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Encountering austerity in deprived urban neighbourhoods: Local geographies and the emergence of austerity in the lifeworld of urban youth

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Abstract

Lived experiences of austerity implemented in response to the 2008 financial crisis receive increasing attention in geographic scholarship. This paper adds to this literature by investigating the role of urban geographies in encounters of austerity and spatially differentiated austerity experiences. It combines the lifeworld and assemblage thinking to consider the avenues through which austerity reaches into the lifeworld of disadvantaged urban youth in Ireland. This paper builds on qualitative interviews with young adults, aged 18 to 25, living in two disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Cork and Dublin. The combination of youth's vulnerability to austerity and the implementation of a fierce austerity regime in Ireland make this population suitable to reveal dynamics otherwise more subtly present. The interviews suggest that the three most important spheres of austerity emergence for disadvantaged urban youth – the household, work and social welfare, and the neighbourhood – are shaped by the micro-geographies of the neighbourhood and their embeddedness in the wider urban context. It is thus argued that austerity's emergence is spatially contingent and depends on the neighbourhood's embeddedness in local social and urban geographies such as institutional penetration, costs of living, labour market conditions, and histories of policy intervention. This leads to the conclusion that lifeworld colonisation by systemic imperatives, of which austerity is considered a symptom, is path-dependent and relates to previously existing social, economic, political and cultural contexts. To understand the spatially and socially variegated creation of austerity worlds thus requires critical interrogation of the interaction between local urban geographies and higher-scale complexes of austerity.

Keywords: austerity, lifeworld, Ireland, young people, recession, everyday life

Introduction

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This paper explores the micro-geographies of austerity and the local austerity worlds that form in a context of national policies aiming to reduce state spending. As such, I argue there is a geography to austerity beyond geographies of socio-economic status and income groups. Rather, space and its histories and trajectories are vital in constituting localised austerity worlds. While austerity is implemented nationally in response to the 2008 financial crisis (Aalbers, 2013; Blyth, 2013; Peck et al., 2009), its effects are socially and spatially variegated (Kitson et al., 2011; Peck, 2012) and variously lived and experienced within the everyday lives of groups and individuals (Hall, 2016; Hitchen, 2016; Horton, 2016; van Lanen, 2017). Employing theories on the lifeworld (Buttimer, 1976; Habermas, 1987; Seamon, 1979) and assemblages (Anderson et al., 2012; Farías, 2011), I investigate avenues of austerity emergence and lifeworld colonisation in the everyday spaces of youth in two of Ireland's most disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods; Knocknaheeny in Cork and Ballymun in Dublin. Austerity is investigated through the narratives and experiences of disadvantaged urban youth to illuminate the embeddedness of austerity experiences in local social, economic, cultural and political contexts (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015), thus unveiling and comparing austerity emergences in their urban contexts.

This paper starts to develop the lifeworld assemblage as methodological-analytical tool to investigate the relations between structural political economic transformations and the everyday. The assemblage approach to austerity lifeworlds is motivated by a relational understanding of the 2008 crisis. The Lehman Brothers bankruptcy in New York proliferated through global financial networks and subsequently localised in various forms in different regional, national, and local contexts (Aalbers, 2009; Kitson et al., 2011; Martin, 2011). Its arrival in Ireland was shaped by the embeddedness of the Republic's small and open economy within such international networks (Kirby and Carmody, 2009; Kitchin et al., 2012). Policies responding to the crash were partly formed beyond Irish borders by the Troika bailout agreement – the tripartite committee of European Central Bank, European Committee and International Monetary Fund. Consequently, international companies and investors profited from privatisations, reforms and the reluctance to increase Ireland's corporation tax (Mercille and Murphy, 2015). Ireland's position in political and economic networks thus shaped the crisis' arrival, consequences and responses. Such path-dependency (Peck et al., 2009) and relationality between national and international developments is established on the national

scale (Fraser et al., 2013; Kitchin et al., 2012). This paper, however, accentuates the role of space for internal variations of austerity's effects inn various places. While the geographies of crisis and austerity are considered regionally and nationally (Agnew, 2014; Crescenzi et al., 2016; Donald et al., 2014), local micro-geographies received less attention.

Next, I briefly introduce austerity and its consequences for Ireland. Section 3 presents the lifeworld and assemblage as analytical frameworks to investigate austerity emergences. After an overview of both neighbourhoods and the methodology, results are presented through the three most common spheres of austerity emergence in participants' lifeworlds; the household, the income-related spheres of work and social welfare, and the neighbourhood. The conclusion, following these themes, discusses the role of space in the formation of austerity worlds.

1. Austerity in Ireland

Although austerity was always part of neoliberal governance (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Korpi and Palme, 2003), it intensified as governments throughout Europe sought to order their budgets after responding to the 2008 financial crisis with bank bailouts and stimulus packages (Aalbers, 2013). Blyth (2013, p. 2) calls austerity "a form of voluntary deflation in which the economy adjusts through the reduction of wages, prices, and public spending to restore competitiveness". Austerity includes reduction of state spending, privatisation of public services, and increased direct and indirect taxation (Brenner et al., 2010; Mercille and Murphy, 2015). On the urban scale, Peck (2012) argues that simultaneous processes of destructive creativity, deficit politics and devolved risk formed a new urban governance context termed 'austerity urbanism'. The already poor and marginalised are most vulnerable to austerity's negative effects as it intensifies uneven urban development. (Donald et al., 2014; Lobao and Adua, 2011; Peck, 2012). Urban scholars established the urban roots of the crisis, investigated opportunities for post-neoliberal urban transformations, and identified ongoing urban neoliberalisation (Oosterlynck and González, 2013), while this paper contributes to the growing literature on 'everyday austerity' (e.g. Clayton et al., 2015; Hall, 2016; Hitchen, 2016; Horton, 2016; Pimlott-Wilson, 2015). Furthermore, its focus on Ireland extends this endeavour beyond the United Kingdom.

Ireland's budgetary adjustment was among the largest in advanced economies (Whelan, 2014); between 2008 and 2013, €28.8bn of austerity was realised through spending cuts and

tax increases – 18% of Irish 2012 GDP (Whelan, 2014). From 2004 to 2011, the European banking crisis cost Ireland €41.0bn, highest among European countries (Taft, 2013). Per capita, Ireland spent €8,981 compared to €491 in Germany (ibid). Ireland thus paid the highest price for the banking crisis. Furthermore, Ireland is the only country to not extent the troika bailout programme beyond its scheduled time, December 2013. Therefore, it is often lauded as 'poster-child of austerity' (Kinsella, 2014; O'Callaghan et al., 2014). However, variegated economic recovery and adjusted state finances intensified socio-spatial injustice (Fraser et al., 2013; Hearne et al., 2014; Kearns, 2014).

Deprivation levels rose since 2008 (Callan et al., 2014; Fraser et al., 2013), homelessness reached historic levels (Dublin Simon Community, 2015) and health services operate at crisis levels (HCP, 2017). Poor people, more dependent on state spending and social services, often feel the brunt of austerity (Peck, 2012). Young people are especially vulnerable to the negative effects of crisis, recession and austerity (Bradford and Cullen, 2014; Leahy and Burgess, 2012; Verick, 2009), and vulnerability intensified most for youth with lower socio-economic status (Gerlach-Kristen, 2013; Whelan et al., 2016). Indeed, unemployment under 25 rose sharply since 2008 and remained far above average since (CSO, 2017a). In employment, youth suffer more from redundancies, hiring freezes, labour market casualisation and a two-tier labour market (Kretsos, 2014; Loftus, 2012). As youth unemployment spells increase likelihood of criminal behaviour, health issues, violence, social exclusion and substance abuse, these effects last into the future (EurWORK, 2011). As austerity particularly 'bites' in cities (Peck, 2012), disadvantaged urban youth are arguably among the most affected groups. Therefore, their diverse experiences provide a lens into the subterranean trends of austerity (Sassen, 2014); dynamics reshaping all society most visible in extreme cases.

Approaching austerity through the experiences of disadvantaged urban youth provides a bottom-up perspective into everyday consequences and transformations of higher-scale political-economic developments (Elias, 2010). This 'everyday' includes the affirmation and contestation of such transformations, but also mundane coping and adjustment strategies. Such 'everyday political economies' focus on everyday ramifications of deepening market relations in everyday life (Elias and Roberts, 2016). This approach invites a focus on social reproduction as state-mediated connection between global political economy and everyday realities. Austerity, threatening possibilities of reproduction for marginalised populations

(Fraser, 2016; Hardy, 2016), confirms the state's centrality in mediating this relation. A commitment to the everyday and mundane requires "careful place-based analyses of the connections between global markets, states, individuals, households and/or communities" (Elias and Roberts, 2016, p. 793).

The everyday lingering of the financial crisis sharply contrasts the crisis as event (Brassett and Vaughan-Williams, 2012a). An event conceptualisation invites managerial solutions at the scalar level of the event, thus targeting an economic crisis at the economic scale. Constituting the crisis as a traumatic event identifies worthy victims deserving support and safety; responsible financial actors, banks, and the economy (Brassett and Vaughan-Williams, 2012b). Presenting economic interventions, bail-outs and austerity, as humanitarian action aimed at such worthy victims enables dismantling the social system for those excluded from victimhood. Or, "[j]ust as the liberal financial subject is secured, the safety net for anyone unable to meet the criteria of that category is removed" (Brassett and Vaughan-Williams, 2012b, p. 34). Therefore, the 'event' facilitates reforms ultimately affecting the everyday. This paper aims to trace the relation between the political-economic turmoil of the crisis and the everyday experiences through which disadvantaged youth live crisis and austerity. Next, I develop the lifeworld assemblage to connect austerity to these everyday experiences.

2. The lifeworld as assemblage

3.1 The lifeworld

For humanistic geographers, the lifeworld is the "culturally defined spatio-temporal setting or horizon of everyday life" (Buttimer, 1976, p. 227) or the "taken-for-granted pattern and context of everyday life" (Seamon, 1979, p. 20). It refers to everyday places and spaces navigated in a semi- or subconscious manner. Buttimer stresses the fundamental relationship between subject and object as essential to lifeworld investigation, meaning that austerity cannot be divorced from the person experiencing it. Conceptually, it can illuminate the integration of austerity into the everyday background upon which youth moves and acts naturally and subconsciously. Lifeworld contains both the physical boundaries of everyday life, the socio-spatial limitations on mobility, and its subjective quality; the experiences and values of places within those boundaries. Austerity potentially affects the multiple locations and scales that constitute the lifeworld relationally (Jung and Anderson, 2017). Furthermore, the individual is positioned at the heart of the lifeworld (Buttimer, 1976), which integrates the

embodied effects and interpretations of austerity. Finally, the lifeworld's spatiality reflects locally-specific articulations of constraints in spatial movement and conduct imposed by austerity (Ilan, 2011; Jessop, 2002). The lifeworld is thus grounded in both physical and metaphorical space.

The lifeworld of Buttimer (1976) and Seamon (1979) originates from humanistic geography, which emphasises human spatial experiences (Adams et al., 2001). Aiming to transcend spatial and materialistic determinism (Buttimer, 1990), it often overemphasised human agency's freedom from structural and material influences (Cresswell, 2004). Humanist geographers also tended to essentialise place and place-attachment and favoured tradition, rest and stability over movement and change (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977), sometimes resulting in conservative views on mobility and transforming modes of life. Finally, it sometimes ignored differentiated experiences concerning gender, class, ethnicity and sexuality in its celebration of human freedom (Smith, 2009). Nonetheless, investigating austerity, its everyday impacts, and the entrenchment of austerity and recession in sub- and pre-conscious behaviour validates a return to the lifeworld.

To connect the lifeworld to its material and political context, the tension between lifeworld and system from a Habermassian interpretation can be used. For Habermas (1987, p. 124), the lifeworld is the "culturally transmitted and linguistically organised stock of interpretive patterns". This lifeworld is symbolically and communicatively constructed, and provides the convictions shaping the behaviour of individual and group responding to events. This lifeworld is contrasted to 'system' where behaviour is guided by action consequences, shaped by money and power, rather than collectively established values. System imperatives aim to replace actors' autonomy to establish their understanding through communication, values and attitudes. There is a constant tension between system and lifeworld. However, Habermas argues, institutionalisation of systemic imperatives integrates them in the symbolic background of everyday life, decision making, and identity formation. Systemic logic is imposed on the lifeworld and infiltrates value judgements and communicative action. Habermas terms this 'lifeworld colonisation', as systemic imperatives occupy and overtake dynamics of meaning-making and symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld.

Austerity can be interpreted as a process of lifeworld colonisation; it progressively increases the force of power and money over actions and behaviour within the lifeworld (Rossi, 2013).

Money- and power-based Imperatives replace mutually agreed value judgements in behavioural decision and impose system dynamics on everyday conduct. However, tension arises when systemic imperatives are insufficiently supported by values and worldviews emerging from the lifeworld, and they must this integrate themselves in the lifeworld through lifeworld colonisation. Austerity imposes a neoliberal logic on everyday life, representing a subterranean trend of neoliberalisation and capital accumulation (Sassen, 2014), and is thus interpreted as avenue of lifeworld colonisation. This paper investigates the avenues through which austerity enters and integrates itself in the lifeworld. The next section introduces assemblage to investigate austerity emergence in the lifeworld.

3.2 Assemblage

Contemporary geographers commonly understand space and place relationally (Anderson et al., 2012; Malpas, 2012), where place is formed through positionality in local, national and international networks (Massey, 2005, 1991). Assemblage stresses that, beyond relations, all events are topographical (Anderson et al., 2012; Corpataux and Crevoisier, 2015; Malpas, 2012). McFarlane (2011a) conceptualises the city as assemblage to account for multiple and multi-scalar relations constituting a spatially anchored place. Assemblage, thus, speaks of indeterminacy, turbulence and the socio-materiality of phenomena. For Allen (2012), assemblages are 'topological entanglements'; neither fixed nor purely relational and consisting of internal capacities and external relations. Different forces and actors reaching into a site, private or public, local or global, and their mutual interactions collectively assemble place. Urban actors, forms, and processes are part of, and interact with, urban assemblages (McFarlane, 2011b). The concept thus emphasises the importance of actors, urban histories and the disruptive force of events (Anderson et al., 2012), and incorporates the complex and subtle interactions between human and non-human actors which shape place experiences (Rodgers et al., 2014).

Brenner, Madden and Wachsmuth (2011) acknowledge assemblage's focus on the multiple materialities of socio-natural relations and powerful presence of non-human actors, but argue for a strong link with structuration-sensitive theory. They accept assemblage's empirical and methodological strengths but challenge its explanatory power ontologically. I employ assemblage as perspective to investigate relations between austerity urbanism (Peck, 2012), the lifeworld (Buttimer, 1976; Seamon, 1979) and austerity's avenues of lifeworld colonisation

(Habermas, 1987). Empirically, it envisages the arrival of austerity within everyday experiences of disadvantaged urban youth, providing a bottom-up and everyday perspective of macro-economic and political transformations (Elias, 2010). Methodologically, assemblage investigates transformations of everyday life through its materialities and relationships. Assemblage theory thus centres the individual and the relational arrival of austerity in their lifeworld.

Taking into account such criticisms, the lifeworld assemblage is developed as methodological-analytical application with an ethnographic sensibility (Baker and McGuirk, 2017). A qualitative investigation resulted in an in-depth and context-specific understanding of austerity emergence in young people's everyday life, thus adhering to an epistemological commitment to multiple determinations that (re-)shape assemblages through "empirically rich accounts able to reveal how structural effects are realized through a contested field of projects, actors, and ambitions" (Baker and McGuirk, 2017, p. 430). In the application of lifeworld assemblage, this included tracking responses to, and experiences of, lifeworld colonisation to understand the roles of personal and spatial characteristics upon contingent avenues of such colonisation. Baker and McGuirk (2017) label this 'revealing the labour producing and maintaining assemblages'. This provided a focus on processuality, on the disassembling and reassembling of the lifeworld assemblage, the avenues of ongoing lifeworld colonisation, and related processes of meaning making. Assemblage thus analytically and methodologically exposed the relations between individuals and surrounding entities through participant narratives. This exploration of the lifeworld assemblage progressively elucidated how austerity is experienced, understood, and given meaning and worked to trace the connections between structural transformations and everyday experiences.

The 'everyday' is "a site within which reforms touch down and reshape the lives of the most vulnerable and a site within which neoliberal reform projects are resisted and challenged" (Elias and Roberts, 2016, p. 795). It is where political economy and lived experiences are intimately connected. Therefore, Elias (2010) challenges qualitative researchers to study the relations between (international) political economy and everyday life while privileging neither the structures of global capitalism nor everyday social relations and actions. Rather, Elias argues, their connections are central to understanding the cultural consequences of structural changes. The lifeworld assemblage does exactly this, providing a methodological-analytical

tool illuminating the consequences of the political economy of austerity on the everyday lives of disadvantaged urban youth (Baker and McGuirk, 2017), and assists in uncovering the lived and embodied effects of economic transformations (Elias and Roberts, 2016). In short, it shines light onto how the crisis and austerity become 'everyday' or translate into 'actually existing austerity' (Berglund, 2017). By identifying how austerity enters the lifeworld it shows how austerity as discourse and governance shapes everyday life and its experience (Brassett and Vaughan-Williams, 2012b).

The lifeworld assemblage connects humanistic geography and critical theory in an analytical tool to investigate how austerity's structural transformations translate into everyday encounters. Centring the experiences of disadvantaged urban youth, it establishes the points of austerity emergence in the lifeworld of such youth to uncover how systemic mechanisms enter, transform, and colonise the lifeworld. It thus connects austerity urbanism (Peck, 2012) and transformations of urban life, where the contradictions of 'actually existing neoliberalism' are most pertinently felt (Jessop, 2002). Using lifeworld assemblage, this paper illuminates how urban geography shapes the neighbourhood-specific arrival of predominantly nationally austerity policies (Fraser et al., 2013; Kitchin et al., 2012). These local specificities extend beyond the concentration of differently affected socio-economic and otherwise differentiated groups (Callan et al., 2014; Haase, 2007; Hearne et al., 2014) to include the relational embeddedness of place in the emergence of path-dependent austerity worlds. More theoretically, it employs lifeworld assemblage to investigate how the everyday is affected by structural transformations in political economy and national policy and illuminates avenues of lifeworld colonisation in both physical and symbolic spatialities.

3. Interviewing youth from Knocknaheeny and Ballymun

Following the Irish Youth Work Act, youth is operationalised as under 25. This age is also a crucial point for several social welfare schemes and social programmes. A minimum age of 18 guarantees that participants (tried to) enter the labour market and became eligible for social welfare during the recession. Finally, youth is not understood as a singular concept, but rather relationally constituted and mediated by factors including gender, sexuality, employment status and dependency (Kallio and Häkli, 2013). Mentions of youth in this paper take such multiplicities in consideration, and the term serves to describe a more-or-less common experience across this age group.

As mentioned earlier, Ireland was heavily affected by crisis, recession and austerity (Callan et al., 2014; Taft, 2013; Whelan, 2014). Urban populations, specifically the already marginalised, are especially vulnerable to its negative effects (Peck, 2012). Often lacking the experience and resources to recover from economic shocks, youth is particularly vulnerable (Verick, 2009). Indeed, in Ireland economic vulnerability increased most sharply for young adults in poor and precarious conditions (Gerlach-Kristen, 2013; Murphy, 2014; Whelan et al., 2016). Apart from vulnerability to redundancies, precarious conditions and lacking employment opportunities, several austerity measures directly targeted youth. Most strikingly, unemployment benefits for those under 26 were reduced. In 2016, individuals between 18 and 25 received €100/week, those aged 25 €144/week, compared to 188/week above 26-years-of-age. Small increments were since implemented but the differentiation remains. Furthermore, young people are specifically targeted in activation programmes under threat of social welfare reductions for non-compliance. Forced acceptance of internships, work-placements and employment under unfavourable conditions consolidates precarious conditions (Impact, 2015; Leahy and Burgess, 2012). Symbolically, youth serves as legitimisation of austerity through discourse of "future generations" (Horton, 2016). Leahy & Burgess (2012, p. 113) conclude;

> *The financial fallout from the economic collapse will be borne by today's young people through reduced opportunities, welfare rollback, and cutbacks in educational, recreational, cultural and social mobility programmes.*

Such vulnerabilities are aggravated for disadvantaged youth, presenting an 'extreme case' through which 'subterranean trends' can be explored (Sassen, 2014).

To uncover austerity emergences within the lifeworld of disadvantaged urban youth, thirty-three young people participated in non/semi-structured interviews in 2015 (Lindseth and Norberg, 2004). Participants were recruited in two neighbourhoods; Knocknaheeny in Cork and Ballymun in Dublin. A comparative approach established commonalities and variations in austerity experiences and emergences (Dear, 2005; Robinson, 2011). These interviews, loosely based on narrative and phenomenological traditions, explored the relationship between the participant and austerity through participant narratives (Bruce, 2004; Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). Participants were recruited through organisations working with young people in Knocknaheeny and Ballymun. Certain underrepresentation might occur of groups least likely to participate in such services, for example, full-time employed individuals or those that

grew extremely disaffected. To sustain trust, participants were regularly reminded that their narratives were handled and stored confidentially (Dowling, 2005). Names in this paper are author-chosen pseudonyms and, whenever necessary, other information is altered while remaining representative of intended meaning.

Knocknaheeny and Ballymun are among the most deprived areas of both Ireland and their respective cities (Haase and Pratschke, 2016, 2012). Knocknaheeny and parts of Ballymun are unemployment blackspots where unemployment is over 27% (CSO, 2017b). Both neighbourhoods contain large shares of social housing and were initially build in response to acute housing crises (Power, 1997). They are thus legacies of a distinctly different policy paradigm (Boyle, 2005). Over time, poverty programmes and regeneration projects, reacting to deepening and concentrated deprivation, reflected changing modes of governance reshaping such neighbourhoods (Corcoran et al., 2007; Power, 1997). Knocknaheeny is considerably smaller than Ballymun (CSO, 2017c), and provides fewer public and private services. While Ballymun's large-scale regeneration programme spectacularly collapsed during the crisis (Power, 2008), Knocknaheeny's more recent regeneration seems more resilient. Such intervention histories, this paper shows, influence local and everyday austerity emergences for urban youth.

Three main avenues of austerity emerged from participants' narratives; the household, income, and the neighbourhood. The next section discusses these themes and their commonalities and divergences in both neighbourhoods to evaluate the effect of urban geographies on localised austerity worlds.

4. results

5.1 The Household

> *…there was times when it did get hard, like, with me mam's hours being cut, and losing her job, and a lot going on at home, […] it was kind of hard for my mam to […] financially support three kids and a grandchild, […] herself, and a fiancé… (Tara, Ballymun, 18)*

Tara, 18-year-old, lived her whole life in Ballymun. In 2015, she was enrolled in YouthReach, a programme for early school-leavers providing a €160/week allowance. This contribution meant she was not struggling financially on a personal level. The option of subsidised education was more often available in Ballymun than in Knocknaheeny because of the larger

capacity of its YouthReach branch. Tara encountered austerity predominantly in her household, especially when her mother's working hours declined, involuntarily, and later became unemployed. As a result, Tara's mother struggled to support three children and Tara's grandmother, while regularly taking in family members unable to pay their rent. This situation increased financial stress in the household, which received several eviction warnings after falling into rent arrears and regularly lacked an adequate food supply. At the time of the interview the situation had improved; Tara contributed from her allowance and her mother and older brother were employed. Nonetheless, family members gave up activities, hobbies and personal interests, including high-level and semi-professional sports for Tara.

Like Tara, many participants encountered austerity through the household. For 18 participants, the household was an important point of encounter with austerity irrespective of age and gender. This resulted primarily from declining household income from employment loss, wage reductions and social welfare cuts for one or more household members. Exact experiences, however, were gendered. Male participants spoke frequently about paternal employment loss, both financially and culturally, which discontinued expectations of male employment and parental roles. This confirms that crisis affects both culturally and financially (Allon, 2010), as expected values and expectations based in the lifeworld are upset. Female participants, in contrast, regularly spoke about financial stress affecting household management and family relationships. This reflects the female responsibility in household management and family finances (Hall, 2016). These gender-based experiences suggest male experiences are focussed on the individual, either the self or the father, while female experiences tend towards communal or household experiences of austerity. Gender roles in production and reproduction thus affect everyday experiences of austerity as participants have differing relations to finance, the family, and the household (Elias and Roberts, 2016). These different connections thus shape the lifeworld of individuals and household that affect the everyday ramifications of structural transformations in political economy.

Most participants, especially those encountering austerity through the household, lived with their parents, illuminating the family's centrality in social reproduction and social life (LeBaron, 2010). Rather than parental dependence or a singular household relation, more complex financial relationships existed (Hall, 2016), and many participants contributed towards rent and utilities (O'Connell et al., 2008). Finance gained increasing prominence in

shaping household relations, suggesting systemic lifeworld infiltration through monetary household management. Furthermore, as youth is often financially dependent, the household forms a prism into adult life through which austerity is encountered via parents struggling with household responsibilities. Employing the lifeworld assemblage methodologically thus reveals the role of household relations in reassembling the lifeworld in the context of austerity, and the role it plays in connecting the political economy of austerity to the everyday experiences of young adults.

> *When I came out of school and my mam was only after about getting half the shopping, she was after paying all the bills, she couldn't afford it, like (Sean, Knocknaheeny, 18)*
>
> *I am only 18 so, I was still getting money off me ma and all. (Jade, Ballymun,18)*
>
> *…there were changeovers in my dad's job, and someone took over his company […], they started cutting his wages, they were being more harsh on his hours, they were demanding more of him, […] it was hard, and everything was just affected in our lives. (Hannah, Ballymun, 19)*

Three reasons contribute to the household's prominence for austerity emergences. First, as reflected by Billy and Sean, some participants were not directly exposed to austerity at the moment of implementation; they were either unemployed or attending school. In lieu of direct experiences, austerity's initial effects rippled through the household originating from other household members. Second, participants had, by young age, not yet developed many financial responsibilities. For people like Jade, this presented another shelter from direct experiences. Furthermore, such experiences illuminate austerity's temporality; the time of implementation critically affects its individual experience. Austerity is more 'densely' experienced at vital transitions during young adulthood – the education-work transition, leaving the parental home, and the gradual acquiring of responsibilities (Coles, 2004) – where successful completion is disrupted or the transition is qualitatively altered. Austerity redefines the meaning and experience of these transitions. Finally, as for Hannah, participants discursively encountered austerity in household and family situations. Such situations thicken austerity's atmospheric density in the household sphere (Hitchen, 2016).

In Knocknaheeny, household encounters were concentrated among younger participants. These related primarily to parental job loss and reduced household income. Most parental unemployment was maternal. Although female unemployment rose less than male

unemployment, this perhaps reflects higher initial female employment, female overrepresentation in public employment facing large redundancies (Fraser et al., 2013), or the high prevalence of predominantly women-led single-parent households (CSO, 2011).

> *…they cut my mam's working hours down, […] they were giving her like 250 [euro/week], […] and now they're only giving her 110, […] and they've cut down my dad's working hours as well so they're not getting as much, […] it's just not easy when they do that, when they cut down your hours and you don't have that much money… (Eimear, Knocknaheeny, 20)*

Apart from financial and cultural impacts, these changes affect participants' personal development. Sean, for example, left school for a subsidised course to compensate falling household income. Here, financial household requirements shape educational and career decisions as households respond to a socio-economic context that limits the means of social reproduction (Fraser, 2016). The systemic medium money progressively replaces value-based and interest-based decisions emanating from the lifeworld. For most participants, the household acted as gateway to finance, education, social activities and recreation. If austerity did not affect personal income, it reshaped the relations of everyday life of Knocknaheeny participants through the household. However, household experiences were not as intense as in Ballymun. The dominance of public housing, over 70% in Knocknaheeny, provided a buffer towards intense direct financial consequences of falling income. Spatial remnants of a previous policy paradigm thus erect a barrier towards more intense lifeworld colonisation, illuminating the role of non-human entities, both physical and institutional, in assembling the relationship between the structural and the everyday.

In Ballymun, household austerity experiences were more gendered. Female participants, like Tara, encountered austerity as household income fell and financial stress increased as they struggled to manage rent, bills, and caring responsibilities. This confirms Hall's (2016) finding that women often manage family finances under austerity. Male participants often expressed their father losing employment or working under deteriorated conditions as main austerity encounter, relating to images of the male breadwinner and a disruption of normality as the father stopped working. These gendered experiences originate from lifeworld-based values, suggesting the lifeworld is not inherently unproblematically opposing system and that gender-mediated relations constituting the lifeworld assemblage affect the gendered austerity

emergence in everyday life. The lifeworld-system interaction thus creates gender-specific austerity experiences based on a gendered assembling of lifeworld relations.

> *…the weeks where, like there wouldn't be anything where we could go and just open the press and have, not even sweets, […] like sandwiches and noodles and stuff like that, […], and sometimes then we'd have to borrow money to, kind of, pay for, like, bread, milk, eggs, potatoes, just to get us by for the week… (Tara, Ballymun, 18)*

> *For twelve years I'd seen him in work all the time, and now that […] he had no job, that was the first kinda time I saw the recession hit bad… (Josh, Ballymun, 21)*

Overall, household experiences were more common in Ballymun because austerity was less regularly encountered through the income-related spheres. Several explanations attest to this heightened importance of the household. First, a deeper institutional penetration of activation services and training facilities provided alternative income for unemployed youth. Availability of alternative income streams, reflecting its increasing importance of money on behaviour and experience, shapes austerity experiences and conduct of Ballymun participants. This deeper penetration partly results from a history of community-based activism and the regeneration project (Boyle, 2005), but also reflects the larger population and thus 'customer base' for such services. In an era of increased funding competitiveness (Harvey, 2012), such system-based 'value-for-money' arguments co-shape service availability. Second, male employment recovered quicker in Ballymun (CSO, 2017c; Haase and Pratschke, 2016), while differences in female unemployment were minimal between the neighbourhoods. This reflects the Dublin centred recovery of the Irish economy (Byrne, 2015; O'Callaghan et al., 2015). Although most Ballymun participants were unemployed, recovering employment might affect prospects and older neighbourhood inhabitants regaining employment provides enrolment space in subsidised training and education. Third, rents and living costs were higher in Dublin (Lyons, 2015; Numbeo, 2016), resulting in increased awareness of household finances through intensified pressure on collective financial management. The importance of system imperatives thus increasingly shaped family and household relations. The local urban geography in which Ballymun is embedded, through price geographies, local histories, location in Dublin, and institutional presence, shape the assemblage of its localised austerity world in response to geographies of profit and capital accumulation and, thus, how austerity emerges in and colonises the lifeworld of participants.

The household's prominence as sphere of austerity emergence confirms its importance for social reproduction (LeBaron, 2010). Furthermore, it confirms austerity's relational nature as it ripples through social networks to affect those beyond its immediate 'targets'. Both cultural and financial disruptions of the household inject anxiety, insecurity, and uncertainty in the centre of the lifeworld for disadvantaged urban youth as financial imperatives increasingly affect day-to-day behaviour. Nonetheless, personal circumstances, for example based on gender, affect exact household experiences. As economic imperatives, implemented through policies to restore economic competitiveness, take possession of the lifeworld and reproduction increasingly depends on economic participation, austerity is thus a form of lifeworld colonisation. As Hannah stated, through the household austerity started affecting everything in life. Structures and expectations previously organising the everyday no longer hold and the need for financial income replaces values as behavioural guidance.

Furthermore, gendered austerity experiences through the household illuminate that existing lifeworld values and convictions are not inherently unproblematic. Lifeworld and system, thus, present no good/bad dichotomy. Existing values regarding gender-roles and expectations, shape individual austerity experiences and creating more severe consequences for already under-privileged individuals (Hall et al., 2017). Male experiences of austerity seem to congregate on the individual level, the participant and/or father, while female participants express more collective household or family experiences. Female participants, thus, more often shoulder a multiple austerity burden, an intensified experience ultimately rooted in existing lifeworld constellations. Austerity convergence in everyday life is thus constituted by gendered everyday practices (Elias and Roberts, 2016), and the gendered relations assembling the lifeworld of participants affect how austerity reshapes their everyday experiences.

Finally, different neighbourhood contexts affected how participants in Knocknaheeny and Ballymun encountered austerity through the household, especially as higher costs of living intensified household financial stress in Ballymun. Such spatial differences likely continue in the future as social housing in Ballymun is continuously replaced by private rent, while current Knocknaheeny regeneration plans retain the social housing ratio. Space itself thus occupies a vital role in the lifeworld assemblage, affecting both entities and relations constituting the assemblage. Not only are contemporary spatial arrangements shaping the everyday emergence of national policy in diverse places, the new spaces created by a reconstitution of

lifeworld assemblages form the platform for future 'everydaying' of changes in policy and political economy.

5.2 Income

> *I find it very hard to find work […], and being on the dole, I don't get much on the dole. (Ciara, Knocknaheeny, 21)*

Ciara, 21-years-old, lived in Knocknaheeny and experienced austerity mainly through her personal income. Many participants struggled to find employment, and Ciara experienced spells of precarious employment and unemployment. Occasionally, she secured income through work, but the required effort significantly shaped her experiences of recession and austerity. At the time, she was unemployed for six months which meant a significant income reduction compared to her previous job. After initial temporary employment, the company dismissed her to perhaps re-hire her after a few months. Ciara attended Project ReFocus, which comes without an allowance, so she received €100/week unemployment support and struggled financially. She not only ceased previously affordable social activities but, employment loss and income drop made her feel depressed, which intensified with unsuccessful job applications. She contributed €50/week to household finances. The absence of permanent well-paying employment and the lowered social welfare rates for young adults meant she could not fulfil her desire to live independently.

Like in Ciara's example, participants' direct relationships to income were through work and social welfare. As her story further exemplifies, social welfare and work are highly related as social welfare becomes the main income source during unemployment. Lowered welfare rates thus increase the costs of becoming and being unemployed (Benanav, 2015). High youth unemployment in Knocknaheeny and Ballymun and lesser likelihood of intergenerational financial support among lower-class families (Timonen et al., 2012), increased social welfare's importance in participants' financial lives. The insufficiency of youth unemployment payments dominated social welfare experiences, which also included reduced training allowances, tightened conditionality and increased pressure into activation programmes, unfavourable job offers, and work placements. These measures, directly or subjectively, instil economic logic in the lifeworld as it makes the lack of income pertinently felt.

Austerity encounters through work were twofold; some participants lost income through full or partial job loss and labour market adjustments while for others labour market entry was blocked by an increasingly competitive and unfavourable labour market. Losing employment, fully or partially, was the dominant work-related experience for older participants. Younger participants mainly experienced difficult labour market access.

> *…once the recession started kicking in then I noticed the hours in my part-time job were going down. So when I first finished up in school they took me on full-time, but then that went, dropped and dropped and dropped in hours, so in the end, I ended up going for voluntary redundancy because I was only getting like eight hours a week in work, so there was no point. (Sophie, Ballymun, 25)*

> *I come out of college, and I was, just turned 18, going to college, […] but there was no jobs in that sector, and I tried, ehm, applying for jobs, but nothing came back. Got a few interviews, didn't get the jobs, that was it, there was really, really nothing there. (Simon, Knocknaheeny, 24)*

Work encounters were gendered as work-related austerity experiences were more frequently expressed by men. Gender-based experiences follow cultural expectations of gendered responsibilities originating in a gendered lifeworld (McDowell, 2012). The cocktail of age-related welfare cuts and youth's labour market vulnerability, intensified by participants' class background, illustrates the vulnerability created by the infiltration of systemic-economic imperatives towards work (Murphy and Loftus, 2015; Verick, 2009). Age thus strongly mediates the establishment of relations between young people and income under austerity, while the strength of previously established connections is reduced. Such tensions were exacerbated by neighbourhood stigmas reducing labour market success for Knocknaheeny and Ballymun participants. As reduced social welfare affected living conditions without work, the need of employment for social reproduction increased, enforcing economic regulatory imperatives in the lifeworld. Austerity encounters through income and social welfare are two sides of the same coin; the costs and experience of unemployment are heightened by lacking social welfare which increases the urgency of work. This intensifies both the power of money and governance, through social welfare conditionality, in the lifeworld.

The income-related spheres of work and social welfare were the most prevalent points of austerity emergence in Knocknaheeny. Social welfare experiences were important, but employment encounters were more, although Ciara's experiences show their relationship.

The intensity of social welfare experiences reflects welfare dependency in absence of employment. In social welfare, reductions of young people's Jobseeker's Allowance were most prominent. Indeed, according to the course-coordinator of Project ReFocus, initial wage reductions and job losses relatively bypassed parts of Knocknaheeny, where austerity started to hit with social welfare reductions.

> *We came in there one, I can't remember what day it was, but ehm, the boom went, it was gone! […] You come back in, we were going into work, and we were all told to go away. About a 100 fellas walked outside, […] all together like, like fuck this, you know. I never forget it, it was fucking madness. (Colm, Knocknaheeny, 26)*

> *…knowing that my brother a couple of years earlier was working, you know, a job less stressful than mine, like, and he was making twice the money I was making… (Brendan, Knocknaheeny, 24)*

Various work-related experiences surfaced. Colm, for example, dramatically recalls being sent off a construction site after the Irish property bubble burst. Others, like Brendan, reflect their own experiences to those of family and peers. Such experiences possess different intensities; Colm remembers a sudden break upsetting his lifeworld and ultimately leading to homelessness; Brendan grew dissatisfied when his desired way of life never seemed to arrive. Individual labour market connections thus mediated work-related experiences; some could not establish a connection while others lost their connection or it became increasingly precarious. Especially for lower-educated male youth, a declining construction sector meant the end of an easy connection to work (Bobek and Wickham, 2015). The manager of St. Vincent's GAA Club in Knocknaheeny confirmed that club members now remained in education rather than leaving school for construction work. This indicates that already before austerity and recession the systemic medium of money strongly influenced behaviour. This further confirms the influence of personal income relations on the avenues of austerity emergence in the lifeworld, and how financial assemblages affect how and when austerity affects everyday life.

In Ballymun, unemployment was only slightly lower than in Knocknaheeny. Nonetheless, austerity and recession were less frequently experienced through work or its absence. Work-related narratives in Ballymun more often involved successful employment finding. Liam, for example, took longer than expected to find work after finishing education but eventually

succeeded within a couple of months. Sophie, like Ciara, lost her job following the crisis, but after periods of unemployment and precarious labour found relatively stable full-time employment using JobBridge and Youth Guarantee. The presence of such options thus created more positive work-related experiences.

> *I applied online for jobs, and it took me several months to […] finally get a job, […]it affected me for a long time, […] there is no jobs out there for young people and obviously for travellers because they get discriminated and all that… (Liam, Ballymun, 19)*

> *…I actually started as an intern, so I done a nine-month internship and that was part of the Youth Guarantee Scheme, […] and that finished in January, and since then they kept me on full-time… (Sophie, Ballymun, 25)*

> *I made CVs up in the Job Centre, the Ballymun Job Centre, and I went around shops […] so I went to the Job Centre, and they helped with a mock interview and stuff, gave me tips… (Donna, Ballymun, 23)*

As the stories of Sophie and Donna show, more facilities, programmes and supports were available to unemployed Ballymun participants. Its location in Dublin, status of unemployment blackspot, and larger population, made it the pilot-site for Irish Youth Guarantee, while institutions like the Job Centre are legacies of historic community involvement, local initiatives and integrated social policies in the regeneration plan. As previously mentioned, Ballymun knows a deeper institutional penetration of training, education and activation programmes shaping its governance context, and thus how power and money affect the neighbourhood. This results from previous system-lifeworld struggles. Beyond Ballymun Job Centre and Youth Guarantee, this includes a larger YouthReach facility and employability programmes and career counselling by the Ballymun Regional Youth Resource. The presence of such institutions and participants' involvement explains the minor importance of austerity emergence through work. Unemployed youth was more often absorbed in training, education and activation, sometimes accompanied by allowances – which mediated direct deficiencies and lessened social welfare experiences –, making their unemployment experience less acute. Tara, for example, got involved with YouthReach after losing employment, an option less available in Knocknaheeny. This, however, does not prevent lifeworld colonisation, as funding rationalisation and conditions increase the hold of money and power on such institutions (Harvey, 2012). The spatial assemblage is shaped by institutional presence of state and

community organisations themselves responding to neighbourhood geography, size and history. This assemblage affects avenues of austerity arrival and thus the locally experienced austerity world.

Austerity emergence through work was gendered irrespective of place. In both neighbourhoods, men more often referred to work as point of emergence, characterised by a difficulty to find work, falling wages, and precariousness. Both neighbourhoods also showed an age effect; older participants reflected on changing working conditions while younger participants struggled to find employment. The gendered experience of austerity through income reflects cultural notions of social reproduction and gendered differences in the experience of financial stress (Hall, 2016; McDowell, 2012). Originating in the lifeworld, gendered values affect austerity's into the personal lifeworld and the terrain of everyday life (Elias and Roberts, 2016). Lifeworld colonisation is thus path-dependent and can incorporate and intensify previously existing differentiations, for example around gender. The differential age experience shows a difference between a disruption of employment or struggling to establish it, reflecting the temporal constitution of assemblages. Austerity disrupts and sometimes cancels the education-work transition after completion, or negatively affects its completion for those starting it. Although the labour-connection is generally weakened, the 'in-transition'-position of young people intensifies it as austerity experience. The individual-labour relationship is thus partly shaped by individual characteristics like age and gender. Under threat of insufficient income and stricter welfare regulations, young people are pressured into income streams by accepting precarious employment and increasingly insecure labour conditions (O'Sullivan et al., 2015), a direct increase of money shaping conduct. Age presents a double or triple barrier to income; youth vulnerability to unemployment (Verick, 2009), lower unemployment benefits, and as targets of disciplinary activation programmes (Leahy and Burgess, 2012). Youth is thus specifically vulnerable to lifeworld colonisation under austerity.

Labour market connections are also shaped by space. Both Knocknaheeny and Ballymun are unemployment blackspots (CSO, 2017b). However, austerity emerged through work and social welfare in various ways and intensities beyond varying employment opportunities. Experiential diversity confirms the multifaceted ways in which austerity affects the lifeworld, including relationships and entities beyond the individual and their income-relation. Local

austerity worlds vary beyond the individual, they are shaped by the neighbourhood assemblage through which austerity arrives spatially differentiated in participants' lifeworld. The before-mentioned institutional penetration in Ballymun mediated work experiences of austerity by enabling the connection to training, education and activation rather than a pure unmediated employment pursuit. This penetration is facilitated by a higher population, local history, and geographical embeddedness, including initiatives originating in the Ballymun regeneration and community activism (Boyle, 2005). Nonetheless, this absorption in employability processes affects subjectivity (Rose 1999), instilling the idea of the 'good citizen' as welfare-independent (Dean 1995; Boland & Griffin 2015). The system-lifeworld relation is shaped by the geographical, historical and institutional context, and colonisation proceeded through attempts of subjectivity formation through such institutions. In Knocknaheeny, participants were more immediately exposed to systemic imperatives entering the lifeworld through brute economic force; unemployment and lowered social welfare affecting social reproduction (Fraser, 2016). As assemblage, the lifeworld is constituted by its entities and their relations. In this assemblage, space is both entity and mediator of relations and as such affects the spatially contingent avenues of austerity emergence and lifeworld colonisation experienced by disadvantaged urban youth. Lifeworld assemblage, then, provides an analytical lens to illuminate where income deficiencies and labour market conditions enter the lifeworld and thus traces the spatially contingent avenues of austerity emergence and lifeworld colonisation.

5.3 The neighbourhood

Space mediates austerity experiences through the household, work, and social welfare. This section considers the neighbourhood as physical entity and social structure and investigates how austerity emerges from these structures not directly related to the previously discussed spheres. The regeneration programme in Ballymun receives specific attention, as its interruption significantly influenced local austerity experiences, so this section predominantly focusses on Ballymun. Reflections on Knocknaheeny are included when necessary or insightful. First, I provide a short outline of the Ballymun regeneration, followed by a discussion of its impact on austerity experiences.

In 1998, large-scale physical regeneration of Ballymun commenced in response to community pressure and required physical improvement (Boyle, 2005; Power, 1997; Somerville-

Woodward, 2002). Ballymun Regeneration Limited (BRL) demolished and replaced the original modernist flats with terraced housing. Initially, plans included a new state-of-the-art shopping centre, a cinema complex, a connection to Dublin's tram system and a station of the to-be-constructed metro (BRL, 2005, 1997). BRL is a private company which would reinvest profits from land values, new enterprises, and market-rate developments into community facilities, programmes, and support (Power, 2008). The project's reliance on public-private partnerships reflected a shifting governance paradigm (Hearne, 2011). Demolition of the high-rises started in 2004 and was completed in 2015. The regeneration thus experienced both Celtic Tiger highs and recession lows. Power (2008) identified three factors preventing successful regeneration. First, economic and social revitalisation while leaving the poor in place. Second, the over-reliance on public funding assuming private investment would follow. And third, an underestimation of the costs and timescale. Amidst the 2008 financial crisis public-private partnerships collapsed (Redmond and Hearne, 2013), housing realisations fell behind, and the shopping centre, tram stops and metro-line never materialised. Undeveloped lands remained vacant and although many new houses were constructed, the social and economic regeneration failed or even worsened the situation (Haase and Pratschke, 2016, 2012).

For Michael, austerity initially meant he could not access his desired training. Later, he benefited from the Youth Guarantee scheme, which lowered the minimum age for Community Employment. His austerity narrative, however, was occupied by the prematurely halted investment in the Ballymun regeneration. He regularly spoke the unrealised amenities, such as the reinvigorated shopping centre and improved public transport. According to Michael, this made life in Ballymun harder, especially as service and facility availability declined after the shopping centre was vacated. He stated metaphorically, "even to buy a pair of socks you have to go outside of Ballymun". To him, failed regeneration left the neighbourhood empty and heartless as service availability drastically reduced following rising unemployment and funding cuts for the community and voluntary sectors. He was sceptical about improvement, as no-one had to bear responsibility for previous failures. This ultimately reduced quality of life for individuals and families. Responding to these developments with deep place-attachment, Michael expressed a deep-felt miss and longing for pre-recession, pre-regeneration 'old Ballymun'.

Ballymun participants navigated this local manifestation of urban financialization on a daily basis (Fainstein, 2016; Rutland, 2010); a landscape of unkept promises and unfinished projects. The built environment acted as constant reminder of recession and austerity, making the neighbourhood itself a point of austerity emergence. As in Michael's experience, the simultaneous physical disruption by regeneration and the socio-economic disruption by austerity became connected through the landscape for Ballymun youth[2]. As both sides of the public-private partnerships retreated – the public through austerity and the private through receivership and bankruptcy – neoliberal capital asserted itself in the physicality of the neighbourhood. Space regulates through what it provides and does not provide (Peet, 1996), and this double retreat represented a sacrifice of inhabitants to profit, state solvency, and economic recovery. In the process, lives were upset and the future of the neighbourhood became drenched with uncertainty. The demolition of the iconic high-rise towers came to represent this all-encompassing uncertainty.

> *And then the towers been taking down, […] there were seven towers named after the seven men that died in the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, […]and even though they took down, like, the Silogue flats, Poppintree flats, Ballcurris flats, they could've at least left James Connolly tower, you know, Patrick Pearse tower, there's only one left now, and that's Plunkett tower, and that's being ready to be teared down, […] now it's just all busses and roundabouts and fields, like, there is nothing anymore. […] the flats was what made Ballymun, […] the flats were the Irish history of Ballymun… (Tara, Ballymun, 18)*

For Tara, the demolition of the Ballymun towers changed the identity and character of Ballymun. For her, the towers, named after the seven leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising against British rule, connected Ballymun and Ireland. Their removal aligned with the implementation of austerity represented the departure from a certain 'Irishness' and Ballymun's embeddedness in a history of republican idealism of independence and overcoming exploitation and repression. In Tara's experience, physically removing this connection symbolised the end of an Ireland caring for all its citizens, including the poor and marginalised.

[2] This study focussed on youth, experiences of the built environment might differ for older generations, especially among those involved in the community activism that eventually triggered the Ballymun regeneration (Boyle, 2005; Somerville-Woodward, 2002).

Neighbourhood transformation and the towers' removal during the regeneration embedded this meaning in place; physical change made concrete the departure from a just Ireland.

The Ballymun shopping centre was another important node of austerity emergence, ultimately not replaced by the disrupted regeneration. After anchor tenant Tesco Supermarkets vacated their Ballymun location as profit fell, other tenants left because of falling revenue and attempts by Dublin City Council, who acquired the shopping centre, to vacate the centre in preparation of sale and redevelopment (Hennessy, 2014; Holland, 2015).

> *There was a café down there, there were shops, but again, recession hit and this place is basically desolate, there is, we've lost […] the café, […] religious shops, […] basically the place is empty, there is no shops left… (Hannah, Ballymun, 19)*

> *I've seen the […] closure down of shops, […] making the singular shops, […] the very few that are left, have a monopoly on the area, […] which can cause them to raise prices… (Callum, Ballymun, 21)*

> *I mean there was a Tesco shopping centre in here that would've hired a lot of local people, […] so you could nearly a hundred percent guarantee that the people that worked in all those shops in the shopping centre, were from Ballymun. So, and then shops started kind of being shut down gradually, that was just more unemployment really… (Sophie, Ballymun, 25)*

The centre's central location in Ballymun, near most service locations, made it a highly visible 'scar' of economic collapse (Storm, 2014), part of the 'topologies and topographies of Ireland's neoliberal crisis' representing broken promises, unrealised plans and failed dreams (O'Callaghan et al., 2015). As an everyday manifestation of capital switching (Aalbers, 2008), recession and austerity became embedded in the physical space of the lifeworld that formed physical receptors around which austerity narratives were constructed.

Finally, austerity emerged in Ballymun through local housing provision. Again, predominantly related to the regeneration which replaced significant amounts of social housing with private tenancies. The regeneration operated as avenue of lifeworld colonisation through tenancy and architecture. Many older participants, desiring to leave their parental house, were obstructed by the height of rents and length of social housing waiting lists (van Lanen, 2017). This was especially pertinent in Ballymun, the Knocknaheeny regeneration did not significantly affect social housing ratios. Although in Knocknaheeny regeneration brought streets with

boarded-up housing and families were (temporarily) moved, housing and other austerity emergences through the physical environment or service availability did not emerge among participants.

However, the regeneration is not the sole cause of austerity emergence through housing in Ballymun. Economic recovery in Ireland, especially in employment and rising property prices, is concentrated in urban areas and especially Dublin (CSO, 2017c; Haase and Pratschke, 2016). Facilitated by ongoing financialization and entrepreneurial urban management (Lawton and Punch, 2014; MacLaran and Kelly, 2014), a crisis in private housing provision developed in Dublin (Hedderman and Farrell, 2016). In 2015, rents were up 43% in Dublin (compared to 2010) and 37% in Cork (Lyons, 2015), being significantly higher in Dublin compared to the rest of Ireland (PRTB, 2015). That year, 82% of Dublin respondents indicated it was not easy to find 'good housing at a reasonable price' (European Commission, 2016). Increased market pressure on housing fuelled rising rents and increased homelessness in Dublin (Dublin Simon Community, 2015). Inaccessibility of affordable housing in Dublin and the encroachment of private rental in Ballymun (Dublin 11), where the 2015 average monthly rent of a one-bedroom apartment was €965 (Lyons, 2015), intensified housing emergences of austerity. At the time, the potential increase of more affluent households into private tenancy had not translated in more private service provisions to potentially alleviate the experienced lack of facilities and 'things to do' in general[3]. However, it became increasingly complicated to secure future independent living in the neighbourhood and city.

The Ballymun regeneration and its interruption by the financial crisis thus considerably shaped the formation and consolidation of local austerity worlds. Austerity experiences through the physical neighbourhood were almost exclusive to Ballymun as Knocknaheeny's regeneration proved more resilient and, although increasing, its housing market did not experience the same pressure. Regeneration presented a vulnerability to economic and political disruptions which consolidated in the neighbourhood landscape that forms the stage of everyday life for Ballymun youth. Local dynamics facilitated the materialising of austerity memories into the (near) future. Institutionally, replacing social housing by private tenancy, and architecturally, from a post-war modernist social housing estate to terraced housing, the regeneration and its disruption reflect Ballymun's adjustment from a social-democratic past to a post-austerity

[3] In 2018, plans are developed for a new shopping centre in Ballymun.

neoliberal present and future. The transformed urban landscape imposes values upon the lifeworld by becoming part of the everyday terrain. Individualised sacrifices become material and shared, providing receptors around which various austerity experiences of inhabitants congregate. It thus presents a physical and visible background upon which participants construct their austerity worlds. The destruction of the towers symbolically removed justice and fairness from the built environment, an empty shopping centre reminds of what once was and would be but never became, and a change in housing provision confirms the individualisation of social issues and policies. Where the spheres of the household and income were, although spatially mediated, individual, austerity emergence through the neighbourhood physically and spatially transformed the spaces of participants' shared lifeworld.

6. Conclusion: austerity and the role of space

This paper argues that austerity and recession did not arrive equally in the lifeworld of disadvantaged urban youth in Ireland. Contributing to the growing literature on everyday austerity (Hall, 2018), it traced austerity emergences through the household, the income-related spheres of work and social welfare, and the neighbourhood, to analyse place-specific austerity encounters. Space, place and the neighbourhood are vital elements of the lifeworld assemblage through which austerity emerges to the individual, and through which it is lived and experienced. By comparatively interpreting various narratives from Knocknaheeny and Ballymun (Dear, 2005), specific austerity experiences in these places are revealed. It employs the lifeworld assemblage to put space and place in the web of austerity and uncover the urban geographies shaping differing austerity worlds through which austerity is lived.

A shared socio-economic position of deprivation resulted in commonalities of austerity experiences for Knocknaheeny and Ballymun participants. In both neighbourhoods, austerity was predominantly encountered through the household, work, social welfare and the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, considerable differences existed based on local neighbourhood contexts in Cork and Dublin. The avenues of lifeworld colonisation by systemic imperatives (Habermas, 1987), thus, respond to already existing local circumstances beyond population characteristics alone (Haase, 2007), such as institutional penetration, price geographies, and histories of community engagement and policy involvement. The neighbourhood and its embeddedness in spatial relations are therefore crucial to understand local and individual

austerity encounters, and the formation of locally lived austerity worlds. Austerity, predominantly implemented nationally, materialises around the social, economic and cultural contexts already in place. Following the concept of 'phase space' (Jones, 2009), austerity flows into a spatiality and transforms it through already present relations which connect the neighbourhood to its respective city and wider spatialities. These affect the vulnerabilities and protections to austerity and recession felt by its inhabitants, such as geographies of living costs, local labour market conditions, regeneration and institutional penetration. If Ireland responds to the recession through its position within international networks (Kitchin et al., 2012), so do neighbourhoods shape own 'topologies and topographies' of the Irish crisis (O'Callaghan et al., 2015). Path-dependency on the neighbourhood scale shapes the avenues of austerity emergence.

Austerity operates above and beyond the neighbourhood, and present conditions, that is relations and characteristics, affect how local austerity worlds are constructed, maintained, and lived. Such characteristics are tangible and intangible, exist in the built environment, the socio-economic context, and local cultural conditions. Through these tangible and intangible connections, austerity conducts its role in the systemic colonisation of the lifeworld, it attaches itself to already present components to create locally specific austerity worlds. Austerity creates these lifeworlds not purely by systemic imposition, rather its experiences are created along the tensions of lifeworld and system where new structural conditions confront shared values originating in the lifeworld. Understanding the spatially and socially diversified lived austerity experiences thus requires understanding how local urban geographies shape austerity's arrival in different localities and individual responses and experiences. To fully grasp the complexity of lived austerity, it is critical to consider the role of space and its entanglements in social, cultural, political and economic networks.

This paper began to develop the lifeworld assemblage as an analytical tool to trace the becoming-everyday of structural transformations. The intention is not to describe endless locally specific cases (Brenner et al., 2011; Wachsmuth et al., 2011), but to understand the role of locally mediated contexts in the becoming-everyday of austerity and ultimately the spatially contingent avenues of lifeworld colonisation. By proposing the lifeworld assemblage, the paper engages critically with assemblage theory (Anderson et al., 2012; Brenner et al., 2011), to connect everyday experiences to structural economic and political developments

(Elias, 2010). It moves forward the assemblage debate by demonstrating the concept's ability to assess critical relations between the structural and the everyday. Investigating austerity's lifeworld arrival through the methodological-analytical employment of lifeworld assemblage (Baker and McGuirk, 2017), it establishes the pathways through which systemic imperatives enter the lifeworld of disadvantaged urban youth, while remaining sensitive to their variegated and variously mediated experiences, and thus the trajectories of lifeworld colonisation under austerity urbanism (Habermas, 1987). It thus argues that lifeworld colonisation is spatially path-dependent, and, although differently lived and mediated, local austerity worlds are spatio-temporal manifestations of a 'subterranean' neoliberalising trend (Sassen, 2014).

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