



Image: Immersive engagement with Domino Club, Butetown Community Centre, 2015

(Re)presenting a sense of place for social and health-related policy purposes: place-making, belonging, and the value of community-based knowledge

**Findings from Representing Communities Project:
The Butetown Case Study**

By

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Abstract

This paper explores mechanics and practices of place-making, and uses case-study data (interviews, observations, visual documentation and other evidence) also to explore the nature and impact of belonging that arises as part of such practices. The paper is rooted in collective leisure pursuits and in the community-facing activities of local artists based in a historic urban neighbourhood. We will argue that the unravelling of meaningful significations of place, and the mapping of manifestations of belonging emerging from the findings, reveal the need to remain attentive to how a sense of one shapes and is shaped by the other. With this comes the role of shared leisure in third spaces in understanding place-making, how relational approaches to place and place-making move us beyond the stultifying notions of urban multiculturalism so often reconstituted in official imaginings, and the importance of capturing the particularity of manifestations of belonging.

Keywords: case study; belonging; leisure; place; place-making; third spaces

Introduction: Representing ‘place communities’

This paper is based on the findings of one of five case studies that together comprised a large UK-wide project entitled *Representing Communities: Developing the creative power of people to improve health and wellbeing* (2014–2017). The starting point for understanding the five case studies was that although there will always exist varying levels of attachment to – and experiences of – living in a place, perceptions of place depend to a large extent on shared local knowledges, and on collective and shared memories (DeMiglio et al., 2008). Accrued through day-to-day social encounters and exchanges with each other, often in places and spaces of importance to them (e.g., churches, social clubs and community centres) that sustain their lives (Lee and Kim, 2015; Parsfield et al., 2015), these collections of shared experiences, practices and sensibilities are important sources of knowledge production about everyday life.

The study aimed to test and map methods of engagement and arts-based co-production in community settings, and to capture understandings and presentations of the everyday and the microsocial gleaned from residents. The outputs and artefacts

developed by the five case studies aimed to provide access to local knowledge, understandings and depictions of places of value to local people. They would also serve as a new form of evidence for those engaged in policy-making and service development. The latter was imperative given that all five neighbourhoods have established histories of stigmatisation and are considered as 'loaded signifiers' (Benson and Jackson, 2013): places where dominant imaginings were often perceived as negative¹.

The old historic neighbourhood in which this case study is based is one of eight Lower-Layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs) in the area, classified as Butetown 1 (WIMD, 2011). This primarily residential area is approximately one mile long and a quarter of a mile wide, and is located on the southern end of the capital of Wales, between Cardiff city centre and Cardiff Bay. The neighbourhood is dominated by the high-rise towers in Loudoun Square and smaller pockets of established housing stretching to the waterfront. Known more commonly by locals as 'Tiger Bay and the Docks', this area is one of the oldest multicultural communities in Europe. An understanding of this part of Butetown calls for a recognition of the entanglement and entrenchment of multiple migration stories, settlement narratives and attachments. Butetown 1 is a neighbourhood where – in the 'throwntogetherness' (Massey, 2005) of space – people have, for generations, lived, intermingled, married and co-habited, interacting and

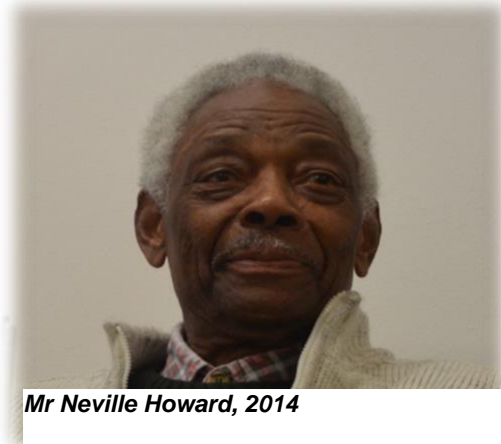
Case-study aims

- Capture the histories and experiences of Caribbean elders in Cardiff, with a focus on notions of agency, resilience and (re) presentations.
- Map existing creative-arts practices – as well as develop new creative spaces and activities – that will allow us to co-produce multiple representations of Butetown that are of value to the local people.
- Explore the dynamics of migration and ageing as linked to place, racialisation and wellbeing.
- Create opportunities to impact and inform policy-making in order to promote wellbeing.

¹ The other case studies were rooted in a post-industrial, inner-city area in Glasgow; deep rural community in the Highlands and Islands; a post-industrial hinterland in the South Wales Valleys; and an inner-city neighbourhood in Birmingham. The case studies cover localities that are urban, de-industrial, remotely rural, transnational and diasporic in nature. Apart from Butetown – where the focus was largely (but not exclusively) on those of African and Caribbean descent – the case studies focussed on groupings of people who broadly self-identify as Pakistani, White Scottish and White Welsh.

negotiating on an everyday basis cultural, ethnic and religious difference; and urban multiculturalism.

Our route to testing methods in which to capture local knowledge and representations of place was via an exploration of urban leisure spaces and activities that people established and maintained for themselves and that most often took place in third places (Felice and Johnson, 2017) – i.e., public spaces marked by informality, regularity and close sociality. We referred to our short intensive immersion



Mr Neville Howard, 2014

into these spaces as ‘encounters’. One driving question that framed these emplaced encounters was: what can collective leisure in third spaces, and arts-based activities, tell us about place and place-making? As time went on, this extended to questions linked to manifestations of belonging rooted in such place-making activities.

The case-study data reveal a particular manifestation of belonging that is as much linked to the rituals of everyday place-making activities and articulations as it is to the wider context of competing representations of place. We will argue that – taken together – the unravelling of meaningful significations of place and the mapping of manifestations of belonging reveal the need to remain attentive to how a sense of one shapes and is shaped by the other. The first half of the paper will introduce a conceptual framing and summarise the Butetown case-study dataset. Drawing on the key findings from the study of ‘place-making from below’ (McDuié-Ra, 2014), we will explore the work and performativity underpinning place representation. This will be followed by an exploration of the manifestation of belonging as historic, intimate, well established and embedded.

Overview of the conceptual frame

Place can be conceptualised as spaces that people have made meaningful through their social interactions with the real or imagined physical environment (Eyles and Williams, 2008; Phillips and Robinson, 2015), with place-making understood as the practices and actions through which such social environs become meaningful in an

individual and collective sense. With the term 'emplaced', defined by Howes (2005: 7–8, found in Pink, 2008) as 'the sensuous interrelationship of body–mind–environment', we position place communities not as context but as co-constitutive of social relations (Cresswell, 2004; Eyles and Williams, 2008; Phillips and Robinson, 2015). These ever-shifting configurations of 'flows of people, goods, knowledge and practices' (Massey, 2005: 91) provide insight into the materiality of place, the flows of underpinning unequal power relations, and contesting meanings and representations (see, for example, Harvey, 1996; Lefebvre, 1991). It is from an emplaced materiality, enlivened by the intersections and flows of social networks of people engaging in meaning-making activities, that a sense of place (Buttimer, 1980) – its spatiality, atmosphere and affectivity – comes into being, and from which a sense of belonging takes hold.

'Belonging' refers to the levels and manifestations of ease in, identification with, and recognition of being part of one's surroundings. Belonging has largely been rooted in affectivity and attachment, and in a person-centred orientation to one's surroundings. To belong is to feel you are where you should be (Antonsich, 2010) and that you are *recognised* and *accepted* as being connected with, and rightly placed in, a specific environment (Savage and Bagnall, 2005). Some scholars (for example, Antonsich, 2010; Bennett, 2014, 2015; May, 2011) rightly ground notions of belonging within an intersecting spatiality and materiality. In both cases, belonging is an inherently geographical concept (Mee and Wright, 2009): we all belong or are seen to belong (or not) somewhere.

Last, we used the notion of relational wellbeing posited by White (2015), which she sees as being rooted in a substantive exploration of people's sense of wellbeing (*subjective* and *experiential*). In this context, wellbeing is understood as being enacted not in isolation but through social interactions with others (*relational*), with understandings of wellbeing being very much rooted in a person's or group's everyday social, political and economic (*material*) contexts. Linked to this is the notion of community wellbeing. Here, community is understood as a frame of reference to describe place embeddedness, with the focus on the connections that people have with each other, and with the spaces and activities that they consider to sustain their communities (Lee and Kim, 2015). Constructed and enacted through the prism of embodied socio-material, cultural and spatial factors, 'wellbeing-ness' was mapped

and captured through evidence of lived experiences (individual and collective) of place-making, and the nature and manifestation of belonging in place.

A methodological interlude

Each of the five UK case studies involved a number of core stages that included collecting data through a range of arts-based participatory methods, and creating and disseminating representations of place co-produced by local residents, artists and researchers to different audiences. Given the fact that case studies demand a range of data-collection methods in order to capture the multiplicity of perspectives, relationships and social processes at play, ethnographic approaches and tools were used, set within a participatory research framing (Bergold and Thomas, 2012). This approach seemed best suited to the development of a case study exploring the possibilities of co-constructing and (re)presenting worldviews, experiences and meanings – and, moreover, to one rooted in the creativity alive in safe spaces forged by residents and others with long-established connections with the area.

A key focus of the project was testing methods of engagement and co-production as ways of capturing meaningful community representations. For us, co-production is about community agency, the right to self-determination, and community rights (Cahn, 2001). Recognising community assets and resourcefulness, valuing knowledge production from a range of unofficial sources, and fostering reciprocity as a way of adding value to existing networks of social support have together informed our starting point. Social justice is our framework, with a focus on the core economy of home, family, neighbourhood, community and civil society, and the value it brings (NEF, 2008; Public Health Wales, 2016).

The testing of methods of engagement and co-production has been realised in part through a limited number of core activities. We have at times created spaces for groups to co-produce with us their art-inspired counter-representations. However, the primary route to the new or hidden community and cultural representations has been by finding

ways to explore safe spaces that people have created for themselves. We have also explored whether – and, if so, to what extent – we can draw from these gatherings understandings of wellbeing, of place, and of community of value to them, as well as their being of value as credible sources of policy evidence. The site-specific spaces we have come across and focussed on, our involvement in the research and arts processes we have employed, and the people who have imbued them with value and meaning together comprise what we have defined as ‘encounters’.

For this case study, the encounters required that: (i) the focus was on ‘insider’ views as a starting point; (ii) the work of producing creative and cultural (subsumed or counter-) representations would remain ever-present, so that any attempt at creative co-production of community representations had to start with – and seek to add value to – what was already at play, contributing positively to local priorities and ongoing activities; and (iii) despite already-established dense social connections among the general target group, we must ourselves ‘perform’ as researchers. As such, we had to start from the position that we are outsiders with a set agenda, following in the steps of

generations of researchers who have researched the area in ways perceived by many as not often being of benefit to the people of the area. Arriving in an official capacity ‘as researchers’, we came with our own baggage and with our own brand of reputational damage.

**Table 1:
The Encounters**

1. *‘A Journey so Far: Caribbeans in Butetown (July 2014)’*: The development with local artists of a performance-based debate
2. *The Lens*: Exploring local photographers’ pathways to engagement and their representations of Butetown, the space and its people (June to September 2015)
3. *Artist-in-Residency* with a local heritage and arts organisation (April 2015 to April 2017)
4. *Butetown Carnival re-launch*: Co-producing of an immersive exhibition (2014), and the funding of a film produced by a research partner (2015)
5. *The African Caribbean Elders Group*: Arts-based workshops (June 2014 to December 2015)
6. *‘Days in the life of’*: Shadowing Mr Neville Howard (Caribbean elder who regularly sings in public spaces for enjoyment and connectivity (April 2015 to January 2016)
7. *‘Years in the life of’*: The Domino Club’s annual tournament: (April 2015 to July 2017)
8. *Representing Butetown – My lens*: A trilogy of video shorts on views of Butetown produced by local artist Gavin Porter



In each of the mini cases or 'encounters' that underpin this case study, we followed the paths and direction set by community agents, organisations and arts partners, drawing up partnership agreements based on local priorities and on where our partners thought we could add value. As active participants, the two members of the research team made

contact and shadowed (McDonald, 2005) both individuals and community groups in developing the encounters (see Table 1). In the development of the encounters and subsequent data collection, considerable engagement and participatory work took place. This included co-hosting events with research partners, participation in local-council neighbourhood meetings, active participation in leisure activities (i.e., playing dominos and going on Domino Club day trips), creative activities (song-making, story-telling, movement and exercise) and community (arts) engagement and development work (e.g., playing a role in costume design for the 2015 Butetown Carnival, and helping to develop community archives and photography courses). Fieldnotes were gathered by both academics, and discussed and summarised for each encounter in order to provide a reflective framing for data collection and analysis.

Ethical approval for the Butetown case study was granted by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee in August 2014, with project activities extending to 2019. Data collection included undertaking direct observation of Domino Club practices and games (together with a series of pencil sketches), collecting soundscapes, conducting 50 semi-structured interviews (including photo-elicitation interviews involving the co-designing of wellbeing maps, and domino playing, and semi-structured interviews with creatives), holding seven focus groups, and capturing over 37 hours of video footage and over 2,000 photographs (see Table 2). The interview and focus group data centred on perceptions of, and connections with, the neighbourhood. Data was also gathered on understandings of community and subjective wellbeing as linked to particular social and creative activities. Case-study data were framed, captured and analysed (as sub-sets of data, and then together thematically) in order to build an in-depth, multi-layered and multi-perspective analysis of the data. An expansive historical timeline of Butetown – together with an

exploration of UK life for older Caribbean migrants fictionalised in a small group of novels, and secondary analyses of life stories of 24 first- and second-generation Caribbean migrants living in Wales captured by two local heritage projects between 2012 and 2014 – provided a wider contextual understanding of the case study and sharpened our understanding of the work of place-making and of linked manifestations of belonging in this urban context. The outputs from the case study include five co-produced site-specific visual art exhibitions and installations, a series of digital stories, the commissioning of three short films and two longer (45 mins and longer) films, the production of a short documentary on the engagement and drives of local photographers, and a series of blogs documenting some of the encounters. Events of note also included two half-day workshops for academics and arts activities and one large-scale performance debate. The remainder of this paper presents data drawn from the case-study dataset as linked to place, place-making and belonging.

**Table 2:
Case-study dataset**

Data	Participants	Methods and outputs
Carnival interviews	16 attendees of the 2014 Butetown Carnival	<p>Method: Individual video-recorded interviews (30–85 minutes in length) with Carnival-goers as part of an immersive arts installation celebrating the history of the Butetown Carnival. Interview topics included understandings of the value and role of the Carnival, memorable Carnivals, and hopes and aspirations for future Carnivals.</p> <p>Output: A film produced a year later by research partner Bay Life Archives about the Carnival, with promotional video produced by 15th Floor Productions: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zcnjV2Tvnbc</p>
Domino Club interviews	19 older members of the Domino Club	<p>Method: Individual and paired interviews with members in their local community centre. Interviews were audio recorded, lasted 30–85 minutes and included a short domino game with the interviewer. Interview topics included arrival and settlement, Domino Club culture and the local area.</p> <p>Output: Co-designed visual wellbeing maps</p>
Immersive interview and observation	1 older man (87 years of age)	<p>Method: 3-month immersive encounter capturing the everyday routines via video interviews, shadowing and observation</p> <p>Output: 2 digital stories: https://vimeo.com/254711798</p>
Reminiscence Group discussion series	5–8 older women (aged 75+)	<p>Method: 6 creative group discussions with older female Caribbean migrants over a 6-month period. Discussions captured as a blog series centred on settlement and notions of belonging, understandings of Butetown, wellbeing and ageing: https://ajourneysofar.wordpress.com/2015/08/14/representing-caribbean-elders-assembly-26-09-2014/</p> <p>Output: A video capturing artful encounters and pathways to engagement: https://vimeo.com/101999191</p>
Video interviews	10 local creatives	<p>Method: Individual and paired interviews with local creatives (photography, visual arts and performance), with a focus on methods of engagement, creativity, and belonging in place. Interviews lasted 30–45 minutes.</p> <p>Output: A short video with creatives: https://vimeo.com/user15386548</p>
Observations	Members of the Domino Club	<p>Method: Written, aural and photographic observations.</p>

		Outcome: 21 written observations, 10 aural observations (pencil sketches), and over 2,000 photographs featuring Domino Club culture
Observations and interviews	Photographers whose work features Butetown (the place and the people)	Method: 5 immersive observations and interviews with photographers, with a focus on pathways to engagement, encountering their subjects, and reasons why they centre on Butetown Output: A short feature video, entitled <i>The Lens</i> : https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MC5QX_MmZg4



The Lens Encounter: Glenn Jordan (above) and (from left below) Andrew McNeil, John Briggs, Anthony Campbell and Simon Campbell, 2015



The work of place-making

In one sense, place-making can be understood as practices or sets of actions (Pink, 2008) – such as organising a carnival, a yearly domino tournament, a monthly luncheon or a weekly public performance – that give form and meaning to the everyday life of individuals’ bond by, and to, each other through place (Studdert, 2005). It is these reiterative social practices and encounters that lie at the heart of place-making (see, for example, place-making practices as linked to whiteness and privilege: Frankenburg, 1993, Roediger, 2005); class (Benson and Jackson, 2013); ethnic

density and health (Fagg et al., 2006), race and urban multicultural (Jones et al., 2015; Knowles, 2013); and music and dance (Hunter et al., 2016).

Further evidence of the work and practices of place-making are evident in this case study but based within the context of both collective leisure pursuits in third places (Glover and Parry, 2009), such as community centres and church halls, and in urban public spaces (malls, streets, walls and parks) – all of which have been (re)claimed either for a short or more sustained period of time by local residents. For example, the re-launch in 2014 of the Butetown Carnival (under the banner of ‘Let’s get together and feel alright’) after a 20-year hiatus was marked by the reactivation of a long-remembered set of activities. Local children from a range of white, mixed and BME backgrounds attended costume-making sessions run by residents and took part in the procession on the day of the Carnival; local and community vendors set up stalls in the large field behind the local community centre; a children’s activity area and fun rides were set up; there was a full programme of live music on the day; and an after-party was held at the local centre. The local community centre is also the home of the Butetown Domino Club, comprising older Caribbean commonwealth citizens, mostly in their 70s and 80s. Reiterative practices and rituals include twice-weekly evening practice sessions for members and supporters, and the annual schedule of home and away games with clubs across the UK. The schedule of coachloads of people coming to the centre to play dominos, have a sit-down dinner and enjoy an evening dance – together with the well-established practices and activities of the Domino Club – has shaped the lives of its members and the yearly social calendar of the Domino Club, as well as the community centre in which these events have taken place for nearly 30 years.

The recognition, meaning and evaluation of the practices and rituals of these collective leisure pursuits are based in part on sets of values and norms, some of which shape all the encounters. Recurring values included the needs to maintain and preserve leisure and creative spaces, to promote a sense of solidarity, and to reclaim what many perceive as a waning sense of accountability and responsibility to the neighbourhood and its residents. Also important was the sense of a need to work together and to care for each other – seen as enlivening the bond between those involved, and in which a sense of the signification of the spaces within the area was rooted.

Perhaps this is in keeping with the fact that all the groups and organisations we encountered had similar profiles. All had been established based on the perceived needs of locals (for them and/or by them); all met in spaces that were 'homes away from home' (churches, community centres, streets and public iconic buildings that were well known and familiar); and none was in receipt of core funding, instead relying on volunteering, subscriptions, infrequently secured small grants, and good will. The majority of the creatives we worked with sang, created visual art and exhibitions, and staged events – rooted in the convictions that their creative practice made them and their contribution visible, valid and valuable (for example, singing in public spaces), and that they were best placed to represent the area from their unique and nuanced perspective as emplaced creatives (so, for example, creating public exhibitions, pop-up stalls and events to platform local creativity).

The Butetown Luncheon Club was held in a local church and frequented by church-going older women of Caribbean descent who arrived during the Windrush era. When describing what it meant to attend the women's Luncheon Club, one respondent (Faith, in her early 70s) stated: *'We used to meet regularly and it was nice ... we had lunch, usually had a guest speaker and then just spent time with each other. It's how we take care of each other – and, where we come from, taking care of each other is what we had to do.'* For her, Luncheon Club programming was understood to function not only to bond members together, but also to allow for the fostering of a diasporic space, and the recasting of values and 'ways of knowing' drawn from participants' countries of birth. In this case, place-making practices were as much about local emplacement as they were about translational connectivity. Similarly, one Domino Club member explained in his interview: *'It's time for us ... we take over here ... some people come to play dominos and are serious about it; others come to have a laugh and a talk ... to make sure we are all right. That's what it all about. We can relax, talk about old times and back home ... and check on each other'* (Winston, 71 years).

Residual – though still recognisable – norms and values were clearly revealed in the Carnival encounter, where the will and ability of residents to create an event for themselves, together with working together and localised volunteerism, were considered key to ensuring that the event was based on values reminiscent of those that had triggered its original establishment. One participant interviewed during the

Carnival in 2014 reflected: *'Carnival has always been there for us, just waiting for our call.'* Another participant stated: *'I'm really excited for Butetown bringing back Carnival and doing it for themselves'* (local resident Cindy, 50 years), with another local resident commenting that *'because the community support it and got involved with it ... they own it'* (local resident Clyde, mid-50s). Some residents saw some of the underpinning values as outdated, problematic and not in keeping with the area anymore – with one participant stating: *'I can't cope with the community thing no more ... we can't get back what we once had'* (Gerry, 62 years). Although varying, these residual values remained recognisable and important for some.

So far, we have: (i) unearthed the *doing* of place, that is the actions and behaviours – what people do; and in so doing (ii) shown how the *work* of place-making is closely linked with the underpinning values and norms that together give form and meaning to the everyday life of individuals' bond by, and to, each other through place. From this emerges 'ways of knowing' or local knowledge and – as the next section reveals – it is these ways of knowing from which representations of place drawn from the data were unearthed.

(Re)presenting place as contesting place-orientated narrative frames

Representation is rooted in the recognition of the symbolic practices and processes through which meaning and language operate, with representation rooted in discursive practices and ways of knowing that are as powerful as they are longstanding (Hall, 2013). Moreover, place imaginings are always set within a wider social and political context; place provides a ground(ing) for everyday life and experiences, just as it provides a 'setting for and is situated in the operation of social and economic processes' (Martin, 2003: 732). In this sense, place-making is – as Fenster (2004) contends – discursive and performative; it is the arena in which meanings and the meaningfulness of place jostle for recognition, (re)presentation and validation. With this has come an insistence by some authors on the relational nature of place-making (for example, Lyons et al., 2016; Pierce et al., 2011), which posits place-making as always about negotiated and competing understandings of place. As signifying practice, place-making comprises (non)discursive practices through which people, as Elwood et al. (2015: 125) describe, not only 'normalise their values, tastes and

aesthetics' (Pierce et al., 2011), as noted above, but also display place ownership and advertise place-orientated narrative frames (Martin, 2003).

In many ways, the actions of the local creatives and community groups described here can be understood as imaginings of place that bestow meaning and value to local shared leisure activities and artistic artefacts that are fostered, maintained or produced by and for local consumption and collective wellbeing. These representations of place are shaped as much by dominant narratives (that are overwhelmingly negative and based on deficit models), as they are by place-oriented narrative frames that constitute a powerful and nuanced critique of such framing imaginings. In doing so, (re)positioned as central are strands of a counter- and often subsumed knowledge base or 'ways of knowing'.

The case-study data reveal three important local narratives on place and representations of the neighbourhood and its residents: residents as agentic and creators of their own artistic and collective leisure endeavours; an understanding of urban sociality that extends beyond fixed notions of a racialised, classed and socially deprived precarity; and the neighbourhood as liveable, theirs, and of value and potential.

First, Butetown's very long history of ethnic and cultural diversity often translates in policy and public perception to the racialisation of space. Here, socio-economic negative imaginings are (re)shaped pejoratively through the optic lens of racialisation, with such places ghettoised, being 'perceived as sites of criminality and danger' (McLeod, 2004: 10–11). The data reveal another set of representations. In contrast or despite dominant perceptions of the area, the glue binding these threads was that the neighbourhood offered a safe haven for those with close links to the area, as well as a welcoming experience for outsiders. For example, the precursor to the Domino Club was a cricket club, with the former gaining importance and members as the latter's members aged and retired from the game. The roots of the Cricket Club lay in the overt racism of the 1950s, which saw the establishment of a number of leisure and recreation clubs catering for migrants of colour (those from the Caribbean and from other parts of the world). Many of the clubs and migrants settled in and created spaces in the area. For them, it remained a safe haven, and a familiar space to relax.

However, what the case study reveals is the ordinariness of urban multiculturalism within the neighbourhood, and the importance rather of place. One participant explained: *'It was not so much about colour; it was about where you lived'* (015, Betty, 80 years), with residents bonded significantly by the materiality of place. Thus, rooted in long-established and everyday fluid, inter-ethnic interactions taking place in often spatially compacted spaces, and from which occasions and encounters of conviviality often take place (Gilroy, 2004; Neal et al., 2013), the focus here is different from most studies on everyday multiculturalism in urban settings (for example, Amin, 2002; Gilroy, 2004; Jones et al., 2015; Keith, 2005; Kesten et al., 2011). Indeed, what emerges from the data is a set of local-level place-making practices and actions rooted in a visioning of place above and beyond identifications linked to race, ethnicity, class or religion that so often shape policy and political framings, and that some felt had contributed to the decline of a sense of community.

Second, as detailed above, the high value attached to local artistry and creativity was linked to outputs (films, photographic exhibitions and visual art) that included themes such as the longstanding resilience and solidarity of Butetown and its residents. One founding member of the arts and heritage organisation that was established in 2015, and that became a research partner and produced the Butetown Carnival film, explained: *'I don't have to do this; it's something I want to do as we have been representing ourselves for decades ... We can do things for ourselves ... we don't need outsiders. If anything, you need us'* (Keith, 57 years). In developing a trilogy of short videos by a local creative commissioned by the study leaders to 'create whatever you want that speaks to your connection to the area', the accompanying testimony centres on the power and potential to create visual representations freed from an ongoing dialogue with dominant imaginings.

Last, the neighbourhood as liveable and of value comes alive in the Butetown Carnival encounter. For many, Carnival represented a microsocial form of collective action and resistance, with the locality a site of action, and residents operating as 'agents of change and makers of their own destiny and collective sense of wellbeing' (Martin, 2003: 744). Reflections on taking part in the Cardiff-wide processions in the capital in the 1970s were about *'leaving Butetown and going up there and being seen'* (Keith, 57 years) and of having people come to Butetown in the 1980s to *'wave and watch*

the parade' (Zanib, 44 years) – and also about the perceived discomfort of people from outside Butetown watching the procession, '*concerned (because) 20 young black kids dress in whatever and [are] looking like they're having a good time*' (Lordi, mid-50s), and about memories of dressing up for Carnival being the only way to enter some pubs in town where '*you did not used to go ... because .– um – people from the Valleys and from town used to go there*' (06, Julie, mid-60s). The procession down the main street of the neighbourhood allowed for a public re-claiming of space. Such (re)appropriation work (Pink, 2008) involved in the acts of moving through and around one's neighbourhood and closing (albeit temporarily) roads and occupying fields was a show not only of ownership, but also of community agency and pride. With that came the importance of Carnival taking place '*on our streets ... It's my place. It's yours as well, but it's my place and the stage is mine ... I do Carnival because they can't stop me*' (014, Keith, 57 years).

Belonging in Place: 'let's get together and feel alright'

The work of place-making as everyday ritual, signifying practices and representation is enmeshed in active (re)enactments of belonging. Described by Fenster (2004) as an ongoing process of identification with one's surroundings emerging from everyday practices, growing familiarity, accrued feelings of attachment and increasing appropriation, there are different types of belonging. Enacted through policies, performance or other means, these particular manifestations include, for example, non-belonging based on nationality (Yuval-Davis, 2011; Jones et al., 2015) or location (Anthias, 2006, 2009); and (s)elective belonging based on choice, class, economic affluence and notions of communal living in urban (Benson and Jackson, 2013; Savage and Bagnall, 2005) and rural (Haartsen and Stockdale, 2018) settings. A sense of belonging emerging from the case-study data sits within the realm of ontological belonging (Bennett, 2013, 2014, 2015). Ontological belonging is that which has been (re)enacted over time through everyday practices, rituals and events materialising across generations, and across family, friendship and social networks. In such places, notions of who belongs are shaped by a familiarity of shared values and 'ways of knowing', which are rooted in deeply embedded ties to the socio-material and historic underpinnings of a place, and to those deemed to be part of it.

The encounters reveal place-making rituals and practices, and everyday sociality that is as deeply embedded in the locale as it is for some in diasporic anchors and imaginings. Underpinning values and norms revealed in the Domino and Luncheon Clubs – and in the work of the local creatives and activists in producing films, exhibitions and carnivals – are likewise underpinned by an embedded affective connection to the area, as well as long-held and reconstituted values brought by some people from the islands of their birth. With the majority of those about whom we collected data being older migrants and residents with long-established ties to the area that in many cases extended back for generations, this is based as much on values of neighbourliness and the ongoing importance of family connection or encircling social networks as it is on understandings (lived or otherwise) of – and collective response to – the socio-economic conditions marking the area since before the Second World War.

As part of – and funded by – the study, a feature-length film on the history of the Carnival was produced by local arts activists (Campbell and Campbell) and screened in the run-up to the 2015 Carnival. The collective laughs of recognition at seeing a familiar face, memorable procession or a notable concert performance, and the spontaneous reminiscences of stories of love, struggle and fun that followed when it was screened conveyed this sense of belonging. It is a sense of belonging as deeply affective and emotionally charged as it is atmospheric, linked to understandings of the area and links to each other that many (not all) still feel or remember. The film and the Carnival interviews also capture the loss that is clearly felt: a loss of the landscape, the people and the sense of ownership, and of a sense of belonging that young generations will never now know, and that some residents still wish for.

The Carnival itself captures what Carnival-goers described as an opportunity to ‘*experience that love*’ (04, Clyde, mid-50s), to ‘*see the atmosphere again emanating from the people in Butetown*’ (015, Keith), and for those who still have ‘*the heart ... still thinking and caring for the area ... [the] few of us like born and bred ... down here*’ (05, Danielle, late 40s). Here, the staging of the event is taken to be an ‘inalienable gift’ (Bennett, 2014) to those who are part of it – as is passing on the ways, understandings and representations of the area from the perspective of those who live there.

Conclusion

What can leisure and arts-based activities taking place in third spaces claimed by locals as theirs teach us about place-making and manifestations of belonging? First, they illustrate the need to be attentive to how meaning-making practices of place shape manifestations of belonging and notions of community wellbeing. The study findings reveal a sense of place and community-based wellbeing revolving around: (i) the residual, though still important, communal activism; (ii) everyday meaning-making activities; and (iii) a deeply embedded manifestation of belonging, with an attendant sense of obligation to preserve these activities, mores and ways of being for future generations.

Importantly, in Butetown – and perhaps in other places shaped by the pressure and precariousness that comes with longstanding multiple levels of deprivation and negative public depictions – there have evolved place-based assets, agentic strategies and ways of knowing that can foster and re-process the internally driven sense of resourcefulness (MacKinnon and Derickson, 2013) needed to deal with everyday challenges, and to maintain liveable lives. Unpacking underpinning place-making activities and manifestations of particular types of belonging allows for insight into these accumulated agentic assets and resources (Foot and Hopkins, 2010; Lyons et al., 2016).

Second, the case study reveals the need for relational approaches combining multiple ways of conceptualising and understanding how people relate to place. Such work is of importance in understanding how these relational concepts are operationalised empirically, and for the development of meaningful wellbeing-policy interventions that improve the everyday lives of people and communities. Moreover, such approaches have the potential to move us beyond stultifying notions of spatial stigma and attendant understandings of place so often rehashed in official imaginings. Such official and popular representations provide at best *partial* depictions of people in places, and at worse can work to perpetrate negative representations of little value. Such representations crucially lack the insight into the microsociality vital for any socially productive wellbeing and public-health-related policy intervention. The eight encounters underpinning this case study allowed us to explore how local people reclaim and, based on a collective knowledge and understanding of the area,

(re)present the place they call home. Although equally partial and contested, they offer affective subaltern narratives of place that are home-grown and meaningful

Third, there are gaps in the ways in which policy and practice efforts seek to address the impact of intersecting social inequalities on health and wellbeing. Just as others have noted the international shift towards what Parkinson and White (2013: 4) refer to as a 'shared agenda of re-imagining public health', there remains a need for research rooted in qualitative and arts-based methods that more fully captures everyday lived experiences. Findings from the case study can be used, however, to make the case for the need for something more radical: an epistemic levelling. What is needed to underpin meaningful social policy and service delivery is a repositioning of the knowledge emerging from everyday lives of everyday people to a central position. With this comes a repositioning of knowledge production and meaning-making *from* the bastion of 'intellectual spaces' *to* where only personal or parochial things are often seen to happen (Smith, 2010, 2015).

Advocating that social policy and health-and-wellbeing-related policy start from a localised and community-based knowledge base, and from everyday knowledge-making practices, is not without its challenges. Indeed, in this case, the work of place-making is rooted in the everyday, and thus noted for its mundanity, ordinariness (Grosz, 2013) and taken-for-granted nature (Felski, 2002). As such, much of the work of place-making, like notions of belonging, sits within the realm of the 'unruly' (Ferguson, 2009, cited in Smith, 2015). Moreover, as this case study shows, it is part and parcel of the experiences, citational practices and subaltern knowledges not easily reconciled with the dominant knowledge regimes that bound, shape and monitor many aspects of social life. What remains clear, however, is that these imaginings, understandings and (re)presentations of the everyday and the microsocial gleaned from – and of value to – local people remain a crucial and currently still largely absent component in the development of impactful social policy, and key to understanding the roles and dynamics of leisure, belonging and place.

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Keith Murrell was born and raised in the Docks (Butetown), Cardiff, and his practice and interests today are a direct continuation of his experiences living and working in the community: most of his work is located in Butetown and is quite often about Butetown. Keith is primarily interested in and motivated by 'day-to-day' arts and culture: the songs, dances, stories and pictures that people employ and enjoy in their own homes and community spaces. He jointly re-launched the Butetown Carnival in 2014.

Simon Campbell has stayed close to his roots in Cardiff, and his creative and artistic bent has always been deeply enmeshed in projects within his own community. He is a founder member of Butetown Photography Group and the Black Film and Video Workshop in Wales, which produced several films that were screened at film festivals around the UK. Since the late 1990s, Simon has also designed and crafted stone-set silver jewellery at his shop, Debris. Simon is a co-founder of Bay Life Archives. He jointly re-launched the Butetown Carnival in 2014.

