

# Introduction

# HOMEBAKED: A Perfect Recipe

A journey of learning how to take responsibility together.

July 2014

Liverpool Biennial 2014 is opening and the bakery has just gone through its third refurbishment. The CLT is making definite plans for the development of housing in the rest of the block. Homebaked is now independent as an organisation and many of the most difficult hurdles have been overcome. This seems a good time to take stock. We've been trying to get this journal up before the Biennial opening, but as always, things have taken longer than expected. However, as we all know, you need to give things time to rise.

Descriptions of the project have been sent around in many forms: funding bids, reviews, poetry, personal letters, performance scripts, evaluation, building and planning reports, in-depth writing by imbedded researchers and, of course, recipes. Some of them are part of this journal, others of the extended archive of 2Up 2Down/Homebaked.

As an introduction, here we look back on some of the determining steps that we've taken along the journey of what is now called Homebaked.

One of the first things we did when setting up camp in the former Mitchell's bakery in February 2011 was to put up a timeline, as a frieze running along the wall of the front space. This twofold timeline marked the steps that needed to be taken, both in the social and in the building process spanning 2011–2014, in an attempt to map the way in which the 'a small-scale alternative' to the very apparent failure of Housing Market Renewal Initiative could be built for and with the community. Looking back, the timeline seems quite an accurate mapping of the actual journey, although the road has been curvier and bumpier to travel, and it's still continuing.

The journal you're about to read might give you an idea of some of these bumps, the moments when we seemed stuck in a loop and the freewheeling downhill. Like all such accounts, this one is slightly subjective, developing from the I that is Jeanne van Heeswijk to a we that stands for a growing and changing Community of Homebaked. When putting this account together even we didn't always agree on the exact succession of things and had to ask ourselves and others: how did this happen? For this journal, we commissioned people from within the project, as well as those who witnessed it from the outside. Their voices are woven into this narrative.

This is not a project – it is a communal on-going process

End of 2009

The first visits with the Biennial staff to the Anfield/Breckfield area. Although the north of Liverpool isn't unfamiliar territory to me, since I'd worked in Bootle in the past when trying to set up a project with FACT, the actual state of the Anfield/Breckfield area, the boarded-up houses, the fragmented and displaced community, is overwhelming.

They show me Granton Road (the birthplace of one of our members, as I find out later, who will become an integral part of the journey). They show me the small village green that the Biennial had used the summer before to hold a community fair as a result of workshops done with NEET kids (young people not in employment or education) on imagining alternative uses for the area. Interesting collages had come out of one of the workshops, led by a local architect.

For the rest of my visit, I'm accompanied by an artist who was born and raised in the area, and although she's reluctant to give me the nitty-gritty details of what it meant to grow up here, her way of formulating the tensions and conflicts in the area are a great insight. She's especially cautious since recent television programmes such as 'The Secret Millionaire' have been built on the stereotypically negative image of violence, drug-abuse, copper theft and the recurrent fires that some people think were actively enforced in order to roll out the red carpet for the Renewal plan.

As Jayne Lawless would later say in our interview while walking through Granton Road: 'The way I understand it is that there was a big pot of gold at the European union. In order to access this pot the area had to tick many boxes in the magical world of deprivation. So suddenly we were told all the time that we were from this deprived area. I'm not deprived. I don't feel deprived. We've all got food and clothes, both parents work. How am I deprived?'

In [Becoming Homebaked Samantha Jones](#) describes the process:

*Homebaked has itself understood the importance of slow learning and cumulative change through this longitudinal model ... This open and long-term modality has been a difficult commitment to retain in the face of the urgency, and even desperation, that characterises the needs of the local residents of Anfield as regeneration strategies shift and change and continue to threaten not only Homebaked but also their own homes. But it has been crucial that Homebaked, its board, volunteers and members, have accepted this as a historic and ever-present normative reality in which to exist, so as to guarantee resilience against the ongoing risk that the needs of large corporations may seek to obliterate the needs of the collective.*

### Beginning of 2010

Back home, I'm thinking about a possible intervention. The thing that keeps haunting me is the state of despair of the area and the fact that if anything could or should be done, it has to be something that creates change on the ground level and in a structural way. A first proposal sent to the Biennial takes the history of the work already done by them as a starting point. It's formulated as 'a live building competition for TV' and titled 'Matters in Your Own Hands'.

*Youngsters will be challenged to take matters of their living surroundings in their own hand. This will be done in the format of a building competition. Two teams will be formed consisting of youngsters, family members ... and experts in housing, such as young designers, artists and architects ... Each group is given one block to work with. Over the period of time the groups design and renovate the block according to their idea of community living, working and playing. At the end of the process a completely renovated and inhabitable block will be ready ... For each team a youngster homeowners' organisation will be set up and a collective self-built initiative construction will be created.*

It's a first attempt to create a temporary framework in which to start working in the area; a frame of questions that I call a 'field of interactions'; temporary territories to play with, confront and discuss in. For this, a set of questions that circumscribe particular problematics or tensions has to be defined: questions about publicness, social interaction and politics, asking, how can places become public again – platforms for meeting, discussion, and conflict?

According to Paul O'Neill, we might also understand participation not as a relation or social encounter with artistic production, but as a socialised process necessary for art's co-production, in which negotiations with people and places are durationally specific, yet intentionally resistant to any prescribed outcomes, particularly within the context of urbanisation processes.

I take into account the people I've met and the questions they've had, at the same time trying to persuade them to join the journey. Is it possible to portray the area differently and show the resilience that's still there? How to create a small-scale alternative? How to work not only with NEET kids but also with young people from youth centres and schools? How to make it a cross-generational project? How to convince the city to give over a block of houses to begin working on? How to build teams?

We start with workshops in the community centres ABBC and BENEK, the leaders of which are invited onto the steering group of the project, working with young people again on looking at Granton Road and possible houses that could be created. The local architect (URBED) joins the team, and for the years to come will lead an amazing set of thorough design and building workshops, putting sustainable development both environmentally as well as socially at the core of the work.

'Housing is the battlefield of our time and the house is its monument' appears as a slogan. Behind the scenes, negotiations about a block to work with are ongoing. It becomes clear that if we don't want to make

a temporary intervention but implement a more durational project it can't be on Granton Road since the street is situated in zones 1–4, which are already earmarked for demolition and where most houses have already been put under CPO (Compulsory Purchase Order). We start to talk about a block of houses in zone 6–7 (now called The Anfield Village) instead. Meeting after meeting with Housing cooperatives, the City Council and the development company, skillfully orchestrated by the Biennial staff, turn out to be dead ends. They're all charmed by the idea but don't seem to want to give an inch of territory back to the community.

### January 2011

The Mitchell's bakery, an important landmark in the community, has closed and a sign on the door reads. 'We tried to stick it out, but we can't. God bless you for your custom'. Since it's an important place in the community, we negotiate a temporary lease on the building with the Mitchell family and make it our project's base camp. In this way, the block of which the bakery was at the head becomes the ground of our struggles.

In *Taking Space*, Don Mitchell writes:

*there's a reason why it's so exciting when people take over spaces – disused buildings, abandoned lots and public sites – and either temporarily or permanently make them their own. The reason is that such occupation disrupts the logic of capital as it seeks to produce cities in its own image, a process, we are told over and over again, for which there is no alternative ... The taking of public spaces shows that there are alternatives; it disrupts, sometimes quite radically, the capitalist production of space.*

The former bakery is turning into a meeting space. We start to invite more people to join us. The young people begin redesigning the actual site. And people drop in daily, asking when they can buy bread again. This sparks the desire to reopen the bakery.

Different organisational forms are discussed and a steep learning curve starts for all involved, trying to find out about alternative models of co-owning and managing land and houses. In the end we settle for the model of Community Land Trusts (CLTs). These are non-profit, community-based organisations, run by volunteers, that develop housing, workspaces, community facilities or other assets that meet the needs of the area, are owned and controlled by the community and are made available at permanently affordable levels. The CLT model has its roots in the cooperative movement and garden cities of the nineteenth century, and has been extensively tested as an effective means for collective ownership in deprived communities in the US. More recently, CLTs have been used by rural communities in the UK to provide much-needed affordable housing for local families. This model was chosen because it presents the opportunity for an urban community to use the potential of the Localism Bill for significant social benefit and impact, and because it allows genuine community ownership of the organisation. Homebaked becomes one of the first urban CLTs in the UK. Many have followed since.

In *Envisioning Public Cooperative Housing*, Gabriela Rendon speaks about a similar situation in New York City:

*Envisioning new housing paradigms amidst the current housing crisis may be overwhelming and sometimes disempowering for communities in large urban areas dominated by profit-driven development, as is the case with New York City ... To reclaim the city it is necessary to learn from successful experiences leading to housing justice and co-producing innovative processes achieving new housing paradigms. There is no perfect formula to embark on such an ambitious task, but the following actions can be adopted not only in this thrilling urban area but also in other cities facing the same problems and having similar capacities.*

The bakery building and adjacent block remain demarcated under a clearance order, meaning that they're officially still earmarked for demolition and could be handed a compulsory purchase order at any time. We want to have the order lifted and buy the building. More negotiations behind the scenes; the situation in Anfield remains frozen.

### Beginning of 2012

So far, the idea has been to work with an existing local entrepreneur to open the café and bakery. Now, a group establishes within the slowly growing Homebaked community who want to reopen the bakery themselves as a co-operative and social enterprise. Internal negotiations are made with the Biennial – do they trust the community that’s forming to go this far? In the end, they do. The group is asked to make a proposal. But there’s also discussion within the group itself. Are we ready to step up the responsibility?

With the support of the co-operative movement, we go through a process of learning and planning. The first business plan is put together and finally, in June, the Homebaked Cooperative Anfield Limited is established.

### Summer 2012

Liverpool Biennial is about to open in September and we want to take the opportunity to be present. We don’t want to be seen as a dot on an exhibition map, a ‘temporary café meeting space’, but rather to tell how the city’s failed politics effect the daily lives of people who’ve been displaced or are still stuck in decaying housing. The format we choose is a performative guided tour. *The Anfield Home Tour* takes visitors from the city-centre main exhibition venue to Anfield through a historic landscape of clearance and displacement, meeting protagonists from the project on the way and in their houses, ending up at the bakery where all will sit down and discuss the situation. The tour is completely booked out for months. We have to put on extra performances. It generates enormous attention and focuses on the struggle of the community, giving people a voice and strengthening their ownership of the narrative.

In Performance, participation and (owning) narrative, Tim Jeeves, describes:

*‘The Anfield Home Tour’ gave voice to the people with, arguably, the most entitlement to the area: those whose identities are meshed with the bricks and mortar of the houses bought through the Housing Market Renewal Initiative (HMRI). The significance of this act of voicing narrative, (syn)aesthetically or otherwise, can be used to intervene in assertions of ownership, change the story that is told, and also alter claims to ownership.*

### November 2012

The story of the bakery as a place of resistance starts spreading nationally and internationally, which encourages us to start a crowd-funding campaign called ‘An Oven at the Heart of Anfield’ in order to buy the needed oven and kitchen appliances to supply the bakery. The campaign is hugely successful, giving the bakery group a lot of momentum. Throughout this time we start to be open on match days, with people bringing in baked goods to give out for donations. Our Twitter following is growing.

After the initial fit-out of the bakery as a project-space for test-driving the bakery business and making the space suitable for welcoming the public, Homebaked Co-operative Anfield starts a ‘warm-up’ phase of test-trading, market research and product development at the bakery, alongside organising community and engagement events.

More and more people are joining us. Baking turns out to be a direct (easy) way into what, in the eyes of a lot of people had still been a project that was either ‘too complex’ or ‘Art’ and in that sense not ‘real’.

Every day more people stop by. Business plans are fine-tuned and the first talks on hiring bakers and café staff are held. Also the first ruptures in the group take place as some of the people of the first hour find themselves overwhelmed by the newcomers. The first signs of fatigue are showing. Sometimes it feels as if our story is stronger than us. It’s time to actually bake bread now. Are we going to be able to live up to it?

In 2Up 2Down/Homebaked and the Symbolic Media Narrative, Sue Bell Yank notes:

*Becoming media-savvy is a necessity for nearly everyone today, and it is very difficult to give up control of the symbolic media narrative in favour of the actual on-the-ground work, because it seems that one may determine the other ... A symbolic counterattack on prevailing narratives, carefully calibrated through self-branding and actualisation, can shift understanding and pave the way for progress, as surely as baking bread or laying down brick.*

### Summer 2013

The Community Land Trust has been awarded funding from the Empty Homes Grant and Social Investment Bank to start the building process of the bakery and the flats above. The bakery is ready to open in October with a team of staff. But in the background the unresolved issue of the ownership of the building and the clearance order that is pending on it looms. Whilst still renting from the Mitchells, we negotiate buying the building from them, at the same time trying to get the clearance order lifted by the city council. The plans for a new masterplan for Anfield, 'The Anfield Project', are made public. We're not on the map. Along with the rest of the high street, our block is to be demolished. We ask what the plans for our stretch are and who will build on it. There's no answer. Caught in a loop, we can't spend our funding on refurbishing a building that we don't own, but nobody wants to invest in a building that's threatened with demolition. Behind the bakery, the demolition begins. Granton Road is going.

Homebaked is asked to take part in Future City Forum organised by Liverpool Biennial. 'We Are Here to Stay' is planned as a one-day performative event where the individual voices of Homebaked unite and allow the audience to piece together our collective journey. We start off the process with a workshop. It's a big round table, with protagonists from the past and the now of Homebaked. We try to tell the story in chronological order person by person. At the end we share the news of the pending Compulsory Purchase Order.

Over the next weeks, people go in groups to speak to different councilors and the local MPs to make sure our communal efforts are being noticed and to ask for Homebaked to be taken into the new master plan for the area. This is the moment when local people take over the political negotiations.

The Board of the Community Land Trust is being reinforced with people with skills, expertise and connections to handle the difficult negotiations. And we decide to manifest physically by opening the bakery as a business. We do only the most necessary work on the building to bring it up to standard. We complete the shop fit by ourselves with lots of volunteers, partly using materials we find in the building. At the same time, the Biennial is slowly stepping back, handing responsibility over to the CLT. We're struggling daily, but somehow we manage to cope. We're exhausted, but new people turn up and step into the gap.

### October 2013

The bakery is open for business and now working six days a week. The potential initial capital development of Homebaked CLT has been a movable feast over the past six months due to the changing politics. Originally, Homebaked CLT had been looking solely at the development of 193–199 Oakfield Road as a site for the development of a social enterprise, the bakery, and associated sustainable and affordable homes for 10 to 14 local people. We're in negotiations with the council and we decide to offer them a solution for the entire block. If they're absolutely set on demolishing, we'll build new, so long as we can keep the bakery building and integrate it into the new-build mixed-use scheme that would include affordable housing, retail and the use of the old rec in the back for urban growing and recreation under the stewardship of Homebaked.

### January 2014

Discussions with LCC have been regular and a draft Heads of Terms agreement is now being finalised with them around the ambitions of Homebaked CLT. This includes the purchase of the bakery property by LCC from the current owners and then gifting the property to the CLT to refurbish and develop. Importantly, the Heads of Terms agreement also allows for the retention of the bakery property in some form, with an ambition to create a larger and more imaginative project. This is critical and will enable meeting the terms of the funding already secured through SIB and the Empty Homes agency.

In *A Creative Alternative?* Kenn Taylor states:

*Power brokers need to be engaged and convinced that the system needs to shift and absorb these new ideas. In undertaking such engagement, projects like these may risk losing their outsider power, but*

*they gain the potential to change many more lives and even of becoming new orthodoxies. That is, of course, until the need arises for the next perforation from outside of the prevailing order.*

July 2014

The final refurbishment of the bakery is finished. It looks great. The complex process and the business interruption nearly killed the bakery, but it looks as if we'll make it. Finding a way of working as a collective, as well as giving individuals the space to do what they're good at and to be able to make and learn from their mistakes has been key.

Perhaps our biggest strength is that we repeatedly dare, in the face of great uncertainty, to ground ourselves by manifesting our ideas in a physical form. Those moments of manifestation are the ones when, as a group and as a process, you're at your most vulnerable. The step from the project being a protest, a projection and a dream to becoming a functioning business has been the most painful. It's still going on and we shouldn't be afraid to travel back and forth on this trajectory or we'll risk becoming 'just another business' or even 'just another social enterprise' or 'just a temporary art event'. We're not here to 'save others', but to create a new pathway for ourselves and our neighbourhood.

We have big plans: we want to become self-sufficient as an organisation that can offer training and events for people to come together. Bits of funding are coming through to get things started. The CLT has hired a project manager to help us start on the next big chapter: the bricks.

Archive

To download a .pdf of the timeline, [click here](#)

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## Jeanne van Heeswijk and Britt Jurgensen

**Jeanne van Heeswijk** How can an artist be an instrument for the collective reimagining of daily environments, given the complexity of our societies? This is the question that artist [Jeanne van Heeswijk](#), of the Netherlands, considers when deciding how to employ her work within communities. Van Heeswijk believes communities should co-produce their own futures. That's why she embeds herself, for years at a time, in communities from Rotterdam to Liverpool, working with them to improve their neighbourhoods and empowering them to take matters into their own hands, creating an alternative to the urban planning schemes which rarely take embedded culture into account, that are often foisted upon by local authorities. Her work often attempts to unravel invisible legislation, governmental codes, and social institutions, gradually enabling areas to take control over their future. She calls it "radicalising the local" by empowering communities to become their own antidote.

Van Heeswijk's work has been featured in numerous books and publications worldwide, as well as internationally renowned biennials such as those of Liverpool, Busan, Taipei, Shanghai and Venice. She has received a host of accolades and recognitions for her work, including most recently the 2012 Curry Stone Prize for Social Design Pioneers and the 2011 Leonore Annenberg Prize for Art and Social Change.

**Britt Jurgensen** Resident in Anfield, Britt Jurgensen is a German theatre and performance artist. She used to run an international touring theatre company and has worked on several community arts projects all over Europe as a workshop leader, director and project manager. Britt got involved in Homebaked in 2011 and is a co-founder of the bakery co-operative and a board member of the Community Land Trust. She directed and co-scripted 'The Anfield Home Tour' in the 2012 Biennial and 'We are here to stay', a performative conversation as part of the Future City event in 2013.

# Becoming Homebaked

Samantha Jones





Credit: Homebaked

### Introduction

This chronological 'snapshot' is taken from more than four years and 200 hours of audio recordings and twenty-four notebooks of observations, notes and reflections on the journey of the local community to become Homebaked. I use 'Homebaked' as a term denoting the slow building of collective resilience within the face of the 'tyranny of emergency', in the words of Jérôme Bindé,<sup>1</sup> that characterises the everyday lives of the residents of Anfield, as well as a work of art, co-operative bakery and Community Land Trust (CLT). What I have chosen to 'snapshot' are only some of the key moments of change leading to Homebaked becoming what I call a logic of resilience and what Arjun Appadurai describes as 'deep democracy' through the 'politics of patience'.<sup>2</sup> The hard-won cumulative victories and long-term asset-building that is framed in every aspect of the activities of Homebaked, striving for the mobilisation of the knowledge of the local residents into methods driven by and for the local residents, is a slow and risk-laden process. This process has directed Homebaked away from its initial art-project format and this underlies how it has been able to influence urban change within Anfield. Homebaked has itself understood the importance of slow learning and cumulative change through this longitudinal model. Likewise, other strategies and tactics have been geared to long-term capacity-building, the gradual gaining of knowledge and trust. This open and long-term modality has been a difficult commitment to retain in the face of the

urgency, and even desperation, that characterises the needs of the local residents of Anfield as regeneration strategies shift and change and continue to threaten not only Homebaked but also their own homes. But it has been crucial that Homebaked, its board, volunteers and members, have accepted this as a historic and ever-present normative reality in which to exist, so as to guarantee resilience against the ongoing risk that the needs of large corporations may seek to obliterate the needs of the collective.

Jeanne van Heeswijk asked me to collect a chronological timeline of some of my observations of Homebaked, which was originally to be called *2up2down*. I chose to begin with the first walk that Van Heeswijk and I made around Anfield, and continue with the young people's workshops and the point where the bakery and Homebaked begins to take on a life of its own. I have also included some conversations, group and one-to-one, since one person's observations do not represent the complex narrative of Homebaked. This does not include all the people involved in Homebaked, the extensive number of volunteers, board members and working groups whose meetings took place over the four years of my PhD research. Nor does it include all the talks, events, training undertaken by the volunteers and staff, school and community Life of the Loaf workshops, or reflect the sheer physical graft that the residents put into renovating the bakery against the odds, or the day-to-day functioning of Homebaked as a bakery that I have been lucky enough to observe and take part in. But I wish to acknowledge all these elements here, since without this depth of commitment and patience, there would have been no 'becoming of Homebaked'.

[Chronologic excerpts from observation and conversations 2010–2014 \(Notebooks 1–24 & Audio Recordings\)](#)

[A walk around Anfield with Jeanne van Heeswijk – Notebook 1.](#)

AM

*I began my PhD when asked by a curator how I would respond to working as an artist in North Liverpool where I was born and raised. It was then that I realised that although I'd predominantly worked in areas of conflict in other countries, when faced with the prospect of working on the ground within an area with which I was intimately familiar, I couldn't perceive how my own practice could be relevant to such complexity, and I was also tentative about how emotionally turbulent the reality would be. It made me ask myself, 'Why haven't I risen up against the continual devastation of my own community?'*

*So here I am, four months into my collaborative PhD, with plenty of potential case studies, but none that are convincing, and about to walk around Anfield with artist Jeanne van Heeswijk. Paul Domela and Paul Kelly seem to think I may find my answers in Jeanne's practice, yet all I can think of is: 'How can I explain a place to someone that's full memories of my childhood and my grandparents, and do I really want to?'*

PM

*Jeanne and I meandered through Anfield as I told her about my upbringing, my grandparents being moved from a two-up-two-down house beside the Anfield Park to a flat in Breck Road, my childhood memories of the area, the difficulties of aspiring to be something other than what was expected of you if you're a young person raised in North Liverpool. I was also unusually frank in expressing my belief that an artist shouldn't come to an area like Anfield to do an art project then leave, since this could be destructive.*

*Benchmark: would I let her near my parents? Yes I think I probably would. OK, maybe this PhD will be worth it after all.*

[Full-scale Model Workshop – Notebook 3.](#)

*The design phase seems to have advanced dramatically. I walked into the workshop to find young people walking around the physical living spaces that they'd designed, placing furniture, sitting to test the space between settee and TV, realising the corridor was too narrow, working out the best space for Bob, who wanted his grandson to stay over and a space for his tools. They'd moved beyond their fantastical ideas to a real-life understanding of designing a house and home. They'd been the consulters within the*

*architectural process, not the consulted, presenting their designs to the rest of the group (of mainly adults). They possessed confidence and ownership of their ideas. Sometimes asking for clarification of technical language from the collaborating architects, the young people directed the activities alongside their adult counterparts, teaching non-design professionals within the workshop like myself the process of scaling-up their architectural drawings. 'This is a 1:100 scale plan we've marked up on the floor. We're using the cardboard to create the walls. The corridor will be too narrow for Bob ... can you see?'*

#### **Building and Electronic Workshop at Liverpool City Community College – Notebook 5.**

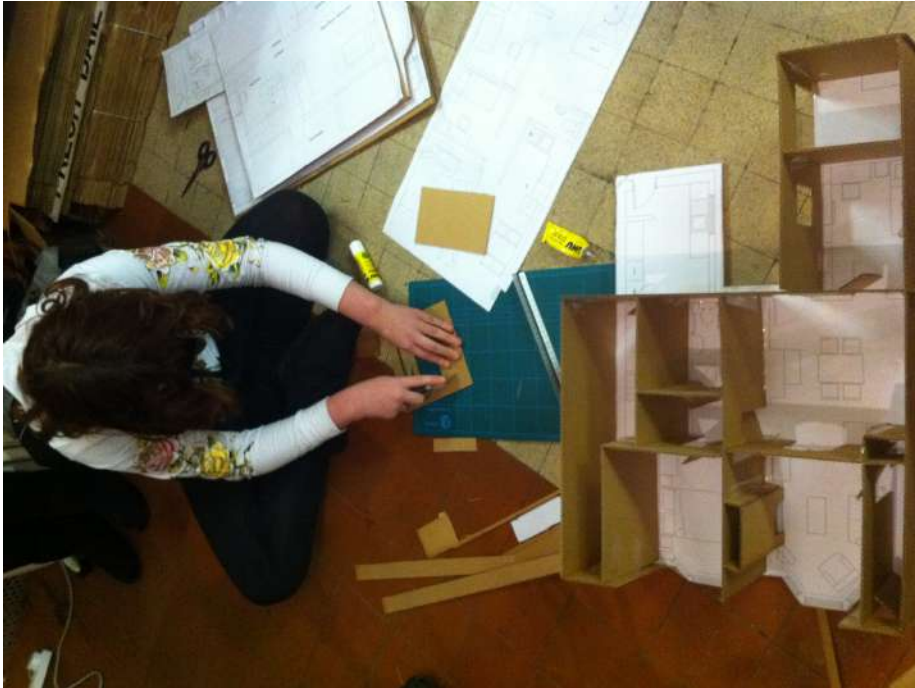
*I turned up at the workshop today to find the young people, both male and female, engrossed in building walls. Some of the girls had stylishly customised their dungarees, showing great pride in the level of finish of their cement and brick work. The physicality and repetition of the building work allowed for those involved to engage in the flow of the activity. Their sense of achievement was highly apparent in their banter, as well as their competitiveness: 'Mine's the best ... I'm going to build my own house ... Can't wait to start building our houses ... When can we start?' Each young person wanted a photo of themselves with their walls, also taking their own on their phones to share with friends and family.*

#### **1:20 Scale-model Workshop at Mitchell's Bakery – Notebook 8.**

*It's late and dark. I was chatting with the girls this evening, after they'd completed their 1:20 scale models. I was curious about the attention to detail that was included in the models. So they explained in very precise language the type of insulation, its thickness, its ecological impact ... The shift from random energetic conversations concerning everyday teenage things to clear and focused engagement with the architectural process seemed at its most amplified. I asked what these models meant to them. 'It's real, a real house, a real home ... and we've made them especially for the people who are going to be living in them ... we've met them, we know them and we've designed homes especially for them.' These models seemed to have crystallised the reality of the process. The girls have always been committed, even on these cold dark evenings in this old disused bakery, learning quite technical and dry topics, real skills to design houses, never really wavering in the belief that they're investing not only in themselves, but also in their friends, family, community. And tonight, their models symbolised in some form what they've achieved.*

#### **Tower of Flour – Notebook 10**

*I spoke to Fred today. I'd been observing a design workshop that was followed directly by a local residents' CLT focus group or 'Auspicious Occasion' as they've come to be known, taken from the old sign 'Auspicious Occasion Cakes' in the bakery. We observed and discussed the shift in the use of the bakery space from primarily design workshops to a multi-use space for coffee mornings and CLT meetings. Both the girls from the design team and the residents had been working separately, although paths would cross at the bakery. Since there had been no formal introduction, Fred proposed this activity, Tower of Flour, to facilitate any questions that the two groups may have of each other.*



Credit: Homebaked

**Short Excerpt from Tower of Flour Conversation initiated by Homebaked member Fred – Notebook 10 and Audio Transcription**

[Tour of Flour loosely follows the format of the game 'Jenga'. Each person helps build the tower and then takes out a wooden block to enable them to ask a question, until the tower collapses and is rebuilt again.]

**Players:** Franny (Biennial staff), Lynn and Fred (Volunteers), Emily (Architect), Young Person's Design Team, Kayleigh (Young Person's Support Worker), Sam (Researcher)

**Young person 1:** *Right, realistically ...*

**Young person 2:** *'Realistically?' That's really clever for you, that.*

**Young person 1:** *When is the deadline for this project to be finished?*

**Kayleigh:** *The whole thing is all set up and running.*

**Lynne:** *I don't see it like that. I don't see it as ever being finished. We've got started and we just keep going and going.*

**Young person 3:** *Is there anything you want to ask?*

**Sam:** *This may be a bit broad, but I'm curious what you think you've got from the project and what you'd ideally like from it?*

**Young person 2:** *Do you mean what we want to gain from it? I'd like to go for job, and for them to know I could actually do it.*

**Young person 3:** *I'd like to know how to mix concrete. Cement – I meant cement.*

**Lynne:** *I've got a question then: what's the difference between concrete and cement?*

**Young people:** *Concrete is for pavements and cement is the stuff that puts the walls together; it's like a paste.*

[Physical description of how to use cement and what it is]

**Emily:** *Would any of you, after doing the design of the houses, want to continue this as a job?*

**Young person 1:** *Yes, I want to be an architect.*

**Young Person 2:** *I want to work with the walls and the ceilings and the details.*

[Emily and young people discuss the difference between architecture and architraves.]

**Franny:** *That could be an interior designer; an architect is the person who designs the structures and works with the space.*

**Young person 2:** *I want to make work like the girl back on the dock by the museum that comes out at night. It looks ace.*

**Young person 4:** *You mean the projection?*

**Sam:** *So you think this has changed what you want to do?*

**Young people:** *Yes, yes.*

[Game continues...]

**Fred:** *The follow-on from Sam's question: why are you still here?*

**Young person 2:** *Because we have to be here till six o'clock.*

**Fred:** *Then why are you still here till six o'clock?*

**Young person 3:** *Oh, it's unusual: it's not every day you get the opportunity for six or seven, or however many young people, to be given the trust to build a house, to make something ... You never really see that do you?*

**Young person 4:** *Seven of us designing houses? You'd never see one of us doing that. It's a one in a million opportunity.*

**Open House, Clean Up, Coffee Mornings, CLT meetings – Notebooks 10/11.**

*OK, just a brief summary here for myself: every time the bakery is open or even just has the shutters up, people keep coming through the door (or trying, as its very very stiff) and asking if the bakery is open, or when it will be open. Most of the time, they'll be offered a cup of tea and Franny, Lynn, Fred or another member of the CLT group, if there's a meeting going on, will explain that the bakery is currently a workshop space and hub for the 2up2down young peoples' housing project. Local people, taxi drivers, builders, football fans, people stopping in their cars because they used to visit the Mitchell's bakery when they lived in Anfield before the Housing Market Renewal: each has a story, some, of losing their homes and community. The bakery seems to be like a landscape that represents and holds within it the collective memories of Anfield. It brings to mind the phrase from Merleau-Ponty: 'It's not so much the objects as the homeland of our thoughts ... an enduring record of – and testament to – the lives and works of the past generations who have dwelt within it and in doing so have left there something of themselves'.<sup>3</sup>*

**Project Launch – Notebook 11.**

*It seemed a little disorientating coming into the bakery today: after months of workshops, tidy-ups, it had become a public space again overnight; a point of common ground, even for the sceptics to meet, converse, exchange diverse opinions and present the plans for 2up2down to the local residents, press VIPs and many other interested parties. Some people I think just want to come in and have another look at the Mitchell's building and find out what's being done to it. The bakery is the star of the show, and the proposed plans to re-open it by local business women is a press-friendly story. The slogan 'Brick by brick, loaf by loaf we build ourselves' seems to connect with people, and baking and the bakery are a very human way into the complexity of housing-renewal.*

**Bakery Workshops at City Community College Change – Notebook 11.**

*The bakery has certainly captured everyone's imagination. Franny organised for the young people and local residents to learn how to make bread. Gary from the Community College took us through the process of dough-making, the theory and technical aspects, as well as the hands-on bread-making. This evening, the girls from the design team and the burgeoning group of local residents involved in 2up2down made bread together. Some were naturals, others like myself were not! Prior tensions ebbed away, everyone engaged with learning how to knead the dough, absorbed in the flow of the activity (a little like the young people and the building workshop and just as messy, but edible ... well, mostly). The bread-making evoked humour at the differing natural skill levels, and the group's conversations moved between*

*personal histories, in-depth questions around how to make affordable but wholesome bread for the local community, and possible careers in baking – not just for the young people; there could be some changes in careers ahead.*

### **Bakery Design Camp – Notebook 12**

*Today, there's a coming-together of the young person's design team and adult residents to design the front aspect of the bakery. Ideas and designs had been put together in previous workshops with full-scale cardboard models. The girls from the design team lead on this, since they've done it previously on Bob's house, and walk through the different ways the counter could be laid out and the pros and cons of these. Emily (the architect) inputs too, as do the other adults, but the girls show their skills and knowledge in this area, questioning the comments and proposals of the group, unpicking their reasoning about why it should be on the right rather than the left. They have very strong ideas that there should be a walk-through into the bakery space behind, because this will give easy access to the products and show the baking that's going on. Also, despite previously drawn-up designs, they're adamant alongside some of the local residents that the bakery should have a space for 'locals to be welcome ... sit, meet chat and have a place that's theirs'. The designs will have to change somewhat ... and I think the bakery will be called Homebaked.*

### **Meeting that could change everything... – Notebook 12**

*The Community Land Trust is cracking on a pace, the constitution is being written, residents finding their roles and tentatively defining and acquiring the skills to set up a CLT, yet the question of who runs the bakery rumbles on. After many (and some very emotional) conversations concerning the role of the local business women in the new co-operative bakery, a meeting between all interested parties took place. At moments, a standoff at the OK Corral, the meeting this afternoon showed a very distinct shift in power away from the initiators of the project. The local residents and young people's design teams flexed their collective muscles and no amount of conversation would convince them that no one other than themselves should determine who runs the bakery ... the residents are taking over the bakery.*

### **Tour Workshop – Notebook 15**

*The Biennial is coming up. Work and energy has focused on the bakery to get it ready for the project's presentation within the festival. This is quite a risk for Jeanne, the resident group, and the Biennial, I'm sure. Mediating to an art audience a complex social narrative that's so personal to so many will give a platform and potential leverage for the area, residents and 2up2down/Homebaked(?), but crikey what a risk. Jeanne has proposed a heritage tour with a difference, including local residents telling their own personal stories of the HMR in Anfield and presenting the area's red-brick house as a monument to challenge any other British monument. She turned down some potential writers/theatre producers to work with Britta, a theatre director who's part of the local residents' CLT/Bakery group and the writer Debbie Morgan, a former local resident. Today, I took part in the tour workshop led by Britt and Debbie, mapping stories, memories, histories of the area against the potential route of the tour. Britt loosened us up with some physical activities. I think I climbed under the bench as another way of looking at the bakery. Debbie quietly asked us all to add our stories to the Anfield map. Humour and optimism mixed with some devastating personal accounts. There was an element of catharsis in the sharing of stories and nervousness surrounding the telling of them in public.*

### **Anfield Home Tour – Notebooks 15/16**

*After an extensive bakery fit-out by the builders, and renovation by the local residents (we're talking about cleaning paint off hundreds of original tiles among everything else), the Homebaked bakery is ready for the tour. I had some idea what to expect, having taken part in the workshop and subsequent discussions, yet the tour was still a shock. The initial light anarchic humorous tour with a song by Bob opened up into an emotional assault. I'd heard the stories before from Bob, Fred, Jayne and Sue, but observing/hearing from them as part of a tour party exposed their fragility, resilience, bravery and sheer*

generosity in sharing their lives with a group of strangers. The welcome at the bakery from Britt produced a collective exhalation.

*I've talked to both Fred and Sue, since they've done so many tours due to its popularity. I was wondering what their experience was.*

**Fred:** *It was very satisfying and without putting anyone at the Biennial out, we were the stars of the show!*

**Sue:** *They listened; they were sympathetic to the fact that this was my home and I'd gone through a lot of changes in the area, and the fact that there were times when I thought I was going to have to leave ... I didn't find it invasive; in fact, I found it quite a social experience: I really enjoyed having people come into my house and being able to talk to them*

### **KickStarter, *The One Show* and the reality of running a bakery – Notebooks 18/19**

*Everything is happening at a pace. Jess took part in the *The One Show*, there's been a bake-off, and the group have started a Kickstarter campaign to bring an oven into the heart of Anfield. Homebaked is everywhere, since the group decided to run the bakery themselves, coupled with the Anfield Home Tour. Homebaked the bakery is now the overarching narrative and symbol of change in the area of Anfield. The group has created a new narrative for themselves and the area, confidence and energy are high. The nuts and bolts of running the bakery still need working through, but the bakery working group's language has now moved from formative to strategic. With a test opening scheduled, the bakery may start baking soon.*

These are short edited excerpts of one-to-one discussions with Britt Jurgensen, Jess Doyle and Fred Brown that took place following the *Anfield Home Tour*, the Kickstarter and *The One Show*, which followed in quick succession.

**Sam:** The momentum behind it has snowballed. I'm curious about what you think the tour did.

**Britt:** *I think it's important to tell the story in a very intimate way, specifically for people like Sue, Fred and Jane – to tell their story and for it to be heard by so many people. I think [it was good] for our self-confidence, for starting to have people come in through the door and that openness, the warmth, the welcome ... and I guess also the fact that we got a lot of press coverage that people were very proud of. We also felt quite strongly about the things that have made us angry for a long time now ... that there's a way of people listening to that story: that's really important. Because it led straight into the Kickstarter, it was the beginning of a ball rolling. I would say that possibly the Kickstarter and the genius that Jess & Lynne had to get us onto *The One Show* [were important], and in a way the bakery part of it probably does more, because it's simpler, more people can see it and it's depoliticised. The tour gave us that base to sit on.*

**Sam:** A context for a broader conversation?

**Britt:** *Yeah, and the understanding to work through some things we'd had conversations about. There was a sense of people coming from everywhere – internationally, from different cities who said, 'Yeah, I've heard this story before. That is a global phenomenon.' This happens in many places and I think it made people feel less alone. We got a lot of feedback from all over the place ...*

**Sam:** And it does seem like there was a sense of autonomy within that. I did follow the emails initially about *The One Show* that came from the bakery. It's that amalgamation of things that align. You can't create a template for things or make them align. It's that point where everything crosses over and it happens. And it'll happen again.

**Britt:** *And it will stagnate again and they'll be some of the most difficult moments: when you come out of that high, and then you have to work hard and nothing happens. It's really interesting for me in terms of narratives to have the Anfield narrative. I wrote the script for Jess for the fundraising video and I had to leave out certain things. I thought, 'Nobody wants to know about housing renewal. Can we just down-strip it? We're opening a bakery – that's iconic'. It's still a story, one of many stories. It was a difficult process for me because I had to think, 'Whose story am I trying to crystallise?'*

**Sam:** People need to be able to identify with one person rather than with multiple ideas. If they see a

human being and they've got a story, then that cuts through it.

**Britt:** *It's that particular symbol and when we reached the target with eleven or twelve days to go, it's very difficult to say, 'Well, we need more money. We also need to pay staff' ... It's the psychological thing – they push you to that moment of celebration and then they're like 'Why would I want to give any more?' But we're nearly at £17,000 now! [Laughs] It's so brilliant, so brilliant and so lovely – with another £1,000 in the bank that we got through match day. That's another thing – match days rock the house! They're so much fun – and that's another thing that happened with us opening on match days: what we did with Kickstarter and The One Show was to catch the football supporters and that's great as they're so international and travelled.*

**Sam:** That narrative of the symbolic, iconic bakery ... It's interesting that the bakery has tilted the project away from the housing, because it's more accessible: there's that warm, friendly intimate feel that people can connect with. It's hard to digest the bigger picture because of the scale, and maybe people who feel under threat don't want to connect with the project because they don't want to consider losing their houses.

**Britt:** *I'm worried about that ... like what made the whole bubble burst is to a massive degree a speculation on housing, and that story should be so poignant – but it's as if it's nearly too much for everyone, for different reasons. I'm sure you remember Jeanne saying, 'Over my dead body is it going to be a nice bakery!' I believe that would be so sad, although I want the bakery to work, as I hope that that will make a stepping stone – everybody gets bread. As you said, [losing your house is] scary; it's so fundamental, more fundamental than a bakery going – if you can't afford a house, that's so fundamental for people.*

**Sam:** With Kickstarter, there seemed to be points of conjunction that moved you forward – though I imagine it's been hard work to keep on board with some things.

**Jess:** *These things were bound to happen; they were supposed to happen. We MADE them happen. Then success gives you more confidence and you hope the next thing you do is going to be really successful. People may have doubts about it, but they don't have a self-conscious sense of: 'Oh this can't work.' It's a real boost, thinking what you're really capable of. The support has been immense too – the donations...*

**Sam:** Do you think that because you did the Kickstarter video to fundraise, it's more about what you as a community are saying?

**Jess:** *To have that money is definitely empowering. The money is going to go into Homebaked's account. For the business to do well, and for us to have raised that money ourselves is an incredible thing.*

**Sam:** It gives you the confidence to work more autonomously .

**Jess:** *We need advice and we need help – but we've got offers of help; if they can't make a donation, they'll give time – and actually, time is better. We've got people from marketing agencies, we've got people from Bosch who want to give us their time.*

**Sam:** Are they coming through Homebaked?

**Jess:** *Through Kickstarter. We tend to keep everyone in the loop of what's happening. That's the thing about this power shift – we've got people via Kickstarter saying they want to help us in different ways – and it's up to us to decide essentially who that should be. There'll be times when Maria might say, 'I don't think this is such a great idea', or Anthony might say, 'Go for it!' It's a mixture of advice and direction. I always think, 'What could go wrong?' because these people are offering their time and we can choose to take it.*

**Sam:** Kickstarter has obviously had a major effect. How did that come about?

**Jess:** *That was down to us knowing that we needed an oven and knowing that we wanted to use crowd-sourcing. Then it was just a case of everyone deciding what website was good, the best one to use. Jeanne had known about Kickstarter and had always donated money, but that was when it was in America.*



*So then it came to England. It's a brilliant thing to exist: I love it, and what it allows you to do. The fact that we've raised our money with eighteen days to go ... It also gives you an idea if the project is worthwhile: you get a scope from it.*

**Sam:** Do you think the tour has had any impact on the project?

**Jess:** *Yes. It's been brilliant waiting for people to come down and find out more about the project, in a very detailed way. It's history is really important. The people who came on the tour were a diverse crowd and they may have gone back home and told people about it – for example, to New York. It's done a great thing, but I don't know if it's done a great thing in the area; that was the whole point of The One Show: to be seen. The tour was in The New York Times and The Guardian, but, as Andrea said, her dad doesn't read The Guardian.*

**Sam:** It seems that Kickstarter has been the core thing; via crowd-sourcing, you can have multiple funders.

**Jess:** *Yes. You don't have to give £25,000, you just give what you can afford. We had a tour where the bus was full of bankers and we thought, 'Are any of you going to give any money?' I know the guy that brought them down is going to help out in future.*

**Sam:** Kickstarter is more of a real 'nuts and bolts' – a collective generosity.

**Jess:** *Yes, it's real money from real individuals. And who knows if this would have been successful ten years ago? At this time, people do feel isolated and like to see people coming together to make something happen, to do something positive.*

**Fred:** *With the Biennial it's about uniting the arts, people and place – and this project meets that criterion all the way through: it does all of that – even though there have been people coming through the door saying, 'Where's the art?' Then we say, 'It's actually about the process of creating the art.' All of this is because somebody said, 'Let's do it this way.' In the same way that you'd choose which colour paint you'd use if painting, or choose what stone you'd use if you were going to do some carving, you can see the individual choices that have been made – 'Let's do it this way, let's do it that way' – that's been our process.*

**Sam:** Do you think then that the art is within the choices that come from that conversation?

**Fred:** *Yes, very much so. I don't always agree with the choices or the decisions that have been made, but because I trust everybody I'm working with, then if they've made those choices or decisions, they've made them for the right reasons. And in a project you don't always have to agree – sometimes it's healthy NOT to agree; I don't want to be a nodding dog in the back seat. It's the process of bringing things together. Just like you mix two colours together to make a third one, it's the same as mixing two lots of people to make that third decision. So, it's me looking from that point of view, someone else looking from another point of view and then coming up with something quite original from that.*

**Sam:** So it's a third thing – a decision or action, but it's not a set third.

**Fred:** *No, it's whatever comes out when things are brought together. We're all welcoming new ideas. We're doing things as simply as we can: give it the time, give it the resources and don't prescribe. So, you don't actually say what things are going to be – that opens up a whole load of things you can do, to achieve something new, or even just to polish something off that's got a bit dusty.*

**Sam:** It seems that the project does have a prescribed direction, but there's space within it as well.

**Fred:** *One of the good things about it is the framework of the bakery and the CLT; as you can see from what's been going on around the place, it's such a flexible framework that anything that's to do with either baking or housing can be facilitated. It's very important that it should be that flexible. We all know what we're working towards and we all know why we're doing it; we might have individual variances on that but at the same time we all know the common aims – it's to do with the oven at the heart of Anfield: 'We will rise!' This is us and everybody knows it's us, and we're always going to have the fall-outs and arguments, but they're part of it. Even when you're making bread and you're kneading the dough, you're putting all that energy into it. People say 'feel the love', but you can also feel the anger sometimes. It comes out in the*

*making of the bread and in the bread itself.*

**Sam:** There must be so much energy here – you’ve mentioned the love and the anger. But you’ve given it a framework where people can be generous to each other, despite the anger at what’s happened in this area.

**Fred:** *They’re not angry with anyone here. I don’t even know if there’s anger for other people outside of here who’ve signed up to do things around this area that have been quite destructive. We’ve just been sick of waiting. If there’s love and energy it’s actually directed into the stuff that we’re doing here, and to anybody that comes through that door. It’s quite an emotional thing to be able to say that, but it’s also a very emotional thing to be able to do it, to be in a position with a whole load of people at your back, watching and covering your back all the time. I can say ‘This is us, we’re Homebaked’ and know there are twenty to thirty people behind me saying the same thing.*

**Sam:** So if you were to put it down simply, what is Homebaked?

**Fred:** *Brick by brick, loaf by loaf, we build each other; we build ourselves every day. The building work and the regeneration work that’s going on, that’s my particular interest. I’ve been watching it going on from my window and there’s a connection between baking bread and the way that bricks are made in a kiln. It’s materials being brought together and both being fired: both having that fire and that heat. They both need that fire and that heat to work. I made that connection a long time ago.*

**Sam:** Do you think this is a different form of regeneration? A different model?

**Fred:** *I wouldn’t even call it ‘regeneration’. That word is so sullied now, and it’s being made grubby by people using it to mean and do lots of different things. It’s like the idea of partnership being coming together to meet an agreed goal – or coming together reluctantly with people you don’t like or don’t want to work with – just to get your hands on the money. It feels as if that’s what regeneration is now: it’s about getting your hands on the money and at no point does it mention people. It’s automatically assumed that when you mention houses, you’re thinking about people, but people aren’t mentioned anywhere.*

**Sam:** Do you think the length of this process and how it manifested itself has allowed you to become strong enough to ... be aware that ... there are a certain amount of conflicts that still need to be resolved?

**Fred:** *There are. You have to manage that all the time, though. If there’s going to be person-to-person conflict going on, then you have to gauge how that other person is before you do an intervention. If you don’t get that intervention right – whether it’s what you say or the way you say it – then you can make things worse and start undermining people. I’d never want to do that, or for it to happen to me.*

**Sam:** In the press, there’s been a lot of emphasis on the fact that this is a local project. That project was driven by Jeanne and the Biennial, and it was an art project – or the mediation of an art project. Do you have any thoughts on how the press has portrayed, placed or positioned the project?

**Fred:** *Well, it’s placed it. It’s said, ‘This is happening.’ There’ll always be that portrayal of Anfield with demolition works and empty streets – and of course, the football ground – but there’s this little edge now that says something is different. And even though there’s been a bakery here for 100 years, the fact that it’s going to be a bakery again is a continuation of a tradition in the area – which is to be celebrated – and there’s an innovative approach to something that’s been here beforehand: it’s an iconic building now, an iconic place and an iconic presence. I think the press might not yet have cottoned onto that; it’s more of a novelty feature: [Laughs] bread being baked in a bakery! But when you start adding the other stuff – the community land, the premises upstairs, it being a hub for people to come in and have ideas and get support for putting those ideas into practice ... I don’t think the press have got that yet.*

**Sam:** Do you think it’s at least shone a spotlight on what’s happening, and made it easier for people to access that information? The story allows it to be accessible, whereas just information on houses ...

**Fred:** *I think so. And I think it’s that the invitation is there to walk through the door. This is quite simple to get involved with and to enjoy.*

**Sam:** Do you think, say, *The One Show* and Kickstarter have made the message simple for people to

connect with?

**Fred:** *It's the equivalent of something you have on a t-shirt. It's not a great big convoluted thing (although it could be) but the main point is we're going to be making bread and selling bread to people in the area.*

**Sam:** It allows access to people through the door who can then access the rest of the story.

**Fred:** *Yes. Or just to come in and buy some bread.*

#### NEW Volunteer meeting – Notebook 20

*I walk into the volunteers meeting today and can't find anywhere to sit. The number of volunteers has exponentially increased at a rapid rate, mostly from hearing about Homebaked from The One Show and Kickstarter. Sue is organising the volunteers; they're welcomed and the meeting begins. Britt goes through the agenda and upcoming trail days. There are so many new faces I have to introduce myself again and explain why I'm recording the meetings as part of my PhD research. These volunteers meetings are no longer Auspicious Occasions discussing ideas or propositions; this is a planning meeting. There are also discussions around the bakery having to be a success because it not only symbolises the hopes of the local community but is a model of co-operative working, of community 'taking matters into their own hands' (note to self – Jeanne's words). The language of resistance has found its way back into the bakery.*

#### Trial Opening Days – Notebook 21

*So how many pies can we sell, how many can we make? The pies are flying out of the door. Not sure about the pastry, but that can be sorted out when we get the new manager. I've found pie-making can be quite addictive and the pace of the match day has an energy all of its own. In the bakery, after an initial pie workshop, myself and the other volunteers make pies in, let's say, a creative chaos. I did find myself organising the work flow and that's interesting, in the sense that up to this point I've kept as objective as possible. But the pies have done it for me – we have to sell award-winning pies! On the counter, football fans and members of the public are donating more than they're being asked to for the food; the good will towards and foreknowledge of Homebaked are extensive. The conversations start with, either Mitchell's, The One Show or Kickstarter, and the odd nod to the Biennial.*

#### Homebaked Launch/Pies! – Notebook 22

*The oven has been in for a while, the retro fit-out reflects the history of the building; we've been cooking pork pies for two days (thanks, pork-pie bike man).*

*The till is rubbish, but everyone has their place (learning from the trial openings) and are in the flow. The pies are coming out at speed, and we have Bosch guys outside with trays selling Homebaked pies. There's a young local girl singing in the bakery (not sure why, will find out later) and the fans arrive early to buy Homebaked products. People are taking pictures and tweeting about Homebaked and the pies. There's a tangible collective will for the bakery and CLT to succeed. And yes, after four years, I've just realised I've written the collective WE – I think that started with the pie-making.*

#### Volunteer Meeting – Homebaked in times of Slow Patience and Democracy – Notebook 23

*Again, a huge attendance at the volunteer meeting; more chairs are needed from the back room. A normal agenda is read: day-to-day running, practicalities, report that the bakery is doing better than expected against the projected business plan (thankfully no spread sheets now bombard the board meetings) but also news is given that the bakery building is under threat from new regeneration plans. It was quite a moment, but no up-in-arms, no raised voices, just an acknowledgement that 'This is the way it is ... it's been like this for over fourteen years. Who knows what will really happen? ... Let's just carry on ... We shouldn't change our plans ... and won't.'*

#### Notebook 23/24

*Homebaked Bakery continues to open, has new staff and management in place, new volunteers joining in every day and functions as a business. The pies are still the star of the football scene, part of the fans' match ritual and currently no 2 in the football pie league...but early days. The bakery has an*

*extensive following of food lovers. The wholesale demand outstrips supply. The bakery/CLT board meetings are unrecognisable from their first incarnation. To quote Fred: 'This is not a site-specific installation. It's a business and it's about keeping properties and land in local ownership by local people. All the other stuff is, dare I say it, icing on the cake.'*



Credit: Homebaked

Thank you to Homebaked, its volunteers and staff, and of course to Jeanne, for their patience, generosity and time.

Archive

[Homebaked - Impact Report: Recipes for Revolutions, Sue Potts, 2014](#)

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1 Jérôme Bindé, 'Toward an Ethics of the future', *Public Culture* 12, 2000, pp.51–72.

2 Arjun Appadurai, 'Deep democracy: urban governmentality and the horizon of politics', *Environment & Urbanization*, vol. 13, no. 2, October 2001.

3 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, Routledge Classics, 2002, p.28.

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### **Samantha Jones**

Samantha Jones is an MPhil/PhD student at Liverpool John Moores University working in collaboration with Liverpool Biennial. She is an international artist creating virtual and public artwork through data mining to map, analyse and interpret geo- and socio-political space and her thesis examines the Liverpool Biennial's relationship to regeneration, wellbeing and public engagement. Jones has exhibited at international festivals including Split International Film and New Media Festival, 2004, FutureSonic Festival, 2007, and undertaken artist research residencies at Salford University's Artists Access to Art Colleges (AA2A) project, 2004-2005, and the International Triangle Workshop Jordan, 2008, supported by the British Council. From 2007-2009 she was consultant, lead artist and project manager with organisations including: FACT (Foundation for Art and Creative Technology), Liverpool Culture Company,

Alder Hey Children's NHS Foundation and University Hospitals NHS Foundation Trust to research, develop, present and lead programmes in investigation into the impact of new media and sonic art on the wellbeing of patients, staff and clinical settings, with support from the Wellcome Trust.

# Millionaire's Shortbread



## Millionaire's Shortbread

*Our match crowd's favourite*

### Ingredients

#### For the shortbread

- 115g Butter, Softened
- 50g Caster Sugar
- 175g Plain Flour, Sifted

#### For the caramel

- 400g Condensed Milk
- 30ml Golden Syrup
- 115g Caster Sugar
- 115g Butter

#### For the Chocolate

- 175g Plain Chocolate

### Equipment Needed

- Grease-Proof Paper
- 20cm/8in square shallow tin
- Mixing Bowl
- Fork

- Small Pan
- Whisk
- Spatula
- Microwaveable Bowl

### Method

1. Preheat oven to 180C (Gas mark 3). Line and grease the shallow tin.
2. Using a fork, beat together the sugar and butter until smooth and creamy and then mix in the flour until a dough forms.
3. Knead the dough until smooth, then press into the tin using your fingers. Smooth, level and prick with a fork.
4. Bake for 20 minutes, or until light golden. Leave the shortbread in the tin and cool on a wire rack.
5. To make the caramel, put the condensed milk, syrup, sugar and butter into a pan and heat gently until the sugar has dissolved.
6. Bring the mixture to a boil and boil for 6-7 minutes, or until the mixture is light golden and thick, stirring constantly.
7. Pour the mixture straight from the pan over the cold shortbread base to cover it completely, being careful not to get any of the caramel on you. Shake the tin to remove any air bubbles and leave until completely cold and set. I tend to leave it covered overnight to ensure it is completely set.
8. To make the chocolate layer, melt the chocolate in the microwaveable bowl, stirring it every 30 seconds until it is completely melted. Pour the melted chocolate over the cold, set caramel and spread evenly with a spatula. Leave to cool and set, then cut into whatever shape you fancy and enjoy!

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Recipes by the Homebaked Chefs



# Taking Space

Don Mitchell

From Gezi Park and Taksim Square to the occupation of schools by Chilean high-school students; from Occupy (everywhere) to Free Hetherington and the other UK university building take-overs; from the squats of Berlin, Zurich or New York's Lower East Side to Berkeley's People's Park, Copenhagen's Christiania and Hong Kong's Star Ferry Terminal; from homeless people's tent cities to community gardens the world over, there's a reason why it's so exciting when people take over spaces – disused buildings, abandoned lots and public sites – and either temporarily or permanently make them their own. The reason is that such occupation disrupts the logic of capital as *it* seeks to produce cities in its own image, a process, we are told over and over again, for which there is no alternative. The taking of public spaces shows that there are alternatives; it disrupts, sometimes quite radically, the capitalist production of space.

Urban activists and urban theorists have long known that it is vitally important to understand how city-space is produced. In capitalist cities, the landscape is produced as a commodity (or more accurately, a complex set of commodities). Just about anything can be built, even 'affordable housing' or playgrounds for children, just so long as it returns, or aids in the return of, profit. Therefore, tracing how capital circulates through the built environment – the urban landscape – is necessary in order to grasp, for example, not just what gentrification is (a strategy for capital accumulation, or what UK city governments like to call 'regeneration'), but why it unfolds where it does (a question of capital circulation). Likewise, there is simply no way to understand why and how disinvestment in the urban landscape (the precondition for gentrification) occurs without understanding the circulation and accumulation of capital. In other words, the logic of regeneration only becomes clear when we think about what capital (and its owners, managers, and beneficiaries) are up to. What they are up to, of course, is making money. There is no other reason to produce space. Parks are valuable only if they help increase the value of surrounding property. The whole logic of tax-increment financing of urban infrastructure, which is becoming increasingly popular in Britain and has long been a mainstay in the US, provides ample evidence for this assertion.

Such is the *logic* of capitalist space-production. It is in no way a description of the *actuality* of capitalist space-production. Overproduction of the built environment, as we all know, is common: flats and offices do not find tenants; housing goes unsold (despite or even because of ever-more elaborate credit schemes); new airports struggle to attract carriers; industrial parks and their extensive parking lots stand half empty; and socially useless projects abound (eg high-priced condos in the midst of growing homelessness). Add to that the fact that the built environment is a capital trap – capital is bound up in the very concrete, steel, bricks, wood and glass that comprise the city for extraordinarily long periods of time, and thus is always at risk of becoming socially useless – and it is easy to see why cities are constantly on the verge of crisis, if not deeply mired in it. Besides, the landscape deteriorates, it wears out, it comes to the end of its useful life – which means that it has to be destroyed and built anew or renovated in some way. In such cases, we are told (rather bizarrely) capital itself is the solution to capital's own problems (whatever the evidence of the boarded-up houses, shuttered factories and abandoned wastelands all around us).

In this logic, and whatever its real effects on the ground, the exchange of space – its tradability – dominates its use. We buy houses less to live in than for the value stored in them, which we hope is ever increasing and which can then be exchanged on the market. Cities build parks because they add to the value of surrounding property more than because a bit of green space and a playground would be nice for area residents and visitors. The fact that recreation is now a function of commercial development (malls, shopping districts, museums dominated by their stores) seems simply commonplace. Whole cityscapes are planned on the logic of 'highest and best use' – which is to say, the use that will return the greatest amount of capital – rather than on the logic of need.

The French urbanist Henri Lefebvre, who coined the idea of the 'right to the city' in 1967, a few years later sought to understand this tendency towards the exchange-value of space dominating use-value (or as he put it, the 'absorption' of the use of space by the exchange of space). To do so he developed the concept of 'abstract space', the spatial equivalent of what Marx called 'abstract labour'. The concept of

abstract labour is a means by which we can understand how qualitatively very different kinds of labour can be made commensurable, which is to say that abstract labour is what very different kinds of commodities have in common. For example, the labour that goes into making an iPhone is as different as can be imagined from the labour that goes into a Marks & Spencer ready-to-eat lasagne. The former requires the mining of metals and rare-earth minerals and transporting them across the world; forging the metals into appropriate components; turning oil into plastic and (in a separate process) moulding it into particular shapes; designing chips; manufacturing those chips (using some of those rare-earth minerals plus a lot of silicon); writing software; assembling the phones; shipping them to distributors and shops around the world; and (one hopes) cleaning up the mess all these processes inevitably make – to say nothing of the work of managing the whole process. Much of this labour is automated, but to say that is just to say that some of the human labour that goes into making the iPhone (or any commodity) is past labour, or what Marx called ‘dead labour’: the labour that went into making the machines, a portion of which is transferred from the machine into the commodity. All these different kinds of labour get worked into the phone, establishing its value. The lasagne, by contrast, encapsulates a bit of the labour of cattle raisers and slaughterers, wheat and tomato growers, egg-farmers (with free-range chickens, in this case), cheese makers (no matter how industrial), food chemists, chemical manufacturers (for the lasagne itself, but also for its packaging), cooks (who might just be watching machines), assemblers (ditto), packagers, truckers, shelf-stockers and yet more managers (to name only a few). The kinds of labour and processes involved in making a ready-to-eat lasagne could not be more different from those of making an iPhone, and yet we have no trouble in equating them, no trouble in saying X number of lasagnes are equal to one iPhone. Price does that for us (price is in fact only ever an approximation of value, but it is, nonetheless, a measure of relative worth). A quick look online suggests that Marks & Spencer beef lasagnes sell for £7 for 1.5kg. The price of an iPhone is a lot harder to figure out (because of all the deals and service packages) but seems to hover around £99 for a good-sized 5s. As an approximation (but a very rough one), the iPhone embodies a value equivalent to that embodied in about fourteen 1.5kg lasagnes.

But what is equivalent here? The use of a lasagne could not be more different from the use of an iPhone, and as we saw, the labour in each is qualitatively very different. What is commensurable, in fact, is labour *in the abstract*, labour as a quantity, not a quality. Abstract labour is labour abstracted out of its particularity and made commensurable, made exchangeable: X amount of lasagne-making is worth Y amount of iPhone-making.<sup>1</sup> The point of making iPhones or ready-to-eat lasagnes is to sell them; to exchange them. Abstract labour makes exchange possible. Abstract labour therefore also makes the domination of use by exchange possible.

Similarly, ‘abstract space’ is a way to begin to apprehend spaces’ commensurability. But ‘space’ – or land, landscape, the built environment – while a commodity (like lasagne) is a quite different kind of commodity. Firstly, as land, it is a ‘gift of nature’, possessing a set of qualities (sloping or flat, fertile or infertile, well-drained or not, suitable for building on or not, etc.) that are not a direct result of labour (though each of these can certainly be improved by labour). Secondly, as space, it is both physically unmovable and monopolisable – ownership conveys rights to keep others out. Thirdly, as built environment, its use for one function – a factory or a house or a street – precludes its use for any number of other (but not all) functions. Finally, as a ‘complex commodity’, it traps value for long periods of time – not the several days or weeks of a lasagne or the couple of years of an iPhone, but the decades or even centuries of a factory, house, street or park. If the abstract labour – the value – encapsulated in a regular commodity is realised when it is sold to a consumer, then the value encapsulated in land and the built environment is realised only slowly (think mortgages and amortisation schedules here). Regular commodities really circulate – from the factory into the hands of a consumer and then back to the factory in the form of money – they literally change place and move. But space only circulates ‘ideally’, in the form of deeds conveying ownership – and in the form of credit, which is, however complex the credit instrument

may be, a claim on future value; space literally stays in place. In this sense, *potential* future values – *future* exchange – dominate use. Through processes of capital circulation in the built environment – actually in the improving of soil or in the construction of buildings, as well as ideally in the form of deeds and credit – space is made abstract; that is, space made commensurable with other different spaces, comes to dominate the use of space.

The primary reason to develop a landscape is to sell it, to exchange it (or, as with parks and streets, to support the selling of it). Exchangeability requires use, of course. The space has to be useful to someone; someone has to want to use it. But that comes second, as it were. Exchangeability – abstractability – comes first. This is what Lefebvre meant when he said that abstract space absorbs use. Marx had a slightly different way of putting it. Talking about commodities in general, but especially those commodities that serve as the means of production (including factory buildings, not just machinery), he argued that ‘dead labour’ tends to dominate living labour; the past labour encapsulated in present conditions shapes what can and cannot be done in the here and now.

Such is the *logic* of the capitalist production of space. The *tendency* towards the production of abstract space – exchangeable space – is a capitalist necessity. And yet (and this was perhaps Lefebvre’s whole point) that tendency could never fully be achieved. Rather, class struggle (which he interpreted widely) continually interrupted the tendency towards the production of abstract space (just as it interrupted and transformed not only how labour was done but how life was socially reproduced – Marx’s ‘historical and moral’ element). Class struggle, and for that matter everyday life (since we have no choice but to live *in* space), continually strives to create what Lefebvre termed ‘differential space’ – space *made* different and in which *use* becomes paramount. Sometimes this process of differentiating space is incredibly mundane, as when we live in and make housing our own, when we turn it into a *home* (usually in the context of a community of neighbours and friends); when, that is, living in our space comes to mean more than exchanging it.

Sometimes the process of differentiating space is quite spectacular. Lefebvre developed his ideas about class struggle and the social production of space (in and against capitalism) in the wake of the 1968 Paris uprising, but closer to our time we can think about the uprising in Istanbul’s Taksim Square. A small band of activists sought to stop the bulldozers from ripping up Gezi Park, a last bit of green space standing in the way of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s particular brand of developmentalism (which enrolled a form of Islam into the service of property-based capitalism). The bloody police response led to a mass uprising centered on Taksim Square, but which became national in scope and within which opposition to Erdogan’s developmentalism was primary, but now one of a range of complaints against the state and structure of society. The taking and holding of Taksim Square (and other public spaces around the country) opened up all manner of new ways of living, new ways of interacting, new ways of using urban space. ‘Business as usual’ was put on hold. Pretty soon, a lot of people all around Turkey were not just questioning whether there was no alternative to how Turkey was inserted into global capitalism, but actively inventing alternatives. When, in turn, Taksim Square was violently cleared out, people in Istanbul moved back into their neighbourhoods, occupying local parks and squares and creating collaborative councils – ‘park forums’ – to govern everyday life (the councils, in fact, looked an awful lot like the 1871 Paris Commune). Park forums organised new modes of consumption, based on need rather than the logic of exchange; for a few weeks, money more or less disappeared. Self-management became the order of the day. Such developments were, of course, not without friction and contradictions, and for many reasons (including the violence of the state) the utopic moment did not last, but for a while the very logic of abstract space – capitalism’s necessary tendency towards the production of abstract space – was fundamentally interrupted. New kinds of differential space were created.

Often, however, the creation of differential space is neither so mundane as homemaking nor so spectacular as an urban uprising. Forty-five years ago this spring, for example, a broad range of students

and residents took over a muddy lot in Berkeley, California, from which the University of California had cleared several houses. One Saturday, they showed up by the dozen with shovels, picks, sod, bulbs, bushes 'and a lot of grass' and made a park – People's Park. The state of California responded by fencing off the site and mobilising the National Guard to reclaim it. A riot ensued – not an urban uprising, but a defence of a particular space. The people won. Since that time, the University of California has repeatedly tried to reclaim the property and make it something else – a site for a dormitory hall for students, or a redeveloped park that would better meet the desires of nearby merchants – which has sometimes led to violence as 'Park defenders' have sought to retain the spaces as a user-designed, user-controlled park and especially as a park in which homeless and other street people have a place. From its beginning the Park has hosted a 'free stage' for concerts, speeches and the like, as well as a 'free box' where clothing and other items are dropped off for anyone who wants them. Hundreds of free meals are given away every week, to whomever shows up. People's Park is scruffy, sometimes dangerous, and a thorn in the side of merchants and the University alike. It is a place where *de*commodification, not commodification, rules. It is a commons. And most days it just chugs along, offering nothing spectacular, but meeting the needs of the very poor, providing a bit of open, green space and refusing to be enrolled in the process of abstract space production, which is the process of capitalist accumulation (no matter how hard the University, the city, merchants' associations and developers have tried).

A generation later, and a continent and an ocean away, a small group of nearby residents decided to reclaim what had become a waste-ground north of the Kelvin River in Glasgow.<sup>2</sup> For years the plot of land – about 1.4 hectares in size – had served as a sports ground for students at two nearby schools. By the 1990s, however, the schools had been closed and the city council had stopped maintaining the fields. Even before then the tennis courts had been abandoned and trees started growing up through them (they now host a rather robust forest). As the city withdrew services, residents slowly reclaimed the space – sowing grass seed where the running track had been, cleaning out trash, securing an old changing room that drug users had made into a convenient den (it now serves as a gardening shed). In 2004, a community trust sought to build housing on the site of the tennis courts, but this fell through. In 2008, the city sought to sell the whole site to a developer to build 115 flats (Glasgow said it would use some of the proceeds to build sports grounds in nearby Maryhill). Residents mobilised and have fought since that time to keep what they call the North Kelvin Meadow as an open, community-controlled space. As they point out, not only have they turned the Meadow into a desirable space – a community space – but if flats are built on it, then that will be the end of it. It's not impossible to return built-space to open space, but neither is it easy; and besides, what is now a community asset would become private property. Residents have been creative in their activism (they're good at getting the attention of the media and politicians), as well as persistent. In doing so they have created a community, a sense of belonging in and on the land, and thereby turned the land into something other than just an exchangeable commodity. Through their labour – maintaining the meadow, picking up rubbish, building raised garden beds, as well as scouring planning documents, attending countless council and planning meetings, and so forth – they turned the space of North Kelvin Meadow into a differential space, interrupted the (potential) circulation of capital and made it a new kind of community place. To do so they have had to become experts in bureaucracy and the planning process, master the language of 'regeneration' and become ecologically astute (the cultivation of roosting bats as well as wild orchids have both made private development on the site more difficult).<sup>3</sup>

These two examples – together with the Homebaked Community Land Trust and Co-operative Bakery Anfield – are just as thrilling as the example of the neighbourhood park forums that developed across Turkey after Taksim Square was cleared out. They show that urban space can be collectively taken and collectively remade, that use can dominate exchange, that our fate is not necessarily a fate written by the tendency towards abstract space in capitalism. That tendency is powerful, and it has the support of the state at every scale (from local councillors to national governments to the big international agencies, not

excepting many of those affiliated with the United Nations). But here's the secret: that tendency itself, the tendency towards abstract space, requires an enormous amount of work, both to push it forward and to maintain the actual space – the exchangeable space – that results. Just as the making of iPhones and lasagnes requires the never-ceasing work of planning, designing, managing and maintaining (abstract labour is *not* natural, but has to be enforced; Foxconn assemblers and Marks & Spencer shelf-stockers are as likely as any to slack off) so does the making of abstract space require enormous amounts of management and enforcement (including the work of the riot police who clear out occupied parks, lawyers to parse property law, market analysts to determine the likelihood of a development paying off, and so much more). Any system so reliant on the labour of multitudes in order to support an image of naturalness is eminently interruptible.

Urban activists and urban scholars have long known that it is vitally important to understand how space is produced in capitalism. But more and more we are coming to understand the vital importance of collectively *taking* space and making it ours, of differentiating space and making it *useful*, of stopping in its tracks the tendency toward the abstraction of space and instead making spaces in which to live life in ways not dictated by the crazy, inhumane logics of capitalist development.

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1 Of course, the commensurability of labour is much more complex than I have let on. As Marx showed, the value of labour power (in capitalism, the ability to do work – labour power – is a commodity) possesses a 'historical and moral element', which is to say, it is dependent upon all manner of historical and social factors – such as the development of Foxconn's (and other Chinese manufacturers') dormitory labour system, or the fact that in Britain the value of labour now includes a right to medical care and a pension, no matter how strongly both are under attack.

2 This paragraph draws on research that I am conducting with my colleagues Kafui Attoh and Lynn Staeheli.

3 So far, activists at North Kelvin Meadow have not sought to create a community trust to own the land; like other activists in Glasgow, they consider that they already own the land, collectively: it is part of the Scottish commonwealth.

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#### Don Mitchell

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University of Colorado, Boulder before joining Syracuse in the late 1990s. In 1998, he became a MacArthur Fellow, and in 2008 a Guggenheim Fellow. Considered an influential and radical scholar, Mitchell starts from the position that scholarship and political commitment cannot be divorced, and is best known for his work on cultural theory and the People's Geography Project. Mitchell is concerned with examining and explaining the ways that "culture" has become a primary arena of social struggle, and a principle means for exercising power. He works on labour struggles, human rights and justice and is particularly interested in the theorization and historical study of the production of landscape, particularly as it relates to labourers and the working classes. He was awarded the Anders Retzius Medal from the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography in 2012.

# Envisioning Public Cooperative Housing



Envisioning new housing paradigms amidst the current housing crisis may be overwhelming and sometimes disempowering for communities in large urban areas dominated by profit-driven development, as is the case with New York City. Nevertheless, there are few places with such powerful tools and assets as those owned by New Yorkers. They have one of the most valuable housing legacies of the country, have lived in collectivity for centuries, reformed housing legislation, regulated a third of the city's rental housing, and occupied and reinvented the neglected city for the common good. Unfortunately, greater forces have taken over New York, burdening progressive actions. To reclaim the city it is necessary to learn from successful experiences leading to housing justice and co-producing innovative processes achieving new housing paradigms. There is no perfect formula to embark on such an ambitious task, but the following actions can be adopted not only in this thrilling urban area but also in other cities facing the same problems and having similar capacities:

(1) Co-produce knowledge about the agents of housing inaccessibility, as well as around local needs, priorities and assets through participatory action research or any other method combining scientific and popular knowledge.

(2) Learn from progressive housing antecedents that have preserved affordable housing and kept communities together by scrutinising successful local housing and development approaches as case studies, as well as public programmes and instruments that have supported them, while concurrently interrogating the stimulating effect that state-sponsored housing programmes can exert on the creative and latent productive capacity of the under-housed, the displaced and those at risk of homelessness.

(3) Identify current federal, state and local policy determinants and finance mechanisms assisting in neighbourhood and community stabilisation in order to complement, integrate and implement potential new housing models.

(4) Envision a hybrid tenure framework for the provision of permanent affordable housing, always taking into account the previous enquiries.

(5) Formulate actionable strategies to implement a pilot project and eventually expand the housing model.

### **1. The problem to fight against**

Alternative housing models to homeownership, such as rental housing, cooperative and collective housing have become scarce in America while owner-occupied housing rates keep growing. Homeownership has been seen as the hegemonic tenure system, placed at the centre of housing policies and facilitated through the provision of housing finance. Most housing policies have targeted individuals to promote homeownership – in many cases even the less well-off – assuming that everyone has the resources to access adequate and affordable housing. However, this is not always the case.

Firstly, the financialisation of housing, which is the promotion of access to housing through housing finance, has led to an unprecedented urban crisis affecting low, and moderate-income families. As a result, housing has become a commodity for household wealth accumulation and has been accessible to only a few. Meanwhile, market-based housing development and financing has fuelled an incremental rise in prices at the expense of housing affordability. It's clear that this model assists only financial institutions – not people. Since 2008, millions of Americans have lost their properties due to foreclosures, many of them ending up on the streets.

Secondly, the share of public housing has decreased significantly since public funds have focused mostly on programmes, grants and tax abatements to stimulate homeownership and profit-driven development rather than focusing on the new construction of public housing or alternative housing programmes for the most vulnerable populations. In addition, much of the subsidised and public housing stock has been increasingly privatized. Thus besides the decrease in affordable housing, the provision of public housing has also declined.

Thirdly, the provision of affordable housing has been promoted through the provision of tax abatements and bonus floor-area ratios to new market-rate housing developments, which in exchange should contribute with a small share of housing for low-income households. Unfortunately, most of these incentives have assisted mostly developers and the better off. In many cases, the surrounding community cannot afford to live in the 'affordable' units, which eventually become market rate.

Fourthly, and most seriously, many who formerly had access to housing have been struggling with displacement and homelessness in recent years. This has been reflected in the number of homeless in the shelter system, which increased from 37,390 in 2000 to over 54,600 in 2014. Perhaps the most striking statistic is the number of families with children. The New York City shelter system currently houses over 11,000 families and over 23,500 children (NYCDHS 2003, 2014). Children make up almost half of the shelter population. These numbers exclude the street-dwelling homeless people, hundreds of families waiting for a shelter place, and the thousands of households living in overcrowded conditions throughout the city due to the lack of affordable housing.

Finally, parallel to the previous conditions, the number of vacant properties has remained steady due to misguided urban policy, urban decline, speculation and foreclosures. Low-income districts hold significant amounts of vacant lots and buildings all over New York City. This aspect can be identified as a problem, but also as an asset. It is presumed that if the under-utilised, derelict and vacant buildings in the city were rehabilitated and made accessible to the thousands of people struggling for a place to live, the housing crisis would be resolved.

These are general aspects that everyone can grasp. Nevertheless, it is necessary to dissect the agents affecting each community district and their specific needs, priorities and assets in order to achieve transformative changes. Participatory action research can be used as a tool of enquiry. It is an effective and powerful approach to economic, social and political change, since it actively engages people in generating knowledge about their own living conditions in order to produce fundamental reorganisation of urban social, economic and spatial systems and relations of power.

In general terms, the main housing needs and priorities for the great majority of New Yorkers are as follows: spending no more than 30% of monthly income on housing; holding a right of continued occupancy; living in decent and safe dwellings; and having a stake in decisions over one's living environment. Nevertheless, most New Yorkers struggle to achieve even one of these priorities. This fact has provoked large-scale mobilisations among citizens, academics, activists, grassroots groups and community-based organisations. Knowledge, resources and other assets have been shared. Local coalitions have worked diligently with local authorities, drafting legislation to facilitate access to vacant properties, promoting the creation of Community Land Trusts, and envisioning development avenues to create affordable and community-controlled housing. Their achievements are admirable and of great value for communities, but there is still so much work to do and significant limitations for low-income communities. First of all, accessing land in the 'real-estate capital' of the world is near to impossible. Secondly, expertise on housing planning, design, development and management is limited. Thirdly, fragmentation and competition among community groups advocating for affordable housing is common. Fourthly, public funds, loans and tax abatements usually assist well-established community-based organisations or housing corporations, which often look after their own needs and priorities rather than those of the community. Lastly, communication and cooperation between city authorities and communities has been nearly eradicated. For instance, community and tenant-led initiatives and other sorts of sweat-equity public programmes have decreased or disappeared, leaving housing development and rehabilitation only to developers and outgrown non-profit housing corporations.

## **2. The models that have successfully housed low-income communities in perpetuity**

Despite the rich history of housing in New York City, local authorities have opted to forget such an invaluable legacy. Housing policy and programmes based on the welfare of people – favouring workers

and those who make the city – have been replaced by housing approaches for profit – aiding the real-estate sector and those who capitalise on the city. It is critical to re-examine such a legacy in order to envision new housing paradigms. Community and tenant-led housing programmes for the rehabilitation of *in rem* (foreclosed by the city) occupied and vacant city-owned properties, and other types of self-management practices that took place during the 1970s and 1980s, are worth scrutinising. The Sweat Equity, Urban Homesteading, Community Management and Tenant Interim Lease programmes emerged in response to the striking landscape of vacant buildings throughout the city and initiatives led by low-income groups to take over and rehabilitate those spaces through organised efforts. These grassroots practices evolved into local and federal community and tenant-led programmes addressing not only the thousands of neglected buildings but also the deficit of public-housing provision and the ongoing decline of inner-city neighbourhoods and communities of colour. Sweat equity and mutual aid were at the centre of their approaches. These programs have been key for community and tenant control over land. Most of the buildings rehabilitated during this period were transferred to tenants, community management organisations or became limited-equity housing cooperatives, which are now important assets for low-income groups.

Housing cooperatives are not-for-profit membership-based cooperative corporations in which members do not receive a deed to the unit but become shareholders. Each shareholder is granted the right to occupy a housing unit by paying a monthly amount to cover their share and the operating expenses, including mortgage payments, property tax, management, maintenance, insurance, utilities and contributions to reserve funds. Cooperatives can create their own bylaws to impose restrictions on shareholders as long as the board does not violate federal and state housing or civil-rights laws. Some of the benefits include personal tax deductions, lower turnover rates, lower real-estate tax assessments, controlled maintenance costs and resident participation and control in decision-making. In other non-profit housing corporations, decision-making is vested with the non-profit's central authority, and residents usually act as advisors. Housing cooperatives fall into a number of categories, including equity, non-equity, limited-equity and leasing cooperatives.

(1) In *equity housing cooperatives* members own a share of the housing cooperative corporation, which owns the land, the buildings and community facilities. Members have control of decisions through a board of directors and they are able to sell their shares at a market price.

(2) In *limited-equity cooperatives* members also own shares, manage and control the cooperative but cannot sell shares at full market price. This cooperative model builds limited equity for shareholders with restrictions on what outgoing members can gain from their shares.

(3) In *non-equity housing cooperatives* members usually manage and control the cooperative but instead of owning a share they have a long-term lease that is granted by the cooperative housing corporation. The price of the units is regulated by the board. Financing is carried by the cooperative corporation. Usually these cooperatives get substantial public funds.

(4) A *leasing cooperative* leases the property from an outside entity, privately or publicly owned. Cooperative members also participate substantially in management and control. Usually the lease is long-term and sometimes with an option to buy. Members may enjoy similar benefits to other types of cooperatives holding title, but usually do not accumulate equity. The leasing approach can make available properties to low-income cooperatives.

Housing cooperatives are still a popular housing model in New York City. They house from high- to very low-income households. Housing Development Fund Corporations (HDFCs), are a special type of limited equity cooperative in New York City. These former city owned properties were sold directly to tenants or community groups through some of the public programmes mentioned above to provide low-income housing. There are about 1,700 HDFC buildings, with more than 30,000 units of affordable housing today. Other housing cooperatives are run by non-for-profit corporations or by Mutual Housing

Associations, which are non-profit corporations set up to preserve and develop cooperatively owned and non-profit tenant-controlled properties. Mutual Housing Associations have helped in the prevention and elimination of neighbourhood deterioration and the preservation of neighbourhood stability by affording community and resident involvement in the provision of high-quality, long-term housing for low- and moderate-income families in which residents participate in the housing management, have the right to continued residency, and have an ownership interest in the occupancy agreement conditional upon compliance with its terms, but do not possess an equity.

On the other hand there is public housing, which is rental-housing owned and managed by the central or local government, aiming to provide permanent affordable housing. The New York City Housing Authority is the most successful public-housing programme in America and probably the one for which there is still the most demand today, despite its lack of popularity among New Yorkers due to inadequate maintenance and stigmatisation. This public programme houses over 500,000 residents, about 5% of the city population – the very low-income – with a waiting list of nearly a quarter of a million (227,000 in 2013).

Another housing model taking place, mostly informally, all over the city is co-housing. Nearly 5% of renter households live in severe overcrowding, where households comprising persons who are not necessarily related share facilities and services. In general terms, co-housing developments are usually designed, developed and managed by residents, which use consensus as the basis for group decision-making. Households own their units and share community facilities such as kitchens, working spaces, gardens, visiting and play rooms. Co-housing can be developed on different scales: building, block, neighbourhood etc. Co-housing developments may have one of the three following legal forms of ownership: individual (private) with common areas owned by a homeowner association, condominiums, or cooperative housing corporations.

Last but not least, Community Land Trusts (CLTs) have been considered one of the most powerful and efficient tools currently available to communities to provide and preserve low-income housing in perpetuity while buffering the community from both aggressive land speculation and the dislocating effects of gentrification. The CLT is a local non-profit organisation created to acquire land on behalf of the community and to hold it in trust. The CLT provides 99-year renewable leases for exclusive use in accordance with the terms of the trust. The lessee is typically a non-profit housing corporation, mutual housing association, or limited-equity cooperative that rents to qualified tenants, or an individual owner whose ability to profit from equity gains is extremely limited. A key feature of a CLT, and an important distinction between CLTs and traditional Community Development Corporations is the composition of the Board of Directors. The board is composed of three different groups, each with equal representation intended to balance the interests of the community stakeholders – residents (tenants or homeowners), community leaders and housing advocates (not CLT leaseholders), and public representatives (local government and other local not-for-profit organisations).

Some of the multiple benefits of CLTs are:

- (1) Preserving and protecting public investment allowing one subsidy to keep operating for a century or longer rather than the average twenty-year span of most public subsidies.
- (2) Strengthening the local community through the interdependency of CLT partners.
- (3) Providing flexibility to respond to different housing types such as cooperative housing, rental housing, owner-occupied housing, senior and mixed-use housing.
- (4) Keeping assets in the community by facilitating the transfer of private and public ownership to community ownership.
- (5) Facilitating the acquisition and management of land for non-housing community needs (industry, business, community facilities, green space, etc).

In addition to this classic model, there are alternative ways to create a CLT: as a CLT programme of existing organisations; as a CLT corporation established by existing non-profit organisations; and as a CLT

corporation established by government.<sup>1</sup> According to the CLT network:

it has become increasingly common for local governments to take the lead in establishing CLT...Some government officials believe that if government is going to put public resources into a CLT program it should control the program to ensure that the resources are used responsibly and effectively. In other cases, local governments...have wanted the CLT to be a fully independent organization. In their view, an independent nonprofit organization –more or less insulated from political motivation and buffered against the potentially destabilizing effects of electoral politics –is better positioned to carry out a CLT program consistently over an extended period of time, at least if there is reason to think that it can maintain a strong working relationship with its local government.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. The instruments leading to expandable models of permanent affordable housing: maximizing state and community benefits

The Inclusionary Housing Program has been a local instrument providing affordable housing in areas of the city undergoing substantial re-zoning and development by offering a bonus floor area to developers in exchange for the creation or preservation of housing for low- and moderate-income households, on-site or off-site. Another instrument has been the 421-a Program, which provides tax abatements for a specific period of time (usually twenty years) to projects in exchange for a percentage of affordable housing. Both programmes were originally created for high-density districts, especially in Manhattan, and later expanded to medium- and low-density districts in the boroughs, usually low-income areas. Unfortunately, in the lifetime of the programmes, only a small percentage of the housing units, for rental and ownership, have been affordable for communities living in those areas, and the few opportunities do not guarantee permanent affordability. Affordable units are usually registered in the rent-stabilisation programme for the first years and eventually become destabilised. There are no effective legal instruments to keep affordable homeownership opportunities. Most of the benefits have been for developers and better-off households. In fact, some developments have benefited from both programmes, profiting from a number of public funds, tax abatements and subsidies.

One of the avenues for the provision of permanent affordable housing is to enforce those who benefit from these programmes to donate a percentage of the land (in the case of large re-zoning developments) or a fee equivalent to the cost of the 20% of the total housing units that is now required to be set aside exclusively for low-income households. This fee would go into a City Affordable Housing Fund (CAHF) to be used for the implementation of a new public programme that will guarantee permanent affordability while maximising public and community benefits.

Other potential instruments would be taxing at a higher rate vacant land that is underdeveloped due to speculation, as well as creating a non-profit land bank to acquire under-utilised, contaminated or vacant properties and transferring those properties to CLTs. These instruments have been pushed at city and state level in recent years. The collected land and funds could contribute to the creation of a new housing initiative.

These and other public funds available for the provision of affordable housing –pension funds, tax credits, etc– can be evenly distributed for the construction of housing to accommodate all New Yorkers. The issue is that those funds are currently directed to a large share of moderate- and middle-income housing development and a small share of very low and low-income housing.

### 4. Hybrid tenure framework for the provision of permanent affordable housing in New York City<sup>3</sup>

The proposed initiative aims to provide permanent affordable housing for very low, low and moderate-income households through the development of a hybrid tenure framework. Unlike currently available affordable-housing options, this model is not fully owned and managed by a public or a non-profit entity, nor by a cooperative housing corporation. This housing model is planned, financed, developed, managed and owned collectively by all of these entities alongside community stakeholders and residents. The co-ownership is one of its key features. Since housing cooperatives –particularly limited

and non-equity cooperatives— face financial difficulties when constructing and expanding new housing, this model proposes the development of cooperative housing sponsored by the public sector and co-managed by public representatives, community and cooperative members. Public shares may start as high as 90% and decrease over a period of thirty years to 10%. The share granting ownership, management and control over the cooperative reverts from public to collective (through a trust) once the development is fully paid and cooperative members have built the required skills to operate the maintenance and financing of the property.

This housing model combines some of the organizational and legal frameworks of cooperative-housing corporations, mutual-housing associations, community-land trusts and co-housing developments, as well as some of the instruments of the tenant and community-led housing programmes that have created and preserved communities in NYC. The proposed hybrid tenure model is comprised of a three-fold structure: a Community District Land Trust, a Mutual Cooperative Housing Association, and one or more Cooperative Housing Trusts.

#### *Community District Land Trust (CDLT)*

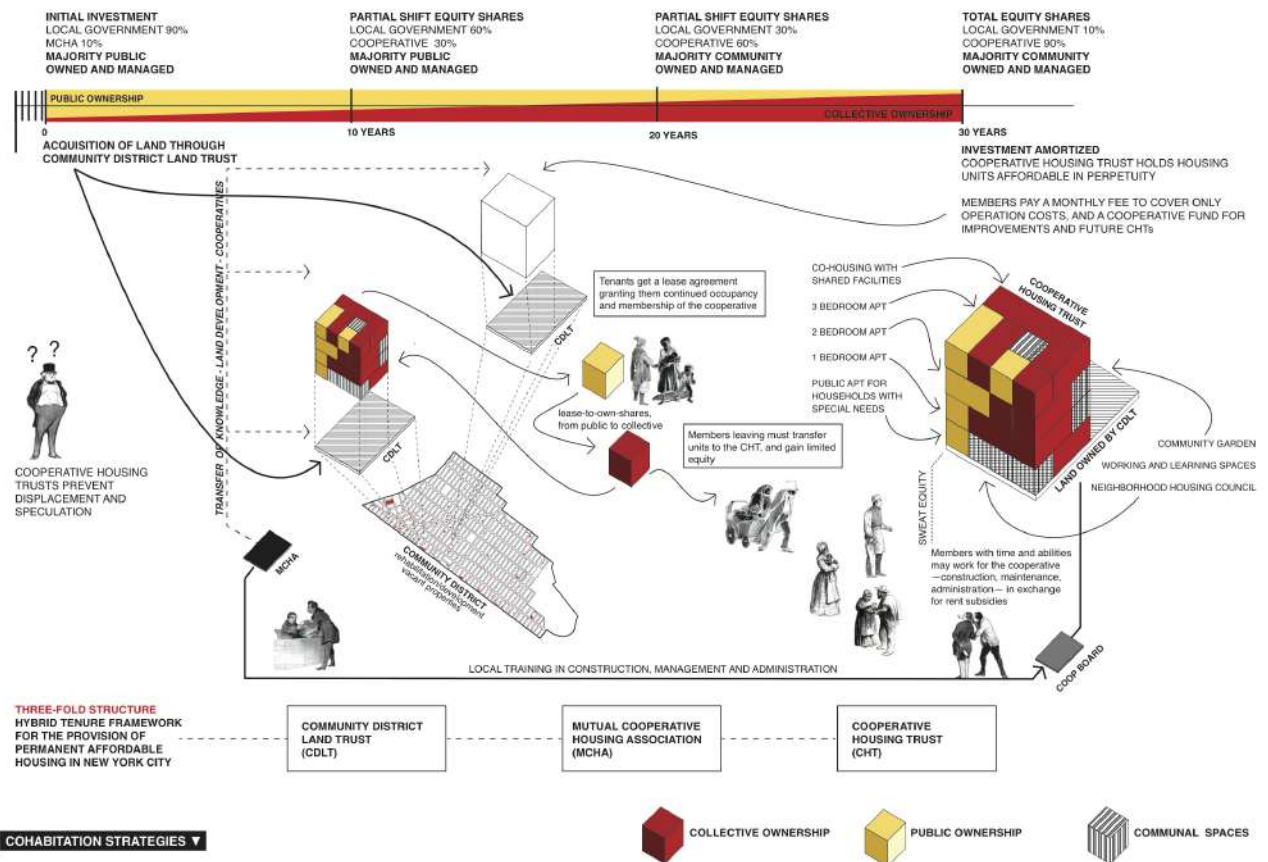
The aim of the proposed CDLT is to acquire properties located in a circumscribed area (community district, as it is currently rendered in NYC) and hold them in trust for the development of Cooperative Housing Trusts. The CDLT is envisioned as an independent non-profit publicly sponsored and managed by a board with equal representation from public authorities (eg. municipality, local city-council office, community board, etc); non-resident community stakeholders; and Cooperative Housing Trusts' residents.

Community Land Trusts have been coveted in the last decades by community-based organisations, housing advocates and activists in order to preserve and develop permanent affordable housing. However, and despite the efforts, communities have faced all sort of difficulties in acquiring properties in large urban centres. Real-estate values are high and expertise in financing and management is not always sufficient among community members. Thus, in order to facilitate the acquisition of properties, members of the proposed CDLT—a cohort of people with diversified expertise and resources— look for abandoned or neglected properties, as well as those holding tax arrears, legal or environmental problems, and reach out to landowners to negotiate possible avenues to acquire the properties. Eventually the city acquires the properties and transfers them to the CDLT for the development of permanent affordable housing. The transfer of the properties could be also accomplished through non profit land banks, public concessions or donations from re-zoning processes.

#### *Mutual Cooperative Housing Association (MCHA)*

The proposed MCHA is a district-based non-profit organisation set to develop, finance, and operate Cooperative Housing Trusts for an interim period. In order to sustain cooperatives over time, it creates local expertise to manage and preserve the affordability of the cooperatives. MCHA's role is to draft a district-housing plan according to local needs and priorities: to rehabilitate buildings or develop new land provided by the CDLT; to pull together an organisational structure comprised of experts outside and within the community; to develop and operate the cooperatives; and to train locals in construction, maintenance and management skills to run the properties, so that when ownership passes to the cooperative, members can take control and make their own decisions.

# HYBRID TENURE FRAMEWORK: FROM PUBLIC TO COLLECTIVE



Credit: Cohabitation Strategies

The majority of the capital cost of each Cooperative Housing Trust, about 90%, is sponsored by the local government, while the planning and management cost, about 10%, is provided by the MCHA. This fee guarantees the cost of the first development phase: research and planning. The seed money (10%) could be granted by a private foundation; financed by a private entity with a low rate interest; collected through crowd funding (community members) or other private and public contributions, which can be raised prior to initiation of construction. The public investment of the development is projected to be fully amortised in thirty years. During this period, the city gradually transfers its shares to the cooperative while keeping only 10% in perpetuity. During the first thirty years, cooperative members pay a monthly fee to cover the financing, operational costs (maintenance, real-estate taxes, etc) and to contribute to a cooperative fund. Once the development is fully amortised, the cost of the monthly fee drops to cover operation expenses and to finance future cooperatives. These cooperatives encourage collective control among those with lower incomes while providing long-term reliability in meeting the supply of permanent affordable housing and in maximising the benefits of public funds. These cooperatives are structured with equity limitations, imposing restrictions against speculation or rent increases by requiring that members leaving the cooperative transfer the units back to the cooperative.

## *Cooperative Housing Trusts—public ownership shifting to collective over time*

The Cooperative Housing Trusts have been envisioned for the rehabilitation, repurposing and construction of abandoned, vacant and underutilized properties — residential buildings, industrial sites and lots. Their purpose is providing and preserving permanent affordable housing through shared

management and ownership. The hybrid tenure of these cooperatives does not only mean the combination of public and collective ownership; this model offers different housing types and sizes for singles, couples, small and large families, as well as particular and co-housing accommodations. Co-housing units offer affordable housing opportunities to large families or households with special needs, such as single parents or seniors, who often require mutual aid and companionship. This option includes private rooms and shared facilities, such as kitchens, bathrooms, play-rooms, living and working spaces. The units target households (of one, two, three, four or more dwellers) with different incomes, from 40 to 90% of the Area Median Income. Last but not least, tenure may be short or long term. A number of units are set aside to house families or individuals who need special support and housing for a specific period of time. These units are part of the 10% public share, so they are owned by the local government in perpetuity.

Besides guaranteeing permanent affordable housing, this cooperative model aims to encourage the active participation of residents in the construction, maintenance and administration of the building. Cooperative membership requires residents to participate in the cooperative's decision-making through the cooperative board, which seats are not restricted to residents but also representatives from the MCHA and local public authorities to keep the interest of residents and the community at large. Job-training in different areas is promoted in this model, as well as sharing skills with other cooperative members within the property in which they live, as well as other neighbouring cooperatives. Sweat equity is of great value. The equity generated by working for the benefit of the CHT may be exchangeable for lease subsidies, especially for those households with greater needs. In addition, this equity is acknowledged in another component of this hybrid model: the cooperative fund. A small percentage of the monthly fee is transferred to this fund and saved for community members leaving the cooperative. A proportional equity of their work and engagement during the leasing term in the cooperative is given back.

## **5. Strategies and collaborative frameworks for the coproduction of housing for todays and future generations**

Since the 1980s the policies of 'devolution' have encouraged states and localities to formulate their own housing programmes. Decentralisation of resources and responsibilities to lower government levels, reducing federal involvement, have been promoted. Federal government is no longer the dominant player in housing policy. State and local governments, alongside non-profits, have adopted a central role in policy development and implementation. It is important to mention that even when state and local governments formulate housing programmes and provide funding, public agencies rarely build or renovate housing or provide housing services to residents. Most of the time, these provisions come from the private and the non-profit sector.

A number of community agencies supported by the Federal government, neighbourhood entities instituted by local government, and other local grassroots groups, which were formed to supervise and implement anti-poverty programmes, evolved over time into non-profit Community Based Organisations (CBOs). The most progressive ones were established with the central mission to reverse neighbourhood decline. Most of them were set as Community Development Corporations (CDCs). CDCs became strategic partners for the implementation of the policies of 'devolution'. Since public and private institutions had little interest in impoverished neighbourhoods, the city transferred most of the responsibility to these non-profit corporations, which found an open turf and flourished, assisting neglected neighbourhoods with assistance from the city, state and federal governments. Later on, many of them established partnerships with foundations, financial institutions and other powerful partners, and eventually outgrew with complex financial models for housing and social development. Today, CDCs constitute the largest segment of the non-profit housing sector.

While the devolution of power and resources has transferred responsibility for housing provision from federal to lower government levels, it has stimulated competitive policy-making in many



jurisdictions. This competition has become apparent at the local level in the involvement of CDCs and CBOs. Benefits at the local level may be affected by the competitive political processes required by public programmes, as well as the non-profit leader's political influences. In addition, rivalry between non-profits serving the same jurisdiction has often been an issue preventing the following: firstly, collaboration and openness between non-profits addressing similar issues; secondly, innovative and tactical approaches to assist in the ongoing battle between powerful developers and resourceless communities; thirdly, delegation of power and resources to citizens; and finally the creation of local coalitions to envision, participate in and campaign for pathways leading to alternative housing models providing social, economic and spatial justice.

Considering all these facts and the rich legacy of housing programmes that emerged during the nadir of the city (tenant- and community-led housing programmes), one of the most feasible avenues through which to achieve a scalable impact is a direct collaboration between the city and the grassroots. The state must retake responsibility in order to mitigate the effects of this unprecedented housing crisis. Housing reform and progressive approaches have come at critical moments. Today we are experiencing conditions that neither the private market nor the non-profit sector can tackle. It is time for the government once again to assist in the production of decent and affordable housing for low-income communities through progressive programmes developed and managed in cooperation with tenants to maximise public and collective benefits. The proposed cooperative housing trusts developed through a hybrid tenure framework could make a difference, pulling together current public programmes, funds, and instruments, while recognising the agency and priorities of marginalised and vulnerable communities, rather than complying exclusively with for-profit and non-profit housing developers's interests. This hybrid model would strengthen the capacities of local stakeholders to complement each other with valuable knowledge and assets, while reducing competition between local non-profit developers, since local cooperation is at the centre.

Local coalitions are crucial alongside a city-wide movement to raise awareness of the urgency and benefits of shifting the hegemonic housing paradigm—homeownership promoted by the state and supported by global finance. The most progressive housing programmes have come from visionary tenants, grassroots groups, community organisers and community planners who have urged public authorities to change paradigms dominated by the interests of the market and the oligarchy, many times through direct action demonstrating transformative solutions. These gestures have evolved into institutionalized pilot programmes and subsequently expanded. The proposed initiative calls for the hybridisation of progressive property and housing models already demonstrating to be effective, and the creation of collaborative local frameworks for its implementation and proliferation. This model intends, besides the provision of affordable housing for today's and future generations, preventing the ongoing takeover of housing by global real estate markets, hedge funds and private equity firms. It calls for housing for people not for speculation and profit making. Actionable strategies must come from different angles—including local authorities, non-profits, grassroots groups and citizens— and convene to achieve a common goal: housing all New Yorkers.

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#### Archive

To see the Stage C Report from March 2012 please [click here](#).

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- 1 For more information, see Kirby White (ed.), *The CLT Technical Manual*, Portland: National Community Land Trust Network, 2011 2 For more information, see Kirby White (ed.), *The CLT Technical Manual*, Portland: National Community Land Trust Network, 2011. 3 This housing model has been developed by Cohabitation Strategies for the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition *Uneven Growth: Tactical Urbanisms for Expanding Megacities*. For more information about this model, research and development, please visit [www.cohstra.org](http://www.cohstra.org)

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#### Gabriela Rendon

Gabriela Rendon is an architect, urbanist and a co-founder of Cohabitation Strategies, an international non-profit cooperative for socio-spatial research, design and development based in Rotterdam and New York City. Gabriela's work combines research, planning and strategic design. Urban housing, participatory planning, neighborhood decline and restructuring are among her research interests. Her latest studies center on the politics, practices and constraints of social and spatial restructuring through citizen participation in low-income neighborhoods in America and Western Europe. Previous research and design projects have taken place on the northwest Mexican border region. Gabriela is an adjunct professor at The New School in New York City. She has also taught on the postgraduate programme in Urban Studies at Delft University of Technology in the Netherlands, where she received a Masters in Urbanism and is currently working towards a Ph.D in the department of Spatial Planning and Strategy.

# Carrot Cake



## Carrot Cake

### Ingredients

- 450g peeled and finely grated Carrots
- 30g peeled and grated Root Ginger
- 80ml Buttermilk
- 3 large Eggs
- 1 tsp Vanilla Extract
- 350ml Vegetable Oil
- 420g Caster Sugar
- 500g Plain Flour
- 10g Baking Powder
- 5g Bicarbonate of Soda
- 5g Salt
- 5g Ground Cinnamon
- 5g Ground Ginger
- 80g Pecans (plus extra to decorate)

### Method

1. Preheat oven to 170C (Gas mark 3). Line and grease two cake tins.
2. Using an electric whisk, mix together the carrots, root ginger, buttermilk, eggs, vanilla extract, vegetable oil and sugar until well combined.
3. In another bowl, sift together the flour, baking powder, bicarbonate of soda, salt and ground

spices, then in three batches, slowly beat this into the egg and carrot mixture, scraping down the sides of the bowl to pick up any ingredients left behind. Stir in the chopped pecans and mix the cake batter until it is smooth and even.

4. Divide the batter between the two cake tins and bake for approximately 30 minutes or until the top of each sponge bounces back when lightly pressed. Allow the cakes to cool completely, on a wire rack.

5. Whilst the sponges are cooling, using an electric whisk, mix together the butter and icing sugar on a low speed until combined but still powdery. Add the lemon zest and cream cheese, increasing the speed to med-high. Mix well until the frosting is smooth, light and fluffy.

6. When the sponges are cold, spread some of frosting between the two layers and sandwich them together. Use the remaining plain frosting to cover the top and outside of the assembled cake, then to finish, decorate with the chopped pecans and whole walnuts.

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**Recipes by the Homebaked Chefs**

# Performance, participation and questions of ownership in the Anfield Home Tour

At the 2012 Liverpool Biennial, a significant number of encounters with *Homebaked / 2Up 2Down* were facilitated through the performance *The Anfield Home Tour*,<sup>1</sup> which was conceived by Jeanne van Heeswijk, directed by Britt Jurgensen and written by Deborah Morgan. On this, audiences went on a minibus journey through the streets around the bakery, encountering stories told by locals and the guide Carl (played by actor, Graham Hicks) which then acted as an introduction to the socio-political context of the area, and thus the project.

It is not always easy to identify a recipe by taste alone; sometimes we can identify certain ingredients, but even if we manage this correctly, gaining an understanding of the method used to combine them is much harder. Nevertheless, in the following pages, I will reflect on my experiences both as an audience member of *The Anfield Home Tour* and as someone close to (though uninvolved in) the tour's development,<sup>2</sup> in an attempt to identify something of the recipe that the makers of this performance followed. I will look at what the intersection of audience, Anfield locals and professional artists provoked in this specific work, whilst also noting the risks and capabilities of such community-based performance work more generally.

At a fundamental level, performance is the meeting of bodies in space. It is an art form that creates encounters between people, and thus a space that facilitates experimentation with how we relate to each other. It develops new ways in which people, communities in the broadest sense, can be together. The narrative developed through such encounters has certain experiential qualities that are uniquely heightened through the performative moment. In *Redefining Visceral Performance*, Josephine Machon acknowledges these when she draws attention to the corporeal and emotional dimensions of performance. She expounds a theory of '(syn)aesthetics', the experience of 'fusing of sense (semantic "meaning making") with sense (feeling, both sensation and emotion) [that] establishes a double-edged rendering of making-sense/sense making'.<sup>3</sup> Although she does not deny the place of intellect in developing meaning, Machon's position is that the (syn)aesthetic encounter also essentially encompasses both sensory and affective stimuli.

In the case of *The Anfield Home Tour*, the audience, by being guided through the streets of Anfield, being invited into people's houses and, at one point, being asked to pass amongst themselves a brick similar to those used in the construction of these houses, encounter, in an embodied and multi-sensorial manner, the story of the area. They gain a perspective that is very different from that achieved by reading the same stories on a page. This is noted, not to generate a hierarchy of narrative media, but as an observation of how different forms of narrative demand diverse modes of engagement. When encountering a written narrative, a reader has more control over their engagement: they can scan backwards and skip forwards through the text at will, choose to linger on a particular detail, and cross-reference back across the temporality prescribed by the pages with relative ease. Performance, meanwhile, will, in most instances, progress at its own pace. Although this does not render performance audiences passive (from Barthes, through Ranciere and beyond, much attention has been given to the active engagement that texts, including performance texts, demand of their readers) it is nevertheless the case that, whilst their own affective histories, political tendencies and personal relations all shape the narrative that audiences experience and how they react to it, they are also encouraged – by their status as audience – to accept a certain lack of autonomy in relation to this narrative. Different activity is asked of the person hearing a story and the person telling it.

Although audience members were undeniably inside the content of *The Anfield Home Tour* (after all, they were surrounded by the fabric of what was being described), even those who knew the narrative first hand were, in the context of the performance, also placed to a marked degree outside the narrative as it was presented. At one point, relatively early in the tour, the bus stopped near a sign promoting the 'Anfield and Breckfield regeneration zone'. After Carl had delivered some banter about how long the sign had been

there, visitors were invited to stand beneath it. On the count of three, they shouted out 'Regeneration' and had their photo taken. As Gareth White notes in his article 'On Immersive Theatre',<sup>4</sup> the metaphors we apply to art often spatially identify them as containers from which we extract meaning – we 'get something out of them' and 'immerse ourselves within them'. The act of taking a photo in this way, however, places audience members outside in another sense. They adopt the role of the tourist, a visitor who is trying to gain understanding of the area.



Photo: Carl Ainsworth

This position of the visitors changes as the narrative of the tour progresses: there is a gradual invitation into the inside. They move from being tourists, to being a guest in someone's house, until finally they arrive at the bakery itself. Here, the structured performance is over, the dichotomy between performers and audience breaks down, and as they chat with the staff and members of Homebaked, they are invited to register either as supporters (for e-mail updates), or as members (if they live close enough to come to meetings). In this way, they are given the chance either to extend the narrative, or contribute more integrally to its creation.

Of course, the audience is only one part of the equation in a performative encounter. When those inside the performance are from the local community, as was the case with *The Anfield Home Tour*, it is also worth exploring how such participation affects the narrative presented. As Jen Harvie notes in her analysis of Roger Hiorn's installation *Seizure*,<sup>5</sup> there is a risk, when participation in artworks is unpaid, that neoliberal agendas around volunteerism are reinforced. In works where performance is delegated to non-professionals, it is important to trace the gains made from the performance. Harvie makes parallels between this work and the coalition government's ideas of the Big Society, in which volunteering is used as a means to cut costs and ensure that an ideological focus on individual responsibility for wellbeing remains intact: 'while it [the Big Society] may indeed call for volunteering and other acts of private giving, it does not necessarily propose to match that giving with public – or state – support for those in need.'<sup>6</sup>

In her development of a similar critique, Claire Bishop notes that whilst exploitation is a possibility in such work, it should not override all other considerations. There are instances in which a challenge to cultural norms is made precisely through their re-enactment; we should not write off 'work that reifies *precisely in order to discuss reification*, or that exploits *precisely to thematize exploitation itself*'.<sup>7</sup> Whilst



those members of the community who were present as performers on *The Anfield Home Tour* route were reimbursed financially for this role, the nature of the project inevitably meant that others made unpaid contributions. Even though these projects were not concerned with exploring labour relations in the manner identified by Bishop, the argument that these unpaid contributions were therefore exploitative feels somewhat shallow and simplistically conceived.

Whilst the ownership of the work (and therefore a significant proportion of the gains made within this field) remains with the Biennial, van Heeswijk and the creative team that developed the tour, the fact that the impact of these works reverberates far beyond this field is significant (not least, because the gains in cultural capital made by these parties are inextricably linked to this reverberation; the project is significant in the art world because of its significance in broader society). By being so firmly rooted in the area in which it is presented, the ownership addressed by *Homebaked* and *The Anfield Home Tour* becomes less about their authorship as projects, and more about the ownership of the area in which they take place. And this latter, more expansive sense of ownership is very much the concern of the local community. The Biennial, van Heeswijk and the creative team behind the tour neither have, nor make, any claim on this (other than as stakeholders in the bakery or as local residents, like tens, if not hundreds, of other people).

Aside from the legal determination of possession, questions of responsibility and entitlement are decisive factors in claims to ownership, and it is ownership of the area in this sense that is renegotiated through the performance of the Anfield Home Tour. In Anfield, the legal identity of the area is clearly defined: compulsory purchase orders have seen large parts taken into ownership of the council. Nevertheless, outside of the law, questions about who is entitled to make decisions for the area and who is responsible for what happens on those streets remain. The Anfield Home Tour gave voice to the people with, arguably, the most entitlement to the area: those whose identities are meshed with the bricks and mortar of the houses bought through the Housing Market Renewal Initiative (HMRI). The significance of this act of voicing narrative, (syn)aesthetically or otherwise, can be used to intervene in assertions of ownership; change the story that is told, and claims to ownership are also altered.

These new claims of ownership are inevitably open to contestation, but the encounters between the audience and people whose identity is, in a very real sense, determined by the streets where the encounters take place, very directly establishes a link between these people and the streets, lending an authenticity to the claims of ownership and truth implicit within the narrative. Not all the narrative encounters in *The Anfield Home Tour* were presented with the local voice, however. The tour guide was played by actor Graham Hicks, and, although he has a talent for comedic improvisation, he followed a collaboratively devised script for much of the tour. The ordering of the script had a significant influence on narrative construction, both in determining what was told and the positions taken by the audience in relation to that information. Scripting allowed particular information to be delivered at an appropriate time.

Before going into the heart of the Housing Market Renewal area, Hicks, as Carl, provided some historical contextualisation of the area. Stopping off in Everton Park he talked of the processes of regeneration that had dominated the area for the last fifty years. The characters he talked about – his Nan and his Auntie Carol – were fabricated; they were fiction. Nevertheless, they served an essential role in contextualising the narrative of the tour, the narrative of *Homebaked*, the narrative of the area. These characters didn't exist. But they could have. The story they told is the story of the area. They acted as a filter for the voices of hundreds of lives.

Hicks adopts the voice of a local to tell the story, even though he has never lived there (although it is worth noting that he isn't exactly an outsider; he grew up in Liverpool and knew the area before the project). Such an approach is risky: even with the best of intentions, such influence can impact on the story told. Changes in the ownership of narrative readily distort the narrative of ownership. Nevertheless, these

concerns were substantially ameliorated in the context of the tour, where there was firm links between the director of the piece and the locality (Britt Jurgensen is both an Anfield resident and had been working with Homebaked for over a year before The Anfield Home Tour). Even more significantly though, a range of people from the area were taken on work-in-progress showings and given the right to veto any elements they did not feel were appropriate.

Carl adopts the voice of the local because that was the through-line of the performance; his character set the audience up for the encounters they would have with people from the area later in the tour:



Photo: Mark Loudon

*Fred Brown remains living in his house whilst those on the other side of the street have been demolished. Fred told the story of a day when a shiny digger first turned up, before a group of people in suits arrived in fancy cars. Then the photographers arrived.*

*After the photos were taken, everyone left and it was weeks before the demolition proper began.*



Photo: Mark Loudon

*The house that Jayne Lawless grew up in was sold by her parents when the community around them started to be dismantled. Returning to the tinned up house years after they had been forced to leave, she told audiences how she could hear the smoke alarm, still beeping inside, 'still trying to protect us, even though we're not there anymore'.*



Photo: Mark Loudon

*Sue Humphreys, whose house has been in her family for three generations, invited the audience into*

*her home and gave them a personal history of her family, of the house, and of the area.*

These voices, the stories they tell, the performance of Anfield's everyday life that they provide, enacts a profound challenge to the more dominant narrative: that the houses are deprived and in disrepair, that regeneration is an uncomplicated improvement, that people simply don't know what's good for them.

Lawless describes it eloquently:

*From what I understand, and how I figure it, this was all about money. There was a big pot of gold. In order to access that pot, this area had to tick so many boxes in the magical world of deprivation. So suddenly, we were being told all the time that we were from this 'deprived area'.*

*And we were like, 'I'm not deprived. I don't feel deprived. We have food; we have clothes, both parents work. How am I deprived?' But the more you feed that in: 'You're poor, you're this you're that', you watch the standards drop; everything seemed to drop and it took about ten years, but they finally ticked that last box they needed to tick, and that was that, really.*

The challenge to the dominant narrative has nuance though. It would be too simple just to oppose the new developments, to ignore the benefits that may accompany them, to focus solely on the undeniable injustice, and by doing so risk encouraging hostility towards the people who have moved into the newly built houses. As happens elsewhere in the performance, fiction and non-fiction combine to (syn)aesthetically present this nuance. Those on the bus are told about Carl's fictional friend, Donkey, drinking beer and sunning himself in his new garden, phoning Carl to gloat about it, whilst soon afterwards they meet Bob, someone who used to live in the area but has now happily moved into one of the new builds after his previous house developed a mould problem (thanks to the empty houses on either side).

The tour overlaid the local voice onto the dominant narrative. It was a palimpsest that suggested that, although the problems in the past might have been to do with compulsory purchase and forced regeneration, the significant issue for the area now is that the proposed redevelopment has ground to a halt, the construction of new homes stagnating amidst the closure of the HMRI fund and the uncertainty (since resolved) of whether Liverpool FC was going to expand their stadium or move it elsewhere. By presenting the nuance of the situation, and then bringing the audience to meet the people involved with the bakery over tea and cakes at the tour's conclusion, the team gave the audience the space to make up their own minds about what, if anything, they wanted to contribute.

And it is here that the value of performative encounters such as The Anfield Home Tour lies. They create a trajectory of action for the audience, first showing a narrative, then bringing them inside, and then, when the performance concludes, providing a space through which that trajectory can continue. If there is a recipe for The Anfield Home Tour, it is a recipe for an appetizer. Although the performance might be tasty, its real value lies in its ability to whet the appetite for further action.

Archive

[The Anfield Home Tour, Deborah Morgan, 2012.](#)

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1 The Anfield Home Tour

Original idea: Jeanne van Heeswijk

Written and co-devised by: Britt Jurgensen (director), Deborah Morgan (writer) and Graham Hicks (performer).

With original text by Fred Brown, Jayne Lawless, Bob Norman and Susan Humphreys.

With input and inspiration from Lynn Tolmon, Laurie Peake, Angela McKay, Samantha Jones, Roselyn Groves, Bob Blanchard, Andrea Jones, Patrick and Carol McKay, Maria Brewster and Franny George

2 I have personal relationships with a number of the creative team that produced the tour.

3 Josephine Machon, *(Syn)aesthetics: Redefining Visceral Performance*, Palgrave, London, 2009, p.14.

4 Gareth White, 'On Immersive Theatre', *Theatre Research International*(37), 2012, pp.221–235.

5 In 2008, Hiorn lined the inside of an empty flat in Peckham, South London with copper sulphate crystals. In 2013, the entire flat was taken up the M1 motorway and installed in Yorkshire Sculpture Park.

6 Jen Harvie, 'Democracy and Neoliberalism in Art's Social Turn and Roger Hiorns's Seizure', *Performance Research: A Journal of the Performing Arts*, 16:2, 2011, p.120.

7 Claire Bishop, 'Delegated Performance, Outsourcing Authenticity', *October*, 140, 2012, p.111.

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### Tim Jeeves

Tim Jeeves is a performance-maker and writer who, in recent years, has concentrated on making work in his adopted home of Liverpool. Since 2011, with the support of Arts Council England and The Bluecoat, he has produced the *Giving in to Gift* festival, whilst in 2013, he worked with the learning disability company RAWD to create *How to Fall in Love*, a performative 'date' for two audience members at a time, that was one of Seven Streets Almanac's top 7 theatre shows of 2013. He is currently completing a PhD at Lancaster University, and together with long-term collaborator Cecilia Wee has been awarded an AN bursary to develop *The Artist plc*, a crypto-currency for trade in cultural value.

**2Up  
2Down/Homebaked  
and the Symbolic  
Media Narrative**

*This article is an expanded and updated version of a post by the same title on the author's blog on Social Practice (suebellyank.com) first published 17 February 2013.*

At a conference in December of 2012 about socially engaged art, Dutch artist Jeanne van Heeswijk seemed uncomfortable when presenting *2Up 2Down/Homebaked*, her ongoing work with residents of the Liverpool suburb Anfield, despite having done so dozens of times before. In a way, she was faced with an impossible task – to explain the complicated breadth of the multi-year project in which she was engaged. After all, her presentation (bolstered, in my case, by subsequent internet searches) was probably the only way that most of us there would experience the work, as an arbitrary and mediated snapshot. Despite her passion and her ability to tell a compelling story with nuance and detail, any description flattens such work, which is an ever-shifting series of tenuous relationships. Its coalescence through encapsulating narratives is the false echo of an effort that one person alone (even one deeply embedded) can never truly convey. Such work breathes.

In that sense, this kind of multi-phasic, long-term participatory project creates its own biological systems, complex interacting parts that sometimes interlock harmoniously and more often exist in constant tension. For many of us, however, even those involved in the project itself, this reality is reproduced through a mediated narrative of anecdotes, images, symbols and practised expression – whether that narrative is crafted by the artist herself, the organisation that funds and supports her, academics and critics like myself, or the actual media.

Because such narratives exist in a particular point in time, they reflect larger political and societal themes and concerns (influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the specific agendas of the writer and institution). This is true of writing or criticism about any artwork, but unlike work that remains fixed in an object form and whose meaning evolves with the shifting of time, socially engaged work also evolves independent of its interpretation. It throws another interdependent variable into the mix, and with it a mess of complicated resulting equations. In a mathematical analogy, you might say that object-based artwork is to socially engaged art practice what algebra is to calculus.

Yet the expression of art criticism and journalism largely remains a fixed format, and the subject/participant/artists in such work have little choice but to become defined by the symbolic narratives and images selected by the media to represent the project to a wider public. Subjects have several options when faced with an evolving project's mediatisation:

- They choose to ignore the symbolic narrative, which finds shape in spite of them.
- They embrace the symbolic narrative, shape it, and use it actively to tell an accessible version of the project's story at that particular point in time.
- They actively subvert and leverage the media platform of the work in order to critique or undermine misconceptions and highlight larger issues in which they are engaging.

In the life of any long-term socially engaged project, most artists whom I have encountered are quite savvy, even from the beginning, in acknowledging their need to shape this media narrative. The ubiquity of social media self-branding has exacerbated this necessity in nearly all arenas of life, but many are still caught off-guard by how content reads in their initial media experiences. They must quickly gain further expertise in how to manipulate the perceptions of their evolving projects most effectively. Such mediatisation is the currency on which such projects thrive in a larger arena – it is a key factor in continued fundraising (especially after a project's newness has worn off), in motivating participation from individuals or partner organisations, and in leveraging influence to affect change beyond the art world. Media can influence policy, or even more resonantly, a cultural shift.

The newspaper and magazine articles that I later found, in the local *Liverpool Echo*<sup>1</sup>, the national *Observer*<sup>2</sup>, and the international edition of *The New York Times*<sup>3</sup>, were even more frozen in time than van

Heeswijk's passionate talk, especially because many of them were reviews of the just-opened Liverpool Biennial, with which the international art exhibition Homebaked was associated. The reviews of the Biennial itself were mixed, but nearly all were glowing about the work in Anfield, and every single one mentioned van Heeswijk and her project out of the many works presented in the exhibition platform, albeit in very different ways.

Taking just these three articles as a case study and combining them, we gain a summary overview of the project that reads something like this:

The neighbourhood of Anfield, poor but attractive due to its proximity to the football stadium, fell victim to its closure in 1998. Many residents moved out or sold their houses, but because of the financial crisis and changes in leadership, the area never got rebuilt or even fully demolished. The remaining residents now live amidst the abandoned and blighted remains of a neighbourhood in permanent limbo, the cornerstone of which was the former Mitchell's Bakery. Commissioned by the Liverpool Biennial to create a project 'with lasting impact'<sup>4</sup>, artist Jeanne van Heeswijk began working with a group of teens (a common pattern in such projects, perhaps because teens are such powerful forces for advocacy in a community, effectively motivating participation in both young and old and refusing to be ignored) to take over the bakery as a meeting space and create a community-owned Land Trust. The plan gained partners and additional neighbourhood participants and has slowly progressed, coalescing into an 'alternative to the existing situation', as van Heeswijk puts it. 'I'm talking about small-scale developments with more manageable footprints which are easier for the community to understand what will happen.'<sup>5</sup> The newspaper articles are aspirational, painting Anfield as a victim of runaway greed and governmental overreach that was given a 'glimmer of hope'<sup>6</sup> by the *Homebaked* project. The residents caught in the middle become symbols for the precarity of our times, casualties in a housing war. Van Heeswijk is oft-quoted as saying, 'Housing is the battlefield of our time, and the house its monument.'

Each article, however, offers a very different perspective on this narrative. The title of the *Liverpool Echo* article betrays a focus on van Heeswijk ('Liverpool Biennial artist Jeanne van Heeswijk mixes art, regeneration and bread in Anfield') and is brimming with quotes from participants focusing on the artist as benevolent 'teacher'. The residents of Anfield are presented as having been saved by their newly found creative and entrepreneurial skills resulting from their participation in the art/design/bakery project after years of 'broken promises'. What exactly these promises are seems assumed, just as it is never explained why Anfield is plagued by 'empty terraced homes and vacant ground surrounding Anfield stadium'. However, this emphasis sets up Anfield residents as forgotten, hopeless and in need of saving.

The artist is well-quoted, seemingly allowed to tell the story from her perspective, but the only other participant represented is Lynn Tolman, an Anfield resident. She talks about how the project 'saved her life' and how she has been invited to become part of an artist collective in Salford. '[They] want to turn me into an artist. I've never have had the confidence or skills if it hadn't been for this. It really turned my life around.' This is juxtaposed by a description of an 'enthused' and grinning van Heeswijk, who speaks about the project's training plans, how to get more people involved etc.<sup>7</sup> Thus the entire symbolic story pivots on the relationship between these two representative figures – the saved resident and her evangelical saviour, the artist. This account drastically oversimplifies a significantly more complicated reality, and in fact undercuts the carefully considered methodologies of Freirean popular education underpinning the project – not to mention the European historical context of cooperative organising and 'right to the city' movements.

The *Observer* takes a very different approach. A relatively lengthy article headlined 'Liverpool Biennial – review', it barely focuses on the art in the Biennial, but rather uses the examples of two projects – Heeswijk's *Homebaked* and Fritz Haeg and James Corner's *Everton Peoples' Park: Foraging Spiral and Basecamp* – to frame a scathing indictment of housing-market renewal (HMR), an economic housing regeneration scheme described as 'an invention of the Blair government at the besotted peak of its love of



the magic of the markets'. The article engages in a much more sweeping political and economic analysis of the changing urban landscape of Liverpool, and it is not until after nearly a dozen heart-wrenchingly descriptive paragraphs about the wholesale destruction of the fabric of urban community in the city that the art projects are even mentioned. *Homebaked* (not referred to by name in the two paragraphs devoted to it, but rather described as how 'Dutch artist Jeanne van Heeswijk has used her Biennial funding') is reduced to the reopening of a closed bakery, and a series of bus tours 'that take you around the devastated zones'. The project, along with Haeg and Corner's edible garden project, are characterised as a 'glimmer of hope' in collectively standing up to a wrong-headed government in order to fight the blighting of their historic neighbourhoods.<sup>8</sup>

Though the article's (narrowly focused) attention to the city context is admirable, lumping these projects in together is quite reductive and misleading – not only are they very different projects with varying methodologies and timeframes that are given remarkably short shrift in the article, they also have very different purposes. Though van Heeswijk's project in Anfield reacts specifically to the context of HMR, Haeg and Corner's project is much more concerned with Everton Park and a deep dive into its intertwined natural and social histories. Both are actively engaged in catalysing a community-designed reimagination of their respective sites, but whereas van Heeswijk's project focuses on the creation of a community-owned land trust, the resident-generated output of Haeg's series of projects is being wrapped into a more traditional long-term masterplan for the park led by Corner. The fact that this article is couched as a review of the Liverpool Biennial as a whole is odd, since these are the only two projects mentioned, and the other venues, background and thrust of the exhibition itself are ignored. The author has clearly used this platform as an excuse to critique HMR, with little real analysis of how arts-funded projects can take on this kind of sweeping urban reform.

The *New York Times* ran an article in both its New York edition and in its international sister, the *International Herald Tribune*, with yet another take on Heeswijk's project – a much more positive and nostalgic one. Its focus is evident in the headline ('A Corner Bakery and a Town's Rebirth'), and it begins with an idealised history of the eighty-five year old Mitchell's Bakery in Anfield, and how it 'sold bread, cakes, and pies to local people and the soccer fans flocking across the road to Anfield Stadium'. As in the *Liverpool Echo* article, Tolman is again the spokesperson for residents, but van Heeswijk's voice is not evident at all. Rather, programme director Laurie Peake of the Liverpool Biennial represents the initiating entities, articulately focusing on the involvement of the local people and their empowerment through the project, as well as the artist's interest in combining housing with social enterprise. She, like the article, emphasises the bakery as 'the heart of the project.'<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps Peake's involvement and direction made some difference in shaping the media narrative (along with the reporter's own critical research), or perhaps the benefit of a few more months of additional project activity helped add depth, since this article does a much more thorough job of telling the project's story than the previous two. It is even possible that the author was able to attend a Home Tour (they were running in November) and benefitted from the in-person experience by learning far more than the two journalists who wrote their articles in September. The article touches on HMR and the story of the bakery's closing, but then goes more deeply into the programmatic accomplishments and process of *Homebaked*, from design studios for youth and residents, the formation of a community land trust, skills-based classes on design and construction, and a food cooperative's activities. Finally, it ends with a description of the community's drive to raise funds for a new oven and promote awareness of the project through the ongoing Anfield home tours. The article treats the project as an entity, a living and breathing work-i-progress that is self-generating, rather than the brainchild of an artist or a small cultural effort stemming from the Biennial to right a vast wrong. It is described as a catalytic group effort, and the author's refusal to limit the description of art in this context (but rather taking the project on its own terms) helps flesh out a clearer picture.

Despite the more detailed summary of the project's activities in *The New York Times*, the article certainly romanticises the bakery as the heart of community, elevating it through carefully crafted metaphor of as a place of warmth, comfort, home and baking in the communal space. As Tolman puts it in the *Liverpool Echo* article: 'People that live around here get treated like they're worthless and that they don't deserve to drink coffee and eat good bread.'<sup>10</sup> *Homebaked* is a great story. Catchphrases and imagery abound ('we will rise' and 'brick by brick, loaf by loaf, we build ourselves'), eliciting domestic nostalgia, strategies of cooking and food as social lubricant and cooperative effort. The issue it addresses is very timely, and the people involved are creative, articulate and empowered by the artist. In fact, this accessible story is part of the aesthetic work of the artist and her collaborators, and part of the reason why work like this can leverage unique access to resources and networks within and beyond the art world in order to effect change. For example, *Homebaked* was added to the title of the project, *2Up 2Down*, with both monikers now interchangeable, and a new logo of a slice of bread adorning the blog and shop windows.

The story became so popular, so resonant in the media – had 'such legs' as they say – that the Anfield Home Tours that were part of the Liverpool Biennial around the time these three articles were published exploded. These 'heritage' tours, conducted by and with Anfield residents, were laborious and intense. They were also meaningful, poetic and symbolically powerful, but arguably drew time and effort away from what was considered the actual work – getting the bakery up and running and lobbying for it (and the houses around it) to be sold to the communal land trust. Van Heeswijk lamented this at the time. She worried over how cute the branding was, how immediately accessible the references and the narratives were. She fretted about the pressing work at hand, and the very real possibility that everything the community had been working towards could still be demolished. She thought the tidy media characterisations of *Homebaked* would overshadow the messy chaos and systemic imbalances that the project had to navigate every day.

She remains uncomfortable with the popularity of the Anfield Home Tours in the media, as well as the way in which articles like these framed the project. However, in hindsight, she recognises the vast difference that a public platform can make in congealing the political autonomy of an organised group. As she wrote in a recent email:

[L]ooking back at the tours, they did politicise the people involved. Because of telling their stories publicly and getting the response, it strengthened them to speak up and act out their concern about their future more widely. After this, they started a Kickstarter campaign to get money for the oven – but also started to talk directly to local politicians campaigning for the bakery and the land trust.<sup>11</sup>

This recalls a quote from Austrian philosopher and critic Ivan Illich, who once said 'neither revolution nor reformation can ultimately change a society, rather you must tell ... an alternative story'.<sup>12</sup> This story is not that of an artistic saviour, as told in the *Liverpool Echo* review, nor that of little guys facing up to the big, mean government as characterised by the *Observer* article. Nor is it attributable to a nostalgic memory of community like the bakery, as in *The New York Times* article. Rather, the public platform of the home tours, bolstered by these media narratives, allowed for the authentic stories of those involved to enter directly into the political landscape. As the international artist collective Ultra-red, who also work with communities on complicated issues of housing and services, said of their recent project *School of Echoes*: 'the first step in such a project has been radically altering our notion of who the protagonists of art and cultural action are, and how this changes the landscape of contemporary activism'.<sup>13</sup> How each socially engaged project engages and deploys media can fundamentally shift its perception and political agency – both internally and externally.

Addressing his own attempt to encapsulate these practices into an exhibition format at Creative Time in New York, 2012, Nato Thompson begins his essay in the catalogue *Living as Form: Socially-engaged Art from 1991–2011* by describing poetic projects that gain a lot of media traction, their concise and reverberating explications that move us. Are these projects geared for the media?, he asks: 'Each project

flourished among news outlets as these artists created a new spin around old stories.<sup>14</sup> This is characteristic of the media society in which we live, where the political, poetic and functional merge, where life, virtuality and art are intertwined, and, most of all, where politics and media feed off one another.

Becoming media savvy is a necessity for nearly everyone today, and it is very difficult to give up control of the symbolic media narrative in favour of the actual on-the-ground work, because it seems that one may determine the other. Writer, activist and artist Dont Rhine, a member of Ultra-red, underscored the porosity of these borders: 'People will describe their world the way the media describes it. But then as the conversations continue, the story changes.' It becomes more grounded, more realistic. It opens new possibilities. This observation makes clear the necessity of media understanding, literacy and manipulation in these projects, because the media narrative determines the way in which people see themselves. A symbolic counterattack on prevailing narratives, carefully calibrated through self-branding and actualisation, can shift understanding and pave the way for progress, as surely as baking bread or laying down brick. Rhine also said of socially engaged work, 'It's not just changing our perception of our world, it's changing the world we perceive.'<sup>15</sup> In fact, it must do both: change perception and the world, because one naturally follows the other.

Archive

[2012 Liverpool Biennial Review, Rowan Moore, The Observer, 2012.](#)

[Liverpool Biennial artist Jeanne van Heeswijk mixes art, regeneration and bread in Anfield, Liverpool Echo, 2012.](#)

[A Corner Bakery and a Town's Rebirth, New York Times, 2012](#)

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1 'Liverpool Biennial artist Jeanne van Heeswijk mixes art, regeneration, and bread in Anfield', Liverpool Echo (Liverpool), 18 September 2012.

<http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news...>

2 Rowan Moore, 'Liverpool Biennial – review', The Observer (London), 22 September 2012.

<http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2012/sep/2...>

3 Alice Rawsthorn, 'A Corner Bakery and a Town's Rebirth', The New York Times (New York), 25 November 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/26/arts/design/a-co...>

4 Liverpool Echo, op. cit..

5 Ibid.

6 Observer, op. cit.

7 Liverpool Echo, op. cit.

8 Observer, op. cit.

9 The New York Times, op. cit.

10 Liverpool Echo, op. cit.

11 Jeanne van Heeswijk, email to the author, 17 April 2014.

12 Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society*, Marion Boyars Publishers, London, 2002 (originally published in 1970).

13 Dont Rhine, Introduction to 'What is the Sound of Radical Education?', in Tim Ivison and Tom Vandeputte (ed.), *Contestations*, BP, London, 2013, p.84.

14 Nato Thompson, 'Introduction', Nato Thompson (ed.), *Living as Form: Socially-engaged Art from 1991–2011*, The MIT Press, Boston, 2012.

15 Dont Rhine, lecture and workshop with Leonardo Vilchis at UCLA's Hammer Museum for UCLA Art

### **Sue Bell Yank**

Sue Bell Yank is a writer, producer, and arts organizer. She works as an online education producer and was formerly the Associate Director of Academic Programs at the Hammer Museum. She graduated from the Masters of Public Art Studies program at USC, focusing on the role of contemporary art in rebuilding efforts after Katrina in New Orleans. She has worked with artist Edgar Arceneaux as a co-founder and Assistant Director for the Watts House Project, and has a deep-seated investment in socially and politically-engaged art that can be traced to her years as a public school teacher in Lynwood and South Fairfax. She is an advisor for the Asian Arts Initiative's Social Practice Lab and the granting organization SPART, was a curatorial advisor for the Creative Time Living as Form exhibition (2011), and was part of the curatorial team for the 2008 California Biennial. Her writing has been featured in exhibition catalogues, the Journal of Aesthetics and Protest, n. paradoxa Feminist Journal, the Huffington Post, KCET Artbound, and various arts blogs including her ongoing essay blog entitled Social Practice ([www.suebelllyank.com](http://www.suebelllyank.com)). She has been a lecturer at California College of the Arts, Otis College of Art and Design, UCLA, and USC.

# Walton Breck White



## The Walton Breck White

### Ingredients

- 1kg Strong White Bread Flour
- 40g fresh Yeast
- 20g Salt
- 20g Butter
- 600g tepid Water

1. Measure flour and salt into a mixing bowl, using finger tips, crumble in fresh yeast and butter.

2. Make a well in the center of the mixture and then add two-thirds of the water. Create a claw with your hand and get stuck in. Working your way from the center of the bowl outwards until the whole mixture is incorporated into a sticky dough.

3. You will know when the mix is ready when all the sides of the bowl are clean!

4. Take the mixture out onto a working surface, add a little flour and begin to knead the dough until stretchy and elastic. You are looking for a clear dough, smooth and soft, so I'm afraid you have to knead knead knead!

5. Once clear and smooth, leave underneath a bowl for it's first rise for one hour.

6. Come back to the dough and you should see it has doubled in size. Now gently knead the dough releasing all the air that has built up in it's first proving. Cut the dough in half. You should get two 900g loaves out of this mix. Ball up/shape as you like and pop into two greased tins. Cover with tea towel and allow the dough to rise up to fill the tins.

7. Pop the bread into an oven at 230 degrees and add a splash of water to the oven or a tray of ice cubes to create a blast of steam that you will need to create a crust.

8. Wait for 40 mins before you open the oven and see that bread has risen and should have a nice crust and colour. It's up to you to cook for a further 10 minutes if you like your bread dark.

9. Take bread out of tins and leave to rest on cooling wire for at least 20 minutes.

10. Dig into your freshly made loaf, relax and enjoy what you have made!

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**Recipes by the Homebaked Chefs**

# Shankley Pie





Shankley Pie  
(Makes 10 pies)

### Ingredients

#### For Filling

- 1kg Braising Steak
- 500g Steak Mince
- 200g Smoked Bacon (cubed)
- 180g Shallots/Onions (peeled and finely chopped)
- 180g Button/Chestnut Mushrooms (finely chopped)
- 1 small bunch fresh Tarragon
- 1.5 tbsp Vegetable Oil
- 500ml Beef Stock
- Cornflour to thicken
- Seasoning to taste

#### For Pastry

- 650g Plain Flour
- 125g Margarine
- 125g Shortening
- Generous pinch of Salt
- 200ml Water

### Method

1. In a hot pan seal off the pieces of braising steak and set aside in a large casserole or baking dish.
2. In another pan, fry off the bacon until crispy, add chopped onions and fry until tender.
3. Add chopped mushrooms to onion/bacon mix.
4. When all beef is sealed, add veg/bacon mix to the casserole.
5. Add steak mince and stock.
6. Cover with foil and bake in oven at 180C for two hours and 150C for a further four hours.
7. For the pastry put the flour and salt in a large bowl and add margarine and shortening. Use your fingertips to rub margarine and shortening into the flour until you have a mixture that resembles coarse breadcrumbs with no large lumps of butter remaining. Try to work quickly so that it does not become greasy.
8. Using a knife, stir in just enough of the cold water to bind the dough together.
9. Alternatively using a food processor, put the flour, margarine, shortening and salt in the food processor and pulse until the fat is rubbed into the flour. With the motor running, gradually add the water through the funnel until the dough comes together. Only add enough water to bind it and then stop.
10. Wrap the dough in clingfilm as before and chill for 1hr before using. The pastry can be made up to two days ahead and kept in the fridge or frozen for up to a month.
11. Roll out the dough to the thickness of a one pound coin and cut out round pieces, for example using a saucer or pie cutter as template. The size is dependent on pie case you use. After you fill out the case there should be a small rim hanging over the sides.
12. Roll out the leftovers to make pie lids with a smaller pie cutter.
13. Fill the pies with your filling, then use egg wash to seal the lid on. Trim the excess and crimp the edges.
14. Cook pies in preheated oven at 220C/200C fan/gas 7 and place a flat baking tray in the oven. Make a few little slits in the centre of the pie, place on the hot baking tray, then bake for 40 minutes until golden. Leave the pie to rest for 10 minutes.

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**Recipes by the Homebaked Chefs**

# A Creative Alternative?

When I was a child, I was taken by my school to see a submarine launched at the Cammell Laird shipyard, a place that had been the *raison d'être* of my hometown, Birkenhead, for the last 200 years. I was given a flag to wave at the vast, metal object as it went down the slipway. My principle memory is of the scale of the place, as we stood dwarfed by the yard's huge construction sheds and yellow cranes. What I didn't quite understand at the time was that *this was the end*. This was the last ship that was to be built at the yard.

I would to come to realise this, though, and also that it was almost to mean the end of the town, reduced largely to decline and dependency on low-paid service-industry work, benefits and a small number of public-sector jobs. What happened to Birkenhead as a phenomenon has, if anything, increased elsewhere in my lifetime. The sort of decline that could once safely – for others – be said to be located in certain specific areas, has engulfed more and more places over the last twenty years in a rapidly shifting global world. What do you do with a place when its reason to exist has gone? Can it have a future? How can people suffering from the poverty generated by such situations have better lives and opportunities? These were the questions that plagued me as I grew up in a postindustrial area.

Economic decline is inextricably linked to population decline, both of which create surplus land and buildings. In the later part of the twentieth century, in certain urban areas such as New York, London and Berlin, this 'free space' was often occupied by artists and those seeking alternative lifestyles. Economically, this ultimately worked out for these cities, since while certain industries and the communities that had relied on them had been hollowed out, they had other industries to sustain them. In New York and London this was principally high-finance and in Berlin, principally government. So this occupation by 'creatives' actually helped re-animate what was, in the eyes of local authorities, 'problem spaces', bringing them back to economic use as they became fashionable and subsequently attracted new, wealthier residents. Such gentrification has been well documented.<sup>1</sup> Writers like Richard Florida suggested that other postindustrial areas should adopt this model, becoming 'creative cities'<sup>2</sup> that attract the highly educated, highly mobile people who set up the likes of Google. This was seen by some civic leaders as a catch-all answer to stemming population decline, creating those lucrative 'good jobs' and so increasing the tax- and power-base of postindustrial areas. Based on these theories, many such localities spent big on arts venues, festivals etc aimed at regenerating disused space, attracting culture-seeking tourists and more importantly, those new 'creative' business-starting residents.

However, in many other cities, while empty buildings, declining populations and tax bases were also the problem, this solution was not so easy as in New York and London. In a place as large as a city, a 'creative class' generally needs a 'real' economy to feed off in order to enjoy a supporting infrastructure and audience. Shoreditch may emphasise its mental distance from The City of London, but without the latter's finance industry paying for the likes of London's advanced public transportation system via demand and taxation, along with everything from sponsoring theatres to buying artworks and commissioning designers, its 'creative class' would struggle. As any artist who has lived in a postindustrial city for any length of time will tell you, cheap rents and easily available space are important, but to lack easy access to a major market or audience (even in these internet days) is ultimately limiting.

While we may love them for their diversity, vibrancy and creativity, cities have since ancient times largely existed for strategic or economic reasons, formed out of convergences of power and money. This is why so many artists and creative people still move to New York and London despite the harsh costs and lifestyle. These cities offer potential for advancement that other localities do not, whether in terms of creative stimulation or more pragmatic personal opportunities. This is why economically successful cities are always centres of inward migration, people seeking their own piece of the growing pie, whether money or culture, which in turn helps gives birth to that diversity, vibrancy and creativity.

Throughout history, art and culture have generally emerged from economic centres that can afford them, rather than being expected to *be* the economy, or at least not solely. Some unique places such as Venice can, via tourism, achieve an economy based on their cultural histories. Yet even Venice has a

shrinking population, which is causing it problems now that it is no longer a centre of manufacture, commerce and slavery. Indeed, despite all the new creative industries being talked about in postindustrial places like Detroit, such as the start-ups at the A. Alfred Taubman Centre,<sup>3</sup> making cars is still actually the biggest part of the Detroit economy.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, even as cultural-focused tourism does grow in Liverpool, its maritime and manufacturing trades are still bigger economic assets.<sup>5</sup> Over in Birkenhead, even the old Cammell Laird shipyard has re-opened and is now booming.<sup>6</sup> These most traditional of industries, which had declined for years, are still the main points of growth for such places as trade patterns shift, to a degree, back in their favour. Such growth remains vulnerable, but at least these localities are still playing a significant role in the global economic system, in fields, despite their reduction in staff numbers, that employ far more people than the arts are ever likely to.

In London and New York, the fight for space against the overwhelming power of capital is key, hence the constant shifting of 'creative zones' to the latest deprived area. In cities such as Liverpool, though, the fight is *for* capital or rather any way for the city (including its artists) to sustain itself without having to rely on cross-subsidy from elsewhere to pay for its services. The latter is a dangerous situation, leaving postindustrial areas vulnerable to the whims of the policies of often faraway governments.

Is there an alternative for cities other than to fight each other for a slice of global capital? To take part in a pact with the very ideology that brought down industrial cities? We should not forget that it was also this same ideology that gave birth to these cities and subsequently the culture that rose from them: be it Motown or The Beatles, Diego Rivera's *Detroit Industry* murals or the sculpture by Arthur Dooley, himself a former Cammell Laird welder.

Despite the continued economic reliance on transport and manufacture in Liverpool, cultural activity has played a big part in shifting both the perception and actuality of the city in the last fifteen years in a way that few residents would disagree has been an improvement, even if most would also agree there is still a long way to go. If, with the right cultural attractions and activities, a town can create a tourist business and transform external views of the place, creating a few jobs in the process, why would any poor locality not do so?

Are these cultural initiatives in postindustrial locations just window-dressing: a bit of art to cover over the economic cracks, encouraging higher-end tourism and providing something to do between inward investment meetings? A chance for globetrotting arty-types to 'reanimate' decayed spaces and help pave the way for developers? Or can they offer more?

I would argue that they can. Art's real strength in this situation is how it can exist in a space between those at different ends of the scale of power and money. In this deeply imbalanced situation, real sway can be had, as Charles Bukowski once said, when 'an artist says a hard thing in a simple way'. Art has the potential to cut through things, creating a channel through dysfunctional systems. Creative activism in the public arena can, by highlighting errors, showcasing alternatives and probing new solutions, make the prevailing forces of power, at best take a step back, or at least demonstrate to others the holes that exist within their plans and systems.

Such action in postindustrial areas can break the deadlock that can emerge from vested interests. Governments, local authorities, businesses, property developers, investors, even entrenched community groups, while often having plans that may be valid on one level, can, in the inevitable vastness of such organisations, end up letting neighbourhoods, even whole cities, fall down the cracks. As an example, we can look to Liverpool and how the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder initiative affected it and other areas with mass housing demolition.<sup>7</sup> This plan emerged, no doubt with good intentions, from a think-tank at Birmingham University and was adopted by the then government as a way of regenerating postindustrial communities. Dozens of journals, petitions and surveys eventually began to critique this extreme approach. While these achieved a cumulative effect, ultimately they held less power and sway in general public and political opinion than two actions in Liverpool. In Anfield, the *2up2down/Homebaked* project,<sup>8</sup> re-opening a bakery that many thought had gone for good, and in Liverpool, eight community groups

painting bright images, planting flowers and hosting a local market outside abandoned homes. All the secret meetings, investment strategies and ten-year-plans rightly turned to dust in the face of such an obviously more positive use of empty property reduced to ruin by socio-economic policies. Such initiatives may have impacts that are more emotional than practical, but therein lies the ability of such creative action to compete against, or at least square up to, those who control the money and power. Those with their hands on the levers inevitably struggle to respond when they are faced with a public demonstration of obvious failure and positive alternatives.

The question from critics though, and it is a valid one, is what next? When folly or injustice has been demonstrated, what alternative is there? Can such initiatives represent long-term solutions? Creative perforations can open avenues to new situations, but for real change they have to then grow into something bigger. In becoming more established and practical, such projects may lose some of their initial outsider power, but this is essential if such action is to instigate actual change and shift the balance of ideas, power and control.

For an example of this we can shift from Liverpool to Bradford, where creative grassroots action helped not only to save a grand Art Deco cinema from demolition, but began a total re-imagining of the potential future of the building. After being closed for several years, the Odeon was facing destruction, to be replaced with a new office and retail development,<sup>9</sup> the need for which was questionable. Slowly, local opposition built into a 'Save the Odeon' campaign, with activists often utilising artistic impulses such as covering the building with 'Get Well Soon' cards, decorating it at Christmas while a brass band played, and even turning up as a group to clean its exterior to demonstrate that, beneath a bit of dirt, a fine building was languishing. These actions slowly won over more local people and even gained celebrity support from the likes of Imelda Staunton, Terry Gilliam and David Hockney. After much pressure, the demolition was eventually cancelled, with the local authority agreeing that the building should be retained in future plans for the area. The campaigners have subsequently formed into an Industrial and Provident society named 'Bradford One' and are now bidding to be allowed to take over the building themselves.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, over in Detroit, the apparently sensible policy of reducing the city's size in relation to its shrunken population came up against The Heidelberg Project, begun in 1986 by artist Tyree Guyton on the city's east side. Initially, he painted a series of houses in Heidelberg Street with bright dots in many colours and attached salvaged items to the houses. He went on to develop the project into a constantly evolving work that transformed a semi-abandoned neighbourhood into a creative art centre.<sup>11</sup> Twice it was faced with demolition by the Detroit authorities, and indeed some of it was destroyed. Yet, despite these setbacks, it is now a global tourist attraction with its own arts education programme for local schoolchildren, not to mention being one of fifteen projects that represented the US at the 2008 Venice Architecture Biennale.<sup>12</sup>

The question raised by those who wanted to see the demolition and removal of all these places was, 'Well, what would you do with it?' In answer, creativity was used against the overwhelming machines of business, media, government and prevailing orthodoxy, to open up alternative possibilities for these spaces. Such projects may not in themselves solve all the problems of a postindustrial city, but their operation in a more open-ended space outside of dominant ideologies can raise awareness, generate new solutions and galvanise people to action. After all, successful local regeneration is based on local enthusiasm for it, which, when people are already facing the multiple challenges of living in a deprived area, can be slow to start and quick to wane. Key to ongoing positive change stemming from such initiatives is the genuine involvement of local people in an in-depth way. The Bradford One and Heidelberg actions were both begun by people who already had a stake in the local area, while *2up2down/Homebaked* in Anfield began as an external provocation from Liverpool Biennial. However, all of these projects ultimately took the time to win understandably sceptical people over from outside of their own circles and become rooted in local desires, rather than just agendas imposed from outside. Also vital though, is that such projects moved on from their initial creative perforations and formed organisations, sought funding,

liaised with regulators, engaged wider publics and communicated with media and academia. Thus they created a momentum that became sustainable, even through inevitable setbacks and ups and downs.

So, having begun to develop initial provocations into projects with positive outcomes for communities, the question becomes, what next? How does the spark of an alternative become something sustainable or even a new way of doing things in postindustrial areas? The rights of the urban resident of the twentieth century were gained through practical action, engaging, even if aggressively, with the prevailing system and demanding a share, as well as through the development of solid alternatives that functioned effectively, even if these existed within a wider capitalist framework. Bodies from the Cooperative movement founded in Rochdale in 1844 to the early housing associations formed in 1960s Liverpool, determined that inner-city housing had a future, and so it remains today.

Having successfully fundraised via Kickstarter to open its bakery, *2up2down/Homebaked* now seeks to establish a co-operative housing scheme<sup>13</sup> as part of the wider redevelopment of Anfield, which is centred on a new stadium for Liverpool Football Club. In Bradford, the Save the Odeon campaign has formed into the constituted Bradford One organisation, which is developing proposals that, if successful, will see the historic structure transformed into a multi-purpose cultural venue and centre for creative enterprise. This will include an 'asset lock' ensuring that the Odeon's future use will always benefit the people of Bradford.<sup>14</sup> In Detroit meanwhile, the Heidelberg Project is planning to expand into neighbouring properties as part of a broader 'cultural village' concept for the area once the site has been secured from recent damage.<sup>15</sup> The project's development committee now includes senior staff from Detroit and Michigan local authorities, demonstrating quite a change from when Guyton spent much of his time fighting officials who wanted to shut down the project. His case was no doubt aided by the Heidelberg's increasing popularity and global visibility.<sup>16</sup>

While global big business is probably here to stay, it seems that local control, whether it is of new business start-ups, arts centres, housing co-ops or bakeries, offers the best long-term sustainability for communities. Yet for this to happen, local people must be able to take control. The will must be there in the community for such initiatives, but provocations such as the above, by highlighting alternatives and breaking open new ideas, can have transformative effects, bringing people on board who never imagined they could ever have a voice or play a part in the future of their area.

However, controlling authorities also need to have the desire, or at least the will, to hand such power to communities. So will states grant such power to localities and will local authorities in turn divest power to their citizens? Even if this happens, will it descend into counter-productive factionalism? Perhaps in some cases, but as the examples above show, plenty of projects can exceed even the wildest hopes of their founders, if they are given the opportunity. It may be the case though, as projects such as these have demonstrated, that the only way to gain power is for such organisations to be formed, take the initiative and demand it, creating legitimacy through raising awareness and encouraging action. Equally vital is that the authorities provide the required financial support for such projects at the relevant time. David Cameron's 'Big Society' idea of community solutions quickly fell on its face because of a lack of money, something even acknowledged by the academic who came up with the phrase.<sup>17</sup> If you hand the levers of power over to people, but with no capital to be able to use them, positive effects will always be limited.

Creative perforations, such as those listed above, are in themselves valid, as a way to speak the truth to power, show an alternative and imagine new possibilities. However, if they are to have lasting effects, they need to change, morph and engage with the prevailing systems of power and money in order to achieve wider goals. This may require compromise, but such compromise will have much stronger social benefits in deprived areas than any academic treatise denouncing failures in the system from a faraway university.

Finally, can these projects be more than interesting perforations, a few gems standing out in otherwise troubled cities? Can they actually become new ways of organising postindustrial urban environments? If this is possible, such initiatives cannot exist in a vacuum. Power brokers need to be

engaged and convinced that the system needs to shift and absorb these new ideas. In undertaking such engagement, projects like these may risk losing their outsider power, but they gain the potential to change many more lives and even of becoming new orthodoxies. That is, of course, until the need arises for the next perforation from outside of the prevailing order.

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## Kenn Taylor

Kenn Taylor is an arts and heritage learning and participation manager, who has worked with organisations including National Museums Liverpool, Tate Liverpool, Metal Culture and Sir John Soane's



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# Homebaked Portraits

Mark Loudon



Homebaked 1



Homebaked 2



Cathy Alderson



























Please scroll through the slideshow to see portraits.

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### Mark Loudon

Mark Loudon is a local freelance photographer born and brought up in Belfast. After leaving N.I. to seek his fortune in the theatres of England as a technician he found himself working in Dance, Circus, Community Arts and travelling the globe with the Irish Landscape Theatre company LUXe. His work tends to be in the arts and community arts sectors as well as press, PR, portrait, social and documentary photography.





# Colophon

Stages #2 Homebaked: A Perfect Recipe was published in August 2014

*Stages* is an online journal published by Liverpool Biennial. It is a space for staging research, writing and thinking generated from the Biennial's year-round programme.

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**Acknowledgments:**

*Stages* is supported by a grant from the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts

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And a special thanks to all past and present members and of Homebaked for their input.

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