapter Two. The scholarship on DIY and tactical urbanism tends to focus on public spaces, physical infrastructure, and economically productive spaces. The work of tactical urbanism rests on the logic that changes in the built environment will lead to social, political, and economic transformation. For example, more public space equals more democratic and equitable cities. However, issues related to production are separated from social reproduction. As argued in Chapter Two, feminist urban scholar Katz (2001) refers to this process as the ‘unhinging’ of social reproduction from production and defines social reproduction as “the messy, fleshy, and indeterminate stuff of everyday life” that is focused on “the acquisition and distribution of the means of existence, including food, shelter, clothing, and healthcare” (Katz, 2001: 711). As can be seen through the MoMA exhibit, the unpaid, private,

reproductive activities that take place in and support cities, and how they are bound in space tend to be ignored within tactical urbanism scholarship and practice. How is the presence of more public space (i.e. productive space) going to address the social reproductive issues such as securing housing and food (as was the case in Istanbul and an argument I made in Chapter Two)? These issues related to social reproduction are also not seen as being a part of power-laden social relationships – why is it that some people lack housing, while other do not? And lastly, there is a lack of attention paid to how tactical urbanism practices are enmeshed within larger political and economic structures. For example, why is it that the megacities of the MoMA exhibit are dealing with rapid urbanization, sanitation issues, and a shortage of housing? Or as Brenner (2015) states:

But even in this maximally optimistic framing of tactical urbanism, the big questions regarding how to (re)design the city of the future—its economy; its property and labor relations; its spaces of circulation, social reproduction, and everyday life; its modes of governance; its articulations to worldwide capital flows; its interfaces with environmental/biophysical processes; and so forth—remain completely unresolved.

Returning back to Lydon and Garcia's (2015) neutralizing of 'tactics' and 'strategies,' we can see in the above example of tactical urbanism how physical interventions are upheld as possible solutions to deeply embedded social inequalities – inequalities that are rooted in specific cities' history, politics, and contexts, which are swept under the proverbial tactical urbanism rug.

Lydon and Garcia (2015) do note that tactical urbanism is not an approach that is suitable for all situations, such as designing skyscrapers or building bridges, and that it cannot fix all problems, such as the affordable housing crisis. However, they go on to provide an early historic tactical

urbanism example that addressed the issue of affordable housing – the ‘catalogue-bought bungalow cottages and homes’ (33). They highlight how this type of DIY housing development was a predecessor of present day tactical urbanism and how it has historically offered cities, or suburbs in this case, a solution for providing low-cost housing to large amounts of working class families. They state:

For about \$1,200 in 1927 (about \$15,000 today), a family could buy a set of detailed blueprints that came with a construction manual, and within 2 weeks the materials were shipped so that they could build their homes. The developers did not build the house; they built the infrastructure around the house and sold the land. Because this system predated the full-scale adoption of municipal zoning and land development regulation, there were few bureaucratic hurdles to jump, which kept costs lower for everyone. Indeed, new homeowners did not need to navigate a web of municipal processes or hire an architect, zoning attorney, and contractors to build themselves an attractive house in short order (33).

Despite Lydon and Garcia’s (2015) warning on the limits of tactical urbanism, this above example, coupled with MoMA’s tactical urbanism exhibit, suggests that they and other proponents of tactical urbanism believe that the concept has a pretty far reach. Lydon and Garcia (2015) mix rhetoric from divergent political streams, yet somehow manage to ignore political and social contexts. For example, the above quoted example sounds quite similar to anarchist urban planner Colin Ward and his work on self-help housing (1988, reprinted in 2011; see Chapter Two on this topic). However, at the same time, it also sounds very much like neoliberal political rhetoric that demonizes big governments and development regulations, and in which the

state is seen as the problem and not the market. This confusing and paradoxical mixing of social and political ideologies is further muddled by their lack of attention to issues related inequality and access to resources. For example, many scholars have documented how urban policies and practices, both formal and informal, such as redlining, land contracts, restrictive covenants, and discriminatory lending practices have resulted in grossly constricted housing and residential options for non-white and non-heterosexual households (see for example, Satter, 2009). This example again highlights how Lydon and Garcia's (2015) tactical urbanism has the tendency to de-politicalizes and neutralizes power relations and ignores deep seated issues of inequality that are enmeshed in history, context, politics, power, and place. These themes will be explored further through a case example of tactical urbanism in practice in a Chicago neighborhood, which we will now turn our attention to.

The 'Tactical Urbanism Slam'

On the evening of May 7, 2015, the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU) Illinois and the American Institute of Architects (AIA) Chicago Chapter hosted a "Tactical Urbanism Slam" event. Their promotional material, which was shared with CNU members and other professional groups, read:

Parklets. Street art. Participatory performances. These interventions, and others, have become known as tactical urbanism, low cost and easily deployable placemaking solutions that reinvigorate places and spaces. Come experience tactical urbanism for yourself with a Pecha Kucha slam...Please join us for a cross-disciplinary conversation that will help to bolster the tactical urbanism community in Chicago.

According to the event's registration website, individuals registered for the event from Chicago-based economic development agencies; staff from the City of Chicago and Cook County; individuals from private grant-making entities; staff from surrounding villages,' towns,' and cities' municipal offices; and architect, design, planning, and consultant firms. Approximately 100 people were present at this standing-room-only event. The attendees were a mix of business people, bureaucrats, and 'hipsters.' There were people in suits, khakis, and button-up shirts mingling with people in skinny jeans and plaid shirts with tattoos and beards. Almost all of the attendees appeared to be white.

There were eight presentations given by eight individuals from different agencies. Of the eight presenters, the vast majority were white (1-2 appeared to be non-white) and male (3 were female). The agencies included two architecture firms – one international and the other local, a local economic development corporation, two participatory public arts groups, a university based and research driven 'creative think tank,' a community development organization, and a walking tour company. The majority, if not all, of the agencies present, and their work related to the event, existed before the birth of Tactical Urbanism in 2011. The goals of the projects highlighted at the event ranged from getting the general public involved in urban design, fostering economic development, creating public art and engaging the community through art, 'reactivating' abandoned and unused urban space, real estate development, increasing green space and public space, and tourism.

The format used for the 'slam' was Pecha Kucha, which requires the presenters to show 20 PowerPoint slides, spending only 20 seconds on each slide, resulting in a 6-7 minute

presentation. This format was an interesting choice for a number of reasons. The presenters could only talk for 6-7 minutes, which was hardly enough time to go into any depth of their project. There was no time allotted for discussion or questions following the individual presentations. If you wanted to have a dialogue about the topic, you had to hunt down each individual presenter during the allocated ‘mingling and drinks’ time and hope they weren’t already talking to someone else. This resulted in a one-way discussion and no critical engagement from the event’s participants. In many ways, this format mirrors the concept of tactical urbanism more generally – quick, temporary, and not much dialogue about the implications.

There was a lack of representative diversity at this event in terms of participants and speakers. This led to questions around who could perform tactical urbanism, who was it for, and who could benefit from it. Again, there was a focus on creating public spaces, physical infrastructure, and economically productive spaces. There was no mention of social reproductive issues, so-called private spaces, diversity, or inclusion. The notion of public space also was not problematized – in what ways are certain individuals constrained in public space, and how it is coded in terms of social identities and privileges? The event reiterated the discursive framing of tactical urbanism as a masculinist concept and practice.

At the end of the event it was announced that the Congress of New Urbanism - Illinois will launch a tactical urbanism initiative in Chicago in late summer 2015. It was later announced in August 2015, via professional email groups and online forums, that the tactical urbanism initiative would be focused on brightening the Sunnyside Avenue Pedestrian Mall in the Uptown neighborhood on Chicago’s north side.

The Context of the Uptown Neighborhood of Chicago

I sat down with an interview participant to discuss her experiences as a female bicyclist in Chicago at a new trendy café in the Uptown neighborhood of Chicago. She told me that she selected this meeting spot because the café was an offshoot business of a Chicago-based bicycle shop. The café was decorated in bike-related items and memorabilia, Chicago bike maps littered the countertops, and bike themed items were available for purchase. As we were making small talk before the interview officially got underway, the interview participant shared with me that the building in which the café was located was once home to affordable housing units and is now home to high-end condos and rentals for young, professional singles. As she causally chatted about this, I realized why the building was so familiar to me – it once housed an affordable housing program that was operated by the non-profit agency I worked for several years ago. Quickly I recalled the events leading up to the building being sold to the developer, our affordable housing program being told we had to relocate, and us trying to find twenty units of affordable housing, ideally in the same community so residents could still be connected to their services and support networks. At this moment, my past work as a community development planner in the areas of affordable housing and ending homelessness unexpectedly forced its way into the fore front of my mind as I interviewed this woman about bicycling. I began to wonder, then, about the connections and relationships between affordable housing, social service provision, gentrification, creative class politics, and tactical urbanism (author's field notes, 2015).

The problematizing of public spaces/economic productivity and private spaces/social reproductivity is quite visible in the Uptown neighborhood in Chicago. Uptown is a neighborhood that is located on Chicago's north side, a little over five miles from downtown, and that runs along the shores of Lake Michigan. About 50,000 people live in the two and a half square miles that make up the neighborhood (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; City Data, 2015). The largest racial group is whites (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; City Data, 2015). The median household income in 2013 was \$46,082, and 27 percent of the population lives below the poverty line (City Data, 2015). However, there are areas within the neighborhood that have significantly higher and lower incomes – “for example, in Census Tract 031501, which contains much of Clarendon Park, 51% of the households have a median income of less than \$20,000, while 12% have a median average of \$100,000 or more” (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; 3). Households that rely on affordable or subsidized housing, which is a fairly large number of residents, have incomes between \$10,000 and \$15,000 per year (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; 18).

Historically the city's theater and commercial district, the neighborhood has many single room occupancy (SRO) buildings that once housed transient artists and entrepreneurs, and that now predominantly serve as affordable housing units for formerly homeless individuals (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013). The neighborhood is also home to a large proportion of the city's social service agencies. According to master plan for the 46th Ward (i.e. the ward in which Uptown is located):

During the 60's and 70's, large numbers of low-income residents poured into Uptown, over-burdening its social services and increasing demand for affordable housing....

Between 1960 and 1980, 13 subsidized housing projects (2000 new units) were built for

low and moderate income, most in high-rises along the Clarendon and Sheridan corridors (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; 4).

Today, this housing stock still exists and the many social service providers that located in the area in order to serve the needs of the community remain there today. The alderman's office notes that "of Chicago's 77 neighborhoods, Uptown has the highest number of apartment units receiving government subsidies" (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; 18). They also note that residential buildings are not income diverse, meaning that buildings' units tend to be either exclusively subsidized or exclusively market-rate. In addition to having the highest number of subsidized units in the city, the alderman claims that "the neighborhood of Uptown has the highest rate of people living with chronic mental illness in Illinois [and] a small subset of this population lives with ongoing alcohol/drug dependence" (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; 23). As noted in Chapter Two, homeless individuals are a racialized and classed group. According to a recent survey, Chicago's unsheltered homeless population (i.e. those living in public spaces) was 82 percent male and 74 percent African American, with 19 percent reporting receiving mental health services and 28 percent receiving substance use services (City of Chicago, 2014).

Despite the presence of affordable housing, social services, and vulnerable individuals that need both of the former items, Uptown is increasingly gentrifying. The Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement's (2014) report on socioeconomic change in Chicago neighborhoods (aka the 'gentrification index') found that Uptown increased its index score from 2000-2010 by six points – from a score of three to a score of nine (on an index score range of -13 to 13). As such, the Voorhees Center has characterized the neighborhood as a

‘gentrified’ neighborhood. Uptown, like the other neighborhoods that share this gentrification typology on the index, is characterized by a population that is the majority white and one that is comprised of a small proportion of senior citizens and children, a high proportion of college educated professionals, and higher than citywide median family incomes and home values (Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement, 2014).

The neighborhood has also been the site for a great deal of political transition over the last decade, in addition to being a site for social and economic transitions. In 2011, James Cappleman became the alderman of the 46th ward, as the ward’s long time alderman Helen Shiller, who was in aldermanic office since 1987, retired. The political transition from Shiller to Cappleman, many community members have argued, politically represented the above mentioned changing demographics of the neighborhood and sustained gentrification. Cappleman, a social worker by training, ran his election campaign on the platform that Uptown had a disproportionate amount of social service agencies compared to the rest of the city. He argued at community campaign events that these agencies should not be concentrated in one neighborhood, but distributed throughout the city. The issue is delicately addressed in the ward’s master plan, as to not alienate low income individuals who rely on services from these agencies or the wealthy professionals who are uneasy about the presence of both (i.e. low income individuals and social services) in the neighborhood. The plan states that “while it remains controversial on whether or not there are too many or too few social services in the 46th Ward, the focus needs to remain on ensuring that the entire City is making the best use of its limited resources. This means avoiding duplication of services and requiring clearly established performance-based outcome measures that demonstrate success within a set timeframe” (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; 24). Put a bit less delicately, the

Uptown Chicago Commission, a long standing and influential neighborhood association and registered 501c3, states:

Uptown has, by far, the largest number of social service organizations in the state of Illinois. They serve individuals with a variety of social and medical needs, including homelessness, HIV and AIDS, mental illness, substance abuse, and domestic abuse. The over-concentration of vulnerable individuals threatens to impair the quality of life in Uptown's densely-populated urban area. The city and its neighborhoods would be better served by having such social service resources more evenly spread throughout the city to avoid the need for such individuals to travel or relocate (Uptown Chicago Commission's website, 2015).

Cappleman, whose partner has served on the Uptown Chicago Commission's public safety committee, leveraged his social work expertise in this area. He, similar to the Uptown Chicago Commission's language, often employed human rights based rhetoric to frame this issue as being only fair to those who need services but live in other community areas. Meanwhile, this platform appealed to community residents who were uncomfortable having social service agencies and affordable housing residents as their neighbors. Once in office, Cappleman continued to use his social worker expertise and human rights based rhetoric to sweep parks, with police escorts, and remove individuals sleeping there, claiming that it was inhumane to leave people sleeping outside, but he failed to connect them with proper housing and services.

Social service workers that I interviewed for this research and worked alongside of for years shared numerous experiences in working with the alderman's office and with the larger

community. They often cited that they felt the alderman's office unfairly targeted their agencies or buildings and in which the use of public space by their clients was seen as problematic and needing to be controlled. For example, one social service worker shared with me that she has had to meet with the alderman and his staff, often in response to neighbor complaints, a multitude of times regarding the agency's clients. The complaints ranged from loitering to claims that the agencies' clients were buying/selling/using drugs in the alley alongside their buildings. Other agencies have raised awareness about surrounding neighborhood associations requiring them to move entrances to their buildings and/or plant expensive landscaping as to visibly block the entrances of their buildings so that the neighbors don't have to look at the individuals who use the agency's services. Other agencies have noted being attacked by neighborhood associations on presumed building code or zoning code violations. One executive director of an agency that serves families, including minor children, reported that at one time a white man forced his way into the program space, took a bunch of pictures, and then left. This intrusion into the program space violated the privacy and confidentiality of the individuals who were receiving housing and/or services from the agency, including minors. Neighborhood-based online forums, blogs, and websites are also host to a number of disparaging discussions, pictures, and videos. Some even posting videos of homelessness individuals on the internet as they struggle to maintain their dignity in meeting their basic needs in public.

The alderman's master plan also links homelessness with criminal activity. The plan states that "in August 2012, a homeless woman from Uptown was arrested for the 396th time... Offenders [like this woman] often face issues that include mental illness, substance abuse, homelessness, domestic abuse, unemployment and financial instability" (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; 33-34).

Among the action plan items listed to address criminal activity and ‘frequent offenders’ is a call for neighbors to reclaim their neighborhood spaces. Specifically, the plan calls for:

1. “Joining neighbors to adopt a public space to do a neighborhood gardening project, such as a street corner on the block: This garden plots tells others that people care more about the neighborhood than just their own private yard. It also builds a greater sense of community and it puts more eyes on the street as residents tend the garden” (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; 34).
2. “Creating more outdoor events that encourage use and enjoyment of public spaces: This puts more ‘eyes’ on the street, which discourages habitual offenders from continuing their illegal behavior” (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; 34).

The Uptown Chicago Commission, a neighborhood association whose work dates back to 1955, has also linked criminal activity to the lower income residents of the neighborhood (Uptown Chicago Commission’s website, 2015). According to their website, the Uptown Chicago Commission, whose mission is to “improve the quality of life for all Uptown residents,” has membership from “block clubs, property owners, developers, renters, and businesses.” Among the areas where they focus their work is a focus on public safety. There is a special public safety committee to work on this issue, which, as noted above, has been headed up by Alderman Capplemann’s partner. In particular, the public safety committee is working on the following four items: “drug dealing and other gang activity; public drinking and loitering; homeless people sleeping in the parks, under bridges and in other public spaces; and disruptive behavior in and around subsidized housing, homeless shelters and social service agencies” (Uptown Chicago Commission’s website, 2015).

Public safety is an important aspect of any community and I am not dismissing these concerns – it is in fact also a major focus of much feminist scholarship on public space and gender, a topic Chapter 5 briefly explored. However, the above list links homeless and low income individuals to safety concerns – in particular, three out of the four items are focused on safety issues related to homelessness.

Large affordable housing complexes have as also been a site of tension. The Lawrence House, a large affordable housing complex in the neighborhood run by private developers, has also been a major focus of the alderman's as it housed over 190 formerly homeless or low income individuals. While the building was ran by private developers who did not properly maintain the building, the neighbors and alderman often focused on the social services providers who let their clients live in such a poorly maintained building. The private owners were rarely the attention of the neighborhood associations who could have helped to hold them accountable to providing better housing for the community. This was an issue that greatly divided the social service community, as well – it was an important affordable housing option for the neighborhood, but it was in fact extremely poorly maintained. After a series of building code violations, many quite severe, the building was bought out by a private housing developer in 2013 (Tekippe, 2013). Not coincidentally, this housing developer was the same one that bought the building in which I enjoyed a cup of coffee with my female cyclist interviewee noted in the opening of this section. The new developers plan on converting this building, like the other, into modern apartments for young, urban professionals, resulting in a loss of 190 units of affordable housing in the community. Many social service workers reported that this is just the latest in the continual loss

of buildings and units that used to be options for them to house individuals with limited incomes (Tekippe, 2013).

Given my history working for a social service agency in this community for over eight years, the above narrative on Uptown is reflective of my positionality. I also drew from interviews with social service providers and shared their experiences in particular with working in this neighborhood. My point here is to highlight the contentious nature of Uptown and a few of its struggles with transformation. I also want to reiterate how the above characterization of Uptown illustrates the importance of social reproductivity to cities and communities – securing of shelter, food, and basic services – which is problematized when these activities become public. It is within this community and this context then that the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU) Illinois and the American Institute of Architects (AIA) Chicago decided to locate their tactical urbanism event – a historically diverse and affordable neighborhood that is dealing with the strains of gentrification; a neighborhood in which the struggles over the use of public space, and by whom, is highly visible and often hotly contested.

‘Brightening’ Contested Space through Tactical Urbanism

In August 2015 I received an email, via a professional planning group that I am a part of, inviting me to an event sponsored by CNU Illinois. The email read:

Join CNU Illinois & AIA Chicago to help ‘brighten’ the Sunnyside Avenue Pedestrian Mall in Uptown! CNU Illinois and AIA Chicago will be working with the Sunnyside Mall Committee to install a series of simple, low cost, tactical interventions in Sunnyside Mall, a two block long pedestrian plaza on Sunnyside Avenue, between Beacon Street

and Magnolia Avenue in Uptown's Sheridan Park neighborhood. Designed to help enliven the space, the interventions will serve as pilot projects, providing the neighborhood organization and local community members with a valuable opportunity to test some creative ideas before carrying out more permanent installations (event marketing materials, August 2015).

It was a warm evening in late August 2015 when I arrived at the above tactical urbanism event. In the middle of the pedestrian mall there was what appeared to be a registration/check-in table, with a block party permit from the city taped to the table demonstrating approval for the event. Several organizers approached me and confirmed that I was registered and supposed to be there. I was given a paint brush and told to go help a group of men painting big orange circles on the pavement. Upon inquiring what the plan was, I was shown a very professional computerized rendering of the space which detailed the hanging of strings of large orange balloons across the mall, in a diagonal pattern, and painting large orange circles on the pavement. With that I took my paint brush and headed over to where I was instructed to go. In all there were probably about 30- 50 people that participated in the event. They were vastly white individuals in their 30s and 40s. There was slightly more men than women participating. There were a number of small children who were there with their parents, as well. As the event progressed and it got later, more residents came home from work and began wondering what was going on. They stayed off to the sides of the street and no one seemed to engage them. There was a group of three young black men that were riding their bikes up and down the sides of the mall as we worked, but they were not engaged

by the organizers either. At one point a young black girl, maybe 10 years old, ask one of the organizing members, a white woman in her 30s, if she could have a balloon. She was told, no, they were for this project. The little girl said, okay, and returned to her mother. They appeared to be passing through and just happened to come to the event (author's field notes, 2015).

As noted above, Lydon and Garcia (2015) define that tactical urbanism is “an approach to neighborhood building and activation” (2). “For citizens, it allows the immediate reclamation, redesign, or reprogramming of public space...for advocacy organizations, it is a way to show what is possible to garner public and political support” (3). As the marketing materials for this one specific tactical urbanism event stated, the goal was to “enliven the space” and provide “the neighborhood organization and local community members with a valuable opportunity to test some creative ideas.” The tactical urbanism event that took place in Uptown in August of 2015 sheds some light on the complexity and problematics of practicing tactical urbanism on the ground. In particular, it raised questions about how such events and practices have the potential to: 1) be a professionally-led activity that can take place in isolation of the larger community; 2) obscure the political and contentious history and nature of a space; and 3) reclaim and reinvigorate urban spaces that promote gentrification and social polarization and exclusion within the community.

The Sunnyside Pedestrian Mall

The Sunnyside pedestrian mall is a three block long, car-free thoroughfare in the south western area of Uptown. It is in close proximity to many of the large social service agencies in the

neighborhood, as well as several affordable housing complexes. The mall, which runs primarily through a residential area, is lined with trees, flower planters, several play-lots, and benches. It is praised as one of Uptown's great public spaces (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013) and one of Chicago's top car-free spaces (Active Transportation Alliance, 2014). It offers a quiet and safe space to sit or walk without car traffic for the entire length of the mall. Outdoor movie nights, art shows, and other organized community events also often take place in the mall.

The mall, however, is also known as a site for violence and gang and drug activity (Emmanuel, 2013). As one online discussant stated in relation to gang activity in the mall, "What would you expect from 3rd generation welfare recipients, who have been given everything and aren't expected to contribute anything to the community?" Others state that "these 'people' are going to be around for a while" so efforts should be focused on 'taking the mall back' or returning it to a regular street with traffic (see for example the Uptown Update, 2008). The tensions surrounding the Sunnyside mall are also noted in the alderman's master plan. Identified as an issue area, the plan states: "tension continues with older youth and adults playing basketball in Bronco Billy Play-lot, with some complaining about drug activity from the older youth while others complaining that the youth playing basketball don't want to cross gang boundaries to play elsewhere" (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; 31-32). As such, the pedestrian mall is a hotly contested public space in terms of who should be using it and for what.

I am not arguing certain groups have more of a right to this space than others, etc. Instead, I am highlighting the tensions and struggles that surround the Sunnyside pedestrian mall – the specific site of the CNU Illinois and the AIA Chicago tactical urbanism event. Based on the research

described in this chapter, I have identified three areas that have the potential to be problematic for tactical urbanism activities. I raise these issues and questions in the hopes that future activities can be more attention to them.

Problematic 1: Ensuring Tactical Urbanism is Not Solely a Professionally-led Activity and that it Doesn't Take Place in Isolation of the Larger Community

The Uptown tactical urbanism event was advertised to professional urban planning and design groups, which is how I found out about it. According to several community residents, the event was not advertised to the wider community in which the event took place. The organizers required online registration for the event, which required one to have a computer and internet access and be willing and able to register in advance of the event. The event was not advertised via the Sunnyside Mall Committee's, the mall's neighborhood association, Facebook page.

Alderman Cappelman, did not list the event on his website nor did Uptown United, the economic development agency for the neighborhood. A local news source, DNAInfo (2015) ran a story on it two days before the event. In inquiring with a number of social service agencies and community residents, none of them heard about the event before it took place. As the event was taking place, I talked with a number of individuals who were hovering at the edges of the pedestrian mall. They all lived directly adjacent to the mall and they reported that they were not invited to participate in advance of or during the event. I was asked a number of times 'who I was with,' by both the residents and by the organizers.

According to the event's registration website and much like the 'tactical urbanism slam' event in May 2015, those that registered to attend were from architectural agencies, design agencies,

consulting groups, and professional planning agencies. The event itself was sponsored by CNU Illinois, The Lakota Group, Teska Associates, Inc. and the Crafty Beaver Home Centers – all professional urban planning/design groups (and one home improvement store) and no community-based or neighborhood groups. There was also a lack of representative diversity at the event. However, it is important to note that the Teska Associates, a professional planning firm and one of the sponsoring agencies, stated on their website that “a ton of community residents joined in” the event (Teska Associates website, 2015).

A goal of tactical urbanism is that it facilitates ‘neighborhood building and activation.’ According to several individuals who happened across the event, it was not marketed to them or other community residents. It was by and large perceived by them as a private, networking event for professionals. The tactical urbanism event could have been an opportunity to bring diverse groups together and truly build community, putting aside many of the tensions and struggles noted above. However, according to some, the neighborhood was not present. Based on the information I was able to obtain from the organizers, it was hard to tell what their motivations were. Did they believe that they properly engaged the surrounding community and that “a ton of community residents” participated in the event?

One of the tensions with tactical urbanism, as a DIY urbanism practice, is that includes professional planning entities and other formal institutions in the process. This makes for a sticky situation – the activities are supposed to be grassroots and community driven/led, but professional organizations and institutions can also drive and lead the process and activities. How then does the community respond to tactical urbanism, especially when the efforts appear

to be coming from outside the community? Given the contentious nature of Uptown more broadly and the Sunnyside pedestrian mall more specifically, what happens when a segment of a community reclaims public space from others? What happens when a small segment of the community speaks for the entire community through these tactical urbanism activities? What happens when there is little representative diversity among the individuals participating in the event in a diverse neighborhood? What happens when the end result, intended or not, is to exclude certain members from public space? These are all complex and not easily answered questions. They are also important questions that should be considered in regards to tactical urbanism.

Problematic 2: Considering the History and Nature of a Space

As described above, Uptown has a long history of grappling with issues related to homelessness, affordable housing, mental health and substance use service provision, crime, and drug related activities. Pressure to deal with these issues has increased, and the debates surrounding them have intensified, as the neighborhood has gentrified. The tactical urbanism event that took place in the Sunnyside pedestrian mall seemed to carefully avoid this politically contentious history and the nature of the mall and Uptown. As I have argued above, tactical urbanism, in general, has the tendency to de-politicalize and neutralize power relations, while ignoring deep seated issues of inequality that are enmeshed in history, context, politics, power, and place. This example of tactical urbanism in practice highlights these problematics. The history, context, and politics of space are relevant to any planning venture, but they are especially important to neighborhood and community building initiatives.

An example of how this de-politicization revealed itself during this tactical urbanism event was how organizers discursively framed the site location. Several of the event's organizing members stated that the site of the event was chosen because it was a 'blank canvas' and that 'no one was using the space.' Another organizer shared with me that they had tried to find an existing group that was already working on a tactical urbanism initiative – one that already had "community buy-in," but they could not find one. This organizer stated that one of his colleagues lives in Uptown and suggested it as a spot for the event because "no one really used" the space and there was a lot of area to work with. This arguable contradicts what others have said about the space, as noted above – it is a site for gang and drug activities.

Had the organizers considered issues related to the space's history, the contexts surrounding the space, its politics, and how power relations are embedded within it, would a different location have been chosen and would the event have looked any different? Or perhaps they did consider these issues, but remained quiet about them when speaking with me and the media, and choose this location based on those issues?

Problematic 3: Reclaiming and Reactivating Urban Spaces as to Not Promote Gentrification, Social Polarization, and Exclusion within the Community

The above two problematics lead us to our third: who is doing the reclaiming and reinvigorating of a particular urban space, through what means, and for what purposes. In linking the (partially provided) history and context of Uptown with the experiences that were observed and shared with me during the tactical urbanism event, important new questions emerge around how tactical urbanism could potentially be used for purposes that promote gentrification, social polarization,

and exclusion within the community. This problematic also highlights some of the issues when social reproductive labor (i.e. private activities that should be done in private spaces in order to meet your daily needs) are performed in public spaces.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, DIY urbanism-like activities can be seen as resting on white settler colonial logical and gendered imperialistic assumptions in which spaces are seen as underutilized or not being used, and therefore ripe for reclaiming, reprogramming, and reactivating (Shohat, 1998). Given who I observed participating the tactical urbanism event, it is possible that the presence of predominately professional, white males (and the lack of representative diversity in a diverse community) as the reclaimers and reprogramers could be seen as a threat to the community, or a taking over of the community by others. Research on this topic has also found that DIY urbanism-like activities that are focused on reclaiming and reprogramming of spaces seen as underused or misused can lead to the gentrification of an area (see for example Colomb, 2012, McLean, 2014; Mould, 2014). This is especially important since the site of the tactical urbanism event in Chicago was located in a gentrifying neighborhood and raises questions about whether or not one of the goals was to continue this trend. And lastly, tactical, as well as DIY, urbanism can also be easily aligned with conservative urban political agendas, such as new urbanism, creative cities, and neoliberalism (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Deslandes, 2013; Douglas, 2014; Malloy, 2009; Mould, 2014 – see Chapter Two for a full argument on this matter). It was the Illinois Chapter of the Congress of New Urbanism that sponsored and organized this tactical urbanism event, making that alignment or connection quite clear. As all these concepts and ideologies swirl together, it is especially important to examine the impact the tactical urbanism activities have on a community.

Conclusion: Re-Politicizing DIY Urbanism and Urban Space through Tactical Urbanism

These research findings attempt to re-politicize tactical urbanism, calling attention to power relations and deep seated issues of inequality that are enmeshed in history, context, politics, power, and place. In line with the arguments I put forth in Chapter Three, the findings in this chapter illustrate how tactical urbanism tends to focus on public and economically productive spaces, separates production from social reproduction, ignores issues related to social reproduction and power-laden social relationships, and fails to recognize how such tactical urbanism practices are enmeshed within larger political, social, and economic structures. In a confusing and paradoxical mixing of social and political ideologies, tactical urbanism in theory and practice ignores issues related inequality, access to resources, and the contested nature of the use of public space.

Throughout this chapter and through the case of tactical urbanism in Uptown, I have raised questions and highlighted a number of problematics with tactical urbanism. In particular, care needs to be taken to ensure that the activities are not solely professionally-led and they take place in isolation of the larger community. The messy issues related to Uptown and the Sunnyside pedestrian mall's history and surrounding contexts and politics need to be taken into consideration along with power relations that may be present. And lastly, awareness to the processes through which urban space is reclaimed and reinvigorated is especially need, in terms of gendered imperialistic assumptions, gentrification, social polarization, and exclusion within the community. The goal of this chapter was to raise a number of questions and highlight several problematics about Lydon and Garcia's (2015) claims that tactical urbanism is "an approach to

neighborhood building and activation” and that “it allows [citizens] the immediate reclamation, redesign, or reprogramming of public space...[while] show[ing] what is possible to garner public and political support” (2-3). Among the most important questions should be how is ‘neighborhood’ defined and engaged with? Who is doing the “reclamation, redesign, or reprogramming of public space”? Through what means and for what purposes? What are the history, context, politics, and power relations that are specific to the place?

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE STICKY PLACES OF LOOSE DIY URBANISM SPACES

Many scholars use terms and phrases such as loose, experimental, temporary, pop-up, and fluid space, among others, to describe and theorize DIY urbanism (see for example, Bishop and Williams, 2012; Colomb 2012; Franck and Stevens, 2007; Groth, and Corijn, 2005; Lehtovuori, 2012; Osswald, et al., 2012; Oswald, et al., 2013; Schwarz, et al., 2009). While DIY urbanism is defined and understood as a set of place-specific activities, these scholars tend to focus on the dynamic and unrooted nature of urban spaces and processes, and how DIY urbanism works in tandem with this dynamism. In talking with research participants about their experiences and motivations with DIY urbanism activities, it became clear that they made sense of their activities and experiences in ways that were very spatially rooted or stuck within the community, as well as Chicago more broadly, and socially tied to relationships and larger systems of meaning. In this chapter, then, I highlight a number of examples that illustrate how DIY urbanism can be a sticky practice, but one that takes place within, and often as a result, of the slippery spaces of economic restructuring, global capitalism, and social relations. It serves to bridge the everyday lived experiences of individuals with the surrounding multi-scalar politics.

To do this, I put the concept of DIY urbanism in conversation with Markusen's (1996) conceptualization of 'sticky places in slippery space,' extending it in to DIY urbanism literature and research participants' experiences. Specifically, I share interview participants' narratives about their experiences with DIY urbanism and draw attention to how their activities get stuck up within larger political, social, and economic structures and in larger systems of meaning. I

highlight some examples of the context specific and place specific ways that DIY urbanism activities emerge, as well as resulting benefits, consequences, and implications of these activities. The goals of this chapter are to bring research participants' narratives to the forefront, put these narratives in conversation with academic literature on various conceptualizations of space, and highlight the ways in which DIY urbanism participants make sense of their activities. Based on these participant narratives, I suggest that cities, as they increasingly seek to encourage as well as directly develop DIY urbanism activities in their communities, pay attention to the place and context specific nature of DIY urbanism – as these sticky places can work to foster and strengthen DIY urbanism practices and the communities created through them, as well as work to create contestations, tensions, and constraints within space.

Slippery, Temporary, Loose, and Second Hand Spaces

Urban economic geographers, such as Markusen (1996) and Harvey (1982), have theorized the spatial relationship between capitalism and place. They have highlighted how capitalism and labor, with the facilitation of technology, have become increasingly fluid, internationally mobile, and not pinned down in place – i.e. slippery spaces. However, they argue that capitalism is also spatially stuck in place in various ways – in other words, it needs to attach itself spatially in order to function – i.e. sticky places. While Markusen's analysis is focused on the place-specific conditions that create economic production to be stuck in place, I take some of the key concepts from her work and extend them into the literature on DIY urbanism, and later into participants' motivations and experiences with DIY urbanism activities. In particular, in this section I introduce the concept of slippery spaces and sticky places, and put them in conversation with the temporary, loose, and second hand spaces of DIY urbanism.

Slippery Places

According to Markusen (1996), slippery space refers the processes of economic production, and their related capital, and the ease at which they can move throughout geographic space in an ongoing quest to secure the greatest amount of profit. The production spaces that are abandoned in this process often respond by lowering wages, etc. in an effort to compete with the receiving localities for the economic investment and activity. Many scholars, dissatisfied with this focus exclusively on slippery spaces, have sought to find examples of stickiness – that is, places that have “both [the] ability to attract as well as to keep” economic investment, production, and activity in a given place (Markusen, 1996: 294). Markusen (2007) later extends her concept of stickiness in order to examine the cultural stickiness of places – in particular, the factors that draw artists, who are seen as economic drivers, to certain urban centers and that keep them there. In this chapter, I use Markusen’s (1996) notion of slippery space, but extend her idea of stickiness beyond just characteristics, both institutional and cultural, that hold economic activities in a specific place. Rather, I use the notion of stickiness to describe how certain activities and experiences are rooted in or stuck in specific physical spaces, as well larger processes. Specifically, I focus on various ways that DIY urbanism activities are rooted in or stuck in larger social relations, institutions, politics, and urban processes – which can foster and strengthen DIY urbanists’ activities, as well as constrain them.

In order to explain the ‘whys’ and ‘why nows’ of DIY urbanism, many DIY urbanism scholars theorize space in ways similar to Markusen’s (1996) slippery spaces concept (although they do not trace their theorizations back to Markusen (1996) directly). Meaning, they highlight how the

slippery spaces of economic restructuring and global capitalism have created the conditions that are necessary for DIY urbanism to flourish in specific locales and spaces. I focus on the three related spatial theorizations of DIY urbanism specifically that are similar to Markusen's slippery space, or are arguably the remaining spaces that are the byproducts of economic restructuring—temporary space, loose space, and second hand space. In what follows, I describe each of these concepts, which will then set the stage for research participants' narratives about how they relate to and experience DIY urbanism.

Temporary, Loose, and Second Hand Spaces

According to Colomb (2012), temporary space, in terms of urban planning and cities, refers to spaces that are programmed and planned with the predetermined goal of being impermanent. The concept of temporary space celebrates and leverages “the dynamic and open-ended sense of in-betweenness, interventions, and unexpected possibilities” (Colomb, 2012: 135, citing Till, 2011). Like Colomb (2012), Bishop and Williams (2012) claim that in a time of shrinking financial resources; rapidly changing economic, political, and social landscapes; an abundance of vacant space; and a need to revitalize urban space in the face of all these things, we need to look to more dynamic, fluid, and flexible forms of urban development – namely, through the creation and use of temporary space (see also Oswalt, Overmeyer, and Misselwitz, 2009). It is important to note that some of these scholars argue that an “interest in temporariness is arguably a luxury afforded only to those cities that are part of the post-industrial economy. In large parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, many structures and activities are more tenuous or temporary and this reflects a hand-to-mouth existence where permanent structures, institutions, even hopes, are an impossible luxury” (Bishop and Williams, 2012: 6). By distinguishing between the temporary spaces of the

so-called developed world and the so-called developing world these scholars are highlighting the importance of place and its surrounding contexts. However, the scholars that have made this type of argument tend to focus only on creative class type temporary uses – for example, pop-up shops and parks, underground restaurants, public art, and street markets (Bishop and Williams, 2012). This distinction between types of temporary spaces (i.e. post-industrial versus industrializing) reflects a common theme found within the larger DIY urbanism (and one that is argued throughout this research) in which economic productive and public spaces are privileged (i.e. pop up shops) and separated from social reproductive and private spaces (i.e. “hand-to-mouth existence” (Bishop and Williams, 2012; 6).

Nonetheless, temporary urbanism, in response to the conditions that have created and surround post-industrial economy cities, reuses and reactivates spaces that have historically been seen by city officials as dead, void, wastelands that have no current productive use (Colomb, 2012). In other words, temporary spaces are the byproduct and response to Markusen’s (1996) slippery spaces. As Colomb (2012) states, these temporary or interim spaces are “characterized by a tension between their actual use value (as publicly accessible spaces for social, artistic, and cultural experimentation) and their potential commercial value,” and is therefore closely tied to the sticky nature of the economic production of the space (138).

According to Bishop and Williams (2012), there are seven factors or conditions that make temporary uses feasible. The first is uncertainty. Since political, economic, environmental, and social conditions are uncertain and changing at all times, temporary urbanism provides “an outlet for innovation and experimentation,” amongst this changing landscape (23). The second key

condition is an abundance of vacant space. They claim that vacant spaces represent the transition from old uses to new uses. Given economic restructuring and deindustrialization, there is often a great deal of vacant urban space in US and European cities. A third factor leading to temporary uses is the changing nature of the work force, which is also largely tied to economic restructuring and deindustrialization. According to Bishop and Williams (2012), the workforce in the US and Europe is increasingly becoming characterized by “flexible working, self-employment, virtual organizations, virtual meetings, work-life integration, greater diversity in the workplace, and more creativity and playfulness” (26). Such working patterns require new urban spatial arrangements in order to meet the needs of the workforce. It is important to note here that this labor force shift is not true of all workers and employment sectors, such as service occupations, and is more closely aligned with creative class occupations. Relatedly, the fourth factor leading to greater temporary uses is the need for spaces that serve multiple functions or an increase in the “intensity in the use of space.” Given the changing nature of work and the workplace (for select segments of the workforce) noted above, urban space now need to serve multiple functions, which intensifies their use – e.g. a coffee shop becomes a board room, schools rent out space for farmer’s markets, businesses rent out conference room that are rarely used, streets become festivals, etc. The fifth condition that contributes to the need for temporary uses, according to Bishop and Williams (2012), is counterculture and activism. They claim that the real estate market operates in such a way that unique spaces for artists, counterculture, etc. either don’t exist or are too expensive to them. Therefore, these individuals find unused spaced in order to carry out their creative activities. In other words, these individuals are often excluded from traditional real estate markets, so they rely on informal ones. The sixth factor that has contributed to the growing use of temporary spaces and activities is new technology. According to Bishop and

Williams (2012), technology has allowed us more physical mobility, or temporariness in space, and has allowed us to document, spontaneously, temporary urbanism activities and share them more readily. And lastly, Bishop and Williams (2012) note that creative milieus are a necessary condition of temporary uses. They claim that temporary uses are most common among the creative class and, as cities continue to market themselves as creative, the opportunities for creative, temporary uses grows.

Like Bishop and Williams (2012), Oswalt, Overmeyer, and Misselwitz (2009) argue that temporary users are often people with little financial capital, but plenty of social and cultural capital, and are committed and willing to improve an area. They are mostly not longtime residents of an area, but are new comers. Temporary users include: “young entrepreneurs” who are “young, well-educated people between school and career” who have an idea and need a space to test and launch it (7); “hobby” users who have careers but are looking for new cultural experiences, but “belong to established social structures” (8); and “trailer- and boathouse owners” and “homeless people” that represent a small group of temporary users who are “looking for opportunities to drop out of society and build alternative living arrangements” (Oswalt, Overmeyer, and Misselwitz, 2009; 8. It is important to note here that this represents a narrow view of homelessness and assumes individuals do it as a matter of choice, see Chapter Two for a critique of this). According to Oswalt, Overmeyer, and Misselwitz (2009), these individuals are willing to accept the temporariness and precariousness of such of arrangement due to their low or non-existent financial costs.

The allure of temporary space is not just for these young, creative, flexible, urban workers. According to Bishop and Williams (2012), the private sector can reap benefits as well. For example, they note, following the 2007-2008 economic crisis, many large developers found their projects unworkable and had to halt work on them. This resulted in the projects sitting vacant, smaller than anticipated revenue streams coming in to the developers, and a reduced amount of risky projects that the developers could take on in the future. As such, temporary use arrangements have become an attractive option, such as offering short term and ‘meanwhile’ leases. While developers may be reluctant to engage in temporary use arrangements, according to Bishop and Williams (2012), such a strategy allows the developers to receive at least some income, as opposed to none, from the property. The temporary users can also prevent squatting and maintain the property during this in between time.

Cities can also reap the benefits from temporary uses. Not only do they bring the creative class and its perceived economic investment and activity in to a city, as Bishop and Williams (2012) claim, but they can offer free maintenance of public property and lend in the creation of new public or quasi-public space at no cost to the city or municipality (Colomb, 2012: 140). Oswalt, Overmeyer, and Misselwitz (2009) state:

Facing increasingly tight budgets, city administrators hope that by cooperating with pioneers from civic society they will be able to stabilize socially weak neighborhoods, reactivate vacant sites, and create new public spaces, all without any significant expense. Temporary use milieus create new images for entire neighborhoods, images that are usually viewed quite positively by the majority of residents, as well as being attractive to investors. From a city planning perspective, this creates new options for developing sites

that have long defied all classical city planning attempts to work with them...In the increasing competition for locations, informal activities are that extra something special in the arsenal of “creative cities,” a title to which many cities seek to lay claim today” (14-15).

Frank and Stevens (2007) provide us with a similar concept – loose space. They explicitly draw from Lefebvre’s ‘right to the city’ concept (see Chapter Two) and argue that city residents have the right to appropriate urban space and be active agents in creating urban space, as opposed to just being passive consumers of it. As such, they claim that open and accessible public space is necessary for loose spaces. While the physical spaces that loose spaces occupy are generated often through similar mechanisms as temporary spaces, it is people, through their actions, that make spaces loose. People need to first see the potential in the space and second act on it, ignoring the physical, social, and legal barriers. Therefore, loose space activities include temporary activities like those mentioned above, as well as unsanctioned and disruptive activities that go beyond ‘tight space’ activities that are based on the intended use of the space. Like temporary urbanism, loose space urbanism is focused on self-expression and social interaction, and is closely aligned with the idea that loose spaces primarily exist in post-industrial cities that have an appetite for creative class politics. Frank and Stevens (2007) claim that “many of the activities that generate looseness are neither productive (like traveling to work) nor reproductive (like buying necessities), being instead a matter of leisure, entertainment, self-expression or political expression, reflection and social interaction – all outside the daily routine and the world of fixed functions and fixed schedules” (3).

Along similar lines, then, we have second hand spaces. Second hand spaces are sites in which the “mostly financially weak users recycle the material and immaterial values of vacant sites for economic, ecological, social, and cultural reasons, redefine them, and create something new out of them...” (Osswald, Hasemann, Schnier, and Ziehl, 2012: 298). Second hand spaces, like temporary spaces, arise from industrial and economic restructuring and crises. Similarly, it is an urban planning response to these conditions that is low risk, low cost, and sustainable. Second hand spaces not only reduce the amount of unused land, they also create venues of participation and social networks. Therefore, second hand spaces incorporate a DIY mentality with elements of play and experimentation. They are focused on recycling old buildings and sites, buildings and sites that would otherwise decay and deteriorate, giving them a ‘second’ life. However, Osswald, Hasemann, Schnier, and Ziehl (2012) note that second hand spaces can be different from temporary spaces in that they are not necessarily understood as being only temporary – they can also be quite permanent.

The concept of second hand space has the potential to include more economically and socially marginalized individuals and activities. Since it is ‘mostly financially weak users’ that engage in the production of second hand space, one would assume that this includes activities that support social reproduction. In fact, the very name – second hand space – implies a thrift culture that many lower income households rely on. However, much like the literature on temporary and loose spaces, second hand spaces seem to be for only creative uses and users. For example, the numerous examples that fill Osswald, Hasemann, Schnier, and Ziehl’s (2012) book, *Second Hand Spaces: Recycling Sites Undergoing Urban Transformation*, are primarily focused on putting physical spaces and infrastructure back in to productive economic use. The second life

that these spaces are given are often creative and arts based enterprises – such as redeveloping brownfield sites by “members of the creative scene” (311); the creation of neighborhood park by local artists (316); the artist-led creation of a pop-up restaurant (321-324); the transformation of an abandoned outdoor pool into an urban camping grounds, complete with the charging of camping fees (325); the creation of flexible workspaces (355); the transformation of a light rail station into an opera house and a boxing ring (366-369); the transformation of a vacant large retail space into an arts center/festival space/market space (370-373); and the development of community gardens (416-419).

It is important to note that Osswald, Hasemann, Schnier, and Ziehl (2012) also include several second hand activities that are focused on social reproduction and meeting the needs of more marginalized members of society – such as the taking over a vacant building in response to an affordable housing crisis, the home production strategies that some households utilize as a way to save money on basic goods, the creation of a transitional youth center, and a low income community creating a public park for the neighborhood on unused land. By and large, however, the majority of second hand spaces are repurposed for creative uses and users.

Convergence of Spaces

All of these different conceptualizations and theorizations of space are underpinned by ideologies of fluidity, dynamism, mobility, flexibility, adaptation, and a lack of fixedness.

Markusen’s (1996) conceptualization of slippery space draws attention to how capitalism and labor have become increasingly fluid, internationally mobile, and not pinned down in place. This slipperiness is the result of larger global economic restructuring, advances in technology,

deregulation of capital mechanisms, and global competition. The concepts of temporary, loose, and second hand spaces recognize this slipperiness of economic restructuring and shift our focus to the localized sticky effects of it in US and European cities. In simplistic terms, temporary, loose, and second hand spaces are the byproduct of and local response to global economic restructuring. And it is in these spaces that DIY urbanism emerges and exists as a very place-specific activity.

Despite these theoretical and academic conversations about slippery, temporary, loose, and second hand spaces, the individuals that participated in this research did not experience or make sense of their participation in DIY urbanism activities in these ways. Rather, many of them made sense of their experiences as being rooted in place. In the section that follows, then, I turn our attention to the sticky places of DIY urbanism, but highlight the ways in which these examples also speak back to the slipperiness of space.

Sticky Places in Slippery, Temporary, Loose, and Second Hand DIY Urbanism Spaces

If the spaces that create and support DIY urbanism are slippery, loose, etc., what is it that attracts and keeps these activities in certain places? Why do DIY urbanism activities emerge, at various moments, in some places and not others? How are the benefits, consequences, and implications of DIY urbanism activities experienced in these specific geographic spaces? It is these sticky questions that I explore in this section through several examples. In what follows, I share research participants' narratives about how they make sense of their involvement in DIY urbanism. I highlight some of the ways that these activities and experiences are connected to, stuck in, various places and processes, including the effects these activities have on the spaces in

which they take place. These participant narratives and experiences are then related back to the above discussion on the various conceptualizations of space.

Chicago Critical Mass and the Sticky Political and Social Spaces of Bicycling

I am going to briefly return to the cases and some of the research findings from Chapters Four and Five, with this notion of sticky places now in mind, to highlight a few sticky aspects of how research participants made sense of these activities and their participation in them.

The vast majority of Chicago Critical Mass participants were quick and eager to point out how the surrounding political and social environment of Chicago was key to the ongoing existence of Critical Mass locally. They cited bike-friendly mayors, the police department, planning entities, and an understanding general public for the ride's continued, peaceful presense in the city. They often compared Chicago to other less bike-friendly cities – cities that hostilely cracked down on Critical Mass rides, such as New York City; cities that did not invest in biking infrastructure; cities that had residents that were hostile to bicyclists. The majority of research participants mentioned the uniqueness of Chicago, as a physical, political, and social place, as being key to the ongoing existance and popularity of Critical Mass rides – or, in other words, why it has stuck in Chicago, while other cities saw their rides dissolve.

Research participants also readily pointed out how Critical Mass has affected the city and has resulted in positive changes specifically rooted in Chicago. For example, one interview participant stated:

I really do think that the city has been changed. Not by the rides themselves, but by the attitudes of the people and how those attitudes will change through the years by this ride. Because the people on all those commissions are just people, too. Some of them have been on a ride, a lot of them have been on the rides. I doubt that we would be nearly as far ahead as we are, as a biking city, without a Critical Mass. I think it's been essential and it's been a fun ride.

The success of Chicago Critical Mass can certainly be traced back to some of its stickiness – the hospitable place-specific conditions that make the ride's ongoing presense possible, as well as the positive impacts it has generated for public perceptions of bicyclists and larger bicycling infrastructure improvements. However, the social spaces of Chicago Critical Mass and biking in general have proved to be sticky as well with less positive impacts. Meaning, many research participants highlighted how social relations and power dynamics also get stuck up in these spaces and processes.

As revealed in the research findings presented in Chapters Four and Five, deeply ingrained gendered and racialized social relations proved to clog up the proverbial bike chain of DIY urbanism. The claim, or perhaps the desire, of Chicago Critical Mass to be a leaderless, horizontal, democratic group has sometimes resulted in an enactment, reification, and naturalization of white masculine leadership, which worked through varied mechanisms that created spaces of exclusion in which racist, classist, and sexist ideologies had the opportunity to prevail at times. When we look at bicycling more broadly, research participants pointed out a number of sticky connections between the personal and the political, the private and the public,

and how these social structures form the basis for determining participation and experiences in public activities, such as bicycling and DIY urbanism, and, in turn, the spaces that are produced through such activities. And then examining bike culture more broadly, things also get sticky in terms of it being embedded in and aligned with creative class politics and gentrification.

Tactical Urbanism in Uptown Chicago

Returning briefly to the findings shared in Chapter Six, we can see the especially sticky nature of tactical urbanism. The entire chapter essentially is focused on this stickiness, in which I call attention to some of the potential problematics of practicing tactical urbanism – namely the need to examine the history, context, politics, and power relations that are specific to the place in which tactical urbanism is practiced. The problematics highlighted in Chapter Six speak to very place-rooted and place-specific issues and questions, such as definitions of neighborhood and community, the political and contentious history and nature of the specific space the intervention is located within, and the impact that these practices have on the community, such as gentrification and social polarization and exclusion. It is the stickiness of this place that brings to light some of the questions surrounding the practice of tactical urbanism – why here and why now in this gentrified neighborhood in which the use of public space is hotly contested and openly challenged?

Chicago Urban Exploration

Several research participants engaged in urban exploration activities. Garrett (2013) defines urban exploration as “a practice of researching, rediscovering and physically exploring temporary, obsolete, abandoned, derelict and infrastructural areas within built environments

without permission to do so” (1). He states that urban explorers “seek to reprogram controlled space through both premeditated and spontaneous recreational trespass, acted out as placemaking performances that disrupt monotonous, normative urban spaces colonized by capitalist forces that encase and secure the city as a spectacle to be seen rather than negotiated” (Garrett, 2013; 4). As such, Garrett (2013) claims that the rise in urban exploration is tied to neoliberalism – i.e., uneven development, economic crisis leading to many abandoned spaces, privatization of space and people resenting that, globalization and the resulting homogeneity of urban spaces, etc. This clearly also aligns with theorizations of DIY urbanism and slippery, temporary, loose, and second hand spaces more broadly.

The sites that the urban explorer research participants navigated were largely the remaining abandoned artifacts of economic restructuring – abandoned factories, bankrupt community hospitals, unused grain mills, etc. While these buildings and structures are the visible ghosts of Markusen’s slippery spaces, they are also sticky reminders of the impact this economic restructuring had on the specific places in which they were rooted. They also provide a very place-specific intervention for urban explorers.

Articulating his motivations and experiences with urban exploration, one interview participant shared:

It's like I'm an urban archaeologist. I mean you're literally going in and being like, "Wow, this is a Sears Roebuck factory. This was literally the largest mail order company in the world. This guy right here and Mr. Montgomery Ward were battling head-to-head in the late 1800s for the largest mail order businesses in the world. This is where it all

started, right here." "Wow, this is crazy." I'm in the billing room right now. These guys in this office here at Sears, they created some of the first vacuum tunnel systems that we see in the banks today. These tunnels are still seen right now in the same building we're at.

Now, we're in the original factory where the Wrigley gum was made, and Wrigley Spearmint and Big Red. Wow, there's a Big Red wrappers all the floor. Wow, this conveyor belt goes from that floor all the way up to the sixth floor. Wow, there's a big tank of glucose that goes down here and then into this thing. You're just in there with a flashlight, walking around. I'm amazed by the stuff that people leave in there when they vacate them.

As can be seen from the quotes above, place matters to urban exploration practices and experiences. One cannot visit an old abandoned Wrigley factory anywhere – only in this specific place in Chicago. And the context in which this factory existed and then was abandoned is stuck or enmeshed within all these larger historic, economic, and political systems. This was a point that was not lost on the urban explorers. This is an important aspect to DIY urbanism more broadly because many cities are looking to encourage DIY urbanism like activities in their communities, whether it's to foster economic development or community participation. However, DIY urbanism is not a one-size-fits-all model and, as the above narratives highlight, place-specifics are an important dimension to why individuals engage in DIY urbanism and how they experience it.

Another important point the urban exploration research participants made, which refutes much of Garrett's (2013) and other urban exploration researchers' work, is that this activity is not about reclaiming space. Rather, they had a much more sophisticated understanding of the sticky context in which their activities exist and operate. As one research participant shared:

I'm not making a statement. I'm not reclaiming any environments. I'm just doing cool stuff, and bringing other people along with me in a cool and big city. I really can't claim the space, because it's owned by some weird rich developer guy, who I'm sure Sunday is going to knock it down and sell it to somebody else, or whatever.

In summary, then, the buildings and structures that the participating urban explorers interacted with were largely the abandoned remnants of Markusen's slippery spaces. However, these spaces and sites also represent sticky reminders of the history and the impact of economic restructuring and deindustrialization on these very specific, rooted places. For the urban explorers, it was the buildings place-specific context that made the buildings interesting and the exploration worthwhile.

The Closing of the Chicago Schwinn Factory and the Chicago Cruisers

Chicago was once home to the production of Schwinn Bicycles. However, in 1982, they closed the plant and began relying on overseas production, further emblemizing Markusen's (1996) slippery spaces of economic production. The closing of the plant had devastating impacts on the community. However, there continues to be a tradition of cultural remembrance. For this example, I will let the words of one interview participant tell the story:

There's a tradition in Humboldt Park and it's mostly men that worked at the Schwinn factory. You know about the 606 [bike trail], you know that at the end of it there was the Schwinn plant. The Chicago Cruisers...they were the first [bike] club. It was these people that worked at the factories and noticed the quality of the bikes and loved to dress up their beach cruisers. The whole general cruisers, or beach cruisers in Humboldt Park, has been going on since the 70s. We have set rides every Sunday and they're the old school of the bicyclists of Chicago that never stopped riding. They're Hispanic, but there's Americans; there's just all people. They are carrying the tradition of their forefathers. Hardly any of them live [in Humboldt Park] anymore, but they are there every Sunday. They set these rides with their families. And you have these little girls with their old Schwinn bicycles, and they ride with us. And we go and we ride as small as we can through a set ride, take pictures, and then we come back and everybody goes back to their own families and picnics. I have my own Schwinn cruiser just for my rides and everything. So it's a family tradition now. My friend's father cruised in it, third generation, second generation. I see it as a tradition that we are carrying. Also, it's another tradition of bicyclists. I think that a lot people don't know how involved Schwinn was in this city. The church right here was owned by Schwinn and all the workers went to the one on Palmer Square. And, the Schwinn brothers donated that building to the church. They kept it in the community. It's a big bike community.

This above example draws attention, again, to the sticky places that surround bicycle culture and DIY urbanism in Chicago. The closing of the Schwinn factory clearly speaks to the slippery spaces of global economic restructuring and local deindustrialization. But, through the words of

this interview participant, the sticky nature of the Schwinn factory is still felt within the community today in a very localized and place-specific manner. It also highlights how Schwinn was, at one time, quite rooted in the city and this particular community, and how that rootedness, even in the absence of the actual factory, is still present in the form of remembrance and ritual. Their DIY urbanism act of remembrance is also very clearly rooted in the community, even though many of them no longer live there, but they return for the event.

Graffiti Art in Chicago

The last example of sticky places in slippery spaces that I will share is one related to graffiti art in Chicago. Several of the DIY urbanists that participated in this research were graffiti artists. They shared that, while Chicago has been plagued by gang related graffiti, the city overall has been supportive, or tolerant at the least, of their work. Many of the graffiti crews have been in existence since the 1980s in Chicago, including the one my research participants were a part of. This particular crew, like many of them, is community-based. Meaning, the majority of the members all grew up together in the same neighborhood and continue to reside in that same neighborhood. As such, they have a strong commitment to the community and are explicitly rooted in that community. This particular crew shared with me how they work with the private building owners to secure permission before taking over a wall. The wall this particular crew operates is adjacent to an alley. The research participants shared how they cleaned up the space, removing weeds and garbage, and how they often have an active and visible present in the otherwise dark alley shadowed by the 'el' tracks. So, while their work is temporary and DIY in nature, it is also quite stuck in place.

Some of these interview participants shared with me how some of the development corporations that are putting up new buildings (high-end condos, mostly) in the neighborhood are contracting with local graffiti artists to tag their buildings as a way to make them look hip, urban, and authentic. Some businesses are also engaging in similar activities. These companies are working with the commercial graffiti artists – i.e. the ones that work for profit and that are not necessarily committed to improving the neighborhood. It was shared that more and more companies are sponsoring these commercial artists, especially in the particular transitioning neighborhood that this one crew resides. One interview participant noted that he sees his rent go up a couple hundred dollars each year, even though he is now leaving on the outskirts of the neighborhood. He understood how his work as a graffiti artists, in terms of the walls he and his crew paints, the spaces they create, and the improvements to the community that they make; has a direct impact on the neighborhood changing and him getting priced out of it. He speculates that it is only a matter of time before his wall gets taken away from him because the neighborhood has gentrified too much.

Graffiti artists also shared with me their experiences in working on the newly opened 606 bike trail. They were contracted by the city, along with several other graffiti crews, to paint some of the walls along the trail. The city supplied the paint and paid them for their work. One interview participant shared with me that only about ten graffiti artists in Chicago are women; the remaining hundreds are men. Therefore, it is important to note, that the art that is displayed along the 606 trail is overwhelmingly, if not entirely, a display of art completed by men. While interview participants shared that it was a pleasant experience that speaks to larger city politics

and leadership that are supportive of community arts, they were also quick to notice the impact the trail and their work has had on the community. One graffiti artist interview participant stated:

I had all the old men out there opening day. I didn't even paint that day. I turned off my phone because all these guys were calling me. But I enjoyed the day. I rode to the end and back. I rode with the police officers. It's weird that something like that instantly changes your view on the neighborhood that you grew up in. I instantly saw my neighborhood change before my eyes.

His observation was not off the mark. A number of researchers and community residents also have taken note of the changes to the neighborhoods surrounding the trail. According to Nolan (2015), median home sale prices have been steadily increasing and surpassing city averages in this area, and rents have consistently increased in the area in line with the city as a whole. Nolan (2015) does note that this has been a trend in the area before the opening of the 606 trail, making it difficult to directly relate the two, but does state that “rising prices have, however, been documented for similar projects” across the US. For example, Flanagan, Lachapelle, and El-Geneidy (2016) found that bicycling infrastructure in Chicago tend to be concentrated in areas of privilege (i.e. predominately white communities with higher than average incomes, levels of education, and median home values) and that both bicycling infrastructure and gentrification in Chicago tend to go hand in hand.

Therefore, through this example, some of the ways that graffiti art in particular and DIY urbanism in general are sticky are revealed. The graffiti artists that participated in this research were well aware of the surrounding political and economic spaces in which they worked and the

role they played in those spaces – whether that be the pressures of gentrification, the privatization of space and art in the neighborhood, or a tolerance from local law enforcement officials and neighbors that allowed them to carry out their work. While their work is temporary and fluid, they are intentionally quite rooted and stuck in the community in which they work and live, and seek to have a positive impact upon, while not being blind to the unintended consequences of their involvement.

Conclusion

Using Markusen's (1996) conceptualization of slippery space, I have highlighted how DIY urbanism (and the related concepts of temporary, loose, and second hand spaces) has emerged out of this slipperiness of economic restructuring as a set of very place-specific and sticky activities. I have done this by putting the literature on DIY urbanism in conversation with Markusen's (1996) work in order to theoretically frame the discussion. I have also shared research participants' narratives that reflect the community rooted nature of their work and experiences, but that can also be traced back to and put in conversation with the larger slippery spaces that they also operate within. However, since the majority of research participants made sense of their work in place-specific and rooted ways, I focus on the sticky aspects in particular of DIY urbanism in this chapter. This chapter, then, serves to bridge these two aspects – the everyday lived experiences of individuals and the surrounding multi-scalar policies.

I briefly returned to three previous chapters and the findings shared within them. In the case of Chicago Critical Mass, its stickiness is seen in the hospitable place-specific conditions that make the ride's ongoing presense possible, and the positive impacts it has generdated for public

perceptions of bicyclists and larger bicycling infrastructure improvements. However, bike culture more broadly can also represent stickiness in terms of it being embedded in and aligned with creative class politics and gentrification. Deeply ingrained gendered and racialized social relations also proved to be sticky. The sticky nature of tactical urbanism as practiced in Uptown is also highlighted as an example, which illustrates the complex and contested inner workings of the community's history, context, politics, and power relations.

I also introduced several new examples and highlighted their sticky nature. Urban exploration was one such case example. I argued that the buildings and structures that urban explorers interacted with are largely the abandoned remnants of slippery spaces. However, these spaces and sites also represent sticky reminders of the history and the impact of economic restructuring and deindustrialization on these very specific, rooted places. The closing of the Schwinn factory was another example that clearly speaks to the slippery spaces of global economic restructuring and local deindustrialization. However, the sticky nature of the Schwinn factory is still felt within the community today in a very localized and place-specific manner. And lastly, graffiti art was explored as a case example in this chapter. While graffiti artists' work is temporary, they are intentionally quite rooted in the community in which they work and are aware of the implications of their work on the community.

In this chapter, then, I have drawn attention to some of the sticky spaces of DIY urbanism, through research participants' narratives, and how they are connected to larger political, social, and economic structures and systems. While DIY urbanism may be a byproduct of the slippery spaces of global capitalism, when, where, and how DIY urbanism activities emerge is stuck in

specific localized and social contexts. Likewise, the resulting benefits, consequences, and implications of DIY urbanism activities, such as gentrification, are also fixed in these specific geographic spaces. The findings presented in this chapter highlight the place-specific experiences that surround DIY urbanism. As cities look to DIY urbanism as a tool for their communities, they should be suspicious of one-size-fits-all discourses and models. Instead, an awareness of the localized and social context is necessary – as this is how many individual participants are drawn to DIY urbanism activities, how they experience them, and how they create meaning out of them.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Arguably, DIY urbanists demonstrate a claim to spatial justice against their financial poverty, but secure it through the use of cultural capital. This forecloses the possibility of spatial justice for users of abjected space who do not possess either form of capital. Therefore, the link between spatial justice and DIY urbanism is partial, both in terms of being piecemeal, and in being bound up with particular interests and privileges (Deslandes, 2013; 223).

For my conclusion, I return to Deslandes' (2013) work on DIY urbanism, which was highlighted in the introduction. The above quotes moves social justice as a key element of DIY urbanism back into the forefront of the discussion and holds issues of financial poverty, social or cultural capital, interests, privileges, and marginalities in contention with one another. Throughout this research I have attempted to explore and problematize many of these same issues that surround DIY urbanism. Similar to Deslandes (2013), I explored the ways that DIY urbanism can reflect, reinforce, and challenge social privileges through the creation and use of its urban spaces. How social privileges, or the challenging of them, interact with the prevailing urban politics of the city. How these interactions are related to the level of acceptance and legitimatization of DIY urbanism within urban planning and policy contexts. And what the consequences and implications of DIY urbanism are. Unlike Deslandes (2013), I explicitly explored, through an intersectional feminist analytical framework, the racialized, classed, gendered, and sexualized conceptualization of DIY urbanism, its activities, its actors, and its spaces, and the ways in which

DIY urbanism activities and actors are connected to larger urban policies and systems of meaning. In this chapter, then, I summarize the findings of my research, highlight the implications of these findings, raise further questions, and put forth some policy considerations.

While I have highlighted a number of tensions and problematics with DIY urbanism as it played out through several sites in Chicago, I do believe DIY urbanism has potential to offer cities and residents. These tensions and problematics need to be grappled with, however, in order for social justice to be moved back to the center of the practice. DIY urbanism can be a powerful tool for communities to subversively shape their cities in a truly grassroots, bottom-up manner that allows for a greater degree of public participation in urban planning decisions and actions, as the case of Chicago Critical Mass illustrated. It is an extremely pragmatic approach that provides a number of important principles for working within resource strained communities. It can also be a viable tool for building community, raising political awareness, and creating connections within and to cities, as a number of the examples in the previous chapter, specifically, highlighted. However, if social justice is going to continue to be an aim of DIY urbanism, greater attention needs to be paid to how these processes work on the ground, how individuals experience them, and how they engage with formal institutions. The goal of this research was to explore some of these processes and experiences in order to learn from practice and thrive to make future activities more inclusive.

Review of Research Findings

The Discourses of DIY Urbanism

According to the vast majority of literature on DIY urbanism, the practice tends to be defined as physical design projects and arts and cultural consumption based activities that take place in public spaces – from chair bombing to homemade bike lanes to guerrilla gardening to appropriating streets for non-automobile activities. As these forms of DIY urbanism are highlighted and celebrated, they discursively set the boundaries around what constitutes DIY urbanism and what does not, who DIY urbanists are and who they are not.

I have problematized and highlighted how the discourses of DIY urbanism tend to focus on public spaces, physical and economic infrastructures, and public activities, while a vast array of other DIY activities, which are focused on social reproduction and survival in private spaces, are ignored within much of the DIY urbanism literature. A number of feminist urban scholars have highlighted the gendered biases that are present within the privileging of public and physical space in urban planning discourses (see for example, Domosh and Seager, 2001; Hayden, 1981; Jarvis, et al., 2009; Markusen, 1981; Massey and McDowell, 1984; McDowell, 2008; Parker, forthcoming). These scholars argue that public spaces are coded as masculine and tend to be the focus of the majority of urban planning efforts. Often ignored are the unpaid, private, reproductive activities (i.e. coded feminine) that take place in and support cities. Feminist urban scholar Katz (2001) refers to this process as the ‘unhinging’ of production and social reproduction (i.e. “the messy, fleshy, and indeterminate stuff of everyday life” that is focused on “the acquisition and distribution of the means of existence, including food, shelter, clothing, and healthcare” (Katz, 2001: 711)). As such, it could be argued that DIY urbanism is discursively framed as a masculinist practice and space.

Since the focus of this research is on DIY urbanism, as traditionally defined, the sites of inquiry that my research focused on were public activities that take place within public spaces and physical built infrastructures – Chicago Critical Mass, tactical urbanism in Uptown, urban exploration, graffiti art, etc. However, in order to problematize this dichotomous relationship and coding of space, I explored how social relations, gender roles, gendered ideologies, social reproductive issues, and social inequalities are present within this arguably masculine space. I did this by focusing on the everyday lived experiences of research participants with an eye to intersectional identities and power dynamics. For example, several female-identifying research participants noted harassment in public space and social reproductive responsibilities that hindered their participation in DIY urbanism activities.

DIY urbanism in general, and tactical urbanism in particular, shares some discursive terrain with concepts such as new urbanism, creative cities, and neoliberalism (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Deslandes, 2013; Douglas, 2014; Malloy, 2009; Mould, 2014). DIY urbanism, as described in the literature, emerges from and relies on a lean state, financial disinvestment, free and flexible modes of production, flexible capital accumulation, and deregulation of urban rules and regulations, meanwhile promoting individual responsibility and self-help. DIY urbanism, then, has been mixed with more conservative urban agendas that vilify the state and uphold the ideas of free-markets/free-choice and deregulation. A sustained critique of concepts such as neoliberal urban policies and creative class politics can be found in the literature, which argues that such policies ignore and substantiate deep seated social (including racial and gendered) and economic inequalities and divert resources to gentrification (see for example, Kratke, 2001; Parker, 2008; Peck, 2005). This paradoxical mixing of political discourses (progressive on one end and

neoliberal on the other) was most visible in the case of tactical urbanism in Uptown, an increasingly gentrifying community. I highlighted these discourses and the ways in which they hide other pertinent issues, such as the stark social inequalities within the community, the contestation of space, and social reproductive issues.

Careful consideration of how discourses are employed within DIY urbanism allows us to examine some of the mechanisms behind it – what activities are included, who performs these activities, for what purposes, and with what results. By discursively framing what is inside the DIY urbanism circle, we are also determining what falls outside of it.

The Processes of DIY Urbanism

So how does a grassroots, citizen-led DIY urbanism activity work on the ground and in actual practice? Chicago Critical Mass was the site of inquiry for exploring these processes. The case of Chicago Critical Mass revealed some of the ways that DIY urbanism can be driven by consensus, cooperation, self-policing, horizontality, and democracy. For over 20 years, individuals peacefully came together to temporarily re-purpose city streets for non-car dependent activities. City officials, leaders, policy makers, and advocates have participated in this activity. However, there were also instances where social relations of power, including raced, classed, and gendered hierarchical relationships, seeped into these spaces. The claim, or perhaps the desire, of Critical Mass to be a leaderless, horizontal, democratic group has at times worked in ways so that any power dynamics or inequalities that may be present are ignored or denied. In the most extreme sense, this has resulted in an enactment, reification, and naturalization of white masculine heteronormative leadership. These processes raise questions about representative diversity and

how Chicago Critical Mass has the potential to create exclusions within its spaces, and in which racist, classist, and sexist ideologies have the potential to prevail.

In many ways the research findings I share about the processes of DIY urbanism in general and Chicago Critical Mass in particular, support other research findings on grassroots, autonomous, and self-governing initiatives. For example, Purcell (2006) warns of the ‘local trap’ within progressive politics and activities, in which the ideologies of small and local are assumed to be more democratic and equalitarian than their counter parts. This unwavering and uncritical commitment to the local, in turn, can result in a lack of attention on how non-democratic practices can seep in to grassroots practices, along with power dynamics related to social hierarchies. Looking at self-organizing groups in particular, a number of scholars have noted how they tend to have a lack of representative diversity (Mudu, 2012); how politics related to identities and affinities are difficult to navigate and power-laded, especially when there are conflicting visions for the group (Rouhani, 2012); how some form of leadership often emerges despite intentions to be leaderless (Mudu, 2012); and how “exclusion, power concentration, and bureaucratization...can emerge from self-organization” (Uitermark, 2015; 9).

This is not to completely condemn DIY urbanism. Rather, by highlighting some of these processes, dynamics, and tendencies, we can work towards addressing them. As one research participant shared – it takes the entire Chicago Critical Mass community to model inclusive and democratic behavior.

The Gendered Nature of Bicycling

I have argued in the preceding chapters that DIY urbanism needs to be explored through its specific activities, and these specific activities need to be explored through their history, context, social meanings, and lived experiences. Meaning, while the focus of this research is on DIY urbanism specifically, I have examined it through a bicycling related activity as one case (e.g. Chicago Critical Mass). As such, I have taken us on a slight detour at various points to highlight the gendered significance of bicycling. For example, biking, for example, has historically been seen as a vehicle for women's liberation and increased mobility and as a catalyst for dress reform (Bussey, 2013; Macy, 2011; Shepard, 2014). However, gendered biking patterns and restricted use of public space persist today (Garrard, Handy, and Dill, 2012; Mapes, 2009; Pucher, Buehler, and Seinen, 2011; Vance, 2014). In particular, women cycle less than men in Chicago, and they report being more concerned about safety and street harassment (Chicago Department of Transportation, 2014; author's field notes). Many female-identifying research participants shared how gendered ideologies and gender roles acted to constrain them in space (they also shared how they actively challenged these constraints). It is also important to note that, despite arguments that biking groups (such as Chicago Critical Mass) have the potential to represent a masculine form of leadership and use of public space, many female-identifying research participants viewed them as safer spaces for biking than biking alone in the city.

The experiences that female-identifying interview participants shared with me highlighted the connections between the personal and the political, the private and the public, and how the social structures can form the basis for determining participation and experiences in public activities, such as bicycling and DIY urbanism. This reinforces the point that the gendered nature of public

space and the specific DIY urbanism activity (in this case, bicycling) are important sites through which to explore how DIY urbanism is practiced and experienced.

The Institutionalization of DIY Urbanism

So what happens when cities and formal planning entities engage with DIY urbanism? As I have argued throughout this research, cities and formal planning institutions are beginning to adopt/adapt and incorporate DIY urbanism practices into their work. One such institution that has latched on to the concept of DIY urbanism is the Congress of New Urbanism. Their particular brand of DIY urbanism is known as tactical urbanism. As such, I have explored tactical urbanism, as it was practiced in a Chicago neighborhood, in order to explore some of the processes of DIY urbanism when it is led by a professional planning institution, as opposed to being led by citizens and communities. I highlight a number of problematics that were present within the practicing of tactical urbanism, and argue that, as cities and formal planning entities use DIY/tactical urbanism tools, they address these issues.

In particular, the Uptown neighborhood in Chicago was the location chosen by the Congress of New Urbanism Illinois Chapter for their tactical urbanism event. Uptown has seen a great deal of social, political, and economic transition over the last several decades (Chicago 46th Ward, 2013; City Data, 2015). It is an increasingly gentrifying community, which is host to a great deal of contestation over the presence of social services agencies and the people that rely on them in the community (Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement, 2014; Uptown Chicago Commission; 2015). The pedestrian mall that was specifically chosen for the tactical urbanism event has also been a site for community tensions. Many neighborhoods

have argued that the space has been taken over by gangs, drug activity, and violence (author's field notes). The reclaiming of this space, if only temporary, is significant given its history and the social meanings attached to it. It is also important to note that research on this topic has also found that DIY urbanism-like activities that are focused on reclaiming and reprogramming spaces that are seen as underused or misused can lead to the gentrification of an area (Colomb, 2012; McLean, 2014; Mould, 2014).

Through the exploration of tactical urbanism in practice in Uptown, the separating of production from social reproduction was quite visible. For example, the event was focused on reclaiming a public space and 'brightening' it by hanging balloons and painting the sidewalks. However, the community at large is struggling to deal with issues of housing and basic service provision. The findings presented from this tactical urbanism event, along with its surrounding discourses, raises questions about the degree to which tactical urbanism can (or has the desire to) substantially engage with issues related to inequality, access to resources, and the contested nature of the use of public space. As noted in previous chapters, Lydon and Garcia (2015), the masterminds behind tactical urbanism, use the work of de Certeau and his language of tactics and strategies, but depoliticize them and neutralize power relations, along with their corresponding deep seated issues of inequality (Mould, 2014; Spataro, 2015).

Therefore, in the examination and analysis of this one particular case, I attempted re-politicized tactical urbanism, calling attention to power relations and deep seated issues of inequality that are enmeshed in history, context, politics, power, and place. In doing so, I highlight three problematics that I argue should be addressed when tactical urbanism is practiced. Specifically,

how do you ensure the tactical urbanism activities are not only a professionally-led activity that takes place in isolation of the larger community? How do you substantially engage with the political and contentious history and nature of the space? And how to ensure that through the reclaiming and reprogramming of urban spaces that you are not promoting gentrification, social polarization, and exclusion within the community?

The Sticky Places of Loose DIY Urbanism Spaces

Throughout this research, I have pointed out how the literature DIY urbanism and its spaces (temporary, loose, second hand, etc.) focus on the dynamic and unrooted nature of urban spaces and processes. While DIY urbanism is defined as a set of place-specific activities, these scholars tend to focus on this dynamism and how DIY urbanism works in tandem with it. However, the majority of research participants made sense of their experiences and motivations with DIY urbanism activities in ways that were spatially rooted or fixed. Therefore, in the final chapter of my findings, I put the literature on DIY urbanism in conversation with Markusen's (1996, 2007) conceptualization of 'sticky places in slippery space.' In doing so, I highlight a number of examples that illustrate how DIY urbanism can be a sticky practice, but one that takes place within, and often as a result, of the slippery spaces of economic restructuring, global capitalism, and social relations.

For these cases and anecdotes, I briefly returned to previous findings. In the case of Chicago Critical Mass, its stickiness is seen in the hospitable place-specific conditions that make the ride's ongoing presence possible, and the positive impacts it has generated for public perceptions of bicyclists and larger bicycling infrastructure improvements. However, bike culture more

broadly can represent stickiness in terms of it being embedded in and aligned with creative class politics and gentrification. Deeply ingrained gendered and racialized social relations also prove to be sticky. The sticky nature of tactical urbanism is also highlighted as an example, which illustrates some of the power relations and deep seated issues of inequality that are enmeshed in history, context, politics, power, and place as they relate to this specific case example.

I also introduced several new sticky examples. Urban exploration was one such case example. I highlighted how the buildings and structures that urban explorers interacted with are largely the abandoned remnants of Markusen's (1996) slippery spaces. However, these spaces and sites also represent sticky reminders of the history and the impact of economic restructuring and deindustrialization on these very specific, rooted places. The closing of the Schwinn factory was another example that clearly speaks to the slippery spaces of global economic restructuring and local deindustrialization. However, the sticky nature of the Schwinn factory is still felt within the community today in a very localized and place-specific manner. And lastly, graffiti art was explored as a case example. While graffiti artists' work is temporary and mobile, they are intentionally quite rooted or stuck in the community in which they work.

Through these cases, some old and some new, I have drawn attention to some of the sticky spaces of DIY urbanism, through research participants' narratives, and how they are connected to larger political, social, and economic structures and systems. While DIY urbanism may be a byproduct of the slippery spaces of global capitalism, when, where, and how DIY urbanism activities emerge is often times stuck in specific localized and social contexts. Likewise, the

resulting benefits, consequences, and implications of DIY urbanism activities, such as gentrification, are also stuck in these specific geographic spaces.

These narratives, shared by research participants, illustrate the place-specific experiences that surround DIY urbanism. This is a significant site of inquiry because cities are looking to DIY urbanism as a tool for their communities. As such, an awareness of the localized, social contexts are necessary – as this is how many individual participants are drawn to DIY urbanism activities, how they experience them, and how they create meaning out of them.

Implications of Findings and Policy Considerations

The trendiness of DIY urbanism and related practices currently may not result in a tidal wave of a shift in how urban planning is conducted and by whom. However, DIY urbanism is becoming a buzz-worthy option for city planners and residents alike. This can be seen in formal planning institutions offering online courses and hosting mini-conferences on the topic, and enacting DIY planning interventions in communities. It can be seen in the plethora of examples and photos posted on the internet and social media. It can be seen in the mingling of technocrats, artists, and community activists at quasi-social-professional events. But so what? Most of these interventions are small scale, trivial in nature, and cheap or of no direct financial cost to the residents.

I have argued throughout these chapters and demonstrated with a number of examples the ways in which DIY urbanism does have a direct impact, for better or for worse, on cities and communities. While massive amounts of taxpayer dollars may not be directed to supporting DIY urbanism and its related activities, it does represent a cultural shift in terms of how urban

planning is being conducted, including normalizing state disinvestment. The relaxation of planning and land use regulations and forfeiture of permitting fees has a direct and financial impact on cities and how they do business – not just with DIY urbanists, but with businesses, too. The use of DIY urbanism as an economic development tool and emerging scholarship that highlights how such activities can support creative class policies and promote gentrification suggest that there is a direct social and financial cost to implementing DIY urbanism (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Colomb, 2012; Deslandes, 2013; Douglas, 2014; Malloy, 2009; McLean, 2014; Mould, 2014).

And then the question remains – what does it mean when city residents are tasked with providing infrastructure improvements, etc. and ‘doing-it-themselves’ in cities? Can this or will this be used by cities as an opportunity to evade their responsibilities and reduce municipal costs, while the tax base reaps the benefits from the resulting economic activity and possible gentrification in areas of the city? Who has the desire or luxury to participate, in terms of time and resources? And then when cities do take note of informal calls for better infrastructure, as is the case with Chicago Critical Mass, who really is benefiting from these investments? And of course, as demonstrated throughout this research, there are classed, raced, and gendered implications running throughout all of these practices, issues, and complexities.

It is for these reasons that greater critical attention and interrogation is needed with respect to DIY urbanism – by the DIY urbanists themselves, as well as by formal planning entities, cities, and their residents. As noted in throughout this research, the potential of DIY urbanism to radically transform how we plan, who plans, and for what purposes should not be overlooked.

However, there are some important questions that need to be grappled with in order for DIY urbanism to be these things. Greater attention to these complexities, especially those related to race, class, and gender is required; and greater self-awareness and self-reflexivity are paramount in order for this to be a truly progressive approach to urban planning. I believe we can do better and cities and people deserve better.

So, how do we do better? I offer a few preliminary thoughts on some very concrete and pragmatic ways, as well as some more theoretical alternatives, in which DIY urbanism can be responsive to some of the issues and problematics that I have drawn attention to throughout this research. There are no easy answers or quick fixes, of course. However, it is my hope that the thoughts I provide here will, at the very least, start the conversation.

Representative Diversity, Social Polarization, and Exclusion

A theme that ran through almost every site of inquiry that I explored was a lack of representative diversity. This is an important issue because this affects perceptions about who can perform DIY urbanism and who these spaces are for, which may result in DIY urbanism activities being seen as socially exclusive spaces. Relatedly, what happens when a segment of a community reclaims public space from others? What happens when this segment speaks for the entire community, but is not representative of its views? What happens when the end result, intended or not, is to exclude certain members from public space? Therefore, efforts should be taken to ensure surrounding communities are engaged with and encouraged to participate in these activities, and that their voices are genuinely heard. If segments of the community are missing, outreach can be conducted. Additionally, the factors for non-participation should be interrogated and barriers and

constraints should be removed when possible (e.g. scheduling the event so working households can participate, children can be present, etc.).

The Local Trap

Much of the literature on DIY urbanism and research participants' narrative argued that the small, local, and participatory nature of DIY urbanism fostered democracy, equality, and inclusiveness. This narrative was used by both grassroots groups and formal planning institutions alike. However, the research presented here, and in confirmation of similar research, highlighted some of the ways that social relationships of power and hierarchical forms of leadership seeped into DIY urbanism practice. Therefore, self-reflection and self-critique are needed in order to be aware of these dynamics, along with a sincere commitment to addressing them. This means exploring who tends to dominate the conversations and decisions, and being intolerant of racist, classist, and sexist behavior. It also means confronting these issues.

The (Positive and Negative) Impacts on the Community

As argued throughout this research, DIY urbanism is rooted in specific spaces in various ways and has a direct impact on these spaces that it occupies. The presents opportunities for community building, but also has the potential to create unintended ripples throughout the community. For example, existing research on DIY urbanism has suggested that DIY urbanism like activities do have the potential to instigate or support the gentrification of an area. This is especially important when a city and its policies privilege certain types of DIY urbanism activities (e.g. creative class consumption oriented ones) and divert public resources to this activities and gentrification. Resources may also be diverted away from social programs and

social reproductive related issues in the process. This issue is difficult to address through DIY urbanism, since it often takes place outside of it. However, DIY urbanism participants can vigilantly be aware of signs of unwanted gentrification or changes in their communities, and then use DIY urbanism to rally the community around the issue (see for example, McLean, 2014). Social justice and inclusion, however, need to remain the goal.

But is this enough? Absolutely not. In this final section and in conclusion, I rejoin the theoretical framework and arguments put forth in Chapter Two with the aggregate findings presented in Chapters Four through Seven (and summarized above) in order to highlight some of the systemic issues that need to be also addressed. In particular, I offer some thoughts on what a truly feminist approach to DIY urbanism could look like.

Connecting Lived Experiences to Policies and Systems of Meaning, and Focusing on Intersectional Relationships of Power

As argued throughout these pages, it is paramount that the complexities of DIY urbanism (as well as urban processes and policies more broadly) are examined in relation to the interaction between lived experiences and larger policies and systems of meaning, and in relation to intersectional relationships of power. I have also demonstrated why this matters and with what implications. But how can DIY urbanism harness this in order to produce a different kind of practice and space?

We can look to several alternative DIY urbanism practices and spaces for ideas on how to do this, along with their associated strengths and limitations. As mentioned in Chapters Four and

Five, a number of bicycling groups sprouted off from Critical Mass in order to create alternative practices. Recognizing that women, transgendered individuals, non-whites, and low-income groups were not represented at Critical Mass rides, alternative groups emerged in order to address the social and systemic barriers to participation – social norms, gender roles, and power-laden gendered performances that deter women and transgender individuals from riding in more masculine and heteronormative groups; a small or absent presence of non-white individuals participating in rides; a lack of bicycling infrastructure in certain neighborhoods that physically disconnects segments of the population from participation; rides that cater to only those living on the north side of the city in terms of routes; etc. The alternative practices and spaces that have emerged as a response have a goal of addressing these issues – such as creating women and transgender only rides that seek to create a more welcoming space and offer safety in numbers to riders; rides that specifically outreach African American communities, have routes that serve those communities, and do not invite a police presence like Critical Mass does; rides that infuse political activism into their practices, whether it is to call for greater resources, protest violence, or some other political agenda.

There are numerous other examples of alternative spaces that can be created through DIY urbanism; the above are a few examples that came up during my research. Central to the above examples, however, is a focus on intersectional identities and power relationships, and how they can act to defer participation in or alter the experience of DIY urbanism activities. These examples also highlight how individual lived experiences are intertwined with policies and systems of meaning – such as how gender roles affects the experiences of female identifying bicyclists; how disinvestment on the south side of Chicago and in predominately African

American communities has led to reduced bicycling infrastructure; how community building through DIY urbanism activities can be a tool for political awareness and engagement. There are infinite other alternative DIY urbanism spaces that can be created with this feminist agenda in mind.

Harnessing the Fissures within the Public and Private, the Material and Immaterial, the Productive and Reproductive

I have also argued throughout this research that traditional and dominant forms of DIY urbanism tends to focus on, and privilege, the built, physical environment and public economically productive spaces – a tendency that feminist urban scholars have long taken issue with. While the activities that I focused on in this research have the same focus, I have also called attention to the various ways that this limits our analysis and understanding of DIY urbanism. I have demonstrated throughout this research why so-called private issues and spaces, immaterial infrastructures, and reproductive processes must also be part of the analysis.

Alternative feminist DIY urbanism practices and spaces do not separate these two inseparable spaces – the so-called public and private. Rather, it festers within the deeply entrenched nature of the two and seeks to politically engage with some of the more so-called private spaces. As noted in Chapter Two, there are examples (albeit not many) within the DIY urbanism milieu that analytically link and blur public and private distinctions within urban spaces; and use everyday lived experiences, which are complex, power laden, and paradoxical, as a way to approach urban planning (see for example, Chase, et al., 2008; Rojas, 2010). Other examples of DIY urbanism activities that focus on issues of social reproduction and that are designed to address a lack of

access to mainstream resources include garage sales, urban homesteading, informal economic activities that are often home-based, social centres, and cooperative housing arrangements. However, these are the rare examples that are found within mainstream media and DIY urbanism scholarship. They are not the activities that the Congress of New Urbanism is sponsoring. They are not the activities that the City of Chicago is mimicking in order to test the vitality of a project before launching it on a larger scale. Alternative feminist DIY urbanism exists within these fissures, and focuses on complicating these relationships and re-politicizing the practice (see McLean, 2014 for an example of this in practice).

The (Problematic) Role of the State

When considering how DIY urbanism can be, and has been, linked to neoliberal urban governance strategies and policy agendas, the question emerges - is there room for or a need for a counter-neoliberal state-space within DIY urbanism in order to ensure the goals of equality and inclusion are met? Brenner (2015) raises this question when considering the degree to which tactical urbanism specifically has the potential to disrupt, or provide an alternative to, neoliberal urban development. Brenner (2015) states:

This is precisely the dilemma: how can tactical urbanisms do more than serve as “camouflage” for the vicissitudes, dislocations, and crisis-tendencies of neoliberal urbanism? [Teddy] Cruz’s [“Rethinking Uneven Growth”] formulation underscores one of the key conditions under which it might begin to do so: through the re-imagination of design, not simply as a decorative tool or formal set of techniques for hire by the ruling classes, but as a basis for asking critical questions about contemporary urbanism, and as a set of collectively shared, creative capacities through which to “coproduce the city as

well as new models of cohabitation and coexistence to advance agendas of socioeconomic inclusion.” This goal cannot be realized simply through the redesign and reappropriation of specific physical sites within the city; it also requires the creation of “a new role for progressive policy, [and] a more efficient, transparent, inclusive, and collaborative form of government.” In other words, the pursuit of alternative urbanisms requires the creation not only of new urban spaces, but of new state spaces as well.

Brenner (2015) and I share a similar critique here, one that I extend from my intersectional analytical framework – a myopic focus on physical design interventions will not simultaneously (and as if by magic) address social inequality, especially those related to social reproducibility (e.g. access to affordable and adequate housing) (see also Chapter Six). Rather, Brenner (2015) argues that there needs to be some ‘new’ form of policy and government, which could emerge through DIY urbanism practice, and that ensures transparency, accountability, and equality (see also Finn, 2014).

The role of the state is a thorny issue, particularly for feminists, given the long history of exploitation and oppression that women have faced as the result of governments and policies (see for example, Fraser, 2001, 2009; Naples, 2003). As such, when there are calls for a ‘better’ state, feminists tend to be skeptical. For example, Ehrlich (1977, reprinted in 1979) states that:

Feminists have got to be skeptical of any social theory that comes with a built-in set of leaders and followers, no matter how ‘democratic’ this centralized structure is supposed to be. Women of all classes, races, and life circumstances have been on the receiving end of domination too long to want to exchange one set of masters for another” (6).

So, the suggestion that DIY urbanism can recapture its progressive, social justice orientated, and equalitarian edge by creating “a new role for progressive policy, [and] a more efficient, transparent, inclusive, and collaborative form of government” (Brenner, 2015) falls a bit flat here. While such goals are admirable, the operationalization and actualization of them remain unclear and untested. However, when looking at DIY urbanism, as either an institutionalized DIY practice or a purely grassroots practice, this uncertain state-space could provide ideas into alternative feminist DIY urbanism spaces. To do this, however, feminist and other anti-oppressive strategies and theories must be taken into consideration. Alternative feminist DIY urbanism practices and spaces must be used as part of the creation of this new state-space and it must follow from the everyday lived experiences on the ground up to the policy arena.

The question remains, though, could this new, progressive state-space be an outcome of DIY urbanism in which lived experiences are directly connected to policy solutions and in which the fissures that exist between the public-private, materiality-immateriality, and production-social reproduction are addressed?

CITED LITERATURE

- Active Transportation Alliance. (2014). Top streets for creating car-free spaces in Chicago. February 12, 2014. Available at: <http://activetrans.org/top-streets-creating-car-free-spaces-chicago>.
- Andres, L. (2013). Differential Spaces, Power Hierarchy and Collaborative Planning: A Critique of the Role of Temporary Uses in Shaping and Making places. *Urban Studies*, 50(4), 759-775.
- Babbie, E. (2007). *The Practice of Social Research* (Eleventh Edition). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Baer, G. (2015). Cycling Mayors: History of Cycling in Chicago. *Cycling the Boulevards with Geoffery Baer. WTTW*. Available at: <http://www.wttw.com/main.taf?p=74,5,1,1>.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). The Agitation of the Socialist-Democratic Party in Austria. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 192-197). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). All-Round Education. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 111-125). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). A Few Words to My Young Brothers in Russia. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 160-165). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). Geneva's Double Strike. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 145-150). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). The Hypnotizers. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 69-81). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). The International Working-Men's Movement. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 155-156). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). La Montagne and Mr. Coullery. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 82-93). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). On Cooperation. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 151-154). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). On Russia. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 157-159). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). Open Letters to Swiss Comrades of the International. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 169-179). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). The Organization of the International. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 137-144). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). Panslavism. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 198-200). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). Physiological or Natural Patriotism. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 180-191). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). The Policy of the International. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 97-110). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). Report of the Committee on the Question of Inheritance. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 126-130). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1869-1871, reprinted in 1992). Speeches to the Basle Congress. In R. M. Cutler (Ed.), *The Basic Bakunin, Writings 1869-1871* (R. M. Cutler Trans.). (pp. 131-133). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Bakunin, M. (1873, reprinted in 2005). Statism and Anarchy. In Shatz M. (Ed.). (M. Shatz Trans.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Barnard, A. (2004). The Legacy of the Situationist International: The Production of Situations of Creative Resistance. *Capital and Class*, 28(3), 103-124.
- Bear, V. Pedaling with Ghosts of the Industrial Revolution in Manchester, England. In *Shift Happens! Critical Mass at 20*. Carlsson, C., Elliot, L., and Camarena, A. (Eds.). San Francisco, CA: Full Enjoyment Books.

- Beecham, R., and Wood, J. (2014). Exploring Gendered Cycling Behaviours within a Large-Scale Behavioural Data-Set. *Transportation Planning and Technology*, 37(1), 83-97.
- Bishop, P., and Williams, L. (2012). *The Temporary City*. London: Routledge.
- Blackwell, M. (2010). Líderes Campesinas: Nepantla Strategies and Grassroots Organizing at the Intersection of Gender and Globalization. *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, 35(1), 13-47.
- Blaug, B. (2002). Crit Mass. In *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Blickstein, S., and Hanson, S. (2001). Critical Mass: Forging a Politics of Sustainable Mobility in the Information Age. *Transportation*, 28(4), 347-362.
- Blue, E. (2013). *Bikenomics: How Bicycling Can Save the Economy*. Portland, OR: Microcosm Publishing.
- Blue, E. (2011). Women and the Benefits of Biking. In *On Bicycles: 50 Ways the New Bike Culture Can Change Your Life*. Amy Walker (Ed). Novato, CA: New World Library. Pp. 211-216.
- Boal, I. (2002). The World of the Bicycle. In *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Bodzin, S. (2002). Politics can be Fun. In *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Bondi, L. (2005). Gender and the Reality of Cities: Embodied Identities, Social Relations and Performativities. Online papers archived by the Institute of Geography, School of Geosciences, University of Edinburgh: Institute of Geography, School of Geosciences, University of Edinburgh.
- Bookchin, M. (1965, reprinted in 2004). Ecology and Revolutionary Thought. *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (Volume 3, pp. 19-40). Oakland, CA: AK Press Distribution.
- Bookchin, M. (1965, reprinted in 2004). Towards a Liberatory Technology. *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (Volume 3, pp. 41-84). Oakland, CA: AK Press Distribution.
- Bookchin, M. (1967, reprinted in 2004). Post-Scarcity Anarchism. *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (Volume 3, pp. 1-18). Oakland, CA: AK Press Distribution.
- Bookchin, M. (1968, reprinted in 2004). The Forms of Freedom. *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (Volume 3, pp. 85-106). Oakland, CA: AK Press Distribution.

- Bookchin, M. (1969, reprinted in 2004). Listen, Marxist!. Post-Scarcity Anarchism (Volume 3, pp. 107-145). Oakland, CA: AK Press Distribution.
- Bookchin, M. (1990). The Meaning of Confederalism. *Green Perspectives*, (20), 1-7.
- Brenner, N., Peck, J., and Theodore, N. (2010). After Neoliberalization?. *Globalizations*, 7(3), 3
- Brenner, N. (2015). Is “Tactical Urbanism” an Alternative to Neoliberal Urbanism? Post: Notes on Modern and Contemporary Art around the Globe. March 24, 2015. Available at http://post.at.moma.org/content_items/587-is-tactical-urbanism-an-alternative-to-neoliberal-urbanism.
- Brownill, S. (2000). Regen(d)eration: Women and Urban Policy in Britain. In J. Darke, S. Ledwith and R. Woods. (Eds.), *Women and the City: Visibility and Voice in Urban Space*. Oxford: Palgrave, pp. 114-130.
- Bruidoclarke, G. (2002). Critical Mass Toronto. In *Critical Mass: Bicycling’s Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Bruzzone, M. (2012). Putting the ‘Critical’ in Critical Mass: Patriarchy, Radical Feminism, and Radical Inclusiveness. In *Shift Happens! Critical Mass at 20*. Carlsson, C., Elliot, L., and Camarena, A. (Eds.). San Francisco, CA: Full Enjoyment Books.
- Burawoy, M. (1998). The Extended Case Method. *Sociological Theory*, 16(1), 4-33.
- Burton, M. (2002). Rugged Individualists of the Road Unite! In *Critical Mass: Bicycling’s Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Bussey, C. (2013). *The Girl’s Guide to Life on Two Wheels: A Handbook for the Chic Cyclist*. New York, NY: Ryland Peters and Small Publishing.
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Camarena, A. (2012). The Blind Spot: Subcultural Exclusivity in Critical Mass. In *Shift Happens! Critical Mass at 20*. Carlsson, C., Elliot, L., and Camarena, A. (Eds.). San Francisco, CA: Full Enjoyment Books.
- Cameron, J., and Gibson, K. (2005). Participatory Action Research in a Poststructuralist Vein. *Geoforum*, 36(3), 315-331.
- Carlsson, C. (2002). (Ed.) *Critical Mass: Bicycling’s Defiant Celebration*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Carlsson, C. (2002a). Cycling Under the Radar – Assertive Desertion. In *Critical Mass: Bicycling’s Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.

- Carlsson, C. (2002b). Introduction. In *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Carlsson, C. (2012). Ruminations of an Accidental Diplomat. In *Shift Happens! Critical Mass at 20*. Carlsson, C., Elliot, L., and Camarena, A. (Eds.). San Francisco, CA: Full Enjoyment Books.
- Carlsson, C., Elliot, L., and Camarena, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Shift Happens! Critical Mass at 20*. San Francisco, CA: Full Enjoyment Books.
- Chase, J., Crawford, M., and Kaliski, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Everyday Urbanism*. New York, NY: The Monacelli Press.
- Chauncey, G. (1994). *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Chavez, L. (2012). *Shadowed lives: Undocumented immigrants in American society*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Chicago 46th Ward. (2013). 46th Ward Master Plan 2013. Available at: <http://james46.org/ward-master-plan/>.
- Chicago Critical Mass. Available at <http://chicagocriticalmass.org/>.
- Chicago Department of Transportation. (2014). Monthly and Quarterly Bike Counts. Available at <http://chicagocompletestreets.org/yourstreets/bikeways/bikecounts/>.
- Chicago Department of Transportation. (2012). *Chicago Streets for Cycling Plan 2020*. Available at <https://www.cityofchicago.org/content/dam/city/depts/cdot/bike/general/ChicagoStreetsforCycling2020.pdf>.
- City of Chicago Department of Family and Support Services. (2014). *Homeless Point-in-Time Count and Survey Report*. Prepared by the City of Chicago Department of Family and Support Services and the Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement.
- City of Chicago. (2014). People Spots. Department of Transportation website. Available at http://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/cdot/supp_info/make_way_for_people/people_spot.html.
- City Data. (2015). Uptown Neighborhood in Chicago, Illinois (IL), 60613, 60640 Detailed Profile. Available at: <http://www.city-data.com/neighborhood/Uptown-Chicago-IL.html#ixzz3yYz7eJBP>.
- Collins, P. H. (2009). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: NY. Routledge.

- Colomb, C. (2012). Pushing the Urban Frontier: Temporary Uses of Space, City Marketing, and the Creative City Discourse in 2000s Berlin. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 34(2), 131-152.
- Connell, R.W. (2005). *Masculinities*. Second Edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Third Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Critical Lash Chicago. Available at <https://www.facebook.com/CriticalLash/info>). Accessed March 10, 2014.
- Critical Lash: This Ride is for the Ladies. *Time Out Chicago*. June 15, 2011. Available at <http://www.timeoutchicago.com/things-to-do/this-week-in-chicago/14808979/critical-lash>
- Culley, T.H. (2002). The Power is Here. In *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Cupers, K. (2004). Walking as Do-It-Yourself Urbansim. *Sociology Working Papers*, 1-23.
- D'Andrade, H. (2012). Personal Mass. In *Shift Happens! Critical Mass at 20*. Carlsson, C., Elliot, L., and Camarena, A. (Eds.). San Francisco, CA: Full Enjoyment Books.
- Dailey, K. (2012). *Heels on Wheels: A Lady's Guide to Owning and Riding a Bike*. London, UK: Hardy Grant Books.
- Davidson, J. (2014). MoMA's Schemes for Fixing Urban Problems Are Either Too Dainty or Too Sweeping. *New York Magazine*, November 17, 2014. Available at <http://www.vulture.com/2014/11/review-momas-uneven-growth.html#>.
- De Cleyre, V. (1893, reprinted in 2005). In Defense of Emma Goldman and the Right of Expropriation. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 147-157). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1894, reprinted in 2005). The Political Equality of Women. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), .), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 239-243). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1896, reprinted in 2005). The Case of Woman Versus Orthodoxy. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), .), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 207-219). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- De Cleyre, V. (1896, reprinted in 2005). Sex Slavery. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 225-237). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1901, reprinted in 2005). Anarchism. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 67-82). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1901, reprinted in 2005). The Eleventh of November, 1887. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 287-294). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1903, reprinted in 2005). Crime and Punishment. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 125-146). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1907, reprinted in 2005). A Correction. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 103-105). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1907, reprinted in 2005). Events are the True Schoolmasters. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 83-87). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1907, reprinted in 2005). McKinley's Assassination from the Anarchist Standpoint. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 299-304). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1907, reprinted in 2005). Those who Marry do Ill. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 195-206). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1908a, reprinted in 2005). Anarchism and American Traditions. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 89-102). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1908b, reprinted in 2005). Our Present Attitude. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 295-298). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1908c, reprinted in 2005). Why I am an Anarchist. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 51-65). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- De Cleyre, V. (1910, reprinted in 2005). The Dominant Idea. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 111-123). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1912, reprinted in 2005). Direct Action. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 271-286). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1913, reprinted in 2005). The Woman Question. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 221-224). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- De Cleyre, V. (1914, reprinted in 2005). Literature the Mirror of Man. In S. Presley, and C. Sartwell (Eds.), *Exquisite Rebel: The Essays of Voltairine de Cleyre – Anarchist, Feminist, Genius* (pp. 309-324). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Deslandes, A. (2012). 'What Do Pop-up shops and Homelessness have in Common?', *The Global Urbanist*, 14 February 2012. Available at: <http://globalurbanist.com/2012/02/14/diy-urbanism-homelessness>.
- Deslandes, A. (2013). Exemplary Amateurism: Thoughts on DIY Urbanism. *Cultural Studies Review*, 19 (1), 216-27.
- Domosh, M. and Seager, J. (2001). *Putting Women in Place: Feminist Geographers Make Sense of the World*. Guilford Press: New York, NY.
- Douglas, G. (2012). Do-It-Yourself Urban Design in the Help-Yourself City. *Architect*, 43-50.
- Douglas, G. C. (2014). Do-It-Yourself Urban Design: The Social Practice of Informal “Improvement” Through Unauthorized Alteration. *City and Community*, 13(1), 5-25.
- Douglas, S. J. (2010). *The Rise of Enlightened Sexism: How Pop Culture took us from Girl Power to Girls Gone Wild*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Ehrlich, Carol. (1977, reprinted in 1979). Socialism, Anarchism and Feminism. In *Reinventing Anarchy, Again: What Anarchists are Thinking These Days*. Ehrlich, Howard J. (Ed.). London: Routledge, Kegan & Paul. Pages 1-18.
- Emmanuel, A. (2013). Two Police Cameras Installed at Uptown Intersections That Attract Gangs. *DNAInfo*. December 2, 2013. Available at <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20131202/uptown/two-police-cameras-installed-at-uptown-intersections-that-attract-gangs>.
- Fainstein, S. S. (2005). Feminism and Planning: Theoretical Issues. In S. S. Fainstein, and L. J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and planning: A reader* (pp. 120-140). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

- Fainstein, S. S., and Servon, L. J. (2005). Introduction . In S. S. Fainstein, and L. J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and planning: A reader* (pp. 1-14). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Fenster, T. (2005). The Right to the Gendered City. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 14(3), 217-231.
- Ferrell, J. (2011). Corking as Community Policing. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 14(1), 95-98.
- Ferrell, Jeff. (2001). *Tearing Down the Streets: Adventures in Urban Anarchy*. Palgrave: New York, NY.
- Finn, D. (2014). DIY Urbanism: Implications for Cities. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, March 2014.
- Flanagan, E., Lachapelle, U. and El-Geneidy, A. (2016). Riding Tandem: Does Cycling Infrastructure Investment Mirror Gentrification and Privilege in Portland, OR and Chicago, IL? Paper to be presented at the 95th Annual Meeting of the Transportation Research Board, Washington D.C., USA.
- Florida, R. (2011). America's Top Cities for Bike Commuting: Happier, Too. *The Atlantic*. June 22, 2011. Available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2011/06/americas-top-cities-for-bike-commuting-happier-too/240265/>.
- Florida, R. (2003). Cities and the Creative Class. *City & Community*, 2(1), 3-19.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class—and How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Every Day Life*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc.
- Fraser, N. (2001). Recognition Without Ethics?. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 18(2-3), 21-42.
- Fraser, N. (2009). Feminism, Capitalism and the Cunning of History. *New Left Review*, 56(2), 97-117.
- Franck, K., and Stevens , Q. (Eds.). (2007). *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*. London: Routledge.
- Furness, Z. (2005). Biketivism and Technology: Historical Reflections and Appropriations. *Social Epistemology*, 19(4), 401-417.
- Furness, Z. (2007). Critical Mass, Urban Space and Vélomobility. *Mobilities*, 2(2), 299-319.
- Garrard, J., Handy, S., and Dill, J. (2012). Women and Cycling. In *City Cycling*. John Pucher and Ralph Buehler (Eds.). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. Pp. 211- 234.

- Garrett, B. (2013). Undertaking Recreational Trespass: Urban Exploration and Infiltration. *Transactions of The Institute Of British Geographers*, 39(1), Pages 1-13.
- Gilbert, M. R. (2000). Identity, Difference, and the Geographies of Working Poor Women's Survival Strategies. In *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*. Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Eds.). Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York, pp. 65-87.
- Goldman, E. (1906, reprinted in 1996). The Child and its Enemies. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader (Third Edition)*, pp. 131-139. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1908, reprinted in 1996). What I Believe. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader (Third Edition)*, pp. 48-60. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1910a, reprinted in 1996). Anarchism: What it Really Stands for. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader (Third Edition)*, pp. 61-77. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1910b, reprinted in 1996). The Hypocrisy of Puritanism. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader (Third Edition)*, pp. 150-157. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1910c, reprinted in 1996). Marriage and Love. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader (Third Edition)*, pp. 204-213. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1910d, reprinted in 1996). Minorities versus Majorities. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader (Third Edition)*, pp. 78-86. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1910e, reprinted in 1996). The Social Importance of the Modern School. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader (Third Edition)*, pp. 140-149. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1910f, reprinted in 1996). The Traffic in Women. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader (Third Edition)*, pp. 175-189. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1910g, reprinted in 1996). The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader (Third Edition)*, pp. 158-167. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.

- Goldman, E. (1910h, reprinted in 1996). Woman Suffrage. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (Third Edition, pp. 190-203). Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1911, reprinted in 1996). Socialism: Caught in the Political Trap. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (Third Edition, pp. 101-108). Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1913, reprinted in 1996). The Failure of Christianity. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (Third Edition, pp. 232-240). Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1913, reprinted in 1996). Syndicalism: Its Theory and Practice. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (Third Edition, pp. 87-100). Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1913, reprinted in 1996). Victims of Morality. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (Third Edition, pp. 168-174). Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1914, reprinted in 1996). The Individual, Society, and the State. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (Third Edition, pp. 109-123). Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1914, reprinted in 1996). Intellectual Proletarians. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (Third Edition, pp. 222-231). Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1915, reprinted in 1996). Jealousy: Causes and a Possible Cure. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (Third Edition, pp. 214-221). Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Goldman, E. (1916, reprinted in 1996). The Philosophy of Atheism. In A. K. Shulman (Ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (Third Edition, pp. 241-248). Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Greco, J. (2012). From Pop-Up to Permanent. *Planning*, 78(9). Available at <https://www.planning.org/planning/2012/nov/frompopup.htm>.
- Groth, J. and Corijn, E. (2005). Reclaiming Urbanity: Indeterminate Spaces, Informal Actors and Urban Agenda Setting. *Urban Studies* (Routledge), 42(3), 503-526.
- Hack Your City website. Available at <http://hackyourcity.com/>.
- Hanhardt, C. (2013). *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Hanson, S. (2010). Gender and Mobility: New Approaches for Informing Sustainability. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 17(1), 5-23.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575-599.
- Harding, S. (1992). After the Neutrality Ideal: Science, Politics, and "Strong Objectivity". *Social Research*, 567-587.
- Harding, S. (1998). *Is Science Multicultural?*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Harding, S. (2002). How Standpoint Methodology Informs Philosophy of Social Science. In S.P. Turner, and P. A. Roth (Eds.), *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (pp. 291-310). Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publishing, Inc.
- Harvey, D. (1982). *The Limits to Capital*. London: Basil Blackwell.
- Hayden, D. (1981, reprinted in 2005). What Would a Nonsexist City be Like?: Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work . In S. S. Fainstein, and L. J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and Planning: A Reader* (pp. 47-66). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Hayden, D. (2000). *The Grand Domestic Revolution*. MIT Press: Massachusetts.
- Hayden, D. (2002). *Redesigning the American Dream*. W.W. Norton and Co: New York.
- Hayden, D. (2006). Building the American Way: Public Subsidy, Private Space. In S. T. Low, and N. Smith (Eds.). *The politics of public space* (pp. 35-48). London, UK: Routledge.
- Heim LaFrombois, M. (2015). Blind spots and pop-up spots: A feminist exploration into the discourses of do-it-yourself (DIY) urbanism. *Urban Studies*, 0042098015604078.
- Henderson, J. (2013). *Street Fight: The Politics of Mobility in San Francisco*. Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2012). Feminist Research: Exploring, Interrogating, and Transforming the Interconnections of Epistemology, Methodology, and Method. In Hesse-Biber, S. N. (Ed.). (2012). *The Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications. Pages 2-26.
- Hodkinson, S., and Chatterton, P. (2006). Autonomy in the City? Reflections on the Social Centres Movement in the UK. *City*, 10(3), 305-315
- Hollibaugh, A. and Moraga, C. (1981). What We're Rollin around in Bed with: Sexual Silences in Feminism: A Conversation Toward Ending Them. *Powers of Desire*, 397.

- Holston, J. (1998). Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship. In Sandercock, L. (Ed.). (1998). *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History* (Vol. 2). University of California Press, pp. 37-56.
- Hooks, B. (2000). *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- Horvat, E. (2013). *The Beginner's Guide to Doing Qualitative Research*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Hou, J. (Ed.). (2010). *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*. Routledge.
- Humphries, M. (2002). I am a Critical Mass. In *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Isoke, Z. (2013). *Urban Black Women and the Politics of Resistance*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Iveson, K. (2013). Cities within the City: Do-It-Yourself Urbanism and the Right to the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(3), 941-956.
- Jaffe, E. (2014). 3 Ways That Turning Parking Spots Into Parklets Helps Businesses. *That Atlantic's City Lab*. Available at <http://www.citylab.com/design/2014/10/3-ways-turning-parking-spots-into-parklets-help-businesses/381390/>.
- Jarvis, H., Kantor, P., and Cloke, J. (2009). *Cities and Gender*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Katz, C. (2001). Vagabond Capitalism and the Necessity of Social Reproduction. *Antipode*, 33(4), 709-728.
- Kern, L., and Wekerle, G. R. (2008). Gendered Spaces of Redevelopment: Gendered Politics of City Building. In J. N. DeSena (Ed.), *Gender in an Urban World (Research in Urban Sociology, volume 9)* (pp. 233-262). Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Kirkpatrick, L. Owen. (2015). Urban Triage, City Systems, and the Remnants of Community: Some "Sticky" Complications in the Greening of Detroit. *Journal of Urban History*. Volume 41, Issue 2. Pp. 261–278.
- Koch, W. (2014). 50 Best U.S. Cities for Biking? New York Tops the List. *Bicycling Magazine*. September 2014. Available at <http://usat.ly/1nXDVvB>.
- Kratke, S. (2001). The New Urban Growth Ideology of "Creative Cites." In Brenner, Neil; Marcuse, Peter; Mayer, Margit (Eds.). (2001). *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*. Routledge: New York, NY, pp. 138-149.

- Kropotkin, P. (1880, reprinted in 2002). *The Spirit of Revolt*. In R. N. Baldwin (Ed.), *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings* (pp. 34-43). Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Kropotkin, P. (1886, reprinted in 2002). *Law and Authority*. In R. N. Baldwin (Ed.), *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings* (pp. 195-218). Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Kropotkin, P. (1887, reprinted in 2002). *Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles*. In R. N. Baldwin (Ed.), *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings* (pp. 44-78). Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Kropotkin, P. (1898, reprinted in 2002). *Anarchist Morality*. In R. N. Baldwin (Ed.), *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings* (pp. 79-113). Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Kropotkin, P. (1902, reprinted in 2008). *Mutual Aid: A Factor of evolution*. Central, Hong Kong: Forgotten Books.
- Kropotkin, P. (1909, reprinted in 2002). *Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal*. In R. N. Baldwin (Ed.), *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings* (pp. 114-144). Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Kropotkin, P. (1913, reprinted in 2002). *Modern Science and Anarchism*. In R. N. Baldwin (Ed.), *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings* (pp. 145-194). Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Landolt, P. (2001). *Salvadoran Economic Transnationalism: Embedded Strategies for Household Maintenance, Immigrant Incorporation, and Entrepreneurial Expansion*. *Global Networks*, 1(3), 217-242.
- Law, R. (1999). *Beyond 'Women and Transport': Towards New Geographies of Gender and Daily Mobility*. *Progress in Human Geography*, 23(4), 567-588.
- Leavitt, J. (2003). *Where's the Gender in Community Development?* *Signs*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Autumn 2003). Pages 207-231
- Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on Cities*. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Eds.). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lehtovuori, P. (2012). *Towards Experiential Urbanism*. *Critical Sociology*, 38(1), 71-87.
- Lepeska, D. (2011). *City Bike Plan Is Accused of a Neighborhood Bias*. *New York Times*, October 15, 2011. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/16/us/chicago-bike-plan-accused-of-neighborhood-bias.html?_r=0.

- Levy, A. (2005). *Female Chauvinist Pigs: Women and the Rise of Raunch Culture*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Lorenzi, E. (2012). 'Alegría Entre Tus Piernas': To Conquer Madrid's Streets. In *Shift Happens! Critical Mass at 20*. Carlsson, C., Elliot, L., and Camarena, A. (Eds.). San Francisco, CA: Full Enjoyment Books.
- Lugones, M. (2010). Toward a Decolonial Feminism. *Hypatia*, 25(4), 742-759.
- Lugones, M. (2007). Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System. *Hypatia*, 22(1), 186-219.
- Lydon, M., and Garcia, A. (2015). *Tactical Urbanism: Short-term Action for Long-term Change*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Macy, S. (2011). *Wheels of Change: How Women Rode the Bicycle to Freedom (with a Few Flat Tires Along the Way)*. Washington, DC: The National Geographic Society.
- Malanga, S. (2004). The Curse of the Creative Class: Richard Florida's Theories are all the Rage Worldwide. *Trouble is, They're Plain Wrong*. *City journal*, 14(1), 36-45.
- Malloy, J. (2009). What is Left of Planning?! Residual Planning!" In Schwarz, et al. (2009). *Pop Up City (Urban Infill, Volume 2)*. Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Urban Design Collaborative. Pages 19-38.
- Mapes, J. (2009). *Pedaling Revolution: How Cyclists are Changing American Cities*. Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press.
- Marcuse, P. (2009). From critical urban theory to the right to the city. *City*, 13 (2-3, June–September 2009), 185-196.
- Markusen, A. (2007). The Urban Core as Cultural Sticky Place. *Time Space Places*. Frankfurt.
- Markusen, A. (1996). Sticky Places in Slippery Space: A Typology of Industrial Districts. *Economic Geography*. Volume 72, Issue 3 (July 1996). Pp. 293-313.
- Markusen, A. (1981, reprinted in 2005). City Spatial Structure, Women's Household Work, and National Urban Policy . In S. S. Fainstein, and L. J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and Planning: A Reader* (pp. 169-190). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Massey, D., and McDowell, L. (1984, reprinted in 2005). Space, Place, and Gender. In S. S. Fainstein, and L. J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and Planning: A reader* (pp. 213-234). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- McCall, L. (2005). The Complexity of Intersectionality. *Signs*, 30(3), 1771-1800.

- McDowell, L. (2008), Thinking Through Class and Gender in the Context of Working Class Studies. *Antipode*, 40. Pages 20–24.
- McDowell, L., Ward, K., Fagan, C., Perrons, D., and Ray, K. (2006). Connecting Time and Space: The Significance of Transformations in Women's Work in the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30, 141–158.
- McGhee, J. (2015). Help Brighten Up Sunnyside Mall Thursday. *DNAInfo*. August 25, 2015. Available at <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20150825/uptown/help-brighten-up-sunnyside-mall-thursday>.
- McKittrick, K. (2011). On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 12(8), 947-963.
- Merker, B. (2010) Taking Place: Rebar's Absurd Tactics in Generous Urbanism. In Hou, J. (Ed.). (2010). *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*. Routledge. Pages 45-58.
- Metropolitan Planning Council. (2014). Chicago's People's Spots: Spots 'Park' People, Not Cars, Outside Local Businesses. Available at: <http://www.metroplanning.org/work/project/12/subpage/4>.
- McLean, H. (2014). Digging into the Creative City: A Feminist Critique. *Antipode*, 46(3), 669-690.
- McRobbie, A. (2007). TOP GIRLS? Young Women and the Post-Feminist Sexual Contract 1. *Cultural studies*, 21(4-5), 718-737.
- Miranne, K. B. (2000). Women 'Embounded': Intersections of Welfare Reform and Public Housing Policy. In *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*. Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Eds.). Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York, pp. 119-136.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Shahpur Jat, New Delhi, India: Zubaan Publishers.
- Monday Night Ride – Chicago. (2014). Facebook Page. Available at <https://www.facebook.com/MondayNightRideChicago/info>.
- Morhayim, L. (2012). Bicycling in the Public Sphere. In *Shift Happens! Critical Mass at 20*. Carlsson, C., Elliot, L., and Camarena, A. (Eds.). San Francisco, CA: Full Enjoyment Books.
- Mott, C., and Roberts, S. (2014). Not Everyone has (the) Balls: Urban Exploration and the Persistence of Masculinist Geography. *Antipode*, 46(1), 229-245.

- Mould, O. (2014). Tactical Urbanism: The New Vernacular of the Creative City. *Geography Compass*, 8(8), 529–539.
- Mudu, P. (2012). At the Intersection of Anarchists and Autonomists: Autogestioni and Centri Sociali. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies, Anarchist and Autonomous Marxist Geographies*, Volume 11, issue 3, 2012, pages 413-438.
- Mudu, P. (2004). Resisting and Challenging Neoliberalism. The Development of Italian Social Centres, *Antipode*, 36 (5), pp. 917-41).
- Mukhija, V. and Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (Eds.). (2014). *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks and Day Labor*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Munro, J. (2010). Guild Firms Wins New Settlement for Critical Mass. *Guild Notes*, 35(4), 6.
- Museum of Modern Art. (2015). Uneven Growth: Uneven Growth Tactical Urbanisms for Expanding Megacities. Website available at <http://uneven-growth.moma.org/>.
- Naples, N. A. (2003). *Feminism and Method: Ethnography, Discourse Analysis, and Activist Research*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement. (2014). The Socioeconomic Change of Chicago's Community Areas (1970-2010). University of Illinois at Chicago. Report available at http://media.wix.com/ugd/992726_3653535630f748cbae3a4f1d9db3bb5c.pdf.
- Nemo, F. (2002). A Personal History of Portland Critical Mass. In *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Nolan, L. (2015). The 606, Gentrification, and the Future of Chicago's Northwest Side. Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement. Available at <https://voorheescenter.wordpress.com/2015/07/23/the-606-gentrification-and-the-future-of-chicagos-northwest-side/>.
- Ockman, J. (2000, reprinted in 2005). Mirror images: Technology, Consumption, and the Representation of Gender in American Architecture since World War II . In S. S. Fainstein, and L. J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and Planning: A Reader* (pp. 156-168). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- O'Connell, K. A. (2013). Newest Urbanism. *Architect*, 102(7), 38-40.
- Oliver, G. (2010). A Criminal Mess: New York City's Response to Critical Mass Bicycle Rides, 2004-2010. *National Lawyers Guild Review*, 67(1), 37-51.

- Osswald, S., Hasemann, O., Schnier, D., Ziehl, M. (2012). *Second Hand Spaces: Recycling Sites Undergoing Urban Transformation*. Berlin: Jovis Publishers.
- Oswalt, P. (2013). *Urban Catalyst: The Power of Temporary Use*. Berlin: DOM Publishers.
- Oswalt, P.; Overmeyer, K.; and Misselwitz, P. (2009). Patterns of the Unplanned. In Schwarz, T., Rugare, S., Jurca, D., Torgalkar, G., Oswalt, P., Overmeyer, K., Misselwitz, P., Malloy, J., Dobberstein, T., Haase, A., Knoess, E., and Gritllitsch, W. (2009). *Pop Up City (Urban Infill, Volume 2)*. Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Urban Design Collaborative. Pages 5-17.
- Pagano, C. (2013). DIY Urbanism: Property and Process in Grassroots City Building. *Marquette Law Review*, 97, 335-469.
- Parker, B. (2008). Beyond the Class Act: Gender and Race in the Creative Class Discourse. In J. DeSena and R. Hutchinson (Eds.). *Gender in an Urban World*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing, pp. 201-232.
- Parker, B. (2011). Material Matters: Gender and the City. *Geography Compass*, 5(6), 433-447.
- Parker, B. (2012). Gender, Cities, and Planning: Looking Forward, Looking Back. In Crane, R., and Weber, R. (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Urban Planning*. (2012). Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, pp. 609-633.
- Parker, B. (forthcoming). *Gendering Urban Neoliberalism: a Feminist Exploration of Masculinities and Markets*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Parsons, L. (1878-1937, reprinted in 2003). In Ahrens G. (Ed.), *Lucy Parsons: Freedom, Equality, and Solidarity - Writings and Speeches, 1878-193*. Chicago, IL: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company.
- Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the Creative Class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4), 740-770.
- Peck, J., and Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing Space. *Antipode*, 34(3), 380-404.
- Pinder, D. (2008). Urban Interventions: Art, Politics and Pedagogy. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(3), 730-736.
- Planetizen. (2015). 'About.' Website available at <http://www.planetizen.com/about>.
- Planetizen. (2015). 'Courses.' Website available at <https://courses.planetizen.com/courses>.
- Planetizen. (2015). 'Top 10 Books – 2016.' Website available at <http://www.planetizen.com/node/82685/top-10-books-2016>.

- Proudhon, P. J. (1840, reprinted in 2011). What is Property? Or, an Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 87-138). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1846, reprinted in 2011). System of Economic Contradictions, or the Philosophy of Misery, volume 1 and 2. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 167- 256). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1848, reprinted in 2011). The Mystification of Universal Suffrage. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 315-318). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1848, reprinted in 2011). Outline of the Social Question, Method of Solution - Equivalence of the Political Question and the Social Question. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 327-328). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1848, reprinted in 2011). The Reaction. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 307-314). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1848, reprinted in 2011). The Situation. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 303-306). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1848, reprinted in 2011). Solution of the Social Problem. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 257-280). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1849a, reprinted in 2011). Bank of the People. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 383-395). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1849b, reprinted in 2011). Confessions of a Revolutionary, to Serve as a History of the February Revolution. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 395-478). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1849c, reprinted in 2011). Resistance to the Revolution. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 479-494). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1851, reprinted in 2011). General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 543-600). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Proudhon, P. J. (1863, reprinted in 2011). The Federative Principle and the Necessity of Reconstituting the Party of the Revolution . In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 689-720). Oakland, CA: AK Press.

- Proudhon, P. J. (1865, reprinted in 2011). *The Political Capacity of the Working Classes*. In I. McKay (Ed.), *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (pp. 723-774). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Puar, J. K. (2012). "I would rather be a Cyborg than a Goddess: Becoming-Intersectional in Assemblage Theory." *PhiloSOPHIA*, 2(1), 49-66.
- Puar, J. (2007). *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Pucher, J., Buehler, R., Seinen, M. (2011). *Bicycling Renaissance in North America? An Update and Reappraisal of Cycling Trends and Policies*. *Transportation Research A*. Volume 47, pages 1-76.
- Purcell, M. (2006). *Urban Democracy and the Local Trap*. *Urban Studies*, 43(11), 1921-1941.
- Radywyl, N., and Biggs, C. (2013). *Reclaiming the Commons for Urban Transformation*. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 50, 159-170.
- Rahder, B., and Altilia, C. (2004). *Where is Feminism in Planning Going? Appropriation or Transformation?* *Planning Theory*, 3(2), 107-116.
- Reichl, A. J. (2002) *Fear and Lusting in Las Vegas and New York: Sex, Political Economy, and Public Space*. In J. Eade and C. Mele (Eds.). *Understanding the City: Contemporary and Future Perspectives*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd: Oxford, UK, pp. 363-378.
- Ritzdorf, Marsha (1996). *Feminist Thoughts on the Theory and Practice of Planning*. In *Readings in Planning Theory*. Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein (Eds.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 445-450.
- Rojas, J. (2010). *Latino Urbanism in Los Angeles: A Model for Urban Improvisation and Reinvention*. In J. Hou (Ed.). *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 36-44.
- Rosenbloom, S. (1978, reprinted in 2005). *Women's Travel Issues: The Research and Policy Environment*. In S. S. Fainstein, and L. J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and Planning: A Reader* (pp. 235-254). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Roth, M. (2012). *A Tumultuous Rid: New York City Critical Mass and the Wrath of the NYPD*. In *Shift Happens! Critical Mass at 20*. Carlsson, C., Elliot, L., and Camarena, A. (Eds.). San Francisco, CA: Full Enjoyment Books.
- Rouhani, F. (2012). *Anarchism, Geography, and Queer Space-making: Building Bridges Over Chasms We Create*. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies, Anarchist and Autonomous Marxist Geographies*, Volume 11, issue 3, 2012, pages 373-392.

- Roy, A. 2003. *City Requiem: Calcutta: Gender and the Politics of Poverty*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sandercock, L., and Forsyth, A. (1992, reprinted in 2005). *A Gender Agenda: New Directions for Planning Theory*. In S. S. Fainstein, and L. J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and Planning: A reader* (pp. 67-85). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Sankalia, T. (2014). The Median Picnic: Street Design, Urban Informality and Public Space Enforcement. *Journal of Urban Design*.
- Satter, B. (2009). *Family Properties: Race, Real Estate, and the Exploitation of Black Urban America*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Schmid, C. (2011). Henri Lefebvre, the right to the city, and the new metropolitan mainstream. In N. Brenner, P. Marcuse and M. Mayer (Eds.), *Cities for people, not for profit: Critical urban theory and the right to the city* (pp. 42-62). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Schwarz, T., Rugare, S., Jurca, D., Torgalkar, G., Oswalt, P., Overmeyer, K., Misselwitz, P., Malloy, J., Dobberstein, T., Haase, A., Knoess, E., and Gritllitsch, W. (2009). *Pop Up City (Urban Infill, Volume 2)*. Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Urban Design Collaborative.
- Shadish, W. R., Cook, T. D., and Campbell, D. T. (2002). *Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Generalized Causal Inference*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Shepard, B. (2014). DIY Urbanism as an Environmental Justice Strategy: The Case Study of Time's Up! 1987-2012. *Theory in Action*, 7(2).
- Shepard, B. and Moore, K. (2002). Reclaiming the Streets of New York (for a World without Cars). In *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Shepard, B. and Smithson, G. (2011). *The Beach Beneath the Streets: Contesting New York City's Public Spaces*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Shohat, E. (Ed.). (1998). *Talking Visions: Multicultural Feminism in a Transnational Age*. New Museum of Contemporary Art: New York, NY.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed books.
- Souza, M.L. (2010). Which right to which city? *Interface: a journal for and about social movements*, Volume 2 (1), pages 315-333.
- Spain, D. (2001). *How Women Saved the City*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

- Spain, D. (2002). What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?. *City and Community*, 1(2), 155-169.
- Spataro, D. (2015). Against a De-Politicized DIY Urbanism: Food Not Bombs and the Struggle over Public Space. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 1-17.
- Stender, B. (2002). From the Ground Up. In *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*. Carlsson, C. (Ed.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Strega, S. (2005). The View from the Poststructural Margins: Epistemology and Methodological Resistance. Brown, L., and Strega, S. (Eds.). (2005). *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press. Pages 199-235.
- Stromberg, J. (2014). The 19th-Century Health Scare that Told Women to Worry about "Bicycle Face." *Vox*. Available at <http://www.vox.com/2014/7/8/5880931/the-19th-century-health-scare-that-told-women-to-worry-about-bicycle>.
- Tactical Urbanism Here! website. Available at <http://www.tacticalurbanismhere.com/>.
- Tardiveau, A., and Mallo, D. (2014). Unpacking and Challenging Habitus: An Approach to Temporary Urbanism as a Socially Engaged Practice. *Journal of Urban Design*, July 2014.
- The Street Plan Collaborative. (2011). "Tactical Urbanism 1." Available at http://issuu.com/streetplanscollaborative/docs/tactical_urbanism_vol.1.
- The Street Plan Collaborative. (2012). "Tactical Urbanism 2." Available at http://issuu.com/streetplanscollaborative/docs/tactical_urbanism_vol_2_final.
- The World Health Organization (2016). Gender, Equity, and Human Rights. Available at: <http://www.who.int/gender-equity-rights/understanding/gender-definition/en/>.
- Tekippe, A. (2013). Notorious Uptown Apartment Building to get \$14 Million Rehab. *Crain's Chicago Business*. August 6, 2013. Available at <http://www.chicagobusiness.com/realestate/20130806/CRED03/130809879/notorious-uptown-apartment-building-to-get-14-million-rehab>.
- Teska Associates. (2015). Pure Imagination Installation – Uptown, Chicago. August 28, 2015. Available at: <http://www.teskaassociates.com/pure-imagination-installation-uptown-chicago/>.

- Tickell, A. and Peck, J. (1996). The return of the Manchester men: Men's words and men's deeds in the remaking of the local state. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 21, 595-616.
- Uitermark, J. (2015). Longing for Wikitopia. *The Study and Politics of Self-Organization. Urban Studies* 52, Forthcoming (Critical Commentary).
- Uptown Chicago Commission. (2015). Available at:
<http://www.uptownchicagocommission.org/about.htm>.
- Uptown Update. (2008). 'Taking Back Sunnyside Mall.' Available at
<http://www.uptownupdate.com/2008/04/taking-back-sunnyside-mall.html>.
- US Census Bureau. (2013). Selected Economic Characteristics. 2009-2013 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates.
- Vance, S. (2014). Active Trans: At Least 125,000 Bike Trips In Chicago Every Day. *Streets Blog Chicago*, June 11, 2014. Available at: <http://chi.streetsblog.org/2014/06/11/active-trans-at-least-125000-bike-trips-in-chicago-every-day/>.
- Van Dijk, T. (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis. In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Tannen, D. Schiffrin and H. Hamilton (Eds.). Oxford: Blackwell. Pages 352 - 371.
- Visweseran, K. (1994). *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, MN.
- Ward, C. (2011). In White D. F., Wilbert C. (Eds.), *Autonomy, solidarity, possibility: The Colin Ward Reader*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Webb, J. W., Tihanyi, L., Ireland, R. D., and Sirmon, D. G. (2009). You Say Illegal, I Say Legitimate: Entrepreneurship in the Informal Economy. *Academy of Management Review*, 34(3), 492-510.
- Wekerle, G. (1999, reprinted in 2005). Gender Planning in Public Transit: Institutionalizing Feminist Policies, Changing Discourse, and Practices . In S. S. Fainstein, and L. J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and Planning: A Reader* (pp. 275-296). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Whitzman, C. (2013). *Building Inclusive Cities: Women's Safety and the Right to the City*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Willard, F. (1895). *A Wheel Within a Wheel: A Woman's Quest for Freedom*. New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company.
- Wilson, E. (1991). *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Wright, G. (1985, reprinted in 2005). Women's Aspirations and the Home: Episodes in American Feminist Reform . In S. S. Fainstein, and L. J. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and Planning: A Reader* (pp. 141-155). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Young, I. M. (1990, reprinted in 2005). Justice and the Politics of Difference. In S. Fainstein and L. Servon (Eds.), *Gender and Planning*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 86-103.
- Young, I. M. (2003). Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship. In D. Matravers, and J. Pike (Eds.), *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology* (pp. 219-238). London, UK: Routledge.
- Young, I. M. (2011). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS)
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research (MC 672)
203 Administrative Office Building
1737 West Polk Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612-7227

Exemption Granted

February 2, 2015

Megan Heim LaFrombois
Urban Planning and Policy
412 S Peoria, CUPPA Hall, Room 242
M/C 348
Chicago, IL 60612
Phone: (920) 217-8741 / Fax: (312) 413-8095

RE: **Research Protocol # 2015-0139**
“Reframing the Reclaiming of Urban Space: A Feminist Exploration of Bicycle Focused Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Urbanism”

Dear Ms. Heim LaFrombois:

Your Claim of Exemption was reviewed on January 30, 2015 and it was determined that your research protocol meets the criteria for exemption as defined in the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services Regulations for the Protection of Human Subjects [(45 CFR 46.101(b))]. You may now begin your research

Your research may be conducted at UIC and with Adults - Patients/Subjects.

The specific exemption category under 45 CFR 46.101(b) is:

2 Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You are reminded that investigators whose research involving human subjects is determined to be exempt from the federal regulations for the protection of human subjects still have responsibilities for the ethical conduct of the research under state law and UIC policy. Please be aware of the following UIC policies and responsibilities for investigators:

1. Amendments You are responsible for reporting any amendments to your research protocol that may affect the determination of the exemption and may result in your research no longer being eligible for the exemption that has been granted.
2. Record Keeping You are responsible for maintaining a copy all research related records in a secure location in the event future verification is necessary, at a minimum these documents include: the research protocol, the claim of exemption application, all questionnaires, survey instruments, interview questions and/or data collection instruments associated with this research protocol, recruiting or advertising materials, any consent forms or information sheets given to subjects, or any other pertinent documents.
3. Final Report When you have completed work on your research protocol, you should submit a final report to the Office for Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS).
4. Information for Human Subjects UIC Policy requires investigators to provide information about the research protocol to subjects and to obtain their permission prior to their participating in the research. The information about the research protocol should be presented to subjects in writing or orally from a written script. When appropriate, the following information must be provided to all research subjects participating in exempt studies:
 - a. The researchers affiliation; UIC, JBVMAC or other institutions,
 - b. The purpose of the research,
 - c. The extent of the subject's involvement and an explanation of the procedures to be followed,
 - d. Whether the information being collected will be used for any purposes other than the proposed research,
 - e. A description of the procedures to protect the privacy of subjects and the confidentiality of the research information and data,
 - f. Description of any reasonable foreseeable risks,
 - g. Description of anticipated benefit,
 - h. A statement that participation is voluntary and subjects can refuse to participate or can stop at any time,
 - i. A statement that the researcher is available to answer any questions that the subject may have and which includes the name and phone number of the investigator(s).
 - j. A statement that the UIC IRB/OPRS or JBVMAC Patient Advocate Office is available if there are questions about subject's rights, which includes the appropriate phone numbers.

Please be sure to:

→ Use your research protocol number (listed above) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact me at (312) 996-2014 or the OPRS office at (312) 996-1711. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Sandra Costello
Assistant Director, IRB # 2
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

cc: Charles J. Hoch, Urban Planning and Policy, M/C 348
Brenda Parker (faculty advisor), Urban Planning and Policy, M/C 348

VITA

Megan E. Heim LaFrombois

Education

Doctoral Degree

2012 – 2016

University of Illinois at Chicago
Department of Urban Planning and Policy

Dissertation – “Reframing the Reclaiming of Urban Space: A Feminist Exploration into Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Urbanism”

Master’s Degree

2004 – 2006

University of Illinois at Chicago
Department of Urban Planning and Policy

Master’s project – “Housing Policy within a Feminist Framework: A Gender Analysis of Chicago’s Housing Patterns.”

Bachelor’s Degree

1998 – 2002

University of Wisconsin at Green Bay

Urban and Regional Studies major
Sociology minor

Awards

Urban Affairs Association, 2016 Alma H. Young Emerging Scholar Award

2016

Center for Research on Women and Gender, UIC

2015 Alice J. Dan Dissertation Research Award – Honorable Mention

2015

Distinguished Graduate Scholar, UIC

2012 – 2014

Publications

Heim LaFrombois, M. (2015). Blind Spots and Pop-up Spots: A Feminist Exploration into the Discourses of Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Urbanism. *Urban Studies Journal*. Pages 1-16. DOI: 10.1177/0042098015604078. Available through Sage Publications Online First system.

Teaching Experience

Teaching Assistant *August 2014 – May 2016*
University of Illinois at Chicago, Department of Urban Planning and Policy

Provide general teaching support for Urban Studies 202: Planning Great Cities. Specific duties include preparing class materials, assembling and delivering class lectures, maintaining the course website, grading student work, responding to student inquiries, and assisting in the facilitation of the class.

Guest Lectures and Academic Presentations

University of Illinois at Chicago, Department of Urban Planning and Policy

“Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Urbanism” *November 17, 2015*
Guest lecturer for UPP 501 – Space, Place, and Institutions

“Homelessness and Cities “ *April 3, 2014*
Guest lecturer for UPP 202 – Planning Great Cities

“Gender and Cities” *March 6, 2014*
Guest lecturer for UPP 202 – Planning Great Cities

“Urban Political Economy” *February 13, 2014*
Guest lecturer for UPP 501 – Space, Place, and Institutions

“Gender and the City” *March 14, 2013*
Presentation for the Urban Transportation Center’s Brown Bag Lecture Series

Association of American Geographers’ Annual Conference, San Francisco, CA *April 1, 2016*
Session: Planning Revitalization in Racialized Neighborhoods in White Colonial Settler Societies

Paper title: “These ‘people’ are going to be around for a while:” Exclusionary efforts of reclaiming urban space through tactical urbanism

Research Experience

Intern *February 2014 – October 2014*
Chicago Foundation for Women

Provided research support to inform the development of the foundation’s Women’s Economic Security Campaign and Civic Agenda. Specific duties included conducting literature reviews and assembling relevant data, attending focus groups and preparing summaries, and analyzing US Census data.

Research Assistant

August 2012 – May 2014

University of Illinois at Chicago, Department of Urban Planning and Policy

Provided general research support and assistance to Professor Brenda Parker and her research project examining women's "life work" in Chicago and the surrounding social, economic, and policy environment. Specific duties included conducting literature reviews, collection of online data and resources, data entry, editing, document preparation for IRB submission, recruitment of potential research participants, conducting field observations, conducting interviews with research participants, transcription of interviews, and coding and analysis of interview transcripts in Atlas.ti.

Non-Profit/Community-Based/Practitioner Experience

Associate Director

January 2012 – August 2012

Government Awards and Data Management

Heartland Health Outreach, Chicago, IL

Provided leadership and oversight of government awards and reporting, data management, grant writing and management, quality management, program development, and the development and implementation of Heartland Health Outreach's internal and external systems and service integration initiatives. Duties focused on creating a seamless and comprehensive system of care for disenfranchised and vulnerable individuals. Specific responsibilities included:

- Leading and coordinating requests for proposals, including the creation of timelines, apportioning responsibilities, and coordinating program design and outcomes;
- Preparing reports to funders and monitoring progress on meeting deliverables, including creating work plans, evaluating success, and overseeing the evaluation and renewal of \$3 million in supportive housing grants;
- Developing and overseeing data management strategies, including developing reporting systems, creating data management plans, and collecting and analyzing data;
- Implementing systems integration and community development strategies and initiating systemic and policy level change;
- Chairing and participating in numerous policy-informing and policy-making committees and workgroups;
- Developing and maintaining relationships with funders, community stakeholders, and other community agencies; and
- Coordinating participation in research initiatives with partnering institutions.

Manager

July 2006 – January 2012

Systems Integration

Heartland Health Outreach, Chicago, IL

Provided functional and operational oversight of the Mental Health and Addiction Services department through systems integration, community development, grant writing, program development, and grant management. Duties centered on identifying and removing barriers and

gaps through policy change in systems that affect the lives of individuals who are homeless and experience mental illness and substance use disorders, creating linkages and collaboration among internal and external partners, and maintaining and cultivating resources for the above population. Specific responsibilities included:

- Implementing systems integration and community development strategies;
- Chairing and participating in numerous policy-informing and policy-making committees and workgroups;
- Developing and maintaining relationships with funders, community stakeholders, and other community agencies;
- Developing work plans for initiatives, monitoring progress, and evaluating success;
- Meeting with elected and appointed officials to provide education on policy issues;
- Overseeing the evaluation and renewal of \$3 million in supportive housing grants; and
- Coordinating participation in research initiatives with partnering institutions.

Community-Based Systems Level Committee Involvement

HUD McKinney-Vento Committee of the Chicago Planning Council on Homelessness	<i>2010 – 2012</i>
Evaluation Tool Subcommittee of the HUD McKinney-Vento Committee of the Chicago Planning Council on Homelessness	<i>2009 – 2012</i>
Outreach and Engagement Services Constituency Group of the Chicago Alliance to End Homelessness (CAEH), Chair	<i>2009 – 2012</i>
Executive Committee of the Service Providers Commission of CAEH	<i>2009 – 2012</i>
Permanent Supportive Housing Constituency Group of CAEH	<i>2008 – 2012</i>
Service Providers Commission of CAEH	<i>2006 – 2012</i>
Supportive Housing Providers Association	<i>2006 – 2012</i>
Homeless Action Committee, Co-chair	<i>2006 – 2010</i>

Professional Memberships

Urban Affairs Association	<i>Member since 2016</i>
American Planning Association	<i>Member since 2004</i>
National Organization for Women	<i>Member since 1999</i>

Volunteer Work

Fair Housing Tester Open Communities	<i>May 2013 – January 2015</i>
Adult English as a Second Language (ESL) Tutor Albany Park Community Center	<i>July 2011 – December 2011</i>