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The Role and Function of Temporary Use in Urban Regeneration: The Case of England's Core Cities

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

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Abstract

This thesis discusses the role and function of the temporary use of urban space within the context of the development process and urban regeneration across the core cities of England. The research utilises the concept of gaps in the cycle of utilisation in land and property to develop a single structured analytical framework to assess the relationship between disuse, interim development as a means to alleviate vacancy and the property development industry. In doing so it attempts to extend existing efforts to interpret temporary urban development by exploring what the thesis comes to define as 'extraordinary' and 'ordinary' forms of short-term reuse. An exploratory, mixed method and multi-scalar approach is used to discuss this dichotomy.

Research findings, through a national landscape of the phenomenon of temporary development in the core cities, highlight the characteristics of high profile compared to everyday temporary solutions. In doing so, it exposes the limited frequency of landmark interim solutions in comparison to their more mundane counterparts over a fifteen year period (2000-15). Set against this contextual and temporal backdrop, extraordinary temporary uses are demonstrated to be a marginal but emerging practice of land and property re-use, associated in particular with the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2007-08. Subsequent testing of the spatial distribution and patterning of temporary uses in two selected cities – Bristol and Liverpool – revealed that landmark interim solutions were more commonly centralised in cities than everyday versions, with disproportionately large shares in principal regeneration areas. Through a programme of interviews with key regeneration and development actors, connectivity to urban renewal was shown to be dependent on how the shape and form of local development processes evolve and how regeneration actors' outlooks on temporary use vary over time, as institutional agendas shift and urban economic circumstances change.

The thesis explores this shift in the function and emphasis of temporary development in England's second tier cities, from ordinary, everyday forms toward cultural-creative, extraordinary solutions, to discuss the implications of employing high profile short-term uses as mechanisms to incentivise regeneration. Here, the use gap framework developed in this research is shown to be a useful method for conceptualising the rationale behind the variation in stakeholder perspective on temporary development. The model highlights how fluctuating externalities and the interrelating variables of risk, value and time can affect responses taken toward temporary development by the development industry, elucidating a more complete understanding of the role and function of temporary urbanism amongst the wider (re)development process.

Ultimately, this thesis argues that while the consensus on temporary use is that it is an effective tactic to assist in the continuation of regeneration, it can also leave some temporary users exposed to the vicissitudes of the market. Extraordinary users bear a disproportionate share of the potential risks associated with development, often without commensurate reward. This illustrates how temporary use can engender opportunity for creativity and innovation as part of the regeneration process, but also, demonstrates how risk-shifting rationalities in the development industry can mean that economic, social and political costs accrue inordinately for temporary users. The research specifies that recognition of the locally specific and multi-dimensional nature of the development process and appreciation of the complexity of the interrelationships between the actors involved are of critical importance in any attempt to understand the role and function of temporary use. It concludes that by understanding the evolution of local structures and actions, over time and across space, the nature and form of temporary development can be better appreciated and strategies to successfully manage it developed.

Declaration

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Dedication

For Matthew,

whose patience, endurance, and appetite hold no bounds.

Acknowledgements

Preface

In 2012, during my Master's degree I had the opportunity to complete an essay on the effects of the presence of contamination on the value of previously developed land. It was during the process of reading for and writing this assignment that I came to be interested in the multitude of factors that can generate or encumber development activity. At this time, the recession had past but economic recovery was slow in secondary English cities (as with many other locations). The regeneration efforts and recycling of brownfield land that had been a constant presence in British cities prior to the recession were no longer viable and, as debt and equity finance dried up, confidence in these development projects did also. Back again were the surface carparks of old, as sites stalled and development schemes were shelved. Whilst acting a Planning Assistant at a UK consultancy firm during my Master's year, I was given the task of applying for planning permission for one such surface carpark on a significant site in Manchester City Centre. My original permission was for 48 months but the carpark's actual tenure on site lasted more than five years. Thus, a curiosity with temporary solutions was conjured.

In conjunction with this, and while acting as a Graduate Urban Designer & Planner following completion of my degree, I found myself consistently working on or around the development model of Sustainable Urban Extensions and Garden Cities, arguing for and against housing developments of up to 1000-2000 units. As a response to the staunch housing crisis in parts of England, the then Coalition government had prioritised the use of greenfield land (or even greenbelt land) as a means to continue to drive forward the national housing agenda. When regeneration of expensive, awkward and stigmatised brownfield sites was no longer viable for housing, the opposite took hold; large-scale completions on greenfield locations. The effects of this agenda for regeneration and brownfield land were of particular interest to me.

Thus, when the ESRC CASE studentship on meanwhile uses and brownfield land in partnership with Bridge 5 Mill: Centre for Sustainable Living (then MERCi) was advertised (Spring 2013), I was immediately interested. By this point, I had not heard of the concept of meanwhile use but I was encouraged by the projects' focus on creative and innovative solutions for stalled brownfield sites. Originally, the thesis topic was entitled "Re-using brownfield land in a context of weak property market conditions and dwindling public resources: the role of 'meanwhile land'". This proposal had similar intentions to those featured in the final thesis, including exploring the experiences of a range of alternative approaches to brownfield land reuse in other cities internationally as well as considering the scope for applying such approaches in selected case study English cities. Moreover, the original proposal promoted a mixed, quantitative and qualitative methodology, suggesting the National Land Use Database (NLUD) as a possible source. As the research progressed, I realised that very little conceptual or empirical work on temporary development was in existence. Moreover, little was known about England or the relation between temporary development and urban regeneration. Instead, one city dominated the discourse (Berlin) and the predominate method employed for the study of these projects was case-study research. I therefore saw an opportunity to try to develop an appreciation of a new contextual backdrop and, through British cities, establish a national domain from which temporary use could be better understood across differing spatial scales. This multi-scalar approach to temporary use drove my research strategy and the resulting final thesis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Context of the Study

The temporary use of space has become a major urban trend, attracting increasing popular, policy and academic attention since the emergence of seminal texts on the concept in the early 2000s (Bishop, 2015; Portas, 2011; Madanipour, 2017a). Focusing on beach bars, open air theatres, community gardens, sculpture parks or alternative living projects (Colomb, 2012), to name but a few examples, scholars have increasingly reported on the "power of temporary use" to alleviate vacancy and dereliction in cities (see Haydn and Temel (2006: 14) and Oswalt *et al.* (2013: 5)). Discussions around these temporary urban uses gained significant momentum within the framework of recession, austerity and weakened land and property markets following the global financial crisis of 2007-08 (Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016). Where former models of regeneration and development were challenged in the immediate aftermath of 2007-08, temporary solutions were quickly held up and valued as cheap, fast responses to address the 'blight' of vacancy and neglect (Andres, 2013 and Harris, 2015). By 2012, temporary use was a recognised construct of urbanism, supported by international research documenting cases of cultural creative interim activities across North America, Europe, New Zealand and Australia (Colomb, 2012, Ring, 2012; Ziehl *et al.*, 2012; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014). Yet, as this burgeoning advocacy literature on temporary development progressed so too did critical realisations of the limits, risks and tensions associated with interim solutions (Desimini, 2015; Henneberry, 2017).

Hijacked by "boosterist mayors and architectural style-mags" (Tonkiss, 2013a: 320), temporary uses, are increasingly representative of a catch-all urban solution (see Ferreri, 2015; Németh and Langhorst, 2014 or O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015). Dominated by high profile cases, research on temporary development is concerned almost entirely with a preconceived type of practice. Temporary solutions of this kind include cultural activities, leisure, trade, tourism and urban greening (see Pratt, 2009; Stevens and Ambler, 2010 or Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014). Early works were openly consumed by the wish to present "particularly successful examples of interim use" occurring within large metropolises, capital cities and macro economies (Urban Catalyst, 2003; Shaw 2005; Haydn and Temel, 2006; Blumner, 2006; SfS Berlin, 2007; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Bishop and Williams, 2012). More recent research, by the likes of Ferguson (2014), Andres (2011, 2013), Tonkiss (2013a), Németh and Langhorst (2014), Colomb (2012) or Hawke (2009), have continued in the same vein.

Ultimately, there is now widespread criticism that analyses of temporary use over-emphasise the particular at the expense of the general, and the pioneering at the expense of the everyday (Adams and Hardman, 2013; Deslandes, 2013; Munzer and Shaw, 2015). More generic, ordinary temporary developments in cities such as advertisement hoardings (Adams *et al.*, 2002; Reynolds, 2011), surface car parking (Parris, 2013; O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015) or even public open space (Handley, 1996; CABE, 2008) remain detached from the discourse on the short-term use of vacant land and property. This raises questions about the role of 'acceptable' compared to 'unacceptable' temporary solutions in cities (Deslandes, 2013).

Vacant and derelict land and property are now widely cited as the preferred location for temporary development (Tonkiss, 2013a; Andres, 2013; Harris, 2015; Colomb, 2012, 2017). Nonetheless, the lack of existing information on the location and extent of temporary solutions within cities represents a fundamental, but critical, obstacle to the generation of more a refined understanding of the role of these uses to alleviate vacancy. In contrast to the hoard of statistics delineating the extent of vacant, derelict and previously developed land (Dixon *et al.*, 2010; HCA, 2012; Schulze Bäing and Wong, 2012; European Commission, 2013) as well as the thorough usage of spatial data, thinking and knowledge to determine the levels and patterns of disuse in cities (Hillier *et al.*, 2003; Hayek *et al.*, 2010; Schulze Bäing, 2010; Wong *et al.*, 2015; Pineda-Zumaran, 2016), contemporary inquiries on interim development remain largely devoid of statistical or spatial analyses. Dedicated reviews addressing how temporary uses have been mobilised over time within specific conurbations or sets of conurbations have remained a rarity, bar extended research on Berlin by the likes of SfS Berlin (2007) and Colomb (2012, 2017). Presently, only two systematic studies of temporary urbanity exist, SfS Berlin (2007) and SQW (2010). Both circuitously highlight the insignificant levels of temporary solutions to address dereliction in cities, SfS (2007) in Berlin and SQW (2010) across the UK.

Re-using property and land has been shown to be immensely complex by an expansive international literature on the subject (Pagano and Bowman, 2000; Bowman and Pagano, 2004; Adams *et al.*, 2001; Thornton and Nathanail, 2005; Dixon *et al.*, 2010; Syms, 2010; Hackworth, 2014). These works, amongst others, demonstrate how issues such as, finance (Dixon *et al.*, 2011; Otsuka *et al.*, 2013), patterns of ownership (Adams *et al.*, 2002; Dixon, 2009), contamination and remediation (Syms, 1999; Handley, 1998, 2001) as well as risk and stigma (Bartke and Schwarze, 2009; Bartke, 2011) affect the redevelopment of previously developed or vacant land. The combination represent a series of obstacles that remain largely detached from existing studies on the temporary reuse of space (Henneberry, 2017). Similarly, limited studies seek to address the issue of temporary use with reference to regulatory or statutory processes of development (Urban Catalyst, 2003; Bishop and Williams, 2012). Thus, literature on interim development also has a tendency to disregard regulatory restrictions such as licencing issues (Gebhardt, 2017), the need for planning permission in certain instances (Bishop and Williams, 2012) as well as critical components such as building regulations or health and safety standards (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Adams, 2008).

Outside of these barriers, temporary uses are also coming to be viewed more cautiously and on occasion are seen as constituting a problem (Blumner, 2006; Hawke, 2009). While multiple authors highlight that temporary projects can easily be controlled through strict leases (SQW, 2010; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013), site owners and developers have become more aware that introducing alternate or even informal actors into the property development process can have negative consequences for their development proposal (Németh and Langhorst, 2014). In recent years, multiple accounts of complex legal battles and repossession issues have shown temporary use to be a highly contested form of urban development in its own right, with numerous instances of high-profile, successful temporary solutions blocking and restricting permanent development (Blumner, 2006; SfS

Berlin, 2007; Hawke, 2009; Reynolds, 2011; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Parris, 2013; Németh and Langhorst, 2014; Colomb, 2017). Consequently, temporary uses can sometimes be viewed negatively by those actors who constitute, what Healey (1991a: 97) terms the "development industry": the broad collection of agencies – landowners, financiers, builders, developers, property consultants, property marketers and managers – who organise the conversion of land and property from one physical development to another.

Nevertheless, appreciations of the different ways in which temporary use practices are perceived, and strategies to manage them performed, receive relatively little attention in the literature (see Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Madanipour, 2017a). Other than Hentilä (2003), Mell *et al.* (2013) and Henneberry (2017) connectivity to land/property development largely remain disjointed from the theoretical dialogue on interim use. While there has been growing interest in the possibilities of experimental forms of cultural-creative interim uses as part of wider regeneration programmes (Urban Catalyst 2003; 2007; Haydn and Temel, 2006; SfS Berlin, 2007; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013), limited research has actually questioned "the potential contribution of temporary uses in a long-lasting process of urban regeneration" (Andres, 2013: 760).

A very clear sense has emerged that temporary urban uses should be understood as a part of the urban development cycle and process (see Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Bródy, 2016 and Madanipour, 2017a; Henneberry, 2017). What has come to the fore, is that only by highlighting specific perceptions and perspectives from groups of stakeholders, can the antagonisms and prejudices between users, developers, citizens and policy makers be identified and new dialogues opened up on the influence of temporary urban uses in planning and development processes (Bródy, 2016; Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Madanipour, 2017a). In support of Moore-Cherry and McCarthy (2016) and Bródy (2016), greater appreciation of variations in perspective from the multitude of actors who encompass regeneration and development should be better incorporated into the discourse on interim use. By doing so a more sophisticated understanding of the role and function of temporary solutions in the re-use of land and property could be developed.

There is therefore scope to extend the emerging band of literature attempting to address this gap by advocating an institutional turn in research on temporary development (see Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Bródy, 2016; Madanipour, 2017a; and Henneberry, 2017). This is especially true in light of the existing discourse on property development and its inherent preoccupation with permanent and generic forms of construction (Dixon, 2007; Henneberry, 2017). Advocates of the concept of temporary development highlight that "with the subject of temporary use, fundamental parameters of classical urban development are called into question" (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013: 217), most explicitly the notion of permanence (Bishop and Williams, 2012). With an inherent emphasis on permanent development (Bishop and Williams, 2012), prevailing conceptualisations of the development process (Healey, 1991a, b; Adams, 1994; Ambrose, 1986. Barrett *et al.*, 1978) do not adequately facilitate the study of temporary uses in response to vacancy. Ultimately, temporary development continues to

remain an under conceptualised issue within the fields of planning and real estate (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014; Mell *et al.*, 2013; Andres, 2013; Misselwitz *et al.*, 2007).

On the whole, there exists a detachment between the established literature on vacant land and property development and the burgeoning literature on temporary use. Research on temporary development could usefully be extended to augment the existing emphasis concerning new and innovative land uses on vacant space. This thesis seeks to make a contribution to this area of research by highlighting the importance of reconciling debates on redevelopment and urban regeneration and the role of vacancy and temporary use into a single structured discourse supported by an accompanying analytical framework focused on temporary use as part of the development process (see also Mell *et al.*, 2013).

In doing so, it discusses the multidisciplinary collections of literature associated with temporary use in the redevelopment of vacant land and property to show that there are potential opportunities to augment existing studies in relation to three specific areas. The first is the emphasis of scholarly inquiry on high profile, landmark temporary developments over other more standardised temporary solutions. The second, concerns the lack of statistical and spatial data on the extent and level of interim uses occurring in cities and the third derives from the existing disconnect of temporary use from the processes and agents associated with the broader conception of development.

To augment existing studies, this thesis understands temporary use as a formal part of the planning/development cycle, defined through the mechanism of planning permission as uses that apply from the outset for permission that is restricted to a limited period of time/duration. Moreover, the thesis explores a dichotomy between extraordinary and ordinary forms of temporary development. 'Extraordinary' temporary uses refer to deliberately high-profile landmark and/or creative or innovative developments, whereas, 'ordinary' temporary uses refer to interim developments such as surface car parks, which typically occupy redundant land for indeterminate periods pending site development on a more permanent basis. Through this dichotomy the role and function of different types of temporary solutions amongst development processes – more specifically regeneration programmes – will be explored. Additionally, the thesis widens the existing empirical domain by considering multiple cities over an extensive period of time. Exploring temporary use across multiple cities necessitates collation and analysis of quantitative data in order to build an extensive picture of the urban phenomenon. As the conceptual contribution of the thesis focuses on examining temporary use within and alongside the development process, planning applications data were chosen as the best-suited data source.

In England, all local authorities have a legal duty to make available certain details relating to planning applications (as a public register) on the internet (PARSOL, 2006). A wide range of information and documentation are made available across a range of data fields. Applications data therefore provided a record of all applied for development activity over a prolonged period of time. Moreover, coverage of temporary use in England is limited in terms of both its substantive and geographical focus. In terms of geography, research on temporary uses focus disproportionately on London (SQW, 2010; Reynolds,

2011; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Tonkiss, 2013a; Madanipour, 2017a). Understandings of the interconnectivity between temporary use and regeneration outside of the capital are scarce. The core cities, England's eight largest city economies outside of London (Core Cities, 2016) therefore provide an opportunity to investigate the phenomenon of temporary use beyond the atypical capital city of London. Their role as vital regional economic hubs, responsible for a third of economic output in England (Core Cities, 2010) established an appropriate sized national domain from which the role and function of temporary development could be critically examined.

1.2 Research Aim and Associated Objectives

Aim

The research aims critically to examine the role and function of temporary use in urban regeneration.

Objectives

1. Critically review the theoretical relationship between the process of urban regeneration/renewal and the temporary use of space in order to formulate a conceptual model.

2. Test the applicability of the model across the eight Core Cities of England (2000-2015) by assessing the extent to which temporary uses differ based on their underlying characteristics.

3. Undertake a spatial analysis of the clustering, distribution and patterning of temporary use through case study investigation in two Core Cities, Bristol and Liverpool (2000-2015).

4. Critically assess the perspectives, positions and responses to temporary use taken by the different institutional, organisational and community bodies associated with such practices within the case study cities Bristol and Liverpool.

5. Synthesise the research findings to critically examine the implications of temporary use within the regeneration/renewal of city spaces within England's Core Cities, focusing in particular on Bristol and Liverpool.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

After an introduction to the thesis, Chapter 2 provides a literature review of the key issues and theoretical discussions surrounding temporary use and its relation to regeneration and development. The chapter begins with a discussion of the phenomenon of meanwhile use, defining the inherent focus of the literature on a preconceived notion of temporary development, which prioritises the particular and extraordinary at the expense of the ordinary and everyday. The chapter then explores the lack of systematic studies associated with temporary solutions, linking theories to practical concerns that have emerged on the limitations and potential risks associated with extraordinary interim uses in the re-use of vacant land and property. Finally, consideration is given to the limited theoretical and empirical emphasis on temporary development as a part of the broader development cycle and process, suggesting that the phenomenon of temporary use could be better reconciled with the property development process through a new single structured discourse and accompanying analytical framework.

With this context in mind, Chapter 3 outlines a conceptual framework for the study of the role and function of temporary use focused on the development process and how actors associated with the development industry perceive interim solutions. This conceptualisation stems from the need to refine understandings on gaps in the utilisation of space, gaps in the development process and perceptions toward temporary uses as mechanisms to plug voids in use. The conceptualisation draws on the dichotomy developed through the review – between extraordinary and ordinary interim solutions – to highlight how fluctuating externalities and the interrelating variables of risk, value and time can affect responses toward temporary development by the development industry. The chapter begins with a discussion of the four components of the use gap conceptual framework: fluctuating externalities, time, value and risk. It then moves on to discuss the conceptual scenario to be tested by the empirical components of the thesis, theorising how ordinary and extraordinary temporary solutions are perceived by the development industry. Finally, the application of the model to the empirical context of the research and links to the subsequent methodology (Chapter 4) are discussed.

Chapter 4, provides a detailed description of the methodology developed for this research in response to the review of the literature and the theoretical position outlined in Chapter 2 and 3 respectively. First, the research aim and associated objectives developed from the review of literature and conceptual model are outlined. The chapter then moves on to justify the adopted methodological approach, providing an outline of the research strategy and research phases. The research utilises a three phase mixed methods approach that is both exploratory and confirmatory, in that each stage of the study informs the selection of the next. First, a macro quantitative analysis was conducted across the eight core cities of England. Second, easting and northing point data are extracted from the Phase 1 dataset and a spatial analysis of two of the eight core cities (Bristol and Liverpool) conducted. The third phase, again focusing on the two case study cities, introduced a qualitative component in the form of elite semi-structured interviews. Interviews were held with key actors associated with regeneration and temporary

development in two regeneration programmes, the Temple Quarter in Bristol and the Creative Quarter in Liverpool. Finally, through an overarching summary, triangulation of the mix of methods is discussed and the relation of the three phases of the methodology to the three subsequent empirical chapters of the thesis (5, 6 and 7) is discussed.

Chapter 5, provides a detailed critical analysis of the results of the dataset of temporary use applications and regression modelling associated with the first phase of empirical investigation of the thesis. Through the context of the eight second tier cities of England (Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham and Sheffield) a statistical analysis of the extent to which temporary uses differ based on their underlying characteristics was undertaken. The chapter begins by outlining the study context of this first phase of empirical investigation. It draws initially on contemporary research on temporary urbanism in England and explains how this thesis responds to the limitations of previous studies by exploring circumstances in the core cities of England. Next, the results of the dataset of interim use applications is discussed, analysing the overall statistics that emerged as well as a breakdown between each city. This is followed by the outcomes of the regression modelling developed to create a series of headline findings from the dataset and further test the extent to which temporary uses differ based on their underlying characteristics. The final section of the chapter draws upon both sets of findings, highlighting synergies and conflicts between existing understanding of temporary use through the relationships and patterns uncovered by the dataset as well as the regression analysis. Ultimately, the chapter provides an overarching summary of the results suggesting how these can be developed in the analysis of the subsequent Chapter (6).

To this end, Chapter 6 critically examines the spatiality of temporary urbanism within two cities, Bristol and Liverpool. The chapter begins by outlining the study context of this second phase of empirical investigation. This is followed by the outcomes of the nearest neighbour analysis whereby the statistical clustering of temporary solutions are detailed, initially within the cities and subsequently between the cities through comparative analysis. The findings of the spatial distribution and patterning analysis of temporary use instances in the central policy area and wider periphery of each city are then unpacked, again this is supported by a comparative analysis of the two cities. The final section of the chapter draws upon both sets of findings to highlight the synergies as well as contrasts between the existing spatial understanding of temporary use in cities and the outcomes recorded in Bristol and Liverpool. This discussion will also outline how the defined patterns and relationships are to be taken forward through case study analysis in the subsequent Chapter (7).

Having generated the evidence base from which to determine the most suitable case studies, Chapter 7 provides a critical examination of experiences in the reuse of land on a temporary basis as part of regeneration programmes in Bristol and Liverpool. It attempts to extend existing efforts to interpret the temporary reuse of brownfield land by exploring the experience of two areas: one, Bristol's Temple Quarter where regeneration policy has tried purposely to promote temporary use, and the other, Liverpool's Creative Quarter, where policy has tried to capitalise upon interim development that has

more organic roots. Through these locations, the findings associated with the third phase of empirical investigation of the thesis are unpacked. Through case studies and a programme of 28 semi-structured interviews with key regeneration and development actors, the chapter assesses perspectives on different approaches to the temporary use of land in contrasting local economic contexts. Initially it draws on the context of temporary urbanism within the selected locations of the Temple Quarter (Bristol) and Creative Quarter (Liverpool), proceeded by a detailed discussion of the two separate regeneration initiatives. It concludes by drawing upon case study evidence to argue that understanding of the evolution of local structures and actions over time and across space is critically important in explaining the nature and form of temporary development.

Synthesising the information collected and analysed in the previous chapters, Chapter 8 discusses the research contribution that this thesis has made to the academic literature. It begins by critiquing the research framework used, based on the information collected throughout the research process. A revised understanding of gaps in the utilisation of land and property is then posited. Next, the contribution that the research has made is demonstrated, discussing the characteristics of temporary use practices, spatial patterning of temporary development and institutional interpretations of interim solutions within contemporary urban regeneration initiatives. Finally, how the research can be used to inform future debate is discussed and final thesis conclusions on the role and function of temporary development are provided.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides a literature review of the key issues and theoretical discussions surrounding temporary use and its relation to regeneration and development. The chapter begins with a discussion of the phenomenon of temporary use, highlighting the inherent focus of the literature on a preconceived notion of temporary development, which prioritises the particular and extraordinary at the expense of the ordinary and everyday. The chapter then explores the lack of systematic studies associated with temporary development, linking theories to practical concerns that have emerged on the limitations and potential risks associated with extraordinary interim uses in the re-use of vacant land and property. Finally, consideration is given to the limited theoretical and empirical emphasis on temporary development as a part of the broader development cycle and process, suggesting that the phenomenon of temporary use could be better reconciled with the property development process through a new single structured discourse and accompanying analytical framework.

2.1 The Temporary Use Phenomenon

The Concept of Temporary Use

The temporary use of space has become a major urban trend, attracting increasing popular, policy and academic attention since the emergence of seminal texts on the concept in the early 2000s (Bishop, 2015; Portas, 2011; Madanipour, 2017a). While the concept of temporary use in itself was far from a new social phenomenon (Crowther, 2016), the emerging trend was representative of temporary ventures that were divergent from previous engagement on the subject. Temporary use had been synonymous with the community garden movement in American cities of the 1970s (Schmelzkopf, 1995; Drake and Lawson, 2013; Langegger, 2017); urban squats of the 1980s and 1990s in European cities such as Amsterdam and Berlin (Pruijt, 2003; Holm and Kuhn, 2011; Owens, 2008); and the study of urban informality in the production of space in Latin America, South Asia and the Middle East (Roy and Alsayyad, 2003; Roy, 2009). Yet, through the inaugural project, Urban Catalyst, temporary development departed from these literatures advocating a different focus, in which new cultures and economies were shown to flourish on vacant sites through projects initiated by alternate actors operating outside of normal cycles of development (Urban Catalyst, 2003).

The European Union (EU) funded research project Urban Catalyst analysed temporary use in five European contexts, Amsterdam, Berlin, Helsinki, Naples and Vienna and through their case findings emphasised that residual areas of cities had become breeding grounds and urban laboratories for new kinds of temporary activities. Their rhetoric focused on encouraging "the potential of temporary uses into urban processes" demonstrating these emerging interim developments as emblems of new forms of cultural production in cities (Hentilä, 2003: 18). Focusing on beach bars, open air theatres, community gardens, sculpture parks or alternative living projects (Colomb, 2012), to name but a few examples, their work gave rise to a variety of seminal texts perpetuating the "power of temporary use" in the active re-use of empty property and land, including Haydn and Temel (2006: 14) and Oswalt *et al.* (2013: 5). By 2012, temporary use was a recognised construct of urbanism, supported by a string of literatures

particularly from Germany and Berlin – which through multiple cases of temporary development affirmed the practice of temporary use promoted by Urban Catalyst (see SfS Berlin, 2007; Colomb, 2012, Ring, 2012; Ziehl *et al.*, 2012; Bishop and Williams, 2012 and Ferguson, 2014).The combination firmly established temporary urbanism as an international urban phenomenon with documented cases of cultural creative temporary activities in North America, Europe, New Zealand and Australia (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014).

Figure 1: Temporary Beach Bar, Berlin (SfS Berlin, 2007)

Nevertheless, literature on the concept is disjointed, promoting multiple coinciding terms and definitions of temporary urbanity. Even in spite of continued research on the topic, there is still no accepted definition of the theory, rather a collection of terms, some more popular than others. These include temporary use/urbanism (Haydn and Temel, 2006; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Andres, 2013; Tonkiss, 2013; Desimini, 2015; Madanipour, 2017a), interim use (Blumner, 2006; Hawke, 2009; Németh and Langhorst, 2014), meanwhile use (SQW Consulting, 2010; Angus, 2010; Till and McArdle, 2015; Moore-Cherry, 2017), DIY urbanism (Iveson, 2013; Finn, 2014; Heim LaFrombois, 2015), tactical urbanism (Mould, 2014; Lydon and Garcia, 2015), indeterminate spaces (Sandercock, 1998; Groth and Corijn. 2005; Andres, 2011) or even makeshift city (Tonkiss, 2013; Ferguson, 2014) and interwhile use (Reynolds, 2011).

Temporary use, interim use and meanwhile use represent the most popular terms and are more so linked with temporary solutions as marketing, place-making tactics to stimulate urban regeneration, whereas, tactical urbanism, DIY urbanism or indeterminate spaces are more commonly associated with alternate uses/users and bottom-up, grassroots or insurgent place-making (Table 1). Given the

emphasis of the thesis, terminology more closely connected with formal impermanent uses associated with place-making and regeneration i.e. temporary, interim and meanwhile use are adopted as opposed the terms, DIY or insurgent urbanism, given their predominant emphasis on informal temporary activities.

Table 1: Example Definitions of Key Temporary Use Concepts

Source	Origin	Term	Definition
Colomb (2012) *Interpreting -* Urban Catalyst (2003); Haydn and Temel (2006); Till (2011)	Europe	Temporary Use/ Urbanism	Temporary uses can be defined as uses that are "planned from the outset to be impermanent" and "seek to derive unique qualities from the idea of temporality". The term refers to spaces used "temporarily" in a variety of ways, in order to move away from a focus on temporary land uses per se and instead grasp "the dynamic and open-ended sense of in-betweenness, interventions, and unexpected possibilities" present in such activities and spaces. Temporary uses are often associated with crisis, a lack of vision and chaos. Despite all preconceptions temporary uses can become an extremely successful, inclusive and innovative part of contemporary urban culture.
Hawke (2009)	US/Europe	Interim Use	The concept of interim use proposes temporary, community-conscious use of brownfield properties whose redevelopment is not imminent. In exchange for site utilization, owners are provided financial and technical assistance to conduct immediate assessment – a costly process that intimidates many property owners, causing them to leave their sites vacant. After site remediation, municipalities will support temporary site utilization in accordance with the owner's interests, community desire, and site conditions.
SQW Consulting (2010)	UK	Meanwhile Use	The temporary use of vacant buildings or land for a socially beneficial purpose until such a time that they can be brought back into commercial use again. It makes practical use of the 'pauses' in property processes, giving the space over to uses that can contribute to quality of life and better places whilst the search for a commercial use is ongoing.
Hartley and Lydon (2014)	US	Tactical Urbanism	Tactical Urbanism is a city and/or citizen-led approach to neighbourhood building using short-term, low-cost and scaleable interventions, intended to catalyse long-term change. For citizens, tactical urbanism is a tool to circumvent sluggish bureaucracies and shine a light on the myriad of opportunities to improve neighbourhoods. For developers, it allows 'phase 0' project implementation that test ideas and bring benefits long before permanent development and for municipalities, it increases awareness and offers opportunities to expand public engagement through the project delivery process.
Iveson (2013)	Australia/ New Zealand	Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Urbanism	In many cities around the world we are presently witnessing the growth of, and interest in, a range of micro-spatial urban practices that are reshaping urban spaces. Do-it-yourself urbanisms include actions such as guerrilla and community gardening; housing and retail cooperatives; flash mobbing and other shock tactics; subcultural practices like graffiti/street art, skateboarding, parkour and more.
Groth and Corijn (2005) *Interpreting -* Sandercock (1998)	Europe	Indeterminate Spaces	The phenomenon of 'informal actors' influencing the agenda of urban planning and urban politics by means of temporary appropriation and animation of 'indeterminate' spaces. The latter are spaces left out of 'time and place' with regard to their urban surroundings, mainly as a consequence of rampant deindustrialisation processes and the 'shrinking city'. The unclear and undetermined status of these urban 'no-man's-lands' may allow for the emergence of a non-planned, spontaneous 'urbanity'.

Despite the lack of consensus on the theoretical definition of temporary use (Table 1), much of the literature on the concept, regardless of country of origin, is consistent in its emphasis on similar themes (see also Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016). Recurring points of emphasis include, innovative urban uses, uses outside of the traditional development cycle, forms of urbanism that are often associated with crisis, interventions on vacant sites and buildings, community conscious socially beneficial proposals as well as practical use of pauses in property processes (Table 2). Seminal literature on temporary development successfully highlighted the activities of interim use, the spaces appropriated by temporary solutions as well as the short-term duration of meanwhile ventures. Nevertheless, it was through latter scholarly attention that the predominate contextual and temporal backdrop for the phenomenon came into being (Table 2). The subsequent section of the review moves on to discuss this notion in more detail.

Table 2: Characteristics of Temporary Use

Theme	Characteristics	Sources
1) Activity	**Cultural Creative Activity:** Oriented towards leisure, trade, tourism or culture temporary urbanism has been celebrated for its potential to alter planning practices. Temporary uses have been presented as unique selling points and urban playgrounds for artistic production, consumption, creativity, entertainment and leisure (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014; Colomb, 2017).	*Urban Catalyst (2003); Haydn and Temel (2006); SfS Berlin (2007); Pratt (2009); Stevens and Ambler (2010); Bishop and Williams (2012); Iveson (2013); Németh and Langhorst (2014); Novy and Colomb (2013); Tonkiss (2013a; b); Andres and Grésillon (2011); Portas (2011); Andres and Grésillon (2013); Oswalt et al. (2013); Ferguson (2014); Mould (2014); Hubman and Perkovic (2014); Desimini (2015); Bishop (2015); Harris (2015); O'Callaghan and Lawton (2015); Till and Mcardle (2015); Angus (2015); Moore-Cherry and McCarthy (2016); Moore-Cherry (2017); Haid (2016); Madanipour (2017a, b).*
	Non-planned Activity: A non-planned spontaneous urbanity whereby temporary initiatives are rarely deliberate actions undertaken by the owner, and in many cases, the owner is absent and negligent. Third party individuals – neighbours, artists, non-profits – intercede informally (Groth and Corij, 2005; Desimini, 2015).	*Urban Catalyst (2003); Haydn and Temel (2006); SfS Berlin (2007); Andres (2011); Ziehl et al. (2012); Ferguson (2014);*
2) Context	**Crisis:** Temporary uses are often associated with lack of vision and chaos. Consequently, a variety of forms of temporary urbanism have emerged worldwide in response to […] social, economic and ecological urban crisis (Urban Catalyst, 2003; Richards, 2013).	*SfS Berlin (2007); Till (2011); Colomb (2012); Bishop and Williams (2012); Andres (2013); Tardiveau and Mallo (2014); Harris (2015); O'Callaghan and Lawton (2015); Desimini (2015); Moore-Cherry (2015); Moore-Cherry and McCarthy (2016); Madanipour (2017a).*
	Economic Decline/ Recession: Temporary use evolved in response to high vacancy rates after the economic crisis of 2008, valued as cheap, fast responses to the blight of empty properties and stimulus for regeneration during the recession (Harris, 2015; Madanipour, 2017a).	*SfS Berlin (2007); Reynolds (2011); Bishop and Williams (2012); Andres (2013); Németh and Langhorst (2014); Hubman and Perkovic (2014); Milliken (2015); O'Callaghan and Lawton (2015); Moore-Cherry and McCarthy (2016); Moore-Cherry (2017); Henneberry (2017).*
	Austerity: Temporary projects are integrated into an austerity agenda so as to keep vacant sites warm while development capital is cool. Looking at such temporary uses is increasingly topical in a context of austerity where former models of regeneration and development are challenged (Tonkiss, 2013a; Andres, 2013).	*Reynolds (2011); Tonkiss (2013b); Mayer (2013); Ferguson (2014); Harris (2015); Moore-Cherry and McCarthy (2016); Moore-Cherry (2017); Madanipour (2017a, b).*
3) Space	**Vacant Land, Structures and Residual Spaces:** In the contemporary context, the practice of temporary uses has come to mean the short term re-use of any under-utilised, vacant, public or residual space (and often includes the temporary use of buildings) (Hubman and Perkovic, 2014).	*Urban Catalyst (2003); Hentilä (2003); Shaw (2005); Haydn and Temel (2006); Blummer (2006); SfS Berlin (2007); Hawke (2009); SQW Consulting (2010); Stevens and Ambler (2010); Andres and Grésillon (2011); Rall and Hasse (2011); Rijke and Morgan (2011); Portas (2011); Colomb (2012); Ziehl et al. (2012); Bishop and Williams (2012); Adams and Hardman (2013); Iveson (2013); Andres (2013); Németh and Langhorst (2014); Tonkiss (2013a ; b); Andres and Grésillon (2013); Oswalt et al. (2013); Ferguson (2014); Mariani and Barron (2014); Tardiveau and Mallo (2014); Bishop (2015); O'Callaghan and Lawton (2015); Desimini (2015); Till and Mcardle (2015); Colomb (2015); Angus (2015); Moore-Cherry and McCarthy (2016); Haid (2016); Colomb (2017); Henneberry (2017).*
4) Actors	**Alternate Actors:** Bottom-up community conscious use of vacant buildings or land for a socially beneficial purpose until such time that they can be brought back into use again (SQW Consulting, 2010; Lydon and Garcia, 2015).	*Urban Catalyst (2003); Shaw (2005); Hou (2010); Andres and Grésillon (2011); Andres and Grésillon (2013); Iveson (2013); Jabareen (2014); Ferguson (2014); Finn (2014); Tardiveau and Mallo (2014) Oswalt et al. (2013); Till and Mcardle (2015); Colomb (2017).*
5) Duration	**Short-term vs. Permanent Solutions:** Uses that are planned from the outset to be impermanent vs. an intentional phase within the development cycle that may aim from the outset to endure (Haydn and Temel, 2006; Bishop and Williams, 2012).	*Hentilä (2003); SfS Berlin (2007); SQW Consulting (2010); Andres (2011); Colomb (2012); Oswalt et al. (2013); Tonkiss (2013a); Andres (2013); Németh and Langhorst (2014); Hubman and Perkovic (2014); Bishop (2015); Till and Mcardle (2015); Colomb (2017); Henneberry (2017).*

The Context of Temporary Use: Recession, Austerity and Temporary Solutions

While there had been a long history of temporary use in many cities for several decades, particularly Berlin, discussion around temporary urban uses gained significant momentum within the framework of recession, austerity and weakened land and property markets following the global financial crisis of 2007-08 (Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016). This dual crisis – of property and credit – showed the extent to which "normal" urban development processes were obstructed by reductions in debt-based finance (Mayer, 2013), as credit dried up, the impact on urban space was stark with vacant shops, abandoned projects and empty development sites common features of European and North American cities in recession (Tonkiss, 2014; Dixon *et al.*, 2010). Where former models of regeneration and development were challenged in the immediate aftermath of 2007-08, temporary solutions were quickly held up and valued as cheap, fast responses to address the 'blight' of vacancy and neglect (Andres, 2013 and Harris, 2015).

Figure 2: Temporary Urban Orchard, London (Bishop and Williams, 2012)

As city authorities attempted to adapt to conditions of uncertainty and imposed budgetary restrictions, the notion of temporary use as an economic development tool, became more common place (Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Bishop and Williams, 2012). Within this context of austerity, temporary uses were attractive due to the many roles they were purported to be able to perform, such as, maintaining property at low cost (SQW, 2010); creating new open spaces within cities (CABE, 2008); contributing to economic development (Andres, 2013; Colomb, 2012); providing an outlet for innovation and experimentation (Bishop and Williams, 2012); and drawing positive attention to underused sites at limited cost to the taxpayer (Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016). Looking at interim use through the

lens of 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012) has been increasingly topical, attracting critical questioning from scholars including Tonkiss (2013a, 2014), Ferreri (2015) and Harris (2015) as part of a broader critique of austerity measures (Tabb, 2014; Madanipour, 2017a).

Through these studies, a more advanced scholarly critique on the subject of temporary development has ensued, moving beyond the valorisation of the potential of interim use. Scholars such as Tonkiss (2013a, 2014), Colomb (2012, 2017) and Ferreri (2015) show how policies which seek to capitalise on and incorporate forms of improvised, temporary and creative uses of derelict unused spaces – such as the Broedplaatsenbeleid policy in Amsterdam, the Raumpioniere strategy in Berlin or London's programme for Meanwhile Uses – can act as high-cred seed-beds for creeping gentrification or serve as PR exercises and warm-up acts for speculative private developments (Tonkiss, 2014). Moreover, multiple accounts show temporal tensions typically arise between temporary as a delimited stop-gap solution by local authorities and private developers and, owning to their popularity, meanwhile users vying for permanency (Colomb, 2012, 2017). These accounts have served to highlight critical implications (Ferreri, 2015), unforeseen by the advocacy literature, of the consequences when creative temporary solutions are mobilised as a roll-out response to vacancy, austerity and economic decline (discussed further in 2.2).

Ultimately, across an ever expanding literature, temporary use has come to be synonymous with creative, innovative international examples which stress the potential (Haydn and Temel, 2006), power (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013) and reach (Bishop and Williams, 2012) of temporary development as a response to increased levels of vacancy and dereliction. Within the context of crisis, recession and austerity, uses/users outside of traditional processes of place-making, regeneration and development, offer stop-gap, socially conscious temporary solutions that, often as a consequence of their own success, frequently tussle to become longer-term fixtures on the spaces they occupy (Table 2).

As the burgeoning literature on temporary development has developed, so too have critical realisations of the limitations, risks and tensions associated with interim solutions (Henneberry, 2017). One core concern for this thesis is the inherent emphasis of scholarly inquiry on high profile landmark interim projects over other more standardised temporary solutions. Prior to a more detailed exploration of the critical literature on temporary use of land and property, the subsequent subsection of the review discusses the panacea surrounding contemporary theory on interim development. By unpacking the concept, context and characteristics of temporary use, the review has thus far shown that the focus of existing inquiry on temporary urbanism is concerned mainly with, what this thesis defines, as 'extraordinary' temporary uses.

The Temporary Use Panacea: 'Acceptable' and 'Unacceptable' Temporary Developments

Hijacked by "boosterist mayors and architectural style-mags" (Tonkiss, 2013a: 320), temporary uses, are increasingly viewed as a catch-all solution. As Ferreri (2015: 181) argues, "the promised magic of interim and meanwhile uses has rapidly become a panacea for many urban ailments". Similar notions of the panacea of temporary development have become increasingly prominent within the literature in recent years (see Németh and Langhorst, 2014 and O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015), nevertheless, there have been few attempts to offer critical entries on the ambiguities, assumptions or limitations associated with temporary urbanity (Ferreri, 2015: 181). One particular limitation is the dominant focus on high profile, landmark temporary developments as opposed the marginal activities that have long been a practice of short-term use in cities, such as advertisement hoarding (Adams *et al.*, 2002; Reynolds, 2011).

Rather, research on temporary urbanism to date is concerned almost entirely with a preconceived type of practice, what this thesis will come to define in conceptual terms as 'extraordinary' forms of temporary use. Temporary solutions of this kind include cultural activities, leisure, trade, tourism and urban greening (see Pratt, 2009; Stevens and Ambler, 2010 or Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014). As has been underlined by the likes of Colomb (2017: 7), only certain types of entertainment-related 'acceptable temporary uses' have been portrayed as legitimate or desirable. Radical and politicised interim spaces deemed too subversive or threatening to the audience are regularly left out of the discourse (Colomb, 2017), as are more generic forms of temporary development such as the surface carparks dotted intermittently across city centres (Parris, 2013; O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015). These studies have raised questions about 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' temporary uses (Deslandes, 2013).

Early works were openly consumed by the wish to present "particularly successful examples of interim use" (Haydn and Temel, 2006: 20). Seminal texts on temporary urbanism, such as Urban Catalyst (2003), Shaw (2005), Haydn and Temel (2006), Blumner (2006), SfS Berlin (2007), Oswalt *et al.* (2013), Bishop and Williams (2012), portray specific practice(s) occurring within large metropolises, capital cities and macro economies (typically in conurbations like Berlin, Amsterdam, New York, London, Vienna, Chicago, Melbourne, San Francisco, Tokyo, Paris and Hong Kong). More recent research, by the likes of Ferguson (2014), Andres (2011, 2013), Tonkiss (2013a), Nemeth and Langhorst (2014), Colomb (2012) or Hawke (2009), have continued in the same vein. Consequently, and in spite of overtly atypical contexts, the cases they present are fast becoming misinterpreted as normality or the general representation of 'temporary practice'. Whilst existing studies highlight a variety of critical issues associated with the broader theory of temporary urbanism, most of the literature to date is based on a narrow range of extraordinary types of temporary development (see Haydn and Temel, 2006 or Bishop and Williams, 2012).

Figure 3: Temporary Pallet Pavilion, Christchurch (Hartley and Lydon, 2014)

Authors on temporary urbanism tend to neglect more mundane versions of the phenomenon, emphasising high profile temporary uses at the expense of everyday and unremarkable ones, for example public open space (Handley, 1996; CABE, 2008). Much of the existing literature on temporary use presents findings from empirical work which favours preconceived understandings of what temporary urbanism is: container box beach bars, urban orchards, pallet pavilions etc. (Figures 1, 2 and 3). Such work makes generic claims as to the purpose, implications and legacy effects of temporary use practices the world over (see Haydn and Temel, 2006; Bishop and Williams, 2012 or Oswalt *et al.*, 2013). Although existing studies have value, by highlighting innovative practices only, they ignore the everyday and it is these practices that are more representative of the realities of temporary use. In order to complement and augment the existing literature, there is now a need to explore the ordinary reality of temporary development in cities to include more generic practices of temporary use such as advertisement hoardings (Adams *et al.*, 2002; Reynolds, 2011), surface car parking (Parris, 2013; O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015) or public open space (Handley, 1996; CABE, 2008). Whilst there is a longstanding view of the everyday or ordinary as holding a set of negative connotations, the emergence of the banal and mundane within geography is of particular interest to this review (Binnie *et al.* 2007). As Binnie *et al.* (2007: 518) note,

Geographies of the mundane explore the uses of and different senses of belonging to, unspectacular and ordinary spaces. These mundane landscapes of work, production, consumption and residence are frequently thought of as bland and banal. Their design and architecture are often associated with sameness, homogeneity, or a sense of placelessness.

Similarly, literature on everyday (Berke and Harris, 1997; Chase *et al.*, 2008) and ordinary (Carter and Cromley, 2005; Tonkiss, 2013b) architectures have become increasingly important in research on contemporary urban phenomena, each represent the growing interest to look toward the everyday to escape reductions of architecture and urbanism to a series of stylistic fads. Arguably, temporary use is one such fad, with many contemporary theorisations of the process that overplay and romanticise the celebratory aspects of the concept and downplay its limitations (Adams and Hardman, 2013; Munzer and Shaw, 2015).

Ultimately, there is a need to respond to widespread criticism that analyses of temporary use over-emphasise the particular at the expense of the general, and the pioneering at the expense of the everyday (Adams and Hardman, 2013; Deslandes, 2013; Munzer and Shaw, 2015). As emphasised by Binnie *et al.* (2006), if scholars are to grasp a more nuanced appreciation of stylised cosmopolitan forms of urbanism, investigations of local, everyday and mundane practices must also be conducted. The "utterly ordinary reveals a fabric of space and time defined by its own complex realm of social practices", yet these "have rarely been the focus of attention for architects or urban designers" (Crawford, 2008). In relation to interim development, the existing literature to a large extent omits or downplays ordinary practices of temporary use, instead, discourse on temporary development privileges new landuses that are often explicitly uncommon. As Tonkiss implores, the narrow conception of "the category of temporary use should be opened up to critical questioning" (2013a: 320).

To augment existing studies, this thesis draws a dichotomous distinction between extraordinary and ordinary forms of temporary development. Extraordinary and ordinary forms of interim use are classified as directly contrasting approaches to temporary development as a means to introduce additional specificity to the contemporary discourse on the short-term use of land and property. 'Extraordinary' temporary uses refer to deliberately high-profile landmark and/or creative or innovative developments, whereas, 'ordinary' temporary uses refer to interim developments such as surface car parks, which typically occupy redundant land for indeterminate periods pending site development on a more permanent basis. Through this dichotomy the role and function of temporary solutions in urban regeneration will be explored. Moreover, this thesis understands temporary use as a formal part of the planning/development cycle. Unlike existing studies, temporary use is defined through the mechanism of planning permission, as uses that apply from the outset for permission that is restricted to a limited period of time/duration. As with applications for traditional development, temporary, interim or meanwhile uses are subject to the same rigours, the only difference lay in their classification as temporary planning permission rather than full or outline planning permission (Baker, 2000).

Continuing along the line of unpacking and challenging the temporary panacea, the subsequent section of the review explores the overt connection between temporary development and the re-use of all vacant land/property, emphasising that the concept of meanwhile use must be better reconciled with long standing knowledge on urban regeneration. Where 2.1, discussed the activities, context and actors of temporary use, 2.2 focuses on the spaces and duration of temporary development (Table 2).

It is possible to argue that temporary development is far from the panacea it has been made out to be in some studies (O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015). Reflecting this, as accounts of the phenomenon have matured so too has the appreciation of meanwhile solutions across more extensive periods of time (Colomb, 2012; Desimini, 2015). In recent years narratives have emerged on the issues associated with an ever increasing mobilisation of temporary development in cities (Tonkiss, 2014; Moore-Cherry, 2017; Colomb, 2017), while these remain limited, they have brought into focus particular weaknesses of the cure-all narrative, purporting to the "magic of temporary use" (Ferreri, 2015: 182). Through these critiques three particular points of weakness are of significance to this review, these include: data scarcity surrounding temporary development, the detachment of temporary solutions from the complexity of re-using vacant and derelict land as well as possible risks arising from interim uses. The combination serve to conclude that the potential contribution of temporary development in the long-lasting process of urban regeneration should be opened up to additional scrutiny (Andres, 2013), and in doing so temporary uses of space must be analysed in the context of the urban development process as a whole (Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016 and Madanipour, 2017a).

2.2 Temporary Use of Vacant Land and Property

Systematic Studies of the Extent of Temporary Development in Cities

Vacant and derelict land and property are widely cited as the preferred location for temporary development (Table 2). Nonetheless, the lack of existing information on the location and extent of temporary solutions within cities represents a fundamental, but critical, obstacle to the generation of more a refined understanding of the role of these uses in alleviating vacancy. In contrast to the hoard of statistics delineating the extent of vacant, derelict and previously developed land (Dixon *et al.*, 2010; HCA, 2012; Schulze Bäing and Wong, 2012; European Commission, 2013) as well as the thorough usage of spatial data, thinking and knowledge to determine the levels and patterns of disuse in cities (Hillier *et al.*, 2003; Hayek *et al.*, 2010; Bäing, 2010; Wong *et al.*, 2015; Pineda-Zumaran, 2016), contemporary inquiries on interim development remain largely devoid of statistical or spatial analysis.

The predominant method used in research on temporary use is that of case studies at site level, from which conclusions are then drawn for the surrounding conurbation. The emphasis has been on mechanisms through which temporary imaginations have been conceived and modified and the ways in which the powers of different interests have been mobilised in support of particular temporary development practices (Andres, 2011, 2013; Tonkiss, 2013a). Yet, developing an appreciation of the extent of temporary use within each context is problematic, as with most of the literature, these cases provide isolated, individual accounts of the urban phenomenon which do not account for or seek to create a broader perspective on temporary use within the cities or country they study. Dedicated reviews addressing how temporary uses have been mobilised over time within specific conurbations or sets of conurbations have remained a rarity, bar extended research on Berlin by the likes of SfS Berlin (2007) and Colomb (2012, 2017).

SfS Berlin (2007) and SQW (2010) represent pioneering spatial and statistical methodologies in the study of interim use. Nevertheless, of more significance are the ways in which these works shed light on the amount of temporary solutions in cities. SfS Berlin (2007) through their work on Berlin, documented and mapped up to 40 temporary use projects over the period of 2004-2005, their findings enabled them to credibly comment on the locations temporary development occupied in Berlin and communicate recorded instances through spatial mapping (Figure 4). To date, SfS Berlin (2007) remains one of only two accounts which include spatialised findings on temporary development in cities (see also Desimini, 2015).

Figure 4: Temporary Use Profile of Berlin 2004/5 (SfS Berlin, 2007)

Unlike SfS Berlin (2007), SQW's (2010: 11) study was aspatial, instead it focused on providing the "business case for meanwhile uses", however, in doing so it also undertook the only review that attempted to analyse the extent to which temporary uses occur within a set context (the UK). Research conducted by SQW in 2010 estimated that there were over 200 meanwhile (temporary use) projects in place or in preparation in the UK and that the majority of temporary use activity was occurring in London, classified as a "hotspot" (SQW, 2010: ii). The data used by SQW (2010) relied on a single source, The Empty Shops Network, which at the time estimated that there were "in the region of 100 meanwhile projects in place in the UK" with "an additional 100 in the planning stages" (SQW, 2010: 6). While the SQW review was helpful, it featured a limited definition of meanwhile (temporary) use focused on business, it concentrated predominately on vacant retail units and it did not look at change over time. That said, such failings do not take away from the significance of their study, one of few works that aimed to provide an indication of the level of temporary use activity within a set context.

Similar limitations existed in SfS Berlin's study, in spite of their valuable spatial endeavour, SfS Berlin did not dwell on the locational clustering, distribution or patterns returned by their map. Instead, it acted simply as a means to introduce their identified cases (SfS Berlin, 2007). Consequently, the locational preference of temporary uses remain somewhat undefined. Also missing were comparisons within and across cities as well as comparison to other types of temporary use practices, i.e. the ordinary temporary use concept introduced by this thesis (pg 35). SfS Berlin (2007) mapped five separate temporary use types, the categories of which were all akin to that of the extraordinary temporary uses defined by this thesis (pg 35).

SQW's (2010) research alongside analysis undertaken by SfS Berlin (2007) in Berlin have been particularly influential in the development of spatial-temporal analyses of temporary use activities in cities. Nevertheless, there are few systematic studies of the spatio-temporal dimensions of temporary use within specific geographical contexts currently in existence (aside from Berlin, which has seen a good deal of scholarly attention, see also: Colomb, 2012, 2017). In order to better understand the role of temporary use, it has been argued that changes over time ought to feature more prominently (Desimini, 2015; Raco *et al.*, 2008). Little attention has been given to the issue of time in temporary urbanism, while almost all studies document the duration of the particular temporary interventions they are studying, detail as to how the temporary use agenda has evolved over time, within specific contexts, at a variety of spatial scales (i.e. city, neighbourhood or national scale), are limited (Tonkiss, 2013a). Similar studies would serve to add a level of detail on the extent of temporary solutions in cities and as a consequence address issues of ambiguity in the connection between vacancy and interim use as a cure-all response.

Multiple studies highlight how the use of statistical and spatial data to inform decision-making about contemporary urban issues remains circumscribed (RTPI, 2014; Duhr *et al.*, 2010; Pineda-Zumaran, 2016). With temporary use increasingly visible as a potential regeneration technique, there is a need to study its related spatial properties (Tonkiss, 2013a; Bishop 2015). Statistics and maps are indispensable to the effort of understanding and visualising the existing as well as the future urban environment (Maantay and Ziegler, 2006; Wong *et al.*, 2015). An ever increasing number of academic studies have highlighted the need to enhance spatial thinking and improve spatial knowledge amongst policy and decision makers (Duhr *et al.*, 2010; Pineda-Zumaran, 2016; Wong *et al.*, 2015; Wong *et al.* 2012; Kingston, 2007). In such pursuits, statistics and mapping have long been the established methods due to their ability to manage and display information about many aspects of the same geographic area (Maantay and Ziegler, 2006). As Wong *et al.* (2015) demonstrate, by employing simple data and mapping overlays, complex planning issues can be communicated in a language that is easily understandable and effective, stimulating policy debate, critical thinking and learning that can inform long-range development and planning.

Similar strategic analyses on vacant land have greatly improved knowledge on the concept, bringing to the fore the wide variety of social, economic and environmental nuances affecting unused property.

Scholars successfully demonstrate that the presence of vacant, previously developed land/property has direct connections to and implications for: income, employment, health, education, housing, living environment and crime, regardless of the presence of contamination (Handley, 1996, 2001; MORI, 1995; Greenberg *et al.*, 1990, 2000; Tang and Nathanail, 2012; Kinney *et al.*, 2008; Spelman, 1993; Stucky and Ottensmann, 2009; Accordino and Johnson, 2000; Garvin *et al.*, 2012; Kondo *et al.*, 2016). A comparable approach to the study of temporary urbanism would be beneficial to extend certain aspects of the interim use debate – particularly the association to vacant land/property – in order to develop a more strategic appreciation of the concept as a whole.

Limitations of Interim Solutions

Through systematic studies like SfS Berlin (2007) and SQW (2010) valuable insight on the limitations of temporary development were established. Temporary use can, and has been shown to, positively assist in addressing the negative socio-economic consequences of dis-use in cities (see Tang and Nathanail, 2012; Garvin *et al.*, 2012; Németh and Langhorst, 2014 or Kondo *et al.*, 2016). However, when compared to the long shadow cast by the scale of vacancy and dereliction in North American and European contexts, the cure-all narrative of the phenomenon is called into question. Systematic studies are key in the transition from a data scarce to a data rich understanding of temporary development, through SfS Berlin's (2007) and SQW's (2010) analyses, it became possible to understand the actuality of temporary solutions, in so much as, both accounts began to accentuate just how few – high profile – temporary developments were in existence at any one time in either context.

The instances of temporary development registered by SfS Berlin (2007) and SQW (2010) note the insignificant levels of temporary solutions in addressing dereliction in cities. The prospect of temporary development would seem to be more impactful at the neighbourhood, or site scale, than on the huge scales of vacancy and dereliction present in some contexts. For example, in the European contexts of England and Germany vacant and derelict land or property where the equivalent of 56,560ha (as of 2010) (Sinnett *et al.*, 2014; HCA, 2010) and 128,000ha (as of 2005) respectively (Lee *et al.*, 2005). Moreover, in the US, a recent inventory determined that, nationally, an average of 16.7% of large US cities' land area is recorded as vacant (Newman *et al.*, 2016; Dewar and Thomas, 2013).

Nevertheless, explorations on the spatial reality of temporary use and its limitations have not been a major feature of contemporary inquiry in literature on interim use, although a notable exception is Desimini (2015: 279), who noted the limitations of temporary use in alleviating abandonment and argued that "cities with large inventories of abandoned land require greater restructuring than the temporary can promote". Temporary use functions well, Desimini argued, "as a programmatic overlay […] to activate an existing, clearly articulated, often vibrant, space rather than as a catalyst for systemic urban change in places of disinvestment".

On the whole, there is a detachment between the established literature on vacant land and property and the burgeoning literature on temporary use. Research on temporary development could usefully be extended to augment the existing emphasis concerning new and innovative land uses on vacant space. More specifically, this could involve an understanding and analysis of how temporary use varies over time against the backdrop of land-use, socio-economic and political-administrative change at multiple spatial scales. Such research can ask questions of the role and function of temporary uses within cities in ways that additional case studies cannot.

Complexity and Barriers in the Short-term Re-use of Previously Developed, Vacant Land and Property

The reality of re-using property and land has been shown to be immensely complex by an extensive international literature on the subject (see Pagano and Bowman, 2000, 2004; Adams *et al.*, 2001; Thornton and Nathanail, 2005; Dixon *et al.*, 2010; Syms, 2010 or Hackworth, 2014). These works, amongst others, demonstrate how complex issues such as, finance (Dixon *et al.*, 2011; Otsuka *et al.*, 2013), patterns of ownership (Adams *et al.*, 2002; Dixon, 2009), contamination and remediation (Syms, 1999; Handley, 1998, 2001) as well as risk and stigma (Bartke and Schwarze, 2009; Bartke, 2011) affect the redevelopment of previously developed or vacant land. Dixon *et al.* (2011: 976) argue "when a plot of land is contaminated, located in a remote area, or has multiple ownerships, it tends to be left undeveloped". Similarly, Adams *et al.* (2012: 451), in one of few studies providing longitudinal case study evidence on the these complexities, showed that of 80 brownfield sites first identified in 1995, "nearly half remained only partially developed or wholly undeveloped" when revisited in 2011. Evidence commonly suggests that even when optimum conditions exist, the reuse of vacant land or property can be piecemeal owing to the presence of multifaceted, sophisticated barriers, especially when dealing with more problematic – hardcore – sites (Dixon and Adams, 2008; Otsuka *et al.*, 2013). The combination represent a series of factors that remain largely detached from existing studies of temporary development on disused spaces (Henneberry, 2017).

Similarly, studies on temporary use have a tendency to disregard regulatory restrictions such as licencing issues (Gebhardt, 2017), the need for planning permission in certain instances (Bishop and Williams, 2012) as well as critical components such as building regulations or health and safety standards (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Adams, 2008). Should temporary initiatives be responsible for the preparation and distribution of food or alcohol, they must obtain a license and are subject to semi-annual inspections. This can result in preplanning costs that are prohibitive as well as additional costs at the time of applying for planning permission. In addition, there are also a large number of building regulations including construction and procedure standards to ensure the health and safety of those working in or visiting the land/property in question. These procedures may represent lengthy and costly measures that many temporary projects are unable to afford (Gebhardt, 2017; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013, Adams, 2008). Again, these issues add a degree of reality to the notion of temporary development, positing a number of obstacles, which alongside the aforementioned

complexities, could explain why in some respects the quantity of interim use instances in cities may be restricted.

Outside of these elements, contemporary accounts of interim development would appear to suggest that temporary uses are more so a tool for economic development of vacant land and property at the centre of cities, of the 40 projects mapped by SfS Berlin (2007: 49), 32 were centrally located. Moreover, across the literature the reference of 'city/central' in relation to the locational preference of extraordinary temporary uses was common (Haydn and Temel, 2006; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Andres, 2013; O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015; Desimini, 2015; Moore-Cherry, 2017). This suggests that in the same way a 'cherry-picking' of sites was shown to exist in literature on brownfield land (Tang and Nathanail, 2012; Schulze Bäing and Wong, 2012; Otsuka *et al.*, 2013), interim uses also have a tendency to ignore particularly "unprofitable districts and areas that cannot be marketed in the short to medium term" (Misselwitz *et al.*, 2007: 103). In studies of Cleveland, Detroit and Philadelphia, Desimini (2015; 288, 290), amongst others (Németh and Langhorst, 2014), highlight that temporary development cannot "catalyse significant reinvestment or physical change at the citywide scale", rather, when restricted to "tiny pulses amid a sea of abandonment", their impact "is lost". The literature on interim use has been particularly ambiguous in respect of the variety of sophisticated factors that impede and restrict permanent property development (Henneberry, 2017), this is in spite of the fact that these same issues would also appear to affect the prospects of temporary developments.

Latent Risks with Temporary Urban Uses

Outside of the literature on risk and complexity associated with previously developed or vacant land, temporary development has been shown to come with its own apparent risks and challenges (Blumner, 2006; SfS Berlin, 2007; Hawke, 2009). In recent years, multiple accounts of complex legal battles and repossession issues have shown temporary use to be a highly contested form of urban development in itself, with numerous instances of high-profile, successful temporary solutions blocking and restricting permanent developments (Blumner, 2006; SfS Berlin, 2007; Hawke, 2009; Reynolds, 2011; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Parris, 2013; Németh and Langhorst, 2014; Colomb, 2017).

As described by Németh and Langhorst (2014: 147) "if temporary uses and occupations operate long and successfully enough to become a neighbourhood asset, any attempt by land owners and developers to develop the site in the future will likely be met with resistance by community members". This significantly increases "the risk to future development plans incurred when explicitly permitting or tolerating temporary uses". As has been revealed by Blumner (2006), Hawke (2009) and Colomb (2017), the sustained "exercise of uses or occupation might in fact establish the basis for adverse possession" (Németh and Langhorst (2014: 147). Blumner (2006: 9), through descriptions of cases in New York and California, argued that "there is now a fear on the part of the site owner that once a site has an interim use it will be difficult to get the user to relocate, or that the user may demand a replacement site, or other compensation". Similarly, through cases in Los Angeles, Chicago and New

York City, Hawke (2009: 14), revealed the often "messy conflicts that resulted between property owners and interim users, as interim users and the surrounding community became attached to the site, and were unwilling to transfer control back to the property owner for development". Outside of the US, in her research on two flagship sites in Berlin, Colomb (2017: 146), depicted how conflict made Berlin's planners, public officials and politicians realise the highly ambiguous nature of temporary uses. In so much as "it presented them with a strong conundrum, if allowing temporary uses means that users may refuse to let go of a site once it is ready for redevelopment and mobilise large public campaigns against such redevelopment", there could be a 'backlash' against temporary uses.

Many owners now "fear their property may depreciate because unwanted temporary uses block redevelopment and frighten away more profitable users" (SfS Berlin, 2007: 46). This is a view reflected by temporary use advocates, Bishop and Williams (2012: 38), who state "the major impediment to the wider encouragement of temporary use is now the fear on the part of property owners", owning to well-publicised cases of "repossession issues occurring in several countries, where popular temporary uses gained political support in a campaign to make their project permanent". As a consequence, "the property industry as a whole remains largely ambivalent about temporary uses, with many developers put off by the fact that their reputation can change from local hero to public enemy very quickly when the time comes to repossessing spaces occupied by temporary users" (Parris, 2013: 15).

While multiple authors also highlight that temporary uses can easily be controlled through strict leases (SQW, 2010; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013), the potential and perceived risk of extraordinary temporary solutions now represent significant, restrictive factors for their uptake. Ultimately, site owners and developers are more exclusively aware that introducing alternate or even informal actors into the property development process can have negative consequences for their development proposal, making standardised temporary solutions (Parris, 2013) more preferable than the initiation of landmark interim uses purported by the literature (Haydn and Temel, 2006). Alternatively, as Reynolds (2011) highlights, rather than allow or enable a temporary user/project, owners may simply wait for something better to come along, they may prefer to keep their fingers crossed in the hope they will soon get planning and funding or they may even feel it is easier altogether to leave a site boarded up.

Thus far, the review has shown temporary urbanism to be a highly complex form of development which can valorise and victimise users within the process, either through economic commodification of temporary solutions by developers and owners (Tonkiss, 2014) or adverse possession by temporary users (Németh and Langhorst, 2014). Yet, accounts on the long-lasting implications and legacy of temporary development within specific urban regeneration programmes are limited (Andres, 2011, 2013; Colomb 2012, 2017). So too are studies which seek to address the issue of temporary use with reference to regulatory or statutory processes of development (Urban Catalyst, 2003; Bishop and Williams, 2012). In order to understand the role and function of temporary use, there is a need to further

explore the current appreciation of vacancy and temporary development by those authors who contextualise the wider process of property development and regeneration.

Section 2.2 highlighted that the extent of temporary development in cities is an under researched aspect of the phenomenon, against this backdrop and in contrast to the account of temporary development in 2.1, the review outlined a number of factors which begin to highlight the limitations of temporary solutions in the reuse of vacant land and property. This section of the review has shown that existing studies are distinctly detached from the wealth of literature on the extent of vacancy and dereliction in North American and European cities. Over an extended period this literature has exposed the level of complexity and sophisticated barriers that often restrict redevelopment, whether it be long or short-term. In addition to these complications, regulatory restrictions, costs and potential risk could also be added to the impediment of interim uses.

Temporary solutions were shown to carry their own form of risk and stigma, based on a multitude of documented cases in which the repossession of property by developers and owners was blocked by temporary users, some of whom subsequently succeeded "in establishing themselves into a permanent use", backed by "MPs, businesses, community groups and even city councils" (SfS Berlin, 2007: 47). Consequently, temporary development can often be viewed negatively by those actors who constitute, what Healey (1991a: 97) terms the "development industry", the broad collection of agencies – landowners, financiers, builders, developers, property consultants, property marketers and managers – who organise the conversion of land and property from one physical development to another. Nevertheless, appreciations of the different ways in which temporary uses are perceived, and strategies to manage them performed, are a minority in the literature (see Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Madanipour, 2017a). For Madanipour (2017a) the temporary use of space has been shown to be a moment in a complex development process, advocating, the concept would be better analysed as an integral part of that process.

Thus, in order to necessitate a deeper understanding of the variable logics that underpin the adoption of temporary solutions in specific places and times, the subsequent section of the review seeks to reconcile the notion of interim use with existing theory on the development process and urban regeneration. It does so by first exploring existing conceptions of temporary development, then the empirical and theoretical focus of studies that associate temporary use with urban regeneration are explored and finally the contemporary understanding of vacancy and short-term use by dominant conceptions of the property development process are discussed.

2.3 Reconciling Temporary Use with the Development Process and Urban Regeneration

Theoretical Approaches to Temporary Development

Conceptual work on temporary use is in its infancy (Henneberry, 2017), somewhat surprisingly, the interim use agenda has remained uncoupled from the variety of literature associated with development and regeneration. Thus, temporary development continues to remain an under conceptualised issue within the fields of planning and real estate (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014; Mell *et al.*, 2013; Andres, 2013; Misselwitz *et al.*, 2007). The concept of interim use has instead mainly been pursued from the disciplinary backgrounds of architecture, urban geography, urban sociology and political science (SEEDs, 2014). This material largely takes the form of structured descriptions relating to temporary use projects, particularly the agencies involved and the outcomes produced, very little is said about the production process or how temporary uses are established and developed (Henneberry, 2017). Of those conceptions that do stem from the foci of real estate development and planning, interim use has been analysed through, rent gap theory (Hentilä, 2003), assemblage theory (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014), actor-network theory (Mell *et al.*, 2013) and collaborative planning theory (Andres, 2013). These conceptual contributions focus on aspects such as value, power, social engagement, policy and planning tools. However, as of yet, none engage with or question the role of temporary solutions within the broader context of the development process. Authors who scrutinise temporary use persistently discuss a number of elements closely related to property development, such as a 'cycle of use' (Haydn and Temel, 2006; Madanipour, 2017a, b), a 'gap in use' (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Ferguson, 2014) along with a 'use value' (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Till and McArdle, 2015), yet no definition or conceptual underpinning exists for these terms, bar a somewhat simple diagram in Misselwitz *et al.* (2007).

Other than Hentilä (2003) and Mell *et al.* (2013), connectivity to land/property development largely remain disjointed from the theoretical dialogue on interim use (Henneberry, 2017). Both represent valuable contributions which begin to tease out the role of temporary development amongst the regeneration process, pinpointing the significance of time, value and possible risk in understanding the rationale behind the establishment of interim uses within a circular land (re)development process (Hentilä, 2003; Mell *et al.*, 2013). Nevertheless, Hentilä (2003: 8) adopted a contextual frame between rent gaps and temporary uses "that was based mostly on assumptions", stating that in order "to be able to properly test and discuss this theory […] more detailed data of historical land rents, periods of vacancies and temporary uses of sites" would be required. Additionally, Mell *et al.* (2013), focused on policy gaps contributing to a lack of extraordinary temporary use practices and in doing so created a framework to enable the effectiveness of policies to be evaluated in dealing with potential complexity, uncertainty and conflict surrounding short-term development. Thus, neither attempt to understand the prospect of temporary uses as a tool for the re-use of multiple functions of space within the context of the development cycle.

Yet, if more varied forms of development – such as interim use – are to be grasped and generalisations about development activity challenged (Ratcliffe *et al.*, 2004; Tonkiss, 2013b), debates on redevelopment and urban regeneration and the role of vacancy and temporary use now need "to be articulated in a single structured discourse" (Mell *et al.*, 2013: 6). The subsequent section of the review

analyses the level of integration between temporary development and the long-term process of urban regeneration.

Temporary Solutions within Regeneration Programmes

While there has been growing interest in the possibilities of experimental forms of cultural-creative interim uses as part of wider regeneration programmes (Urban Catalyst 2003; 2007; Haydn and Temel, 2006; SfS Berlin, 2007; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013), limited research has questioned "the potential contribution of temporary uses in a long-lasting process of urban regeneration" (Andres, 2013: 760). Presently, only three regeneration initiatives have been subject to comparable analyses, La Friche in Marseille (Andres, 2011; Andres and Chapain, 2013), Flon in Lausanne (Andres, 2013; Andres and Grésillon, 2013) and the River Spree in Berlin (Colomb, 2012; Colomb 2017).

Through these cases, scholars have considered the role played by creative temporary use practices and their engagement with urban regeneration (Andres and Chapain, 2013), the multistage governance arrangements of temporary use as an instrument for regeneration (Andres, 2013) as well as the paradoxes resulting from the mobilisation of temporary use in development and place-marketing discourses (Colomb, 2017). The focus of studies on La Friche and Flon were on the process of empowerment and the explanation of the way power is used and exploited by stakeholders in different public policy arenas (Andres, 2011, 2013), while the emphasis of inquiries on the River Spree were on the ways in which temporary uses pave the way for profit-oriented urban redevelopment processes but their temporary nature and the potential search for perennity was often a source of conflict (Colomb, 2012, 2017). Despite their connection to urban regeneration, missing from Andres' and Colomb's analyses was the understanding of interim development within the context, or as an integral part, of the development cycle.

A very clear sense has emerged that temporary urban uses should be understood as a part of the urban development cycle and process (see Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Bródy, 2016; Madanipour, 2017a and Henneberry, 2017). Analysis by Madanipour (2017a) highlights, when the temporary use of space is analysed in the context of a larger process of spatial production it becomes clear that temporariness finds different meanings and implications for different parties depending on their particular perspective. Similarly, Adams and Hardman (2013), in their study of guerrilla gardening, suggest that a critical component of future research should be to establish how other actors in the broader production of space receive these uses. For Moore-Cherry and McCarthy (2016), the bringing together of policy-makers, practitioners, activists and research to identify issues of potential concern with the temporary use of vacant urban sites, represents a significant void in the literature. Despite variations in perception representing a critical component of the meanwhile use debate, perspectives have not been identified or discussed to a great extent in the literature (Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016). As also implied by Bródy (2016), few studies collect the inputs of the multitude of actors who encompass regeneration and development into a single analytical frame.

What has come to the fore, is that only by highlighting specific perceptions and perspectives from groups of stakeholders, can the antagonisms and prejudices between users, developers, citizens and policy makers be identified and new dialogues opened up, on the influence of temporary urban uses in planning and development processes (Bródy, 2016; Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Madanipour, 2017a). Henneberry (2017: 5) claims, work on temporary uses "will extend little beyond structured description" unless conceptual frameworks are put forward which focus on events in the production process of development projects; actors' roles in the production and consumption of development; actors' motivations, their strategies and interests; and societal circumstances of development. In keeping with this perspective, the subsequent section of the review seeks to analyse the broader collection of models that have been put forward to capture the complexity of the development process, placing particular emphasis on how these models treat vacancy and temporary re-use.

The Treatment of Vacancy by Models of the Property Development Process

The 'development process' as defined by Healey (1992a: 36) is "the transformation of the physical form, bundle of rights, material and symbolic value of land and buildings from one state to another, through the effort of agents with interests and purposes in acquiring and using resources, operating rules and applying and developing ideas and values". To facilitate the study and understanding of this process, several models have been devised since the mid-1950s, these models set out to capture the complexity of development from one of two mainstream economic perspectives – neoclassical or Marxist economics (Ratcliffe *et al.*, 2004; Guy and Henneberry, 2000) (Table 3).

Various critiques and evolutions of these models have emerged owning to limitations of individual conceptual viewpoints in holistically capturing the complexity of development (see Healey, 1991b, 1992a; Ratcliffe *et al.*, 2004; McNamara, 1988; Adams, 1994; Guy and Henneberry, 2000). In the end, as recommended by Gottdiener (1994: 197), "no single model of political economy, either from a marxian or from a neoricardian perspective, can be used to deduce the present-day sociospatial patterns of multinucleated development". Instead whatever approach is adopted, any economic analysis needs to be populated with development agencies involved in development events and also deal with the relations between them (Healey, 1991b; Guy and Henneberry, 2000). Consequently, a wide consensus has come to exist in support of some form of institutional analysis, with the property development literature accepting Healey's (1992a) institutional model of the development process as the most applicable (Ball, 1998; Henneberry, 2017). Healey's model was sufficiently broad to accommodate the variety and complexity of development actors and their relationships, of elements and stages of the development process and of the different natures, conditions and contexts of development (Healey, 1992a; Henneberry, 2017). As Henneberry (2017: 5) argues, "this breadth is an essential feature, given the highly variegated forms of individual developments and of the wider political economies within which they are pursued".

The prolonged discourse on property development processes, through multiple evolutionary analyses and conceptions, has been particularly significant in identifying a number of important factors in the conversion of land and property. Through these works development has been demonstrated to be highly variable, risky and cyclical, influenced not merely by resources flows (finance), but also by rules and ideas prevailing in society (Kivell, 1993; Ratcliffe *et al.*, 2004; Guy and Henneberry, 2002). Ultimately, land and property development has been shown to take place within a threefold structural framework which is continuously influencing and being influenced by agency behaviour. This threefold framework consists of resources and the economy, the public and private resources from which development derives. Legislative and regulatory frameworks, which control economic and political activity as well as development opportunities. In addition to the cultural ideas and values, held by society about what they should build, what they would like to occupy and what kind of environment they seek (Healey and Barrett, 1990; Adams, 1994; Syms, 2010; Moreno, 2014). Agency behaviour is then capable of challenging and transforming whatever constitutes the structural framework at any time. This continuous interaction between structure and agency helps explain why the production of the built environment varies continuously from place to place (Healey and Barrett, 1990; Adams, 1994).

Table 3: Theoretical Approaches to and Definitions of the Development Process

Origin	Model	Definition	Sources
Neoclassical Economics	Equilibrium Models	These models assume that development activity is structured by economic signals about effective demand and that sufficient stock should be brought forward to meet this demand. This is translated into calculations of rents and yields as well as land and property valuations which either derive from assessments of costs and returns or are based on comparison with established market prices. These models underline many of the land availability studies of the 1980s, at that time particular attention focused on the way the planning system was causing 'supply-side' constraints.	Harvey (1981); Fraser (1984); Hooper (1985); Evans (1987); Cheshire and Sheppard (1989); Healey (1991b, 1992a)
	Event-sequence Models	Such models were developed as a way to understand the complexity of the development process by unpacking its constituent events so that one could recognise the different social relations which might surround each event leading to a better appreciation of the timescales of development projects. Ultimately, these models mainly offer an outlet for describing a development process.	Goodchild and Munton (1985); Gore and Nicholson (1985); Cadman *et al.* (1991); Miles *et al.* (1991); Healey (1991a, b, 1992a); Adams (1994); Ratcliffe *et al.* (2004); Syms (2010); Dixon *et al.* (2011).
	Agency Models	Unlike Equilibrium Models and Event-sequence models, Agency Models actively emphasise the roles and behaviours of different actors. Such models stress the importance of analysing the social relations of the development process through identifying actors and their relationships and/subsequently highlighting the way different agents cluster around different sets of activities in the development process. These models open up the complexity of development activity, challenging simple divisions such as public and private sector and emphasise the need for analytical separation between agents and the roles they play.	Kaiser and Weiss (1970); Drewett (1973); Barrett *et al.* (1978); Bryant *et al.* (1982); Goodchild and Munton (1985); Ambrose (1986); McNamara (1988); Healey (1991a, 1992a, b); Dixon *et al.* (2011)
Marxist Economics	Structure Models	Models developed within this framework offer alternative conceptualisations to those previously mentioned, replacing the notion of the individual rational actor operating in markets with the concept of struggles between groups for control of the surplus generated in production. Such models offer ways of linking events and agency behaviour to the dynamics of the modes of production and regulation of different economies (although their analytical concern has primarily been with capitalist societies). They focus attention on the way the relations of property development are structured by the broader dimensions of capital-labour, capital-landowner and state-market relations.	Boddy (1981); Harvey (1982); Ball (1983); Ambrose (1986); Healey and Barrett (1990); Healey (1991b, 1992a); POST (1998)

However, the discourse on property development was inherently preoccupied with permanent and generic, mainstream forms of development (Dixon, 2007; Henneberry, 2017). Early advocates of the concept of temporary development highlight that "with the subject of temporary use, fundamental parameters of classical urban development are called into question" (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013: 217), most explicitly the notion of permanence (Bishop and Williams, 2012). With both theory and practice in urban development "overwhelmingly concerned with permanence" (Bishop and Williams, 2012: 3), an important question and aspect of distinct significance to this review is how conceptions incorporate and capture vacancy or temporary use.

While the 'cessation of use' was a concern of all models/processes featured in Table 3, only two include it within their conceptualisations, Gore and Nicholson (1985) and Healey (1992a). As a whole, models of the development process largely ignore the period which may exist between the cessation of one use and the commencement of redevelopment pressure for another use. Even when included the cessation of the previous use was seen simply as the stage before the identification of a new use or development opportunity (Adams, 1994). Only one model, Gore and Nicholson (1985), includes 'short-term, temporary uses' in connection with 'vacancy', nevertheless, their work did not seek to develop a finer grained understanding of the complexities associated with either concept, instead, it set out to capture development events within the public-sector development process (Figure 5). In spite of the fact that these models "were devised in order to facilitate the study and understanding of property development" (Ratcliffe *et al.*, 2004: 329), vacancy and a finer-grained understanding of its complexities were not facilitated by equilibrium, event-sequence, agency, structure or even institutional analyses of the development cycle.

Rather, development models commonly posit that land vacancy is a transient feature of the urban environment with sites moving into, and then out of vacancy in response to economic, political and social change (Nicholson, 1984; Kivell, 1993). This process view of disuse emphasises that dereliction arises from the 'failure' of the development process in the recycling of developed sites because development costs exceed the potential value of completed development, summarising the economics of property development as: development cost < value = (re)development or development cost > value = no development (ARUP Economics and Planning, 1995; Handley, 2001). However, the process view of vacancy has been widely disproved, initially by Baum (1985), Chrisholm and Kivell (1987), Cameron *et al.* (1988) as well as the Civic Trust (1988), then more recently by, Accordino and Johnson (2000), Pagano and Bowman (2000), Bowman and Pagano (2004), Adams *et al.* (2012) and Adams (2017).
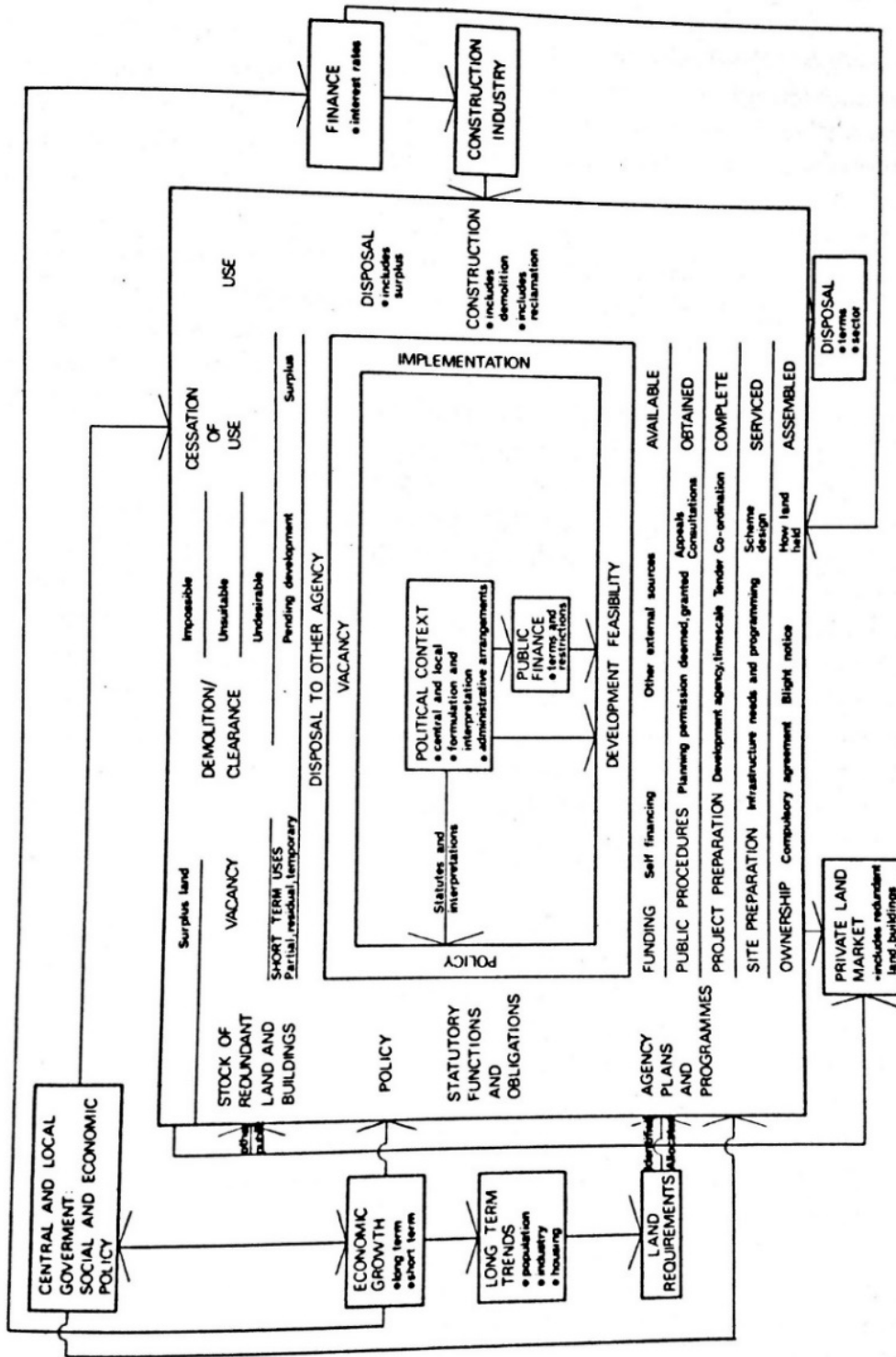
Figure 5: Gore and Nicholson's Event-based Model of the Development Process (Gore and Nicholson, 1985)

Through these studies, amongst others, it has been shown that land which is vacant for either demand-deficient (due to cyclical changes in the level of demand) or structural reasons (land rendered permanently surplus to requirements) can remain permanently as redundant stock (Healey, 1991b; Kivell, 1993), "never beginning the journey around the development pipeline" (Adams, 1994: 54). Baum (1985), measured the mean period of vacancy at 5 years. Chisholm and Kivell (1987), showed that a

vacancy range of 10-15 years is relatively common. The Civic Trust (1988) in a survey of 375 sites revealed that 78 per cent of them had been vacant for more than 5 years, and one third for between 10 and 25 years. Pagano and Bowman (2000) in a survey of 99 US cities recorded that the average amount of vacant land over a 30 year period remained at similar levels, while Adams (2017), found that over 40% of 11,000 hectares of vacant and derelict land in Scotland had remained in that same condition for at least 22 years.

Consequently, prevailing conceptualisations of the development process (Healey, 1991a, b; Adams, 1994; Ambrose, 1986. Barrett *et al.*, 1978) do not facilitate the study of temporary development in response to vacancy. The cessation of one use and the development of another are treated as sequential stages as opposed to a multifaceted process in its own right. Moreover, temporary urban development was not a feature of these studies nor subsequent studies on vacancy, bar one isolated instance, Cameron *et al.* (1988), who highlighted typical factors preventing temporary uses from arising.

Ultimately, there is a need to challenge this over simplified generalisation about development (Healey, 1992a), and extend existing literature by creating new models which attempt to understand contemporary contexts and complexities within development processes and planning systems. Research on vacant property and temporary use should be incorporated into a single analytical framework focused on property development and a conceptual device created which seeks to understand the complexities associated with voids in the wider development process and the emerging tactic of temporary development to alleviate land and property disuse. As a direct result of the works and iterations on the property development process by authors such as Healey and Barrett (1990) and Healey (1991a, b; 1992a), the significance of institutional analyses in property development have been successfully evidenced. Nevertheless, these studies and conceptions, given their focus on permanent, mainstream forms of development, such as long-term major urban regeneration projects (see Healey, 1992a), mean that broader appreciations of complexities – such as vacancy – and alternate forms of development – such as interim use – have not been prominent features, suggesting there is scope to augment existing studies with new frameworks which include these elements.

In reviewing existing theoretical approaches to temporary use and the level of connectivity between interim development and the regeneration process, Section 2.3, has highlighted that conceptual and empirical attention on meanwhile solutions remain disjointed from literatures on property development and regeneration. This section of the review has emphasised that temporary use as part of the broader urban development cycle represents a void in the literature (Madanipour, 2017a; Henneberry, 2017). Moreover, in support of Moore-Cherry and McCarthy (2016) and Bródy (2016), greater appreciation of variations in perspective from the multitude of actors who encompass regeneration and development should be better incorporated into the discourse on interim use. By doing so a more sophisticated understanding of the role and function of temporary solutions in the re-use of land and property could be developed. There is therefore scope to extend the emerging band of literature attempting to address

this gap by advocating an institutional turn in research on temporary development (see Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Bródy, 2016; Madanipour, 2017a; and Henneberry, 2017).

Reflecting this, existing conceptions and theory on the property development process have also highlighted the significance of institutional analyses alongside the examination of events in the property development cycle (Healey, 1992a). Nonetheless, their interest in generic property development processes placed limitations on their effectiveness to support inquiries on contemporary complexities in the development pipeline, such as temporary use in response to vacancy. On the whole, this has served to highlight the importance of reconciling debates on redevelopment and urban regeneration and the role of vacancy and temporary use into a single structured discourse supported by an accompanying analytical framework focused on temporary use within the context of the development process (see also Mell *et al.*, 2013).

2.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the multidisciplinary collections of literature associated with temporary use in the redevelopment of vacant land and property. In doing so, it has shown that there are potential opportunities to augment existing studies in relation to three specific areas. The first, is the emphasis of scholarly inquiry on high profile, landmark temporary developments over other more standardised temporary solutions. The second, concerns the lack of statistical and spatial data on the extent and level of interim uses occurring in cities and the third derives from the existing disconnect of temporary use from the processes and agents associated with the conception of development.

Ultimately, much of the literature on temporary use is overly celebratory, presenting findings from empirical work which favours preconceived understandings of what temporary urbanism is or can be. Although existing studies have value, by highlighting innovative practices only, they ignore the everyday and it is these practices that are more representative of the realities of temporary use. In order to complement and augment the existing literature, there is now a need to explore the ordinary reality of temporary development in cities to include more generic practices of interim use such as advertisement hoardings, surface car parking or even public open space.

Outside of the focus on landmark temporary development, lack of existing information on the location and extent of temporary solutions within cities represents a fundamental, but critical, obstacle to the generation of more refined understandings of the role of meanwhile uses in alleviating vacancy. Little attention has been applied to how the temporary use agenda has evolved over time – within specific contexts – at a variety of spatial scales (i.e. city, neighbourhood or even at a national scale). Extending existing literature by developing a strategic appreciation of the temporary use concept would be beneficial. Systematic studies of this type could begin to shed light on a number of widely critiqued ambiguities presently associated with prevailing accounts of the phenomenon.

Finally, conceptual and empirical attention on the meanwhile use agenda has remained disjointed from literature on property development and regeneration. Temporary use as part of the urban development process coupled with perceptions toward interim development from the multitude of actors who encompass the development industry, each represent voids in the literature. Existing conceptions focused on generic property development are unable to support detailed inquiries on alternate development models – like interim use – within the development pipeline. The combination have served to emphasise the importance of reconciling debates on development and regeneration and the role of vacancy and temporary use into a single structured discourse. An analytical framework focused on perceptions of temporary use within the development process should be put forward to augment existing studies.

The subsequent chapter will address the latter by discussing the development of the conceptual framework used in this research. Focusing on temporary use as a response to gaps in the cycle of utilisation of land or property, the conceptual model highlights how fluctuating externalities in combination with the critical variables of risk, value and time influence the development industries perception of interim use, comparing extraordinary examples of the literature to ordinary versions of the phenomenon. This framework is used to facilitate the study of the role and function of temporary development amongst the urban regeneration process.

Chapter 3: Temporary Use amongst the Development Process – Toward a Conceptual Framework

The review of literature emphasised the lack of integration between temporary use and the broader construct and associated actors of the development cycle (Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Madanipour, 2017a; Henneberry, 2017). With this context in mind a conceptual framework for the study of the role and function of temporary use focused on the development process and how actors associated with the development industry perceive temporary use is outlined (Healey, 1992a; Henneberry, 2017). This conceptualisation stems from the need to refine understandings on gaps in the utilisation of space, gaps in the development process and perceptions toward interim uses as mechanisms to plug voids in use. The conceptualisation draws on the dichotomy developed through the review – between extraordinary and ordinary interim solutions – to highlight how fluctuating externalities and the interrelating variables of risk, value and time can affect responses taken toward temporary development by the development industry (Healey, 1991a; Hentilä, 2003; Mell *et al.*, 2013). The chapter begins with a discussion of the four components of the use gap conceptual framework: fluctuating externalities, time, value and risk (Figure 6). It then moves on to discuss the conceptual scenario to be tested by the empirical components of the thesis, theorising how ordinary and extraordinary temporary solutions are perceived by the development industry (Figure 7). Finally, the application of the model to the empirical context of the research and links to the subsequent methodology (Chapter 4) are discussed.

3.1 The Use Gap Model

Gaps in the Cycle of Utilisation

Drawing upon existing studies associated with the property development process and that of the temporary use of urban space contained within the review, the conceptual model exploits the theory that vacancy represents a gap in the cycle of utilisation and that temporary use can act as a buffer to alleviate disuse (Haydn and Temel, 2006; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Ferguson, 2014; Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014). With some similarity to Hentilä (2003), Mell *et al.* (2013) and Henneberry (2017) the framework is focused on the role and function of interim uses within a circular land (re)development process. In contrast to research on property development models and processes (Gore and Nicholson, 1985; Healey, 1992a; Adams, 1994), the framework sees the period which may exist between the cessation of one use and the commencement of redevelopment pressure for another use, not as a sequential stage in the property development cycle, but as a multifaceted process in its own right. Development models commonly posit that land vacancy is a transient feature (Nicholson, 1984; Kivell, 1993), this framework rejects this process view of vacancy, accepting that if land is vacant for either demand-deficient (due to cyclical changes in the level of demand) or structural reasons (land rendered permanently surplus to requirements) it can remain permanently as redundant stock (Healey, 1991b; Kivell, 1993; Baum, 1985; Chisholm and Kivell, 1987; Civic Trust, 1988; Pagano and Bowman, 2000; Adams *et al.*, 2012; Adams, 2017). Thus, the use gap is conceptualised, within the context of the development cycle, as the indefinite period between the cessation point of a previous use and recommencement point of another more permanent use (Figure 6).

At the cessation point of the previous use, opportunities exist to exploit the gap in the cycle of utilisation by employing a temporary development on any given urban space, the use gap model posited (see Figure 6) demonstrates how this may be viewed as both a valuable opportunity or as a risk by those actors associated with the development industry, depending on the length of time available to them. In accordance with the review of literature (see Chapter 2), existing understanding of the prospect of temporary use could be defined by its relationship to three critical variables, time, risk and value (Figure 6). Here, the expectation of the literature was such that if a temporary development was perceived as a risk by actors of the development industry and its associated use value deemed to be low, despite the length of the fallow time or period of dis-use, an interim use strategy would not be desirable (Reynolds, 2011; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Parris, 2013). In the framework, each of these critical variables is surrounded by a variety of fluctuating externalities which can stimulate or encumber development activity – these include agency behaviour, resources and the economy, legislative and regulatory frameworks as well as cultural ideas or values – the purpose of the use gap model is to demonstrate how the perception of temporary use may change depending on the stakeholder/s associated, as risk and value are dependent on the type of temporary activity being sought as well as the amount of time available (Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Madanipour, 2017a).
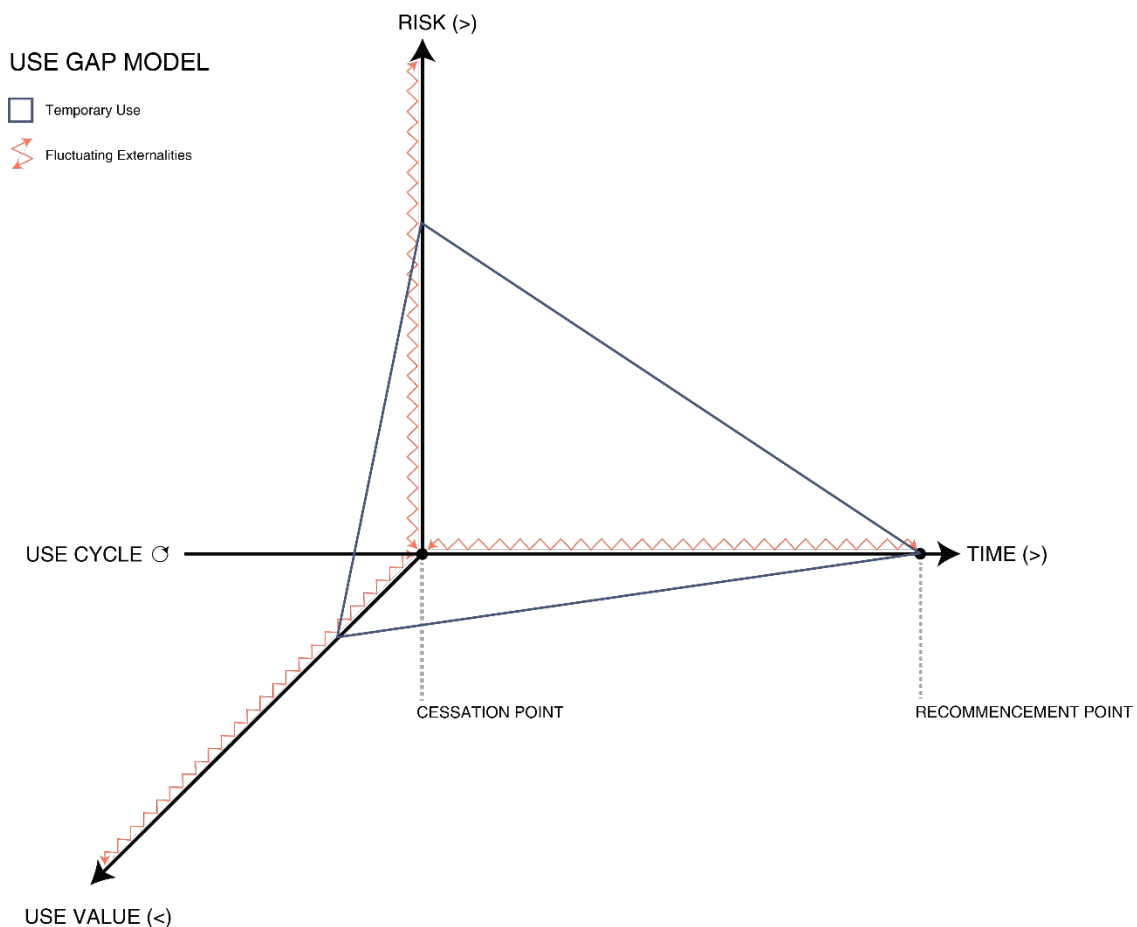
Figure 6: Use Gap Conceptual Framework

Moreover, as discussions on temporary solutions evolved following the 2007-08 financial crisis (Andres, 2013; Harris, 2015), standardised, long-established interim practices such as surface car parking were complimented by more extraordinary, flagship versions of temporary development (see Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Tonkiss, 2013a; 2014; Colomb, 2012). Such high profile uses, often as a consequence of their success and popularity, have been shown to cause possession, political, social and economic issues for actors associated with the development industry (see Blumner, 2006; Hawke, 2009 or Colomb, 2017). Consequently, these interim projects can represent a low value, risky option to alleviate gaps in the cycle of any land or property's utilisation (Reynolds, 2011). The subsequent sections discuss this notion further, defining each component of the model as well as the conceptual scenario to be tested via the empirical components of thesis.

Fluctuating Externalities

Surrounding the critical components of time, value and risk are fluctuating externalities. The review has shown land and property development to take place within a threefold structural framework which is continuously influencing and being influenced by agency behaviour, the conceptual model adopts this framework, wherein the continuous interaction between agency and the structural components of: resources and the economy, legislative and regulatory frameworks, as well as cultural ideas and values, either generate or encumber development activity (Healey and Barrett, 1990; Adams, 1994; Syms, 2010; Moreno, 2014). Here agents represent the broad collection of – landowners, financiers, builders, developers, property consultants, property marketers and managers – who define the development industry, with the addition of temporary users as alternate actors in the process (Healey, 1991a).

A variety of complex obstacles in the re-use of vacant land and property are captured by the aforementioned structural components, these include finance and the wider economy (Dixon *et al.*, 2011; Otsuka *et al.*, 2013), patterns of ownership (public/private) (Adams *et al.*, 2002; Dixon, 2009), cultural values (Syms, 1999; Handley, 1998, 2001) and site/asset constraints such as contamination or the need for remedial treatment (Bartke and Schwarze, 2009; Bartke, 2011). Evidence commonly suggests that even when optimum conditions exist, the reuse of vacant land or property can be piecemeal owing to the presence of these multifaceted, sophisticated barriers (Dixon and Adams, 2008; Adams *et al.,* 2012; Adams, 2017; Otsuka *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, regulatory restrictions such as licencing issues (Gebhardt, 2017), planning permission (Bishop and Williams, 2012) as well as critical components such as building regulations or health and safety standards (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Adams, 2008) are also included, as these have also been shown to affect the prospect of temporary re-use. The combination represent a series of factors that remain largely detached from existing conceptions of temporary development on disused spaces (Henneberry, 2017).

Time

In response to critiques of the development process, the conceptual framework pays particular attention to the notion of time, treating time as explicit rather than implicit to a development process whose events take place over time (Henneberry, 2017; Raco *et al.*, 2008). Here time is defined through a utilitarian approach (Neuhaus, 2015; Madanipour, 2017b), however, with similarity to Madanipour (2017b), temporality is analysed in direct relation to spatiality, as temporary urbanism refers to both time and space at once, therefore, within the framework, time and space are grouped together (Figure 6).

Use Value

Use value is a common attribution of property development (Healey, 1992a; Adams, 2008; Dixon, 2009) and has frequently been associated with temporary urban solutions (Groth and Corijn, 2005; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Németh and Langhorst, 2014; Till and McArdle, 2015). Deriving from Marxist analysis, it represents a utility value for a particular purpose from which financial or other benefit can be obtained from land and property (Kivell, 1993). Differing from exchange value (the sale value, revealed by the price at which buildings are traded), book value (value of land/property as a capital asset as shown on the accounts, may reflect historic acquisition costs) or open market value (price likely to be realised if offered for sale in an open market), use value is evident in the appeal of places to occupiers, reflected in their contribution to productivity, profitability and competitiveness (Kivell, 1993; Adams and Watkins, 2014). In this conceptualisation it encompasses the open market value for the existing use of vacant land and property as well as a hope value, comprised of open market value over and above existing use value, reflecting the prospect of a more profitable future use (Kivell, 1993).

Under financialised models, the exchange value of property is privileged over its use value, wherein, undeveloped urban sites, obsolete in terms of their original function and use value, can frequently remain vacant as public/private owners wait for the exchange value on the land market to increase (O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015; Groth and Corijn. 2005; Demailly and Darly, 2017). Moore-Cherry (2017: 9) argues, this view of derelict sites as "problematic, useless or waste opens up an important debate about how exchange value is prioritised over use value within the city". Moore-Cherry (2017), amongst others (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Németh and Langhorst, 2014), go on to highlight that with the introduction of temporary use the reverse is often seen. Temporary users, as different individuals and social groups who use and appropriate urban space, tend to represent the opposite perspective, emphasising the use value of assets rather than their exchange value (Oswalt *et al.* 2013; Németh and Langhorst, 2014). The initiation of temporary solutions is a longstanding commercial practice whereby the use value to temporary occupiers can assist in rate and rent generation for public and private landowners (Parris, 2013). These commonly comprise of ordinary interim practices such as advertisement hoardings or surface car parking (Reynolds, 2011; Adams *et al.*, 2002). Nevertheless, as emphasised in the review, in recent years the potential economic value of extraordinary temporary use practices has become more recognised by public and private sector actors of the built environment. This mainstreaming of landmark, high profile meanwhile uses has meant that many corporate brands now recognise the added value that association with cultural-creative temporary uses can deliver in

terms of novelty, exclusivity and image for their assets (Parris, 2013; Bishop, 2015). As Stevens and Ambler (2010) claim, creative temporary uses (such as urban beaches) attract attention and add value to their corresponding sites. Similarly, Madanipour (2017a) argues that temporary users can contribute heavily to the monetary value of the space through their own cultural capital and help lubricate the property development process as well as accelerate a change of image.

Temporary urban uses of space emphasise the importance of use value and other forms of non-visible, non-monetary exchange or advantage (Till and McArdle, 2015). Consequently, as made clear in the review, interim spaces are now characterised by a tension between their actual use value and their potential commercial value (Colomb, 2012). Where successful, temporary interventions have been shown inevitably to add both use and exchange value to the land or property in question (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014) and can be responsible for a process of economic gentrification by the development industry (Andres, 2013) or in the opposite extreme pose long-term possession issues by reneging temporary occupiers (Hawke, 2009). Drawing on Macmillan (2006) the conceptualisation acknowledges that 'value' has different meanings for different actors, and thus, given its focus, defines use value as the perceived value to be derived from temporary development in light of the length of time available in direct comparison with potential or attributed risk (Figure 6).

Risk

For the framework, risk is defined through a two-tailed appreciation of the concept to include traditional risks affecting vacant land and property in combination with potential repossession issues associated with certain types of temporary development. Redevelopment of vacant land has been shown to be highly variable, cyclical and risky, influenced not merely by resource flows (finance), but also by rules and ideas prevailing in society (Kivell, 1993; Ratcliffe *et al.*, 2004; Guy and Henneberry, 2002). An extensive literature has revealed the negative socio-economic impacts of disuse, whereby long-term vacancy can increase the risk of disinvestment and depression of asset value owning to a variety of societal and environmental factors. Often these comprise of, reduced income, limited employment opportunities, health risks, dangerous living environments, increased crime as well as stigmatisation, owning to the perceived presence of contamination or the remedial treatment of contaminates (Handley, 1996, 2001; MORI, 1995; Greenberg *et al.*, 1990, 2000; Tang and Nathanail, 2012; Kinney *et al.*, 2008; Spelman, 1993; Stucky and Ottensmann, 2009; Accordino and Johnson, 2000; Garvin *et al.*, 2013; Kondo *et al.*, 2016).

Interest by the development industry in temporary uses to avoid the risks of disuse and generate a base revenue from assets is longstanding (Parris, 2013), most commonly, these take the form of advertisement hoardings (Adams *et al.*, 2002; Reynolds, 2011), surface car parking (Parris, 2013; O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015) or even public open space (Handley, 1996; CABE, 2008). As outlined in the review, these generic, ordinary responses to temporary development are perceived by the development industry as low risk short-term solutions. In contrast, high profile, landmark temporary

solutions promoted by Urban Catalyst (2003), Haydn and Temel (2006), Bishop and Williams (2012) and Oswalt *et al.* (2013), were shown to, on occasion, come with latent risks and challenges (see Blumner, 2006; SfS Berlin, 2007; Hawke, 2009).

Multiple accounts of complex legal battles and repossession issues in North America and Europe have shown that the extraordinary temporary uses of the literature can be contested forms of urban development in themselves, with numerous instances of high-profile, successful temporary solutions blocking and restricting proposed development projects (Blumner, 2006; SfS Berlin, 2007; Hawke, 2009; Reynolds, 2011; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Parris, 2013; Németh and Langhorst, 2014; Colomb, 2017). Consequently, in accordance with the review, there is now an understanding that some agents of the development industry can have an aversion toward celebratory, extraordinary temporary developments, perceiving them more so as additional risks than solutions to vacancy. In this sense, the framework includes latent or actual risk as a critical variable affecting responses to temporary use by development industry actors (Figure 6). As Reynolds (2011) highlights, often actors would rather choose to leave their assets boarded up than allow or enable a temporary user/project. This aspect is considered further by the subsequent conceptual scenario.

3.2 Temporary Development within the Use Gap Framework

Conceptual Scenario

In light of the above, and in accordance with Henneberry (2017), consideration should now be given to the relation between one type of temporary solution compared to another. This framework takes forward this notion by building on the dichotomy between extraordinary and ordinary forms of temporary development defined within the review. Through a conceptual scenario, the variation in perception by development industry actors toward differing forms of interim use – to address vacancy – are input into the framework and subsequently tested over the empirical components of the research (see 3.3).

The conceptualisation understands temporary use as a formal part of the planning/development cycle, thus dissimilar to studies within the review, temporary use is defined through the mechanism of planning permission, as uses that apply from the outset for permission that is restricted to a limited period of time/duration. As with applications for traditional development, temporary, interim or meanwhile uses are subject to the same rigours, the only difference lay in their classification as temporary planning permission rather than full or outline planning permission (Baker, 2000). Here, 'extraordinary' temporary uses refer to deliberately high-profile landmark and/or creative or innovative developments, whereas, 'ordinary' temporary uses refer to interim developments such as surface car parks, which typically occupy redundant land for indeterminate periods pending site development on a more permanent basis.
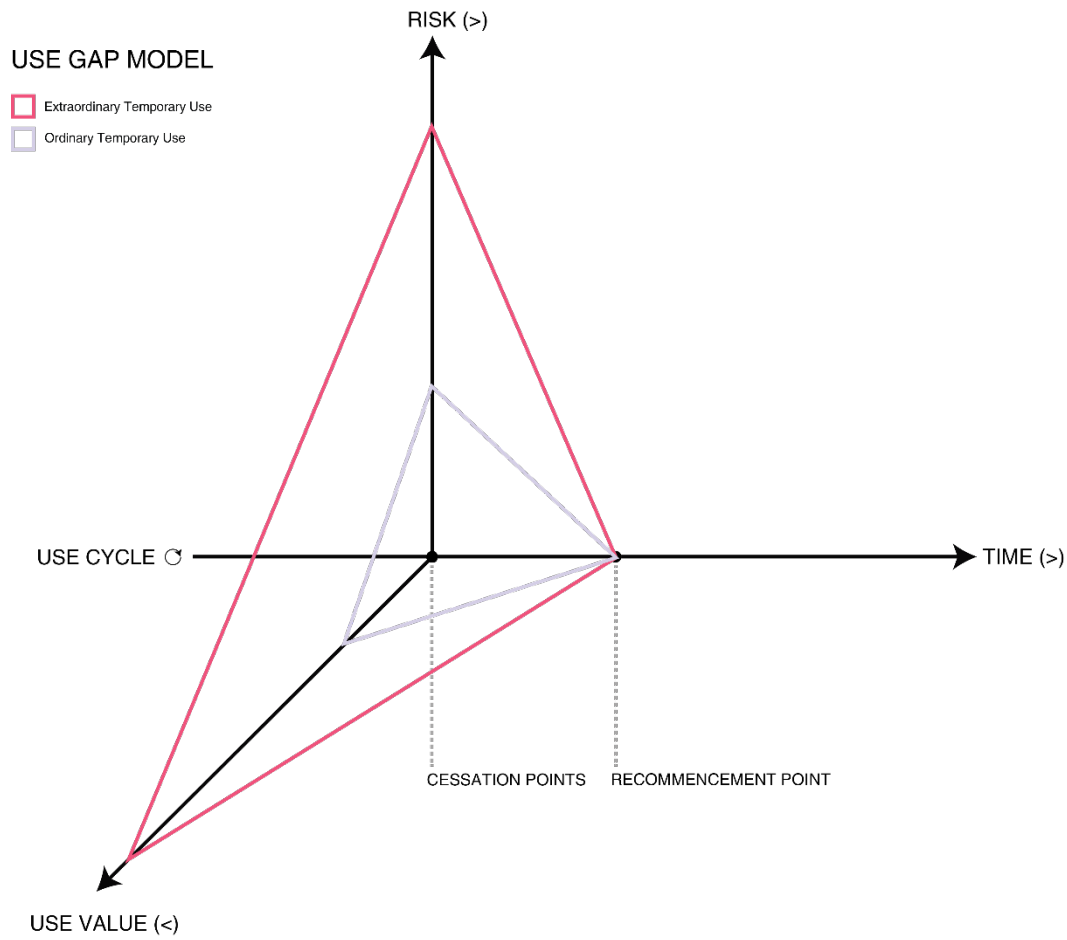
Figure 7: Conceptual Scenario: Response to Temporary Use by the Development Industry

In accordance with the outcomes of the literature review the scenario posits that extraordinary temporary uses have a higher perceived risk and lower perceived financial value compared to their ordinary counterparts by actors associated with the process of urban regeneration (Blumner, 2006; Hawke, 2009; Németh and Langhorst, 2014). Defined by the relationship between the three critical and interrelating variables of time, value and risk, the use gap framework demonstrates the predilection for standardised forms of temporary use by the development industry, and in particular the preference for surface car parking over the more high-profile examples depicted by the literature (see Urban Catalyst, 2003 or Ferguson, 2014).

Ultimately, site owners and developers are more exclusively aware that introducing alternate or even informal actors into the property development process can have negative consequences for their development proposal, making standardised temporary solutions (Parris, 2013) more preferable than the initiation of landmark interim uses purported by the literature (Haydn and Temel, 2006). Alternatively, Reynolds (2011) argues, rather than allow or enable a temporary user/project, owners may simply wait for something better to come along, they may prefer to keep their fingers crossed in the hope they will soon get planning and funding or they may even feel it is easier altogether to leave a site boarded up.

The influence and perception of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary use practices on the framework are discussed over the course of the empirical components of the thesis (Chapters 5-7), the subsequent summary outlines how the use gap model will be applied to temporary development within the adopted context, England's core cities. In defining this contextual backdrop, two elements were considered, the first was to use the review to select locations that had not been subject to research in the past and the second was to ensure planning applications data were publically available in each selection location (see Chapter 4 for further detail).

3.3 Summary

Applying the Use Gap Model to Temporary Development in England

The use gap model is utilised to study the role and function of temporary development across and within England's core cities through three components: identifying the underlying characteristics and extent of temporary solutions; examining the spatial clustering, distribution and patterning of temporary developments; as well as analysing perspectives, positions and responses taken toward interim use practices by the variety of actors associated with regeneration and development. Each of these components is studied through an exploratory, multi-scalar mixed methodological approach.

An empirical component is employed to explore the underlying characteristics and extent of temporary solutions across the core cities, whereby planning applications data is used to compile a dataset of temporary development in each city over the fifteen year period of 2000-15. This analysis provides statistical evidence on interim uses capable of assessing the macro role played by extraordinary or ordinary temporary use practices, among other characteristics, over a prolonged period. In doing so it establishes a national landscape of the meanwhile use phenomenon in England and provides evidence of the two most appropriate cities to be considered in the subsequent stage of analysis.

A further empirical component is conducted through nearest neighbour analysis and spatial mapping of two cities, Bristol and Liverpool. These forms of analyses are used to understand the spatial clustering, distribution and patterning of ordinary and extraordinary temporary solutions at the meso, city scale. Moreover, spatial mapping serves to identify two regeneration initiatives to be taken forward in the third stage of investigation.

A final empirical component, temporary development at the mirco, local scale, is conducted through case studies and semi-structured interviews with actors associated with the redevelopment and temporary use of vacant land and property within two selected regeneration programmes. These interviews are used to understand how ordinary compared to extraordinary temporary uses are perceived by the variety of actors associated with regeneration and temporary development, to offer insights on perspectives associated with temporary solutions and what mechanisms, processes and actors impede and promote it.

Finally, the conceptual framework is re-evaluated in light of the experience of assembling and analysing empirical data, resulting in a critical assessment of its strengths and weaknesses. The research is then used to show how the study of the varied roles and functions of temporary development in cities has been refined, highlighting the interactive dynamics between ordinary and extraordinary temporary use solutions to address voids in the operation of urban space and detailing how a number of potential areas could beneficially focus from future work.

The subsequent chapter moves on to outline the aim and objectives of the research and how the adopted methodological approach will address each of the aforementioned theoretical and empirical components of the thesis.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter provides an explanation of the methodology developed for this research in response to the review of the literature and the theoretical position outlined in Chapter 2 and 3 respectively. First, the research aim and associated objectives developed from the review of literature and conceptual model are outlined. The chapter then moves on to justify the adopted methodological approach, providing an outline of the research strategy and research phases. Finally, through an overarching summary, triangulation of the mix of methods is discussed and the relation of the three phases of the methodology to the three subsequent empirical chapters of the thesis is delineated.

4.1 Aim and Associated Objectives

Aim

The research aims critically to examine the role and function of temporary use in urban regeneration.

Objectives

1. Critically review the theoretical relationship between the process of urban regeneration/renewal and the temporary use of space in order to formulate a conceptual model.

2. Test the applicability of the model across the eight Core Cities of England (2000-2015) by assessing the extent to which temporary uses differ based on their underlying characteristics.

3. Undertake a spatial analysis of the clustering, distribution and patterning of temporary use through case study investigation in two Core Cities, Bristol and Liverpool (2000-2015).

4. Critically assess the perspectives, positions and responses to temporary use taken by the different institutional, organisational and community bodies associated with such practices within the case study cities Bristol and Liverpool.

5. Synthesise the research findings to critically examine the implications of temporary use within the regeneration/renewal of city spaces within England's Core Cities, focusing in particular on Bristol and Liverpool.

4.2 Research Strategy and Phases

The overarching research strategy adopts a mixed methods approach. The pluralism of a mixed methods approach, as opposed mono-method research, can increase confidence in the reliability of research findings (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This is especially true when combining qualitative and qualitative techniques. As Bryman (2008: 615) notes, "whereas quantitative research tends to bring out a static picture of social life, qualitative research is more processual". Nonetheless, and as emphasised by Bryman (2008: 615), this "static picture" is particularly valuable when the research is concerned with uncovering regularities – often it is the identification of such regularities that allows a processual analysis to follow. As stated in Chapter 2, research associated with the temporary use of urban space tends to adopt a solely qualitative empirical approach. Regularities associated with the urban phenomenon, as of yet, have not been systematically identified or analysed, with multi-scalar approaches remaining a rarity.

Quantitative data provides the most appropriate platform by which to establish an understanding of the landscape of temporary urbanism across multiple contexts – the macro scale. Its heavy association with breadth of information (Bryman, 2008) is fitting when the initial aspiration of the research is to pinpoint temporary use regularities. These regularities or characteristics can then be taken forward, and when analysed against a more restrained context, properly tested and unpacked to identify trends and patterns – the meso scale. It is through quantitative data that a measure of the temporary use concept was developed.

Qualitative research, then, given its preoccupation with depth as opposed to breadth, enables findings to be orientated toward the contextual uniqueness and significance of the characteristics of temporary use at ground level – the micro scale. As Geertz (1973: 378) argues, qualitative research produces "rich accounts of the detail of a culture". Quantitative methods alone simply could not achieve this goal. To appreciate and analyse temporary use amongst the development process within specific contexts and further develop the robustness of the quantitative elements, qualitative data was necessary. In this thesis qualitative data was used as the critical counter-point to the quantitative methods, accomplished through triangulation (Jick, 1979).

Broadly defined by Denzin (1978: 291), triangulation is "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon". Triangulation is commonly used for cross validation between the two distinct methods, enhancing reliability as the qualitative findings augment the quantitative ones (Bryman, 2008). When combined, quantitative and qualitative approaches are used to capture a more complete, holistic and contextual portrayal of the temporary use phenomenon (Jick, 1979). It is through such detail that judgements can be made about the possibility of transferability of the findings to other milieu and robust conclusions drawn for this research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).
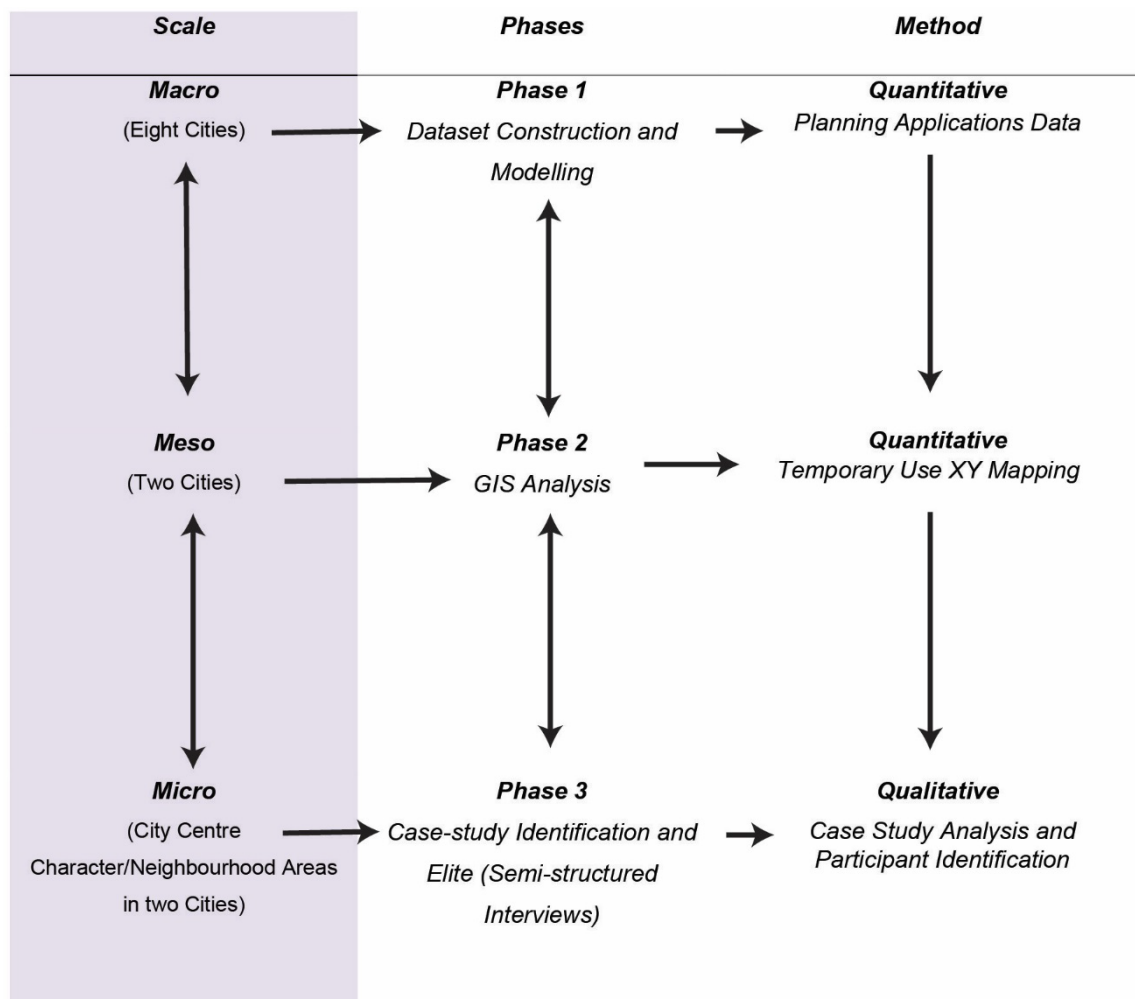
Figure 8: Research Strategy

The research utilises a three phase mixed methods approach that is both exploratory and confirmatory, in that each stage of the study informs the selection of the next (Figure 8). First, a macro quantitative analysis was conducted across the eight core cities of England. Second, easting and northing point data was extracted from the Phase 1 dataset and a spatial analysis of two of the eight core cities (Bristol and Liverpool) conducted. The final phase, again focusing on the two case study core cities, introduced a qualitative component in the form of elite semi-structured interviews. Interviews were held with key actors associated with city regeneration and temporary urbanism in three city centre character/neighbourhood areas. Each of these three phases will now be discussed in further detail. A summary of the research phases and associated steps is shown (Table 4).

Table 4: Summary of Research Phases and Associated Steps

Objective 1	Steps:
	▪ Literature review and development of conceptual model.
Objective 2 *Quantitative* **Phase 1**: *Dataset Construction and Multinomial Logistic Regression*	Steps: ▪ Dataset construction through planning applications data (2000-2015). ▪ Coding to assess a number of core structural variables associated with the temporary urbanism debate. ▪ Multi-nomial Regression Modelling and analysis: Stepped Approach (2 Way Main Effects, 3 Way Main Effects, 2 Way Main Effects + Interactions, 3 Way Main Effects + Interactions). ▪ Analysis of descriptive statistics.
Objective 3 *Quantitative* **Phase 2**: *Nearest Neighbour Analysis and Mapping (GIS)*	Steps: ▪ Easting and Northing coordinate (X and Y) extraction: Bristol and Liverpool. ▪ Identification of contextual indicators for spatial analysis: local authority boundary and planning policy in the form of designated city centre character/neighbourhood areas (SPDs). ▪ Spatial clustering analysis of the structural variables of temporary use (type; time; function; decision and occurrence) through nearest neighbour (GIS).
Objective 4 *Qualitative* **Phase 3**: *Google Earth Case-study Identification and Elite Interviews (Semi-structured Face to Face/Telephone)*	Steps: ▪ Google Earth analysis of structural variables: SPD cluster/case-study identification. ▪ Case-study Locations: Bristol Temple Quarter (65.3 ha) Liverpool Creative Quarter (54.6 ha). ▪ Analysis of actors/documentation associated with each of the XY points within the chosen SPD cluster/case-study areas. ▪ Visual site assessments of SPD cluster/case-study areas. ▪ Qualitative interviewing (face to face/telephone) with those involved in various capacities with temporary urbanism within Bristol and Liverpool. ▪ Synthesis and analysis based on findings from case studies.
Objective 5	Steps: ▪ Synthesis of three empirical chapters to examine critically the implications of the research findings.

Phase 1: Dataset Construction and Regression Modelling

As explained in Chapter 2, existing inquiry of temporary use has suffered from data scarcity. In attempting to understand the role and function of temporary uses, the thesis seeks to widen the empirical domain by considering multiple cities over an extensive period of time. In order to broaden the approach taken toward temporary urbanism and, in tandem, develop an approach more inclusive

of the diversity of experience between ordinary and extraordinary temporary uses, an initial exercise in dataset construction was undertaken. Phase 1 (Objective 2) sought to explore the national landscape of temporary use within the eight core cities of England across a fifteen year period. Exploring temporary use across multiple cities necessitated collation and analysis of quantitative data in order to build an extensive picture of the national landscape of this urban phenomenon. In order to create a data-rich study and construct a dataset of the required size, geographical domain, temporal parameters and a source of data had to be determined.

In defining the cities for study in phase 1, two factors were considered. The first was whether a location had been subject to research in the past; the second was to assess activity beyond macro, capital cities whose contexts are somewhat atypical – such as London. England's core cities were selected in response to these criteria as well as two additional considerations. One was the lack of substantive and geographic focus on temporary development in England more broadly. The other was in response to the empirical interest of developing a systematic appreciation of temporary development across one national landscape. Here the second tier cities of England represented an appropriate national domain for empirical investigation.

Dataset Construction

As emphasised in Chapter 2, coverage of temporary use in England is limited in terms of both its substantive and geographical focus. In terms of geography, research on temporary uses focuses disproportionately on London. Understandings of the interconnectivity between temporary use and regeneration outside of the capital are scarce. The core cities, England's eight largest city economies outside of London (Core Cities, 2016), provided an opportunity to investigate the phenomenon of temporary use beyond the atypical capital city of London. Their role as vital regional economic hubs, responsible for a third of economic output in England (Core Cities, 2010), addressed both the requirement to explore temporary uses beyond the global city of London and the empirical need to establish an appropriate sized national domain (Figure 9).

The delimitation of a time-period for study was based on converging temporal trends between the literatures on temporary urbanism and impacts of the 2008-2010 economic recession on development cycles (Martin, 2012). Temporary use has been the subject of an ever expanding literature since the mid-2000s (Urban Catalyst, 2003; Haydn and Temel, 2006) coinciding, within the chosen context, with the governments crystallisation of the brownfield land agenda and successive waves of urban regeneration initiatives following the Rodgers report and subsequent Urban White Paper (Urban Task Force, 1999; DETR, 2000; Rodgers, 2005). The year 2000 therefore served as a natural entry point, while the boom and bust nature of recession (2008-2010) and subsequent recovery (2011) served as the dominant characteristics affecting development cycles between 2000 and 2015, the year in which the data was collected (Gardiner *et al.*, 2013; Hincks *et al.*, 2014). Thus, the period of 2000-2015 was adopted as the temporal framework for the analysis, with two distinct periods of pre-recession (2000-

2007) and recession and recovery (2008-2015) defined to enable pre vs. post recessionary comparison for temporary use practices across/within the core cities.
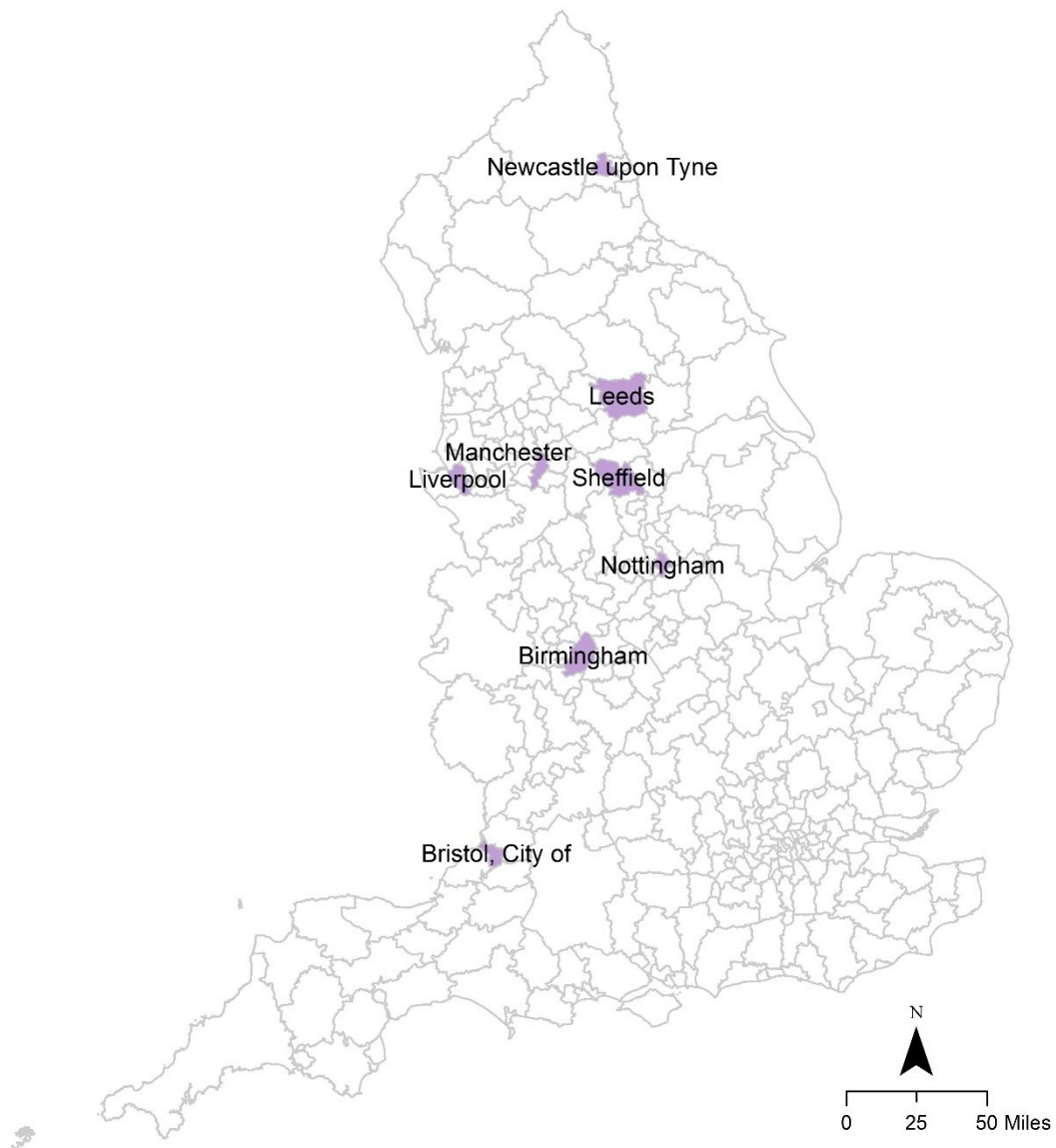
Figure 9: England's Core Cities

As the conceptual contribution of the thesis focused on examining temporary use within and alongside the development process, planning applications data were chosen as the best-suited data source. Applications data, derived from each core city local authority website, provided a record of all applied for development activity over a prolonged period of time (periods are subject to the register of each local authority). In England, all local authorities have a legal duty to make available certain details relating to planning applications (as a public register) on the internet (PARSOL, 2006). A wide range of information and documentation are made available across a range of data fields (Table 5). Nevertheless, these differed depending on the year submitted or on the officer responsible for their submission. Habitually some data fields were empty requiring a more thorough analysis of the supplied documentation to obtain missing information.

Table 5: Planning Applications Data Fields

Data fields appropriate to display on an online planning applications database (this list is not exhaustive):		
Application number	*Agent name*	*Site inspection date*
Application type	*Agent address*	*Committee or Delegated?*
Status	*Agent telephone number*	*Committee date*
Address	*Date received*	*Decision*
Postcode	*Date valid*	*Decision date*
Easting and Northing	*Date registered as valid*	*Decision notice date*
Ward and/or parish	*Date site notice requested*	*Legal agreement?*
Development description	*Date press notice requested*	*Appealed?*
Officer	*Date last consultation letter sent*	*Date appeal lodged*
Officer telephone number	*Date consultation period expires*	*Appeal decision*
Officer email address	*Neighbours consulted list (no names)*	*Appeal decision date*
Applicant name	*Consultee list*	*Condition details*
Application address	*Constraints list*	*S106 details*

Highlighted cells show the ten data fields that were extracted to create the datasets for each of the eight core cities.
(Edited from PARSOL, 2006: 21)

Similar to applications for permanent development, applications for almost all forms of temporary use are subject to an application for planning permission. Referring back to the definitional analysis discussed in Chapter 2, seven key terms/concepts associated with temporary urbanism (Table 6) were employed to search for and extract applications for temporary use within each core city. Each planning application portal contained applications data for over 24 data fields. Based on the structural variables that the dataset would be coded against, ten data fields were extracted for analysis (Table 5).

The ten applications data fields were then collated in Excel to create a dataset for each city. In light of the similarity of the key terms/concepts used, and in order to ensure that the dataset consisted of unique fields or instances of repeat applications only, a duplicate analysis was conducted through Excel. The systematic collection and collation of planning applications data resulted in an end dataset of 5,890 applications for temporary use within the eight core cities' of England over the fifteen-year period of 2000-2015 (Table 6).

Table 6: Planning Applications Data for Temporary Use: Total per Core City

Core City	Search Terms Used	Total Number of Results
Birmingham	Temporary	**1219**
	Temporary Use	
	Period Of	
	Use of Land	
	Short Term/ Short-term	
	Interim	
	Meanwhile	
Bristol	Temporary	**559**
	Temporary Use	
	Period Of	
	Use of Land	
	Short Term/ Short-term	
	Interim	
	Meanwhile	
Leeds	Temporary	**504**
	Temporary Use	
	Period Of	
	Use of Land	
	Short Term/ Short-term	
	Interim	
	Meanwhile	
Liverpool	Temporary	**702**
	Temporary Use	
	Period Of	
	Use of Land	
	Short Term/ Short-term	
	Interim	
	Meanwhile	
Manchester	Temporary	**1720**
	Temporary Use	
	Period Of	
	Use of Land	
	Short Term/ Short-term	
	Interim	
	Meanwhile	

Newcastle	Temporary	*434*
	Temporary Use	
	Period Of	
	Use of Land	
	Short Term/ Short-term	
	Interim	
	Meanwhile	
Nottingham	Temporary	304
	Temporary Use	
	Period Of	
	Use of Land	
	Short Term/ Short-term	
	Interim	
	Meanwhile	
Sheffield	Temporary	448
	Temporary Use	
	Period Of	
	Use of Land	
	Short Term/ Short-term	
	Interim	
	Meanwhile	

Highlighted terms returned zero results, including the core term for temporary use within the UK, meanwhile use. Table 3 shows a clear distinction between literature on temporary use and planning/developmental practice, a dichotomy that will be further explored within Chapter 5.

The 5,890 cases were then coded across a range of core structural variables associated with the temporary use debate to amass city datasets capable of looking in depth at the characteristics of the core cities (Table 7). The structural variables of type, time, function, decision and occurrence were chosen in direct response to trends highlighted within the temporary use literature. The critical narrative developed over the course of Chapters 2 and 3 highlighted how temporary use had become an element of urban theory transfixed with the apparent success and dynamism of explicit, stylish practices within creative (mostly global) cities. Consistently, it had been presented as an urban agenda oriented toward leisure, trade, tourism and urban greening. The lack of attention devoted to more common practices of temporary use coupled with the lack of empirical data concentrating on ordinary uses called into focus the need to refine assumptions about the urban phenomenon (Table 7).

Table 7: Structural Variables of Temporary Use

Dependent Variable	Categories			
Type: Spontaneous cultural creative uses from all over the world have come to surmise temporary urbanism. Nevertheless, such temporary activities do not account for the existence of a) less stylised or b) planned forms of temporary urbanism. The Type variable examines the reality of temporary activity probing the relationship between extraordinary temporary uses and their more mundane, ordinary temporary use counterparts (see Table 2) (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014; Colomb, 2017; Groth and Corijn, 2005; Desimini, 2015).	Ordinary Temporary Uses (*Reference Category*)		Extraordinary Temporary Uses (*Comparator*)	
Independent Variables				
Time: The crisis, recession and austerity characteristics of temporary urbanism are examined by way of a comparison between the pre-recession period and recession/recovery period. The time variable tests the strength of the relationship between temporary use and the much heralded emphasis on crisis (see Table 2) (Richards, 2013; Harris, 2015; Tonkiss, 2013a; b; Andres, 2013).	Pre-Recession (2000-2007)		Recession and Recovery Period (2008-2015)	
Function: Multiple functions of space have been associated with the phenomenon of temporary use, yet, the difference between the various functions has not been explored e.g. fluctuations in complexity between the re-use of a vacant parcel of land and that of a public space. The Function variable focuses on temporary urbanism across multiple types of space, whereby, the relationship between the temporary use of sites/land, structures, public or residual spaces are identified and the variation in complexity acknowledged (see Table 2) (SfS Berlin, 2007; Hubman and Perkovic, 2014).	Site/land	Structures	Residual Space	Public Spaces
Decision: The emphasis of temporary use has placed particular onus on the alternate, informal nature of temporary users. These users have been characterised as those outside of the normal processes of place-making, regeneration and development. Instead, through grass-roots projects that respond to spaces with a social conscious these actors are seen by many as radical and in opposition to the formal procedures of planning. The Decision variable, analyses the approach local authorities take toward such 'subversive' projects measuring the relationship between approved projects, projects that have been withdrawn and projects that are refused (see Table 2) (SQW Consulting, 2010; Hou, 2010; Adams and Hardman, 2013).	Approve	Withdraw	Refuse	
Occurrence: Much is made of the temporal tension between the stop-gap nature of temporary uses and, on many occasions (mainly as consequence of their own success), a vying for permanence. The Occurrence variable analyses the duration of temporary use projects, comparing temporary uses that are isolated to those that reoccur on/within the same space (see Table 2) (Haydn and Temel, 2006; Bishop and Williams, 2012).	Isolated		Reoccurring	

The core assumption to be confronted was the lack of consideration of ordinary temporary use practices compared to their extraordinary counterparts. Type was therefore established as the dependent variable for the analysis with time, function, decision and occurrence acting as the independent variables. To explain the relationships between these variables a modelling strategy was developed.

Regression Modelling

In order to unpack the relationship between the two types of temporary use practices, the coded datasets needed to be processed and analysed. Regression modelling provides a means of predicting values of a dependent variable on the basis of the relationship with one or more independent variables (Field, 2009). In this case, type constituted the dependent variable and time, function, decision and occurrence the independents. Similar methodological approaches have been adopted by Hincks (2015; 2017) and Galster *et al.* (2003) in their work on neighbourhood change, Nong and Du (2011) in their exploration of urban growth patterns, and Lopes *et al.* (2014) in their modelling of transport demand forecasts. These studies established models that were used to predict the effects of multiple structural factors on a core variable. In order to meet objective 2 of this research, multinomial logistic regression (following Hincks, 2015; 2017) was applied to establish statistical relationships between the dependent and multiple independent variables as well as the odds/likelihood of each statistical relationship taking place. In contrast to conventional bivariate or multivariate regression, multinomial logistic regression provided a means of predicting the membership of more than two categories (Field, 2009).

Multinomial logistic regression was therefore employed to establish the relationship between type of temporary use and its structural variables (time of occurrence; the function of space appropriated; decisions taken and whether instances were isolated or happened to re-occur over the fifteen year period). As no previous research on which to base the hypothesis existed, a stepwise method was used (Field, 2009). Multiple regression models were developed to identify statistically significant relationships, testing across the core cities the extent to which ordinary and extraordinary temporary uses (dependent) differ based on their underlying characteristics (independents). Iterative testing revealed some cells with zero observations which, if left unaddressed, would impact the stability of the model (similar to Hincks, 2015). To eliminate the effects of zero observations, it was necessary to input seven additional cells, which were then categorised as missing cases, thereby keeping the total number of considered cells 5,890.

The regression models were built to focus on measuring the main effects and interactions associated with temporary use practices. The stepped approach resulted in four models for analysis: 2 way main effects; 3 way main effects; 2 way main effects + interactions and 3 way main effects + interactions. For each regression model, odds were used as the principal analytical technique. Odds or likelihood ratios were determined for every main effect and interaction, providing a series of statistically significant headline findings about temporary use within the core cities over the period studied. Finally, an analysis of the descriptive statistics was conducted through cross tabulations of type (dependent) against each

of the structural variables (independents), providing total counts (per variable) by which the likelihood ratios determined by the four models could be further analysed.

Through a strategic analysis of the planning application dataset, Phase 1 developed models and modes of analysis capable of establishing regularities of temporary use. The series of statistical results were used to question assumptions about temporary urbanism and ultimately posit insights regarding the role and function of temporary use in/between cities (see Chapter 5).

Phase 2: GIS Mapping and Nearest Neighbour Analysis

While Phase 1 explored the national landscape (macro) of temporary use across the eight core cities, Phase 2 sought to develop an appreciation of the spatial patterns of temporary use within/between two cities (meso). In defining two cities for further empirical study, three aspects were considered. The first was the relationship between each city and the dependent variable – type. Bristol and Liverpool displayed contrasting associations between the two temporary use types, the ordinary type was of particularly nuanced prominence in Bristol and the extraordinary type was of distinction in Liverpool. Secondly, policy provisions for temporary development were of importance, the cities of Bristol and Liverpool represented the only core cities to feature specific policy provisions for temporary uses on vacant sites, Policy BCAP12 in Bristol (Figure 23) and Policy CC 13 in Liverpool (Figure 24). Again, these represented contrasting approaches, with a purposeful promotion of high profile temporary development only in Bristol compared to a nonspecific approach toward interim uses in Liverpool. The third and final aspect was to investigate cities with contrasting economic and social characteristics. Multiple accounts on the core cities highlight the pronounced disparity between the cities of Bristol and Liverpool in particular, with Bristol the "star performing city" of the eight (Champion and Townsend, 2011: 1552) and Liverpool the poorest performer (Parkinson, 2016). The combination identified Bristol and Liverpool as the two core cities meriting more intensive case study research. This provided the research with two cities with long histories as major ports, but with divergent economic histories over successive decades and contrasting economic and social characteristics (Figure 10 and 11). Unlike Phase 1, Phase 2 sought to explore the spatial characteristics of temporary uses within the two cities.

Just as ordinary temporary uses have received little research attention, systematic studies of the spatio-temporal dimensions of temporary use within specific geographical contexts are also few in number. Reviews addressing how temporary uses have been mobilised over time within specific conurbations or sets of conurbations have remained a rarity, bar research on Berlin by Colomb (2017) and SfS (2007). A number of studies have highlighted the limited use of spatial data to inform decision-making about contemporary urban issues (RTPI, 2014; Duhr *et al.*, 2010; Pineda-Zumaran, 2016). With temporary use increasingly visible as a regeneration technique in England (Tonkiss, 2013a; Bishop 2015), there is an obvious need to study its related spatial properties, as with any other form of land-use. Maps, being graphic representations of various aspects of reality, are indispensable to the effort of understanding and visualising the existing as well as the future urban environment (Maantay and Ziegler, 2006; Wong *et al.*, 2015).

A number of academic studies have highlighted the need to enhance spatial thinking and improve spatial knowledge amongst policy and decision makers (Duhr *et al.*, 2010; Pineda-Zumaran, 2016; Wong *et al.*, 2015; Wong *et al.* 2012; Kingston, 2007). In such pursuits, GIS has long been the established method due to its ability to manage and display information about many aspects of the same geographic area (Maantay and Ziegler, 2006). As Wong *et al.* (2015) demonstrate, by employing simple GIS mapping overlays complex planning issues can be communicated in a language that is easily understandable and effective, stimulating policy debate, critical thinking and learning that can inform long-range development and planning. It was the objective of Phase 2 to adopt a comparable GIS mapping approach to the study of temporary urbanism.

GIS Mapping

Drawing upon the approach of Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung's (SfS) (2007), Phase 2 sought to develop a multi-scalar spatial analysis of temporary uses in Bristol and Liverpool. The same fifteen-year period and codes identified within Phase 1 were adopted, enabling comparison between the mapping and the outcomes of the models (Phase 1). This also ensured consistency within the narrative and analysis. The spatial analysis, unlike the models, sought to map actual instances of, as opposed to planning applications for, temporary use.

The city datasets assembled from Phase 1 were checked for duplicates in order to arrive at a final dataset which consisted of unique fields or instances of repeat applications. For the spatial mapping, instances of repeat applications were streamlined. Duplicate applications for a repeat activity on the same space/site were deleted to leave only the original application or applications for alternate activities. This preference was directly related to the need for clarity within the maps, as multiple applications for the same activity would provide multiple overlaying points. Instead, a single point would be seen for each type of activity that occurred on or within a site or space. Repeat applications were instead captured through the occurrence variable, i.e. whether instances were isolated or reoccurring. This shift from applications to instances reduced the total number of temporary uses in Bristol and Liverpool by 183 and 168 respectively; the resulting totals for the spatial analysis were 376 instances in Bristol and 534 in Liverpool.

Mapping instances of temporary use required additional data fields to be added to the assembled city datasets. First, easting and northing coordinates were extracted through the online planning applications database. Where these were unavailable, the built-in applications map, address or postcode were used to identify coordinates. Additionally, spatial boundaries had to be determined in order to understand the geographic location, spatial patterns and distribution of the structural variables of temporary use.

Here, the local authority boundaries were used as the definitive boundary and an indicative boundary was then determined through planning policy. Central to the spatial-temporal analysis of temporary use

was the ability to determine the relationship between temporary use in the core central area of each city compared to its periphery. The need to visually communicate information about temporary urbanism so that it could be easily understood by those vital to the urban decision-making process also steered the allocation of the indicative boundary. For both reasons, central area planning policy was used to determine the indicative boundary (Table 8).

Table 8: Central Area Policy Documentation Analysed (Bristol and Liverpool)

City	Policies	Organisation/Department	Document Title
Bristol	*Core Policy/Central Areas*	Bristol City Council	Bristol Local Plan – Bristol Central Area Plan (*Adopted March 2015*)
		Bristol City Council	Bristol Local Plan – Bristol Central Area Plan (*Publication Version February 2014*)
		City Design Group (Bristol City Council)	Bristol Central Area Context Study: Informing Change: Character Areas (*September 2013*)
		Liverpool City Council	The Draft Liverpool Local Plan (September 2016)
		Liverpool City Council	Submission Draft Liverpool Core Strategy 2012 (Local Development Framework LDF)
Liverpool	*Other Adopted Documents/Supplementary Planning Documents (SPD)*	Liverpool City Council	Anfield Spatial Regeneration Framework SPD (Adopted April 2014)
		Liverpool City Council	Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City World Heritage Site SDP (Adopted October 2009)* *Part of Liverpool City Councils' LDF*
		Liverpool City Council and Liverpool Vision	Baltic Triangle Planning Framework (non-statutory planning policy guidance) (Adopted January 2008)
		Liverpool City Council; Liverpool Vision and GVA Grimley	Oldham Street Area SDP (Adopted August 2006)* *Part of Liverpool City Councils' LDF*
		Liverpool City Council and Liverpool Vision	Commercial Quarter SDP (Adopted March 2006)* *Part of Liverpool City Councils' LDF*
		Liverpool City Council and Liverpool Land Development Company	Edge Lane West SDP (Adopted March 2005)* *Part of Liverpool City Councils' LDF*
		Liverpool City Council; Liverpool Vision and Jones Lang LaSalle/BDP	RopeWalks SDP (Adopted December 2005)* *Part of Liverpool City Councils' LDF*

*Highlighted cells indicate documents used for indicative boundary.

The analysis of central area policy identified boundaries that were formally defined and understood politically, socially and geographically in both cities. In Bristol, owing to its recently updated central policies, this process was straightforward – requiring the use of only one policy document (Figure 10). By contrast, for Liverpool, with its longer established SPD policy, a collection of seven separate documents were used. The seven individual SPD boundaries were grouped to form a similar indicative city boundary to Bristol (Figure 11).

Legend:

- Harbourside
- Old City
- Old Market & The Dings
- West End
- Broadmead
- Redcliffe
- St. Michael's
- St. Paul's & Stokes Croft
- Bristol Temple Quarter
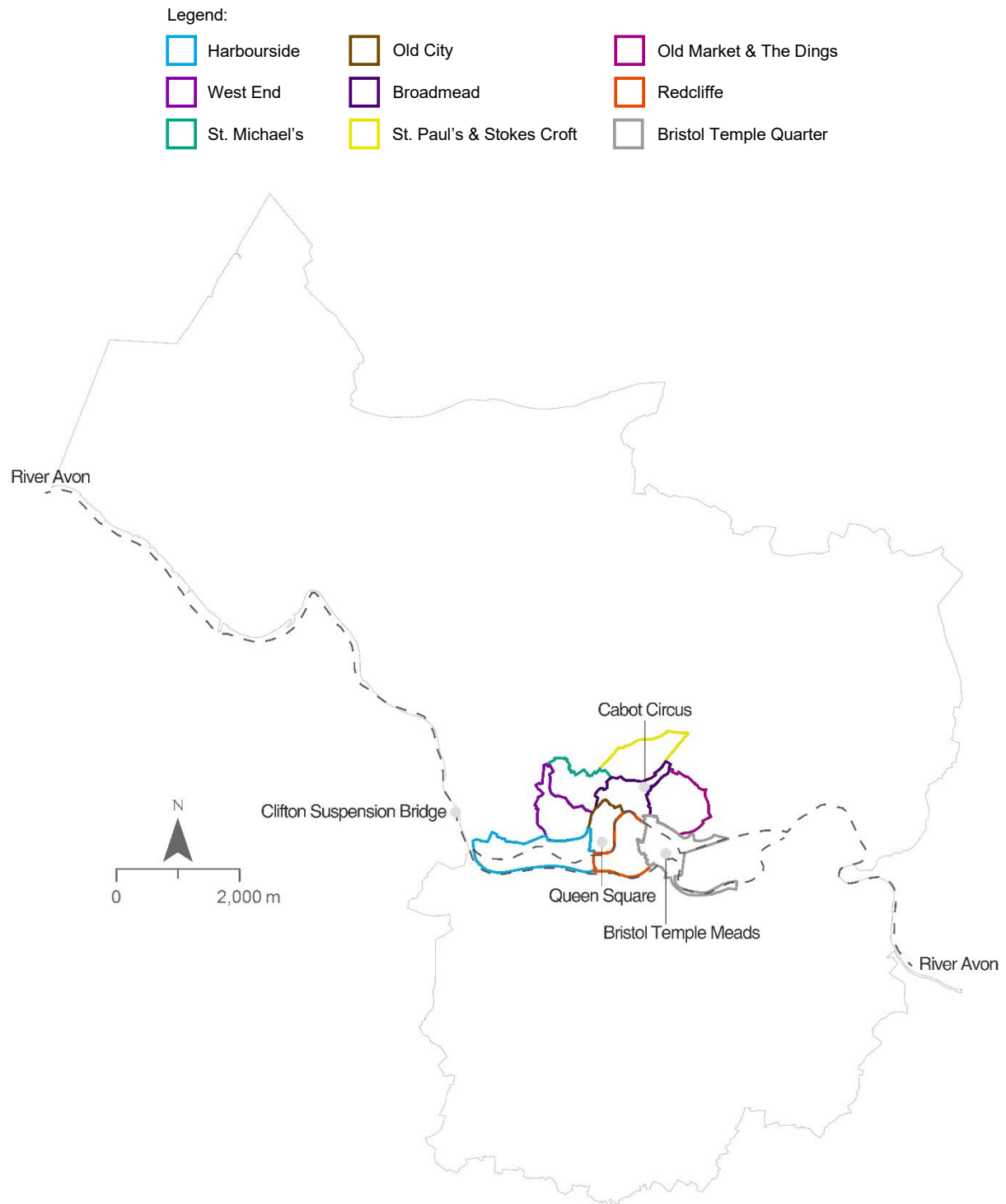
Figure 10: Indicative and Definitive Boundary: Bristol

Figure 11: Indicative and Definitive Boundary: Liverpool

Nearest Neighbour

Spatial clustering analysis was undertaken to analyse levels of distribution and identify geographical patterning of the temporary use structural variables (type; time; function; decision and occurrence). As multiple methods of geoprocessing exist within GIS, iterative testing of the two most appropriate spatial

statistic tools (analysing patterns and mapping clusters) was employed. Testing quickly revealed average nearest neighbour and optimised hot spot analysis as two possible techniques. Nevertheless, owing to the type of mapped data (i.e. point), average nearest neighbour was best suited as average nearest neighbour is most appropriate for event, incident or other fixed-point feature data (ArcMap, 2017).

Average nearest neighbour calculated a nearest neighbour index based on the average Euclidean distance from each feature to its nearest neighbouring feature. The nearest neighbour index was expressed as the ratio of the observed mean distance to the expected mean distance. The expected distance was the average distance between neighbours in a hypothetical random distribution. When the index was less than 1, the pattern exhibited clustering; when the index was greater than 1, the trend was toward dispersion (ArcMap, 2017; de Smith *et al.*, 2015). This is illustrated by Figure 12 and 13 which show how the statistical significance of type differs spatially between the ordinary and extraordinary temporary use categories in Bristol.

Calculations were based on the total area of each individual local authority boundary. Once calculated, via ArcToolbox, the area figure was used consistently as small changes in the area parameter value could result in considerable changes in the z-score and p-value results (ArcMap, 2017). The generated reports provided a significance level for the distribution of each variable (Figure 12 and 13). Variables were then compared and conclusions drawn about the significance of their clustering (if clustered). As Figure 12 and Figure 13 show, variations in the level of clustering were identified. To aid comparison, a sliding scale pinpointing the position of each variable was developed (see Chapter 6). With all variables combined, the sliding scale generated boundary wide statistical findings of the spatial clustering of temporary urbanism in Bristol and Liverpool.
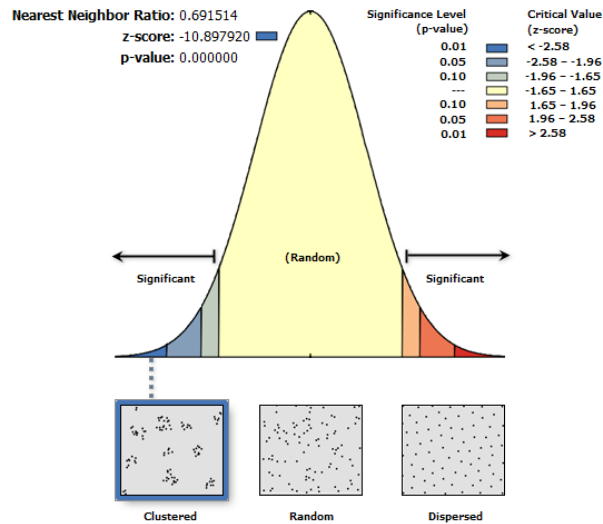
Given the z-score of -10.8979202359, there is a less than 1% likelihood that this clustered pattern could be the result of random chance.

Average Nearest Neighbor Summary

Observed Mean Distance:	199.0892 Meters
Expected Mean Distance:	287.9034 Meters
Nearest Neighbor Ratio:	0.691514
z-score:	-10.897920
p-value:	0.000000

Figure 12: Average Nearest Neighbour Summary Report (Ordinary Temporary Use Instances, Bristol)
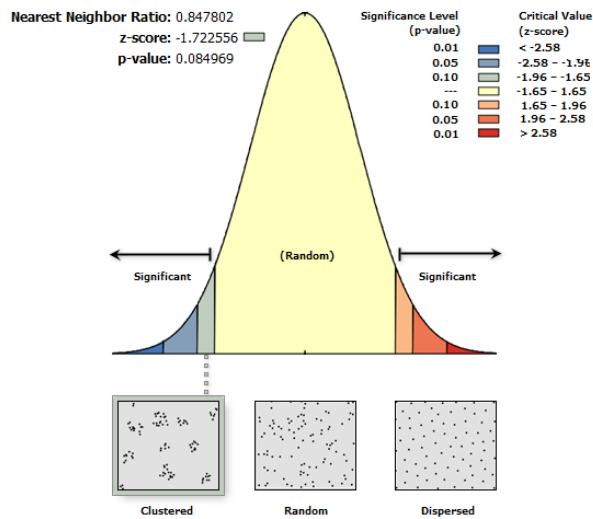
Given the z-score of -1.72255617175, there is a less than 10% likelihood that this clustered pattern could be the result of random chance.

Average Nearest Neighbor Summary

Observed Mean Distance:	761.8762 Meters
Expected Mean Distance:	898.6486 Meters
Nearest Neighbor Ratio:	0.847802
z-score:	-1.722556
p-value:	0.084969

Figure 13: Average Nearest Neighbour Summary Report (Extraordinary Temporary Use Instances, Bristol)

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While the nearest neighbour analysis was valuable in generating meso local authority wide findings of temporary use patterns, it did not facilitate spatial comparison of the two city centre areas with their peripheries. In order to achieve this, the mapped temporary use point data was analysed. Working across the multiple variables, spatial trends and patterns were identified i) between city centre and peripheral areas; ii) within/between the various central neighbourhood/SPD areas and iii) between the dependent variable and independent variables (Figure 14).
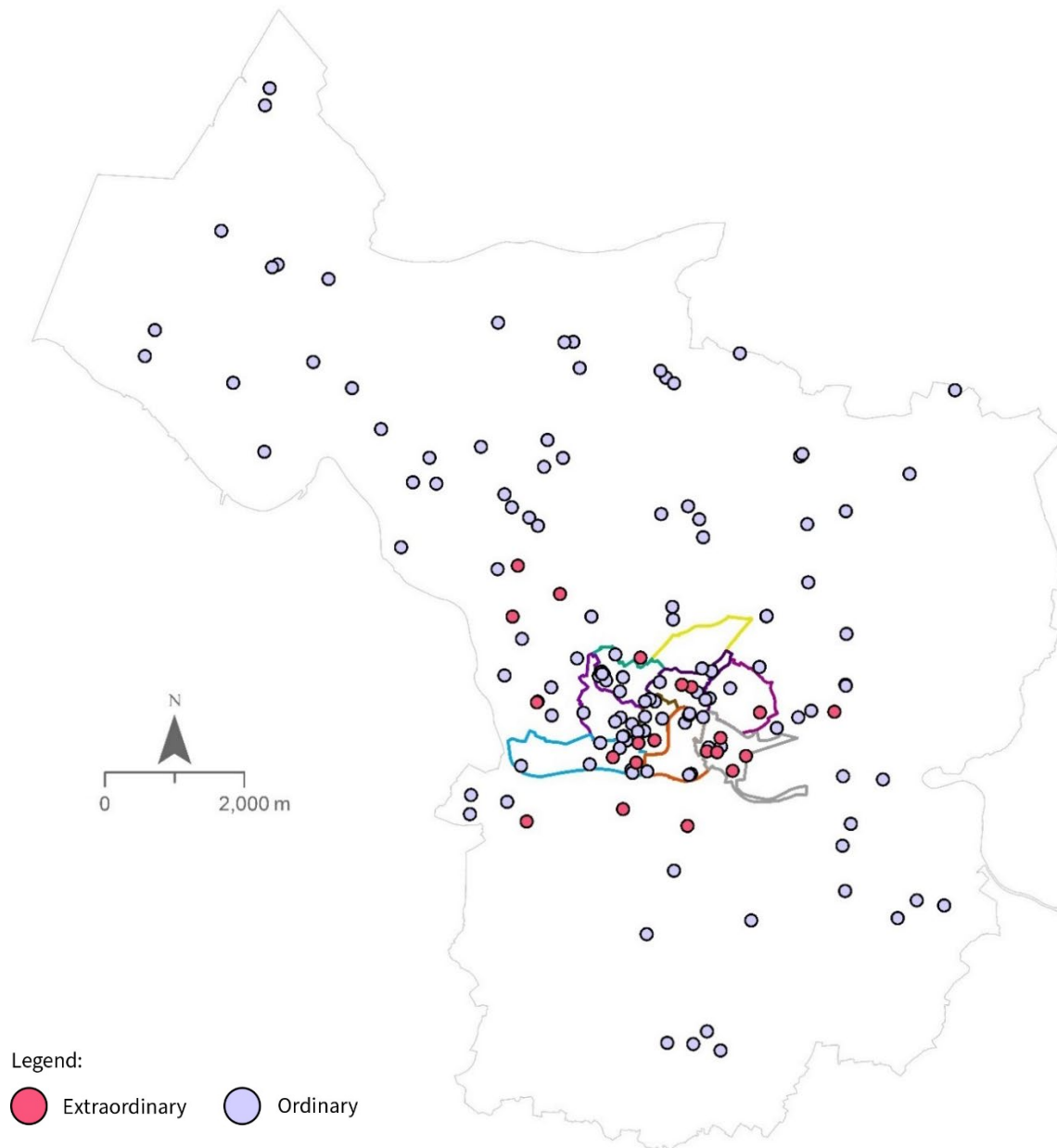
Figure 14: Easting and Northing Mapping Example (Type by 2008-2015, Bristol)*

*Figure 14 is included here for illustrative purposes and to assist with explaining the methodology only. Similar Figures on Bristol and Liverpool will be included in Chapter 6.

It was also through the mapping analysis that indicative case study areas were identified. Nevertheless, missing from both the nearest neighbour and spatial analysis was an appreciation of stakeholder perceptions and experiences. Thus, the third empirical phase of data collection introduced case studies

and elite interviews in order to capture the variety of perspectives, positions and responses applied to temporary urbanism within the two cities.

Phase 3: Case-study Identification and Elite Interviews

Phase 3 supplemented the meso scale quantitative data of Phase 2 with case studies of temporary urbanism at site level (micro scale). Through qualitative interviews the final phase examined perspectives, positions and responses to temporary use taken by the different institutional, organisational and community stakeholders in each city. Phase 3, within the context of the conceptual framework (Chapter 3), dissected temporary urbanism within two city neighbourhoods/districts in Bristol and Liverpool. In an effort to better understand the role and function of temporary urbanism in urban regeneration, multiple cases were chosen. As emphasised by Rowley (2002: 7), "the more cases that can be marshalled to establish or refute the theory, the more robust the research outcomes". Yin (2009) denotes, that when used, multiple case studies are best served when they are employed to predict similar or contrasting results, but for predictable reasons. In this thesis, multiple cases were employed to evaluate the predictions of the conceptual framework (Chapter 3).

To generate a detailed analysis and intensive examination of temporary urbanism within/alongside the development process, an embedded as opposed to a holistic case study approach was adopted (Scholz and Tietje, 2002; Rowley, 2002). Holistic case design tends to focus on broad issues, providing a synoptic view of a case, and can be superficial, whereas, embedded designs draw results from multiple units together to yield an overall picture (Rowley, 2002: 8). As the development process comprised of multiple actors working in different spheres as opposed to one organisational culture, an embedded approach was preferred.

Pertinent to this research, the embedded case study design allowed detailed case study analysis to be informed by the wider case study context and to apply the research undertaken at this level of analysis to the two other levels (Phase 1 and 2). As is typical in case study research, multiple sources of evidence were drawn upon in the examination of the case-study areas: mapping, city datasets, applications documentation and elite interviews (Yin, 2009). The final phase examined the predictions of the conceptual contribution of the research and employed evidence from qualitative sources to capture the multi-facetted practices of temporary use within separate regeneration initiatives (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Case Study Identification

To ensure that the areas and cases selected were informed by research objective 4, case selection criteria were developed. Selection criteria, as emphasised by Yin (2009), are commonly used to screen and suggest cases that best fit the research, whilst also recognising research constraints. In the execution of Phase 3, practical time constraints as well as resource availability had to be acknowledged. It was impractical for the research to conduct case studies of temporary use in every city centre

neighbourhood in Bristol or SPD area in Liverpool. Consequently, two tiers of selection criteria were employed, the first to determine the city centre neighbourhood or SPD area and the second the cases that would be studied within those areas (Figure 15).

Objective 4
Critically assess the perspectives, positions and responses to temporary use taken by the different institutional, organisational and community bodies associated with such practices within the case study cities: Bristol and Liverpool (2000-2015).

City Centre Neighbourhood/SPD Area Requirements		
Areas selected demonstrate unique patterns of temporary use.	Areas selected were subject to regeneration initiative/s between 2000-2015.	Areas selected are of comparable size between the two cities.

Case Requirements				
Cases selected represent a mixture of temporary use practices (Type).	Cases selected are of varied ownership (public/private sector).	Cases selected represent a range of elite actors associated with temporary use.	Cases selected represent the multiple authorities associated with the development process.	Cases selected are considered in their context and elite contextual perspectives sought (when appropriate).

Figure 15: Case Selection Criteria

The mapping analysis of Phase 2 identified two indicative areas to be taken forward: Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter. Nevertheless, unlike Phases 1 and 2, Phase 3 focused on temporary use within/alongside the development process. In light of this, the indicative areas were reviewed, through the selection criteria, in order to ensure consistency with objective 4. Phase 2 had already determined that the indicative areas addressed two of the neighbourhood/SPD area criteria. Both areas exhibited dynamic patterns of temporary use and, between cities, were comparable in size, measuring 65.3ha and 54.6ha respectively. To ensure that selected areas were the subject of targeted regeneration initiatives, the final criterion, an examination of the planning policy documentation pertaining to each area was conducted (Table 9). Policy documentation showed that both areas were the subject of regeneration efforts between 2000 and 2015, Bristol's Temple Quarter since 2011 and Liverpool's Creative Quarter since the early 2000s. The combination suggested these two areas were appropriate for the case-study research.

In order to establish particular cases to be studied, the easting and northing point data as well as the city datasets were used to obtain the planning application documentation associated with each instance of temporary use. Instances were screened for relevance, through the case requirement criteria in order to attain an ample case sample size (Figure 15). A total of 55 applications were identified through the spatial mapping associated with the previous phase (2), representing 24 instances in Bristol's Temple Quarter and 31 instances in Liverpool's Creative Quarter.

Table 9: Policy Documentation Analysed: Temple Quarter and Creative Quarter

City	Policies	Organisation/Department	Document Title
Bristol	*Bristol Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone*	City Design Place Directorate (Bristol City Council)	Bristol Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone: Spatial Framework March 2016 (*CONSULTATION DRAFT*)
		Bristol Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone (Bristol City Council)	Bristol Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone: Development Prospectus (*March 2014*)
		Bristol City Council (Planning and Sustainable Development)	Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone Appendix 1: Design Guidance for Temporary Uses on Plot 3 (*Adopted 29th March 2012*)
	Bristol Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone Local Development Orders (LDO)	Bristol City Council	Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone: Local Development Order for Temporary Urban Agriculture on the Former Diesel Depot, Bath Road (*Adopted 20th July 2012*)
		Bristol City Council	Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone: Local Development Order for Temporary Uses on Plot 3 Temple Quay (*Adopted 29th March 2012*)
Liverpool	*Other Adopted Documents/Supplementary Planning Documents (SPD)*	Liverpool City Council	Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City World Heritage Site SDP (Adopted October 2009)* **Part of Liverpool City Councils' LDF*
		Liverpool City Council and Liverpool Vision	Baltic Triangle Planning Framework (non-statutory planning policy guidance) (Adopted January 2008)
		Liverpool City Council; Liverpool Vision and Jones Lang LaSalle/BDP	RopeWalks SDP (Adopted December 2005)* **Part of Liverpool City Councils' LDF*

Following screening, 15 instances of temporary use were suggested, seven in Bristol's Temple Quarter and eight in Liverpool's Creative Quarter (Figure 16 and 17). These represented a mixture of temporary uses, with eight extraordinary cases and seven in the ordinary category. The combination represented a variety of extraordinary temporary uses, whereas ordinary temporary uses were dominated by a single practice – surface car parking (Table 10).

Table 10: Comprehensive Summary of Temporary Use Cases in Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter (2000-2015)

Location	Type	Site	Site Ownership	Case Organisation*	Practice**
Temple Quarter	Extraordinary	1) Former Diesel Depot Site	Public (HCA/ BCC)	The Severn Project	Urban agriculture/
		2) Former Pest Control Depot Site	Public (HCA/ Network Rail)	Grow Bristol	
		3) Plot 6 Temple Quay	Pubic (HCA/ BCC)	Box Works	Shipping container office development
		4) Plot 3 Temple Quay	Public (HCA/ Network Rail)	Creative Common Yurt Lush	Local development order for cultural creative uses (x2)
	Ordinary	5) Plot 3 Temple Quay	Public (HCA/ Network Rail)	HCA	Surface car parking
		6) Plot 6 Temple Quay	Public (HCA/ BCC)	HCA	
		7) Bank Place Temple Way	Private (AXA)	AXA	
Rope Walks (Creative Quarter)	Extraordinary	1) 52 Seel Street	Private (Frenson Ltd.)	The Art Organisation	Art installation
		2) CCP Car Park		The Art Organisation	Art market
		3) 28 Seel Street	Private (Hope Street Properties)	Kazimier Garden	Café/bar with external seating and performance space
	Ordinary	1) CCP Car Park	Private (Frenson Ltd.)	Frenson Ltd.	Surface car parking
		2) 64-74 Seel Street Car Park		Frenson Ltd.	
Baltic Triangle (Creative Quarter)	Extraordinary	4) New Bird Street	Private (Unidentified)	The Botanic Garden	Temporary restaurant and garden
	Ordinary	3) One Park Lane Car Park	Private (Elliot Group)	Elliot Group	Surface car parking
		4) 84-94 Norfolk Street Car Park		Elliot Group	

*Figure 16 and 17 denote the location of each listed case.

**A more detailed summary of these practices is contained within Chapter 7.

A number of variations as well as similarities were present between the selected cases in the two locations (Figure 16 and 17). All four of Temple Quarter's extraordinary cases were situated on vacant, cleared land parcels. Accordingly, their plot size is significantly larger than that of the structures associated with this type in the Creative Quarter. By comparison, greater similarity was witnessed between the two cities for ordinary temporary use cases, their role as surface car parking requiring a more uniform function and plot size.

Bristol Temple Quarter   Temporary Use Case   Temple Meads Station   River Avon
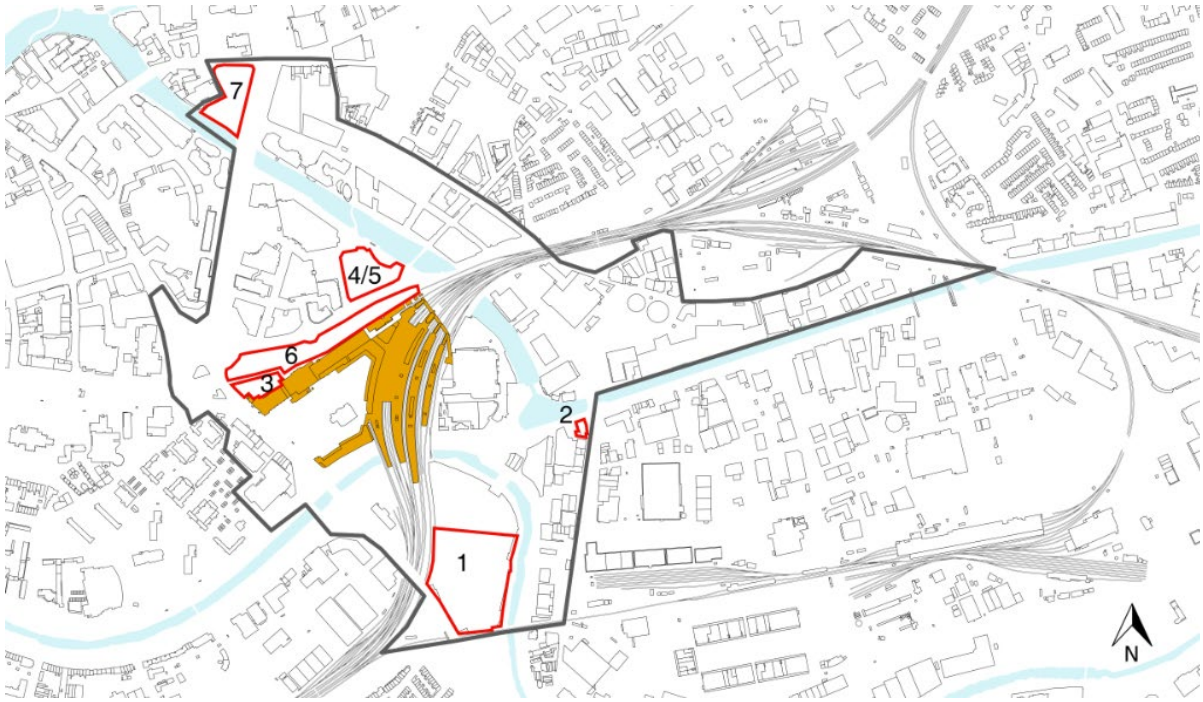
Scale 1:2500 @ A1

Figure 16: Site Boundaries of Temporary Use Cases (Bristol, Temple Quarter)

RopeWalks   Baltic Triangle   Temporary Use Case   Albert Dock   Liverpool Cathedral   Docks   River Mersey
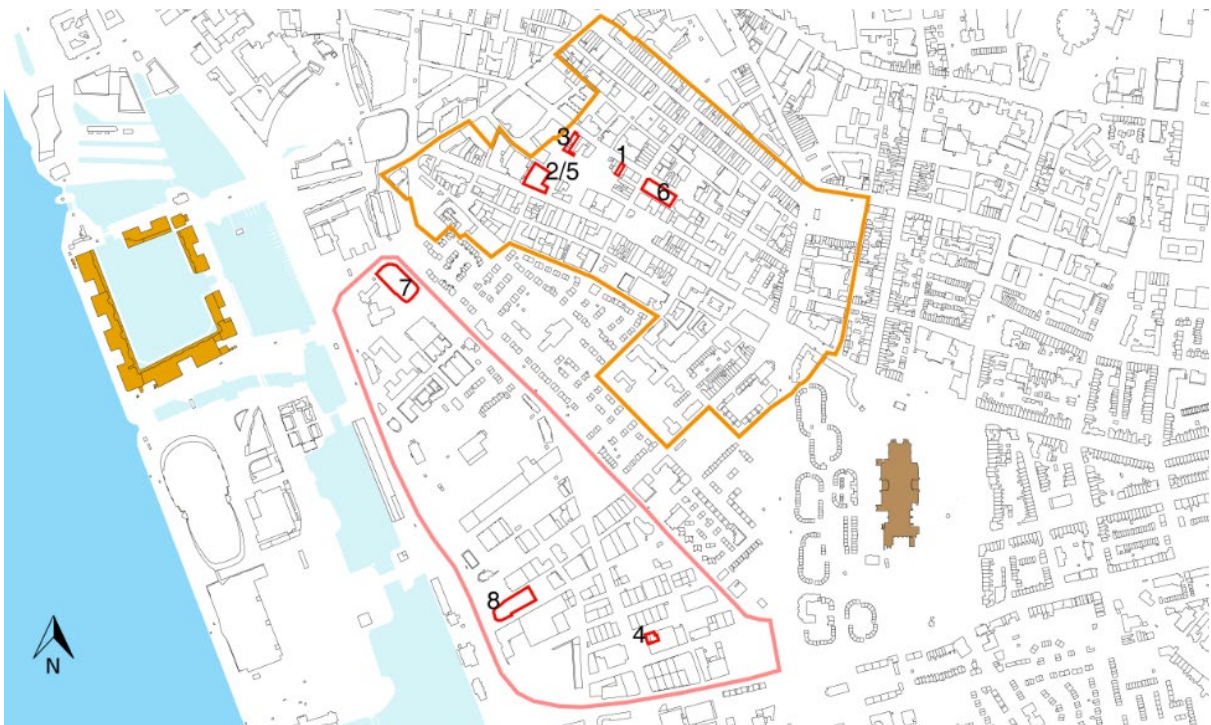
Scale 1:2500 @ A1

Figure 17: Site Boundaries of Temporary Use Cases (Liverpool, Creative Quarter)

In accordance with the case requirement criteria, variation in ownership was also present amongst the selected cases, seven of which were publicly owned and nine privately. Consequently, these instances enabled assessment of the role played by elite actors associated with temporary use and a range of authorities associated with regeneration (Table 10).

Nevertheless, the case study analysis was not limited to the 16 instances listed in Table 10. In line with the case requirement criteria and owing to the fact that the development process comprises a multitude of actors, additional stakeholders outside of the mapped instances were included. Pertinent to the study of temporary urbanism and regeneration was the ability to situate cases within their broader case areas. The combination served to better situate and understand the study of perspectives, positions and responses to temporary use within the Temple Quarter and Creative Quarter. These contextual stakeholders comprised of two large public land holdings, twelve privately owned sites as well as a series of digital/cultural creative stakeholders (Table 11).

Table 11: Contextual Stakeholders Associated with Temporary Use Cases in Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter (RopeWalks and Baltic Triangle) (2000-2015)

Location	Site	Contextual Stakeholder*	Sector
Temple Quarter	1) Former Diesel Depot Site	HCA/BCC	Public
	2) Temple Meads Railway Station	Network Rail	
	3) Engine Shed	Engine Shed	Digital/Cultural Creative
	4) Glassfields Temple Way	Invest Bristol and Bath	Private
	5) Old Bread Street Site, Temple Quay North (Plot ND6)	Salmon Harvester/Alder King	
	6) Temple Quay North (Plot ND7)		
	7) Anvil Street Site (Plot ND9)		
	8) 3 Glass Wharf (Plot ND4)		
	9) 2 Glass Wharf (Plot ND5)		
RopeWalks	1) 30-40 Seel Street	Hope Street Properties	Private
	2) Seel Street Apart Hotel and Wolstenholme Square	Elliot Group	
	3) 11-13 Wolstenholme Square	Hope Street Properties	
Baltic Triangle	4) Heaps Mill Phases 1 & 2	Elliot Group	
	5) Norfolk House Phase 2		
	6) Norfolk House Phase 1		
	7) Artesian		
	8) Baltic Creative	Baltic Creative CIC	Digital/Cultural Creative
	9) Constellations	Constellations	

*Figure 18 and 19 denote the location of each stakeholder listed.

As emphasised by Figure 18 and 19, contextual stakeholders were selected given their proximity to the chosen cases. Additionally, they represented principal actors in the renewal and revitalisation of the case areas. In Bristol, this took the form of Temple Meads Railway station, a digital creative enterprise as well as a series of private land holdings adjacent to Temple Quay. In Liverpool, the developments and land holdings associated with two strategic local developers as well as the digital/cultural creative organisations of the Baltic Triangle were of interest to the analysis.

□ Bristol Temple Quarter   □ Temporary Use Case   □ Publicly Owned   □ Privately Owned   □ Digital/Cultural Creative
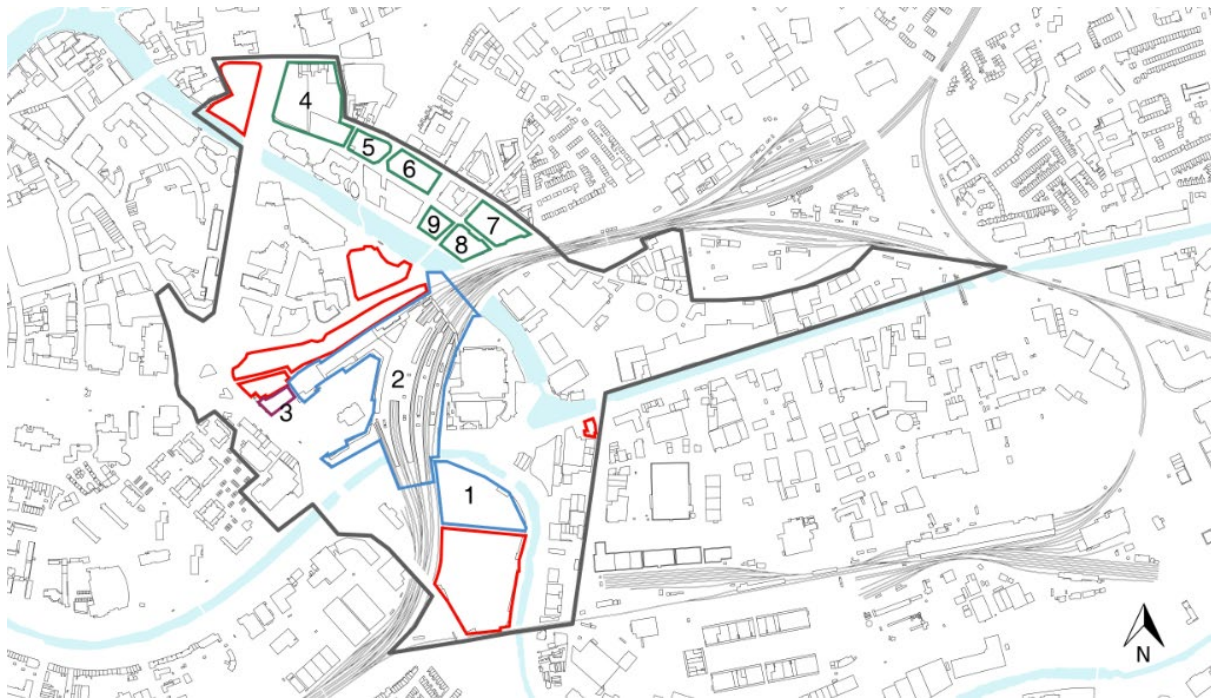
Scale 1:2500 @ A1

Figure 18: Contextual Stakeholders Associated with Temporary Use Cases in Bristol's Temple Quarter

Legend:

□ RopeWalks   □ Baltic Triangle   □ Temporary Use Case   □ Privately Owned   □ Digital/Cultural Creative
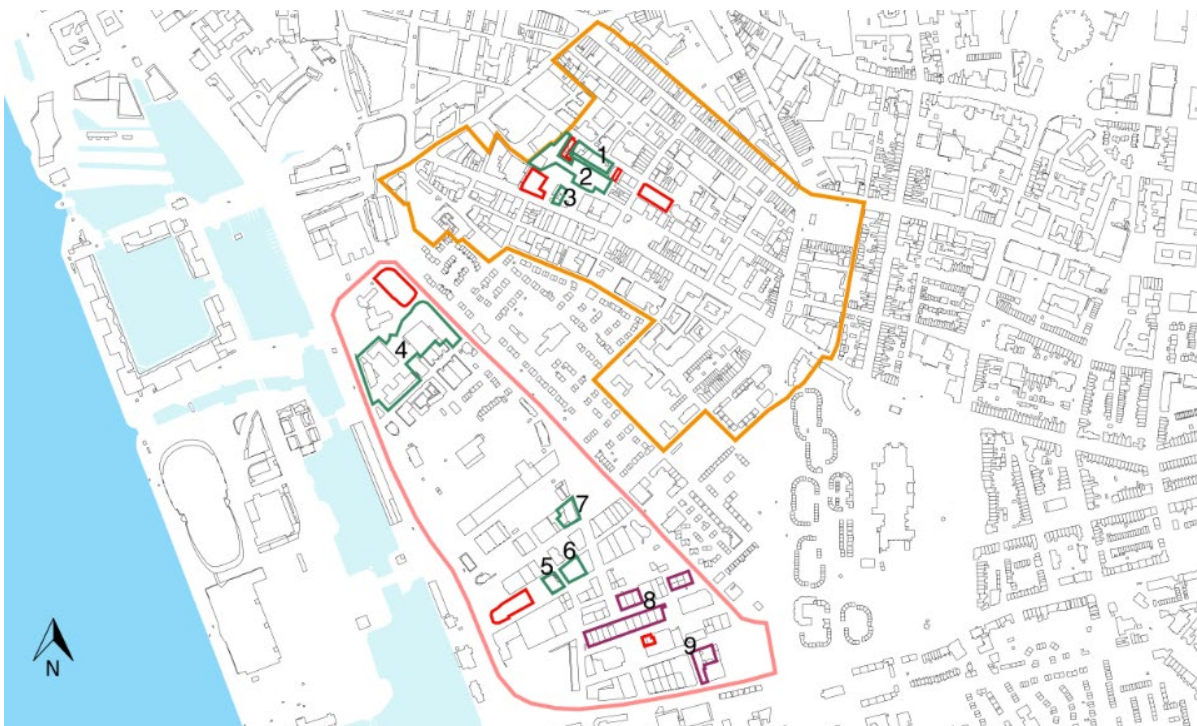
Scale 1:2500 @ A1

Figure 19: Contextual Stakeholders Associated with Temporary Use Cases in Liverpool's Creative Quarter

The chosen cases and their contextual stakeholders provided coverage of temporary use practices within each area, with multiple case studies that met the case requirement criteria.

Elite Interviews

Following the approach of Dixon *et al.* (2011), a selection of experts with good knowledge of each city were used to expand on the identified cases. Dixon *et al.* (2011) interviewed key actors to analyse perceptions, attitudes and practices in urban regeneration from a range of experts that included government agencies, local authorities and developers. In this research a similar elite interviewing approach was adopted with participants directly involved in the phenomenon of study (Gall *et al.*, 1996). Interview categories were identified to capture the perspectives, positions and responses to temporary urbanism by the different institutional, organisational and community stakeholders associated with temporary use practices in both cities. Respondents were selected based on either their recognised role within the development industry or their role as a temporary user/contextual actor.

The interrelation between regeneration and the development process, discussed in Chapter 3, made clear the broad collection of agencies who, as defined by Healey (1991a: 97), comprise the 'development industry' (Healey and Barrett, 1990; Moreno, 2014). Drawing on the development process literature, three groups of key individuals were identified for interview: decision/policy makers, regeneration agents and site owners/developers. Nevertheless, to capture new forms of urbanism such as that of temporary use, broader forms of agency entailed in the processes of city making had to be considered (Tonkiss, 2013b). As such the other key interview groups focused on temporary users and where relevant, contextual actors (Table 12).

Table 12: Interviewee Groups

Development Industry	Temporary Users	Contextual Actors
Decision/Policy Makers	Ordinary Temporary Users	Public Sector
Regeneration Agents	Extraordinary Temporary Users	Private Sector
Site Owners/Developers		Digital/Cultural Creatives

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with 28 elite actors in Bristol and Liverpool, comprising 14 in each city (Table 13 and 14). Analysis of the policy documentation and planning applications associated with temporary use in the two cities allowed interviewees to be identified. Interview requests were made through phone or email and arranged depending on each individual's availability. To ensure access to an appropriate range of interviewees, interviews were conducted on both a face-to-face basis and by telephone.

Table 13: Bristol Interviewees

CATEGORY	INTERVIEWEE	COMPANY	CONDUCTED
Local Planning Authority/ Site Owner	Principal Urban Designer	Bristol Strategic City Planning Team	10th May 2016
Local Planning Authority/ Site Owner & Temporary User (Ordinary)	Interim Manager – Major Schemes	Major Schemes Team – City Development	10th May 2016
Bristol Enterprise Zone (Regeneration Agency) & Temporary User (Ordinary)	Economic Development Officer	Bristol City Council Property Team	9th June 2016
Site Owner	Town Planning Manager: Network Rail Property (Western)	Network Rail	5th May 2016
Site Owner & Temporary User (Ordinary)	Area Manager: (Former Head of Regeneration)	HCA	21st July 2016
Site Owner/Agent & Temporary User (Ordinary)	Development Manager *(Bank Place)*	Carlyle Group *Agents* Jones Lang Lasalle / Lambert Smith Hampton	8th July 2016
Site Owner/Agent	Development Manager *(Bank Place)*	Bell Hammer	18th July 2016
Site Owner/Agent	Development Manager *(Royal London Site: Plot ND7)*	Invest Bristol and Bath	9th June 2016
Site Owner/Agent	Development Manager *(Old Bread Street Site: Plot ND6; Anvil Street Site: Plot ND9; 2 Glass Wharf: Plot ND4; 3 Glass Wharf: Plot ND5*	Salmon Harvester *Agents* Alder King	25th July 2016
Temporary User (Extraordinary)	Centre Director	The Engine Shed	9th May 2016
Temporary User (Extraordinary)	Director *(Initiator of Engine Shed Containers)*	Forward Space	15th June 2016
Temporary User (Extraordinary)	Co-Director	Grow Bristol	10th May 2016
Temporary User (Extraordinary)	Director	The Severn Project	10th May 2016
Temporary User (Extraordinary)	Managing Director	Yurt Lush	16th August
			Total: 14

Table 14: Liverpool Interviewees

CATEGORY	INTERVIEWEE	COMPANY	CONDUCTED
Local Planning Authority	City Centre Coordinator	Liverpool City Council	20th June 2016
Local Planning Authority	Assistant Director of Housing, Development & Planning	Liverpool City Council	30th August 2016
Liverpool City Council	Arts Development Officer	Liverpool City Council (Culture Liverpool)	25th August 2016
Regeneration Company/ Economic Development Company	Area Investment Manager	Liverpool Vision	6th July 2016
Developer/ Site Owner & Temporary User (Ordinary)	Managing Director of Merrion	Elliot Group	24th June 2016
Developer/ Site Owner (Kazimier Garden)	Director	TJ Thomas Estates & Hope Street Properties	19th July 2016
RopeWalks Community/ Business Stakeholder Group	Director	RopeWalks CIC	10th August 2016
Baltic Triangle Community/ Business Stakeholder Group	Director	Baltic Creative CIC	13th July 2016
Community Body (RopeWalks)	Chair of the RopeWalks Residents Association	RopeWalks Residents Association	8th June 2016
Cultural Creative Stakeholder (Baltic Triangle)	Managing Director	Constellations	27th July 2016
Temporary User (Extraordinary)	Co-director	The Art Organisation Liverpool	24th May 2016
Temporary User (Extraordinary)	Co-director	The Art Organisation Liverpool	26th August 2016
Temporary User (Extraordinary)	Initiator and General Manager	Kazimier Garden	Interview I 16th June 2016 Interview II 10th July 2016
			Total: 14

The elite interviews of Phase 3 were both exploratory and explanatory in nature as Rowley (2002) suggests, it is normally necessary to answer both 'how' and 'why' questions in order to support deeper and more detailed case study investigation (see Figure 20). Prior to each interview the parameters of the research and level of interviewee involvement were disclosed through a participant information sheet and permission to proceed with an interview was documented through a consent form. Recording of interviewees was requested both in writing and verbally prior to the commencement of each interview, at which point interviewees were also informed of their right to decline voice recording (an option taken by one interviewee). All interviewees were informed of the annoymisation processes adopted by the

research, whereby all names would be kept confidential. Individuals were asked for their consent to be quoted and in any instance of quotation would be referenced as their position within their organisation. These protocols were enacted to ensure interviewees would be comfortable and as a result open about their practices, ensuring a critical case study could be conducted. Interviews were structured around 14 key themes (Figure 20), each of which generated data that would enable direct comparison to the predictions of the conceptual framework. Alongside this, the use of a thematic guide ensured consistency with the data generated across each of the 28 interviews (Figure 20).

Perspectives, positions and responses to temporary use taken by the different institutional, organisational and community bodies associated with temporary use practices

THEMATIC GUIDE
(Prospective Interview Questions)

INTERVIEWEE
- Introductions/Your Role?

- Connection to RopeWalks (Length of Association)?

FACILITATING TEMPORARY USE/POLICY
- TJ Thomas Estates Group acquired the site from Frenson Ltd. – Kazimier Garden were already in place.

- It seems you were happy for them to continue their occupancy? Did you make any changes?

- Does TJ Thomas Estates Group support temporary uses?

- Are creative temporary uses (e.g. Kazimier Garden) preferred as opposed to other solutions (e.g. surface car parking)?

FUNCTION OF SPACE
- Kazimier Garden is located on an awkward piece of previously developed/vacant land.

- Has the function of this location been part of your reasoning for letting Kazimier Garden continue their occupancy?

VALUE
- What do you perceive the value (social/economic) of temporary use projects to be?

OWNERSHIP
- Public Ownership vs. Private Ownership:

  - How have you found the relationship with your temporary tenant Kazimier Garden?

  - Did TJ Thomas Estates stipulate any restrictions/demands on your project?

  - Would you consider allowing similar types of activity on other sites you own?

REGENERATION/PARTNERSHIP WORKING
- TJ Thomas Estates have been working with Liverpool City Council, Elliot Group, RopeWalks Residents Association, the Kazimier and Cream throughout the Wolstenholme Square regeneration process. How did you find this partnership working?

  Liverpool City Council had fears that the development would affect the popular temporary use project, Kazimier Garden.

- Did you have any thoughts/concerns about how the Elliot Group development would affect the Kazimier Garden?

*Additional Themes: Approaches to Temporary Use; Cost; Complexities/Barriers; Developability; Risk/Stigma; Time; Managing Expectations/Tensions; and Legacy/Future.

Figure 20: Example Thematic Guide

4.3 Triangulation and Summary

The research strategy (Figure 8) was developed so that comparison could be made between the quantitative (Phases 1 and 2) and qualitative research methods (Phase 3), via the adoption of a triangulation approach. As Denzin (1973) explains, there are two methods of triangulation: within-method and between-method. In light of the requirements of this thesis, between-method, involving different research methods, such as quantitative and qualitative approaches, was most appropriate. Between-method triangulation was used to inform the selection of the case cities, validate their selection and construct a more holistic and in-depth understanding of the units of analysis, something that might not have been achieved if the research had relied on only one method of investigation (Jick, 1979).

Throughout the methodology there have been a multitude of points at which triangulation between methods has occurred, all of which have been highlighted. Ultimately, triangulation was utilised to generate new understandings of temporary use within cities. Models that drew upon data across the eight core cities of England (2000-2015) were designed to explore the extent to which temporary uses differ based on their underlying characteristics. This mapping analysis in tandem with a policy review then highlighted two key areas from which the role of temporary use in the regeneration of urban spaces could be explored. The variety of perspectives, positions and responses to temporary use taken by the different institutional, organisational and community bodies associated with such practices within these regeneration areas enabled the theoretical relationship between the process of urban regeneration and temporary use of multiple functions of space to be critically reviewed and tested. The combination, following synthesis and examination of the research findings, developed critical implications for temporary use amongst the regeneration process in England's core cities and in particular Bristol and Liverpool.

This chapter highlighted the mixed method approach that was adopted to address the research aim and objectives. Chapters 5-7 will further detail the three research phases by outlining the empirical findings associated with each scale of analysis (macro, meso and mirco). Chapter 5 will explore the statistical relationships and likelihood ratios developed through regression modelling (macro), Chapter 6 the spatial mapping and nearest neighbour analysis (meso), and Chapter 7 the perspectives, positions and responses to temporary use taken by the variety of actors associated with the practices of regeneration and temporary urbanism within the two case cities (micro). Chapter 5 will now explore changing patterns of temporary use across England's core cities over time.

Chapter 5: Temporary Urbanism in England's Core Cities (2000-2015)

This chapter provides a critical analysis of the results of the analysis of temporary use applications data and regression modelling, as the first phase of empirical investigation of the thesis. Focusing on the eight second tier cities of England (Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham and Sheffield), statistical analysis was undertaken to explore the extent to which temporary uses differ based on the five underlying variables of type, time, function, decision and occurrence (Table 7). These were used to explore the different forms of temporary use found in urban areas, building on the review in Chapter 2. Temporary use activities, their context, the types of space appropriated, decisions made and the duration of projects emerged as key themes from previous research. The purpose of this chapter was to posit new findings about each of the five categories, challenging and in some cases confirming the pre-existing assumptions and understanding of the role of temporary uses in cities.

The chapter begins by outlining the study context of this first phase of empirical investigation. It draws initially on contemporary research on temporary urbanism in England and explains how this thesis responds to the limitations of previous studies by exploring circumstances in the core cities of England. Next, the results of the dataset of temporary use applications is discussed, analysing the overall statistics that emerged as well as a breakdown between each city. This is followed by the outcomes of the regression modelling developed to create a series of headline findings from the dataset and further test the extent to which temporary uses differ based on their underlying characteristics. The final section of the chapter draws upon both sets of findings, highlighting synergies and conflicts between existing understanding of temporary use through the relationships and patterns uncovered by the dataset as well as the regression analysis. The chapter concludes with a summary of the results and suggestions about how these can be developed in the remainder of the thesis.

5.1 Study Context

Temporary Urbanism in England

As emphasised in the review (see 2.2), accounts of temporary urbanism in England have largely focused on projects in and around London. Outside the capital, empirical investigation of temporary use has been limited. Cases from Bristol, Birmingham, Gateshead, Leicester, Liverpool, Milton Keyes and Sheffield have surfaced in recent years (Stevens and Ambler, 2010; Angus, 2015; Andres and Round, 2015; Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014; Adams and Hardman, 2013; CABE, 2008; De Rijke and Morgan, 2011; Roeleveld-Deltares and Nillesen, 2014). Yet, developing an appreciation of the role and function of temporary use within these cities is problematic because these cases provide isolated, individual accounts which sometimes lack a broader perspective on temporary use.

At present only one UK review has been undertaken to analyse the extent to which temporary uses occur within England. Research conducted by SQW in 2010 estimated that there were over 200 meanwhile (temporary use) projects in place or in preparation in the UK. The majority of temporary use activity was occurring in London, classified as a "hotspot" (SQW, 2010: ii). The data used by SQW (2010) relied on a single source, The Empty Shops Network, which at the time estimated that there were "in the region of 100 meanwhile projects in place in the UK" with "an additional 100 in the planning stages" (SQW, 2010: 6). While the SQW review was helpful, it featured a limited definition of meanwhile (temporary) use focused on business, it concentrated predominately on vacant retail units and it did not look at change over time.

That said, such failings do not take away from the significance of their study, one of few works that aimed to provide an indication of the level of temporary use activity within a set context. SQW's (2010) research alongside analysis undertaken by SfS (2007) in Berlin have been particularly influential in the development of this first empirical stage of the thesis. In defining the cities for study in phase 1, two factors were considered. The first was whether a location had been subject to research in the past; the second was to assess activity beyond macro, capital cities whose contexts are somewhat atypical – such as London.

The first phase of empirical investigation therefore focused on the second-tier cities of England, defined as the core cities (Champion and Townsend, 2013; Townsend and Champion, 2014). Of interest to this research is not the Core Cities Group but rather its eight individual member cities. It is to this geographical context that the rest of the chapter now turns. The remainder of the chapter assesses the level and distribution of temporary use activity within the core cities, focusing on their role and function over the period from 2000-2015.

England's Core Cities

Five of the eight core cities are located in the north (Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle and Sheffield), two in the midlands (Birmingham and Nottingham) and one in the south west (Bristol) (see Chart 1).

Chart 1: Location and Size of England's Core Cities
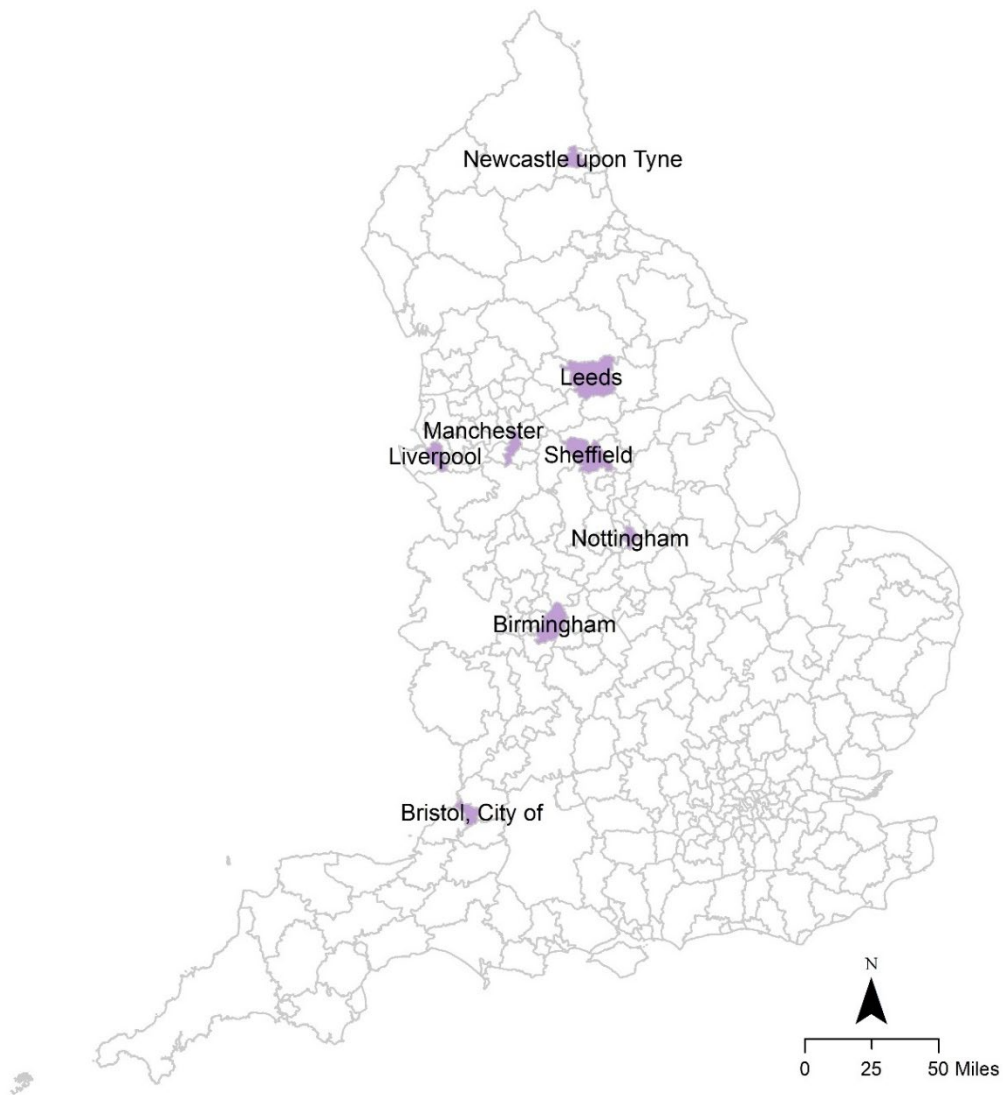
Core City	Area	Rank (Largest-Smallest)
Birmingham	267,782km	3rd
Bristol	113,060km	7th
Leeds	551,812km	1st
Liverpool	133,542km	4th
Manchester	115,558km	5th
Newcastle	115,123km	6th
Nottingham	74,605km	8th
Sheffield	367,892km	2nd

Unlike some other European countries, England has historically lacked a second tier of dynamic urban economies (Kitson *et al.*, 2004; Gardiner *et al.*, 2013; Hincks *et al.*, 2014). Parkinson (2016), showed that despite improvements in levels of GDP per capita during the boom decade prior to 2008, thereafter UK cities began to lag behind North American city regions and, as a group, perform worse than those in the rest of Western Europe. Analysing the standing of UK cities amongst a selection of Europe's top 100 further emphasises this discrepancy (Eurostat, 2016) (see Figure 21).

	GDP PPS Per Capita
1 - Oslo, NO	47,037
2 - LONDON, UK	46,300
3 - Munich, DE	45,086
4 - Paris, FR	44,175
5 - Bratislava, SK	43,100
6 - Stavanger, NO	41,600
7 - Stockholm, SE	41,100
8 - Frankfurt am Main, DE	40,536
9 - Linz, AT	40,300
10 - Dublin, IE	40,159
11 - Salzburg, AT	39,200
12 - Cork, IE	38,100
13 - Amsterdam, NL	37,814
14 - Helsinki, FI	37,800
15 - Vienna, AT	37,504
16 - Hamburg, DE	37,164
17 - Copenhagen, DK	36,838
18 - Stuttgart, DE	36,788
19 - Antwerp, BE	36,300
20 - Brussels, BE	36,088
21 - Bergen, NO	35,500
22 - Graz, AT	35,100
23 - EDINBURGH, UK	34,716
24 - Bologna, IT	34,600
25 - Mannheim, DE	34,579
38 - BRISTOL, UK	30,248
57 - BELFAST, UK	27,172
68 - GLASGOW, UK	25,727
76 - LEEDS, UK	24,149
82 - MANCHESTER, UK	23,429
83 - BIRMINGHAM, UK	23,253
87 - NOTTINGHAM, UK	22,514
90 - NEWCASTLE U TYNE, UK	21,508
93 - CARDIFF, UK	20,787
97 - LIVERPOOL, UK	19,751
98 - SHEFFIELD, UK	19,688

Figure 21: UK Cities in Europe's Top 100 - GDP PPS Per Capita, 2010 (Source: Eurostat, 2016)

Alongside this lack of European competitiveness, Figure 21 also shows that while the core cities have bound together to counter the weight of London, they differ considerably in other aspects of their economic performance (Champion and Townsend, 2011; Pike *et al.*, 2007). Parkinson *et al.* (2014) show that during the boom years before 2008, the progress in economic performance of UK city regions had been uneven, with locations in the north failing to close the gap of those in the south. Whilst the recessions in the wake of the 2007-08 financial crises undid many of the gains of the growth years, many second-tier city regions in the north again lost ground in comparison with city regions in the south (Martin, 2012). More recently (2010), despite the slowdown in growth in southern city regions, the gap

in performance between them and their northern counterparts remains considerable (Gardiner *et al.*, 2013).

A number of scholars have noted explicit differences in performance between the eight cities. Parkinson (2016) shows that of the eight core cities only Bristol performed well on productivity in Europe. This is supported further by research by Champion and Townsend (2011; 2013) and Townsend and Champion (2014). Champion and Townsend (2011: 1552) used employment change data to measure annual average change in full-time equivalent (FTE) employees between 1984 and 2007 for each of the eight core cities. Their research showed that of the eight cities, "Bristol was clearly the star performer", the only city of the eight to exceed English averages. Leeds joined Bristol as the other city-region to match the England rate and grow faster than London, with Manchester ranked just below. The weakest performance was by Liverpool, the only city-region to end up with fewer FTEs by 2007 than in 1984, while Sheffield and Birmingham recorded the slowest average growth.
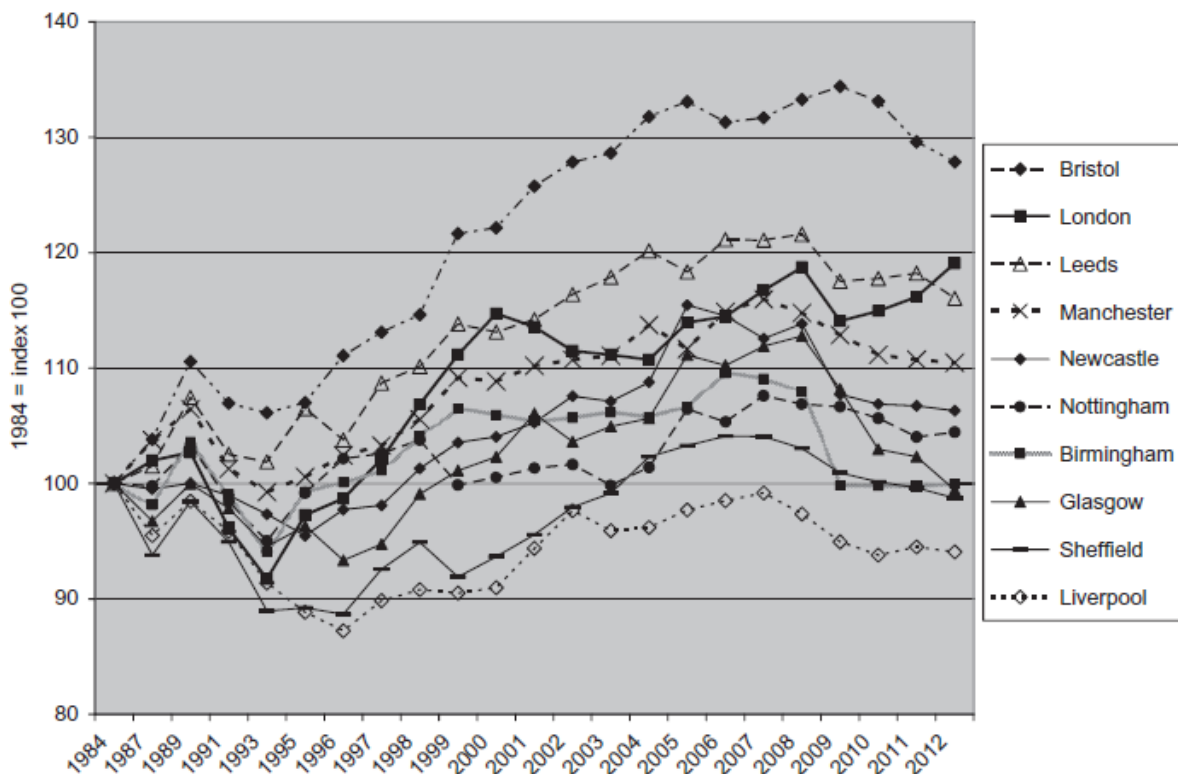
Figure 22: Change in FTEs from 1984 level (index = 100) to 2012, for 10 City Regions (Source: Townsend and Champion, 2014)

A 2014 update shed further light on these disparities (Townsend and Champion, 2014). Analysing changes in FTEs from the original 1984 period to 2012, their research showed that the greatest contrast over the whole period was between the core cities of Bristol and Liverpool. As shown in Figure 22, of the eight core cities the most resilient in respect of FTEs was Nottingham, which by 2012 were back to their boom level, exceeding the recovery of the other seven cities. Examining changes in FTEs between the recession (2008-2010) and recovery period (2010-2012) showed that the core cities hit hardest by

the 2008-2010 decline were Birmingham and Leeds. At the other extreme, Liverpool was the least affected in 2008-2010, but as emphasised by Townsend and Champion (2014: 46), "it would seem that the impact was merely delayed, as this was the only core city where loses accelerated in 2010-2012". Again the resilience of Bristol was noteworthy, paralleling London in the shallowness of the impact of recession on FTE retention. Similarly, Parkinson, through 2012 GDP in PPS per capita data, notes the poor performance of Liverpool and its disparity with Bristol, the strongest performer (Parkinson, 2016: 642).

Common to all of the abovementioned research on core city performance was the disparity between Bristol and Liverpool. All eight of the core cities perform strongly or weakly in terms of some of the indicators of economic wellbeing, but none as consistently as Bristol or Liverpool. Unlike previous studies on the core cities, which largely focus on their economic performance, this research seeks insights as to how these contextual conditions affect the level and distribution of temporary use activity.

The Policy Context for Temporary Use within the Core Cities

In an effort to establish the level of awareness of the temporary use concept in each core city, an analysis of core planning policy documentation was undertaken (see Table 15). Of the eight cities, five feature policy provisions which make explicit reference to temporary use – Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle and Nottingham. Again Bristol and Liverpool were noteworthy, in that both have developed policies on temporary use (although Bristol's is directed toward encouraging high-profile extraordinary temporary uses, whereas Liverpool's did not distinguish between different temporary uses).

Also noteworthy in respect of policy are the cities of Leeds, Newcastle and Nottingham. Leeds has a single saved policy from its UDP concerning temporary advertising. Newcastle, on the other hand, has three policy provisions, one for the temporary use of car parks, another for temporary greening of vacant land, and a further one to encourage temporary spaces and events. Nottingham does not feature any policies within its aligned core strategy, but does in its development plan documentation. In Nottingham, there are three temporary use provisions, one for markets, advertising and mineral working respectively. Birmingham, Manchester and Sheffield do make any explicit mention to temporary use within their core policy documentation. Thus, between the eight cities, only Bristol and Liverpool have policies which explicitly connect vacant sites and temporary use. In this respect, Bristol and Liverpool are again of particular significance. The subsequent section analyses the findings derived from the temporary use applications dataset, exploring the influence of geography, economic performance and policy approaches across the eight core cities.

Table 15: Policy Provisions for Temporary Use in England's Core Cities

Core City	Key Policy Document	Temporary Use Policy	Policy Mechanism	Year Published
Bristol	Bristol Local Plan – Bristol Central Area Plan	Yes	Policy BCAP12: Vacant sites and temporary uses	Adopted March 2015
Birmingham	Birmingham Development Plan (Part of Birmingham's Local Plan)	No	-	Adopted January 2017
Leeds	Leeds Core Strategy	Yes	UDP Saved Policy BD10: Banners and Temporary Advertising	Adopted November 2014
Liverpool	The Draft Liverpool Local Plan	Yes	Policy CC13: Vacant Sites and Temporary Uses	Published September 2016
Manchester	Manchester's Local Development Framework: Core Strategy Development Plan Document	No	-	Adopted July 2012
Newcastle	Core Strategy and Urban Core Plan for Gateshead and Newcastle upon Tyne 2010 – 2030	Yes	*Policy UC10 Car Parking* *4. Restricting the development of temporary car parks* *Policy UC15 Urban Green Infrastructure* *14.105. The temporary greening of vacant medium/long term development sites* *Policy UC16 Public Realm* *4. The provision for temporary spaces and for events.*	Adopted March 2015
Nottingham	Greater Nottingham Aligned Core Strategies Part 1 Local Plan	No	-	Adopted September 2014
	Nottingham City Land and Planning Policies: Development Plan Document: Local Plan Part 2	Yes	*Policy SH8: Markets* *3.138. Some temporary markets and informal trading activities may operate under permitted development and therefore would not require planning permission.* *Policy DE6: Advertisements* *4.109. Freestanding advertisements will not normally be granted consent because of their low height and temporary nature.* *Policy MI1: Minerals Safeguarding Area* *5.63. Although mineral working is a temporary land use, worked sites which are not appropriately restored can result in permanent impacts on the environment.*	Publication Version January 2016
Sheffield	Sheffield Development Framework Core Strategy	No	-	Adopted March 2009

5.2 Applications for Temporary Use Across the Core Cities (2000-2015)

The first phase of the research attempted to explore temporary urbanism across the eight core cities. To that end, planning applications data was drawn from the planning applications portal of each core city for the period from 2000-2015. The 5,890 temporary use applications in the dataset were coded using a range of core structural variables (Table 16).

Table 16: Summary of Temporary Use Variables*

Variable	Description
Type	The type of temporary use application, and whether it was for an extraordinary temporary use or an ordinary temporary use.
Time	The duration of period studied, 2000-2015. Divided into two time periods, the pre-recession period of 2000-2007 and the recession and recovery period of 2008-2015.
Function	The type of space associated with an application, this could comprise one of four categories including, land**, structures, public spaces or residual space***.
Decision	The decision taken on a temporary use application and whether it was approved, withdrawn or refused.
Occurrence	The occurrence a temporary use, determined depending on whether an application for a temporary use on any given location was isolated (meaning only a single application was submitted) or reoccurring (meaning multiple applications for the same use and location were submitted).

*See Chapter 4 for further explanation.

**Land represents clearly defined, bounded plots, parcels and sites.

***Residual space represents difficult to develop locations, such as spaces between buildings (alleyways), awkward wedges at the end of streets/sites (such as corners or verges) as well as redundant infrastructure (such as electricity boxes).

The following sections of this chapter discuss the results derived from analysis of the temporary use dataset. First, the global distribution is discussed, assessing each variable in turn. This is followed, secondly, by a discussion of the extremes of the distribution, looking at which cities lay at the extremes for each variable. Finally, regression modelling is used to outline the main effects evident in the dataset between the dependent variable (type) and the independent variables (time, function, decision and occurrence) to establish the odds of individual relationships between the independent variables and dependent variable occurring.

Global Distribution

The results of the temporary use applications dataset show that of the 5890 applications, only 10.6% (626) were for extraordinary temporary uses. Across the core cities, ordinary temporary uses dominate. Of the 5890 applications in total, 2579 (43.8%) occurred within the pre-recession period of 2000-2007, whereas 3311 (56.2%) were submitted in the recession and recovery period, an increase of 12.4%. Of the 2579 applications submitted during the 2000-2007 period, 8.2% (212) were for extraordinary

temporary uses and 91.8% (2367) for ordinary temporary uses (Chart 2). This demonstrates that demand for extraordinary temporary uses was present prior to the recession. An analysis of the recession and recovery period, 2008-2015, highlights increases in applications for both temporary use types. Extraordinary temporary use applications total 414, more than double the 202 applications submitted during the 2000-2007 period. This contrasts with ordinary temporary use applications, which increased at a slower rate from 2367 in the first period to 2897 in the second. This suggests there may be a positive association between the extraordinary type and the recession and recovery period.

Chart 2: Distribution of Temporary Use Applications (Type by Time)

Across the four functions of space (Chart 3), the residual space category accounted for the highest number of temporary use applications (44.4% of the total, or 2614 applications). Structures (26%) had the second highest percentage, numbering 1534 applications. Applications for site/land represented 25.9% of the total, or 1526 applications. The function with the lowest number of applications (216) was that of public space, comprising 3.7% of all applications.

For extraordinary temporary uses, the highest percentage of applications corresponds to the structures function, 35% (219 applications). Public space accounts for 24.1% (151), residual space 21.1% (132) and site/land amounts to the lowest percentage of extraordinary temporary use applications, 19.8% (124). Extraordinary temporary use applications are in stark contrast to the breakdown of the overall totals of the function variable.

Chart 3: Distribution of Temporary Use Applications (Type by Function)

	Residual Space	Structures	Site/Land	Public Spaces
■Extraordinary	132	219	124	65
■Ordinary	2482	1315	1402	151
■Total	2614	1534	1526	216

Core Cities

■Extraordinary ■Ordinary ■Total

This is contrast to the data for ordinary temporary use applications, for which residual space comprises the highest percentage 47.2% (2482 applications). Differing slightly from the analysis of the functional totals above, site/land is the second highest function applied for ordinary temporary use, 26.6% (1402). The structures function accounts for 25% (1315) of the total. Public space is the function with the lowest percentage of applications, 1.2% (65).

Decisions made about these temporary use applications do not display as much variation (Chart 4). 5059 of the temporary use applications were approved/granted, representing 85.9% of the total number submitted. The other 831 applications were almost evenly split between those that were withdrawn by the applicant (7.6% or 445 applications) and those that were refused by the local authorities (6.6% or 386). The majority of temporary use applications were approved across the core cities.

When analysed in relation to type, very little change can be seen from the functional totals. 88.2% of extraordinary temporary use applications were approved/granted (552 applications), 7.8% (or 49 applications) were withdrawn and 4% (or 25 applications) were refused. Similar patterns can be seen for ordinary temporary use applications, 85.6% (or 4507 applications) were approved/granted, 7.5% (or 396 applications) were withdrawn and 6.1% (or 361 applications) refused.

Chart 4: Distribution of Temporary Use Applications (Type by Decision)

	Approve/Grant	Withdraw	Refuse
■Extraordinary	552	49	25
■Ordinary	4507	396	362
■Total	5059	445	386

Core Cities

■Extraordinary ■Ordinary ■Total
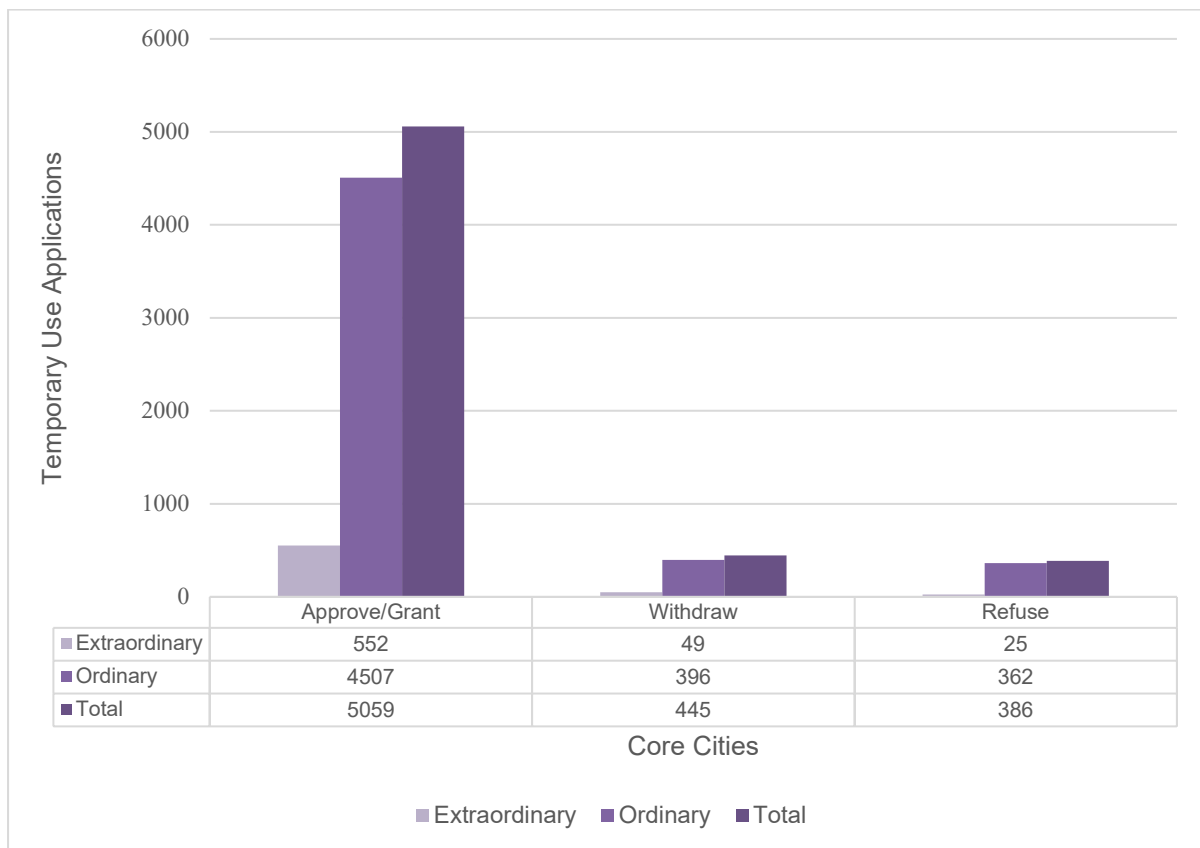
An analysis of the occurrence of temporary use applications shows that applications for isolated uses accounts for 47.8% (or 2815 applications). Whereas, applications for reoccurring temporary uses comprises 52.2% (or 3075 applications) (Chart 5). The same pattern can be seen when analysed between the two temporary use types.

Applications for extraordinary temporary use activities have a tendency to be repeat applications, with 55.1% of the total (or 345 applications) reoccurring. Ordinary temporary use applications demonstrate the same relationship, with 51.9% of the total (or 2730 applications) reoccurring. There is very little fluctuation between the occurrences of the two temporary use types.

Chart 5: Distribution of Temporary Use Applications (Type by Occurrence)

	Reoccurring	Isolated
■Extraordinary	345	281
■Ordinary	2730	2534
■Total	3075	2815

Core Cities

■Extraordinary ■Ordinary ■Total

Core Cities

Of the eight core cities, Liverpool accounted for the highest percentage of extraordinary temporary use applications (15.1%) and lowest percentage (84.9%) of ordinary temporary use applications. The second lowest percentage of extraordinary temporary use applications (8.6%) and second highest percentage of ordinary temporary use applications (91.4%) were evident in Bristol. Leeds consistently accounted for the lowest percentage in the extraordinary temporary use category, 6.9% and the highest percentage of ordinary temporary use applications 93.1%.

Across the independent variables of time, function, decision and occurrence, multiple cities were registered at the extremes of the distribution (see Table 17). Between 2000-2007 and 2008-2015 the percentage change in the total number of applications for extraordinary temporary uses were highest for Manchester, and Liverpool. At the other extreme, Leeds and Bristol comprised the second and third smallest changes. For ordinary temporary use between the two periods, Leeds was subject to the highest change and Bristol the second highest. The smallest change occurred in Liverpool, again, the cities of Liverpool and Bristol were identified as distinct, Liverpool for an affiliation with the extraordinary type and Bristol the ordinary type. In this respect, the two cities repeated the pattern evident for the type variable.

Table 17: Extremes of the Distribution between the Core Cities (Independent Variables by Type)

Independent Variable	Category	Dependent Variable (Type)	City (Highest %, Lowest %)
Time	% Change Between 2000-2007 and 2008-2015	Extraordinary	Manchester (34.6%), Nottingham (12.8%)
		Ordinary	Leeds (2.1%), Liverpool (0.3%).
Function	Structures	Extraordinary	Birmingham (42.4%), Leeds (15.7%)
		Ordinary	Liverpool (37.5%), Leeds (16.6%)
	Public Spaces	Extraordinary	Bristol (33.3%), Leeds (14.3%)
		Ordinary	Leeds (2.6%), Liverpool (0.7%)
	Residual Space	Extraordinary	Leeds (40%), Liverpool (8.5%)
		Ordinary	Bristol (63.1%), Sheffield (34.6%)
	Site/Land	Extraordinary	Liverpool (31.3%), Sheffield (7.1%)
		Ordinary	Sheffield (35.1%), Bristol (8.35%)
Decision	Approve/Grant	Extraordinary	Sheffield (92.9%), Birmingham (83.3%)
		Ordinary	Newcastle (88.8%), Birmingham (81.5%)
	Refusals	Extraordinary	Liverpool (5.7%), Bristol (2.1%)
		Ordinary	Nottingham (12.1%), Manchester (4.7%)
	Withdraw	Extraordinary	Bristol (12.5%), Sheffield (0.1%)
		Ordinary	Birmingham (12.5%), Nottingham (3.8%)
Occurrence	Reoccurring	Extraordinary	Birmingham (75%), Manchester (33.3%)
		Ordinary	Birmingham (71.9%), Manchester (36.9%)
	Isolated	Extraordinary	Manchester (66.7%), Birmingham (25%)
		Ordinary	Manchester (63.1%), Birmingham (28.1%)

Owing to the number of categories considered, outcomes of the function and decision variables were not as explicit as those of type and time. Nevertheless, evidence from the dataset suggests that of the eight core cities, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool and Sheffield have a particular association with both extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses, featuring at the extremes of the distribution for multiple function and decision categories.

In contrast to the other three independent variables, only two cities, Birmingham and Manchester, featured at the extremes of the distribution of the occurrence variable. As Table 3 shows, these conurbations oscillate from highest to lowest between the two occurrence categories and temporary use types. Birmingham was notable for repeat applications across the two temporary use types, whereas Manchester has a higher number of isolated applications of the two temporary uses.

Unlike global distribution, analysis between the cities highlighted individual cities at the extremes of the distribution for the dependent and independent variables. As explained in section 5.1, Bristol and Liverpool repeatedly featured at the extremes of the distribution. Bristol had a relatively high proportion of applications in the ordinary temporary use type, whereas Liverpool had more in the extraordinary category. The subsequent section seeks to explore statistical patterns from the applications data, highlighting key findings against which the global distribution and core city relationships can be compared.

Modelling

Multinomial logistic regression was employed (see Chapter 4) in an effort to identify patterns and relationships between the dependent and independent variables. The model analysed applications for temporary use across the core cities as a whole. The regression model assessed the extent to which extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses (the dependent variables) were affected by their underlying characteristics (the four independent variables). The model was able to determine the odds of an application being for one of the two temporary use types (extraordinary or ordinary) depending on the time, function, decision or occurrence category analysed.

Diagnostic statistics indicated no problems regarding overdispersion or multicollinearity in the data. The resulting regression model was constructed to focus on measuring the main effects of the two temporary use types and associated independent variables of time, function, decision and occurrence. The aim was to test whether an application for a particular time, function, decision or occurrence increased the odds of that application being for extraordinary as opposed to ordinary temporary use. Multiple models were employed to test the statistical relationships of temporary use across the core cities. This stepped approach was used to determine the most appropriate model to take forward. Owing to its richness, the three way main effects model was deemed of best fit, as discussed below.

A test of the full model against the constant only model was statistically significant with a Chi Square value of 592 (df = 7) at $p < 0.000$. The overall prediction success of the model was 90.8%. Three of the four – 2 Log Likelihood statistics for the predictor variables were significant ($p < 0.10$) in explaining the extent of the difference between the characteristics of extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses. The parameter estimates also revealed significant effects of predictor variables on the dependent variable (see Table 18).

When comparing type, between extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses, the model returned five statistically significant main effects in a number of areas. It was established that in period one (2000-2007) compared to period two (2008-2015), the likelihood of an application for temporary use being extraordinary as opposed to ordinary was 33% lower. Across the function variable, applications for the temporary use of sites/land compared to residual space were 1.6 times higher for extraordinary uses than ordinary uses. In the structures category, applications for the temporary use of this function compared to that of the residual space function were 3.2 times more likely for extraordinary than ordinary uses. Finally, applications for the temporary use of public spaces compared to residual space were 42.9 times more likely for extraordinary temporary uses than ordinary temporary uses. Unlike the other three independent variables, no significant effects were recorded between the reoccurring and isolated categories. Within the decision variable, refusals for temporary use compared to approvals were 46.6% less likely for extraordinary applications than ordinary applications.

Table 18: Multinomial Logistic Regression Model of Temporary Use (Main Effects)

Variable	B	Exp(B)	Sig.	Wald
Extraordinary Temporary Use				
Intercept	-2.693	-	0.000	666.806
Time				
Pre-Recession (2000-2007)	-0.404	0.668	0.000	17.507
Recession and Recovery Period (2008-2015)	-	-	-	-
Function				
Site/Land	0.512	1.669	0.000	15.518
Structures	1.168	3.216	0.000	100.944
Public Spaces	3.760	42.945	0.000	465.269
Residual Spaces	-	-	-	-
Decision				
Refuse	-0.628	0.534	0.005	7.915
Withdraw	-0.104	0.901	0.554	0.349
Approve/Grant	-	-	-	-
Occurrence				
Isolated	-0.101	0.904	0.276	1.188
Reoccurring	-	-	-	-

-2 log-likelihood: Time (221.664); Function (757.947); Decision (213.006); Occurrence (204.899)

Chi Square: Time (17.954; p<0.000); Function (554.237; p<0.000); Decision (9.296; p<0.010); Occurrence (1.190; p<0.275)

Note: Reference category for model = Ordinary Temporary Use

The results of the regression model reveal a number of important features that complement and extend the findings of the previous analysis. Firstly, when compared across the two time periods, applications for extraordinary temporary uses demonstrate a clear association with the second time period, recession and recovery, as opposed to the first time period, pre-recession. A distinct transition between the two temporary use types and time is seen. Ordinary temporary uses are more prevalent over the fifteen year period, whereas extraordinary uses featured more prominently in 2008-2015 than 2000-2007.

Secondly, the model demonstrates clear differences in the spatial patterning of the two types. Extraordinary temporary use applications were more common in public spaces, structures and sites/land than in residual space. Through the model a hierarchy of functions is apparent for extraordinary temporary uses, with public spaces being the most significant.

Thirdly, despite being an emerging temporary use practice, refusals of extraordinary applications were less common than approvals. For applications for ordinary temporary uses, there was a greater likelihood of refusal than was the case for the extraordinary type. Withdrawn applications showed no significant differences between the two temporary use types. Finally, single as opposed to repeat applications were neither more or less likely in statistical terms across the two types of temporary use.

The headline findings of the regression model complement the descriptive statistics discussed in the previous sections. The following section seeks to reflect upon both sets of findings and consider the results of phase one of the research in light of the existing literature on temporary urbanism.

5.3 Discussion

Unpacking Assumptions on Temporary Use

As defined in Chapter 4, the five variables of type, time, function, decision and occurrence were established in an effort to test and challenge a series of key assumptions that have come to define the practice of temporary use (see Chapters 2 and 4). Five such assumptions are discussed: temporary use activities, the context for temporary use, temporarily appropriated spaces, insurgency via temporary use and finally the duration of temporary use.

Types of Temporary Use Activity

Much of the literature on temporary urbanism documents creative efforts to reuse land, mainly in high-profile global cities. Leisure, trade, tourism, urban greening and cultural creative industries have dominated the literature on temporary use since the early writings of Urban Catalyst (2003). Activities beyond these categories are yet to feature in detail within the temporary urbanism literature (Haydn and Temel, 2006; SfS Berlin, 2007; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Novy and Colomb, 2013; Tonkiss, 2013a, 2013b; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Hubman and Perkovic, 2014; Colomb, 2017; Moore-Cherry, 2017). Temporary uses such as surface carparking, construction hoardings or modular units in school playgrounds have received much less research attention (see Table 19). There is a narrative underlying much of this literature which views temporary uses as innovative and non-planned activities that formal regulations of planning have sometimes struggled to comprehend and accommodate (Urban Catalyst, 2003; Groth and Corijn, 2005; Haydn and Temel, 2006; SfS, 2007; Andres, 2011; Desimini, 2015).

Taking the latter into consideration, the number of temporary use applications across the core cities between 2000 and 2015 was sizable. Whilst temporary activities will of course occur in addition to these

5890 applications, the applications dataset brought into focus the volume of registered temporary uses within the formal regulatory planning system (see Table 19). Unlike much of the literature (for example, Groth and Corijn, 2005; Haydn and Temel, 2006; Ziehl *et al.*, 2012; Desimini, 2015), temporary uses in the eight core cities are planned activities with which the formal planning system has directly engaged. In this sense, they are no different from traditional, permanent development.

Existing understandings of temporary use as a practice of urban development can also be challenged by the results of the modelling exercise (Stevens and Ambler, 2010; Iveson, 2013; Németh and Langhorst, 2014; Andres and Grésillon, 2011; 2013). Analysis of the applications dataset across the core cities calls into question the dominant narrative that sees temporary use as comprising solely the kind of creative and innovative uses listed in Table 19. The applications data show that of the 5890 applications for temporary use across England's core cities, only 10.6% (626 applications) were for extraordinary uses (Mould, 2014; Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014; Harris, 2015; Haid, 2016).

Despite their dominance across the core cities, previous studies have failed to pay attention to the presence of ordinary temporary uses such as those listed above. There has been a lack of appreciation of the role of ordinary temporary uses in the recycling of urban land. In the context of England's second tier cities, the kind of extraordinary temporary uses that feature within the literature are much less prominent. The emphasis in the existing literature on cultural creative temporary reuse of land was at odds with the reality of many more ordinary applications for temporary use in the core cities.

Across all of the core cities, applications disproportionately comprised the ordinary category of temporary use. Cities that lacked a formal policy for temporary use surprisingly accommodated higher percentages and absolute numbers of both extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses. When taken as a percentage of the total, it is not the three largest core cities, in terms of geographical area, that had the highest totals. The second largest core city, Sheffield, registered some of the lowest totals for both temporary use types. In contrast, Manchester and Liverpool, occupying smaller land areas registered the highest and second highest numbers of applications.

Table 19: Examples of Temporary Use Applications within the Core Cities

Core City	Extraordinary Application For:	Ordinary Application For:
Birmingham	Change of use to learning centre for local residents (Temporary for 1 year).	Erection of temporary nursery school building.
	Installation of temporary wooden hoarding for display of artwork in connection with an exhibition.	Renewal of temporary advertisement consent for an exposed neon on face of sign over entrance.
Bristol	Proposal seeks a 2.5 year temporary consent to create a box park style temporary office development using converted shipping containers on Plot 6 (Clock Tower Yard) in the enterprise zone.	Installation of temporary classroom building on land at Bristol Cathedral Choir School for use by Cathedral Primary School (Education Use: D1) and associated works. Temporary consent for up to two years.
	Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone. Local Development Order for temporary urban agriculture.	Erection of single storey temporary hospital building and associated means of enclosure and hard standings to be retained on site until the 31st May 2016.
Leeds	Temporary change of use from cricket stadium and educational facilities to accommodate up to three music concerts per calendar year for a period of two years.	Temporary (5 years) use of site (upper land area) as long stay airport car park.
	Use of field as temporary film set for 1 year.	Use of vacant site for temporary open storage (Use Class B8).
Liverpool	To vary Condition 1 of planning permission (13F/0410) so as to allow the premises to continue to be used as a cafe/bar (Use Classes A3/A4) with external seating and performance space for a further two year temporary period.	To continue to use site as a surface car park for temporary period of 2 years.
	To erect public art work consisting of a hotel suite and hotel lobby around Queen Victoria Monument for a temporary period in connection with Biennial Arts Festival.	To display illuminated hoarding for temporary period during refurbishment works.
Manchester	Use of land as a market on Saturdays from 10am - 4pm between the March and December (inclusive) and no more than 4 annual Friday night markets.	Retrospective application for the installation of 1 no. externally illuminated scaffold shroud banner for a temporary period of 4 months
	Use of vacant building as a racing facility for radio controlled model cars for a temporary period of 3 years	Use of vacant land for a temporary period of 12 months, as a storage compound for materials for the refurbishment of Roach, Mossbrook, Vauxhall and Humphries Courts, including installation of 2.5m high mesh fencing and gates to secure site.
Newcastle	Mooring of temporary watermill and wheelhouse artwork.	Installation of 15m high temporary telecommunications lattice mast with 3 antennas, 1300mm dish and 1600mm dish.
	City Council Application: Change of use of part of public highway to front of 1-6 Eldon Square to temporary street market (sui generis).	Extension of temporary permission: Change of use from residential (Class C3) to surgery (Class D1) (One room only).
Nottingham	Temporary use of land for Christmas entertainment company marquee and parking.	Use as car wash for a temporary 2 year period.
	Change of use from public open space to temporary informal play area (kickabout area) with 1m high chain link fence.	Temporary construction compound and laydown facility.
Sheffield	Erection of a temporary beach, associated facilities and associated works on an annual basis between 1 July and 30 September inclusive.	Temporary use of existing vacant warehouse and yard for carparking.
	Temporary use of building as a theatre (sui generis).	Use of barn as temporary living accommodation.

Alongside this, economic performance in Liverpool and Sheffield has been weak in comparison to the other core cities, and this does not explain the discrepancy in numbers of applications. Despite comparable economic bases, Liverpool has seen some of the highest numbers of applications for

temporary development and Sheffield some of the lowest. Consequently, it is difficult to identify a clear relationship between the amount of temporary use activity (in the form of applications) and the size of the local authority territory or its economic performance. Neither does policy on temporary use (or lack of it) provide the explanation for disparities in the numbers of planning applications (a topic to which the thesis returns in Chapter 7).

When analysed as a percentage of temporary use applications within each city, Liverpool and Bristol showed a clear contrast. Liverpool featured the highest proportion of extraordinary temporary use applications and lowest for ordinary temporary use applications. By contrast, Bristol had a limited amount of extraordinary applications extraordinary, but a relatively much higher number of ordinary temporary use applications (second highest of the eight cities). This, in combination with disparities in their economic performance (see 5.1), suggests that further comparison of the two cities may help shed light on their contrasting experiences of temporary use.

Through the type variable, temporary use activity can be understood as one of two categories: extraordinary temporary uses or ordinary temporary uses. The literature, as highlighted, placed particular onus on extraordinary activity. However, the findings of the core cities dataset call into question some of the emphases of existing literature on temporary urbanism. The number of extraordinary temporary uses is substantially exceeded by ordinary temporary uses. Extraordinary temporary uses are relatively uncommon in Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham and Sheffield. The experience of England's second-tier cities is in this respect at odds with the research literature, much of which is devoted to documenting the experience of extraordinary uses. In order to further understand the role played by the latter, the discussion will now move on to detail the implications of the findings on the independent variables of time, function, decision and occurrence. It is through these variables that the underlying characteristics of the two temporary use types were determined.

The Temporal Context of Temporary Use

Much of the literature on temporary use views it in optimistic terms, as a potential solution in respect of environmental crisis (Till, 2011; Richards, 2013; O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015), economic decline (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Andres, 2013; Németh and Langhorst, 2014; Harris, 2015; Moore-Cherry, 2017) or austerity (Tonkiss, 2013a; 2013b; Mayer, 2013; Andres, 2013; Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016). The literature on temporary use suggests it has become much more prominent in the aftermath of the 2007-08 financial crises (Reynolds, 2011; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Hubman and Perkovic, 2014; Harris, 2015). However, there has been less attention devoted to temporary use in the years before the financial crises or in the more recent period of partial economic recovery. But although previous research has documented the importance of temporary use during the period of the post-2008 recessions, this chapter has added to this by exploring the form and extent of that relationship. The expectation was that significantly higher levels of temporary use would occur in the recession and

recovery period (2008-2015) than that of the pre-recession period (2000-2007).When analysed, all eight of the core cities saw applications for temporary use increase in 2008-2015 compared to 2000-2007, from 2579 applications in period one to 3311 applications in period two, representing a 12.4% increase. Confirming the expectation of the literature, temporary uses have been encouraged since the onset of the economic and banking crisis in 2008 (Moore-Cherry, 2017).

Analysis of temporal change in the distribution of temporary uses also highlights a clear contrast between applications for both types during the recession and recovery period of 2008-2015 and the pre-recession period of 2000-2007. From period one to period two, all eight cities registered increases in applications for extraordinary temporary uses whilst seven of the eight registered increases in ordinary temporary uses. Newcastle was the only city to register a decrease in applications for ordinary temporary uses. Of note again in this respect were the cities of Bristol and Liverpool. Bristol demonstrated very little by way of change for one type compared to another, registering greater increases in ordinary temporary use applications between the two periods than was the case for extraordinary applications. A similar pattern was evident in Liverpool, although the increase in applications applied to the extraordinary type. Between the two types and time periods, extraordinary temporary uses experienced a more dramatic variation between period one and period two than did ordinary temporary uses. Whilst ordinary temporary uses outweigh their creative counterparts by a significant margin, the level of change across and within the core cities was less marked.

The results of the regression model further elucidated the relationship between time and the two temporary use types. The pre-recession period of 2000-2007 was a statistically significant main effect of the model ($p < 0.000$). The model indicated that, compared to period two (2008-2015), in period one (2000-2007) the odds of an application for temporary use being for the extraordinary as opposed to the ordinary type were 33% lower. Thus, when compared across the two time periods, applications for extraordinary temporary uses were more prevalent in the second time period than the first. The model suggested extraordinary temporary uses had become much more common in the second time period.

Ultimately, there was a positive association between the extraordinary type and the recession and recovery period, with 66% (414) of applications for this category submitted between 2008-15 compared to 34% (212) between 2000-07. Thus, the assumption that extraordinary temporary uses were a phenomenon that emerged in response to the post-2008 recessions holds true. However, analysis of the applications dataset suggests two important limitations of the existing literature. First, over 200 extraordinary temporary uses existed prior to 2008. Second, whilst extraordinary temporary uses became more numerous in the core cities over the 2008-2015 period, ordinary temporary uses remained much more common, numbering over 2400 applications. In this respect the literature on the role of temporary use has not accurately reflected the true nature of temporary use.

Functions of Space Appropriated by Temporary Use

Temporary use has been subject to an array of interdisciplinary critique, from urban sociology and architecture to landscape architecture, urban geography, political science and cultural studies (Hentilä, 2003; Blummer, 2006; Hawke, 2009; Rall and Hasse, 2011). The core assumption is that temporary development is a tool for the reuse of a variety of spaces. Particular emphasis has been placed on the ability of temporary use to resolve the problem of vacant and derelict land (Colomb, 2012; Adams and Hardman, 2013; Mariani and Barron, 2014). Coinciding with this is a strong narrative of temporary use on/in residual spaces (spaces between or behind buildings as well as spaces that are difficult to develop) (Hou, 2010; Hubman and Perkovic, 2014; Bishop, 2015; Colomb, 2017). Consequently, temporary use has been presented as a one size fits all tool that can be applied to any underutilised space, bringing it back into productive use.

To date, temporary use has featured only intermittently in the literature on urban planning and development. Consequently, this one size fits all narrative has not been subjected to much in the way of critical scrutiny. From the perspective of other disciplines, however, the level of complexity between the redevelopment of land compared to the reconversion of property is fundamental. The attention paid to the complexities of regeneration during the 2000s highlighted multiple barriers to the re-use of vacant, previously developed land, including fragmented or uncertain ownership, contamination, and remediation costs. By contrast, a vacant structure, such as a shop unit, does not suffer from the same complexities or barriers – the entirety of its infrastructure is in place bar the tenant (Dixon, 2009; Adams *et al.*, 2001; Guy and Henneberry, 2002; Otsuka *et al.*, 2013; Tiesdell and Adams, 2011; Gripaios, 2002).

The existing literature presents temporary use as a tool for the reuse of a variety of spaces, but especially vacant land and residual sites. The analysis of the core cities dataset indicates this may not be appropriate. The applications data suggests that structures are a more frequent function for temporary development than land. This is not surprising in light of the well-developed understanding of the complexity associated with re-using previously developed land compared to structures (Garvin *et al.*, 2013; Syms, 1999; 2010). Moreover, two additional discrepancies from the literature were recognised. Firstly, there is a correlation between public spaces and extraordinary temporary use activities. Secondly, ordinary temporary uses, rather than the extraordinary ones that feature in the literature, are more common on residual spaces. Again, the cities of Bristol and Liverpool featured at the extremes of the distribution in the ordinary and extraordinary temporary use category respectively.

Analysing the type and function independent variables, the model returned three statistically significant ($p < 0.000$) headline findings. The model indicated that extraordinary temporary uses were more likely to be located on public spaces (42.9 times more likely), existing structures (3.2 times more likely) and land (1.6 times more likely) than residual space.

Ultimately, we can see that whilst an individual city did demonstrate a clear relationship to extraordinary temporary use of residual space (Leeds), across the core cities as a whole this was the least likely function for extraordinary temporary use applications. Thus, contrary to the literature, residual space is not associated with extraordinary temporary urbanism. Additionally, the correlation between temporary development and land was somewhat tenuous. The odds associated with land were lower than both structures and public spaces, 1.6 times more likely compared to the 3.2 times and 42.9 times greater likelihoods for temporary development in structures or public spaces. This suggests that vacant land was not as commonly associated with temporary development as the literature has made it out to be (see Urban Catalyst, 2003; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013 or Hubman and Perkovic, 2014).

Noncompliance and Temporary Use: Decisions on Planning Applications

Temporary users have been characterised in numerous studies as community-rooted (Shaw, 2005; SQW Consulting, 2010; Adams and Hardman, 2013; Jabareen, 2014; Finn, 2014; Till and Mcardle, 2015; Colomb, 2017) and/or sometimes espousing a radical insurgent political agenda (Sandercock, 1998; Groth and Corijn, 2005; Hou, 2010; Németh and Langhorst, 2014). Less common is the inclusion of those actors more akin to traditional private sector developers. There is an expectation that temporary use will be driven by community conscious actors, rather than those more conventionally associated with development and regeneration. There is also sometimes an expectation that temporary uses will appropriate land on an informal basis.

While these expectations are met in some instances, it may not always be the case. The temporary use literature arguably struggles to provide a complete picture of the breadth of actors involved in temporary use projects (Urban Catalyst, 2003; Oswalt *et al.* 2013; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014). Generally, decision makers (unless they disagreed with the project), site owner as other regulatory bodies (related to access arrangements, building control or alcohol licences, for example) tend not to receive a great deal of attention. The focus of previous research has tended to be on the projects and people most closely associated with them, as opposed to the process helping to explain how and in what form those projects emerged (Stevens and Ambler, 2010; Colomb, 2012; Ziehl *et al.*, 2012; Andres, 2013).

In order to better understand how insurgent temporary use may be, there is a need to appreciate more broadly how temporary use is seen and treated by the actors who constitute the development process. There is little empirical research which actually analyses the role of temporary use within the development process or how the actors responsible for overseeing that process engage with temporary uses (see Chapter 7) (Mandanipour, 2017a). By testing the decisions applied to temporary use across the eight core cities, it was possible to assess the degree to which temporary uses were seen as alternate and informal.

Based on these understandings in the literature, then, the expectation was that very few extraordinary temporary uses would actually be subject to a formal planning application, but would instead emerge organically and in a largely (or entirely) unregulated way. Additionally, of those temporary uses that do engage with the planning process, there might be expected to be a significantly higher level of refusals.

Analysis of the applications dataset proved both assumptions to be questionable. Of the 5890 applications for temporary use within the core cities, 5059 (85.9%) were approved. The other 831 were almost evenly split between those that were withdrawn by the applicant (445 applications, or 7.6%) and those refused by the local authority (386, 6.6%). The majority of temporary use activity was approved across the core cities, calling into questions the ways in which temporary uses (and users) tend to be characterised in the literature.

When analysed by type of temporary use, this pattern is repeated. 88.2% of extraordinary temporary use applications were approved (552 applications), 7.8% (49 applications) were withdrawn and 4% (25 applications) were refused. Approval rates for extraordinary temporary uses were actually higher than those for the ordinary temporary use type. Similarly, refusal rates were lower for extraordinary temporary uses than ordinary temporary uses. 4,507 applications for ordinary temporary use were approved (85.6%), 396 were withdrawn (7.5%) and 361 were refused (6.1%). Existing literature tends to stress the radical roots of those driving extraordinary uses, but applications for this category were generally deemed acceptable by decision makers – to a greater extent than for the ordinary category.

Bristol and Liverpool again displayed noteworthy characteristics. Bristol featured a low approval rate for the extraordinary type and well as the highest percentage of withdrawals for this temporary use category. Whereas Liverpool, in spite of being the city with the greatest percentage of extraordinary temporary uses, had the highest rate of refusals for that type.

When analysed across the eight cities over the fifteen year period, the regression model confirmed the findings regarding refusals. Analysing type and decision, the model indicated that the withdrawal category was not statistically significant ($p = 0.554$), whereas the refuse decision category was a statistically significant main effect ($p = 0.005$). The model established that refusals for temporary use compared to approvals were 46.6% less likely for extraordinary applications than ordinary applications. Consequently, across the second-tier cities of England, refusals were a less common characteristic of extraordinary temporary use than ordinary temporary use. This is an unexpected finding in light of the associations in the literature with the extraordinary temporary use type.

It is clear that some individual cities were more likely to accommodate challenging proposals for extraordinary temporary use (especially in Bristol, Birmingham, Liverpool and Newcastle). Across the core cities as a whole, applications for extraordinary temporary uses were deemed unthreatening by decision makers. Contrary to the thrust of much of the literature, analysis of the applications dataset demonstrates that planning decision-makers were generally comfortable with proposed temporary

uses, despite their purportedly radical roots. Refusals were associated more with applications for ordinary temporary uses than extraordinary ones. Withdrawals of planning applications were more likely for the extraordinary category (witnessed particularly in Bristol, Birmingham, Newcastle and Sheffield). It appears that development control officers do not perceive extraordinary temporary uses as intrinsically problematic; rather, it may be that planning as a regulatory process is insufficiently attuned to the distinct needs of temporary users (explored further in Chapter 7).

These findings again challenge the contemporary account of the role and function of temporary use. When analysed through the decisions taken by the eight local authorities, the practice of extraordinary temporary use would not appear to present a threat to established decision-making processes, in the way that is sometimes implied in the literature on insurgent temporary urbanism. Instead, empirical evidence suggests it is often ordinary temporary uses that pose the greater challenge. Moreover, it would appear that the actors associated with extraordinary temporary uses struggle more as a consequence of the complexity of delivering their projects, resulting in withdrawals rather than refusals.

Duration of Temporary Use: [Re]Occurrences

Duration of temporary use has been the subject of academic debate. Scholars such as Hentilä (2003), Andres (2011), Colomb (2012), Oswalt *et al.* (2013) and Tonkiss (2013a) argue that temporary use is a short term, stop-gap solution, whereas, SfS Berlin (2007), Andres (2013), Németh and Langhorst (2014), Hubman and Perkovic (2014), Bishop (2015), Till and Mcardle (2015) and Colomb (2017) conclude that temporary uses can be both short as well as long term and can even border on permanence. There is uncertainty in some cases about whether temporary uses are "planned from outset to be impermanent" and act simply as a means to "prepare their location for something other that will last longer" (Haydn and Temel, 2006: 17), or whether they are actually an "intentional phase" which "may be short or long" as "even activities that sign a short lease […] may intend from the outset they will endure" (Bishop and Williams, 2012: 5).

In an effort to facilitate a better understanding of the relationship between isolated and repeat instances of temporary uses on or within the same space, analysis of the occurrence of temporary use applications was recorded through the applications dataset. Drawing upon the existing scholarly debate, the expectation is that some temporary uses will be short term and isolated whereas others will be longer term and reoccur. Nonetheless, the quantity of applications coupled with significance testing across the eight core cities shed new light on the short vs. long-term nature of temporary urbanism. These findings established on the duration of temporary use challenge some of the dominant representations of temporary urbanism in the literature.

In contrast to the previous variables, analysis of the 5890 applications for temporary use within the core cities demonstrates that little variation exists between the two occurrence categories. Reoccurrence accounted for 3075 applications (52.2%) and isolated or one-off applications amounted to 2815 (47.8%). Analysis by type suggests some marginal differences. For the extraordinary type, 55.1% of

applications were reoccurring (345) and 44.9% isolated (281). Similarly, 51.9% of applications for the ordinary temporary use type were reoccurring (2730) and 48.1% isolated (2534). Only modest differences exist between the two types; extraordinary temporary uses amassed a greater percentage for repeat applications of the same use than the ordinary temporary use type.

Across the registered applications as a whole as well as the applications total for each type, reoccurrence is consistently the most common characteristic of temporary use. Additionally, repeat as opposed to single applications on/within the same space for the extraordinary temporary use type were more common than repeat applications for the more established ordinary temporary use type. Looking across cities, Birmingham has the largest number of repeat applications of both extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses, with neither dominating. Manchester is the city with the highest level of isolated or single applications for both extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses. Unlike any of the other variables, occurrence of temporary use within the cities is not skewed by type; rather, the relationship is almost evenly split between extraordinary and ordinary temporary use.

This is a finding that was corroborated by the results of the regression model. Analysing type and occurrence, the model determined that neither the isolated nor reoccurring categories were statistically significant. Isolated applications of temporary use registered a p value of 0.276. Consequently, across the second-tier cities of England, occurrence of applications for extraordinary or ordinary temporary use were of equal likelihood. As with much of the above analysis, the model reaffirms that occurrence of temporary use was not a significant underlying characteristic of temporary use applications. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the time, function and decision variables were of greater significance in determining difference between the two temporary use types.

Examination of the occurrence variable has shown that applications for both the extraordinary and ordinary temporary use type typically reoccur. Contrary to Hentilä (2003), SQW Consulting (2010), Andres (2011), Colomb (2012), Oswalt *et al.* (2013) and Tonkiss (2013a), the analysis suggests that repeat applications for extraordinary temporary use on/within the same space were more common than isolated stop-gap solutions. The same can be said for the largely unstudied ordinary temporary use type. Equally, unlike the time, function and decision variables, neither of the occurrence categories was deemed to be of significance. The 3.2% difference between repeat and isolated applications for extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary use did not register as a statistically significant main effect of the model. Nevertheless, as we have seen the analysis of the applications dataset calls into question established ideas about the duration of temporary uses. The findings demonstrate that recurrence and a longer-term presence is a common factor of temporary urbanism.

5.4 Conclusion

Ultimately, the results of the applications dataset and regression modelling show that across the second tier cities of England, temporary use is dominated by the presence of the ordinary category. Extraordinary temporary uses are uncommon. Contrary to much of the literature, analysing both categories has provided greater insight into the role and function of temporary use. Introducing the concept of ordinary temporary use into the debate may therefore help to raise awareness of the role and function of extraordinary temporary uses. Moreover, within the core cities, influence of geography, economic performance and the provision of policy mechanisms can be seen to have no clear effect on the level and distribution of either temporary use type. Nevertheless, through further analysis of the variables of time, function, decision and occurrence, it became possible to determine the underlying characteristics of the more marginal extraordinary temporary use practice as well as its ordinary counterpart. On reflection, this chapter demonstrates that certain expectations of the temporary use literature were largely accurate whilst others were incorrect.

Analysing the context in which temporary use emerges across the eight cities demonstrated that extraordinary practices have become more frequent during the recession and recover period. Yet, as with the pre-recession period, such uses continue to be dwarfed by the presence of more mundane or ordinary forms of temporary use. This was confirmed by analysis of the applications dataset which showed temporary uses (and especially those in extraordinary category) increasing between the pre-recession and recession and recovery periods.

The analysis also questioned some of the key assumptions articulated in the existing literature, in two important respects. The first was that applications for extraordinary temporary use did in fact exist prior to the recession. Their existence calls into question the assumption that high-profile extraordinary uses are a new phenomenon, rooted in the response to economic downturn and diminishing public expenditure in the years after 2008. Second, despite the increasing prevalence of extraordinary uses, the ordinary type remained dominant during the 2008-15 period. It can be argued on the basis of this that the existing literature places too great an emphasis on what in reality is a less established, highly stylised practice of extraordinary temporary use, whilst ignoring the presence of more common but mundane forms of temporary urbanism.

When analysing the spaces appropriated by temporary use, the notion that it is a one size fits all tool for the re-use of land, structures and residual space was called into question. The data suggests that residual spaces and land were more common functions for the ordinary temporary use type. In contrast to the thrust of much of the literature, analysis of the core cities dataset suggested that residual spaces tended not to accommodate extraordinary temporary uses, nor did land. When compared to the likelihood ratios for structures and public spaces, the relationship between extraordinary temporary use and site/land was tenuous. Instead, applications for extraordinary temporary uses gravitate more toward unused structures and public spaces.

Much of the existing literature on temporary urbanism underplays the complexities involved in the re-use of space. This chapter calls into question the assumption in previous research that land and residual spaces are likely to accommodate extraordinary uses (see Hubman and Perkovic, 2014; Desimini, 2015 or Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016).

The notion of temporary use as a radical, socially and environmentally sensitive approach that poses a threat to established models of regeneration was not reflected in the analysis of the applications dataset. The latter suggests that statutory planning actors are willing to approve temporary use proposals. The analysis was also able to question the dominant view expressed in some of the literature that the sometimes controversial nature of proposed extraordinary uses, and their occasionally less stable finances, mean the number of withdrawals will be higher (Blumner, 2006; Hawke, 2009; Colomb, 2017). Yet it would appear that it may actually be the regulatory process of planning that explains the relatively higher levels of withdrawals. As with the previous variables, these findings therefore challenge the contemporary account of the role and function of temporary use.

Unlike the other variables, the occurrence of temporary uses was a subject of debate within the literature. Some of the literature recognises temporary use as purely short-term (Colomb, 2012; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Tonkiss, 2013a) while other studies understand the potential for these to become long-term developments (Németh and Langhorst, 2014; Hubman and Perkovic, 2014; Bishop, 2015). The analysis identified reoccurrence as the most common characteristic of temporary use. In fact, repeat as opposed to single applications on/within the same space for extraordinary temporary use were more common than repeat applications for the more established ordinary temporary use type. Although the results were not statistically significant, this suggests the possibility that reoccurrence and a longer-term presence may be a feature associated with temporary urbanism.

This Chapter has attempted to challenge a number of assumptions linked to the concept of temporary urbanism. However, missing from this analysis was location, more specifically the location of temporary use projects within cities. The subsequent chapter addresses this by introducing the location of temporary urbanism (Chapter 6). The thesis also extends the quantitative analysis in this chapter through further qualitative case study research in Bristol and Liverpool (Chapter 7). Of the eight core cities these two exhibited the sharpest contrast in many of their socio-economic characteristics (Townsend and Champion, 2014). Analysis of policy also showed both cities to feature explicit mechanisms for temporary use, but linked to contrasting goals and using different methods (BCC, 2015; LCC, 2016). Within the applications dataset, Bristol and Liverpool were the most distinctive for the dependent variable of type, as well as the independent variable of time. Bristol contained a relatively high concentration of ordinary temporary uses and Liverpool a large fraction of extraordinary uses.

Based on their individual relationships with the dependent variable of type Bristol and Liverpool were therefore deemed the most appropriate cities for further empirical inquiry as part of the second phase of the methodology, exploring the spatiality of temporary use.

Chapter 6: Spatial Clustering, Distribution and Patterning of Temporary Use in Bristol and Liverpool

Following the outcomes of the analysis of the applications dataset for the eight core cities in Chapter 5, Chapter 6 critically examines the spatiality of temporary urbanism within two cities, Bristol and Liverpool. Through these cities, the findings associated with the second phase of empirical investigation of the thesis are unpacked. Via geolocation data, a statistical analysis testing of the extent to which instances of temporary use are clustered, distributed and patterned within and between the two cities was undertaken. As with the previous analysis, the five variables of type, time, function, decision and occurrence were used to underpin the discussion.

The spatial location of temporary use activities within cities are a largely under researched area of this urban phenomenon. Only one previous study akin to such an analysis exists to date, SfS (2007). The purpose of this chapter is to posit new findings about the locational preferences of the extraordinary temporary uses discussed within the literature compared to their ordinary temporary use counterparts (Urban Catalyst, 2003; Haydn and Temel, 2006; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Colomb, 2012; 2017; Tonkiss, 2013a; b; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Moore-Cherry, 2017; Harris, 2015). This investigation was conducted across two spatial tiers via two methods. In the first instance, nearest neighbour analysis established the level of clustering of temporary use instances within the confines of the local authority boundary. Secondly, distribution and patterning of temporary urbanism was determined within/between the central policy area and wider periphery through counts of the mapped point data (XY) and associated attribute tables of each structural variable.

The chapter begins by outlining the study context of this second phase of empirical investigation. It draws initially on contemporary research associated with the cities of Bristol and Liverpool, coupled with a reinstatement of the core findings on temporary urbanism within each city from Chapter 5. This is followed by the outcomes of the nearest neighbour analysis whereby the statistical clustering of the five aforementioned variables of temporary use are detailed, initially within the cities and subsequently between the cities through comparative analysis. The findings of the spatial distribution and patterning analysis of temporary use instances within/between the central policy area and wider periphery of each city are then unpacked. Again, this is supported by a comparative analysis of the two cities.

The final section of the chapter draws upon both sets of findings, highlighting the synergies as well as contrasts between what has come to define the existing understanding of the practice of temporary urbanism within cities and what can be seen across, within and between the cities of Bristol and Liverpool. This discussion will also outline how the defined patterns and relationships are to be taken forward through case study analysis (see subsequent Chapter, 7).

6.1 Temporary Urbanism within the Bristol and Liverpool Context

The general summaries of regional development and city competitiveness across England's core cities within Chapter 5, in tandem with the outcomes of the temporary use applications dataset, recorded distinct discrepancy between the cities of Bristol and Liverpool (Kitson *et al.,* 2004; Pike *et al.*, 2007; Martin, 2012; Gardiner *et al.*, 2013; Deas *et al.*, 2015; Hincks *et al.*, 2014). These cities emerged as particular for further empirical inquiry owning to variation in performance as well as temporary use preference (Champion and Townsend, 2013; Townsend and Champion, 2014; Parkinson *et al.*, 2014; Parkinson, 2016).

Earlier chapters have helped to provide a broad (macro) understanding of the role and function of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary use across the core cities. This chapter seeks to consider specific locational context at the city (meso) scale. It attempts to refine the outcomes associated with the applications dataset, providing a detailed spatialisation of temporary use within/between the two selected cities and two temporary use types. This is underpinned by an appreciation of spatial context, generating critical conclusions about the role and function of extraordinary as opposed to ordinary temporary use within as well as between the cities. In relation to temporary urbanism, appreciation of the role and function of this phenomenon within either city remains weakly developed, as does its connection to urban regeneration/renewal.

In contrast to Liverpool, the city of Bristol has been the subject of temporary use case study research on three separate occasions, appearing first in Mean *et al.* (2008) then Stevens and Ambler (2010) and subsequently Angus (2015). Both analysed the case of Bristol Urban Beach 2007 (Mean *et al.* 2008; Stevens and Ambler 2010), while Angus (2015) assessed the facilitation of temporary use through policy. Bristol was identified as a particular location for cultural creative uses akin to the extraordinary type as defined by this thesis (see pg 23). Previous studies posit the opposite of the macro connection to temporary use within Bristol developed via the applications dataset. Additionally, Liverpool, the city to register the highest percentage of extraordinary temporary use instances over the study period, is yet to receive research attention in relation to this phenomenon.

The temporary use applications data of Chapter 5 emphasised that ordinary temporary uses were more prominent in Bristol and extraordinary temporary uses more numerous in Liverpool. This discrepancy is not reflected in the wider literature. Nor does it conform to the policy provisions for temporary use within either cities' adopted (Bristol) and emerging (Liverpool) local plans (Figure 23 and 24).

Policy BCAP12: Vacant sites and temporary uses

4.24 From time to time, temporary uses are sought for vacant buildings or cleared sites that are awaiting redevelopment. Although temporary in nature and therefore often lacking the standards of design and finish that would usually be expected from permanent development, such uses can provide jobs and add much to the vitality and vibrancy of an area in the meantime. Alternatively, temporary uses can enhance the sustainability of an area by making space for local food production, wildlife or the growing of energy crops.

Proposals for temporary uses of vacant buildings or sites within Bristol City Centre that would not prejudice any future development or other purposes for which the site may be safeguarded will be acceptable where they would add to the vitality and vibrancy of the city centre and would not cause excessive noise or other pollution, cause undue detriment to the character and amenity of the surrounding area or give rise to unacceptable traffic conditions.

Temporary uses that would enhance the sustainability of Bristol City Centre such as the provision of space for local food production, wildlife or the growing of biomass will be encouraged.

Proposals for the temporary use of vacant sites for car parking will not be acceptable.

4.25 Temporary use of vacant sites for car parking is not allowed for in the policy as such use can discourage and delay the permanent redevelopment of vacant sites. Car parking provision is also likely to be inconsistent with Policy **BCAP29** which seeks to ensure that long stay parking in new development is limited to the operational needs of the development.

Figure 23: Bristol City Council Temporary Use Policy (BCC, 2015: 22)

Policy provisions for temporary use between the two cities present conflicting positions from the outcomes of the analysis of the applications dataset. Bristol, which displayed a distinctive relationship to the ordinary temporary use type, has a designated policy that would appear to favour extraordinary temporary uses over ordinary ones (see Figure 23). The formal position of the city council is that "proposals for the temporary use of vacant sites for car parking will not be acceptable". Instead, "provision of space for local food production, wildlife or the growing of biomass will be encouraged" (BCC, 2015: 22).

Unlike Bristol, Liverpool's draft local plan does not distinguish between temporary use types (see Figure 24). As with Bristol City Council, Liverpool City Council recognised the value of allowing "appropriate temporary uses and/or the more efficient use of vacant buildings and sites" (LCC, 2016: 70). But unlike the Bristol approach, temporary use can include car parking, so long as "it complies with the car parking strategy for the City Centre" (ibid.).

Policy Context and Justification

6.85   Allowing appropriate temporary uses and/or the more efficient use of vacant buildings and sites could assist in the protection and enhancement of the City's heritage assets, enable environmental enhancement, activate public spaces and provide economic benefits. Temporary uses could include community support facilities, business start-ups, pop-up shops, art projects and exhibits and the use of public realm and open spaces for public events, festivals and shows. It is important however to ensure that temporary uses do not have any detrimental impacts for example on residential amenity and established uses in the City Centre.

Figure 24: Liverpool City Council Temporary Use Policy (LCC, 2016: 70)

Nonetheless, as has been shown in previous studies, regeneration policies often have unintended outcomes (Tang and Nathanail, 2012; Schulze-Bäing and Wong, 2012; Syms, 2010; Adams *et al.*, 2012) (also discussed in Chapter 7). Of interest to the analysis featured within this chapter is how the two approaches are reflected spatially. More specifically, what are the locational preferences of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary uses?

Consequently, this research sought insights as to how temporary uses were clustered or dispersed across the two cities of Bristol and Liverpool, testing the statistical significance of each of the structural temporary use variables featured in Chapter 5. Additionally, spatial comparisons between central city neighbourhoods and peripheral locations were facilitated, analysing the distribution and patterning of registered temporary use instances in either city. The combination enabled greater understanding of the role and function of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary uses within as well as between the cities. This addressed the lack of specificity relating to the spatial preferences of temporary use (Hentilä, 2003; Blumner, 2006; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Colomb, 2012) whilst also disclosing the locational characteristics of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary solutions within/between cities.

Over the course of the Chapter, we see that temporary urbanism is a spatially clustered urban phenomenon, that extraordinary temporary uses are highly centralised compared to their ordinary temporary use counterparts and explicit relationships between temporary use practices and central regeneration initiatives exist within both cities.

6.2 Statistical Clustering of Temporary Use Instances in Bristol and Liverpool

Determining the spatial clustering of the structural variables of temporary use required an initial exercise in easting and northing extraction. As outlined, phase 2 of the research sought to determine the spatial configuration of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary urbanism within the cities of Bristol and Liverpool between 2000-2015 (see 4.2). In order to establish statistical significance for the spatial distribution of temporary uses in the two cities, nearest neighbour analysis was carried out in GIS. Average nearest neighbour analysis was deemed the most appropriate owing to its ability to analyse fixed-point feature data such as easting and northing coordinates (ArcMap, 2017).

Applications for temporary use within the cities of Bristol and Liverpool were extracted from the original applications dataset of 5890 cases. This extraction resulted in a total number of 1261 temporary use applications for consideration, with 559 in Bristol and 702 in Liverpool. Nevertheless, unlike the previous analysis, Chapter 6 sought to explore instances of temporary use as opposed to applications for temporary use. As discussed (see 4.2), the city datasets amassed from Phase 1 consisted of unique fields as well as instances of repeat applications. Yet, for the spatial clustering and mapping analysis the preference was to delete duplicate applications for repeat activity on the same space/site, leaving only the original application or applications for alternate activities. This preference was directly related to the need for clarity amongst the point data, as multiple applications for the same instance would result in overlapping points that would skew the findings. Instead, a single point was registered for each type of activity that occurred on/within a space/site. This shift from applications to instances reduced the counts of temporary use to 376 temporary use cases in Bristol and 534 in Liverpool.

Through average nearest neighbour, Euclidean distance determined the statistical significance of the spatial configuration of temporary urbanism across the local authority boundaries of Bristol and Liverpool (see Figure 25 and 26). Average nearest neighbour analysis generated an index based on the average distance from each feature to its closest neighbour. This index was expressed as the ratio of the observed to the expected mean distance. When the index was less than 1, the pattern exhibited clustering; when the index was greater than 1 the trend was toward dispersion or competition (ArcMap, 2017, de Smith *et al.*, 2015).

Table 20: Reporting Structure of Average Nearest Neighbour Summary

Spatial Pattern	Significance Level (P-Value)	Critical Value (Z-Score)
Clustered	0.01 (99%)	< -2.58
	0.05 (95%)	-2.58 - -1.96
	0.10 (90%)	-1.96 - -1.65
Random	--	-1.65 - 1.65
Dispersed	0.10 (90%)	1.65 – 1.96
	0.05 (95%)	1.96 – 2.58
	0.01 (99%)	> 2.58

For each structural variable, average nearest neighbour analysis produced a summary table denoting the level of significance of the clustered, random or dispersed spatial pattern. Each category was attributed to a critical value (z-score) and as a consequence a significance level (p-value). Thus, the statistical significance of the degree of clustering or dispersion for each structural variable of temporary use could be determined at the 0.10, 0.05 and 0.01 confidence intervals. Additionally, random patterns – that is those with a z-score between -1.65 and 1.65 – could also be captured (see Table 20). The following section outlines the results of the average nearest neighbour analysis of temporary use instances in Bristol and Liverpool.

Comparative Analysis between the Cities

Average nearest neighbour analysis established that instances of temporary use in Bristol and Liverpool were spatially clustered to a statistically significant degree. This was the case for both the extraordinary and ordinary temporary use types. Nonetheless, between the 15 categories associated with the five structural variables of temporary use, the city of Bristol more commonly recorded a lower degree of significance than that of Liverpool (see Table 21). Bristol recorded 12 clustered categories equal to 0.000 but registered two clustered categories greater than 0.05 as well as one random category. By contrast, Liverpool returned 12 clustered categories equal to 0.000, two clustered categories less than 0.05 and one clustered category greater than 0.05 but less than 0.10. Interestingly, no dispersed spatial patterns of temporary use were recorded in either city. The combination indicates that temporary urbanism (of whatever type) is a phenomenon prone to spatial clustering (see Table 21).

Nevertheless, significance level was only one variable associated with spatial distribution. The subsequent analysis also takes into account recorded z-scores within/between the cities. This reveals a greater level of variation between temporary use in the two cities, for which clustered or random distribution were revealed to fluctuate (see Chart 6). The subsequent analysis compares the spatial distribution of temporary uses in Bristol and Liverpool via the structural variables of type, time, function, decision and occurrence.

Table 21: Summary of Average Nearest Neighbour Results

Variable	City	Categories	NNR	Z-Score	P-Value
Type	Bristol	Extraordinary	0.85	-1.72	0.085
		Ordinary	0.69	-10.90	0.000
	Liverpool	Extraordinary	0.53	-7.98	0.000
		Ordinary	0.66	-13.71	0.000
Time	Bristol	2000-2007	0.78	-6.26	0.000
		2008-2015	0.64	-8.60	0.000
	Liverpool	2000-2007	0.68	-11.35	0.000
		2008-2015	0.71	-7.50	0.000
Function	Bristol	Residual Space	0.69	-8.37	0.000
		Structures	0.67	-5.96	0.000
		Land	0.70	-5.04	0.000
		Public Space	0.53	-3.68	0.000
	Liverpool	Residual Space	0.68	-8.12	0.000
		Structures	0.57	-11.05	0.000
		Land	0.65	-8.18	0.000
		Public Space	0.29	-7.32	0.000
Decision	Bristol	Single Decision	0.69	-11.37	0.000
		Multi-Decision	0.78	-1.86	0.063
	Liverpool	Single Decision	0.62	-16.16	0.000
		Multi-Decision	0.74	-2.74	0.006
	Bristol	Approve/Grant	0.69	-10.52	0.000
		Refuse	0.68	-3.48	0.000
		Withdraw	0.92	-0.89	0.373
	Liverpool	Approve/Grant	0.66	-13.81	0.000
		Refuse	0.74	-2.85	0.004
		Withdraw	0.83	-2.15	0.031
Occurrence	Bristol	Reoccurring	0.58	-9.79	0.000
		Isolated	0.76	-6.76	0.000
	Liverpool	Reoccurring	0.66	-9.10	0.000
		Isolated	0.66	-11.99	0.000

A comparison of the type variable shows that, when compared against Liverpool, Bristol had a lower critical value for both temporary use types. For extraordinary temporary uses, Liverpool recorded a degree of spatial clustering (-7.98) that was seven standard deviations less than the mean. Consequently, the clustered pattern that existed was significant at the 0.01 significance level. In Bristol, by contrast, extraordinary temporary uses registered a degree of spatial clustering (-1.72) that was only one standard deviation below the mean (see Chart 6). In other words, whilst a clustered pattern existed, the level of significance was two degrees less than in Liverpool, at 0.10. Thus, extraordinary temporary use instances had a higher degree of spatial clustering in Liverpool than in Bristol (see Table 21).

Ordinary temporary uses did not amass as dramatic statistical variation between the two cities. Liverpool again had the highest degree of spatial clustering, 13 standard deviations less than the mean, -13.71. The clustered pattern that existed was significant at the 0.01 significance level. Bristol, on the other hand, had a degree of spatial clustering that was ten standard deviations below the mean, -10.90 (see Chart 6). Nevertheless, this had no effect on the significance of the clustered pattern, which like Liverpool, was significant at the 0.01 level. This again reflects the greater prevalence of ordinary temporary uses in Bristol than Liverpool. Liverpool, on the other hand, does not accommodate extraordinary temporary use to the extent suggested in Chapter 5, recording local authority wide clustered patterns for both types that are significant at the 0.01 confidence level (see Table 21).

A comparison of how temporal changes affected statistical clustering between the two cities shows that Liverpool had a higher degree of spatial clustering for instances of temporary use within period one compared to Bristol. Conversely in period two Bristol had a higher degree of spatial clustering than Liverpool. In the pre-recession period, Liverpool recorded a degree of spatial clustering that was 11 standard deviations less than the mean, -11.35. In contrast, in the same period Bristol registered a degree of spatial clustering that was eight standard deviations below the mean, -8.60 (see Chart 6). Despite this, both cities exhibited clustered temporary use patterns at the 0.01significance level (see Table 21).

By the recession and recovery period, Bristol overtook Liverpool as the city with the highest degree of spatial clustering of temporary use. The negative z value recorded in Bristol (-8.60) was eight standard deviations lower than the mean, whereas the z value in Liverpool (-7.5) was seven standard deviations below the mean. Despite this difference, as with period one both cities exhibited clustered patterns of temporary use at the 0.01 significance level (see Table 21). Consequently, analysis of temporal change showed greater variation between the two cities, as temporary development in Liverpool demonstrated an association with the pre-recession period of 2000-2007, whereas, in Bristol temporary solutions were more closely associated with the recession and recovery period of 2008-2015 (see Chart 6).

In both cities each of the four function categories exhibited clustering at the 0.01 significance level. Nevertheless, of those clusters, Liverpool saw structures record the highest degree of significance, -11.05. In Bristol, by way of contrast, residual spaces registered the highest degree of significance, -

8.37. Further variation exists when comparing the second and third most significant functions, land and residual space (-8.18 and -8.12) in Liverpool compared to structures and land (-5.96 and -5.04) in Bristol. Public spaces was the only complementary function between the two cities, amassing the lowest degree of significance of the four function categories (-7.32 and -3.68 respectively) (see Chart 6). Nevertheless, Liverpool registered a higher degree of significance within each of the four function categories than that of Bristol (see Table 21).

A comparison of how decisions varied between the two cities highlighted that Liverpool had less fluctuation between the two decision categories than Bristol. In the single decision category, both cities exhibited clustered patterns at the 0.01 significance level. However, Liverpool presented a greater extent of clustering than Bristol, with individual z-scores of -16.16 and -11.37 respectively. Further variation between the two cities can be seen within the multi decision category. In Liverpool, multi decision returned a clustered pattern that was significant at the 0.01 level (-2.74), whereas in Bristol multi decision exhibited clustering that was only significant at the 0.10 level (-1.86). Consequently, it would appear that Bristol city council was more resolute in its decisions on temporary uses than Liverpool city council (see Chart 6).

Despite this, commonalities between the three decision specific categories were recorded. In both cities approved/granted as well as refused instances of temporary use exhibited clustering at the 0.01 significance level. This compares to withdrawn instances of temporary use, which returned the lowest significance level for both cities. Withdrawals exhibited clustering at the 0.05 significance level in Liverpool, whereas in Bristol withdrawals were randomly distributed. This was the only random distribution apparent in both cities (see Table 21).

Of the three decision specific categories, approve/grant recorded the highest degree of significance in both cities. Nevertheless, Liverpool's degree of significance was higher than that of Bristol, at -13.81 compared to -10.52. The opposite relationship can be seen for refusals, with Bristol registering the highest degree of significance (-3.47) compared to Liverpool's -2.85. As indicated, for withdrawals, Liverpool held the higher degree of significance, -2.15 compared to Bristol's non-significant z value, -0.90. Interesting variation can be seen between the two cities, whereby Liverpool had a more robust relationship with approve/grant as well as withdrawn instances of temporary use compared to Bristol. On the other hand, Bristol demonstrated an individual relationship to temporary use refusals (see Chart 6).

Chart 6: Sliding Scale of Temporary Use Z-Scores in Bristol and Liverpool
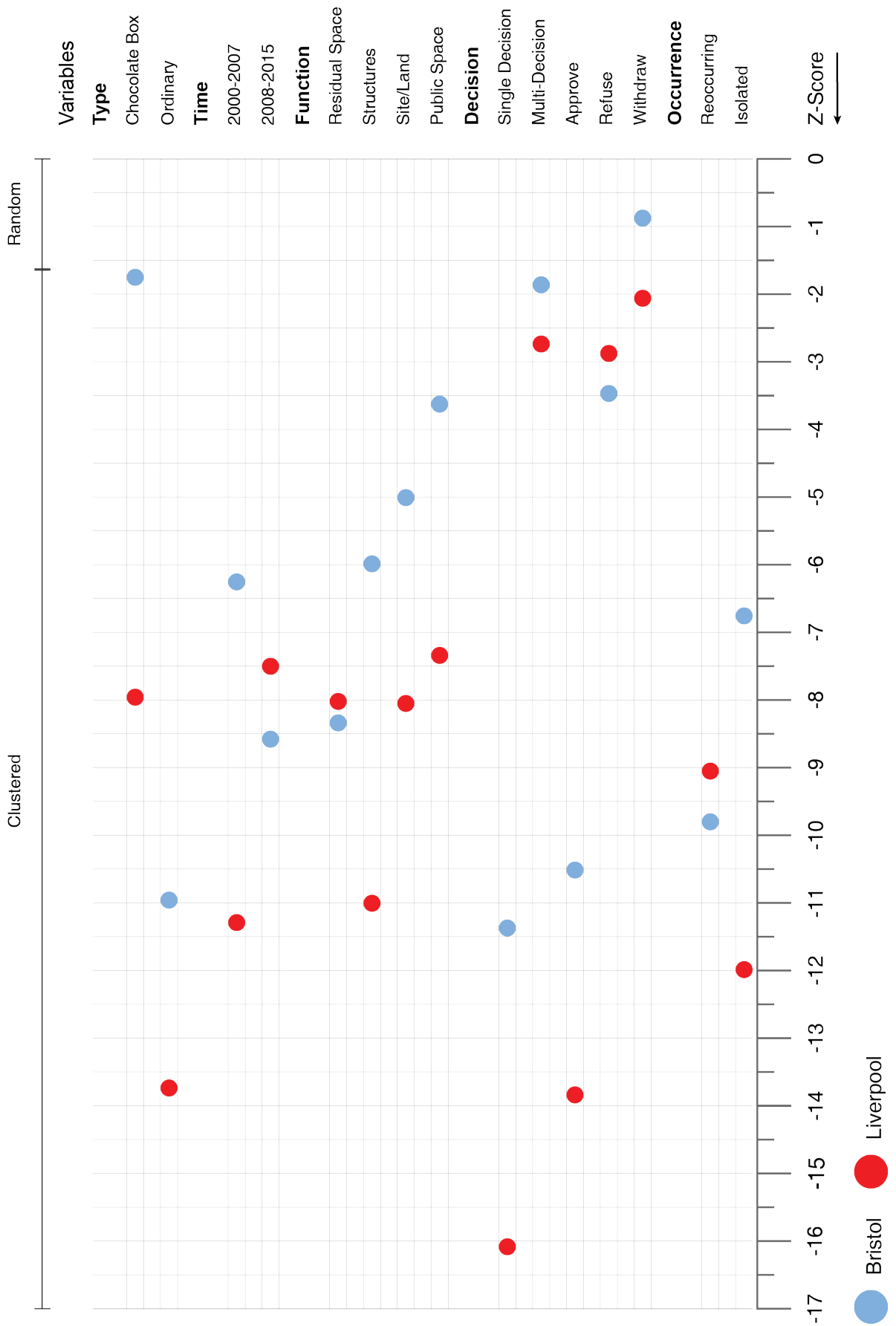
Between the two cities, the clustered patterns exhibited for the reoccurrence category were significant at the 0.01 significance level. Nonetheless, the city of Bristol presented a greater degree of significance than that of Liverpool, registering a z-score of -9.79 compared to Liverpool's -9.10. For the isolated category, the opposite relationship can be seen. Liverpool returned a higher degree of significance for clustering in the isolated category with a z value of -11.99 compared to Bristol's -6.76. Nevertheless, as with the reoccurring category, the clustered patterns of isolated temporary uses were significant at the 0.01 significance level in both cities. Interestingly, repeat instances of temporary use were more acute in Bristol than Liverpool. Rather Liverpool displayed a greater association with isolated temporary use activities (see Chart 6).

Analysing the statistical clustering of temporary use within and between the two cities has reinforced a number of the findings outlined in Chapter 5. Thus, it would appear that the shift from applications to instances did not affect the relationship between each city and the structural variables. Average nearest neighbour analysis has facilitated a greater understanding of the extent and significance of clustering between the extraordinary and ordinary temporary use types as well as the accompanying variables of time, function, decision and occurrence. The analysis suggests that spatial clusters in Liverpool were more commonly of a greater degree of significance than in Bristol. Nevertheless, via the individual z-scores of the 15 categories associated with the structural variables, Bristol appeared to be of particular significance in relation to individual categories in the time and decision variables (see Chart 6).This demonstrates how temporary urbanism can vary spatially between conurbations at the local authority (meso) scale. Nevertheless, analysing point data across the entire boundary of the each local authority returned only subtle spatial findings. Missing from the analysis was a greater appreciation of the spatial arrangement of temporary use instances within each local authority. In combination, the limitation of a minimum requirement of 30 instances within each category meant that structural variables could not be consistently assessed by type (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 8).

While the nearest neighbour analysis was valuable in informing meso-scale local authority wide analysis of temporary use patterns between the two types of temporary use and the accompanying structural variables, it did not facilitate comparison of city centres and their peripheries. In order to achieve this, an additional form of analysis was required: counts of the mapped point data and their associated attribute tables. Unlike nearest neighbour, this analysis was not restricted by a minimum requirement of 30. Reflecting this, the next section attempts to extend the understanding of the spatial patterning of extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses.

6.3 Spatial Distribution and Patterning of Temporary Use Instances in Bristol and Liverpool

The spatial distribution of temporary uses can also be explored by using the indicative boundary of Bristol's city centre neighbourhoods and Liverpool's central SPD, in addition to those of their respective local authorities (see Figure 25 and 26). These indicative boundaries help visually to show how temporary uses are distributed between the core central areas of each city and their peripheries. The subsequent analysis, as before, was underpinned by the structural variables of type, time, function, decision and occurrence.
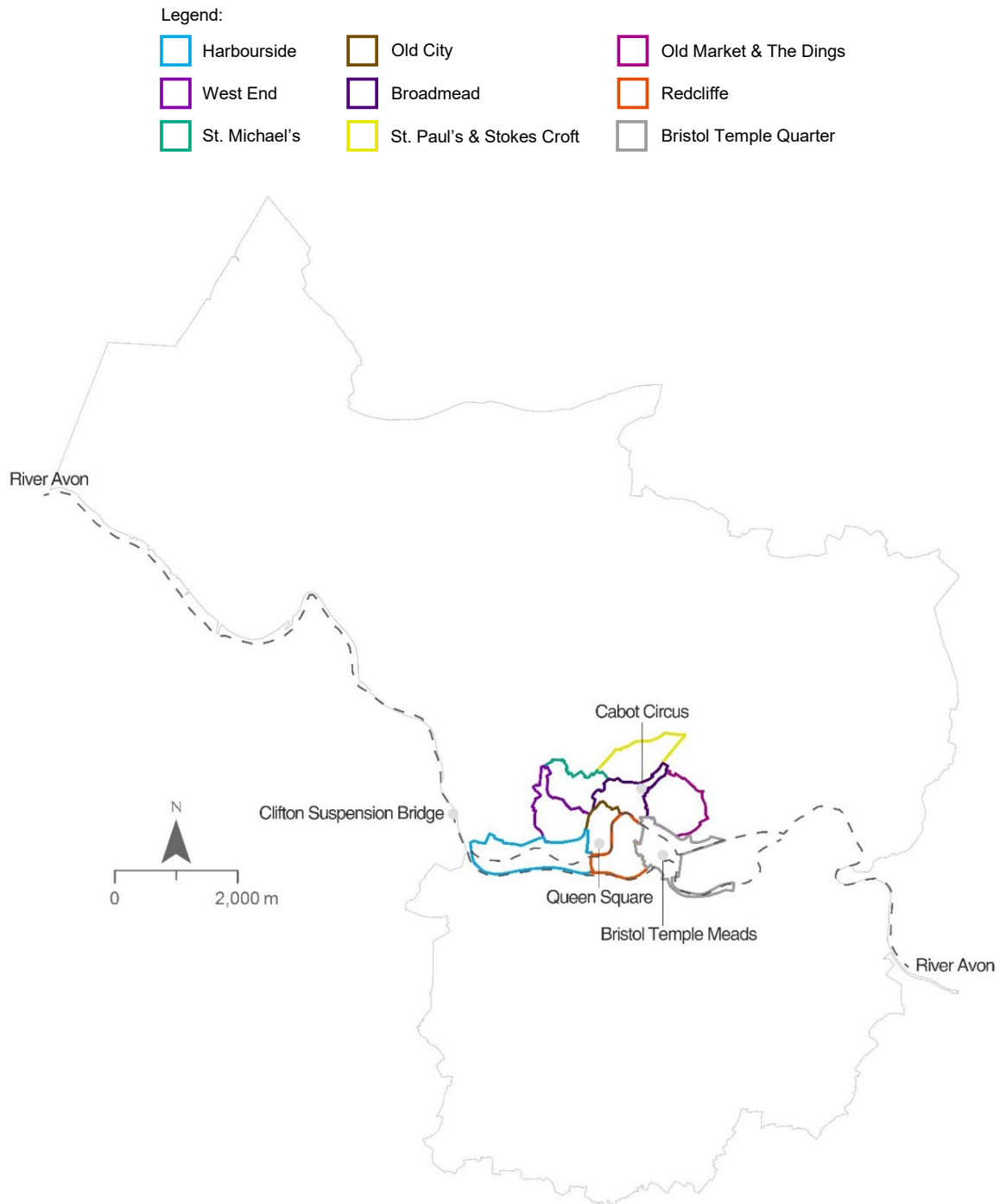
Figure 25: Bristol City Centre Neighbourhoods within the Context of the Bristol Local Authority

Table 22: Summary of Bristol City Centre Neighbourhood Profiles

City Centre Neighbourhoods	Area	Description
Harbourside	92ha	Informal leisure destination for maritime and creative industries as well as water-based recreation.
West End	57ha	Significant destination for students and includes a number of student accommodation developments.
St. Michael's	49ha	Includes the University of Bristol precinct, UHBT Hospital precinct and other major hospital facilities as well as Bristol Grammar School.
Old City	32ha	The historic core of the city, an important destination for visitors as well as a significant focus for the evening economy.
Broadmead	45ha	It comprises the city's principal shopping area and is the largest retail destination in South West England.
St. Paul's & Stokes Croft	61ha	Strong identity as a community within central Bristol. Stokes croft has emerged as a vibrant cultural hub, a breeding ground for alternative businesses and community-led regeneration.
Old Market & The Dings	72ha	Suffers from severance caused by the surrounding major roads and has experienced decline for many years. However, in recent years the area has seen a growing residential population and has become a focal point for the gay community in Bristol.
Redcliffe	56ha	Identified as an area of focus for development and regeneration while seeking to retain maritime industry activities. Characterised by the presence of a number of underused, vacant or derelict sites as well as an established residential community supported by a range of local services.
Bristol Temple Quarter	65ha	Includes Temple Meads Station, the city's main railway hub. The area has seen much investment in recent years, with the development of Temple Quay. It was designated as an Enterprise Zone in 2011.

Sources: BCC (2014; 2015; 2016).

Anfield SRA

The Oldham Street Area

WHS Stanley Dock

WHS William Brown Street

Commercial Quarter

RopeWalks (Creative Quarter)

WHS Albert Dock

WHS Pier Head

Edge Lane West

Baltic Triangle (Creative Quarter)

WHS Castle Street, Dale Street and Old Hall Street Commercial District

WHS Lower Duke Street

River Mersey

Anfield

Stanley Dock

Liverpool Lime Street

Wavertree Botanic Gardens

Liverpool Cathedral

Albert Dock

N

0   2,000 m

River Mersey
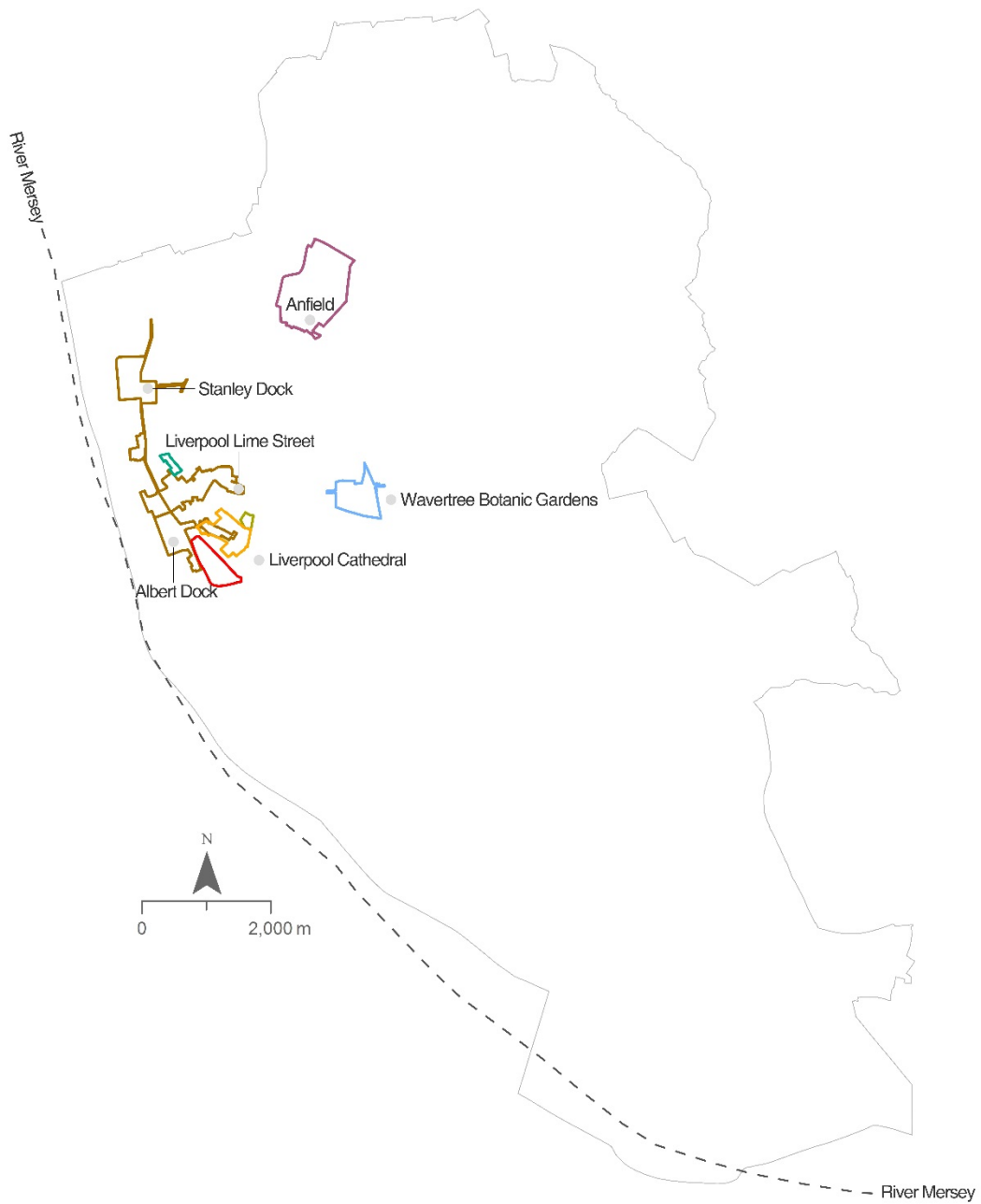
Figure 26: Liverpool Central SPD Areas within the Context of the Liverpool Local Authority

Table 23: Summary of Liverpool City Centre SPD Area Profiles

City Centre Neighbourhoods	Area	Description
Anfield SRA	109ha	Anfield is an inner city Victorian community characterised predominantly by neighbourhoods of terraced properties. The area is also home to Liverpool Football Club – a major tourist attraction in the city.
Commercial Quarter	4ha	Forms part of the Liverpool City Enterprise Zone and is designated as a Business Improvement District (BID).
Edge Lane West	35ha	Situated alongside the primary route into Liverpool City Centre from the M62 and the North West's motorway network. The area is characterised by relatively poor quality housing and low levels of amenity, poor quality retail facilitates, vacant sites and poorly maintained parks/open spaces.
The Oldham Street Area	3ha	Occupying a pivotal location in Liverpool City Centre, it lies at the intersection of a number of important thoroughfares and desire lines, connecting the universities, RopeWalks, Lime Street station and the shopping district.
Creative Quarter (The RopeWalks)	29ha	It acts as a distinctive and diverse quarter of the City Centre with a large number of creative and digital industries.
Creative Quarter (The Baltic Triangle)	26ha	Former industrial/warehousing area on the periphery of the City Centre. More recently, the area has become home to a diverse range of creative and digital industries, supporting over 350 creative and digital businesses.
WHS Stanley Dock	44ha	The Stanley Dock complex as a whole is scheduled to be revitalised by mixed-use development of modern office, residential and leisure uses with ancillary retail. Partially completed to date.
WHS Albert Dock	28ha	The area is a major tourism, retail and cultural destination for the city centre, benefiting from links with Liverpool One and the new Kings Dock Waterfront.
WHS Castle Street, Dale Street and Old Hall Street Commercial District	31ha	This area contains the city's key civic buildings and commercial and financial institutions. More recently, the area has been promoted as a lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender area. Adjacent is the large-scale mixed-use retail development of Liverpool One.
WHS William Brown Street	13ha	The area is a cultural centre for the city and acts as a major high quality gateway for visitors. It includes principal historic buildings such as: St. George's Hall, the William Brown Street complex (galleries, museums, hotels and educational institutions) as well as Lime Street Station – the cities major train station.
WHS Pier Head	10ha	The area is dominated by the formal arrangement of the 'Three Grace' buildings. The combination of which forms the now international image of Liverpool and the WHS.
WHS Lower Duke Street	7ha	Forms part of the RopeWalKs Area (above).

Sources: LCC (2005; 2008; 2009; 2016).

The following sections outline the findings of the distribution and patterning analysis of temporary use in Bristol and Liverpool. The analysis focuses first upon the spatial distribution of the type variable, establishing the meso spatial conditions of the extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary use category. Following this, the variables of time, function, decision and occurrence are analysed. The combination of findings facilitated an understanding of how each temporary use type is affected in spatial terms by these underlying characteristics within and between the cities. Conclusions were then drawn as to the spatial role and function of the two temporary use types in both cities, their centres and their wider peripheries. Furthermore, spatial analysis of city centre neighbourhoods served as a means to identify suitable locations for the case study analysis and third phase of empirical investigation (see Chapter 7).

Table 24: Summary of Case Selection Criteria

Criterion	Description
Temporary Use Activity (2000-2015)	Presence of unique temporary use pattern/s.
Regeneration Area	Subject to regeneration initiative/s between 2000-2015.
Size of City Centre Neighbourhood/SPD Area	Area/s are of comparable size between cities

As defined (Table 24), three selection criteria are to be used to rationalise the chosen neighbourhood/SPD area, one per city. These criteria and their relation to the subsequent chapter are demarked throughout the following spatial analysis.

Comparative Analysis between the Cities

Looking across the boundaries of the local authorities and their central areas, it is clear in both cities that extraordinary temporary uses are more centralised than is the case for ordinary temporary uses (see Figure 27 and 28). There is clear evidence that extraordinary temporary uses are more clustered in the central areas of the two cities. For ordinary temporary uses, by contrast, the pattern was more dispersed.
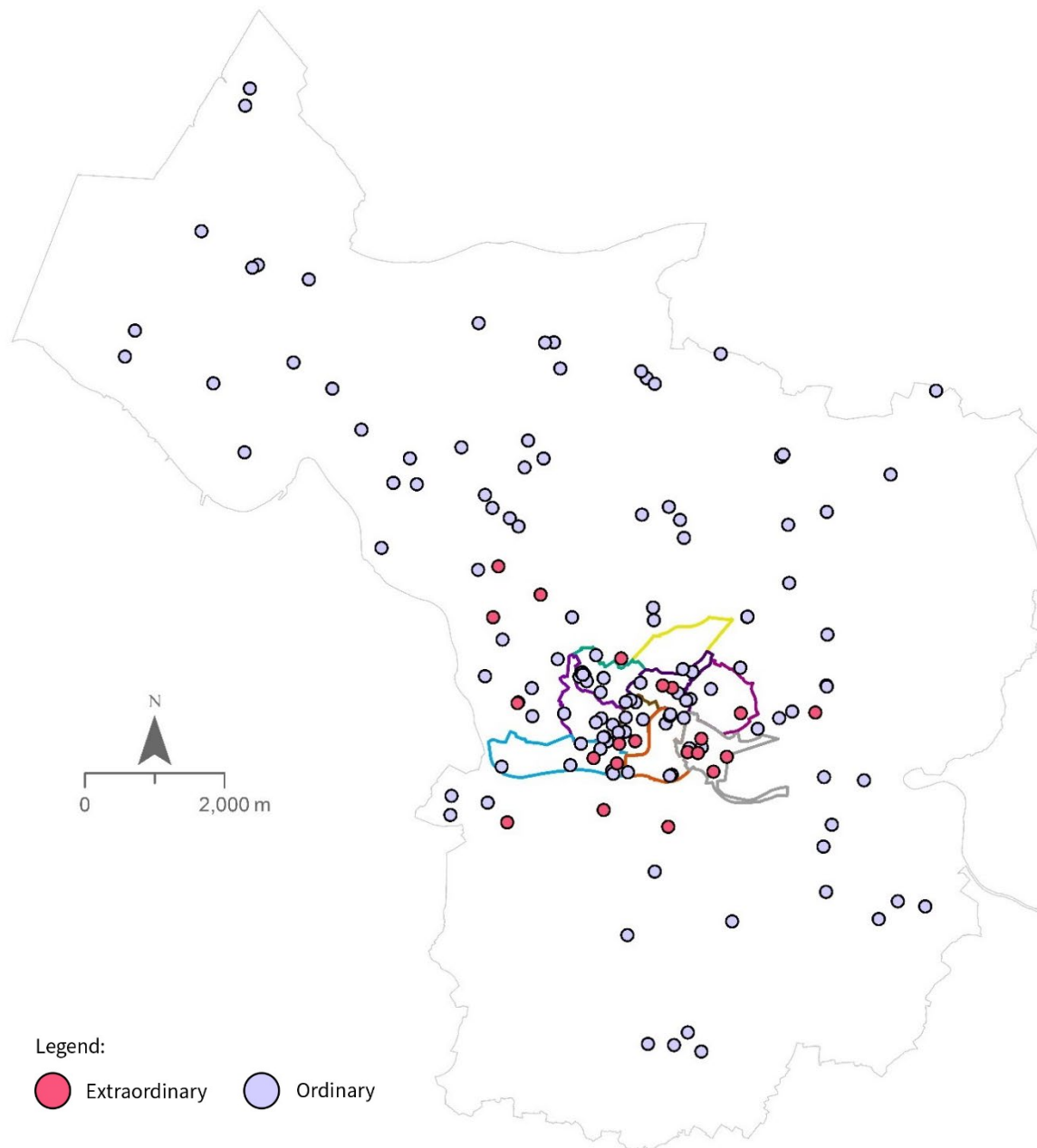
Figure 27: Spatial Distribution of Temporary Use Instances 2000-2015 (Bristol)
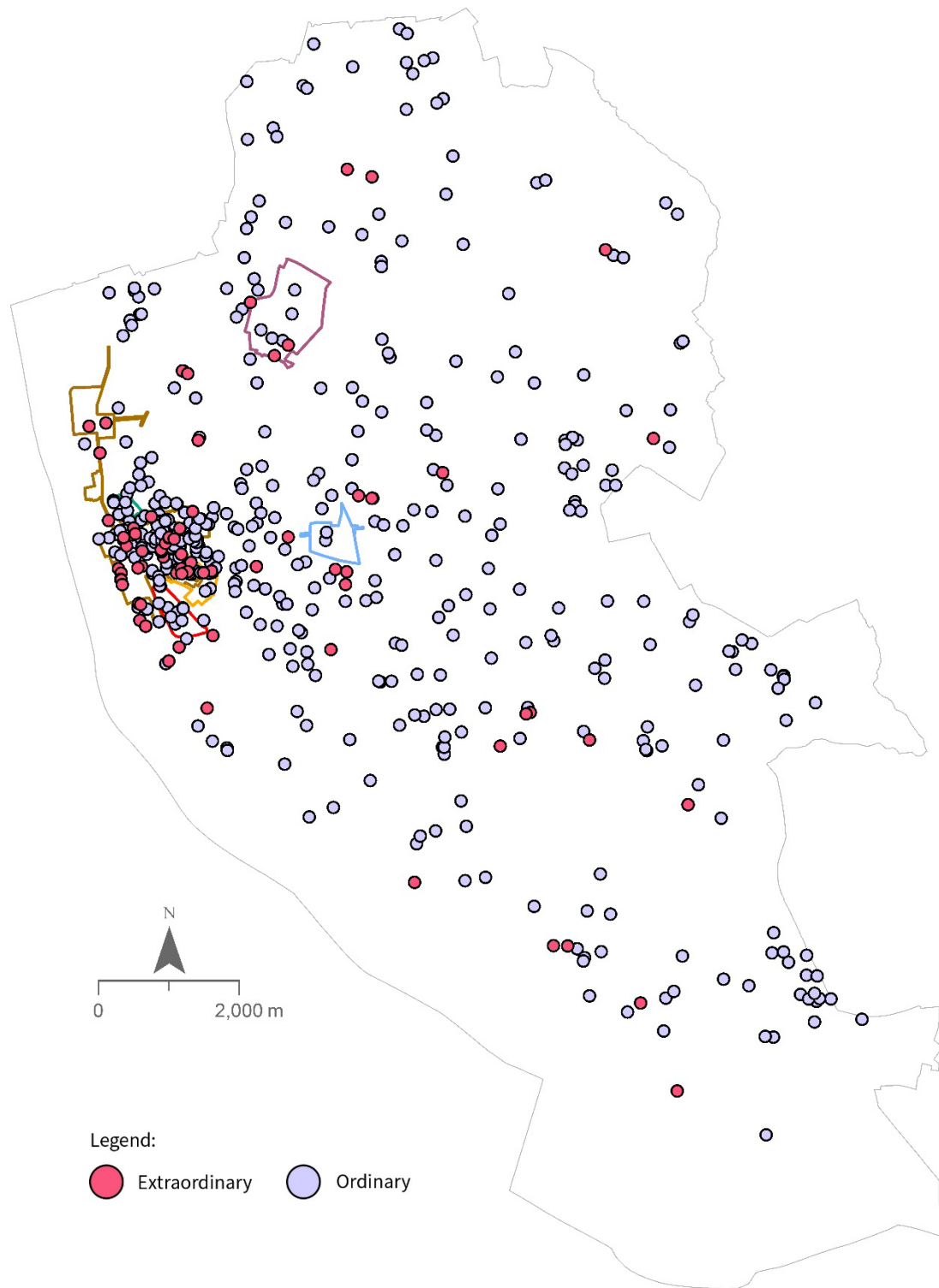
Figure 28: Spatial Distribution of Temporary Use Instances 2000-2015 (Liverpool)

Within both cities, a clear connection could be seen between instances of extraordinary temporary use, the central core and principal regeneration areas. Within Bristol, Old City, the most central neighbourhood of the nine comprising the central area, had the highest concentration of extraordinary temporary use over the fifteen-year period examined. Alongside this, the other most frequent locations for the extraordinary type were the enterprise zone and tech cluster of Temple Quarter, the maritime

and creative industry area of Harbourside and shopping quarter of Broadmead. Each of these is a principal regeneration area (see Figure 29). In Liverpool, the RopeWalks area of the Creative Quarter had a higher count and percentage of extraordinary temporary uses than any of the ten central SPDs extraordinary. Albert Dock (a major tourism, retail and cultural destination) and Commercial District (the historic heart of the city) had the second highest registered count and percentage (see Figure 30).
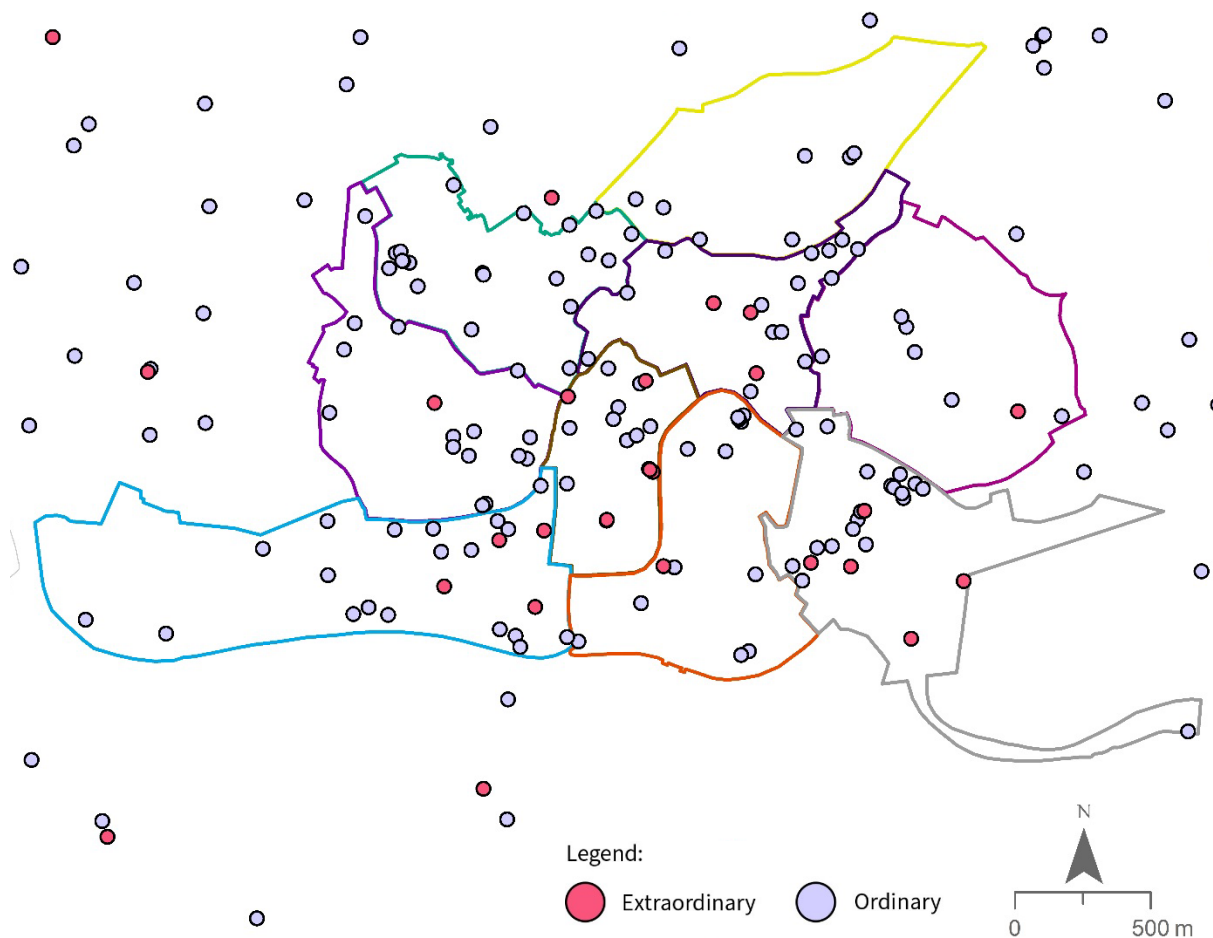
Figure 29: Spatial Distribution of Temporary Use Instances 2000-2015 (Central Neighbourhoods, Bristol)

Based on this, we can begin to see similar locational patterns for the extraordinary temporary uses in both cities. The central areas of the two cities host numerous cultural, creative, tourist and commercial attractions, and both accommodated the highest concentrations of extraordinary temporary use between 2000-2015. This was repeated in the targeted regeneration areas, which also hosted disproportionately large shares of temporary users.

Locational preferences for the ordinary temporary use type were not as clear cut as their extraordinary counterparts. In Bristol, the university district of St. Michael's hosted the largest number and proportion of this category of temporary use, as did another student area, West End. As with the extraordinary type, ordinary temporary uses were clustered in regeneration areas such as Temple Quarter, Broadmead and Redcliffe. Yet unlike the extraordinary category, the locational preferences of ordinary temporary uses were sporadic and not attributable to individual character areas. This is more than likely

a consequence of their preponderance, in comparison to the rarity of the extraordinary type (see Figure 29).
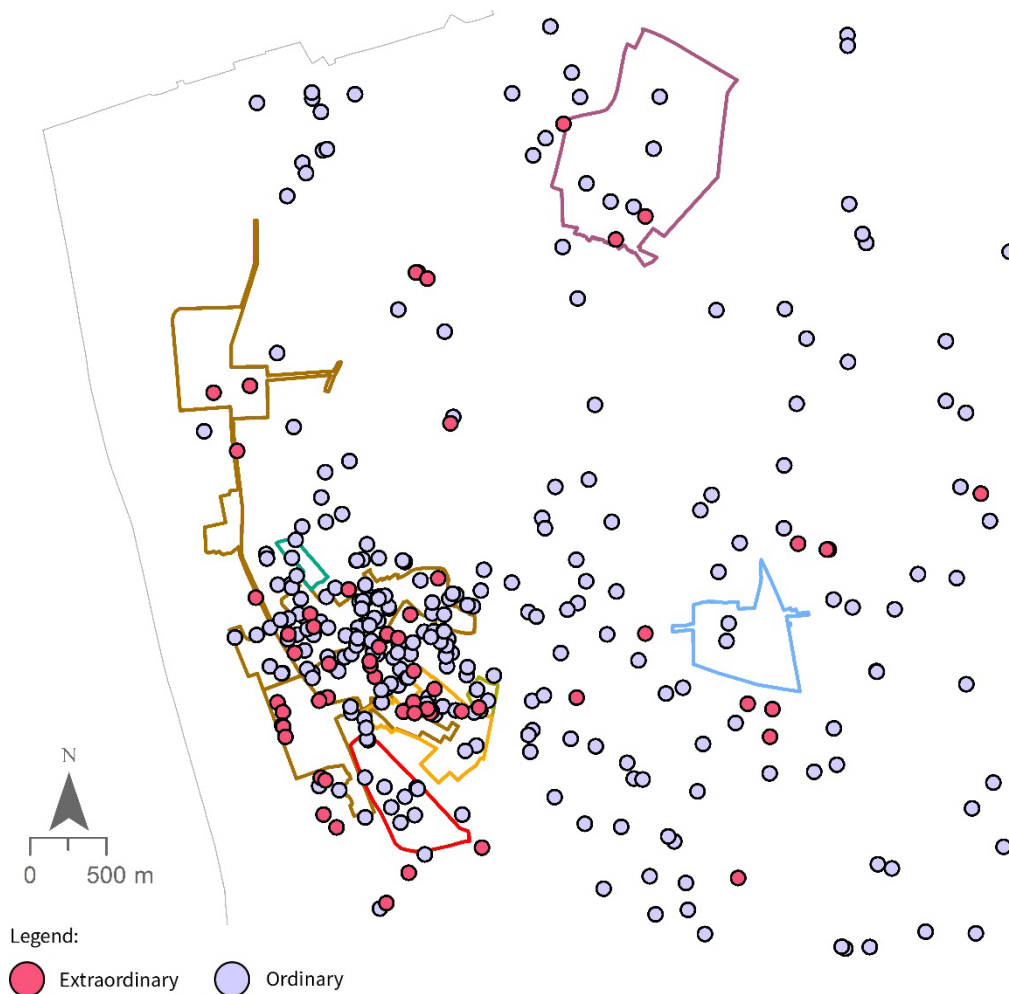
Figure 30: Spatial Distribution of Temporary Use Instances 2000-2015 (SPD Areas, Liverpool)

In Liverpool, a very similar pattern was evident for ordinary temporary uses across the ten central SPDs. Of particular note were the edge of city locations, Commercial Quarter and the Creative Quarter's Baltic Triangle, representing regeneration areas in which ordinary temporary uses were substantially more numerous than extraordinary ones (see Figure 30). Just as in Bristol, ordinary temporary uses more in evidence in regeneration areas than elsewhere in Liverpool.

Comparing Bristol and Liverpool, the distribution of the two temporary use types show some similarities. Instances of extraordinary temporary use increased between the pre-recession (2000-2007) and recession and recovery (2008-2015) period in both cities. This reinforces the analysis of type and time from Chapter 5. However, unlike the analysis of the core cities dataset, mapping revealed subtle differences in the patterning of temporary use within and across the two cities. Unlike Bristol, Liverpool recorded a sharp decrease in central instances for the extraordinary temporary use type by the

recession and recovery period (2008-2015). This reiterates the findings associated with the statistical clustering analysis of the time variable (see 6.2).

Spatial-temporal analysis made it possible to determine specific distinctions between the two temporary use types and two cities. Extraordinary temporary use instances were more common in Bristol city centre during the recession and recovery period of 2008-2015 than in the pre-recession period of 2000-2007. In comparison to Bristol, extraordinary uses were more common in Liverpool city centre in the pre-recession period as opposed to the recession and recovery period. High profile interim uses were expanded in post 2008 regeneration areas in Bristol (e.g. Temple Quarter). By comparison, there was a lack of similar temporary activities within post 2008 regeneration contexts in Liverpool (e.g. Creative Quarter's Baltic Triangle).

Similar locational contrasts existed for the ordinary temporary use type. Diverging from the consistent decreases for ordinary temporary use displayed within Bristol during this second period, Liverpool registered increased central instances of ordinary temporary use during the recession and recovery period (2008-2015). The comparison of the ordinary temporary use type highlighted significant contrasts between post-2008 regeneration initiatives in Bristol compared to Liverpool. Extraordinary temporary use in central Liverpool peaked by the close of period one, particularly in the RopeWalks. By period two, no clear connection between extraordinary temporary use and urban renewal was present. Conversely, in Bristol there were distinct connections between the extraordinary type and the renewal of the Temple Quarter during this period.

Comparison of changes in the spatial distribution of extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses over time revealed a number of patterns. On the whole, changes in the spatial distribution reinforce the findings of the applications dataset and the overall analysis of type, with increased extraordinary activity converging with the 2008-2015 period. Nevertheless, distinctions can be seen between the distributions within the first compared to the second period. In Bristol, extraordinary temporary uses displayed a clear connection to emerging post-2008 regeneration areas, whereas in Liverpool they remain concentrated in pre-recession regeneration areas and little to no connection can be seen beyond these contexts. Rather, increased temporary use activity of the ordinary type was apparent. This is in direct contrast to the significantly reduced level of ordinary temporary use instances within post-2008 regeneration contexts in Bristol.

Analysis of the type and time variables returned specific distributions and patterns for the extraordinary compared to the ordinary temporary use type in particular central locations, Temple Quarter in Bristol and the Creative Quarter in Liverpool. The purpose of the function variable was to add additional context to these emerging areas of interest.

Analysing the four function categories between the two cities reinforced a number of the findings associated with the outcomes of the applications dataset of Chapter 5. The analysis suggests that

extraordinary temporary uses were least commonly associated with the residual spaces function and most commonly associated with the public spaces function. Ordinary temporary uses, on the other hand, were most common on the residual space function and least common on the public spaces function. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this thesis, of more specific relevance were the structures as well as land functions, representing the two functions most closely associated with urban regeneration. Consideration of the structures and land functions suggests a contrast with the patterns emerging from analysis of the core cities dataset in Chapter 5. For both cities, instances of extraordinary temporary use were actually more common on land than within structures, meaning the reuse of vacant land for temporary development was no more complex than the reuse of property.

Analysis of the structures as well as the land functions highlighted a number of key differences between Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter (RopeWalks and Baltic Triangle), the regeneration areas most heavily associated with temporary urbanism in the two cities. Bristol's Temple Quarter, in an effort to inspire enterprise, attempted pro-actively to encourage extraordinary temporary uses on brownfield land (BCC, 2016).

In Liverpool, by contrast, the Creative Quarter regeneration area had a different experience of temporary use. The RopeWalks contained a number of extraordinary uses, whereas temporary land-use in the Baltic Triangle exclusively comprised cases in the ordinary category. As in Temple Quarter, the Baltic Triangle represented a post-2008 initiative in which urban renewal focused on the encouragement of creative and digital industries, but creative temporary uses have not been a feature (LCC, 2016; Tech Nation, 2017a). Of particular interest to the analysis is the level of variation between temporary use within the RopeWalks and Baltic Triangle initiatives and that of the Temple Quarter's active extraordinary temporary use agenda.

Across the two cities, decisions on temporary uses were more so to approve extraordinary and ordinary uses than refuse them, complementing the outcomes of the Chapter 5 dataset. Analysis of the multi-decision category demonstrated that of the two temporary use types, ordinary uses were more likely to be subject to mixed decisions than were those in the extraordinary category. As with the variables of time and function, there was a clear difference between the spatial distribution of extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses, with the former more likely to cluster in the central areas of both cities. Again, the locations of Temple Quarter and the Creative Quarter (RopeWalks and Baltic Triangle) emerged as distinct. Bristol Temple Quarter registered a unique relationship to extraordinary temporary use, with 100% of such activities gaining approval over the study period. This accentuates the particular role and function for the extraordinary temporary use category, to incentivise regeneration efforts in this area, within Liverpool the RopeWalks showed a similar relationship.

Nevertheless, a distinctive difference could be seen in the Baltic Triangle area, accounting for the high frequencies of approved ordinary temporary uses. Regeneration in the Baltic Triangle placed less emphasis on high-profile temporary uses, in contrast to the approach to renewal in the neighbouring

RopeWalks. As home to a range of creative and digital industries, the Baltic Triangle also represents a fundamentally different approach to that of Temple Quarter, whose establishment as a digital-tech cluster featured a wave of approved extraordinary temporary use activities (Tech Nation, 2017b; Carter, 2013).

Analysis of the occurrence variable highlighted particular affiliations between each regeneration area and the duration of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary use instances. Analysis of Bristol's Temple Quarter showed the majority of extraordinary as opposed ordinary temporary use instances to be isolated, not reoccurring. Temporary use instances of the extraordinary type were stop-gap solutions within the Temple Quarter. Rather, repeat instances of temporary use in this location were overwhelmingly for the ordinary temporary use type. Unlike Bristol's Temple Quarter, Creative Quarter's RopeWalks represented a location in which instances of extraordinary temporary use were more likely to reoccur than remain isolated. Whilst both Temple Quarter and Creative Quarter's RopeWalks contained large numbers of the extraordinary type, fundamental differences were present for duration. This suggests a clear difference in the response to temporary urbanism between the two locations (discussed further in Chapter 7). By contrast, the Baltic Triangle represented a regeneration area in which no particular value was attached to either temporary use type. Instead, all instances of temporary use in the Baltic Triangle were isolated occurrences.

The distribution and patterning analysis further refined the outcomes of the applications dataset and the statistical clustering analysis discussed in section 6.2. The outcomes of this defined the varied role of the extraordinary compared to the ordinary temporary use type within/between the two cities, identifying the significance of two central regeneration areas for further study.

Whilst the outcomes of the above analysis returned a number of unique and innovative findings on temporary urbanism, limitations did exist. Missing from the spatial distribution and mapping analysis was an understanding as to how the patterns attributed to either temporary use type actually materialised, and more specifically what actors were responsible for them. Consequently, the subsequent chapter sets out to capture the variety of perspectives, positions and responses applied to temporary urbanism within the two cities via a series of elite interviews in the Temple Quarter and the Creative Quarter (RopeWalks and Baltic Triangle). Both areas represent locations in which different types of temporary use have featured, to varying extent and in contrasting ways, as part of a wider regeneration strategy. These locations also met the selection criteria for case studies (see Figure 15). Thus, they serve as appropriate locations for the third phase of the empirical inquiry associated with the thesis.

Chapter 7: Perspectives, Positions and Responses to Temporary Use within the Case Study Cities of Bristol and Liverpool

Following the outcomes of the spatial analysis of temporary use instances within as well as between the cities of Bristol and Liverpool in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 critically examines the agendas associated with temporary use in either conurbation. It attempts to extend existing efforts to interpret the temporary reuse of space by exploring the experience of two areas: one, Bristol's Temple Quarter where regeneration policy has tried purposely to promote temporary use, and the other, Liverpool's Creative Quarter, where policy has tried to capitalise upon 'meanwhile' development that has more organic roots. Through a programme of 28 semi-structured interviews with key regeneration and development actors, the Chapter assesses perspectives on different approaches to the temporary use of land in contrasting local economic contexts.

There is a growing research literature documenting empirical experiences of the temporary reuse of urban land in multiple international contexts (see, for example, Haydn and Temel, 2006; Colomb, 2012, 2017; Andres, 2013; Andres and Chapain, 2013; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013). Some of this research has focused on the prefigurative potential for temporary development of land to accommodate alternative or innovative uses which challenge existing development orthodoxies or provide a voice to marginalised communities to influence the direction of future urban change (Andres, 2013; Finn, 2014). As part of this, there has been growing research interest in the possibilities of experimental forms of cultural-creative temporary uses as part of wider urban regeneration programmes in Britain and elsewhere (see, for example, Urban Catalyst, 2007; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Armstrong and Mellick-Lopes, 2016).

Yet, as acknowledged by Andres (2013: 760) "limited research (primarily in Germany) has questioned the potential contribution of these temporary uses in the long-lasting process of urban regeneration". Presently, only the French cities of Marseille and Lausanne (Andres, 2011; Andres, 2013, Andres and Chapain, 2013; Andres and Grésillon, 2013) as well as the German city of Berlin (Colomb, 2012; Colomb 2017) have been the subject of such analysis. Via the cases of La Friche (Marseille), Flon (Lausanne) and the River Spree (Berlin), scholars considered the role played by creative temporary use practices and their engagement with urban regeneration (Andres and Chapain, 2013). The multistage governance arrangements of temporary use as an instrument for regeneration (Andres, 2013). As well as, the paradoxes resulting from the mobilisation of temporary use in development and place marketing discourses (Colomb, 2017).

Whilst valuable, perspectives on temporary use were limited to extraordinary examples in individual cities, omitting ordinary uses or city comparison. Additionally, the current need to analyse the temporary use of space in the context of the urban development process as a whole was not a central feature (Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016; Madanipour, 2017a; Henneberry, 2017). In support of Moore-Cherry and McCarthy (2016) and Madanipour (2017a), greater appreciation of variations in perspective from development actors involved in regeneration should be incorporated into the discourse on interim use. For Madanipour (2017a: 2), the 'multivalent' character of temporary use means that its progressive purposes can sometimes be subverted in the context of wider development processes, reinforcing unequal power relations while accentuating economic precarity for temporary users.

Against this backdrop, this Chapter provides a critical examination of the reuse of land on a temporary basis as part of urban regeneration programmes in two British cities. In doing so, it examines how the opportunities and risks associated with temporary use of land were experienced and negotiated by actors operating within regeneration programmes in two contrasting local economic contexts, Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter. Exploring what Healey (1991a: 97) terms the 'development industry' in these two case study areas, the approach sought to reflect the multivalent character of temporary land use by focusing on 'extraordinary' as well as 'ordinary' forms of reuse. It concludes by drawing upon case study evidence to argue that understanding of the evolution of local structures and actions over time and across space is critically important in explaining the nature and form of temporary development. The analysis illustrates how temporary use can engender opportunity for creativity and innovation as part of the regeneration process. But it also demonstrates how what Peck (2012) calls 'risk-shifting rationalities' in the development industry can mean that economic, social and political costs accrue inordinately to temporary users.

7.1 Temporary Urbanism in Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter

Identified via the outcomes of the spatial distribution and patterning analysis of Chapter 6, the discussion focuses on the central regeneration initiatives of Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter, analysing extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary development at the local (micro) scale. Missing from the Chapter 6 analysis was an understanding of how the spatial patterns of temporary development materialised. Moreover, traditional developmental aspects such as, ownership; cost; value; partnership; developability; risk; time or value and their effects on temporary solutions remained undetermined. Chapter 7 therefore set out to examine critically the implications of temporary development in two contrasting regeneration programmes. The first was Bristol's Temple Quarter, where regeneration efforts have tried purposely to promote temporary use, using it to stabilise local land markets and actuate wider property-led revival. The second was Liverpool's Creative Quarter, where policy actors have employed a more passive approach, attempting to capitalise upon organically rooted 'meanwhile' developments and linking them to wider regeneration strategy.

In determining cases to be studied, case requirements were established to screen for cases that best fit the remit of the research question (see Figure 15). A total of 55 applications were identified through the mapping associated with Chapter 6, representing 24 instances in Bristol's Temple Quarter (65ha) and 31 instances in Liverpool's Creative Quarter (55ha). Following review, 15 instances of temporary use were selected, seven instances in Bristol's Temple Quarter and eight instances in Liverpool's Creative Quarter, a summary of the selected cases is provided below (Figure 31-32 and Table 25-26).
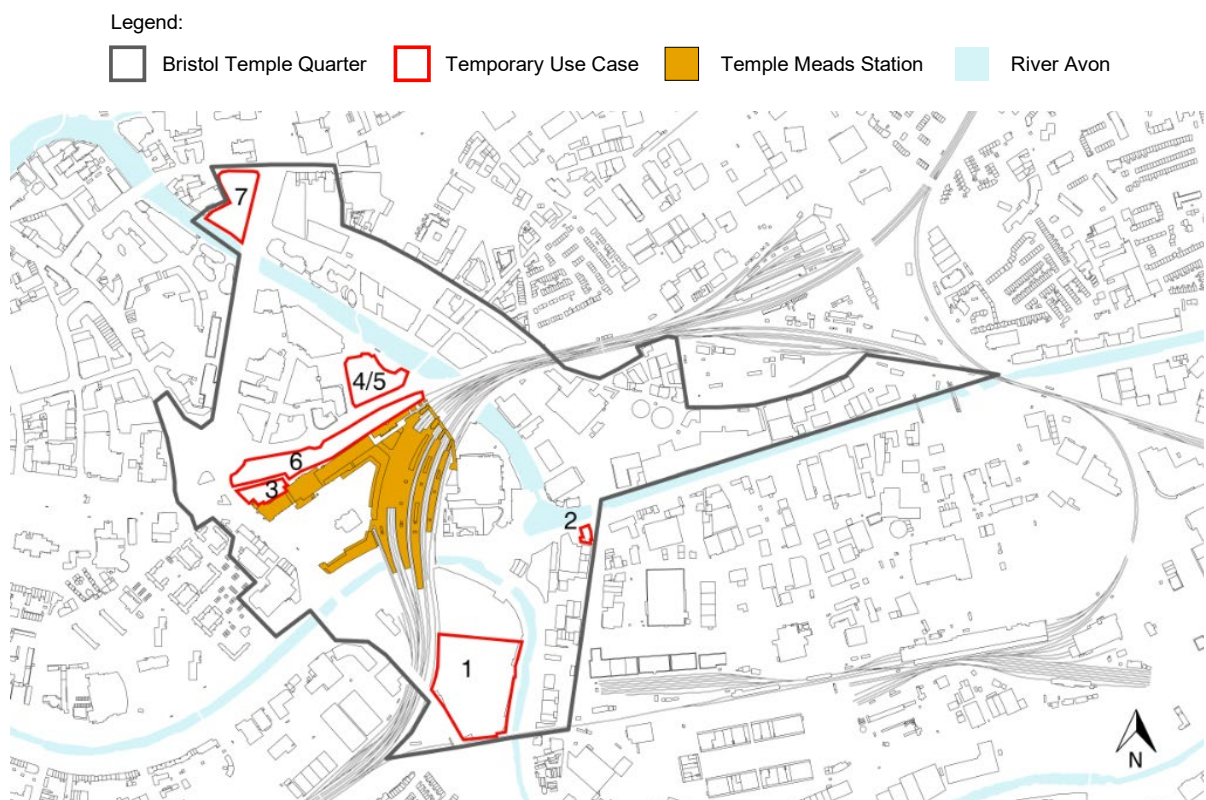
Figure 31: Temple Quarter, Bristol: Site Boundaries of Temporary Use Cases (Scale 1:2500 @ A1)

Table 25: Temple Quarter Bristol: Selected Temporary Use Cases

'Extraordinary' Temporary Uses	Description	'Ordinary' Temporary Uses	Description
1) Former diesel depot site: The Severn Project	Urban agriculture/growing in polytunnels.	5) Plot 3 Temple Quay	Surface car park on site of former railway depot/goods yard.
2) Former pest control depot site: Grow Bristol	Urban farm in repurposed lorry bodies.	6) Plot 6 Temple Quay	Surface car park on site of former railway siding/engine shed.
3) Plot 6 Temple Quay: Box Works	Shipping container office development.	7) Bank Place Temple Way	Surface car park on site of former office block.
4) Plot 3 Temple Quay: Creative Common/Yurt Lush	Café, bar and restaurant in a yurt/tent.		

*See Figure 31 for the location of each case.

Variation in ownership was present amongst the selected cases, seven were publicly owned and nine privately owned (see Table 10). Between the two locations, instances of extraordinary temporary use in Bristol's Temple Quarter were enabled by the public sector, whereas, in Liverpool's Creative Quarter, each instance of high-profile temporary development was private sector facilitated. Thus, selected instances captured a variety of actors associated with temporary use as well as a range of authorities associated with regeneration for interview (see Figure 15).
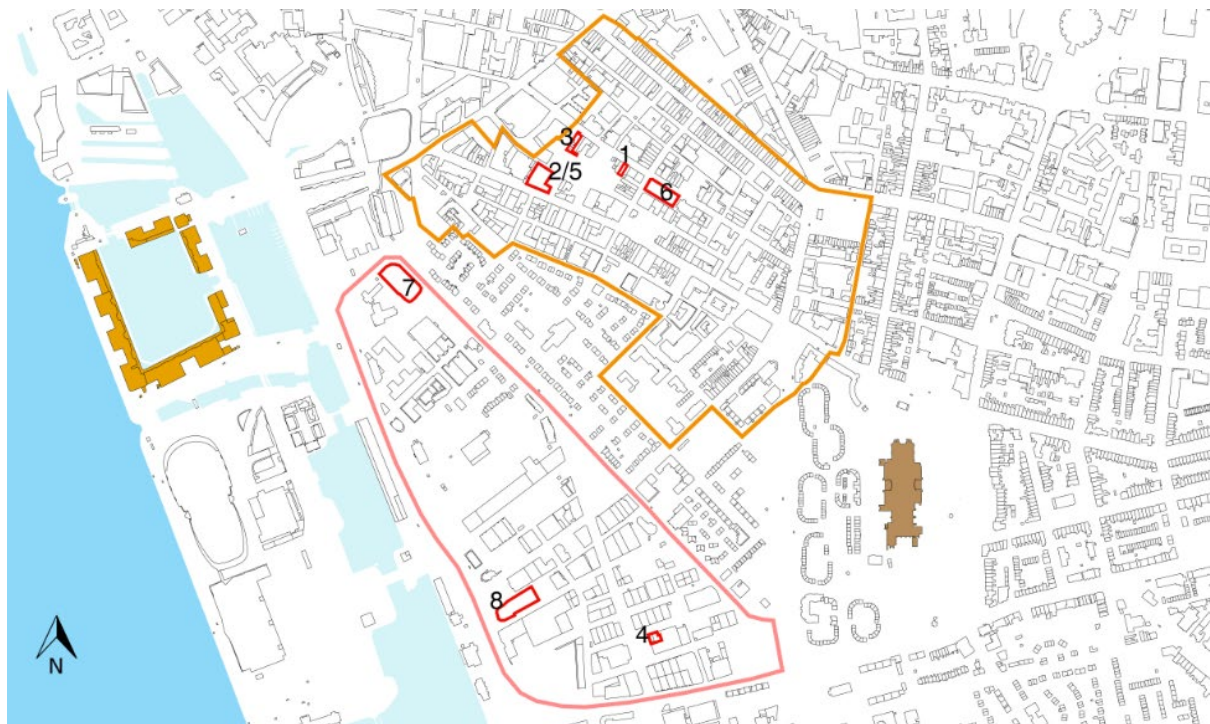
Figure 32: Creative Quarter, Liverpool: Site Boundaries of Temporary Use Cases (Scale 1:2500 @ A1)

Table 26: Creative Quarter Liverpool: Selected Temporary Use Cases

'Extraordinary' Temporary Uses	Description	'Ordinary' Temporary Uses	Description
1) 52 Seel Street: The Art Organisation	Painted artwork and installation on external façade.	5) CCP Car Park	Car park within former warehouse.
2) CCP Car Park: The Art Organisation	Artists workshops, studios and monthly art market.	6) 64-74 Seel Street	Surface car park on site of former terraced street (64-74).
3) 28 Seel Street: Kazimier Garden	Outdoor garden bar and restaurant including external performance space.	7) One Park Lane	Surface car park on site of former office block.
4) New Bird Street: The Botanic Garden	Outdoor garden bar with external performance space.	8) 84-94 Norfolk Street	Surface car park on site of former warehousing/light industry.

*See Figure 32 for the location of each case.

The subsequent section, 7.2, provides a detailed contextualisation of regeneration and temporary development in each case study area. The purpose of this section is to provide an additional layer of context from which the analysis of interview data can proceed.

7.2 Regeneration, Renewal and Urban Change in Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter

Temple Quay to Temple Quarter

Bristol's Temple Quarter comprises four distinct locations, Temple Quay; Silverthorne Lane; Temple Meads City Gateway and Avon Riverside (BCC, 2016). Regeneration of this location started with the flagship, three-stage development of Temple Quay in the late 1990s. Momentum in the renewal of this location suffered for years as a consequence of conflict between the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) and the local authority. A partnership which came to symbolise a lacklustre approach to regeneration, missing strategy and integration until the UDC's disbandment in 1995 (Boddy, 2007; Tallon, 2007; Deas *et al.*, 2000).

Nevertheless, it was at this same time that developers began looking to the outskirts of Bristol city centre for new development opportunities (Knight Frank, 2004; Boddy *et al.*, 2004). Temple Quay defined as the selected location for two important city-centre re-locations, Bristol and West Building Society and local British Telecom. By 2006, Temple Quay represented an acclaimed urban regeneration project in the UK (Civic Trust Awards, 2017). Via residential units, high-profile office spaces, leisure, retail and student accommodation, the area was transformed into a cost effective business zone alongside Bristol's historic waterways (Boddy, 2007). As with many other waterfront regeneration projects, these initial developments, acted as a "catalyst" from which bigger investment companies were attracted (Raco *et al.*, 2008: 2660; Cento Bull and Jones, 2006). The first phase of development on the south-west of the Quay instilling the confidence for what came to follow on the north-east side. By 2009, two additional apartment complexes, a major hotel chain, an office block coupled with the twin site regional headquarters of law firm Burgess Salmon were all in-situ.

The potential associated with development of this type was something that local policy actors were keen to harness. To that end, in 2011 an enlarged and rebadged Temple Quarter was designated an Enterprise Zone, offering more than 240,000m^2 of commercial, residential, retail and leisure space (HM Treasury, 2011; BCC, 2015; BTQEZ, 2017a). The emphasis was on attracting investment linked to four key sectors: hi-tech, creative and digital, low carbon and professional services (BCC, 2014; HM Government, 2017). In delivering this highly ambitious programme, a new strategic partnership was established, comprising Bristol City Council, Network Rail, the main landholder the Homes and Communities Agency (HCA), and West of England Local Enterprise Partnership together with its inward investment promotional body, Invest Bristol and Bath.

Deteriorating macro-economic circumstances presented an immediate challenge to the new partnership. Private sector demand for land slowed in the aftermath of the financial crises of 2007-08 and the subsequent recessions, necessitating a rethink of the approach to regeneration, including how best to find effective short-term use for redundant land (Tonkiss, 2013a). The solution from 2012 was

to try to promote 'innovative', 'creative' and high-profile temporary uses on vacant sites in order to improve the image of the Temple Quarter, raise awareness of its regeneration programme and thereby stimulate demand for long-term development (Evans, 2009). Although there were efforts to promote 'ordinary' functional, everyday uses such as surface car parking as a short-term solution, over time the emphasis on more ambitious 'extraordinary' forms of temporary use began to grow (BCC, 2014; 2015; 2016; 2012a; b; BTQEZ, 2017b). These included the Severn Project (polytunnels on the site of a former diesel depot), Grow Bristol (an urban farm accommodated in converted lorries), Box Works (office space in reused shipping containers), the Creative Common (a space for arts and creative events) and Yurt Lush (a café and restaurant in a converted yurt/tent) (Figures 34-36).

The RopeWalks Partnership

Where Temple Quay comprised brash office and residential development on previously developed land, Liverpool's RopeWalks regeneration unfolded in a historic area of architectural quality and distinct character which required careful stewardship (Couch and Dennemann, 2000). Its 29ha footprint included the Duke Street Conservation Area, the lower Duke Street and Henry Street Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI) as well as a portion of the Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City World Heritage Site (WHS) (LCC, 2005; Heritage Lottery Fund, 2017; LCC, 2009). The goal for the area was to apply an approach to regeneration based on sensitive but innovative adaption of heritage assets, working towards the creation of a cultural quarter (LCC, 2005; Montgomery, 2003; 2004; Pratt, 2009).

The Creative Quarter comprised two distinct areas, the Ropewalks and the Baltic Triangle. Unlike Temple Quay, the regeneration of RopeWalks was intended to be inclusive and participative. Development was delivered as part of what purported to be a multi-stakeholder cross-sector collaborative process, administrated by a new regeneration organisation, the RopeWalks Partnership (Evans and Jones, 2008; Lee, 2009). During its five year tenure (1997-2002), the RopeWalks Partnership oversaw a £110m investment programme centred on existing business, cultural creative industries and the night-time economy (Couch, 2008; Urban Splash, 2017). By the mid-2000s, the Partnership had helped to revitalise the area and cement the image of the RopeWalks as a distinctive and diverse quarter of the city (Lee, 2009). The majority of its businesses were drawn from the creative sector, helping the area carve its role as a centre for the night-time economy (LCC, 2004; Academy of Urbanism, 2017). In 2005, a formal planning framework, the RopeWalks SPD, was created to ensure future development would adhere to the area's new identity (LCC, 2005).

The second half of the 2000s saw the regeneration of the RopeWalks begin to decelerate as policymaker attention turned to the completion of the nearby flagship central retail development, Liverpool One (Daramola-Martin, 2009), and as preparations began for Liverpool's year as European Capital of Culture in 2008 (Jones and Heeg, 2004; Griffiths, 2006; Boland, 2010; O'Brien, 2011). Left behind, however, were a number of more intractable unused sites (LCC, 2016; HCA, 2012). But while temporary use became integral to Bristol's reorientation of strategy for the Temple Quarter as the

development climate worsened in the late 2000s, using land on a temporary basis featured less prominently as a formal part of the RopeWalks regeneration agenda.

Branding the Baltic

Situated 100m to the southwest of Liverpool's RopeWalks and separated by a former council estate is the Baltic Triangle, the other part of Liverpool's Creative Quarter. The challenge here was in some respects distinct. While the Baltic Triangle retained much of its maritime architecture, it lacked the historic character of the adjacent RopeWalks and continued to accommodate a significant volume of light industry and warehousing (LCC, 2008; Liverpool Vison, 2012; LCC, 2016). Unlike the comprehensive rebranding of the RopeWalks as a cultural-creative quarter, the Baltic Triangle lacked a discrete identity until as late as 2012. Instead, its reinvention coincided with the launch of the Housing Market Renewal initiative in 2003, which prioritised private sector redevelopment of what was deemed unpopular, obsolete stock in inner urban areas in an attempt to stem the long-term process of suburbanisation and attract new residents, especially skilled workers. By 2004, as development pressures radiated outwards from the city centre, parts of the Baltic Triangle area faced increasing demand from developers wishing to build residential apartments (Couch *et al.*, 2009; LCC, 2004).

The changing function of the Baltic Triangle was recognised in 2008 in the adopted Unitary Development Plan, which reclassified the area as mixed use rather than primarily industrial. At the same time, the city council partnered with Liverpool Vision, the city's Urban Regeneration Company, to create a planning framework for the area. As in the RopeWalks, the Baltic Triangle planning framework aimed to ensure that development proposals were brought forward in a co-ordinated way (LCC, 2008). However, it was not until 2010 and the establishment of the Baltic Triangle Community Interest Company (CIC) that the area began to emerge as Liverpool's digital tech and creative cluster (Baltic Creative, 2017; Foord, 2013; De Propris, 2012; European Commission, 2010). By 2016, the Baltic Triangle accommodated over 350 creative and digital businesses (Liverpool Vision, 2012; Tech Nation, 2017a). Its digital-tech branding was formally endorsed by the city council's draft Local Plan, with the Baltic Triangle and the RopeWalks jointly defined as Liverpool's Creative Quarter (LCC, 2016).

In contrast to Bristol, temporary use did not feature as a formal part of any of the planning and regeneration policy frameworks or strategies launched for the RopeWalks or the Baltic Triangle over the period from 2008-16. Indeed, it was not until the advent of Policy CC13 (Vacant Sites and Temporary Uses) in 2016 that Liverpool City Council adopted a formal temporary use policy (LCC, 2016).

The above summaries show how regeneration programmes in the case areas morphed and charged over the course of the fifteen year study period. The purpose of the subsequent section is to develop a more detailed understanding of the perspectives of development actors involved in either regeneration initiative, with the addition of temporary users as alternate actors within this process.

7.3 Perspectives, Positions and Responses to Temporary Use by Institutional, Organisational and Community Stakeholders in Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter

A selection of experts with good knowledge of each city, area and case were used to critically examine the variety of perspectives, positions and responses applied to temporary use over the fifteen years associated with the thesis study period. In doing so, different institutional, organisational and community stakeholders associated with temporary development and regeneration programmes in Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter were interviewed. Respondents were selected based on either their recognised role within the development industry, their role as a temporary user or their role as a key contextual actor.

The interrelation between regeneration and the development process made clear the broad collection of agencies who have come to define what Healey (1991a: 97) terms the 'development industry'. Drawing on this, three key groups were identified for interview: decision/policy makers; regeneration agents as well as site owners/developers. Temporary users were captured via the mapping and applications analysis associated with 4.2 (Phase 3), as were contextual actors (Table 27).

Table 27: Summary of Interviewee Groups

Development Industry	Temporary Users	Contextual Actors
Decision/Policy Makers	Ordinary Temporary Users	Public Sector
Regeneration Agents	Extraordinary Temporary Users	Private Sector
Site Owners/Developers		Digital/Cultural Creatives

The following sections discuss the research findings associated with Phase 3 of the research methodology (see 4.2). First perspectives toward temporary solutions by development industry actors are analysed, this is followed by an analysis of temporary users. Comparisons are then made between Bristol's purposeful promotion of interim development and Liverpool's more passive approach toward temporary solutions.

Decision Makers, Developers and Site Owners

Bristol's Temple Quarter

Public authorities (HCA and BCC) seized the opportunity to make high-profile, short term use of their assets an early priority of the Temple Quarter regeneration initiative (see Figures 34-36). Part of the rationale for the shift in emphasis from ordinary to extraordinary temporary uses was a pragmatic desire to manage the surge of applications for car parks, control their overall impact on transport and traffic, and minimise what some argued was their unnecessary visual intrusion (Figure 33) (BCC, 2015). But part of the changing perspective on temporary use was also attributable to a desire to aid broader efforts

to implant a positive image of the area's regeneration potential in the minds of developers: 'it is about branding', as one interviewee commented (Manager Major Schemes, BCC).

Figure 33: Surface Car Parking, Box Works and Yurt Lush, Plot 6 Temple Quay

To encourage more high-profile and innovative temporary uses of brownfield land (Figure 34), the local planning and regeneration policy framework underwent amendment. A series of Local Development Orders were initiated from 2012 as a means of encouraging creative temporary uses on strategically important, publicly owned land (BCC, 2014, 2015, 2016). Alongside these, the HCA and Bristol City Council began formally to recognise the importance of innovative temporary developments via a central area planning policy (Policy BCAP 12: Vacant sites and temporary uses). The Bristol Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone (BTQEZ) Spatial Framework (BCC, 2015) was also important in recognising the catalytic potential for high-profile temporary use to impact on regeneration more broadly.

Figure 34: Yurt Lush within Creative Common, Plot 3 Temple Quay

By 2016, however, the local planning authority stance on temporary use had changed again. Interview data suggest that policy actors had become more concerned about the escalating financial and administrative costs associated with intervention to promote innovative and high-profile temporary uses.

> My feelings about the success are tempered by the amount of work that had to go in to make it work […] without us being absolutely clear ourselves.

> (Economic Development Manager BTQEZ, BCC)

This was reinforced by ongoing reductions in central government funding of local authorities, with the effect that Bristol City Council had increasing political difficulty in justifying expenditure to enable high-profile development on sites for which viable alternative temporary uses (such as car parking) already existed. One interviewee estimated the cost to the public sector of enabling high-profile temporary uses on two sites as between '£200,000 and £300,000' (Economic Development Manager BTQEZ, BCC). Moreover, the principal role of the Enterprise Zone was to deliver stable growth and permanent development, further undermining the case for spending scarce public resources to support developments which, while representing important and visible landmarks, were never intended to be anything other than short-lived. As one interviewee argued:

> I don't think we have the time to protect [temporary user] interests beyond saying there's this site, it's yours for a period at a certain price.

> (Development Manager BTQEZ, HCA)

Ultimately, then, most public sector interviewees viewed temporary use as a means rather than an end: as a way of facilitating permanent strategic development. Yet while the level of financial support for temporary uses was reduced, and although the emphasis moved again to temporary development as short-term stopgap in response to localised land surpluses, some policy actors continued to view time-limited development in more strategic terms. Some were keen to go so far as to establish a temporary use strategy (Economic Development Manager BTQEZ, BCC).

> I am very keen that we put in place in the EZ a Meanwhile Use strategy. I would envisage that a Meanwhile Use strategy would identify the sites on which such uses were appropriate, identify the offer that's available on those sites, what would landlords be prepared to contribute and then longevity of the terms that they would have on site. But also be absolutely explicit about what the council/HCA was prepared to offer and support.

> (Economic Development Manager BTQEZ, BCC)

Interview data shows increasing alertness to the longer-term legacy of temporary development, especially some of the landmark projects that had emerged. Some public sector interviewees measured the success of temporary uses based narrowly on the permanent developments they might inspire in

future (Economic Development Manager BTQEZ, BCC; Development Manager BTQEZ, HCA). For others, however, appreciation of the impacts of short-term development meant that temporary uses might have to be relocated across the Temple Quarter. This was not only because of their popularity among users, but also because of the effectiveness of temporary use as a regeneration tool: as 'a vehicle that you move around the Enterprise Zone' (Principal Urban Designer, BCC). Indeed, the value of temporary use as a means of promoting wider regeneration was such that some interviewees were more sanguine about the costs incurred in relocation, whether in the form of £30,000 to fund the logistically challenging transfer of a soil membrane or the less demanding task of moving shipping containers (Figure 35 and 36).

> Perhaps if we give a little more thought to the succession of development we would have been able to work with them and actually see these new businesses move around and benefit the area for longer but in different locations, or at least give them the option.

(Development Manager BTQEZ, HCA)

In general, public policy actors viewed temporary use as a critical element of strategy for Temple Quarter, even if views were divided about the extent to which limited funds should be concentrated on high-profile flagship developments as an alternative to 'letting the market decide' and utilising everyday temporary uses such as car parking as a means of restoring market equilibrium. Views among private sector interviewees, by contrast, were more mixed. Although there was recognition of the value of a more proactive role by the public sector in respect of temporary use, there was nervousness among some long established developers, some of whom recalled one of the earliest landmark temporary use projects in the area in 2012, a big top tent in the Creative Common hosting the Invisible Circus group. While this was a highly visible temporary use, some developers complained during interviews that its impact was to tarnish the image of Temple Quarter as a potential destination for investment.

> The circus tent that was erected initially. It caused a lot of criticism from high calibre office occupiers. They felt that it was actually in some ways detrimental, cheapening the location.

(Head of Agency, Alder King Property Consultants)

Although some recent entrants to the local property market argued that 'mindsets have changed' and a more supportive stance regarding temporary uses like the big top was emerging, in general apprehension prevailed among longer-standing developers (Head of Agency, Alder King Property Consultants).

> I started discussions with property agents and representatives about temporary uses on their sites and felt like I was getting knocked into the long grass. Whereas more recently, with one or two sites, the property agent has been open to giving me a hearing.

(Economic Development Manager BTQEZ, BCC)

Figure 35: The Severn Project, Former Diesel Depot Site

Figure 36: Box Works, Plot 6 Temple Quay

These divided views among developers about the value of policy intervention in support of temporary use reflects the degree of difficulty faced in constructing viable public-private regeneration partnerships. A particular problem faced by local policy actors in relation to private sector engagement has been the view among some developers that temporary uses have been 'downmarket', their presence 'cheapening' the aesthetic of the Temple Quarter (Head of Agency, Alder King Property Consultants; Development Manager, JLL). Allowing short-term users to occupy sites for too long, it was argued, risked undermining the wider image of the area and its attractiveness to potential developers. Temporary uses, it was contended, could play a useful interim role, but ought not to endure because of the consequences for long-term land market functionality:

> Commercial developers […] don't want to tie the site up with a temporary use for two years. They are thinking, oh we could do a deal next year, next week, next month…
>
> (Development Manager, JLL)

Despite these reservations, some developers, nevertheless, saw value in temporary use as a 'fun risk' (Development Manager, JLL). There was enthusiasm in particular for innovative or unusual temporary uses that would help raise the area's profile and enhance its attractiveness to developers. But many developers were frustrated by this approach. Restrictions on surface car parking, they argued, were undermining the area's appeal to developers and end-users. The apparent preoccupation of policy actors with faddish temporary uses was at the expense of the day-to-day functionality of the area, some interviewees argued. Public sector actors, it was claimed, were insufficiently appreciative of the risks involved in allowing temporary uses to develop.

> I'd say there's a place for both uses, you can't cover everything in short term creative uses. There is an underlying need currently, whether the council like it or not, for additional overflow car parking.
>
> (Head of Agency, Alder King Property Consultants)

The rhetoric accompanying the Temple Quarter stressed the importance of public-private partnership and emphasised the contribution of temporary use to the area's renewed dynamism. However, the more prosaic view among some of the developers canvassed was that while short-term land-use had a useful makeshift role to play, if not managed carefully it could frustrate the resumption of a fully operational land and property market. The discussion now moves on to consider decision makers, developers and site owners in Liverpool's Creative Quarter. As above, this discussion is twofold, first public sector decision makers are introduced followed by private sector developers and landowners.

Liverpool's Creative Quarter

In contrast to Bristol, temporary use did not feature as a formal part of any of the planning and regeneration policy frameworks or strategies launched for the RopeWalks or the Baltic Triangle over the period from 2008-16. Indeed, it was not until the advent of Policy CC13 (Vacant Sites and Temporary

Uses) in 2016 that Liverpool City Council adopted a formal temporary use policy (LCC, 2016). Interviews with regeneration and planning policy actors in Liverpool suggest that the lack of emphasis on temporary use was partly a reflection of the absence of publicly owned land in the Creative Quarter. Unlike Bristol, the view was that this meant that active encouragement for temporary uses would have been contingent on the receptiveness of sometimes risk averse landowners and developers. But interviewees also argued that the lack of any conscious effort to promote temporary use was simply a reflection of the approach to regeneration that predominated in the city at the time.

> Temporary activity on dormant land is only something that's become more popular in recent times. Both the RopeWalks and the Baltic SPDs were done a number of years ago.

> (Assistant Director of Regeneration, LCC)

The concept of temporary use, one interviewee attested, had 'only become more popular in recent times' (Assistant Director of Regeneration, LCC). While the same interviewee commented that there was acceptance that 'meanwhile uses are a good way of stimulating […] regeneration activity', regeneration policy actors at the time were content to continue with a passive strategy in which surface car parking would fill whatever interstices emerged during the development cycle.

> We've come across good examples […] whereby vacant land is being used for football match day car parking, by a coalition of organisations. They run and manage the car park. They take the income, and then they use that income to reinvest into good economic activities in the local area.

> (Assistant Director of Regeneration, LCC)

This is in marked contrast to the position in Bristol. Leading regeneration policy actors in Liverpool eschewed the more directive approach to temporary use evident at times as part of the Temple Quarter strategy. Instead, the view was that while temporary use could fulfil an expedient role in times of rapid land and property market change, it was not something that should be pursued with any vigour. The notion of temporary use as a vital element of broadly based regeneration did not feature, reflecting a more *laissez faire* approach that allowed development to take shape organically, but which was unperturbed about whether temporary uses materialised. This meant that in contrast to the Temple Quarter, developers in the Creative Quarter were under no pressure from policy actors to fashion striking or innovative temporary uses that could help catalyse broader regeneration. Where temporary uses did emerge, they tended to be situated mostly in small buildings or on constrained and difficult to develop sites. Whereas Bristol possessed large publicly owned land holdings suitable for landmark temporary development, Liverpool's regeneration actors had to work in a context of fragmented landholdings and relatively high levels of dereliction, reflecting the area's industrial past (Couch, 2008).

Figure 37: Kazimier Garden, RopeWalks

The combination of the indifference towards (or unawareness of) the concept of temporary use on the part of regeneration policy-makers, and the challenging land ownership patterns arising from the area's industrial legacy, meant that relatively few short-term land-uses emerged, other than car parking. But there were some notable exceptions, and their experiences reveal a more nuanced position regarding policy actors' attempts to engage temporary users. The case of Kazimier Garden (Figures 37-38) – a popular outdoor performance space – suggests that although the regeneration strategy for the Creative Quarter did not actively promote temporary use, there was nevertheless a sensitivity to the needs of short-term users that was not always evident in Bristol. When Kazimier Garden was served with an enforcement notice in 2012, the city council was quick to reassure the organisation that 'we're not there to quash it', but were instead keen to 'make the most out of it' (Arts Development Officer, Culture Liverpool LCC). Council advice, the same interviewee explained, was that the organisation 'cover the bases and put in a retrospective planning application' to secure their status. When threatened again in 2016 by a proposed £43m redevelopment of the adjacent Wolstenholme Square (Figure 38), the city council's urban design officer requested clarification about how the development would benefit surrounding land uses, including Kazimier Garden (Gee, 2015). In other words, the city council sought reassurance about the repercussions of a high-profile £43m redevelopment for a temporary user with a lease expiring in only 11 months.

> I would expect the planning officer to have a conversation with the developer, just to say, you know, look, there's a bigger picture here, it's not just about your development.

(Assistant Director of Regeneration, LCC)

Figure 38: Kazimier Garden in Context of Wolstenholme Square Development

Reflecting its popularity and the support given to it by regeneration actors, Kazimier Garden was able to maintain a presence in the area. Indeed, by 2017 it had become a recognised symbol of the RopeWalks. Supported by business groups, resident groups and affiliate organisations, it came to be viewed as a 'real asset to the community' (Chair of the RopeWalks Residents Association), inspiring similar organisations such as Constellations and the Botanical Garden (both located in the Baltic Triangle) (Figure 39 and 40).

> Kazimier Garden are very well loved in Liverpool and we were keen to keep them.

> (Director, Hope Street Properties)

The supportive outlook of regeneration and planning policy actors regarding temporary users like Kazimier Garden was reflected in a general absence of the tension with landowners and developers apparent in Bristol. Interviewee responses suggested that landowners in the Creative Quarter in some instances viewed temporary use in a positive light. Frenson Ltd – a major landowner in the RopeWalks in the period from the late 1990s to the mid-2000s – leased over twenty of their sites to temporary uses. Attracting landmark temporary uses has also been a core aspiration of developers like Elliot Group and Hope Street Properties. For some private sector interviewees, temporary use was 'a good idea…It's good PR, isn't it?' (Managing Director, Merion on behalf of Elliot Group). For some, temporary use also brought with it tax advantages. Others viewed temporary use, on the surface at least, in more strategic than opportunistic terms. One developer, discussing the experience of Kazimier Garden, professed to be 'genuinely saddened' to lose some short-term tenants, but saw temporary use as playing an important role in kick-starting future development activity (Director, Hope Street Properties). Even where

temporary use had been confined to car parking, developers argued that this was for reasons of convenience and that they would be amenable to more innovative short-term uses, should the demand arise.

> We'd already had a discussion over what needed to be done with Kazimier Gardens for them to stay. I don't think they believed us day one when we said, look, you're key to our plans, we want you to stay. Everyone is naturally suspicious of developers, aren't they?

> (Director, Hope Street Properties)

Figure 39: The Botanical Garden, Baltic Triangle

What was striking about the Creative Quarter regeneration was that, unlike Temple Quarter, hostility to what were deemed 'unacceptable temporary uses' was rarely evident. When developer aspirations for long-term uses appeared vulnerable to delay because of the presence of existing temporary uses, there was often a sense of pragmatism and a willingness to compromise that was not always obvious in Bristol. One example of this arrived in 2014 when a high-profile landmark temporary use in the form of Kazimier Garden was used by the developer, Hope Street Properties, as an anchor for an adjacent housing development. The developer's stance, interviewees argued, was that the popularity and profile of Kazimier Garden would help secure permission for the associated development of housing. In effect, this meant that the developer saw the relationship with the temporary user as one of necessary cooperation rather than subjugation, as one developer explained:

If we'd have tried to come up with the redevelopment without Kazimier Gardens, I think there'd be burning torches and pitchforks on the streets after us.

(Director, Hope Street Properties)

Figure 40: Constellations, Baltic Triangle

Whereas corporate land agents feared a successful temporary use blocking future development in the economically buoyant Temple Quarter, in Liverpool, by contrast, development actors were relaxed about the prospect of temporary uses like Kazimier Garden acquiring a degree of permanence, and often sought to harness this rather than impede it. As one temporary user put it, "that little temporary thing that was never meant to stay[:] …[now] it's the only thing that's staying' (Director of Kazimier Productions CIC).

The pragmatic outlook of developers was ascribed by some interviewees to relatively weak levels of demand for land but equally to the local roots of many of the developers in the Creative Quarter. Whereas the more buoyant demand for land in Temple Quarter derived from national and international capital, the local origins of many developers in the Creative Quarter was said by some interviewees to explain the more harmonious relationship between existing temporary users and regeneration policy actors. As one developer put it, 'we're a smallish family organisation, we can make decisions ourselves, we've got no one breathing over our shoulders' (Director, Hope Street Properties).

The discussion above developed an understanding of the public and private sector response to temporary development in the Temple Quarter and Creative Quarter. The subsequent sections introduce the perspectives of temporary use organisations.

Temporary Uses and Users

Bristol's Temple Quarter

A third category of actor – temporary users – offered different perspectives. Most recognised their role in the branding and marketing of the Temple Quarter, but also welcomed the opportunity the regeneration initiative afforded them to showcase their own business. However, whereas both public policy actors and developers viewed them, for the most part, as transient entities, temporary users themselves sought a degree of permanence.

> Our next step would be to move into a static venue. You can't plan if you don't know if your business is going to exist beyond six months. I dream about bricks and mortar.

> (Managing Director Yurt Lush, EDBF)

> We're currently looking for a permanent site in the city.

> (Managing Director, Forward Space)

Bristol City Council and the HCA, they complained, had failed to recognise each temporary user as a start-up business with aspirations to longevity. Temporary users were unanimous in their recognition for the support given by one or both the city council and HCA during the initial stages of their project, such as assisting with planning permission and groundwork costs. However, this support was said to be short lived and once on site very little care or attention was provided. Some in retrospect felt they had been unfairly cajoled as part of regeneration schemes into high risk, complex temporary use projects that were unlikely to be anything other than transitory:

> There's sometimes a real lack of common sense and reasonable behaviour. So they think they're being helpful […] but in terms of support there's a sort of gap where they can't seem to think reasonably about what's actually going on.

> (Managing Director, Forward Space)

Temporary users in essence sought security, whereas Bristol City Council and the HCA envisaged short-term uses as a flexible tool to help smooth fluctuations in the demand for land and thereby help to achieve wider regeneration goals more rapidly and coherently than if left to market forces. But as an embittered user noted in reference to his 15 to 20 employees, 'if you go under, all of those people lose their jobs' (Managing Director Yurt Lush). The suggestion by policy makers that temporary users should be flexible and willing to relocate to occupy unused land was seen as hopelessly unrealistic given the likely impact on the commercial viability of new ventures. Yurt Lush, for example, moved between two plots of land, but according to interviewee testimony, sacrificed their profitability in doing so.

> In plot three in 2015 we were profitable. Now we're about £46,000 down on last year.

(Managing Director Yurt Lush, EDBF)

For others, like polytunnel grower the Severn Project, interview responses suggest the perceived threat of relocation eventually led to their relocation from Temple Quarter to secure a longer lease elsewhere, reportedly at significant financial cost.

> Last year we showed a £30,000 loss because of moving.

(Director, The Severn Project)

These examples are illustrative of the ways in which active and passive forms of regeneration management shifted risk onto temporary users. This provoked considerable tension between temporary users, private sector developers and policy actors, undermining the regeneration objective of promoting short-term development as an innovative element of strategy for the Temple Quarter.

Liverpool's Creative Quarter

In addition to the local or regional roots of many of the developers, another factor explaining the general absence of rancour in the relationships between actors involved in the Creative Quarter regeneration was the critical brokerage role played by some temporary use organisations. Between 2000 and 2010, for example, The Art Organisation (TAO) developed an intermediary role in the RopeWalks, facilitating links between temporary users and the then dominant developer, Frenson Ltd. TAO's key contribution was as interlocutor, operating as a non-profit organisation with the aim of bridging the cultural and commercial divide between creative users and private sector owners and developers. By the end of its tenure in 2010, TAO had assumed formal responsibility for temporary use in Liverpool's RopeWalks, fulfilling a remit similar to that of London's Meanwhile Use CIC.

> I was proposing to do this thing of bringing artists back into their buildings, and they're like yeah, but we don't want to deal with artists, and I'm like you don't have to, you deal with me and I'll deal with them. At that point they literally stood up and shook my hand on it. I was then the go between for them to realise this opportunity of gentrification through the arts.

(Co-Director II, The Art Organisation)

TAO's facilitative role was seen by some interviewees as helping to foster a productive and mutually beneficial relationship between developers and temporary users, in contrast to the parasitic one said to apply more commonly elsewhere. But a number of interviewees disputed this, arguing that apparently compliant interactions between development actors masked what were sometimes more ambiguous relationships. One landowner explained this by recalling his interaction with a temporary user:

[I said] 'look, you're getting this building for a peppercorn rent, £1 a year, you're taking full responsibility for the building, we're insuring the building for you to be in there, that's what peppercorn rent is. You have to leave basically when we say you're out, and we always used to say a month's notice would be nice'.

(Director, Frenson Ltd.)

This more critical perspective was reinforced by concern about the inequitable distribution of risk. Some interviewees contended that TAO's practice of negotiating with temporary users while promoting permanent development in the same spaces in effect transferred risk from developers and owners to short-term users. Developers could continue to pursue high yielding investments while temporary users ensured that sites remained occupied, visible and generating some form of immediate income. Ultimately, however, there was limited security available to temporary users, many of whom were said to feel a profound sense of vulnerability about the prospect of their displacement if and when permanent development materialised. For example, in the case of Kazimier Garden in 2016, planning officers at the city council reneged on a previously granted five year planning permission, reducing the length to three years. In doing so, they placed undue risk upon the organisation and inadvertently caused issues for the continuation of the venue's operation:

We're in a period where we're just investing in loads and loads and loads and we're not seeing any revenue come back, and won't for another nine months or so. So in order to manage our cash flow the Kazimier Garden is the thing that's keeping us alive. However, I can't decently ask an investor to invest in our garden project with our only guarantee to be operational for three years. That's not a good proposition. That just falls down instantly.

(Director of Kazimier Productions CIC)

The experience of the Creative Quarter shows how perceptions of temporary use changed, in a context in which it did not feature initially but came to constitute a recognised element of the regeneration strategy. What is especially striking is that this turnaround was largely extemporaneous, evolving incrementally over time. The lack of a rigid development prospectus, a facilitative but hands-off public sector and a locally-based private sector more receptive to innovation in the context of weak local economy gave rise to a series of short-term projects that came to be seen as critical to wider regeneration efforts. Yet even set against the backdrop of these largely positive experiences, there was an undercurrent of concern about how passive, organic approaches to temporary use, and/or the emergent forms of active management of the kind embodied by TAO's facilitative role, serve to protect the position of landowners and developers while limiting the scope for temporary users to secure any longer-term benefits from regeneration. Similarly, Liverpool city council's decision to revoke Kazimier Garden's original planning consent only to replace it with a stricter, shorter permission showed their inclination to bias speculative future development over an existing short-term use.

7.4 Discussion and Conclusion

This Chapter has demonstrated how the shape and form of the local development process were critical to the ways in which temporary use evolved as part of regeneration programmes in Bristol and Liverpool (see also Madanipour, 2017a). The analysis revealed how regeneration actor outlooks on temporary land use varied over time as institutional agendas shifted and urban economic circumstances changed (see also Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016). In Bristol, there was ambivalence among policy actors with regard to temporary use, at times championing landmark limited-life developments but on other occasions expressing misgivings about the obstructive impact on permanent development. The ambiguities implicit in the dual role of the city council and the HCA as policy-maker and developer for publicly owned land explain this compromised and often conflicting standpoint on temporary use. In a competitive landscape of diminishing returns on investment, the private sector sparred with Bristol City Council and the HCA over the perceived threat some short-term land-uses posed to corporate development aspirations. This applied in particular to high-profile temporary developments, the purpose of which was to help raise awareness about the wider regeneration programme and thereby excite longer-term developer interest. Yet it was precisely those landmark or 'extraordinary' temporary uses that provoked the greatest unease among developers, creating a tension from the beginning of the regeneration programme that undermined subsequent attempts to build meaningful cross-sector partnership.

Bristol City Council and the HCA also struggled, in various instances, to accommodate the needs of temporary users. The role of short-term users was viewed by policy officers as one of helping to burnish the Temple Quarter brand, an objective that blinded regeneration actors to the longer-term ambitions of temporary users. Understanding of immediate risk and future prospects for temporary users was poorly developed. Expectations on the part of regeneration strategists, particularly in the early years of the regeneration initiative, about the commercial viability of temporary uses proved to be overly optimistic. Even when temporary uses did achieve commercial viability in the short time available to them, they were regarded by regeneration policy actors in effect as mobile marketing instruments that could simply be relocated to make way for more lucrative development once their immediate function had been fulfilled. While some temporary users sought to resist this strategy, they ran up against a powerful market logic infusing regeneration strategy, which perceived them as a blockage to permanent development.

In the case of Liverpool, regeneration policy actors were found to have eschewed the directive approach to temporary use evident as a (disputed) part of the Temple Quarter strategy. Instead, encouragement for temporary use had a more expedient rationale, intended mainly as a counter-cyclical measure to ameliorate land and property market instability. While the consensus was that this was an effective tactic that helped regeneration to continue, it also left some temporary users exposed to the vicissitudes of the market, protected only by rhetorical reassurances from policy actors.

A conclusion in this respect from both case studies is therefore that temporary users bear a disproportionate share of the potential risks associated with development, often without commensurate reward. This may apply in particular in generally more buoyant urban economic contexts, like Bristol's, where interview responses suggested that developers are in a stronger position to override the wishes of other actors in the development process, and temporary users in particular (see also Colomb, 2012, 2017). The uneven way in which risk is distributed suggests that existing accounts of the prefigurative potential for meanwhile land-use to contribute to regeneration strategy underestimate the extent to which more powerful actors are able to exert leverage over others. While there was empirical evidence from interview data in Bristol about temporary users being displaced in this way, even in the less fraught context of Liverpool there was a clear sense of vulnerability among interviewees that they might at some point be uprooted should land and property market conditions improve.

Nonetheless, while the research findings give a clear indication of the actual (in Bristol) and perceived (in Liverpool) susceptibility of temporary users to market-driven change, the ways in which and the effectiveness with which risk was managed also differed in the two case study areas. In Liverpool, although temporary users clearly occupied a subordinate position relative to conventional developers, risk was less inequitably distributed. This was a reflection of a more acquiescent local environment in which regeneration actors and temporary users were able to work for the most part productively alongside conventional developers. The result was temporary uses emanating from the ground-breaking efforts by community-based entrepreneurs and small-scale local developers, rather than resulting from interventions by publicly-funded regeneration bodies. Successful and high-profile temporary developments, rather than hampering longer-term development, served to facilitate it by increasing the profile of the area, contributing to the Creative Quarter identity and stimulating the demand for land.

Yet while the research found clear evidence of contrasting approaches to the management of temporary use as part of regeneration strategy, short-term land users were ultimately left in a precarious position. In both cities, temporary use was valorised primarily from an economic perspective that viewed the role of policy intervention, including the selective use of temporary development, as a short-term one of restoring normal market functionality as rapidly as possible. Reflecting this market-oriented philosophy, in both cities – but especially in Bristol – there was evidence of the deployment of mobile temporary use as a means to incentivise development by filling voids on difficult to develop land, rather than as means of encouraging new innovative or progressive land uses. The tactics adopted in both cities in this sense were a reflection of the highly constrained political and fiscal environment in which policy is framed, resulting in forms of intervention that accord to what Peck (2014: 398) terms "…pragmatic imitation rather than path-altering innovation".

These findings, in both case study areas, indicate that recognising the locally specific and multidimensional nature of development processes and appreciating the complexities of the interrelationships between the actors involved are important when trying to understand the role and

function of temporary use (see also Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016). As Madanipour (2017a) argues, there is a need to appreciate the different ways in which temporary use is perceived, and strategies to manage it are performed, by a range of actors operating in different urban economic and political contexts. The evidence presented in this paper reveals that while superficially the principle of meanwhile use as a solution to localised land market dysfunctionality is one to which a range of actors can readily commit, the sometimes contradictory and capricious standpoints of different actors, and the palpable tensions between them, necessitate a deeper understanding of the variable logics that underpin the adoption of temporary solutions in specific places and times. The subsequent chapter (8) synthesises the research findings to critically examine the implications of temporary development within the regeneration/renewal of city spaces within England's core cities, focusing in particular on Bristol and Liverpool.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Implications for Future Research

The aim of this research was to examine critically the role and function of temporary use in urban regeneration. This was achieved first through an examination of the current theoretical and practical understandings of temporary use, urban regeneration and the development process, in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 4 then discussed the research strategy and phases to capture data on temporary use practices within the development process and identify case study cities and regeneration projects for empirical inquiry, specifically within one national context: England. Chapter 5 – through statistical modelling of planning applications data associated with 5,890 applications for temporary use across the core cities over the fifteen year period of 2000-2015 – tested a series of key assumptions associated with the temporary use phenomenon, defining the characteristics of interim uses across British cities and identified two core cities of particular interest for subsequent analyses. Chapter 6 then examined the spatial clustering, distribution and patterning of temporary use practices in these cities (Bristol and Liverpool), identifying two regeneration initiatives for case study research. Finally, Chapter 7 explored the perspectives, positions and responses adopted toward temporary use practices by actors associated with temporary urbanism in two central regeneration initiatives, Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter.

Taking into consideration the analysis and findings of the above, this chapter discusses the research contribution of this thesis and situates it in relation to the wider academic literature. It first reflects on the revised conceptual framework and the established connections between the separate areas of research on the utilisation of land and property, temporary use and the process of regeneration. This is followed by sections dedicated to the characteristics of temporary use practices, the spatial patterning of temporary development in cities and organisational and institutional understandings of temporary use in contemporary regeneration strategies. Finally, suggestions on areas for further research and final thesis conclusions are provided.

8.1 Reviewing the Conceptual Framework

Based on the analysis of all data collected, the initial sections of this chapter refine the conceptual framework adopted for the study of temporary use as part of the regeneration process. Furthermore, the section highlights context specific approaches to improve understanding of the implications of including temporary development as part of urban regeneration strategies.

This research has explored the role and function of temporary use in urban regeneration through a conceptualisation focused on the development process. Examination of the development process was employed in order to understand gaps in the cycle of utilisation of space and how development actors perceive temporary use, comparing the extraordinary, high profile examples with ordinary, everyday uses. A multi-scalar mixed methods approach was adopted to explore this. Chapter 5 identified the underlying characteristics of temporary urbanism through regression modelling of 5,890 temporary use applications across England's core cities (macro scale). Chapter 6 examined the spatial clustering, distribution and patterning of temporary use practices through nearest neighbour analysis and mapping of two cities, Bristol and Liverpool (meso scale). Finally, Chapter 7 explored perspectives, positions and responses to temporary use via 28 interviews with development actors involved in two regeneration initiatives, Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter (micro scale).

The quantitative data analysed in Chapters 5 and 6 has served to support the qualitative methods associated with Chapter 7. By defining the level of variation between the conceptual types of extraordinary versus ordinary temporary use statistically and spatially, a multidimensional contextual backdrop was established. Thus, the findings of localised case studies have been compared to validate outcomes at the national or city scales, adding rigour to the claims of each form of analysis. Furthermore, the combination of methods, across a prolonged timeframe involving three distinct spatial scales, opened a path for fresh observations on the role and function of temporary development. Drawing on this research, the chapter returns to the use gap conceptual framework posited in Chapter 3 and, reflecting on the outcomes of the research findings, further develops the framework to highlight nuances unforeseen by the original model.

The Use Gap Model

The Use Gap Model provides the conceptual foundation for the study of the role and function of temporary use within this research (Figure 41). The model stems from the need to refine understandings of gaps in the utilisation of space, breaks in the development cycle, and interim uses as mechanisms to plug voids in the wider development process (Mell *et al.*, 2013; Madanipour, 2017a). The use gap conceptualisation was employed to examine how different temporary uses of urban space are viewed by actors associated with the development industry (Healey and Barrett, 1990; Healey, 1991a; b, 1992a). This conceptualisation was based on the premise that extraordinary temporary uses were seen as risky, limited financial reward options compared to their ordinary counterparts by actors associated

with the process of urban regeneration (Groth and Corijn, 2005; Blumner, 2006; Hawke, 2009; Németh and Langhorst, 2014) (Figure 42).
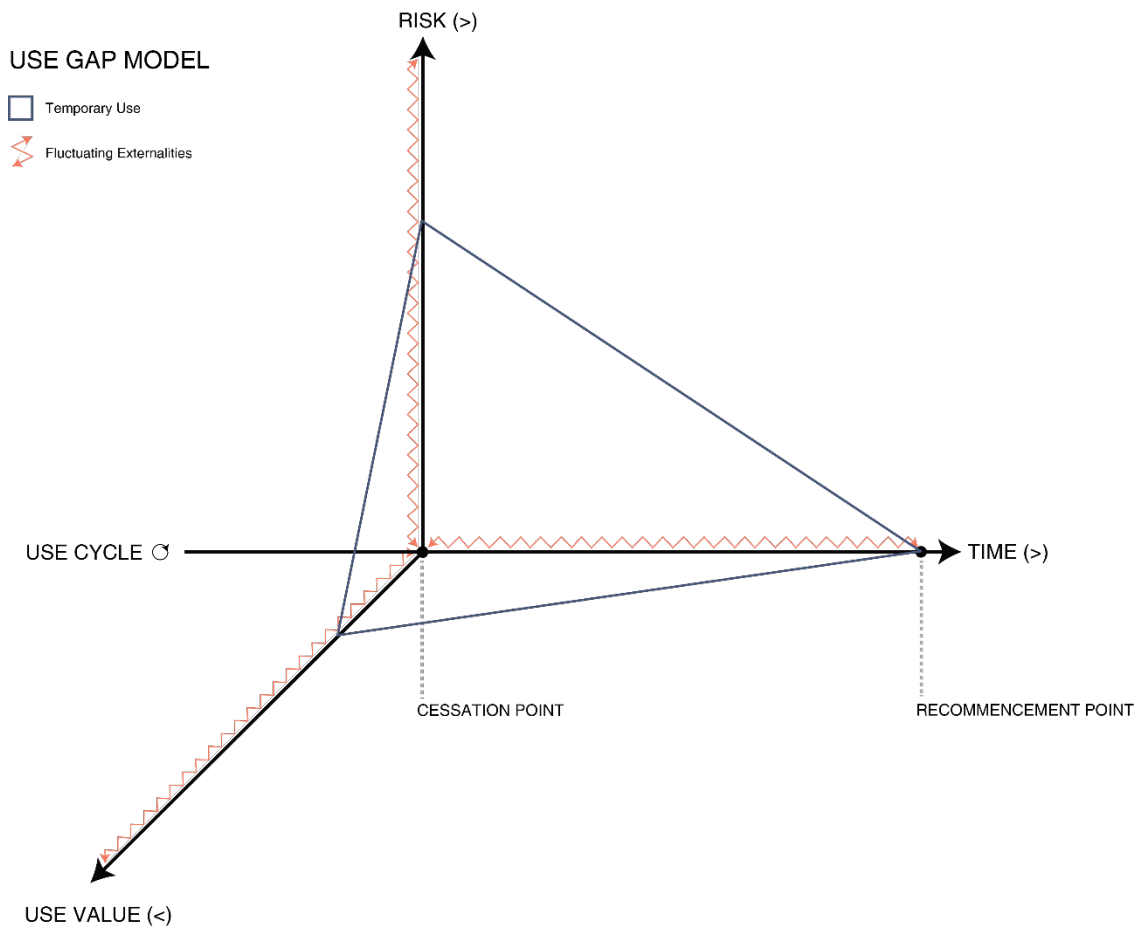
Figure 41: Use Gap Conceptual Framework

Unlike previous research, this thesis understood temporary use as a formal part of the planning/development cycle. Temporary use was defined through the mechanism of planning permissions, as uses that apply from the outset for permission restricted to a limited period of time/duration. As with applications for traditional development, temporary uses are subject to the same rigours, the only difference lay in their classification as temporary planning permission rather than full or outline planning permission. Consequently, the thesis adopted theory associated with regeneration and development alongside temporary use to create a framework focused on defining the role and function of different practices of interim uses amongst the development process through a scenario focusing on how uses are viewed by the development industry.

Time, risk and value were defined as the critical factors influencing the gap in any land or properties' cycle of utilisation, conceptualised as the gap between the cessation of a previous use and recommencement of a new use. Each variable was affected by fluctuating externalities (Figure 41), which included factors influencing traditional development such as: finance and the wider economy; legislative and regulatory frameworks; cultural ideas and values; ownership (public/private); and

site/asset constraints such as contamination, or the need for remedial treatment (Adams, 1994; Moreno, 2014; Syms, 2002; Dixon, 2009; Gore and Nicholson, 1985; Bartke and Schwarze, 2009; Bartke, 2011). Moreover, the externalities likewise included parameters specific to temporary use, such as the function and location of space (structure, land, residual space or a public square); lease length/duration of permission and required cost/investment (Németh and Langhorst, 2014; Hubman and Perkovic, 2014; Ferreri, 2015; Gebhardt, 2017). Each of these fluctuating externalities had direct influence over the time, risk and use value variables. The purpose of the theoretical contribution of this thesis was to define how temporary uses (extraordinary and ordinary) are perceived by different development industry actors (Healey, 1991b; Ratcliffe *et al.*, 2004; Moreno, 2014), with the addition of temporary users as alternate actors within this process (Shaw, 2005; SQW Consulting, 2010; Adams and Hardman, 2013).

Through a scenario, comparing extraordinary with ordinary temporary use, the model showed that one type of temporary use practice (extraordinary) had a higher perceived risk and lower perceived value by the development industry than another (ordinary temporary use) (Figure 42). Defined by the relationship between the three critical and interrelating variables (time, risk and value) the use gap demonstrated the predilection for standardised forms of temporary use by the development industry, and in particular the preference for surface car parking over the more high-profile examples depicted by the literature (see Urban Catalyst, 2003, Bishop and Williams, 2012 or Ferguson, 2014). The influence of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary use practices on the framework is discussed in the following section with reference to the thesis research findings presented in Chapters 5-7.

The research confirmed that practices of extraordinary temporary use were limited compared to their ordinary counterparts, and that they could be described as an emerging practice within the context studied, coinciding more with the recession and recovery period (2008-15) than with the pre-recession period (2000-07). Though limited, instances of extraordinary temporary uses had specific spatial tendencies, featuring more regularly in city centres than elsewhere, with exceptionally high frequencies in central regeneration areas. Likewise, despite the connotation of risk and stigma assumed towards temporary uses, the research found that the vast majority of the applications for extraordinary instances were approved regardless of the function of space associated with the application (whether it was land, public space or property). In fact, most temporary uses were likely to recur rather than remain as a solitary instance, regardless of whether they were of the extraordinary or ordinary type.

The combination of findings from Chapters 5 and 6 presented outcomes unanticipated by the original conceptual scenario (Chapter 3), which predicted few occurrences of extraordinary interim uses due to the aversion of decision makers, developers and site owners who, it was presumed, would see the extraordinary variety as overly complex, high risk and low reward solutions compared to standardised ordinary temporary use practices such as surface car parking (Figure 42). Chapters 5 and 6 uncovered a more nuanced relationship between extraordinary temporary use practices and the development process. Unlike the original scenario, extraordinary temporary use applications revealed a connection with the withdraw decision category, since applications for these uses were more commonly withdrawn

by the applicant than the ordinary temporary use type. This evidence suggested that complications for the extraordinary form of interim use may actually be more closely associated with temporary users (resulting from internal complexities) than stakeholders of the development industry (i.e. external complexities), an assumption that was confirmed by the elite interviews and case studies included in Chapter 7.
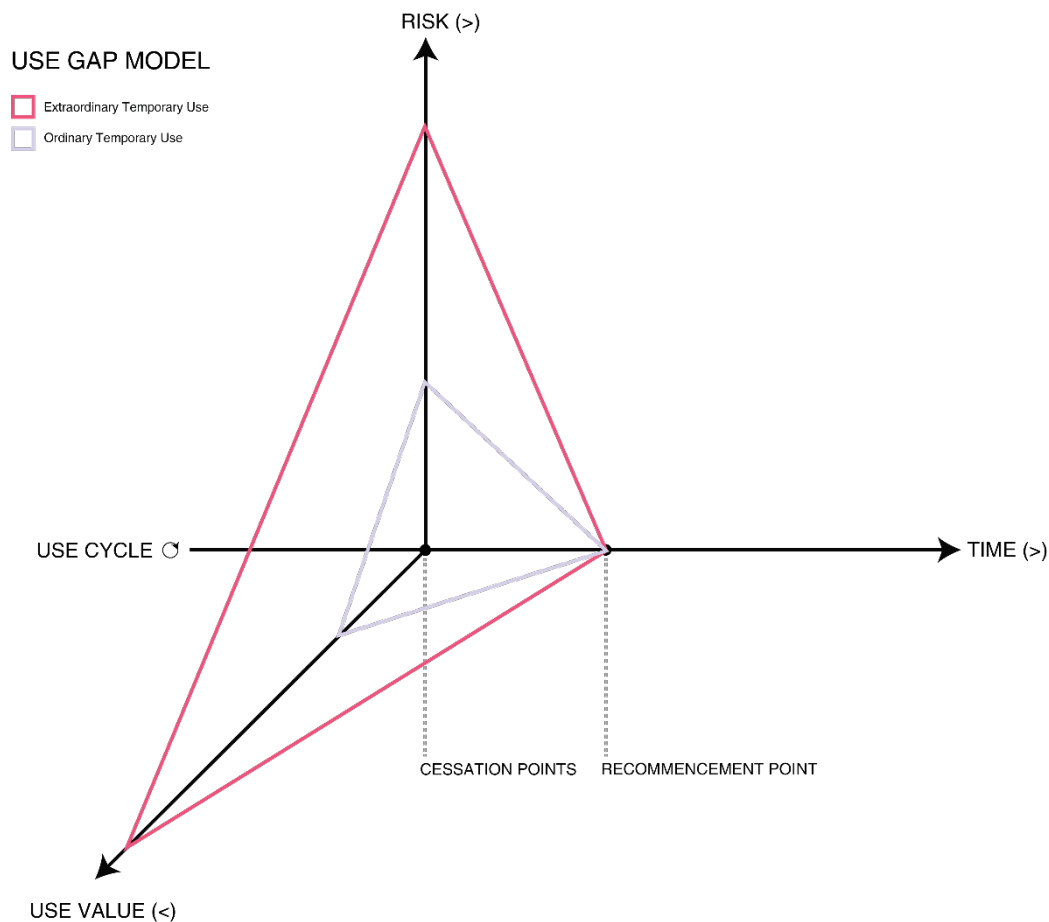
Figure 42: Original Conceptual Scenario

Ultimately, the original conceptual scenario was not representative of the perspectives of the development industry on extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary uses. Instead, it more accurately reflected the perspective of temporary users. Through Chapter 7's findings, a rationale for the positions of temporary users compared to those of decision makers, site owners and developers was established, building on the aforementioned frequency of withdrawn applications/instances. It was thus determined that, in multiple examples, it was temporary users, rather than the developers or property/land owners, who habitually found themselves engaged in complex, high risk and low reward situations.

Elite interviews with developers and site owners facilitated a new understanding of the variation between ordinary and extraordinary interim use, uncovering the presence of legal mechanisms adopted by these actors to ensure that extraordinary temporary solutions are at no greater risk of collapse than

are ordinary forms of temporary development (Figure 43). Through strict leasing, either type of temporary use presents similar risk to land owners and developers as both block land/property for a given period of time. Of more strategic significance for these actors was to ensure lease periods were kept to a minimum and that some form of recuperation, either of rates or holding charges, was generated. Thus, it was shown that the critical variables for the development industry were value and time. Unlike ordinary temporary uses, extraordinary temporary uses were not recognised simply for tangible benefits (like monetary value) and their role and function was seen more as covering a base rate of cost whilst providing intangible benefits (such as branding and marketing) (Figure 43). Unlike the scenario posited in the original conceptual framework (Figure 42), research findings show that perceptions of value were not unilateral amongst site owners and developers. Rather, the preference for one type of temporary use practice over another was dependent on localised externalities, such as ensuring investor profit or site readiness.

Evidence from the research illustrated that the limited timeframe commonly provided by site owners and developers for temporary uses saw extraordinary projects bear a disproportionate share of the potential risks, often without commensurate returns. Financial, social and physical risks were common manifestations of the reduced timeframes for temporary use projects of this type. Unlike ordinary temporary developments, extraordinary temporary solutions often required increased infrastructural requirements (e.g. mains access), greater levels of start-up investment and in many cases were responsible for ensuring the continued employment of staff. The limited timeframe meant promotional periods, the possibility to recuperate investment as well as the ability to make a profit, were considerably reduced.

For temporary users, the critical variable was time. With longer lease periods, both ordinary and extraordinary temporary use projects held better opportunities and prospects, reducing risk while increasing prospective value. Nonetheless, these factors were more acute for extraordinary temporary use projects than ordinary ones. This was mainly a result of the fact that ordinary projects were most commonly surface car parks on cleared land and, therefore, the infrastructure and investment requirements for these projects were much reduced by comparison to the elaborate, high-profile cases studied.

The findings demonstrate that risk and value were not autonomous. Rather, they were dependent on the cost of initiation of any project as well as the requirements to ensure project upkeep. Both of these parameters represented factors that were not predicted by the original conceptual model. The research confirmed that time, risk and value were of critical significance to the variation of gaps in the cycle of utilisation for land/property. Nevertheless, the original scenario was misplaced, reflecting the position and perspective of a single group of stakeholders, temporary users, particularly extraordinary temporary users. The observations derived from the data analysis suggest a need for two additional scenarios to be added to the conceptual model to more accurately reflect the broader viewpoints of stakeholders (decision makers, site owners and developers as well as temporary users). In combination, Figures 43-

44 address this requirement, showing the contrasting ways in which extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses are perceived by different development actors. Based on evidence from the research, Figure 43 demonstrates that both types of practice were almost equal in risk, yet ordinary temporary uses were commonly perceived to better generate financial revenue. Findings then showed that land/property owners and developers, depending on fluctuating externalities made rational decisions as to which practice best suited their purpose.
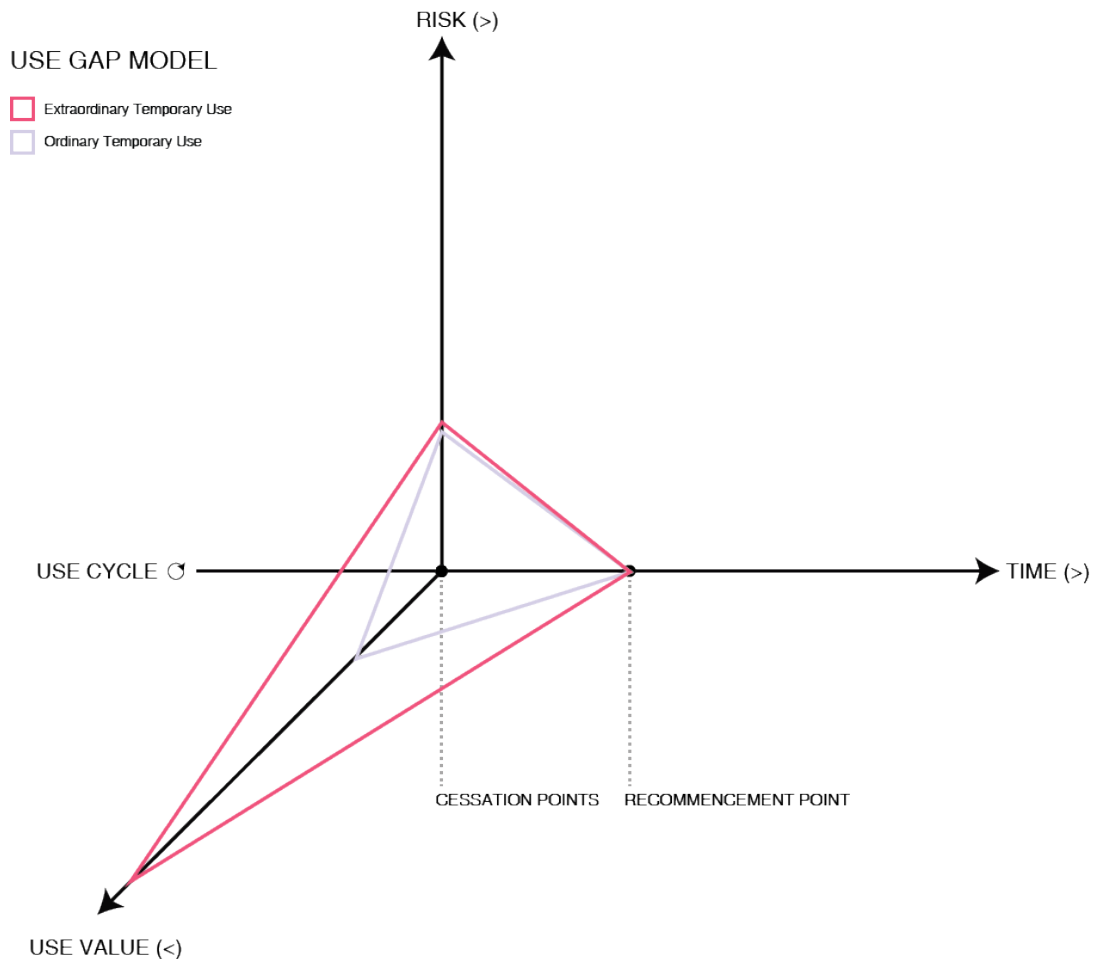
Figure 43: Extraordinary vs. Ordinary Temporary Use: Developer/Site Owners Perspective

Nevertheless, based on the research findings, Figure 44 demonstrates how extraordinary temporary uses could be better accommodated during a gap in use of land or property. As cases from Chapter 7 have illustrated, if the length of time for extraordinary temporary projects was sufficiently extensive, the level of potential risk and the ability to generate return could both be better addressed. Here, the location and function of land/property were deemed the significant fluctuating externality affecting the length of time given over to interim uses. Competitive markets comprising multiple landowners vying for the same investors compared to monopolies/single ownership locations demonstrated specific effects on the duration of the lease permitted to a temporary user. Similarly, the role of land/property – whether it was a strategic parcel forming part of a wider development prospectus or a small infill site – likewise influenced lease length. Evidence from the research suggests that these externalities carry significant

implications for the inclusion of extraordinary temporary uses amongst the regeneration process. Moreover, it has been detected that, depending on how users are managed, temporary use can either engender opportunities for creativity and innovation that attempt to build meaningful cross-sector partnerships in regeneration programmes or they can serve to protect the position of landowners and developers by limiting the scope for temporary users to secure longer-term benefits from regeneration.
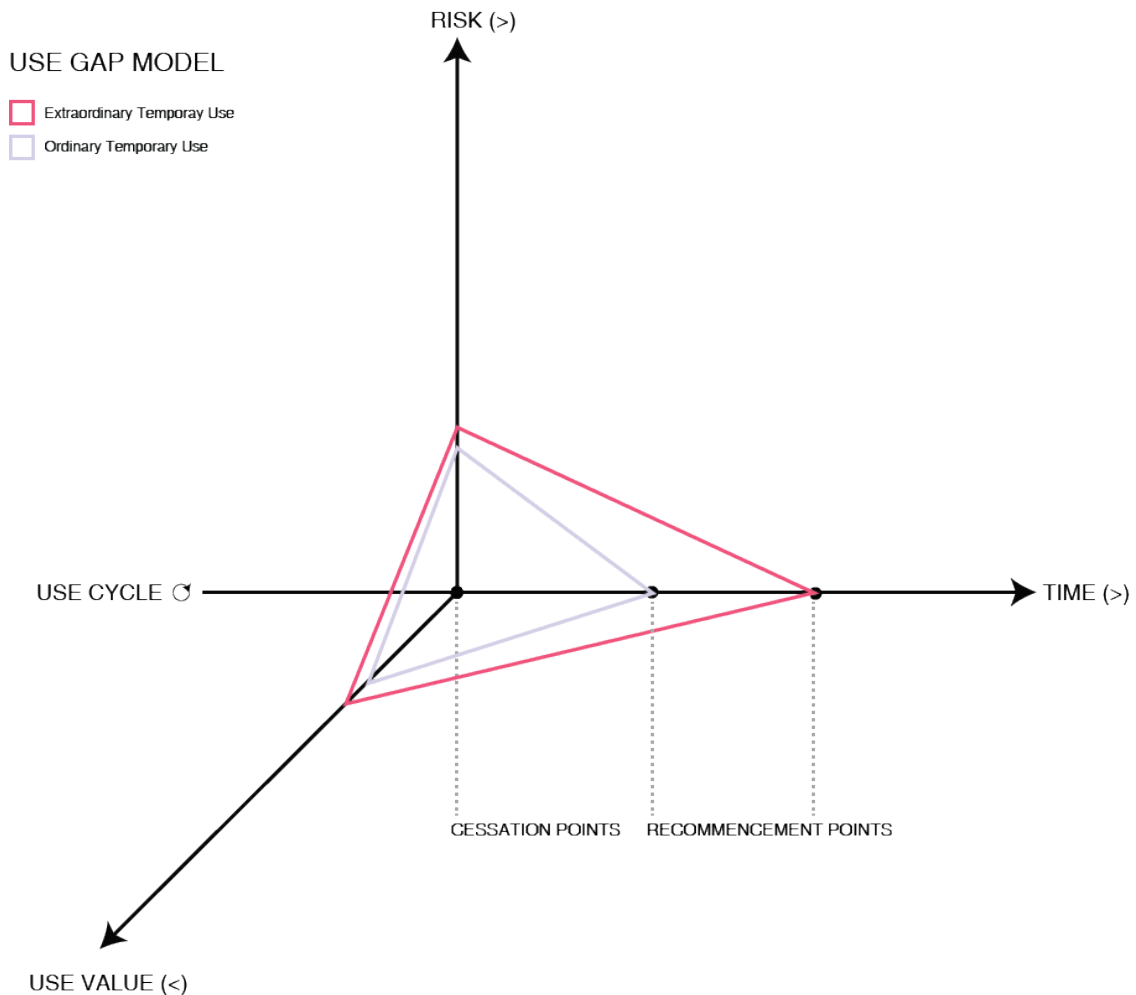
Figure 44: Extraordinary vs. Ordinary Temporary Use: Temporary Users Perspective

Summary

The above review of the conceptual framework's applicability for the study of the role and function of temporary use in development processes has demonstrated that, through the addition of two scenarios, variations in perspective by the multiple actors associated with urban regeneration and temporary use can be accounted for. Whilst the original scenario of the model still has some merit, in that it captured the perspective of extraordinary temporary users, it represented a position that did not fully reflect the findings stemming from the empirical components of the thesis. Moreover, experience across the core cities of England and in the case study cities of Bristol and Liverpool indicates that extraordinary uses

were less common than ordinary solutions, owing to the relatively higher levels of complexity and risks faced by these users.

Moreover, the limited timeframe that would appear to suit ordinary temporary development – such as surface car parking – was a critical factor in increasing the complexity and risk for extraordinary temporary use projects. When incorporated into the conceptual model, research findings suggested that length of lease and possibility of extension were of significance for extraordinary as opposed to ordinary temporary users, influencing their success. As Figure 44 suggests, a greater sensitivity to variations between extraordinary and ordinary projects by land owners, developers and decision makers could lead to more mutually exclusive benefits for the collective of actors associated with temporary development. The subsequent section of the chapter reflects on the implications of the research and its contribution to literature.

8.2 Research Contribution

This research has sought to contribute to three distinct fields of urban scholarly inquiry: temporary use; urban regeneration and the development process. It has done this through a study of the role and function of temporary use within the development process against the contextual backdrop of England's core cities over a set period of fifteen years – 2000-2015. The mixed method multi-scalar approach used has proved useful for unpacking the underlying characteristics of temporary use, the spatial patterning of the phenomenon, as well as the positions and responses to varied practices of temporary use in regeneration programmes. In so doing, the study has further refined understandings of the varied roles and functions of temporary development in cities. The following sections outline the contributions of the research, from the characteristics of temporary development and the spatial patterns of temporary solutions to the perceptions and approaches to temporary use from the development industry.

Characteristics of Temporary Development

The research tested a series of assumptions concerning the common characteristics of temporary development (see seminal texts such as Haydn and Temel, 2006; SfS 2007; Bishop and Williams, 2012 or Oswalt *et al.*, 2013). By introducing the conceptual dichotomy of extraordinary/ordinary temporary use, the thesis responded to widespread criticism that analyses of interim use overemphasise the particular at the expense of the general, and the pioneering at the expense of the everyday (see for example Munzner and Shaw, 2015). Captured through the dependent variable of type and independent variables of time, function, decision and occurrence, a systematic study of the core cities of England recorded the experiences of pioneering, extraordinary compared to everyday, ordinary temporary use solutions against multiple expectations set out in the literature.

The thesis demonstrated subjected to critical scrutiny some of the assumptions underlying the temporary use literature. The results of the applications dataset and regression modelling showed that

across the second tier cities of England, temporary use tended to be a planned activity dominated by the presence of the general, ordinary type. This contradicted two assumptions from the literature, one that temporary use was a spontaneously occurring, non-planned urban activity (see Desimini, 2015), and the other that temporary use was orientated exclusively toward leisure, trade, tourism, entertainment and cultural activities alone (see Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014 or Colomb, 2017). Instead, cultural creative activities – captured by the extraordinary temporary use category – were found to be uncommon. Introducing the concept of ordinary temporary use into the debate helped to raise awareness of the role and function of cultural creative/chocolate box temporary uses as an extraordinary practice. Nevertheless, through further analysis of the variables of time, function, decision and occurrence, it became possible to determine the underlying characteristics of the more marginal extraordinary temporary use practices as well as their ordinary, everyday counterparts. Thus, contrary to the predominant claims of the literature, this research has provided insight into the role and function of a broader spectrum of interim uses by analysing both the ordinary and extraordinary categories in tandem.

Analysing the context in which temporary use emerged across the eight cities demonstrated that the frequency of extraordinary practices increased during the economic recession and subsequent recovery period. Nevertheless, as with the pre-recession period, such extraordinary uses continued to be comparatively dwarfed by the presence of more mundane or ordinary forms of temporary development. The analysis questioned some of the key assumptions articulated in the existing literature, in two important respects. The first was that applications for extraordinary temporary use did in fact exist prior to the recession. Their existence calls into question the assumption that high-profile extraordinary uses are a new phenomenon, rooted in the response to economic downturn and diminishing public expenditure in the years after 2008 (Harris, 2015; Tonkiss, 2013a). Secondly, despite the increasing prevalence of extraordinary uses, the ordinary type remained dominant during the 2008-15 period. It can be argued on the basis of this that the existing literature places too great an emphasis on what in reality is a less established, highly stylised practice of temporary use, whilst ignoring the presence of more common but mundane forms of temporary urbanism.

When analysing the spaces appropriated for temporary uses, the perception of temporary use as a one-size-fits-all tool for the re-use of any under-utilised land, structures and residual space was challenged. It was, moreover, found that much of the existing literature on temporary urbanism underplays the complexities involved in the re-use of space. The prevalent assumption was that residual spaces and land were the preferred sites to accommodate extraordinary temporary uses. In contrast to the thrust of much of the literature, evidence from the research suggested that residual spaces and land were more common functions for the ordinary temporary use type. Applications for high profile, extraordinary uses, on the other hand, were found to gravitate more toward unused structures and public spaces. Thus, the findings outlined in this thesis call into question the assumption in previous research that land and residual spaces are more likely to accommodate extraordinary uses (Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015; Haid, 2016).

The view of temporary use as a radical, socially and environmentally sensitive approach that defies established models of regeneration was not reflected in the analysis of the applications dataset. Rather, it was found that statutory planning actors are generally inclined to approve temporary use proposals. The analysis was also able to question the view, expressed in some of the literature, that the controversial nature of proposed extraordinary uses means that decision makers and property agents have an aversion toward them (Shaw, 2005; Blummer, 2006; Hawke, 2009; Iveson 2013). Contrary to this assumption, evidence from the applications data revealed the number of refusals for extraordinary uses was low, though higher levels of withdrawals were witnessed instead. While the research evidence was unable to fully account for the reasoning behind these withdrawals, the limited quantity of high profile extraordinary temporary uses was, arguably, more readily related to frustration on the part of the temporary user with the planning system or its complexity, advice from associated planning officers recommending a withdrawal of the application or to decisions by users themselves. The combination of which might reflect antipathy on the part of decision makers more than to a rejection or aversion by land owners, case officers or property agents toward these uses/users. As with the previous variables, these findings once again were found to challenge contemporary accounts of the role and function of temporary use.

Unlike the other variables, the occurrence of temporary uses was a subject of debate within the literature. Some of the literature recognises temporary use as a purely short-term phenomenon, while other studies understand its potential to become long-term (Hentilä, 2003; SQW Consulting, 2010; Tonkiss, 2013a; Bishop, 2015). The analysis identified recurrence as the most common characteristic of temporary use. In fact, repeat as opposed to single applications for the same space were more common for extraordinary uses than ordinary uses.

Spatial Patterns of Temporary Solutions

Just as ordinary temporary uses were an under-researched topic, systematic studies of the spatial dimensions of temporary use were also few in number, notwithstanding isolated studies such as SfS (2007). With interim use increasingly visible as a regeneration technique in England, there was a need to engage in the study of its related locational properties (SQW, 2010; Bishop and Williams, 2012). As with any other form of land-use, such a scholarly undertaking would contribute to improved spatial knowledge on the concept in question (Wong *et al.*, 2015).

Across the literature, there was an emphasis on landmark or extraordinary temporary uses located in city centres. Generally, little attention had been paid to other urban areas (see, for example, Haydn and Temel, 2006; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Andres, 2013; O'Callaghan and Lawton, 2015; Moore-Cherry, 2016). This thesis addressed the lack of geographical diversity in existing research on temporary use through two methods. Firstly, nearest neighbourhood analysis was applied and, secondly, distribution and patterning analysis was conducted. Both of these measures represented new methodological approaches to the study of temporary urbanism, as no previous attempt had been made to develop a

statistical understanding of the spatial distribution of temporary development. Chapter 6, through average nearest neighbour analysis in the cities of Bristol and Liverpool, demonstrated a statistically significant clustering of temporary uses. Moreover, between the 15 tested categories associated with the five structural variables of temporary use, average nearest neighbour analysis showed that Bristol recorded a lesser degree of clustering compared to Liverpool (see Table 21 and Chart 6). Nevertheless, while spatial clustering contributed a number of outcomes, the analysis was restricted inasmuch as it was unable to account for categorical variation between the extraordinary and the ordinary temporary use types. Moreover, its spatial representation was limited. Consequently, spatial distribution and patterning analysis was introduced to map and analyse the frequency of temporary urbanism by type for each of the five structural variables.

Evidence from the mapping analysis demonstrated that extraordinary temporary uses were more commonly situated within the central area of cities, while ordinary temporary uses were more dispersed. The highest frequencies of extraordinary temporary uses over the fifteen-year period were located in cultural creative, tourist and commercial destinations at the heart of the two city centres. The vast majority of these spaces were located in principal regenerations areas. By contrast, the locational preferences for ordinary temporary use types were by no means as clear. This was likely a consequence of the overall preponderance of ordinary temporary uses in comparison to the sparsity of the extraordinary type. Spatial analysis of the type variable gave indications concerning the locational characteristics of temporary urbanism, thus extending previous research (see, for example, Hentilä, 2003; Blumner, 2006; Oswalt *et al.*, 2013; Colomb, 2012). Additionally, the connection between temporary use and regeneration was further refined, building on the literature in this area (Urban Catalyst, 2003; 2007; Andres, 2011; Bishop and Williams, 2012; Colomb, 2015). Central analysis saw two locations, Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter, emerge as distinctive due to their association with extraordinary and ordinary temporary development. Both constituted high-profile regeneration areas within either city.

Analysing the spatial distribution and patterning of different categories of temporary use within Bristol and Liverpool, as well as comparing the data of the two, helped to shed light on local experiences of temporary urbanism. Moreover, it helped to illuminate the role and function of temporary use in both cities over the fifteen year study period. Through this analysis the highly centralised distribution of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary uses was evident, as was their clustering in central regeneration areas like Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter. The variables of time, function of space, decision as well as duration demonstrated how this connection could vary.

Temporary Use and the Development Industry

This thesis has demonstrated how the shape and form of the local development process were critical to the ways in which temporary use evolved as part of regeneration programmes in British cities (see also Madanipour, 2017a). The analysis revealed how regeneration actor outlooks on temporary land

use varied over time as institutional agendas shifted and urban economic circumstances changed. In Bristol, there was ambivalence among policy actors with regard to temporary use, at times championing landmark limited-life developments but on other occasions expressing misgivings about the obstructive impact on permanent development. In the case of Liverpool, regeneration policy actors were found to have eschewed the directive approach to temporary use evident as a (disputed) part of the Temple Quarter strategy. Instead, encouragement for temporary use had a more expedient rationale, intended mainly as a counter-cyclical measure to ameliorate land and property market instability. While the consensus was that this was an effective tactic that helped regeneration to continue, it also left some temporary users exposed to the vicissitudes of the market, protected only by rhetorical reassurances from policy actors.

A conclusion in this respect from both case studies is therefore that temporary users bear a disproportionate share of the potential risks associated with development, often without commensurate reward. This may apply in particular in generally more buoyant urban economic contexts, like Bristol's, where interview responses suggested that developers are in a stronger position to override the wishes of other actors in the development process, and temporary users in particular (see also Colomb, 2012; 2017). The uneven way in which risk is distributed suggests that existing accounts of the prefigurative potential for meanwhile land-use to contribute to regeneration strategy underestimate the extent to which more powerful actors are able to exert leverage over others. While there was empirical evidence from interview data in Bristol about temporary users being displaced in this way, even in the less fraught context of Liverpool there was a clear sense of vulnerability among interviewees that they might at some point be uprooted should land and property market conditions improve.

Reflecting this market-oriented philosophy, in both cities – but especially in Bristol – there was evidence of the deployment of mobile temporary use as a means to incentivise development by filling voids on difficult to develop land, rather than as means of encouraging new innovative or progressive land uses. The tactics adopted in both cities in this sense were a reflection of the highly constrained political and fiscal environment in which policy is framed, resulting in forms of intervention that accord to what Peck (2014: 398) terms "…pragmatic imitation rather than path-altering innovation".

These findings in both case study areas indicate that recognising the locally specific and multidimensional nature of development processes and appreciating the complexities of the interrelationships between the actors involved is important when trying to understand the role and function of temporary use. As Madanipour (2017a) argues, there is a need to appreciate the different ways in which temporary use is perceived, and strategies to manage it are performed, by a range of actors operating in different urban economic and political contexts. The evidence presented in Chapter 7 reveals that, while superficially the principle of meanwhile use as a solution to localised land market dysfunctionality is one to which a range of actors can readily commit, the sometimes contradictory and capricious standpoints of different actors, and the palpable tensions between them, necessitate a

deeper understanding of the variable logics that underpin the adoption of temporary solutions in specific places and times.

8.3 Areas for Future Research

The research on which the thesis reports is exploratory in nature, focusing on an approach to regeneration that remains in its infancy and about which there is as yet only a nascent literature. As such, the thesis reveals a number of potential areas on which future research could profitably focus and future regeneration could draw. Data were drawn from the applications dataset for second tier or 'core' cities of England, but there may be opportunities for further research in order to complete the picture of the role and function of temporary use in other types of urban area and beyond. For example, future explorations on the role and function of temporary urbanism in England could investigate the country's third tier cities in order to determine if the results are comparable or whether discrepancies with the current study occur. In a similar vein, there is an opportunity to understand whether the research discussed in this thesis is unique to the English planning system and development process or whether other systems where planning applications data are readily available display similar relationships between extraordinary/ordinary temporary uses and the independent variables of time, function, decision and occurrence. Examples of such contexts could include Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland.

Analysis of the applications dataset demonstrated that extraordinary temporary use was a relatively recent phenomenon. An extension of the dataset from 2000-15 to, for example, 2020 might yield further instances of this type of temporary use, providing an opportunity not only to corroborate the results of this study but also to extend consideration of the ways in which temporary uses shift in number and form across an economic cycle. Moreover, this research developed various statistical models to appreciate the nuances of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary use applications. Nevertheless, owing to the research focus, only one model – 3-way main effects – was included in the empirical discussion of Chapter 5. An avenue for future research could be to explore the interactions of all of the developed models, as these have the potential to shed further light on the relationship between the dependent and independent variables.

Owing to data processing restrictions, this study was confined to two selected cities at the meso scale, Bristol and Liverpool. Easting and northing mapping of extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses in a broader range of cities could add a complementary dimension to the mapping featured in this research. By including more cities, awareness of the spatiality of temporary urbanism could be improved, providing more comparable detail on the patterning and distribution of extraordinary and ordinary instances recorded by this thesis. The GIS modelling featured within Chapter 6 was constrained because geo-processing tools – including spatial statistics tools such as nearest neighbour – were incapable of returning consequential results if the sample size fell below 30 (ArcMap, 2017). Given that the number of occurrences of the extraordinary type was finite, statistical clustering of the independent variables had to be executed by category (i.e. 2000-07 or 2008-15) as opposed to the more intricate

analysis of the independent variables (time, function, decision and occurrence) by the dependent (type). Again, an extension of the dataset to include the years 2016-20, and thus more instances of temporary use, could address this geoprocessing restriction, enabling statistical clustering analysis to be extended.

The research focus of this thesis on urban regeneration meant that the distribution analysis featured in Chapter 6 concentrated on the patterning of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary development within the centre of cities. Opportunities exist to study temporary urbanism in more peripheral areas, to include, for instance, city fringes and suburban locations. Such analysis could complement the findings of this research by understanding the role and function of temporary use outside of the central city and, at the same time, provide more detail on temporary solutions in urban peripheries.

The targeting of senior officials and temporary users across such a prolonged study period, 2000-15, limited access to leading actors as part of the case study research associated with Chapter 7. Interviewee participation was limited to changes in personnel within key organisations, urban policy reforms, and structural changes in the governance of urban regeneration. Obtaining interviews for the initial portion of the study period (2000-07) was an especial challenge in Liverpool, where the Creative Quarter's RopeWalks was linked to a regeneration programme of the late 1990s. Some officials had difficulty in commenting as they were no longer associated with the organisation or initiative in question, whilst other elite actors had since retired. Additionally, given the limited tenure of temporary use organisations, further difficulties arose pertaining to the access of certain temporary users. Some projects were active only during specific times (e.g. the Botanic Garden open from March – September), while other projects had been inactive for a number of years. At the same time, this situation raised important considerations in the study of temporary urbanism: namely, the significance of time itself, as interviewees' powers of recollection limited the ability to reconstruct a full picture of the experience of past regeneration efforts.

Finally, the case study research focused in particular on the Temple Quarter and Creative Quarter. Future study of multiple regeneration initiatives could enable a deeper understanding of the variable logics that underpin the adoption of temporary solutions in specific places and times.

8.4 The Role and Function of Temporary Use in Urban Regeneration

This research has employed a mixed method, multi-scalar approach to explore the role and function of temporary use as part of the process of urban regeneration. By assessing the experience of the core cities of England, it has highlighted the interactive dynamics between extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses and their role in resolving (or ameliorating) the problem of short-term voids in the regeneration process. The research has found that extraordinary temporary uses are a marginal but emerging practice of land and property re-use in the context studied. When the study was initiated,

high-profile examples were more commonly centralised in cities, with disproportionately large shares in principal regeneration areas. Case study evidence revealed this connection to urban renewal to be dependent on how the shape and form of local development processes evolved and how regeneration actors' outlooks on temporary use varied over time, as institutional agendas shifted and urban economic circumstances changed. The combination served to address the aim and associated objectives of the thesis (see Table 28).

Table 28: How the Research Aim and Objectives of the Thesis were Addressed

Aim: The aim of this research was to examine critically the role and function of temporary use in urban regeneration.	
Five objectives were developed to achieve this aim:	
Objective 1: Critically review the theoretical relationship between the process of urban regeneration/renewal and the temporary use of space in order to formulate a conceptual model.	▪ This was achieved through an examination of the current theoretical and practical understandings of temporary use, urban regeneration and the development process, in Chapters 2 and 3.
Objective 2: Test the applicability of the model across the eight Core Cities of England (2000-2015) by assessing the extent to which temporary uses differ based on their underlying characteristics.	▪ This was addressed through Phase 1 of the research methodology (Dataset Construction and Multinomial Logistic Regression). Here, Chapter 5 employed statistical modelling of planning applications data - associated with 5,890 applications for temporary use across the core cities over the fifteen year period of 2000-2015 - to test a series of key assumptions associated with the temporary use phenomenon. In doing so, Chapter 5 defined the characteristics of interim uses across British cities and identified two core cities of particular interest for subsequent analyses.
Objective 3: Undertake a spatial analysis of the clustering, distribution and patterning of temporary use through case study investigation in two Core Cities, Bristol and Liverpool (2000-2015).	▪ This was achieved through Phase 2 of the research methodology (Nearest Neighbour Analysis and GIS Mapping), whereby Chapter 6 examined the spatial clustering, distribution and patterning of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary use practices in two core cities Bristol and Liverpool, identifying two regeneration initiatives for case study research. Through this analysis the highly centralised distribution of extraordinary compared to ordinary temporary uses was evident, as was their clustering in central regeneration areas like Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter.
Objective 4: Critically assess the perspectives, positions and responses to temporary use taken by the different institutional, organisational and community bodies associated with such practices within the case study cities Bristol and Liverpool.	▪ This was addressed through Phase 3 of the research methodology (Google Earth Case-study Identification and Elite Interviews). In doing so, Chapter 7 explored the perspectives, positions and responses adopted toward temporary use practices by actors associated with temporary urbanism in two central regeneration initiatives, Bristol's Temple Quarter and Liverpool's Creative Quarter. The findings in both case study areas indicated that recognising the locally specific and multidimensional nature of development processes and appreciating the complexities of the interrelationships between the actors involved is important when trying to understand the role and function of temporary use.
Objective 5: Synthesise the research findings to critically examine the implications of temporary use within the regeneration/renewal of city spaces within England's Core Cities, focusing in particular on Bristol and Liverpool.	▪ Chapter 8 synthesised the outputs of the three empirical chapters (5-7) to examine critically the implications of the research findings. In doing so, it addressed Objective 5 and revealed that only by understanding the evolution of local structures and actions, over time and across space, can the nature and form of temporary development be better appreciated and strategies to successfully manage it developed.

The use gap framework developed for this research proved to be a useful method of analysis. The conceptual emphasis on the variation between extraordinary and ordinary temporary uses and their effects on the interrelating variables of time, risk and value provided a comprehensive representation of the rationale behind the variation in stakeholder perspectives on temporary use (i.e. between site owners and temporary users). It helped elucidate the complexities linked to disuse as well as the deployment of mobile temporary use as a means to incentivise development and offset voids. The

framework also served as a means of assessing the effect of assorted perspectives on each conceptual component, better appreciating the subtleties of the critical variables influencing groups of stakeholders and how gaps in use can differ as a consequence of fluctuating externalities such as ownership, holding rates or lease lengths.

Overall, a dichotomy has been found to exist regarding temporary use and urban regeneration wherein the function of temporary development in the context of England's second tier cities witnessed a shift in emphasis from ordinary, everyday forms of interim use toward cultural-creative, extraordinary temporary use solutions. Ultimately, evidence showed a change of perspective toward temporary use following the financial crises of 2007-08 and subsequent recessions. This resembled examples of the phenomenon documented in the research literature in other international contexts (see, for example, Haydn and Temel, 2006; Colomb, 2012; Andres, 2013; Bishop and Williams, 2013 and Oswalt *et al.*, 2013). Nevertheless, the identification of the dichotomy give rise to a greater appreciation of the role of extraordinary forms of temporary development in contrast to their more mundane, ordinary equivalents, something that had not featured in existing literature.

The thesis has found that the take up of high-profile interim uses was limited by comparison to their more mundane counterparts in British cities. Even in spite of distinct statistical and spatial mapping evidence supporting significant increases from 2000-07 to 2008-15 (highlighted in Chapters 5 and 6), extraordinary uses represented only 626 cases across a geographical area equivalent to 1,739km^2. Innovative, creative examples of temporary use have been considered to be an effective method of alleviating the negative socio-economic consequences of disuse, yet limitations to their effectiveness were recorded (similar to Desimini, 2015). Where extraordinary forms of temporary use have been used, it was shown that instances rarely extended beyond the central city core.

Critical examination of experiences of the reuse of land on a temporary basis as part of regeneration programmes in Chapter 7 showed how perspectives on temporary use can valorise and victimise extraordinary forms of temporary development. Temporary use was valorised primarily from an economic perspective, evidenced by the deployment of mobile temporary use as a means to incentivise development rather than as means of encouraging new, innovative or progressive land uses. Whilst the consensus on temporary use is that it is an effective tactic to assist the continuation of regeneration, it also left some temporary users exposed to the vicissitudes of the market. Extraordinary users bore a disproportionate share of the potential risks associated with development, often without commensurate reward. This illustrated how temporary use can, at once, engender opportunity for creativity and innovation as part of the regeneration process but, also, demonstrates how risk-shifting rationalities in the development industry can mean that economic, social and political costs accrue inordinately for temporary users (Peck, 2012).

The research indicates that extraordinary temporary use is a relatively new method to incentivise regeneration in British cities. Yet, despite the explicit lack of experience, findings at the mirco scale

suggest that recognising the locally specific and multi-dimensional nature of development processes and appreciating the complexities of the interrelationships between the actors involved is critically important in trying to understand the role and function of temporary use (see also Moore-Cherry and McCarthy, 2016 and Madanipour, 2017a). Thus, by understanding the evolution of local structures and actions, over time and across space, the nature and form of temporary development can be better appreciated and strategies to successfully manage it developed.

8.5 Reflections on the PhD Process

Despite wanting to study and explore the role of innovative, creative temporary uses on previously developed sites, I found it somewhat surprising and almost frustrating that accounts on temporary solutions were dominated by high profile, extraordinary versions without any reference to the presence of ordinary forms of temporary development. Actually, it became clear to me early on in the PhD process that if I wanted to develop an appreciation of the role and function of these more creative uses in urban regeneration, I would have to test them against what I saw as more common, standardised forms of interim use, such as surface car parking. Thus, my initial positionality of temporary use champion changed quite dramatically, shifting to one promoting a progressively critical take on these meanwhile urban uses that had become more and more popular over the course of my four years researching the topic.

As with the initial research proposal (see Preface), use of a dataset to track or measure the quantity of temporary uses to disused sites/land was of particular importance to my position on temporary urban solutions. I wanted to understand the extent to which temporary uses of this creative type – so readily promoted by academic, media and professional accounts of the phenomenon – compared to those of the surface car parks that were commonly dotted across British city centres. It became clear that unlike the initial proposal, NLUD – due to a variety of issues including lack of contemporary data (post 2012) as well as nonresponse from a number of prominent local authorities (such as Manchester) – would not be appropriate. Instead a more nuanced dataset was required. From my time as a planning consultant, I knew the wealth of readily available detail that could be obtained from planning applications data, thus it was a natural step to attempt to use the Planning Portal interface/those of the eight core cities to comb and compile datasets on temporary development. Nevertheless, I quickly realised why such a task had not been attempted previously as the extraction, coding and refining of these datasets took over five months. Similarly, I also realised why spatial appreciations of temporary development were limited, as the extraction of Easting and Northing coordinates required to map the applications in Bristol and Liverpool alone took an additional two months. The amount of time and resources available to me meant two cities would be the maximum I could analyse over the second and third phase of the research.

While taxing, this exercise proved to be invaluable in testing my position on temporary development, the dataset, maps and corresponding case study analysis returned statistical, spatial as well as localised outcomes which ultimately proved my hypothesis, that extraordinary, high profile temporary

solutions were piecemeal compared to ordinary more mundane versions of the phenomenon. Moreover, the findings enabled a number of conclusions to be made on the characteristics of temporary use and the spatial patterns of interim solutions, as well as the perspectives of the development industry on ordinary compared to extraordinary versions of the phenomena. The combination represented the progressively critical take I set out to achieve at the beginning of the PhD process.

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