The spaces of Butetown and Cardiff Bay are read through graffiti, architectural representations and the lived environment of two housing estates undergoing the forces of regeneration.

Producing space, the confrontation between abstract space and everyday life: 'I wunder if heaven got a ghetto'[1]

Tonia Carless

This paper is an investigation of Lefebvre's analysis of the relationship between capital and spatial reconstruction. Cardiff Bay has been identified as a particularly significant example of this because of its social and economic histories. The paper proposes a possible transformation of social and political space with the prioritising of its 'everyday' use-value.[2]

The research has been developed through extensive discourse and analysis in Cardiff Bay, as part of a doctoral research project entitled *Visual Production Associated with the Changing Political Economy of Space. A Butetown Panorama* (2004).[3] This included monthly sessions over a five-year period, during the early 2000s with, amongst others, members of the Butetown History and Arts Centre (BHAC) community archive, gallery and education centre in Cardiff Bay.[4] Central to this was the notion of making readings of the space through the occupation of the space itself. The research developed a spatial intervention and exhibition constructed with the help of the young people of the local youth centre and residents of Butetown in 2001. It has also emerged from studies of the archive of drawings and images produced from the late 1990s by both the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation and the local authority. The more recent analysis has shifted to an examination of the consultation documents and architectural images and drawings for the latest redevelopments at the heart of Butetown,[5] of local media representations of the space and of the newly configured space at the heart of the Butetown estate.

Readings of graffiti as a potential spatial construction have been used to understand the social space of Butetown and the regenerated space of Cardiff Bay. The subtitle 'I wunder if heaven got a ghetto' is taken from more recent graffiti on the Butetown embankment wall, central to the redevelopment space. It is also a title from a song by the artist Tupac.[6] It could be seen to refer to the Butetown estate in relation to the redevelopment and its isolation from it. The title replaced a previous slogan 'Independent Tropical Wales'. Potentially, both could be seen to attempt to transfigure the space of Butetown and suggest utopian possibilities through their appropriation of controlled spaces. They also highlight the significance of the space of Cardiff Bay and Butetown as a ground for resistance and contestation.

The paper identifies architectural representation as key in the process of control and resistance and offers a possible social and political transformation through a social and economic teleology. It will look at Lefebvre's ideas of representational space, as that which may be directly experienced through images, visual or physical rather than through verbal or other symbols.[7] The questioning of architecture here works directly at the question of the danger of the image: the lost sense of political context in which architecture is often produced.

Representational space

The South Wales city of Cardiff was once a primary global economic power base and its initial economic development was based entirely on the export of coal from the Welsh valleys, which was at its peak in the 1880s. Cardiff provides a specific example of spatial reconstruction, first through its rapid rise as coal exporter, then as coal exchange.[8] It cannot be seen in the same light as other British industrial cities because of its narrow and restrictive economic foundation, and it has, perhaps more than any other city, been vulnerable to shifts in the global economy. Cardiff provides a clear example of the connections between capitalism and spatial reconstruction, with its rise as 'Coal Metropolis' leading to similarly large and rapid changes in the level of urbanisation, to changes in land use together with associated social changes, and to devastating urban impacts when coal exports declined.[9] It is a space within which a continuous articulation between cause and system can be clearly identified towards the production of space as theorised by Henri Lefebvre. Within the urban space of Cardiff it is possible to identify an agency for the spatial change that has and continues to occur.

Two particular spaces within Cardiff Bay, Butetown (Tiger Bay) *[1]* and the Billy Banks housing

doi: 10.1017/S1359135513000493

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135513000493 Published online by Cambridge University Press



1



2



3

1 New Mosque, Alice Street, Butetown, Cardiff, c. 1980s

2 The Billy Banks, Penarth

3 Remaining residents claim their space, Billy Banks (Prince Charles Court), 2001

estate, Penarth *[2,3]* have been considered through examining both the spaces themselves as well as the representations of the spaces in drawings, plans and images. In *The Production of Space*[10] Lefebvre stated that not only were the manifestations of capitalism occurring within space but that more fundamentally they were about space.[11] He argued that advanced capitalism creates a distinctive type of space that is ideological and that space is the field that constitutes the concealed processes of capitalism. He suggested that the spatial contradictions inherent in society lay within the confrontation between abstract space, with its externalisation of both economic and political practices, and the space of use values, which are produced through everyday life and the density of social occupation of space. The research is part of a reflexive process of reading the space – spatial analysis.[12] This is part of a continuing monitoring process of the wider changes occurring within the space of Cardiff Bay.

The redevelopment of Cardiff Bay, since the 1980s, as tourist space and European capital has been predicated around notions of heritage and culture.[13] Raphael Samuel has identified the political significance of heritage in particular, concluding that 'It is ultimately bound up with competition for land use, and the struggle for urban space.'[14] Within the docklands, spatial heritage becomes the method of framing the tourist experience through the production of the tourist economy as a construct of leisure capital. Cardiff's culture and heritage has been adopted by the city council and used to present the city as having a particular and significant status comparable to other European capital cities. The approach to heritage by the authorities focuses upon what is considered to have value or worth in property terms, concentrating primarily on culturally constructed property and space. Much strategic work done by the city hall is concerned with elevating or depreciating the values of particular spaces in order to achieve this. This can be seen through the histories of Tiger Bay, the name now given to the space of the Butetown estate, which was largely rebuilt after a mass clearance of the earlier housing during the late 1950s and 1960s.[15] The name 'Tiger Bay' has been used to describe the ferocity of inhabitants of dock areas and has emerged from histories of conflict, lawlessness and the associations of cultural 'otherness'.[16] It has, to some extent, been inverted in that the dock space has been made safe for the tourist economy while its cultural capital is re-colonised, initially through representations of the space and then through the reconstruction of the space itself.

Within the space of Cardiff docks and the new Bay, Butetown (Tiger Bay) is the location of its most recent ideological construction, in its use of cultural heritage, but the Butetown estate itself experienced little or no physical reconstruction during this more recent redevelopment programme. During the nineteenth century Bute Street, which runs the length of the estate, was described as having become the 'jugular vein of capitalist Wales'.[17] It was then the prime space and location of its new metropolitan status, representing the power base of the Welsh economy and becoming synonymous with the dynamic and successful Cardiff Coal Exchange. It has now become the ideological frontier that Neil Smith has referred to in his studies of 'Revanchist Cities'.[18]

As well as being constructed as a very singular economic power base Cardiff is also particular, in terms of the contemporary city, in recreating itself as 'European Capital', competing with the spaces of many other cities across Europe, in terms of its cultural reconstruction.[19] The city's singular reliance upon the coal industry meant that it had a stronger connection to the surrounding areas of

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135513000493 Published online by Cambridge University Press

coal production and this left a legacy of a distinct labour history.[20] This has a direct relationship to the question of cultural capital of the space where working conditions, disputes and politics of the time might still be traced back to a historical understanding of action and social struggle, making it less easy to represent or to reinvent history as spectacular form, or as a passive tradition.

Cardiff and South Wales demonstrate the social effects of capitalism and consumption, with their 'boom and bust' post-war economy, an artificially constructed and unsupported industry, and the consequent early consideration of both the service and high-tech industries.[21] It is the same processes of reliance on singular economies and the global/international markets and their subsequent social consequences that have led to continuing economic shifts in the region.

What is significant for Cardiff is both the scale of the redevelopment and the complexity of its diverse populations and economic extremes within close proximity, the so called 'Los Angelisation of the Welsh Socio-economic terrain'.[22] This makes the space on the ground more polarised and the ideological territories more visibly defined.

Lefebvre suggested that the spatial contradictions inherent in society lie within the confrontation between abstract space (with its externalisation of both economic and political practices) and the space of use values, which are produced through everyday life and the density of the social occupation of space. Neil Smith identified detailed processes of the reuse of space under consumer capitalism. He recognised the association between shifts or 'crises' in the economy and those within built space, arguing that they are:

> *not accidental interruptions in some general economic equilibrium, as neoclassical economic theory would suggest, but are integral instabilities punctuating an economic system based on profit, private property and the wage relation.*[23]

He marked distinct operations (such as 'rent gaps') in the overall scheme, which are directed towards this vindicating ethic of growth. This conception is consistent with Lefebvre's argument that the advanced state of capitalism creates a distinctive type of space, one that is capable of producing all social relations and is, therefore, ideological in nature. Smith's study, and its application here, is concerned with the idea of space as the field that constitutes the concealed[24] processes of capitalism. These processes can be examined through a critique of Cardiff's dockland space.

To consider space as ideological requires that its antithesis – non-ideological, transfigured or even utopian space (where an ideal might be envisioned rather than planned as something relating to conflicting ideologies) – must also be considered. To begin to understand the changes that have taken place in Tiger Bay, it is important to raise ideas that are directed towards the transformation of social and political space and, in particular, to examine that which identifies Lefebvre's distinction between appropriated and dominated space.[25]

Everyday spaces: Butetown and the Billy Banks

Two particular spaces within the Cardiff Bay redevelopment have been selected here to investigate the confrontation between abstract and dominated space. One is the Butetown space previously mentioned and the other is the 'Billy Banks', which was a local authority owned and controlled housing estate overlooking Penarth Haven on the very edge of Cardiff Bay *[2–4]*. The Penarth estate was designed and built during the 1960s by local architects Percy Thomas Partnership.[26] At one level it is entirely different from Butetown, both in terms of its historical construction and occupancy, but it is still significant because of its ideological histories within the particularised social and architectural space occurring within the restructuring programme and because of its current redevelopment.

Like the Butetown estate, the local authority have allowed the Billy Banks housing at Penarth to fall into disrepair, with little or no investment or maintenance. It has now slowly been emptied of residents and sold to private developers. A few residents refused to move for a considerable period of time and took possession of their space and the public space beyond, claiming its own use value *[3]*.

A huge section of the housing still remains and forms a significant visual backdrop to the tourist viewpoint from the inner bay area of Cardiff



4



5

4 Billy Banks (Prince Charles Court) under reconstruction as private, luxury housing, 2011

5 View of the Billy Banks from the high profile Welsh Assembly Building (designed by Richard Rogers Partnership and completed in 2005), 2011

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135513000493 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Bay *[5]*. The Billy Banks is remarkable in many respects as it overlooks the whole of the bay and has the most commanding view of the whole redevelopment. There is a clear conflict of interest and an ideological battleground for territory, where what was once a social housing scheme becomes deliberately rundown and is then re-appropriated as luxury housing *[4]*.

This example of housing at the Billy Banks has some similarities with the Butetown estate in its spatial colonisation, but there are also greater complexities of interests and cultural histories in the latter, as well as a much larger, more diverse and higher density population.

The Butetown estate became synonymous with, and emblematic of, all that was wrong with the post-war slum clearance programme in Britain, as historic inter-racial and ethnic groups were separated and relocated for the mass re-housing programme. During the more recent redevelopment of the Bay in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Butetown became an island of undeveloped space. It is socially and physically isolated, yet right at the heart of the Cardiff Bay redevelopment. Graffiti on the embankment wall along Bute Street declared the space 'Independent Tropical Wales'. This can be seen as a spatial construction of Lefebvre's notion of representational space, where the spectacular reconstruction of Butetown might be resisted through a very deliberate declaration of a historical understanding of action and social struggle.

In order to draw a deeper analysis of this renaming of Butetown, the readings of the space and the mythologies of both racial and class stereotyping as well as histories of violence (especially of the race riots of 1919) need to be understood. Cardiff-based historian and theorist Glenn Jordan emphasises that external perceptions of the area and its spatial segregation often emerge from this renaming.[27] It is a problem, whereby residents of Butetown have, historically, refused to submit to statistical classification. It may, furthermore, suggest an invisibility which is directly related to the history of power relations in the space. Jordan contests that this rejection of classification is based on a deep-seated suspicion of motives:

> *Because many people of Tiger Bay are quite aware that their community has been objectified by dominating frameworks, they tend to be suspicious of 'outside' researchers.*[28]

'Independent Tropical Wales' articulates the situation of the space in terms of it being, on the one hand isolated, as an island of underdevelopment, but on the other hand independent of the global capital shifting the landscape of the surrounding terrain.[29] 'Tropical Wales' embraces the duality of the marginalised conditions of both Welshness and the exotic of immigrant 'otherness', with both conditions forming part of what Charlotte Williams refers to as 'thematised culture'.[30] The naming also draws the space into a site of historical action with associations of, for example, the Butetown Carnival



6 **Hargsia S/land (Somaliland) graffiti at the edge of Butetown (Dumballs Road), 2001**

which, during the 1970s, was firmly rooted in the Butetown area, rather than its later relocation during the 1990s as tourist spectacle in the newly formed Bay area.[31]

The distinct physical separation of the Butetown area from the rest of Cardiff and a contingent racial segregation plays a significant part in the redevelopment schemes. This can be seen clearly where the estate has been cut off to the north by a railway bridge. One of the earlier documentations of the social history of the estate is entitled 'Below the Bridge',[32] a title indicating its physical and social separation. This separation has been compounded by the local authority's development of that space, as has been well documented by Imrie and Thomas[33] in a series of studies about the ways in which the development process overrides both local employment and other requirements. It could be argued that this has contributed to the continuing enforced separation of racial and ethnic minorities historically within this area of Cardiff. It is important to note that the converse of this is often put forward in terms of a rationale for the development of such a ghettoised spatial configuration, for example the report by the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation, in 1987, reads

> *The decline in coal and shipping and the resultant decline in the docks has meant that the close links between the community and the dockland industries have been severed. The decline has left a legacy of derelict land as well as general economic and social malaise. Butetown has become an inward looking community and its inhabitants left out from mainstream Cardiff.*[34]

This spatial construction is clearly an ideological construction that has developed over many years.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135513000493 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The relationship between Lefebvre's representations of space and that of representational space can be seen. There are many contradictions inherent in the constructions of notions of Tiger Bay, while one plays upon fringe or liminal conditions of culture and occupation, such as 'Independent Tropical Wales', the other attempts to make safe or to distance these ideas through the re-colonisation of the territory, initially through representations of the space and then through the physical reconstruction of the space itself.

Another important aspect of the more recent Butetown estate history has been the relocation of Somali refugees from the civil war in Somalia during the 1980s, with some inter-Somali violence on the estate occurring at the same time as the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation and other planning bodies were most active in reconfiguring the development of the Cardiff Bay space as a safe tourist and leisure space. The spatial reconstructions and images have also been conflicting. On the one hand, notions of ethnic and racial harmony within Butetown have been circulated as spatial attractors (for redevelopment and tourism),[35] while on the other, ethnic rivalries and tensions have been part of a constructed discourse around the demolition of parts of the estate and its subsequent reduction in spatial density.[36] Cultural as well as physical territories have become contested space within the reconfiguration of actual space on the ground. [37]

It is possible to read the relationships between spatial colonisation at this local level, the origins of the civil war in Somalia and the relationship with spatial colonisation on a global scale. This process can again be read in the graffiti around both the redevelopment space and Butetown with territory being renamed after *Hargsia S*[omali]*Land [6],* after the Northern Somali town, populated, at that time, mainly by the Isaaq clan.[38] After Somalia had been divided at the end of the nineteenth century by European colonialists it was then subject to US interventions in Africa during the Cold War. The resulting displaced populations arrived in Cardiff as a consequence of US intervention in Somalia and, it could be suggested, they have then been subject to yet another form of US spatial colonisation in the form of North American planning initiatives in Cardiff Bay.

The current redevelopment of Loudoun Square, in Butetown, commenced late in 2010. It could be argued that this is now the perceived centre and, above all, *community* centre of the space. It has been the site of the few remaining open communal areas in Butetown, including the health centre, local shops and community centre, particularly after the closure of the previous cafés, clubs and informal gathering spaces. It is also one of the most densely populated, as it is at the base of the estate's tower block. It is important to examine as part of this study as it is one of the few physical incursions into this space since the estate was first reconstructed, apart from the demolition and reduction in density of occupation. Its spatial configuration is described in detail on the new redevelopment website.[39] It is important to analyse the functions of the architectural and urban design professions in this process and how their productions prefigure the social and economic arrangement of space. Lefebvre emphasised that this is important analytical ground, as representational space is 'that which can be directly experienced through its associated projections and which leans towards visual, physical rather than verbal symbols'.[40] The image then becomes a construction of abstract space and, in relation to what is being considered here, it is part of the confrontation between this and the lived, occupied space.

Image and abstraction

Lefebvre held a particular mistrust of the visual image, saying that 'where there is error or illusion, the image is more likely to secrete it and reinforce it than reveal it'.[41] He also considers the architectural drawing, describing it as:

> [...] *a mode of representation, a stipulated and codified know how. Therefore it is a filter selective towards ideology existing in a fragmented and multiple way only, except for the overriding ideology of profit directed capital and global economy.*[42]

He goes on to suggest that in its extreme condition 'it may even conceal social demand'.[43]

The Loudoun Square regeneration within Butetown is a joint programme by Cardiff County Council, Cardiff Community Housing Association and Leadbitter Construction. The architects' images on the development website prefigure and predetermine space on the ground.[44] The virtual 'fly-through' images *[7]* show views of the new shopping facilities, health centre and community hub, as well as the proposed new town houses. The 3D animation moves from the tower block, around the square and into the health centre, showing views along the way, past the reception and Butetown artwork along a corridor with shadowy figures, representing occupants in the space.

The moving image continues to show the route into one of the consulting rooms where on a desk, adjacent to the window, sits an open laptop with the same 3D model ready to replay the image in a continuous, uninterrupted loop. The observer can re-enter the frame from the interior of the space itself and make a continuous, virtual journey.



7

7 Still image from the virtual model of the Loudoun Square redevelopment

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135513000493 Published online by Cambridge University Press

What is most striking here is the continuity of the image. There are no edges, no interruptions and no possibilities for slippage. This is part of the medium of this specialist type of architectural image itself, but also a particular device of re-using the exterior within the space itself to reinforce, replay and increase its legitimacy to be all-encompassing.

There is a kind of unquestionable inevitability to this image construction that is part of an ongoing reconfiguration of territory and reclaimation of the right to the city. It is the same legitimisation continuously replayed in the architectural and urban design professions that it is part of the nature of homogenised space making and development to not allow for any slippage of this organised space. It also serves to demonstrate the abstract space described by Lefebvre and the potential conflict between this and the everyday use values of the space.

The architect Jonathan Adams, designer of the Wales Millennium Centre (working in the practice of the newly named *Capita* Percy Thomas, the same practice who designed the Billy Banks housing scheme in the 1960s) was quoted in the local media, in December 2010, referring to the railway wall which runs the length of Bute Street, as being like the Berlin Wall.[45] Adams states that it should be torn down because it has cut off the Butetown estate physically from the east of the docks and continues to do so after the redevelopment of Cardiff Bay. He noted that removing it would revitalise a whole swathe of the city, making it more attractive to potential developers, adding:

> [...] *of course you would have to consider relocating people, which is never a popular policy, but that is the way cities like Cardiff have been developed since the year dot.*[46]

The enforced relocation of residents during the slum clearance of the 1950s and the subsequent loss of friendships and a real community of interest is associated with the space of Butetown and, while there is a nostalgic reconstruction of its space, it is the recognition of the social changes that took place that makes it possible to reject or refute the abstract space of the redevelopments.

Part of what is shown on the redevelopment website is the closure and demolition of the community centre in Butetown that began in March 2011. It is to be replaced by a 'flexible community space' and community hub, the latter of which appears in the computer image as a council help desk and large entrance stair and circulation space that forms part of the health centre waiting area at ground level. There is no image of a community café that could be created here. The café was one of the functions that the majority of residents had requested and, indeed, one facility in Butetown that has had a vibrant and legendary status in terms of creating a significant real social space for the area.[47] Parallels might also be drawn with the Butetown carnival, once a dynamic and lawless event, run from within the estate.[48] It too has been taken up, recuperated and returned as cultural commodity for the Bay redevelopment. Sharon Zukin describes such spatial representations as these as:

> [...] *the way in which genuine cultures are taken from the margins and relocated to sites (and sights) that are more sanitized simulations of some original artistic expression.*[49]

Spatial practice

On the space adjacent to the remaining structures of the Billy Banks estate in Penarth, travellers have moved in and set up camp. There are caravans and camper vans, dogs roaming free, and children playing on the street in front of the derelict estate *[8]*. This is a possible utopian occupation, on the outer fringes and margins of the redevelopment space. It is an example of the production of space through occupation, which can be read by drawing upon Lefebvre's conception of space and also the space of 'otherness' which Michel de Certeau describes as being never fixed, rarely visible, always constituted through the fleeting and unexpected appropriation of the spaces of established power.[50]

This space is a point where the edge of the Cardiff Bay redevelopment has been ruptured. It cannot be contained within the controlling regimes of the architectural fly-through image. It is potentially at the edge of the drawing of the newly reconstructed Penarth Heights. It cannot be mapped onto the configurations of dwelling and occupation of the space because it is a temporary occupation of that space, at its very margins. It is these everyday spaces that refute the technocratic and disciplinary powers exerted and which offer the potential for further spatial appropriation.

The ad hoc encampment is a transfigured space, and one that has an irony, as it is set against the backdrop of the Brutalist 1960s housing scheme, itself a ruined fragment of an era and architectural style that represents, as Katherine Shonfield suggests:

> [...] *the last time the profession [architecture] could transform the everyday lives of the many on a concerted scale and also the last time a style had a social and political purpose imbued with architectural integrity.*[51]

This space as appropriated by the travellers is a potential model for the possible transformation of social and political space, as well as for Lefebvre's notion of the confrontation between abstract space and the space of use values.

The North American planning initiatives of Baltimore Harborside have always provided a precedent and connection for the Cardiff Bay redevelopment.[52] It is significant that Baltimore has been described by Stephen Ward as 'defining the nature of the post-industrial city as a centre for consumption'.[53] The programmes for spatial reconfiguration have been lifted straight from this context, as a 'good example', seemingly without recourse to some of the social and economic results. Direct comparisons can also be drawn between Butetown in Cardiff Bay and the socially isolated Baltimore estate of Jonestown, which is comprised of a majority of black,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135513000493 Published online by Cambridge University Press



8



9

low-income residents. It might also indicate a future for Butetown during the ongoing Cardiff Bay redevelopment.

Much of the Jonestown project's housing stock has been demolished and replaced with affordable row houses (similar to the proposed town houses in Cardiff). Resident populations have been relocated or outpriced from the area to other low-rent spaces on the outer fringes of the city.[54] The area is so devoid of infrastructure that a residents' virtual grocery store has been established to allow access to healthy foodstuffs which were previously unobtainable.[55] That such a deficit can be allowed to happen is of course subject to market pressures.

Some of the new housing areas in Cardiff, like Tremorfa, have access to foodstuffs from multinational retailers like the twenty-four hour Tesco superstore, adjacent to the steel works and within walking distance, but for Butetown residents the dilapidated shopping centre in Loudoun Square has until now provided an essential service. The shopping units are to be temporarily re-housed in the base of the new town houses as part of the development, but assurance of their future and access to groceries is clearly of paramount importance for the community to be sustainable. This is a point at which spatial economics might be registered on a local but also global scale.



10



11

8 Travellers' site at the Billy Banks, Penarth, 2011

9 Advertising hoardings at the Billy Banks site protecting and projecting the redevelopment, 2011

10 Butetown Graffiti Wall, 2011

11 Demolition of the Butetown community and health centres showing the protective hoardings. Images taken from the Loudoun Square redevelopment site

Lived space and utopia

What is important in these two local examples from Cardiff Bay is that they provide a vehicle through which to analyse Lefebvre's notion of spatial practices as the ground for analysing space. Raymond Ledrut[56] considered Lefebvre's conception of spatial practices, stating that lived space can only emerge through historical action and that abstract space is further maintained by planning projects which merely evoke social action through the commodification of space, making it 'unreal' (or hyperreal),[57] where space loses relation to historical action and struggle. This is clearly not the case for Butetown, or for the newly settled travellers' camp at the Billy Banks, in Penarth. Although huge tracts of the newly developed Bay merely evoke history as cultural commodity in their reconstruction, fragments of other social and economic spaces can be clearly traced.

While Lefebvre's notions of space are complex, it is clear that the emphasis on the production of space circulates as a continuous articulation between cause and system and is inherent in society at every level. More precisely, in the spaces identified here, it has been important to define what is happening on the ground in terms of how everyday space is occupied, including spatial evidence of this, and how this space is constructed through the abstract representations of the architectural

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135513000493 Published online by Cambridge University Press

disciplines. The graffiti is a tangible point of this articulation, claiming back the power of historical action, entering the space itself, renaming the spaces to a great extent and re-presenting the complex actual histories of struggle at the sites.

There are many other visible slippages in this localised study where the dominant frame of Lefebvre's representational space collapses.[58] The drawings of the architects and urban designers may be rolling, panoramic and without edges on the virtual screen, but in real space on the ground it is clear to see where those spaces occur. The two spaces identified here of the Billy Banks and Butetown can be seen to be multilayered and intricate in their spatial construction and appropriated space. There are also those that occur as 'other' and indeed 'previous' economies, like that of the steel industry that becomes apparent when the industrial landscape appears against those of the European capitals' manicured landscapes.

The Billy Banks estate is currently being demolished and reconstructed by Crest Nicholson with Edward Cullinan Architects. It is to be one of Cardiff Bay's new cultural quarters, the billboard hoardings around the site *[9]* claiming that they are designed for life, but the lifeworlds adjacent refuse to conform to the image constructed. This is the flashpoint between the production and consumption of urban space, it is also one of the many and diverse social battles of the wider economies of the redevelopment.

Similar hoardings around the newly demolished Loudoun Square in Butetown have been graffiti spray-painted as the 'Butetown graffiti wall' *[10]*, by a local artist, to depict the histories of the space, including those of conflict and struggle. These representations are clearly oppositional to the rest of the hoardings around the Bay that construct a future for the space (such as those at the Billy Banks). They are also ones which insert the everyday occupation of these regenerated spaces against their abstract representations. While they are a resident's perspective of the space, they offer a clear position for the outsider to understand the significance of this space as a contested territory and site of significant social and political actions. In Butetown these murals and graffiti are about reasserting and, to some extent, containing a past. The images of the empty space after demolition being surrounded and protected by its hoardings, which are shown on the Loudoun Square website *[11]*, are strangely haunting and have the quality of an act of terrorism.

Graffiti as a potential spatial construction has been used here to understand the social space of Butetown and the regenerated space of Cardiff Bay. Its significance as part of the everyday occupation and representation of space has been qualified in terms of the dialectical analysis of Lefebvre's notion of the production of space.

Image production is central, then, to the promotion of the occupation of spaces, so hierarchies are established through the ability to produce space within this category. Everyday methods of resistance to this dominating framework can be drawn into the analysis as a method of proposing the possible transformation of social or political space. This ambition and use of Lefebvrian analysis has the potential for transfiguration of the space.

'I wunder if heaven got a ghetto' reignites the possible discourse about the determination of this space through the planning regimes; it brings to the foreground the marginalisation of this process of redevelopment. Recording these acts within the space here, as part of a spatial analysis of both Butetown and the wider reconfiguration of the Cardiff Bay area, offers a potential for resistance and contestation.

Notes

1. Anonymous graffiti, Bute Street, Cardiff Bay.
2. M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984). This text is key in that it considers how space is produced through occupation, including the subversive strategies which work directly at structures of power. This is the space of non-capitalising or transfigured knowledges; in de Certeau's language 'arts de faire', p. 93.
3. T. Carless, Ph.D. thesis: *Visual Production Associated with the Changing Political Economy of a Space. A Butetown Panorama* (University of The West of England Bristol, Faculty of Art Media and Design, 2004).
4. Butetown History and Arts Centre (BHAC) group monthly meetings (1999–2004).
5. *Loudoun Square*, Cardiff Community Housing (CCH) Ltd Publication (2012) <http://www.loudounsquare.org.uk/Partners/CCHA/CCHA_in_Butetown/> [accessed 30 April 2011].
6. Tupac Shakur, L. Troutman and L. Goodman, *I Wonder if Heaven Got a Ghetto* (California: Interscope, Jive Records, Amaru Entertainment, 1997).
7. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991/1974), pp. 38–39.
8. M. J. Daunton, *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870–1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977).
9. J. Morris, 'McJobbing a Region: The Socio-economic Transformation of Wales', *From The Old to the New? The British Economy in Transition,* ed. by R. Turner (London: Routledge, 1995).
10. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991/1974).
11. Ibid., pp. 38–39.
12. Spatial analysis here is socio-political mapping and reading, rather than directly geographical. Its recent precedent is the work of Rosalyn Deutsche in *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996).
13. This can be evidenced in the documents circulated by the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (*The Strategy for Public Art in Cardiff Bay*, The Public Art Consultancy Team for the CBDC, 1990) and subsequently by the local authorities, government agencies and private developers.
14. R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory,* (London: Verso, 1994), p. 306.
15. D. Hiro, 'Three Generations of Tiger Bay', *New Society*, 21 September 1967, 260, pp. 384–87.
16. A popular account of the name, explained in detail by Cyril Actie of the Butetown history group BHAC, Interview (2001). It concerns the history of ethnic minority residents of Butetown

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135513000493 Published online by Cambridge University Press

forming resistance groups to defend against external racial attacks, frequently mounted within Butetown by groups outside the area, with 'Tiger' as a metaphor for strength and stealth of resistance.

17. G. A. Williams, *Imperial South Wales, The Welsh in their History* (Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 184.
18. N. Smith, *The New Urban Frontier. Gentrification and the Revanchist City,* (London: Routledge, 1996).
19. J. Myerscough, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (Policy Studies Institute Publication, 1988), p. 143.
20. T. Rutherford, 'Industrial Restructuring, Local Labour Markets and Social Change: The Transformation of South Wales', *Contemporary Wales,* 4 (1991), ed. by G. Day and D. Thomas, Cardiff University Press, pp. 9–44.
21. M. J. Daunton, *Coal Metropolis.*
22. J. Morris and B. Wilkinson, 'Poverty and Prosperity in Wales: Polarization and Los Angelisation', *Contemporary Wales,* 8 (1995), ed. by G. Day and D. Thomas, Cardiff University Press, pp. 29–46.
23. N. Smith, *The New Urban Frontier,* p. 86.
24. Concealed here refers to its location, which in one sense is oppositional to the notion of it being hidden in that it is precisely the visible, rather than the invisible, which holds the most significant analytical ground for Lefebvre.
25. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 164.
26. P. Finch, *Real Cardiff* (Bridgend, near Cardiff: Seren Books, 2004).
27. G. Jordan, 'Did Howard Spring Tell the Truth?', *Llafur: the Journal of Welsh People's History*, 5 (1988), 1, pp. 53–59.
28. Ibid., p. 58.
29. N. Smith, *The New Urban Frontier.*
30. C. Williams,'Race and Racism: Some Reflections on The Welsh Context', *Contemporary Wales: An Annual Review of Economic and Social Research*, 8 (1995), pp. 113–131.
31. R. Cowell and H. Thomas, 'Managing Nature and Narratives of Dispossession: Reclaiming Territory in Cardiff Bay', *Urban Studies*, 39 (June 2002), 7, p. 1252.
32. J. Barnett, S. Dodsworth and C. Evans, *Below the Bridge. A Photo-historical Survey of Cardiff's Docklands to 1983* (Cardiff National Museum of Wales, 1984).
33. R. Imrie and H. Thomas, 'The Wrong Side of The Tracks: A Case Study of Local Economic Regeneration in Britain', *Policy and Politics*, 20 July (1992) and H. Thomas, 'Redevelopment in Cardiff Bay: State Intervention and The Securing of Consent', *Contemporary Wales*, 5 (1992).
34. Cardiff Bay Development Corporation CBDC Report (1987), p. 180.
35. Developing themes of cultural diversity as positive attractors, for example: *Cardiff Bay: Quadrant Public Relations Document*, ed. by D. Crawford (Cardiff, Summer 1995), p. 22.
36. I. Tweedale, 'From Tiger Bay to the Inner City. A Century of Black Settlement in Butetown', *Radical Wales,* Spring volume (1987), p. 7 and interview with Nicola Cole, Department for Strategic Planning and Urban Renewal, Cardiff County Hall, 16 May 2001.
37. R. Cowel and H. Thomas, 'Managing Nature and Narratives of Dispossession: Reclaiming Territory in Cardiff Bay', pp. 1241–60.
38. 'The Somali Community in Cardiff', *The Save The Children Fund Wales Division*, book no. 1048588 (July 1994), pp. 11–14.
39. *Loudoun Square*, Cardiff Community Housing (CCH) Ltd Publication (2012) <http://www.loudounsquare.org.uk/> [accessed 30 April 2011].
40. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 38–39.
41. H. Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 191.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. *Loudoun Square*, Cardiff Community Housing (CCH) Ltd Publication, (2012) <http://www.loudounsquare.org.uk/> [accessed 30 April 2011].
45. C. Hutchinson, 'Architect Calls for Berlin Wall to be Torn Down', *South Wales Echo,* (27 December 2010), <http://www.walesonline.co.uk>
46. Ibid.
47. For descriptions of the Dowlais and Casablanca clubs in Mount Stuart Square, see: *BBC South East Wales – Streets of Cardiff – Butetown Stories* (2005), <http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/southeast/sites/streetsofcardiff/pages/stories_butetown_and_cardiff_bay.shtml> [accessed 30 April 2011].
48. J. Barnett, S. Dodsworth and C. Evans, *Below the Bridge*, p. 65.
49. S. Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).
50. M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 93.
51. K. Shonfield, *Walls Have Feelings: Architecture, Film and the City* (Routledge: London, 2000), p. 3.
52. Cardiff is twinned with Baltimore. Physical references to the city abound from street and pub names, to direct reference in the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (CBDC) Framework report (1993). Baltimore is cited as one of the first and most significant, Post-Fordist, docklands redevelopment sites: J. Hannigan, *Fantasy City. Pleasure and Profit in The Postmodern Metropolis* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 51.
53. S. V. Ward, 'Place Marketing: A Historical Comparison of Britain and North America', *The Entrepreneurial City: Geographies of Politics, Regime and Representation* (Chichester: John Wiley, 1998), p. 47.
54. *Jonestown,* a Baltimore Development Corporation Video, (1999) and interview with Paul Dembowski Chief of Urban Design, Baltimore Development Corporation (28 February 1999).
55. *Improving Food for a Better Baltimore: Taking Time to Improve Access to Improve our City* (2011), <http://improvefoodimprovebaltimore.wordpress.com/> [accessed 30 April 2011].
56. R. Ledrut, 'Speech and the Silence of the City', *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics,* ed. by M. Gottdiener and A. Ph. Lagopoulos (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 114–34.
57. This originated through Postmodernism, notably by Jean Baudrillard: J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation. The Body, in Theory: Histories of Cultural Materialism* (MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994/1981).
58. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 38–39.

Illustration credits

arq gratefully acknowledges:
Author, 2–6, 8–10
Cardiff Community Housing Limited, 7, 11
Gathering the Jewels, Culturenet Cymru, 1

Acknowledgements

I should like to acknowledge the generosity of support and time of Marcel Vellinga, Research Lead at the School of Architecture, Oxford Brookes University.

Biography

Tonia Carless is a Senior Lecturer in Architecture at Oxford Brookes University School of Architecture. She is a practising architectural designer and researcher in public space and completed a practice based Ph.D. in Architecture with a scholarship bursary in 2004.

Author's address

tcarless@brookes.ac.uk

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135513000493 Published online by Cambridge University Press

CAMBRIDGE JOURNALS

Greece & Rome

Published for The Classical Association

Editors
John Taylor, Tonbridge School, UK
Vedia Izzet, University of Southampton, UK
Robert Shorrock, Eton College, UK



Published with the wider audience in mind, *Greece & Rome* features informative and lucid articles on ancient history, art, archaeology, religion, philosophy, and the classical tradition. Although its content is of interest to professional scholars, undergraduates and general readers who wish to be kept informed of what scholars are currently thinking will find it engaging and accessible. All Greek and Latin quotations are translated.

A subscription to *Greece & Rome* includes a supplement of *New Surveys in the Classics*. These supplements have covered a broad range of topics, from key figures like Homer and Virgil, to subjects such as Greek tragedy, thought and science, women, comedy, slavery, and Roman religion. The next New Survey will be on Ancient Epigram by Gideon Nisbet and Niall Livingstone.

Greece & Rome
is available online at:
http://journals.cambridge.org/gar

To subscribe contact Customer Services

in Cambridge:
Phone +44 (0)1223 326070
Fax +44 (0)1223 325150
Email journals@cambridge.org

in New York:
Phone +1 (845) 353 7500
Fax +1 (845) 353 4141
Email
subscriptions_newyork@cambridge.org

Price information
is available at: **http://journals.cambridge.org/gar**

Free email alerts
Keep up-to-date with new material – sign up at
http://journals.cambridge.org/alerts

For free online content visit:
http://journals.cambridge.org/gar

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135513000493 Published online by Cambridge University Press