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## WHEN TIME IS NOT OF THE ESSENCE: SLOWNESS AND CERTAINTY BEYOND *THE 15 MINUTE CITY*

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## WHEN TIME IS NOT OF THE ESSENCE: SLOWNESS AND CERTAINTY BEYOND *THE 15 MINUTE CITY*

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### INTRODUCTION

What if our cities' structures (i.e., its streetscape and movement spaces) were not defined temporally (i.e., by proximity and time of travel), but rather by connectivity to place and others within place? This question is of increasing significance in the context of urban discourse, with increasing calls for a *15-minute city*<sup>1</sup> and related paradigms<sup>2</sup> structured around a 10-minute walking / 15-minute biking radius, prioritizing human-paced travel supportive of environmental concerns and inhabitants' well-being. Such human-scaled paradigms are positioned in marked opposition to the car as the measuring device of urban structure. Prompted by questions on a proposed<sup>3</sup> health centre in the city centre of Plymouth, UK, and outside the key neighbourhood of Stonehouse it was meant to serve, we investigated the health centre's perceived accessibility. Through narrative inquiry and co-joined mapping we explored Stonehouse residents' current movement to the city centre. Emergent from our investigation is a suggestion that time is not of the essence for urban structure, and more significant is enabling connectivity to place and others.

Within this text we will explore four components. First, we will situate our investigation in the context of Plymouth and Stonehouse. Second, we will outline our research methodology, grounded in narrative inquiry and mapping. Third, we will review the findings arising from our investigation. Fourth, we will consider possible trajectories emergent from our investigation.

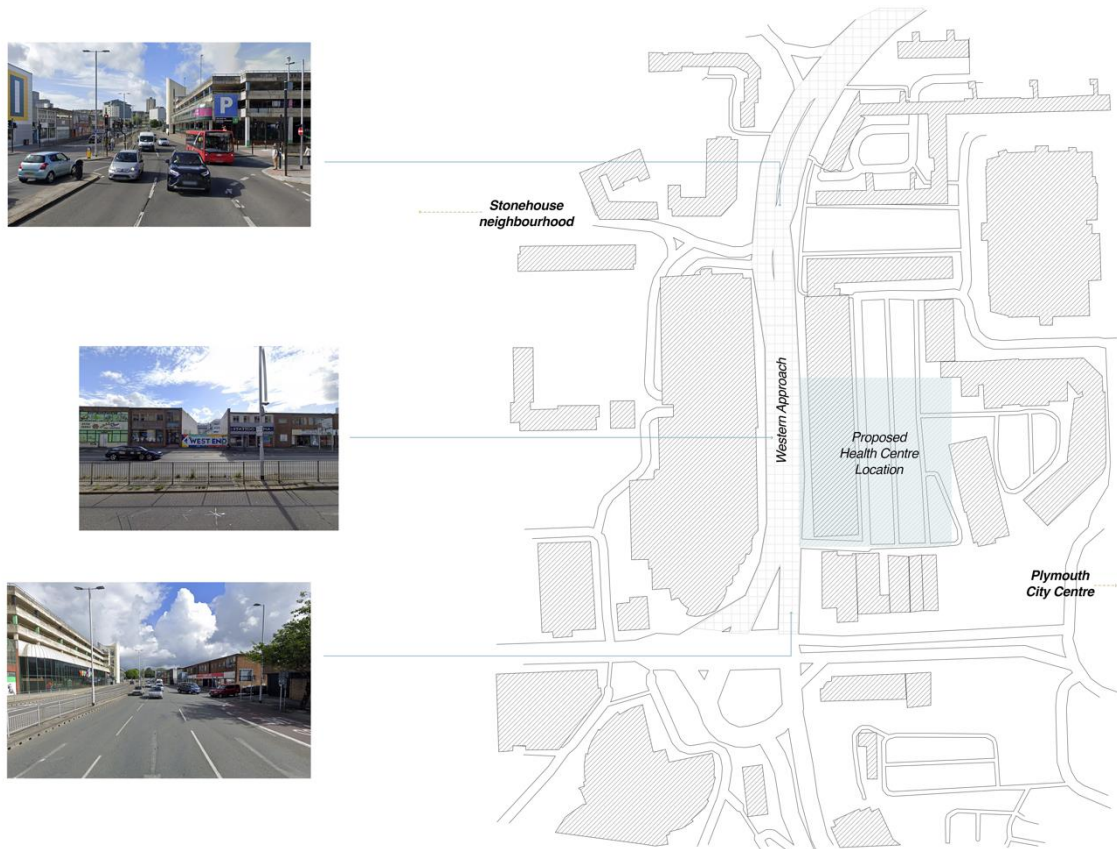
### CONTEXT

Plymouth is a city of 260,000 on the UK's Southwest coast, known as Britain's Ocean City and for its maritime history, including as the homeport / departure points for: Sir Francis Drake's defense of England against the Spanish Armada in 1588; the North American-bound Pilgrims in 1620; and Charles Darwin's epic voyage of scientific discovery in 1831. The following years reinforced the maritime narrative, with shipbuilding, trans-Atlantic cruise liners, maritime trade, and the Royal Navy featuring significantly in the city's socio-cultural and economic fabric. Crucial to our discussion however is the decline of this maritime

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strength following World War II, leaving behind communities devastated by the loss of jobs and co-joined social poverty.

Stonehouse, sitting west of Plymouth’s city centre, is still affected by Plymouth’s socio-economic decline, registering in the lowest 1% of social deprivation nationally. Life expectancy within Stonehouse is 7.5 years less than the rest of Plymouth.<sup>4</sup> This condition has been exacerbated by the neighbourhood’s poor overall living environment, with 33% of local rented dwellings identified as “non-decent.”<sup>5</sup> Depressed economic livelihoods further exacerbate poor health, with 36% of children in Stonehouse living in extreme poverty.<sup>6</sup> Historically underfunded health clinics in Stonehouse have struggled to support the community in the face of these challenges.<sup>7</sup> In this context Plymouth’s City Council and the University Hospitals Plymouth NHS Trust won funding through the NHS<sup>8</sup> Cavell Program, enacted to establish community-based health centres to provide community-based preventive care. The proposed health centre was envisioned to ‘act as a catalyst for regeneration’<sup>9</sup> in the city centre’s economically depressed West End. It was intended to replace five existing medical clinics dispersed west of the city centre, including three in Stonehouse.



*Figure 1: Site of proposed health centre in Plymouth city centre with Stonehouse neighbourhood to left with photographs depicting Western Approach. Image: L. Dinning.*

The proposed site raised questions within the Stonehouse community (i.e., including for both residents and other community-based stakeholders) about its accessibility to Stonehouse

residents. While adjacent to Stonehouse's eastern boundary, the proposed health centre site was further than a 10 minute walk away for many residents of Stonehouse. Moreover, a major six lane thoroughfare (the Western Approach) acts as a boundary between Stonehouse and the West End. Exacerbating this boundary is a two-football field long, multi-story car park on the Western Approach's west side, acting perceptually as a wall between the West End and Stonehouse.

## METHODOLOGY

Prompted by discussions with community residents and stakeholders through other community-based work we were doing, we were encouraged to explore the siting of the proposed new health centre. Owing to political sensitivities, we shifted our inquiry to consider the accessibility of the proposed health centre for Stonehouse residents. That is, we weren't questioning the siting of the proposed site of the health centre, but the nature of the journey from a local resident's home to the health centre. In Stonehouse the significance of this accessibility is further intensified by a lack of car ownership and the prohibitive cost of public transport for many residents. Further challenging is the lack of available public transport serving some areas, notably Stonehouse's north side.

Our investigation was founded on three key aspects. Firstly, we began with the principle of the 5 minute walk or 'pedestrian shed' (an approximately 500 metres radius) marking how far people will typically walk in the city to access services.<sup>10</sup> A concurrent literature review extended our inquiry within the concept of the *15 minute city*; which like the 5-minute walk conceptualizes accessibility as defined by a 10-minute walk or 15-minute bike ride.<sup>11</sup> In our investigation we used a walk to the Plymouth City Market in the city centre's West End as a surrogate for walking to the proposed health centre.

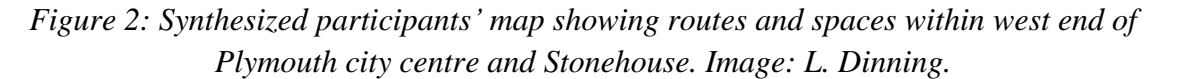
The second key aspect was narrative inquiry prompting participants, notably but not limited to Stonehouse residents, to tell stories. This recognizes stories as 'a "meaning-making" process.'<sup>12</sup> It equally recognizes the presence of narrative in our everyday lives, as "we dream in narrative, daydream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, believe, plan, gossip and learn by narrative."<sup>13</sup>

To establish a common ground between respondents, we first engaged respondents through set questions as a way of prompting them to tell stories. These questions included:

- How long does it take you to get to your current health care site?
- How long does it take you to get to the Plymouth Market in the city centre?
- How do you feel about the location of the Plymouth Market area?
- How do you travel to the Plymouth Market area? Why do you choose to travel there this way?
- How do you find this journey? Why?

The third aspect of our methodology was prompting participants to generate mental maps concurrent with the narrative inquiry. This approach borrows from urban planner Kevin Lynch's work, which aimed at capturing a *sense of the city*. One of his principal methods was analysis of maps drawn by people of the mental image of place they use to locate themselves in the city, which he calls a mental or cognitive map articulating the interaction between observer and environment.<sup>14</sup> Like Lynch, our participants' maps were later synthesized into a

Participants in our study combined key stakeholders (NHS staff, affected medical practitioners, local involved professionals) and residents / patients of the local affected surgeries in the Stonehouse area. Each was asked to contribute to our prompting questions; in parallel their map was used to situate the conversation and spatialise personal experiences concerning their access to the city centre.



What emerged from this research was not as expected, given already voiced community concerns on the proposed health centre's inaccessibility. Given our *a priori* recognition of the 5-10 minute walking radius as a measure of urban accessibility, we had expected time limits to be a significant factor in community discussion of urban structure. Revealed however was that temporal distance, i.e., how long people are willing to walk, was not as significant as we



expected. Indeed, an accessibility afforded by a 10-minute walk as per the *15 Minute City*, was not seen as critical; nor was it the key determinant of participants' chosen route. Valued more than any quantitative temporal dimension were qualitative dimensions related to contact with place and others within place.

Examining the quantitative dimension further, neither a 5 nor 10-minute walking distance was identified as a temporal limit. Rather, walks of 15 – 20 minutes were cited as a reasonable distance. This time was even extended up to 30 minutes for those walking with children or choosing to take a more scenic route. Unsurprisingly journey time was more of an issue for those with mobility impairments, but not so markedly as to suggest a 5 or 10-minute journey time defined a limit on accessibility. In contrast to existing discourse, walking journeys of longer than 10 minutes were perceived as accessible.

Of greater concern to participants was the boundary formed by the Western Approach. The sense of boundary it projects is exacerbated by disjointed street crossings often requiring two light changes (one across each direction of traffic) to cross the road on foot. Similar concern was conveyed about walking along main vehicular routes. Respondents spoke of walking out of their way on side streets, even if it increased their travel time.

A further challenge is posed by the presence of unsocial elements, notably those involved in drug-related activities, at particular points along some journeys. A similar concern was noted about isolated areas, especially for women. These concerns give rise to people walking out of their way, again even if requiring a longer journey.

In contrast, participants' valued a sense of greater connectivity with place and others in place. They were willing to even go out of their way to walk through more interesting places and be around other people – not only in terms of safety, but also for the vibrancy and stimulation offered, and to be around and connect with others. Identified by respondents as enabling such connectivity to place and others were features such as greenery or places to sit, or streets with shops.

## DISCUSSION

In this discussion, we come back to our initial question; i.e., what if cities' structures were not defined temporally (i.e., by proximity and time of travel), but rather by connectivity to place and others within place? Emergent from this is a questioning of the emphasis on time in the *15 Minute City*, and a proposition to reframe discussion of urban structure with an emphasis on enabling connectivity to place and others.

In questioning the emphasis on time, we have adopted the *15 Minute City* as a surrogate for wider discourse. In doing so, we do acknowledge the phrase the *15 Minute City* is useful; it is easily remembered, evokes recognisable imagery and associations, and is both simple and deep. All of these enable its widespread recognition, as attested to by its over 1 billion results in a Google search.<sup>16</sup> The phrase does however directly emphasise time, and resultant understanding and discussion. This is reinforced by the concept's overarching agenda for urban structure founded on a 10-minute walking radius, its focused critique of modernist urban structures emphasising time, and the provision of cultural, economic and environment assets within that 10 minute walking radius.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, this emphasis has shifted

attention away from the benefits the concept advocates including wellbeing, inclusivity and economic livelihood.

Equally to be acknowledged is the advocacy within the 15 Minute City for connectivity to place and others. These messages are getting lost however, and proponents of the *15 Minute City* find themselves caught up in arguments about perceived time-induced restrictions on movement and being confined to living within 15 minute travel zones.<sup>18</sup> We would conclude, as do others, that the emphasis on time is unfortunately misguided.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, we argue the discussion needs to be reframed with an emphasis on enabling connectivity to place and others. What follows is a brief speculation on this reframing.

That the concept of connectivity to place is valued and maintains relevance is a given (and hence not further examined here), as attested to by extensive discourse from various fields such as architecture, cultural anthropology, cultural geography, and environment behavior studies.<sup>20</sup> Equally, much of this same discourse speaks values connectivity to others. Such sensibilities remain both valid and strong despite any challenges to it, e.g., geographic mobility<sup>21</sup> or any smart capabilities to engage digitally.<sup>22</sup>

This importance of connectivity to others is further reinforced by research on contact theory. Contact theory argues humans are one of ‘the most social species on the planet, with brains uniquely adapted for living in large groups.’<sup>23</sup> Moreover, interaction with others can provide multiple benefits including: heightening expectations about future interactions;<sup>24</sup> increasing one’s sense of happiness and health;<sup>25</sup> and a ‘a sense of meaning and purpose in life, which, in turn, enhances mental and physical health.’<sup>26</sup>

In a broader sense, connectivity with place and others in place lies at the heart of the idea of the city as rooted in *civitas*. *Civitas*, the origin of the word city, describes ‘the coming together of people in order to make a community.’<sup>27</sup> Cities offer space ‘for face to face contact of amazing variety and richness.’<sup>28</sup> Afforded by this contact is a sense of intimacy, not as privacy, but as an intentionality to make known publicly or formally, in effect getting to know others.<sup>29</sup> Equally, through such contact we get to know ourselves. Central to this latter argument is that greater understanding is achieved in dialogue with another, indeed that we can only become our whole selves through encounter with another.<sup>30</sup> Dismissing the false assumption that we autogenically define ourselves, we are also defined through our interaction with others.<sup>31</sup>

It is this getting to know the other – whether as place or as others in place – that was identified by respondents as a primary issue. We would argue this is essential in making our cities livable, or in other words if we want to make our cities more livable, we need to structure our cities to enable people to get to know place and others in place. The structure of place plays a critical role; getting to know others does not happen in the abstract but rather is spatially situated,<sup>32</sup> even if sited in a virtual domain.

While the places where we can meet the other can occur anywhere, we posit that specific sites can be instrumental in enabling these encounters. We conceptualize these sites of encounter metaphorically and experientially as *thresholds*.<sup>33</sup> This thinking draws upon Bakhtin’s examination of thresholds in the novels of Fyodor Dostoevsky. In Dostoevsky’s novels internal spaces such as staircases, the front hall, and corridors act as thresholds between spaces; externally, streets and public squares take on a similar role. More significantly these

spaces act as metaphorical thresholds in the narrative of characters. Bakhtin suggests these thresholds ‘are the main places of action in those works, places where...events occur...decisions that determine the whole life of a (person).’<sup>34</sup> Intrinsic to this is the expansive potential of a threshold, prompting us to step outside of our normative ways of thinking,<sup>35</sup> (re)identifying ourselves and others.

One example, drawn from our study, illustrates this expansive potential and how even a simple intervention can act as a threshold. One local resident engaged in guerrilla gardening, putting in place flowers and greenery in various “cracks” in the external built fabric of Stonehouse. These plantings prompted new connectivities to place for other residents, giving them reason not only to enjoy these plantings but also to take greater notice of the place into which these plantings were inserted. The juxtaposition of the flowers and the built fabric put each into relief, making them more present in the minds of passers-by.

Equally significant were the conversations prompted as this guerrilla gardener was approached by residents while planting. In the ensuing conversations passersby expressed their surprise and delight at encountering the plantings, and of seeing that particular place in a new way. Through these conversations, the guerrilla gardener and passersby made contact with each other, generating new connections where none had previously existed.

Concurrently each was exposed new perspectives revealed by the other.



*Figure 3: Guerrilla gardening in Stonehouse as a threshold of encounter. Image: L. Dinning.*

Present within such interactions is the opportunity to see not only others and place a new, but equally themselves oneself anew. Such potential recognizes arguments present with both contact theory and discourse on self-other relations<sup>36</sup> which understands how through contact with other our own selves are represented to us. While such potential is intimated in our research, further work is needed to explore more deeply this potential and its possibility within our identified threshold sites of encounter.

## CONCLUSION

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Paul Simon's and Art Garfunkel's 'The 59<sup>th</sup> Bridge Street Song' of course told us all of this way back in 1966:

*"Slow down, you move too fast  
You got to make the morning last  
Just kicking down the cobblestones  
Looking for fun and feeling groovy"*<sup>37</sup>

These lines set out a paradigm for urban living. Implicit is a message we have communicated here; that time is not of the essence for urban structure. Yes, Simon and Garfunkel are encouraging us to move more slowly, but that is not the main message; rather, we posit that the song's primary message is expressed in the last line of the refrain of *looking for fun and feeling groovy*. While groovy came to be known in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s as something fashionable and more generally as excellent, its origins lie in the 1930s, "when musicians were said to be in a focused state of mind while playing."<sup>38</sup> Simon and Garfunkel's use of groovy evokes this sense of focus—i.e., of being connected

The journey in our thinking articulated here has been an act of connecting in its own way. We approached our research expecting to find people concerned about the location of proposed new health centre owing to its spatial and temporal distance from where they live; these expectations were grounded in our awareness of the significant in planning discourse of pedestrian sheds of a 5 or 10 minute walk (the latter as *the 15 Minute City*). Emergent however from our investigation was not an emphasis on distance and time, but rather on the quality of the journey both spatially and experientially. What was most significant to respondents is journeys that enable a connectivity to place and others. Such sensibilities establish a ground on which we can imagine a more livable city.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Carolos Moreno et al. 'Introducing the "15-Minute City": Sustainability, Resilience and Place Identity in Future Post-Pandemic Cities,' *Smart Cities* 4, no. 1 (2021): 93–111. doi: 10.3390/smartcities4010006.
- <sup>2</sup> For example, see: Ray Hutchinson., ed. "New Urbanism." *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*. Sage, 2010. doi: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412971973>; Charles Montgomery, *Happy City – Transforming our lives through urban design* (Penguin Books, 2013); Paul Tranter and Rodney Tolley, *Slow Cities - Conquering our speed addiction for health and sustainability* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2020).
- <sup>3</sup> Based on the offer of funding afforded through the NHS's Cavell Program for to fund six super health and wellbeing hubs as pilots across the UK, detailed plans were developed (William Telford, "Detailed plans show how Plymouth's £25m health hub will transform city centre," *Business Live*, 12 November, 2021. <https://www.business-live.co.uk/economic-development/details-plans-show-how-plymouths-22148433>. Subsequently, the NHS called for work on all Cavell Centres to stop in March 2023 (William Telford, "Blow for Plymouth as NHS scraps health hub due to lack of cash," *Business Live*, 24 March, 2023, <https://www.plymouthherald.co.uk/news/plymouth-news/blow-plymouth-nhs-scraps-health-8281766>. Most recently it has been announced that a proposed new city centre health facility (focusing on diagnostics) is now being explored (Plymouth.gov.uk, "New health facility for the West End back on the table" (2023), accessed 09 June 2023, <https://www.plymouth.gov.uk/new-health-facility-west-end-back-table>. Our discussion in this text focuses on the originally proposed health centre as our research was related to this.
- <sup>4</sup> Parallel Parliament, "Super Health Hub in Plymouth City Centre," accessed 20 May 2022, <https://www.parallelparliament.co.uk/debate/2022-10-25/commons/westminster-hall/super-health-hub-in-plymouth-city-centre>.
- <sup>5</sup> Plymouth City Council a, "The Changing Causes of Poverty and Health Inequalities in Plymouth: A Public Health Perspective," accessed 27 February, 2023, [https://www.plymouth.gov.uk/sites/default/files/public\\_health\\_annual\\_report1516\\_0.pdf](https://www.plymouth.gov.uk/sites/default/files/public_health_annual_report1516_0.pdf).
- <sup>6</sup> Plymouth City Council b, "The Plymouth Report," Accessed 27 February, 2023, <https://www.plymouth.gov.uk/plymouth-report#:~:text=The%20Plymouth%20Report%20provides%20an,and%20opportunities%20that%20we%20face>.
- <sup>7</sup> Richard Ayres, "Connecting the Dots 1: The Adelaide Street Clinic Experience," (talk presented at Urban Dialogues: Playground Seminar Series. January 27, 2020).
- <sup>8</sup> The government-funded National Health Service.
- <sup>9</sup> Telford, "Detailed plans show how Plymouth's £25m health hub will transform city centre."
- <sup>10</sup> See for example: Robert Steuteville, "Great idea: pedestrian shed and the 5-minute walk," *Public Square*, 7 February, 2017, <https://www.cnu.org/publicsquare/2017/02/07/great-idea-pedestrian-shed-and-5-minute-walk>.
- <sup>11</sup> Moreno et al., 'Introducing the "15-Minute City": Sustainability, Resilience and Place Identity in Future Post-Pandemic Cities.'
- <sup>12</sup> Judith Bell, *Doing your research project: a guide for first-time researchers in education and social science* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999).
- <sup>13</sup> Barbara Hardy, cited in Ruth Finnegan, *Tales of the City – A Study of Narrative and Urban Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1998), 1.
- <sup>14</sup> Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1960).
- <sup>15</sup> Frederick Jameson, "Cognitive Mapping," in *Poetics/Politics – Radical Aesthetics for the Classroom*, ed. Amitava Kumar, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999) 155-171; Jack Nasar, *The Evaluative Image of the City* (London: Sage, 1998).
- <sup>16</sup> See: [https://www.google.com/search?q=15+minute+city+&ei=qO-KZMN50pGFsg\\_a6J\\_YBA&ved=0ahUKEwjD7fX6j8X\\_AhXSSEEAHVr0B0sQ4dUDCBA&oeq=15+minute+city+&gs\\_lcp=Cqxd3Mtd2l6LXNlcnAQDDIICAAQigUQkQlyBQgAEIAEMggIABCKBRCRAjIICAAQigUQkQlyCAgAEIoFEJECMggIABCKBRCRAjIFCAAQgAQyBwgAEIoFEEMyBwgAEIoFEEMyBQgAEIAEOgoIABBHENYEELADSGQIQRGaUKsEWKsEYO4QaAFwAXgAgAHkAYgB5AGSAQMyLTGYAQCGAQHAAQHQg&scient=gws-wiz-serp](https://www.google.com/search?q=15+minute+city+&ei=qO-KZMN50pGFsg_a6J_YBA&ved=0ahUKEwjD7fX6j8X_AhXSSEEAHVr0B0sQ4dUDCBA&oeq=15+minute+city+&gs_lcp=Cqxd3Mtd2l6LXNlcnAQDDIICAAQigUQkQlyBQgAEIAEMggIABCKBRCRAjIICAAQigUQkQlyCAgAEIoFEJECMggIABCKBRCRAjIFCAAQgAQyBwgAEIoFEEMyBwgAEIoFEEMyBQgAEIAEOgoIABBHENYEELADSGQIQRGaUKsEWKsEYO4QaAFwAXgAgAHkAYgB5AGSAQMyLTGYAQCGAQHAAQHQg&scient=gws-wiz-serp).
- <sup>17</sup> Andres Duany and Robert Steuteville, "Defining the 15-minute city," *Public Square*, 8 February, 2021, <https://www.cnu.org/publicsquare/2021/02/08/defining-15-minute-city>.
- <sup>18</sup> See for example: Jonny Anstead, "The 15-minute city is something worth fighting for," *The Architects' Journal*. March 13, 2023, accessed April 15, 2023, [https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/opinion/the-15-minute-city-is-something-worth-fighting-for?eea=\\*EEA\\*&eea=djRjbXB3djZYcG9DbDdGTHoxbmg0TFJZdmViamxwN001WnZ4OTE3UmtUaz0%3D&](https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/opinion/the-15-minute-city-is-something-worth-fighting-for?eea=*EEA*&eea=djRjbXB3djZYcG9DbDdGTHoxbmg0TFJZdmViamxwN001WnZ4OTE3UmtUaz0%3D&)

[utm\\_source=acs&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=FABS\\_AJ\\_EDI\\_REGS\\_DAILY\\_13\\_03\\_23&deliveryName=DM124098](https://www.euronews.com/green/2023/02/21/what-is-a-15-minute-city-the-eco-concept-that-has-been-jumped-on-by-conspiracy-theorists); Lottie Limb, "What is a 15-minute city? The eco concept that has been jumped on by conspiracy theorists." *Euronews.green*, February 27, 2023, <https://www.euronews.com/green/2023/02/21/what-is-a-15-minute-city-the-eco-concept-that-has-been-jumped-on-by-conspiracy-theorists>; Feargus O'Sullivan and Daniel Zuidijk, Daniel, "The 15-Minute City Freakout Is a Case Study in Conspiracy Paranoia," *Bloomberg*, 02 March, 2023, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-03-02/how-did-the-15-minute-city-get-tangled-up-in-a-far-right-conspiracy>.

- <sup>19</sup> See for example: The Original Green, "Walk Appeal," accessed May 18, 2023, <https://originalgreen.org/blog/2012/walk-appeal.html>.
- <sup>20</sup> See for example: Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Robert Brown, "Emplacement, Embodiment and Ritual: Some considerations from *shikii wo matagu* for our understanding of place and identity," in *The Territories of Identity: Architecture in the Age of Evolving Globalisation*, eds. Souymen Bandyopadhyay and Garma Garma-Montiel (London: Routledge, 2013) 31-41; Randolph T. Hester Jr., "Sacred Structures and Everyday Life: A Return to Manteo, North Carolina," in *Dwelling, Seeing and Designing*, ed. David Seamon (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993) 271-297; Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Satsuki Kawano, *Ritual Practice in Modern Japan – Ordering People, Place and Action* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005); Nadia Lovell, ed., *Locality and Belonging* (London: Routledge, 2003); Jianchao Peng, Dirk Strijker, and Qun Wu, "Place Identity: How Far Have We Come in Exploring Its Meanings?", *Frontiers in Psychology*, (2020) doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00294; Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia – A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974).
- <sup>21</sup> See for example: Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).
- <sup>22</sup> See for example: Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society: Information Age, Economy, Society and Culture* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).
- <sup>23</sup> Nicholas Epley and Juliana Schroeder, "Mistakenly Seeking Solitude," *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 143, No. 5 (2014): 1980-1999, doi: 10.1037/a0037323.
- <sup>24</sup> Epley and Schroeder.
- <sup>25</sup> Epley and Schroeder.
- <sup>26</sup> Ashley Lytle, "Intergroup Contact Theory: Recent Developments and Future Directions," *Social Justice Research* 31, (2018): 374-385, doi: 10.1007/s11211-018-0314-9.
- <sup>27</sup> Theresa Genovese and Linda Eastley, "CIVITAS: What is City," in *The Harvard Architectural Review 10 - Civitas / What is City?*, eds. Theresa Genovese and Linda Eastley, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998) 11.
- <sup>28</sup> Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993) 158.
- <sup>29</sup> Robert Brown, "Bachelard, Besson and Bakhtin: A dialogical discourse on the potential of intimate space," *Space & Culture* (2022), doi: 10.1177/12063312221092621.
- <sup>30</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, "Appendix II: Toward a Reworking of the Dostoevsky Book," in *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. Ceryl Emerson, trans. Ceryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 3-302.
- <sup>31</sup> Taylor, Charles. *Philosophy and the Human Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- <sup>32</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden: Blackwell, 1992).
- <sup>33</sup> Robert Brown, "Bachelard, Besson and Bakhtin: A dialogical discourse on the potential of intimate space." *Space & Culture* (2022), doi: 10.1177/12063312221092621. Acknowledgement must be noted here to film critic Robert Stam, who uses the phrase "threshold spaces of encounter." See: Robert Stam, *Subversive Pleasures – Bakhtin, Cultural Criticism and Film* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989).
- <sup>34</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel," in *The Dialogical Imagination*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Ceryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981) 248.
- <sup>35</sup> Lakshmi Charli-Joseph et al., "Promoting agency for social-ecological transformation: a transformation-lab in the Xochimilco social-ecological system," *Ecology and Society*, 23 No. 2 (2018), doi: 10.5751/EX-10214-230246.
- <sup>36</sup> See for example: Mikhail Bakhtin, "Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity," in *Art and Answerability: Early Philosophical Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov, trans. Vadim Liapunov and Kenneth Brostrom, (Austin: University of Texas, 1990) 4-256.
- <sup>37</sup> Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel, 'The 59<sup>th</sup> Bridge Street Song (Feeling Groovy),' (Columbia, 1966).

- <sup>38</sup> Jake Rossen, “20 Bits of Groovy ‘60s Slang,” Mental Floss, accessed 21 June, 2023, <https://www.mentalfloss.com/posts/1960s-slang-terms#:~:text=This%20adjective%20that%20describes%20something,to%20be%20excellent%20in%20general.>

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