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Mobility as Semiotic Tool for Identity-Making in the Ppauw Mobile Ecovillage

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I have written the Master Thesis myself, independently. All of the other authors'

texts, main viewpoints and all data from other resources have been referred to.

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INTRODUCTION

From the beginnings of human history, mobility has been fundamental to our existence and survival in interacting with changing and challenging surroundings. This interaction can also be considered as driven by a semiosis of self in relation to the environment. Hence, these sense-making processes formed the basis of our understandings of change and environments. This thesis will further focus on understanding the relation between mobility and identity from a meaning making perspective of semiotics. The case chosen analyzes the concept of mobility that is used by the Ppauw ecovillage inhabitants to form their identity to facilitate their communicational activities. The Ppauw ecovillage community was founded in April 2014 as a result of a squat initiative on the terrain of an abandoned hospital in Wageningen, the Netherlands. The ecovillage distinguishes itself from typical ecovillages in the Netherlands due to the fact that it is a (tolerated) squat initiative and that it is mobile. It is mobile in the sense that all physical elements of the ecovillage can be relocated within the space of a few days.

The process of sign-making in the interest of sign makers at Ppauw appears as a strategical solution to communicate with the social mainstream, community, and authority resulting in 'the becoming' process which forms, shapes and reshapes their identity. This process of sign making depends on the relation between 'form' and 'meaning' which is more motivated rather than being arbitrary (Kress 1993). In the process of sign making which is based on communication, (mediated) signs appear as something made and remade, taking into account the social semiotics perspective, signs are newly made in different and varied circumstances (Ibid). Therefore, it is an oversimplified definition that we capture the meaning of a concept or things just by decontextualizing it from a certain time and space. Yet, the general conventions of mobility are inevitable to be refused as a cornerstone of their communication pulse. For instance, mobility in the Oxford dictionary is defined as: "The ability to move or be moved freely and easily" (Soanes, Stevensen 2003: 1127). This illustrates that mobility is a context-

dependent concept, eliciting it for semiotic study as the nature of mobility is 'slippery and intangible' (Cresswell 2006). Furthermore, based on the theory of meaning and multimodality, the semiotic study of communication surpasses the use of mere language and encompasses various disciplines such as pragmatics, anthropology, sociology, and psychology among others (Bezemer, Jewitt 2009). Hence, an interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological approach is applied to this thesis study.

Signs can convey both form and meaning which are the signifier and signified, given that these are produced and transmuted within the meaning-making process, the Ppauw inhabitant's concept of mobility provides an opportunity for an appropriate subject of study for semiotic analysis. The position of the 'homosignificance' as meaning maker in creating meaning through selecting signs is based on his interests which shape and reshape physical and cultural environments and circumstances of use (Kress 1993). The concept of mobility as a sign vehicle, used in the Ppauw mobile ecovillage, signifies the creation of a subculture to maintain particular power relations with society and as a result construct a communicational structure. An understanding will be reached on how mobility stems from concepts and strategies for the Ppauw inhabitants, hence affecting their 'mobility potential'. This potential, also referred to as 'motility' (Bergman *et al.* 2004), will be studied in relation to the meaning-making processes of the Ppauw inhabitants during a period of significant changes for the community.

In considering their mobility potential as motility and its power of influence, this thesis will show how the illegal act of squatting was transformed into a plane of negotiation with dominant power structures and agents. This sets it apart and makes it a valuable case study for semiotic research given the fluid nature of their existence, sense- and meaning making. This fluid nature contributes to their dynamic means of communication and meaning making process. Signs can take any form of words, images, sounds, odors, flavors, acts or objects with an intrinsic meaning. Hence, the different modes of communication will be further discussed in this thesis, how multimodality serves the objectives of the Ppauw community and their mobility.

In studying the mobility at Ppauw different levels of meaning of mobility are considered; mobility as socially produced motion and understood through three relational moments: human mobility as empirical reality in the everyday life of the Ppauw community, 'ideas about mobility' which have had an influence on the formation and sustenance of Ppauw Ecovillage and lastly, 'mobility is a way of being in the world' (Cresswell 2006). As the sense

of 'self' is tied to this 'way of being', identifications and identity form an important pillar of this sense-making process. Identity as such can therefore also be understood as a sign (Joseph 2004), but not merely an indexical one that is fixed according to particular physical traits. Given that signs are co-constructed in a social reality (Searle 1995), Durkheim and Searle assert that there can be no objectivity in a social reality hence collective identities are also symbolic signs (Ehala 2018). These 'signs of identity' serve two functions in their signalling, namely to reduce uncertainty and exercise power (Ibid). The latter is particularly interesting for Ppauw in that it can be questioned to what degree the identity of mobility as such determined the power relations and position of Ppauw in the Wageningen community and its local municipality. This will be explored further throughout this research thesis. Given that identity lies central to being, the following arising research question aided to guide the research:

'*What is the impact of mobility on the formation of identity in Ppauw and how does this relate to their interaction with their environment?*'

It leads to the study of whether we can define 'mobile sense-making' within the daily interactions of the inhabitants and their environment. It makes their concept, practice, and identification with mobility as fundamental to discuss in this thesis as is illustrated in the suggested model in the chapter of fieldwork analysis. The structure of the thesis is therefore as follows.

Following this introduction, the theoretical background chapter elaborates on semiotic anthropology to define how this approach works as a tool for research of communities and groups in human societies and particularly the study of mobility for the Ppauw community. Due to the self-reflective nature of anthropological research, the use of the first-person perspective may in this thesis also be exercised to better relate both the experience and perspective of the author into the fieldwork and the reality of the study object. Subsequently, the discussion in the field of social semiotics will be dealt with to shed light on the research path in light of semiotic resources and various modes of communication to clearly determine and demonstrate the semiosis chains related to mobility during the field work. In the next subchapters, the background literature related to mobility, ecovillages, intentional communities as well as laws of squatting in the Netherlands are outlined and discussed to illustrate how mobility can function as a tool to produce meaning.

Subsequently, the analysis chapter takes into account the social nature of mobility encompassing interdisciplinary approaches and methods. These approaches to fieldwork are applied to delve into the setting of Ppauw as an intentional community. Therein the subchapters expand on Ppauw as a study object and the methodological choices made for the analysis that follows. After broader dimensions in discussing theoretical backgrounds and the limitations set in the methodological framework, the chapter further analyses the Ppauw mobile ecovillage based on the fieldwork outlined in three phases during its birth and growth, undergoing semiotic analysis guided by a mobility model contrived for this thesis. This chapter then further elucidates the latter situation observed during the fieldwork at Ppauw to illustrate the power interplay between the authorities in Wageningen and how Ppauw inhabitants used the concept of mobility to maintain their residence on the terrain. Moreover, it examines the potential for future semiotic inquiry and research in the field of mobility studies related to the chosen case of Ppauw. Finally, findings and recommendations for further research will be discussed in the final chapter.

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter will focus on the selected theories that serve to guide the research. The underlying theoretical discussion will pose as a framework of reference for the methodology and analysis of this thesis. Discourses of semiotic anthropology in subchapter 1.1 and social semiotics in subchapter 1.2 form the basis of justifying the methodological approach to the researched case of the Ppauw community and its ensuing philosophical discussion. To gain a deeper understanding of mobility within their context, theories from both semiotics and anthropology are used interchangeable in subchapter 1.3. The theoretical notions of mobility and the critics opposing the dichotomy of sedentary vs. nomad that are transcended by 'critical mobility thinking' (Jensen 2009) and Bergman *et al.* (2004) theory of motility will further guide the concept of mobility in this thesis. To set the conditions of the context of the Ppauw community subchapter 1.4 will focus on positioning it as an intentional community and its similarities to the four types as defined by Meijering *et al.* (2006). Finally, the laws and regulations concerning squatting and ecovillages will be dealt with in subchapter 1.5 to expound more about the regulatory context in which they are embedded. This broader theoretical discussion and framework offers the necessary tools to address the principle research question concerning the impact of mobility on the Ppauw identity and their interaction with the environment.

The Ppauw inhabitants describe and define concepts, projects and ideas in order to communicate with their environment and transform their physical and social environment to become mutually intelligible. An activity like squatting areas by a group of people or defining a name to identify themselves and their goals within the naming makes it possible to participate and develop in a common culture. From this arise two fundamental questions, how mobility impacts this common culture? And what is the impact of mobility on the formation of identity in Ppauw and vice versa? A semiotic study of gesture, visual sign and material artifacts and abstract artifacts allows the researcher in the field of social science to investigate social-cultural

phenomena on different levels of organization (Sebeok 2001). As this is bound by some form of communication, an extended understanding of this can be found through Peirce's meaning-making triad. Peirce's semiotic analysis of communication is based on the concept of sign-action or sign-process that is irreducibly triadic: a sign is determined by an object and in turn determines an interpretation, or interpretant, in the mind of a person. An essential feature of Peirce's theory is that the interpretation of the sign assumes the same relation to the object as the sign itself has. Peirce's conception of the sign-process (semiosis) is essentially dialogical and has not been sufficiently recognized because his most general definitions of 'sign' and sign-process tends to omit mention of persons and their interaction. This concept will guide the analysis of the semiosis of the Ppauw community and how this shapes their identity. As identity and culture are inextricably bound it is valuable to grasp why and how these form the basis of understanding the relationship between the field of anthropology and semiotics.

Culture as a study object on itself is highly complex and it is practically impossible to number and rank all the disciplines to which it is related (Torop 2006). This can be owed to its heterogeneity, similarly said of the diverse methods of its study. In the study of culture, a shift has occurred from the tendency to generalize and universalize culture, towards the opposite polarity of ensuing disciplinary diversity. From this dynamic and varied context of study there exists the polarity between the 'parameters of culture' transcending disciplines and that of being bound by disciplines (Torop 2006). The boundaries between these seemingly opposing methodologies have been bridged through metalanguage (the language of description). From it sprung reflexivity, symbolism and interpretation, to name but a few. It is therefore not surprising that the study of signs in the semiotics of culture plays a role in unifying this polarity.

The cultural landscape entails the relationship between space, time and communication (Rapoport 1994). The spatial configuration of a community and all its physical objects reflects their activities and the effect of meaning on spatial clustering (Ibid). Though applied to indigenous cultures living in natural environments, Greenberg and Park's (1994) notion that studying the relations between sustainable communities should blend the analysis of the environment with political awareness is also relevant to the Ppauw community. This is termed as the new ecological anthropology. Integrating policies and political power structures in which the Ppauw community is embedded offers a more inclusive dynamic of understanding the development of their identity and its relationship with mobility. Culture can be considered as a means of adapting to an environment (Kottak 1999). It is therefore important to study which

elements of culture, particularly mobility, were used by the Ppauw community as a tool for adaptation and changes.

In contrast to other disciplines of cognitive analysis, semiotics is not considered to be rooted in any single theory, it is rather based on the process of semiosis (Deely 1990). Cultural semiotics studies the 'sign systems in a culture' and 'cultures as sign systems' whereby meaning lies central to its analysis (Posner 2005). This has enabled it to merge with other disciplines seeking to grasp the 'thick' description of cultural heterogeneity and complexity. This substantiates the combined usage of social semiotics and semiotic anthropology in this thesis.

Given that human beings are a meaning-making species, 'mobility' for the Ppauw inhabitants requires their interpretation which thus refers to a 'signifier'. This act signification can be understood from the perspective of, on the one hand the conceptualization (in the mind) and on the other hand the actual referent i.e. an object (Van Leeuwen 2005). This research links the relational configuration with the spatial environment in the squatted abandoned space. On another level, the tension between the sense of attachment, detachment and the concept of mobility arises within the identity of the community, also determined by their agency to shape their environment (Bergman *et al.* 2004). On the continuum of 'agency and structure' of actors, agency refers to the degree in which individuals are free and able to shape their environmental context. Structure on the other hand is the context in which actors are subjected to, conditions impeding their choice to influence their surroundings (Giddens 1984).

1.1 SEMIOTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Before discussing the value and meaning of semiotic anthropology it is best to first understand how it overlaps and distinguishes itself from social semiotics. Although semiotic anthropology and social semiotics do in many aspects overlap, due to their focus on meaning making processes, there are some notable differences. Semiotic anthropology will be used as a means to physically engage with the fieldwork context relating Pierce's triadic model of meaning making. As it is grounded in anthropological qualitative research methods to analyze cultures, aspects of reflection and interaction in the field with the researched are important tools of 'doing' pragmatic semiotic anthropological research (Vannini 2007). The semiotic approach to

culture as Geertz (1977) asserts, also includes understanding the influence of political, economic and stratified realities. On the other hand, social semiotics will be used as a method of analysis to reveal multimodal forms of expression for the Ppauw community. Social semiotics complements traditional semiotics and semiotic anthropology in that it also takes 'time' into account as the underlying factor influencing all elements of the semiosis process (Bergman *et al.* 2004). The value of social semiotics is its basis as being the 'social' element of understanding meaning making processes, which inevitably also implies how meaning influences power rather than how power influences meaning (Hodge; Kress 1988). Agency and the ability to use meaning for the interaction with and influence on the surroundings is in part determined by varied degrees of power (Vannini 2007; Bezemer; Jewitt 2009). Power is co-produced with space (Lefebvre 1991, Soja 1989). In essence the main difference between semiotic anthropology and social semiotics is that the former will be used as a pragmatic tool for research whilst the latter offers elaborate theoretical tools for discussion and analysis within the broader semiotic discourse.

Modern anthropological semiotics is grounded on Charles Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure. The work of Saussure focused on historical linguistics and later it expanded to a pragmatic, referential and empirical framework. This evolution has encompassed the analysis of meaning in the socio-cultural context. The complexity of semiotic study arises from different ideas of Saussure and Peirce. While Saussure's idea was based on semantics or the study of meaning within the linguistic framework, Peirce's idea involved all symbolic systems. Therefore, in the field of anthropology in which we describe culture within its context enables it to be a ground for both semantics and semiotics (Parmentier 1994, Manning 2011).

The term 'semiotic anthropology' was coined by Milton Singer (1978), his works were grounded and developed based on Peirce and Jakobson. Since that time anthropological semiotics was mostly inspired based on Peirce's semiotics (Mertz 2007). For this reason, semiotics with cultural anthropology are disciplines that together enhance this research in their ability to analyze the complexities of mobile culture and its practice at Ppauw. In this study, the analysis is based on Peirce's theory of sign and culture. Physical and mental reality led Pierce to develop semiosis and the indexical sign, the general sign and cultural theory which became an efficient tool for research in social, historical and cultural fields. Peirce's semiotics is mainly applicable to the anthropological practices and its field research (Parmentier 1994). The foundation of semiotic fieldwork in merging with anthropology was laid with the structuralist

line of ethnographers. Though these did introduce more inductive methods of analysis, their structural approach did pose limitations in engaging with more complex interactional social environments of qualitative fieldwork (Vannini 2007). Semiotic anthropology built on this gap and further developed the bridge towards more descriptive and anthropological methods of research as is applicable to the study of Ppauw.

Although both Peirce and Saussure defined general theories of signs, Peirce's theories are more applicable in a pragmatic manner in focusing on semiosis i.e. the triadic relationship between the sign, object, and interpretant (Singer 1985).

> The sign relation thus necessarily involves three elements bound together in a semiotic moment. The sign itself is considered as the sensible vehicle or expressive form, what Peirce often labels the "representamen" can be either an external object functioning as a means of communication or an internal, mental presentation conveying meaning from one act of cognition to the next Second, the object of the sign is that which the expressive form stands for, reproduces, or presents "in its true light" (MS 599.28, 1902). And, Third, the interprétant is a resulting mental or behavioral effect produced by the object's influence on the sign vehicle in some interpreter or interpreting representation. In more modern vocabulary, the interprétant constitutes the "meaning" or "significance" of the sign, while the object constitutes the "referent" or "denotation" of the sign. (Parmentier 1994: 25)

The interpretation of a newly formed culture like Ppauw appears to be as an interpretative abduction of their sign system revealing the unforeseen meaning of signs in succession of representing a common object (Daniel, 1984: 42). In Peirce's theory semiotic meaning and the 'context of utterance' or 'worldly reference' and the relation between representation and reality is emphasized (Steiner 1981: 421 in Parmentier). Through the rhetoric level Peirce's triadic concept of sign, object and interpretant led him to develop the notion of 'mediation' and his cultural theory (Pierce 1982). This triadic nature reveals how signs are therefore dialogical and social processes.

Identity as such can also be considered as a sign shaped by common understandings subject to the fluid interpretative process of meaning-making, in this sense it is relational and socially constructed. The practice theory of identity (Bourdieu 1977, Holland *et al.* 1998) can illustrate that social spaces are connected, patched, entangled, and cut up together by the social practices which are also a product of the space through the two factors of localities and temporalities (Vasudevan, Leander 2009). As was suggested earlier, the social construction of

identity can also be considered as a sign (Joseph 2004). The purpose of perceiving identity as a sign is that it positions people in society, hence it is relationally determined and is affiliated to power and the reduction of uncertainty (Ehala 2018). For the Ppauw community this interplay of power using their identity will be further handled in the analysis chapter. Understanding this dialectic between individual and group agency within the structure of contexts has been the basis for anthropological studies in revealing how human identity shapes the environment and vice versa. This definition of identity is opposed to the situated view of identity as a stable abstract.

Given that space and identity are correlated we should keep in mind that space sometimes metaphorically means an empty 'container' or 'field'. It can be understood as consisting of a system that is organized by discrete and mutually exclusive locations (Smith and Katz 1993).

> […] the notion of space […] is the most abstract, the most empty, the most detached from the realities of life and experience. Consider the alternatives. Biologists say that living organisms inhabit environments, not space, and whatever else they may be, human beings are certainly organisms. (Ingold 2011: 145)

This particular abstract aspect of space makes it ideal for the analysis of such a space-related concept as mobility interlaced with the environment and its practical expression. Therefore, the analysis of mobile identity can be grasped not only in the behavior and conceptualizations of the Ppauw inhabitants but also in the implicit expression of practices in the spatial environment. The environment is therefore key in analyzing their practices and how these reflect their concept and affiliation with mobility as such to transform space into a cultural environment, in other words to transform 'space' into 'place'.

The empirical fieldwork of this thesis utilizes an anthropological framework by means of participant observation but also interviews. It is worthy to mention that Ingold described precise boundaries between ethnography as a field to describe social worlds and anthropology as an 'art of inquiry' whereby its function goes beyond ethnography in the provision of data (Ingold 2015). As a researcher, one must immerse in observation, as Ingold suggests, integrating observation with participation in the field is key to anthropological research (Ingold 2011). "Moving, knowing and describing, however, call for more than being in, or immersion. They call for observation. A being that moves, knows and describes must be observant. Being

observant means being alive to the world" (Ingold 2011: 7). Due to the fact that this is an explorative research of a rather new phenomenon (mobile ecovillage) an anthropological art of inquiry is chosen as a descriptive manner to uncover the setting and experience of the ecovillage. "Anthropology is studying with learning from, it is carried forward in a process of life, and effects transformations within that process. Ethnography is a study of and learning about, it is enduring products that are recollective accounts which serve a documentary purpose" (Ingold 2015: 4).

1.2 SOCIAL SEMIOTICS

Mobility as a sign mediates communicative processes not only inside the Ppauw community to be analyzed and seen through anthropological semiotics but its integrated meanings and concepts are also mingled with the mobility interplay as a power mechanism in relation to the surrounding institutional and social setting. This is central to the (social) existence at their place of habitation; therefore, a social semiotics approach aids this research to further decode the unforeseen meanings connoted to mobility by the Ppauw community.

Social semiotics studies modes of communication and how this is disseminated by people for their understanding of the world and its affected power relations (Bezemer, Jewitt, 2009). It is a field that builds on the past tradition of semiotics and expands it from the limitations of Saussure's focus on linguistics. Hodge and Kress (1988) coined an 'alternative semiotics' beyond linguistics incorporating diachrony, time, history, process, change and the material nature of signs as part of the analysis in the field (Ibid). It is from this 'chaos' that more dynamic understandings of the complexity of contexts and relationships can be drawn. In so doing, the focus shifted away from language as being the sole source of cultural meaning-making incorporating other systems of meaning such as visual, oral and behavioral (Ibid). Social semiotics is therefore concerned with both meaning-making and meaning makers (Bezemer, Jewitt 2009) also at the micro level of daily life practices in relation to change and time.

> Traditional semiotics likes to assume that the relevant meanings are frozen and fixed in the text itself, to be extracted and decoded by the analyst by reference to a coding system that is

impersonal and neutral, and universal for users of the code. Social semiotics cannot assume that texts produce exactly the meanings and effects that their authors hope for: it is precisely the struggles and their uncertain outcomes that must be studied at the level of social action, and their effects in the production of meaning. (Hodge, Kress 1988: 12).

Hodge and Kress emphasize the value of considering the context and relations between the 'sign' and the 'interpretant'. Though a degree of common ground is required for an interpretant to be understood, Hodge and Kress sought to challenge notions of objectivity, valuing rather the subjective interpretations of the observer (Wells 2015). It is in each given 'context' as a text that social semiotics entails a unique understanding and theorization (Hodge, Kress 1988).

In consideration of contextual social dynamism, the analysis of mobility at Ppauw has to be read, interpreted and understood within various elements of the social and physical context. It is shaped by the community's agency, transcending beyond the anatomy of verbal codes within the ideological assumption to form a truth of their own identity which can be better understood by social semiotics. Therefore, in the following chapters and in the analysis of this thesis social semiotics is used as a tool to understand how Ppauw inhabitants shape the integral meaning of mobility in their community through multimodal means. This is expressed by different modes such as gestures and daily interactions using forms of social media like facebook, youtube, websites and public means of communication. These are examples of what is termed multimodality, that which is beside print media and can include speech, gesture, gaze and other ways of social encounters (Bezemer, Jewitt 2009). The analysis of diverse modes allows the researcher to experience and study their lifestyle from different perspectives as an academic multimodal research. This creates, enhances and enriches the net of meaning that is integrated with the environment of the Ppauw community as a cultural craft as well as an ongoing semiosis of identity and ideology formation. For instance, during the fieldwork photos were taken documenting another mode through which the Ppauw community (in this thesis) express their meaning-making and communication with the academic world.

Mobility for the Ppauw community is not limited to a fixed identified 'being' but is also a concept that is communicated through different modes such as newspapers, social media, word-of-mouth and posters to mobilize people in support of their activities. As multimodality spans across various modes of expression, the choices in the continual flux and composition of all their physical objects also reflect their mobile character as another tool of communication and interaction with the public. Certain activities are seasonally bound and each phase of their

development shows how their habitat changes in adapting to physical or social conditions. Social semiotic theory considers this heuristic theorizing and meaning-making as determined by the factor of choice (Bezemer, Jewitt 2009). Such semiotic resources provide material for analyzing and theorizing meaning given that choices of individuals are always socially located and regulated. This implies that the factor choice lies at the heart of communication or multimodal 'text' resources relating well to Gidden's (1979) polarity between agency and structure. The degree and contextual agency of Ppauw inhabitant's (choice of) mobility can also be seen as a means of motility as will be discussed later on in this chapter.

In semiotics the unit on which communication and processes depend on are messages, the 'smallest semiotic form' having a source, goal, social context and purpose and as a result, 'directionality' (Hodge, Kress, 1988), "It is oriented to the semiosic process, the social process by which meaning is constructed and exchanged, the grounds for all this to happen is called the semiosic plane" (Ibid: 5). Therefore, this semiosis process is not just fixed but comes into existence by negotiation.

> Meaning is always negotiated in the semiotic process, never simply imposed inexorably from above by an omnipotent author through an absolute code […] social semiotics cannot assume that text produce exactly the meaning and effects that their authors hope for: it is precisely the struggle and their uncertain outcomes that must be studied at the level of social action and their effects in the production of meaning (Hodge, Kress 1988: 12).

To exemplify a broader dynamism of the studied sign in social semiotics, this is termed as a semiotic resource (Van Leeuwen 2005). It allows the 'signifier' to refer to and be studied by various 'material articulations and permutations' as a semiotic resource in description of its semiotic potential and diversity of meanings (Ibid). Semiotic resources are determined by social processes of sign making. The choice of the individual or agency is taken from different possibilities within a system of resources. In so doing, the semiotic resource (signifier) is unified with the intended conveyed meaning (signified) (Bezeme, Jewitt 2009). This selection process thus serves to express meanings from available resources within a socially regulated context, determined by discourses of gender, race, social class, generation, institutional norms of power (Ibid). They are changeable and determined by social rules. Semiotic resources are therefore signifiers wherein actions and objects are incorporated into social communication, exhibiting theoretical semiotic 'affordances' as a result of their past and potential uses (Van Leeuwen 2005). It expands the study of objects beyond a present fixed usage. This perspective is

applicable to the study of the Ppauw Ecovillage that similarly has used their surroundings, its objects and materiality as a tool for meaning-making to communicate their dynamic cultural identity, power relations and potential for shaping their environment over time. Ppauw uses their squatting and the positive connotation of 'ecovillage' as a semiotic resource and a means of power or influence in their living environment.

When meaning-making is created from an organized usage of material resources this is called a mode. Typical examples of modes are language, music and images (Kress, 2010). A common understanding by a group is therefore required for it to constitute as being a mode, yet they can differ among groups and evolve over time (Bezemer, Jewitt 2009). A way to determine whether something constitutes a mode or not is the meta-function test. If all three meta-functions are fulfilled, then it can be considered a mode. These are all associated with the meaning-making process. Firstly, it being a representation of what the world is like; secondly, whether it establishes social relations and the thirdly, if it creates coherence. (Kress, Van Leeuwen 2001). The spatial setting of the ecovillage thus also represents a mode as it is an expression according to the abovementioned meta-functions (Kress, Van Leeuwen 2001). The ability for a mode to express a certain range of possibilities is its 'affordance' and thus is related to its usage and applicability (Kress 1993). For Ppauw mobility has affordance as it opens up possibilities of expressing and manifesting their existence and identity. In fact, this overarching term of mobility offers affordance on different levels and aspects of Ppauw's social and physical community life. It is the condition through which they are able to live their mobile lifestyle, determining their choice to live in caravans or other mobile residential units and the mobility of all their objects. It also enables them to organize a vast array of activities resulting from the varied affordance that mobility offers them.

Modes as meaning makers can be distinguished into two forms, (print) media and embodied interaction. The former is fixed and include images and writing whilst the latter include speech (intonation), gesture, gaze and posture (Bezemer, Jewitt 2009). Ensembles of modes within a given time to form meaning are called 'chains of semiosis'. The change from one mode to another requires a process of translation, this change is called 'transduction'. When there are changes within a mode it is called 'transformation' (Ibid). The research of Ppauw involves both transduction and transformation. Transduction in the sense that written text and images are used congruently to communicate activities or meanings depending on the medium of the media used and how the research interaction is translated into the text of this thesis.

Transformation occurs in how the different members communicate their concept of mobility of Ppauw and that of different events that take place. An important task for the researcher is then to understand how through semiotic processes that which is gained and lost as a result of transformation and transduction ultimately shapes the chains of semiosis. As a researcher, I am also subject to both transduction and transformation. Different layers of theory (text) and context are applied to the analysis in the thesis. In so doing, I also select and seek to observe from their perspective the different web of meanings related to the concept of mobility.

An important reason to study 'mobility' within the context of the Ppauw ecovillage is that communication and representation transcend language. It can therefore be researched through modality as an interdisciplinary approach. Given the many changes in contemporary society, particularly in the field of communication, this can be analyzed through the concept of multimodality. Multimodality in social semiotics is comprised of three aspects also termed meta-language as essential in fulfilling meaning. As initially suggested by Halliday (1978) these are firstly, the ideational function wherein semiotic form represents objects in the world outside of semiotic form. Secondly, an interpersonal function which is the ability of relationships between participants to be represented by symbolic form within and outside texts. Lastly, the textual meta-function refers to how symbolic form constitutes texts. Core to multimodality is how motivation in individuals relate to meaning and also how the design of texts is connected to meaning-making. Both text and meaning making are insperable from the social contexts in which they are embedded (Bezemer, Jewitt 2009). A multimodal approach encompasses all semiotic resources of the representation domain in different contexts to show how certain meaning is or will be shaped (also potentially).

> […] people orchestrate meaning through their selection and configuration of modes, foregrounding the significance of the interaction between mode […] all communicational acts are shaped by the norms and rules operating at the moment of sign making, and influenced by the motivations and interests of people in a specific social context (Jewitt 2008: 237).

In the approach of multimodality semiotic resources are considered to be shaped within time-space phenomena and they are socially formed and framed. In other words, semiotic resources or modes are vital to communication and interaction. An increased usage of sets of modes in a certain community leads to the articulation of the sets of meaning making resources. Shared cultural spaces and cultural senses are therefore an essential necessity for anything to be a mode and as a result to be realized as something with meaning. Multimodality offers a valuable means

of data collection to delve into the deeper and dynamic meaning of the conceptualization and practice of mobility by the Ppauw community. Thus, such varying configurations of interrelated modes have served to mobilize people and resources to shape and influence their environment. In considering multimodality as an approach in this research it is thus worthy to perceive communication as a combination of various connections between compounding modes that together shape meaning and potential.

The interplay among different modes in their interaction constitute a multimodal ensemble. Multimodal research therefore is the how the combination of modes available contribute to the process of meaning making (Bezemer, Jewitt 2009). As a researcher (and individual in the research setting), I also engage in the selection of modes to understand the meaning making process how they relate to the study and concept of mobility. This implies a need to understand the relation between different semiotic texts of the ecovillage such as its cultural artifacts and the arrangement of the physical setting. These are all influenced by and influence the decision-making process of the community. Some modes can be collected as resource like Facebook and YouTube whilst other modes are created by interactions with the community such as photographs. The moments, I as researcher engaged with the community, made me part of the mode creation process given the interactive nature of the fieldwork. This does not per se impede the objectivity value of the research outcomes, but simply incorporates the researcher with the researched as one research setting to reflect upon and analyze. The process of the change at Ppauw can actually be considered an expression of multimodality as it is not simply the change from one fixed composition to another, but it is also the nature and composition of the change that determines these modes.

Another important aspect in the study of social semiotics of the Ppauw ecovillage is power and how this is related to their meaning making process. Producers of signs are dependent on the recipients for them to function, it implies that recipients must have a higher knowledge of the sets of messages on how they are to be read (Hodge, Kress 1988). Such higher levels of control are mechanisms also referred to as logonomic systems (Ibid). These can be considered as a set of rules that form the basis and condition for the meaning making process. The understanding of mobility of Ppauw requires a social semiotic analysis of the logonomic system of the relations and meaning making processes of actors within and outside of the Ppauw community. Central to this communication process and its ensuing relations lies the aspect of power (Ibid). Power relations include structures of domination wherein semiosis is a way of

maintaining dominance and can be subject to be challenged and negotiated (Vannini 2007). Spaces of contestation of power are therefore most likely to take place in logonomic systems. The institutionalization and policing of logonomic rules is enforced by individuals within their function in the system dominance. The very settlement of a squat action against law and procedure by the Ppauw inhabitants is an ideal example of such a contestation of a logonomic system. Their usage of the term mobility and its practice is therefore an important point of analysis of how its meaning making process is connected to power and influence for the Ppauw community.

1.3 MOBILITY

During the past few decades mobility as a field of study emerged in social science. Hence, it involved research with the complex relational dynamics of movements in individual's everyday life experience, objects, ideas and information flux (Sheller 2011). Humans as mobile sense making creatures interact within frames of time-space that produce meaningful experiences of their environment. Space-time as its product is how we see and think of the world (Massey 1999). This relation between space-time can be considered at the heart of change and mobility. "As humans interact bodily in time-space relations (where stasis and flow are the two basic modes of experience) it is the mobile sense-making, experiencing and meaningful engagement with the environment that 'makes mobility" (Jensen 2007: 3). In this thesis the web of meaning concerning the discourse(s) on mobility are a crucial starting point to semiotically analyze and understand how identity and social relations among the Ppauw community members shape their community. If we consider mobility as a sign, then we should keep in mind that a sign vehicle can be involved in different sign relations (Sebeok 1994), the differentiations of sign relations depend on the form of the interpretant's function in the context and semiosis process within a certain situation (Deledalle 2000). It is also important to understand how mobility mediates the Ppauw community's existence in relation to 'others' outside their community, such as mainstream society and decision-making authorities.

Contemporary cultural studies and anthropology places the position of culture as more mobile and changeable rather than a certain and fixed phenomenon framed within a particular

locale (Vasudevan, Leander 2009). In this contemporary view of mobility, we need to consider the relation between space and place as more entangled with relevant subjects in a way that space and spatial practices are fundamentally changing (Castells *et. al* 2007). These changes through reordering, multiplying, simultaneity of non-sequential time-space practices make the space 'reterritorialized' (Gupta *et al.* 2009). Therefore, in the contemporary era while man imagines his living world through constant motions which are not restricted to the physical objects and man's bodily embeddedness to space, but they are also associated to images, ideas and culture. The discussion of 'imagined' or 'real' brings new theoretical approaches to mobility as a rejection against 'sedentarist metaphysics' (Malkki 1992). These theoretical approaches appeared in support of 'nomadic metaphysics' (Cresswell 2006), and a growing interest to criticize the often-presumed connection between people, place and culture (Gupta, Ferguson 1997). This former perspective perceived the crossing of borders and rather a deviation from the norm of place-bound communities and its cultural homogeneity (Salazar 2010). This lasted till the end of the Cold War from which a different perspective on mobility had arisen. Mobility then was accepted as the norm whilst place attachment was considered as a resisting force against globalization (Appadurai 1996).

It is important to consider mobile people and the conceptual metaphor for their social description of self and others as an old tradition within social science and humanity (Peters 2006); for instance, Benjamin's (1999) flaneur; de Certeau's (1984) pedestrian, Said's (1993) (forced) migrant, and Deleuze's and Guattari's (1987) 'nomad'. Not all mobility is generated as an action resulting from the decision of agency, however the general denotation of mobility integrates positive valence such as movability, the freedom of movement with ease, quick changeability with ease and these denotations mostly integrate with the presumption related to the discussions about globalization in the sense that (1) mobility is increasing; (2) mobility as a phenomenon is self-evident; and (3) mobility is a driving force behind change (Salazar 2010). If we seek to take a look at mobility throughout history, we have the examples of collective migration which are an essential part of myths of culture and religions whilst in the Western society trans-border mobility is considered reluctantly (Cresswell 2006). The reason of this reluctance is due to the control of the nation-state political system which regulates (trans) national movement and it is preferably connected to the immobilization and homogeneity of the subjected population (Salazar 2010). During the colonial era the degree of mobility and immobility determined the degree of cultured or uncultured people and cultured people were considered as sedentary and more rooted in their position in society and their overall niche

whilst uncultured were barbarized or 'idealized as nomadic, rootless, and absolutely mobile' (Rosaldo 1988: 80). Similarly, an example of this obsession with the control of migration is also the regulation of squatting in contemporary society such as is the case with Ppauw and in the Netherlands it is a reflection of this reluctance towards mobility. Mobility therefore represents the unpredictable and uncontrollable, that which the very institutional framework or dominating logonomic systems seek to control.

This matter can also be observed in the field of cultural anthropology that formerly considered culture as immobile and those with culture determined and delimited by their occupational authorities. Mobility could be regarded as cyclical and repetitive 'like transhuman pastoralists' or 'kularing sailors' (Tsing 1993; Clifford 1997). This brought the objection of 'roots' of social-cultural forms vs. 'routes' for reproducing them, in other words, instead of culture as phenomena rooted in the earth it can be the site for both 'dwelling and travelling' (Salazar 2010).

As briefly explained above, therefore the discussion of mobility goes beyond mere movement, yet it is infused and generates cultural meaning (Frello 2008). It means that although social and cultural factors mobilize people, the way people practice mobility has an impact on their culture and society (Casimir, Rao 1992). Sense of attachment or sense of 'at-homeness' is considered as a crucial condition of growth and straightening 'cultural identity' also in situations and conditions with less changes and pluralism and more homogeneity, still 'cultural circuit' facilitates motions (Greenblatt 2009). Given that culture and identity are socially constructed, likewise the concept of mobility is also social in its nature and can be understood by social interaction within a group or society. In order to change social position this movement can be both up or down the social ladder. Discourses on human mobility in social studies and humanities distinguish horizontal or vertical mobility (Sorokin 1959). When there is a change in the position of an individual or group's occupational mobility, it is horizontal. In horizontal mobility the position in social hierarchy remains subtle or with no change. In contrast to this, vertical mobility changes the position of the individual or group leading to a change in social hierarchy affecting financial, social and cultural status (Ibid).

The distinction between horizontal and vertical mobility is not as clearly defined in the ongoing process of the circulation of people, interactions and the expression of culture (Ong 1999). It implies that the actual process of migration or mobility is a complex and dynamic process in which both vertical and horizontal mobility occur simultaneously (Salazar 2010; Pajo

2007; Ong 1999; Lindquist 2009). This is particularly applicable to the Ppauw inhabitants whose diverse context of migrating to the ecovillage and their mobility within overlaps several of the qualities of mobility mentioned above. For Ppauw community members, departing from mainstream society and deciding on an alternative lifestyle affected their vertical mobility. This due to the fact that their economic, social and cultural position was drastically changed by their migration to Ppauw. Whether this vertical movement was upwards or downwards is still open for discussion and may in some ways deviate from the conventional definition of mobility due to the unique character and complexity of their context as more isolated from societal systems. The horizontal mobility takes place at Ppauw due to community members coming and leaving gradually affecting subtle social hierarchies in terms of roles over time. The value of their mobility lies not only in their ability to migrate to and from Ppauw but also within the environment of Ppauw's physical space. It is therefore worth exploring the horizontal and vertical mobility among the implicit hierarchy of Ppauw members induced by time, practices and events.

Mobility is infused with culture, rooted in the process of cultural meaning making be it internally or across boundaries. It is by means of these human realities of metacultural discourses and imaginaries that mobility is shaped (Salazar 2010). Mobility can be divided into two types namely, spatial and social. Spatial mobility refers to geographical displacement which is the movement of entities along a trajectory from an origin to a destination (Bergman *et al.* 2004). Essentially, this movement is understood in space and time. Social mobility within a social structure or network refers to a change or redistribution of resources or social position of individuals, families or groups (Bergman *et al.* 2004). The case of Ppauw consists of both spatial and social elements of mobility. Apart from the trajectory of the movement to Ppauw, the mobile aspect of the community lies in their local trajectory at the micro-level within the site of the location of Ppauw. They have remained located at Ppauw but have been in continual flux and movement on the site of Ppauw still affecting their spatial and social mobility differently than conventional forms of mobility.

Mobility can transcend the 'dualism of movement vs stillness' with the concept of motility (Bergman *et al.* 2004). It entails the ability of individuals and groups to create their own possibilities within their spatial and conceptual spaces (Ibid). Relevant to this thesis is the synergy between the social and spatial mobility that brings about agency in the ability and potential of individuals or groups, this combination is described as being motility (Ibid). For

example, at the micro level motility can be the spatio-social mobility among household members in daily routines of space such as 'multi-residentiality' (occupation of several residences), multi-occupationality or the combination of both. Relations and networks are therefore key to motility in that they reflect the potential to integrate networks, context and social position. The aspect and word that lies central to motility as it is defined is 'capacity' (Bergman *et al.* 2004). It encompasses both ability and context and how the relationship between the two are bridged by agency. The concept of motility complements the perspective of spatial and social mobility (Ibid). This due to its foundation being contextual complexity and the relationships of agency within an already highly mobile and modern society. Therefore, structural and cultural elements are also influential on the potential and capacity for mobility. Motility is further explained as being determined by access, competence and appropriation (Ibid). Access refers to the contextual options and conditions within space and time. Competence, are skills and abilities (i.e. physical ability, acquired skills and organizational skills) enabling mobility. Appropriation relates to the strategies, motives, values and habits in agents to make appropriate choices as means of engaging in mobility, more related to qualities of reflection and evaluation in the decision-making process (Bergman *et al.* 2004). These three aspects all determine the motility of entities.

Motility can also be considered as a form of capital or resource as it transcends the understanding of ability in terms of economic capital limited to financial markets and more to Bourdieu's (1983), understanding of the general societal distribution and power based on social, economic and cultural capital. Therefore, membership in social networks constitute a different aspect of social capital. The Ppauw community demonstrate a high degree and variety of motility in their usage of mobility as concept and practice in determining their interaction with their surroundings. Their survival and growth within an illegal setting of challenges wherein at some point a road was built right through their ecovillage, testifies of their motility. They have also challenged the given societal notions of capital, in that their forms of resource exchange are not only financially dependent. Motility integrates ability and the complexity of context to grasp the quality of an individual or group entity to interact with different social and physical environments. From this there are many variables and qualities that can be analyzed; this thesis will focus on those related to the practices, concepts and the identity of the Ppauw community to understand how mobility is used as a motility for the community.

1.4 PPAUW AS INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY

Ecovillages are a post-industrial phenomenon based on community growth in benefit of ecology and sustainable change (Ergas 2010). The selected case study Ppauw can be considered as a social movement which tries to identify itself as a separate from local and political structures (Interview Erik). As ecovillages are a communitarian phenomenon; therefore, ideologies, knowledge, experiences, resources and skills are shared (Herring 2002; Smith 2002). These are the reasons why ecovillages can be seen as intentional communities. The history of the intentional community goes back to the era of the Roman Empire (Schehr 1997). Moreover, it entails the separation from dominant societal structures based on a common goal, self-denial to some degree in benefit of the group, geographic proximity, personal interaction, shared economy, 'real existence' and 'critical mass' (Miller 1998). Members in these intentional communities distinguish themselves from the rest of society by defining new norms and values against the materialistic life style and consumeristic attitude for a life and some form of spirituality (Holloway, Hubbard 2001). The Western prominent capitalistic view towards life and its scientific discourses define this as the 'main stream', this marginalizes the non-conventional 'other' both socially and spatially (Sibley 1995). One important aspect that makes an intentional community different from the dominant group is that they reject to follow dominant ideologies (Ibid).

Intentional communities can be considered as social movements as they make changes in social orders related to the conception of property and labor relations due to most activities being based on the collaboration among members and their communal integration (Schehr 1997). Therefore, the ecovillage is a social movement as they challenge authorities and society from different aspects such as culture, organization, and institutions (Kriesi *et al.* 2004). In other words, ecovillages like Ppauw not only confront the ideology of mainstream culture in terms of status or possessions and unsustainable use of resources and energies, but they also confront urban laws, codes, etc. (Foster *et al.* 2001). Factors like a simple and sustainable life symbiotically aligned with their environment, place ecovillages under the overarching category of an environmental movement (Smith 2002). Environmental movements can be defined as:

> All formally and informally organized participation and communication intended to prevent or remediate [interference with] interactions between living organisms on and below the surface of this planet and the physical conditions obtaining on and within it; between this

planet and the atmosphere; between the oceans, rivers and lakes […] and land masses; between human populations and other species (Sperber 2003: 5).

The existence of intentional communities is an expression of a dissatisfaction of the mainstream and its failings in order to bring about change in society; "Intentional communities are excluded by the mainstream but withdraw from it at the same time" (Huigen *et al.* 2006: 43). An important reason for their exclusion is that they are small in population and another reason is that they are not easily accepted by the majority or mainstream society. This segregation from mainstream society more often occurs by physically migrating from the urban to rural areas (Ibid). The case study of Ppauw slightly differed in that its inhabitants relocated from the urban environment to the edge of the city of Wageningen. This shows the level of (inter)dependence of the Ppauw ecovillagers on the Wageningen community. It enables them to apply their ecological ideologies as practices whilst still providing a space that is more comfortable and safe for its members due to its proximity to the services of the urban environment. The nature of the connection and interaction of intentional communities with mainstream society varies among its members; using that which is valuable and rejecting that which is not (Ibid). Their actions, behavior and attitudes demonstrate their alternative choices to promote new changes to society at large by being the impetus to their own social movement (Ibid).

To identify their differences intentional communities can be categorized into four dimensions (see table 1) though their characteristics can overlap. In the case of Ppauw they particularly exhibit characteristics of two community dimensions simultaneously, namely ideological and economic. However, one aspect that all intentional communities share to some degree is that they withdraw from mainstream society and refuse to 'play by the rules' of the dominant society (Winchester, Kong, Dunn 2003). Decision making, and the establishment of rules are based on consensus and it occurs through participation in meetings and gatherings and by the unanimous acceptance of an idea (Huigen *et al.* 2006).

Table 1.

Variables included in the four dimensions of withdrawal from society

Dimension	Variables
Locational	Remote – urban location
Ideological	Reasons for foundation Ideology
	Wanted withdrawal
Economic	Facilities provided inside the community
	Work in-/outside the community
	Self-sufficiency
	Use of services outside the community
Social	Communal activities
	Use of media/telecommunications
	Social contacts outside the community
	Contacts with other communities

(Huigen *et al.* 2006: 45)

In intentional communities one of the most frequent events is the acceptance of new members and ideas from visitors that can be part of the process of consensus though they are excluded from their 'territoriality' (Huigen *et al.* 2006) or the spatial expression of power (Storey 2001). Welcoming outsiders is a tradition in intentional communities as they perceive their life style as a 'superior alternative' to the dominant culture, therefore this situation places them in a 'didactic' role (Ibid). It is however still important to understand that a key foundation to acceptance as an alternative, is the existence of people who believe in their ideology or lifestyle, including outsiders (Brown 2002). The four types of intentional communities are listed in the table below and explained in further detail to which the character and features of the Ppauw community can be compared:

Table 2.

Characteristics of the four types of community by the degree of withdrawal

Type	Locational	Ideological	Economic	Social
Religious	Various	Religious	Basic facilities	Communal activities; community contacts
Ecological	Rural – remote	Ecology	Self-sufficiency	Social contacts outside
Communal	Rural – village	Communal	Facilities	Community contacts
Practical	(Sub)urban	None	Services & work outside	Media

(Huigen *et al.* 2006: 45)

Showing many parallels to Ppauw, the ecological community's deviation from mainstream society is physically determined as they follow an ecologically sustainable lifestyle. They tend to reject the 'urban' as harmful, polluted, unidentified and a high pace of life (Boyle *et al.* 1998) as a unifying characteristic of its members. Their aim is to reach towards a self-sufficient sustainable community and their members are more involved in organizations with similar objectives of environmental sustainability. Their members provide organic agriculture and organic food (Huigen *et al.* 2006). Moreover, their change in lifestyle extends to the distinct perspective of their home as a unit of expressing their ideology distinguishing themselves from the typical settlements in the dominant society. They try to build their home by using recycled, vernacular and sustainable materials. All their members have the right to express their ideas at the time of decision making and every decision is based on consensus although hierarchies exist as well (Pepper 2005). This hierarchy is influenced by the members' experience and their roles in the foundation of the community and its strong influence on the consensus process and practices. Contact is kept with people in mainstream society by providing the opportunity for others to practice a similar lifestyle through facilitating events, courses and different practices, interacting mainly within the theme of sustainability and relevant movements (Ibid). They also tend to recreate some traditions like a 'holistic consciousness' (Sargisson 2001). Of all intentional community types, Ppauw is most similar to an ecological community in that all these elements can also be found at Ppauw.

Communal communities grow based on their members' interpersonal contacts. They separate themselves physically from urban areas more so to rural areas as a reaction to the self-centered society of the mainstream (Huigen *et al.* 2006). Therefore, they live in communal spaces, seeking for common houses, common playgrounds, common pubs, and common dining spaces. This is not unlike the Ppauw community where shared responsibility plays a key role

in carrying out all the activities for the sustenance of the ecovillage. Common spaces are also essential for the gathering and organization of the Ppauw community. The role of social ties is crucial to unify members of this type of communal communities, yet members can keep their contact and have interaction with people outside of the community and those with a similar mindset (Ibid).

In practical communities, practicality shapes the community without any ideological mindset; therefore, community members seek for more affordable and convenient ways of living by sharing facilities. These kinds of communities generally locate themselves in suburban areas while they are still connected and integrated with the mainstream society of urban life. Both economically and socially they make use of different forms of telecommunication, media, television, internet and other services in the dominant society (Huigen *et al.* 2006). As Ppauw community members differ in their goals and activities, some do show more characteristics of seeking practical objectives, as there is also the option to live in Ppauw and for a fee not necessarily partaking in its activities.

In relation to the four general categories of intentional communities, the Ppauw ecovillage overlaps different factors of three types of intentional community namely the ecological, practical and communal community. As a result, the Ppauw mobile ecovillage can be deemed as having a 'hybrid' character as an intentional community. Similar to one of the basic principles of intentional communities, Ppauw decision making processes are generally based on consensus. However, still a subtle hierarchy is evident based on the initiator's experience, influencing decision making and certain unwanted changes in the community (Interview Roan). Unlike the ideal form of ecological community, Ppauw is not completely self-sufficient and their way of life is also partly dependent on mainstream society, namely Wageningen city's facilities and services. For instance, members who cannot take a shower in the cold winter solar shower go across the road to shower at an acquaintance (Interview Denise).

Membership of the Ppauw community is completely transparent and fluid as different activities and events are ongoing and can shift from temporary to permanent. Ppauw exhibits elements from a practical community as well as an ecotopia. Although the intention of the ecovillage initiator is to experiment with sustainable energy, ways of living and permaculture, they consciously still maintain contact with mainstream society (Interview Eric, Interview Roan). This along with their contributions as a social movement by influencing decisions of authority and interfering with the ongoing changes of local politics, their intention being to raise

environmental awareness and be 'a model' of sustainable living for local citizens and politicians (See figure 9, annex 1). As they are also a squat community their practices extend beyond being an example for sustainability but also their choice to act in freedom from the system. Bending or disregarding the formal logonomic system enables them to challenge the authority and power to reevaluate all rules imposed from the top down unto society. Their modus operandi thus seeks to change this relationship between citizens and their governments, that decisions can creatively be devised from the bottom-up in the face of institutional limitations (Interview Erik). Based on observation during fieldwork the specific character of Ppauw as its own hybrid form of intentional community is briefly expounded below to form a basic understanding of Ppauw as intentional community for the coming analysis chapter.

At Ppauw potential members can come and can stay for 6 months as trial and then by acceptance of the community they may stay permanently (Interview Roan). Although the core group is based on the initiator's family and two other members, in time, other members come and go for various reasons and experiences or according to the availability of projects at the ecovillage. The community is partly funded by the employment of its members in or for mainstream society. Within the community there are numerous income sources such as renting out the guest caravan to new comers, donation during events and activities at Ppauw, renting out of space or facilities, workshops, festivals and projects in collaboration with the municipality (Interview Robin). External to the community there are also services that are purchased such as the buying of basic commodities or recreational services of society. Others are marketed, for example the community mainly offers the knowledge and skills of its inhabitants to raise awareness but also offers technical services or workshops for the subsistence of individual members and the community (Interview Robin). Decision-making is generally based on consensus but in some cases the experience and position of the initiators directs the opinions of others towards decisions that are not always fully shared (Interview Roan). The location of Ppauw unlike other isolated intentional communities lies on the edge of the small city of Wageningen, bordering the forest. It appears to be isolated from sight by the surrounding forest yet lies within reach of all the services and community of Wageningen. The type of displacement of Ppauw inhabitants also differs from the typical urban to rural intentional community in that the Ppauw community members have migrated within the vicinity of Wageningen city to squat the terrain of the hospital ruins illegally.

The Ppauw community seek principles of sustainability and are an energy neutral community. This implies that they source their own electricity from solar panels and collect water from a nearby freshwater brook. There is ongoing experimentation in the ecovillage with the creation of self-made tools and devices (also using otherwise discarded materials) that can serve to achieve a more sustainable and energy efficient way of life. Similarly, most of their consumed food is organic, whereby the provision of food is sourced from the forest garden and permaculture as well as using unsold products of the ecological shop in Wageningen city or other markets. The idea being to make use of the vast amount of food that normally ends up being thrown away (Interview Heeltje). They collect these food products from supermarket bins; therefore, they are also always supplied with free food. However, the majority of food products are also ordered from an organic retail on a monthly basis.

Activities in the ecovillage vary and can be social, cultural, political, educational and economic. Examples of their activities include the invitation of artists from Wageningen community and beyond to participate in different festivals or workshops, educational workshops for pupils and students of different ages and permaculture workshops (Interview Roan). There is also the Monday (pancake) ritual to welcome visitors from outside of the community and share their ideas. It is open for people who need the physical space to enable the realization of their ideas. Spiritual practices include, for instance inviting a shaman to spiritually cleanse the area. Political activities are those related to their involvement in and influence on municipal decision-making, putting sustainability on the agenda and as a priority. Communal decision-making can also be considered as an activity such as the 'dragon dreaming' workshop (group envisioning). These will be dealt in further detail later on in the thesis. The community makes use of various modes or communication channels such as mobile phones, television, newspapers, internet and social media to communicate with like-minded people and raise the awareness of society for their cause. Furthermore, exchanges are carried out with other similar initiatives such as ecovillages and permaculture practitioners to share ideas and practices (Interview Heeltje).

The living units in the ecovillage are objects that completely adhere to the mobile lifestyle of the Ppauw inhabitants. Permanent members reside in caravans, tents (Mongolian yurt tent) and a recently built tiny house, temporary visitors and guests may also bring their own tents. This outward appearance of being flexible and non-settled has offered them a crucial position in the Wageningen community. In so doing, they are still close to the city and engage

in practices that fall outside of normal regulatory procedure and authority. In the literal sense, as they 'officially' don't permanently reside on the site, they cannot truly be held accountable in their deviating lifestyle as long as their presence is generally tolerated in the Wageningen community

1.5 LAWS OF SQUATTING AND ECOVILLAGES IN THE NETHERLANDS

To get a better understanding of the context in which Ppauw is embedded, the relevant laws and policies of ecovillages and squatting in the Netherlands will be discussed. As for government policy on infrastructure and construction, laws and regulations are many and strict in the Netherlands (Figee *et al.* 2008). The central government outlines general policy frameworks whilst the provinces and municipalities then devise regional plans concerning sectors such as infrastructure and housing (Ibid). Apart from specific requirements on safety and security in the plans of construction, all buildings and infrastructure should coincide with the visions and plans set out by the province. Most ecovillages in the Netherlands therefore make use of these formal structures as they are the founding frameworks upon which the villages are built, this is not the case with Ppauw as they are a squat action. Though the principles of founding an ecovillage may be similar among initiatives, the term is loosely applied to any sustainable living environment without a clear-cut differentiation as to what is and is not an ecovillage. Definitions therefore differ; however, it can be ascertained that its inhabitants "consciously choose to live their lives in an eco-friendly manner by accounting for, and minimizing their impact on the planet" (Bentley, Miller 2012: 138) as environmentally conscious and intentional housing communities (Huigen et al. 2007). Ecovillages often start out as grassroot initiatives driven by social movements (Bentley, Miller 2012; Ergas 2010).

Given that Ppauw started out as a typical squat action it would fall under the Dutch laws related to the squatting of areas and buildings. Urban squatting refers to the occupying of buildings that have been vacant for a prolonged period of time and staying therein without the formal consent of the owner (Pruijt 2012). Dutch law had before the year 2010 generally enabled any individual or group to occupy abandoned buildings as long as there were no official plans for its construction and the buildings had been vacant for at least one year (Ibid). Squatting

in the Netherlands originated in the 1960's as a result of the rising housing shortage in Amsterdam amidst an abundance of abandoned buildings (Ibid). After several confrontations with the police by students and unions the Netherlands became one of the few countries that under certain conditions legally permitted squatting. A decision was made by the high court and article 138 of the Dutch criminal law granted permission to occupy buildings that were vacant as long as there was no damage to the property (Manjikian 2013). It is during this period that squatting as a movement had spread across Europe (Ibid). As these movements resisted against the state apparatus, squatters have faced negative stereotyping as vandals of the buildings that they squatted. As a result, many squatters had made a conscious effort to positively promote their activities as contributing to the conservation of buildings or the environment whilst also being a space for artistic creativity (Ibid). The tolerant attitude towards squatting in the Netherlands ended in 2010 when it was criminalized and the only permitted form of squatting was one by formal registered (housing) cooperations reframed as 'anti-squat' (Pruijt 2012). These offered temporary contracts to tenants to reside in vacant buildings at a low cost, mainly paying for gas, water and electricity. This was thus an attempt to restrict all forms of squatting and a means of influence and control by the government and its regulatory frameworks (Ibid).

Though squatting is illegal by law there are always loopholes or municipalities that still allow squatting to take place in the Netherlands. Owners of properties may condone a squat, or the municipality could support its activities. To legitimize their place and value, squats have reached out to their surrounding communities to organize activities not only to attract but serve their diverse interests for example in the form of workshops, art, music, cultural activities and expositions. They have used this space to experiment with redefining the principles and relations that form 'new societies' and communities (Pruijt 2012). Ppauw differs not much from these squat initiatives apart from the additional aspects of their identity as being mobile and an ecovillage. For a squat action to be accepted or 'tolerated' ultimately depends on the support from its surrounding community and the municipality in which it located. As the squat scene exists for over 50 years in the Netherlands there is a vast experience on how to strategically act within and outside the Dutch law, the land owners and policymakers (Ibid). The illegality of squatting in the Netherlands implies that it rests primarily on the abovementioned condition of 'tolerance' for it to take place.

The squatting of an area conventionally suggests the existence of a building. What of an area without a building? Laws are absent on the occupation of property that has no building on it. In the case of a building, rules of safety are often considered as one of the primal justifications for the prohibition of squatting (Interview Erik). From this arose the idea from the founder of Ppauw to squat an area without a building and rather use laws related to mobile residency as a means to occupy the area. The mobile character of the squat thus also does not pose a 'threat' of permanent settlement as it can be physically moved within the space of a day or two. Later Ppauw inhabitants did choose to build a semi-permanent structure more of which will be discussed further on in this thesis. Key to the squat action of the Ppauw community was to openly and in a friendly manner notify the owner, the municipality and the surrounding community (Interview Roan). Upon settlement or occupation, they further promoted the ideals of sustainability appealing to the Wageningen community. According to Dutch law the Ppauw residents are not just considered as a squat but tolerated as citizens with a mobile residency (Interview Robin). In the Netherlands there are laws that enable mobile residency in either a caravan, camper or any other mobile home[1]. The mobile resident living in a caravan therefore does not have to be connected to the official grid of gas, water or electricity, as many caravans have their own utilities for this. This law implies that when permitted to stay on the location, the Ppauw residents can formally be registered whilst enabling them also to experiment in terms of basic energy and water utilities off the grid. The Ppauw community, falling under both categories, is able to enjoy the advantages of both mobile residency and squatting. For them it entails the freedom to live, create, temporarily build and move as they please on the area in which they are permitted to reside, this is an ideal setting for the founding of an such an experimental initiative as an ecovillage (Interview Robin).

The stance of the Dutch government and its laws surrounding the growth of upcoming ecovillages is also important to outline. Though Ppauw does not fall under the formal regulations of an ecovillage settlement, it exhibits many parallels to ecovillages and the general

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[1] According to article 2.38 through to 2.43 of the 'Wet Basis Administratie Personen' (Dutch Law of Basic Registration of Persons), such citizens should at least have an address where they are formerly registered be it merely a postal address where they have been registered for a minimum period of six months. Online. Last visited 26 April, 2018. Available: http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0033715/2015-09-01

societal trend in favor of sustainability may have supported Ppauw's legitimacy in the community of Wageningen. It was therefore more easily valued and the context was enabling to place them in a position of negotiation with the Wageningen community. Some municipalities would very much like to be associated with innovative initiatives such as ecovillages and thus gladly negotiate and allocate land for ecovillages to be built[2]. This land is usually bought by a group of individuals that then negotiate the construction plans with the municipality. The main advantage being that they do not have to be connected to the grid of water, electricity or gas and can be energy self-sufficient. These are goals that are in line with those of Ppauw. These communities have over the years therefore experimented in various forms with sustainable lifestyles building on the general plight and favored public opinion towards a more sustainable society (Dulski *et al.* 2016). In light of this, Ppauw did not coincidentally use the term ecovillage in their name but rather aligned to this trend of environmental sustainability and the positive valance of the identity that surrounds it.

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[2] Under the Dutch governmental policy of the 'crisis and recovery act' there is space for ecovillages to develop themselves. This policy seeks to offer independent room for municipalities to allocate land for the experimentation of sustainable construction and infrastructure . Given that the Netherlands is a country with many laws surrounding the safety of the construction of building, materials, infrastructure and connection to water, gas and electricity; the 'crisis and recovery act' allows for exceptions and leniency outside these strict regulations. To accelerate the construction process and stimulate growth for recovery from the economic crisis, projects are supported in fields of sustainability, energy and innovation (Ministry of Infrastructure and Environment Of the Netherlands 2016).

2. FIELDWORK ANALYSIS

> What we might call 'research' or even 'fieldwork' is in truth a protracted master-class in which the novice gradually learns to see things, and to hear and feel them too, in the ways his or her mentors do. This is to undergo what the ecological psychologist James Gibson calls an 'education of attention' (Gibson 1979: 254).

This chapter will first give a brief background of Ppauw as study object upon their settlement on the site. Following this, the methodological choices and tools used during the research will be elaborated on. Thereafter, to analyze the web of meaning of mobility for the Ppauw community an analysis will be made framed within the different phases of Ppauw's growth and aided by the developed mobility model (see subchapter 2.1.3). In each phase the discussion and analysis will be made based on the structure of the three main aspects of the mobility model namely, mobility as concept, practicing mobility how these both relate to identity. All important aspects related to mobility in the daily life (such as events, concepts and activities) of the Ppauw inhabitants are incorporated into the model and analyzed accordingly.

The methodological approach of this research combines semiotic and anthropological theoretical underpinnings to guide its field work. Three central aspects of research in semiotics are the collection, documentation and the systematic cataloguing of what are termed semiotic resources (Van Leeuwen 2005). It also entails their past history to analyze how they are used within particular contexts and how they affect communication among people within these contexts. This is the reason why Ppauw is being studied within a time-frame of different phases. As time is an important factor, it also involves an understanding of the usage of old and new semiotic resources. In this thesis semiotic resources will particularly be valuable to understand such a time bound mobile context as Ppauw and how this relates to the community's identity.

The Ppauw ecovillage as an object of study makes it well suited for the flexible and descriptive approach of semiotic anthropology (Merz 2007), given that definitions and practices

of mobility are dynamic and ever-changing. The concept of mobility was used as a strategic tool of communication for the Ppauw ecovillage inhabitants, evolving and adapting to many externally imposed changes. To uncover implicit meanings and identities of mobility for the Ppauw ecovillage we can also consider ideas as signs of 'differentiated form' "[…] ideas are signs, they are differentiated form, rather than identified with, the object of our awareness here and now" (Deely 1990: 52).

In Ingold's approach of the study of culture it is processed within the anthropologist and from inside out as if he or she learns and does things similar to the researched although there is a distance not to go too far in being 'too native'. Ingold emphasized the transformation and educational aspects of fieldwork (De Lange 2015; Ingold 2011, 2013, 2014). In the study of anthropology action is constitutive of 'being', relating the human being to their physical universe through which is revealed the known and knowable (Deely 1994). As a researcher this implied that I was also part of practices and social interactions during the fieldwork, learning and enabling opportunities for intrinsic, academic and personal reflectivity. However, to some degree a distance was kept in service of also analyzing the research setting more 'thickly' in description. Involvement in relations and interactions with the community members in their daily activities therefore contributed as essential to the reflective process of this research.

2.1 PPAUW AS STUDY OBJECT

The onset of the research was initiated by a meeting with all the community members. "They invited me to have a meeting with them on the next day during dinner time." (Field notes 11/11/2016). Similar to the habit of the introduction of new members to the community, I was invited to express my ideas and activities at Ppauw. In this way the community was informed about my activities and the dialogue could be opened concerning questions or requests about the research. The research then formally started and the data collection had begun. The fieldwork at Ppauw ecovillage spanned a period of one and a half months from December 2016 till January 2017. Frequent visits were made to the community to develop an open conversation with the members whilst they were busy with their regular routines and daily activities.

The Ppauw community was founded by a well-planned initiative on April 1st in 2014 (De Lange 2015). The act of squatting was started by a demonstration of which its intention was not clearly set as either an art work or a form of social activism or just an April fool's joke. However, it is possible to say that its underling objective was the 'preservation of the cultural fringe' of which during this activity lots of other abandoned areas were visited (De Lange, 2015). In the following month Ppauw was self-ordained as a 'mobile ecovillage' based on principles of energy and ecological sustainability (Interview Roan). Gradually, the surrounding Wageningen community was contacted; the owner of the land was informed and an attempt for an open non-threatening communication was initiated assuring that there was no intention for permanent residency. In spite of the attempt of friendly communication, the Ppauw community underwent many threats of eviction by the police and the owner.

2.1.1 STUDYING PPAUW AS INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY

Ecovillages try to develop their own ideas and their own means of sustainable living whilst sharing their practical knowledge with other society members (Ergas 2010). This offers an interesting subject for semiotic studies and particularly semiotic anthropology as this field provides a valuable grounds for interpreting interrelated communal meaning of identity of these social and cultural movements within their specific context. To uncover the meanings behind a practice-based community such as Ppauw, research methodologies and data collection methods were most suitably in-depth and participatory to understand the interrelated meaning of mobility and its relationship with values.

Ppauw can be considered as a type of intentional community with its own unique 'mobile' character. The main characteristics of an intentional community are the separation or distinction from mainstream society and their focus on either ideological or practical self-sufficiency (Herring 2002; Smith 2002) they then cooperate to create a particular lifestyle and implement their principles and values. For an in-depth exploration and understanding of the intentions behind the intentional community of Ppauw, the choice for participative observation was most suitable enabling the researcher to enter within their culture and social setting whilst being embedded in the practices of the community. This method is also relevant to the study of

their mobility by interacting within their inter-relational web of meaning as also reflected in their practices.

In understanding the concept and practice of mobility for the Ppauw community, sense of place was central to be researched which in turn is tied to meaning making. The model below by Montgommery (1998) illustrates the relationship between activities, meaning and physicality which in turn can be related to the practice of mobility. Mobility in the case of Ppauw as a concept and practice can be seen to supersede a fixed physicality and was devised by the community in connection to their 'place'. The chosen methods used during the fieldwork therefore serve to discover the attributed meaning of the community of the below-mentioned components as related to the concept of mobility.

Figure 1.

The components of place
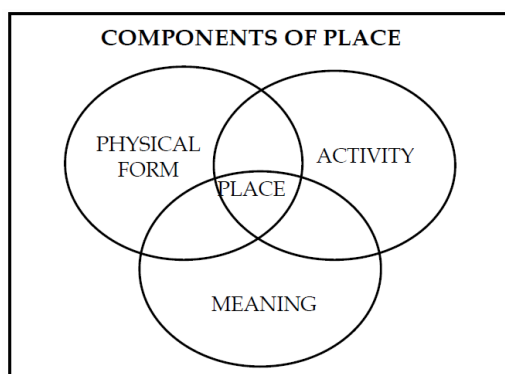
(Montgomery, 1998)

2.1.2 METHODS OF FIELDWORK

As a means to best engage with the research context of the ecovillage, qualitative methodologies were used to collect data. Qualitative methods of collecting data and information require observation; as "the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study" (Marshall, Rossman 1989: 79). It further entailed informal, in-depth and semi-structured interviews, participant observation, photo, video and audio documentation

during fieldwork phase. The combination of these semiotic resources and field notes were used to uncover this meaning-making process. This, in light of the definition of collective identity (Melucci 1995) and its effect on the regeneration of meanings (Wood 2002).

Apart from the primary sources of data, other valuable secondary sources of information used were the Ppauw website, Facebook page and newspaper articles of Wageningen. Semiotic resources such as social media and the Facebook page of Ppauw were also used to communicate with the members and analyze written material about the community. Field observations were recorded and then jotted in a notebook to be organized after each visit to Ppauw. The length of each interview was between 1 to 3 hours. The main themes of the questions concerned their personal and communal values, the history of Ppauw, daily practices, tools of communication with others, sense of attachment to the place, reasons of living in the ecovillage, ideologies, decision making and the practice of mobility in their daily lives. The interviews were conducted in different settings, spontaneously determined by the moment whilst visiting each of the members. In total there were 7 in-depth interviews with the members. Their ages ranged from 25 to 45. From these 7 interviews, 3 members were the initiators of Ppauw that had been in the ecovillage from its foundation (Roan, Heeltje and Erik). The interview settings were generally determined by how and where the interviewees felt most comfortable.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted whereby the context allowed for arising relevant questions whilst audio was recorded for further analysis. The questions aimed to enable the respondents to reflect on their life at the ecovillage. From this was inferred their underlying meanings of mobility, which later assisted in the creation of the mobility model developed in this thesis and discussed in the following sub-chapters. Given the iterative process of research, the importance of mobility to this research gradually became more apparent throughout the research process making it central to the research question. Moreover, the value and concept of mobility therefore arose from this process guiding the interviews but not necessarily focusing primarily on conceptual discussions about mobility alone, more so on deducing it from the community members' experiences and practices. The interviews revealed how 'mobility' as a concept, practice and identity influenced and transformed the modality and nature of their communication within and outside of their community.

Given the flexible nature of interviews, questions did to some degree differ per respondent. They can though be grouped into the following categories (For the list of in-depth interviews see figure 49, annex 3).

- *Historical context* of the Ppauw hospital ruins
- *The illegality* of the squat by the initiators
- *Brief biographies* of each member and their introduction to the community
- *Daily activities and experiences* of their temporary and mobile way of life
- *Sense of attachment* of the community members
- *Perception of mobility or home* to understand how this impacted their identity
- *Emotions and feelings* that each member developed during the time of stay at the ecovillage by recalling their memories

To reflect on the experience of the setting, the research did not only depend on the answers of interviews and their descriptions. In writing the field notes a narration of the experience and setting was also applied using a style of writing with literary devices such as metaphors and symbolism (for examples, see chapter fieldwork analysis). This added to the quality of an anthropological and experiential 'thick' description. It incorporated my experiences and emotions enabling my inclusion (first person) into the social and physical setting to become apparent. This is based on the notion that in the study of culture the observer cannot be excluded (Torop 2006).

2.1.3 PHASES AND MODEL OF ANALYSING PPAUW

From an interview with Roan, we can derive 3 major phases characterizing the development of Ppauw (Interview Roan). These phases are distinguished by changes in the environment, the inhabitant's perceptions of themselves and their interaction with the Wageningen community. During the field of study, the three phases were identified as firstly, 'protection and consolidation', following this, 'soil liberation' and finally 'deconstruction and relocation' as is illustrated in figure 2.

Figure 2.

Phases of life at Ppauw
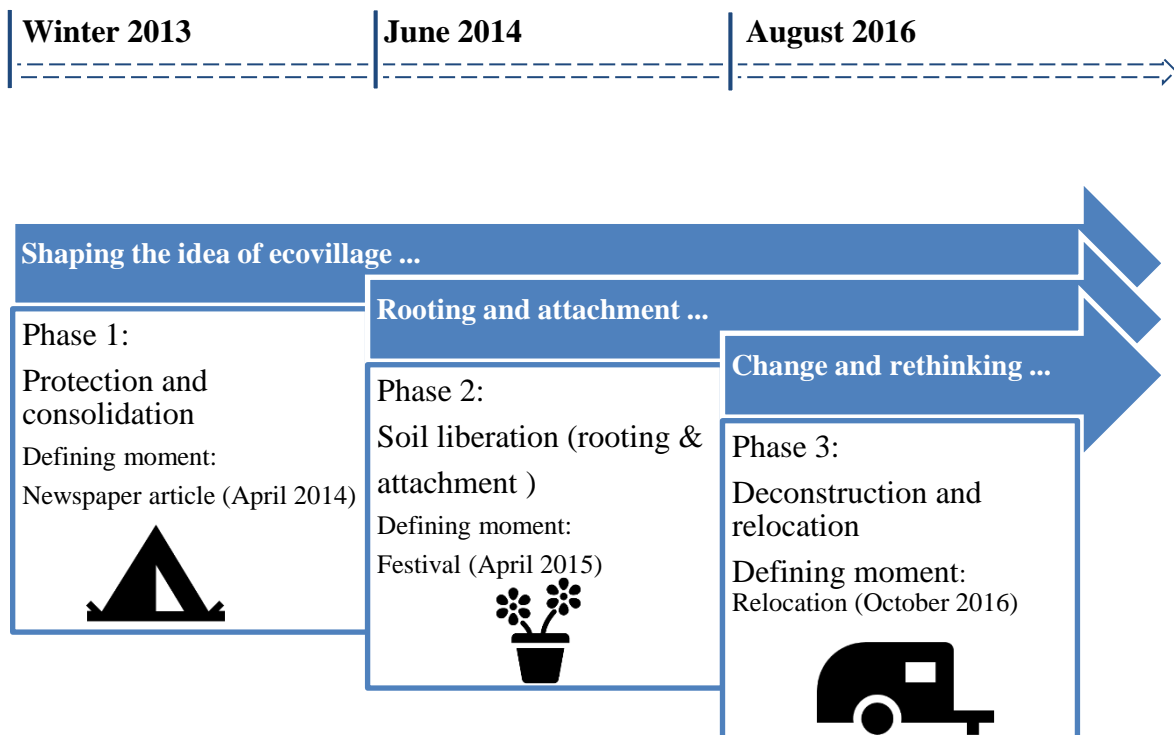
The needs of the Ppauw inhabitants at the micro level are an interplay of their symbolic and social resources within their spatial setting to shape their mobility throughout the three main phases. Figure 2 and 3 reveal the main themes and defining moments that triggered the onset of that particular phase. From the first phase the idea of being an ecovillage was shaped and refined, the second phase initiated the process of rooting and attachment whilst the third phase was drastically impacted by the building of a road through their habitat resulting in their relocation. In figure 2 these 3 phases are further spatially illustrated in the model.

Figure 3.

Movement of Ppauw in three phases
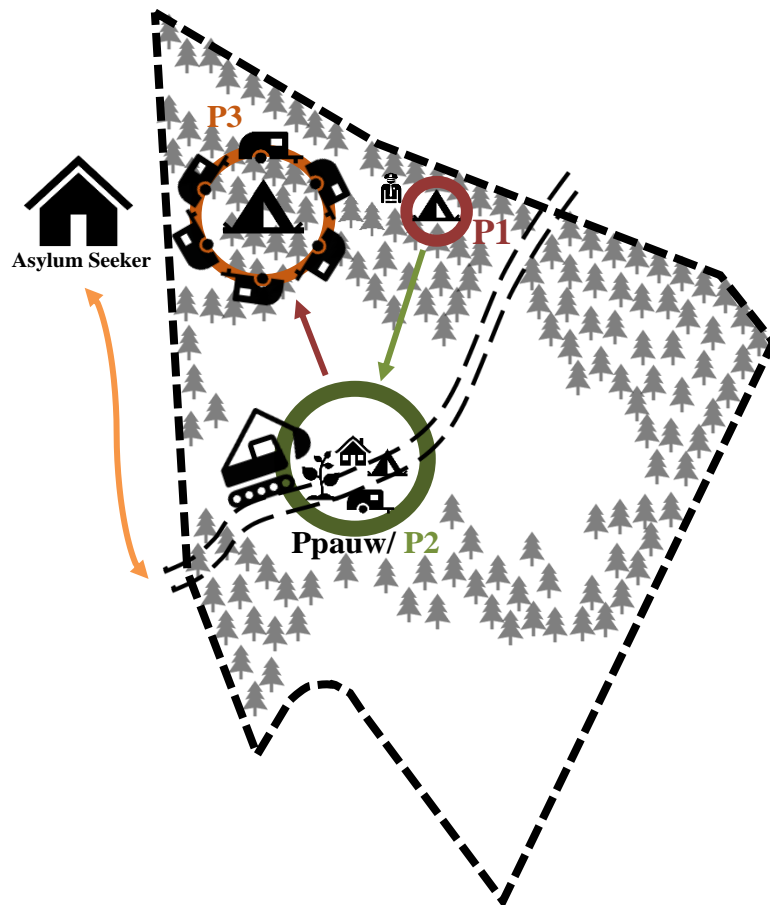
P1, P2, P3 = Phase 1, Phase 2, Phase 3

Red: Emergency and uncertain situation in Ppauw

Green: Stability and growth

Road: ▬ ▬ ▬ ▬

PPauw entrance:

Boundary of the site:

Relation of the road and asylum seeker centre:

Police confrontation:

The analysis of each phase is based on the developed mobility model, figure 4. Each of the 3 aspects of the mobility model (mobility practices, mobility as concept and mobility and identity) will be discussed and analyzed at length applied to the 3 phases of Ppauw's development. It shows how both their practices and their concept of mobility are interdependent as these together determine their meaning making process. Conjointly, they form a semiosis chain of meaning that affects and is affected by their identity as mobility in their way of 'being' in the world. As semiosis chains relate to the process of sign-making through which meaning is communicated by different texts or modes, this process is on-going and develops over time. The analysis in this chapter will further reveal how these semiosis chains of meaning making are therefore related to their motility which in other words is how the Ppauw community's mobile identity and sense of being in the world is influenced by their own agency. The motility of the Ppauw community will be studied by exploring their multimodal resources.

Figure 4.

Mobility model for Ppauw Ecovillage
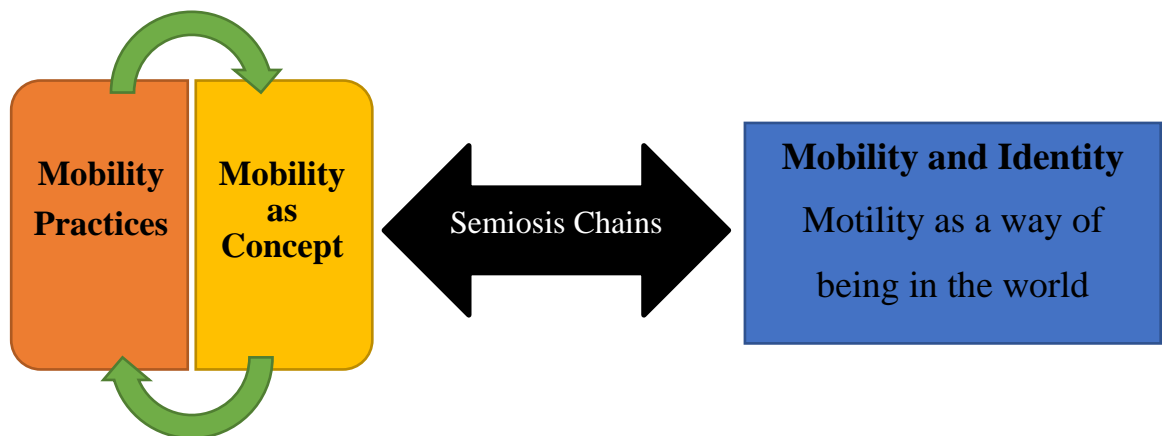
2.2 PHASE 1: PROTECTION AND CONSOLIDATION

> Over the course of the next month, a beginning was made with transforming the few caravans into a more self-sustaining 'mobile ecovillage', and communicatio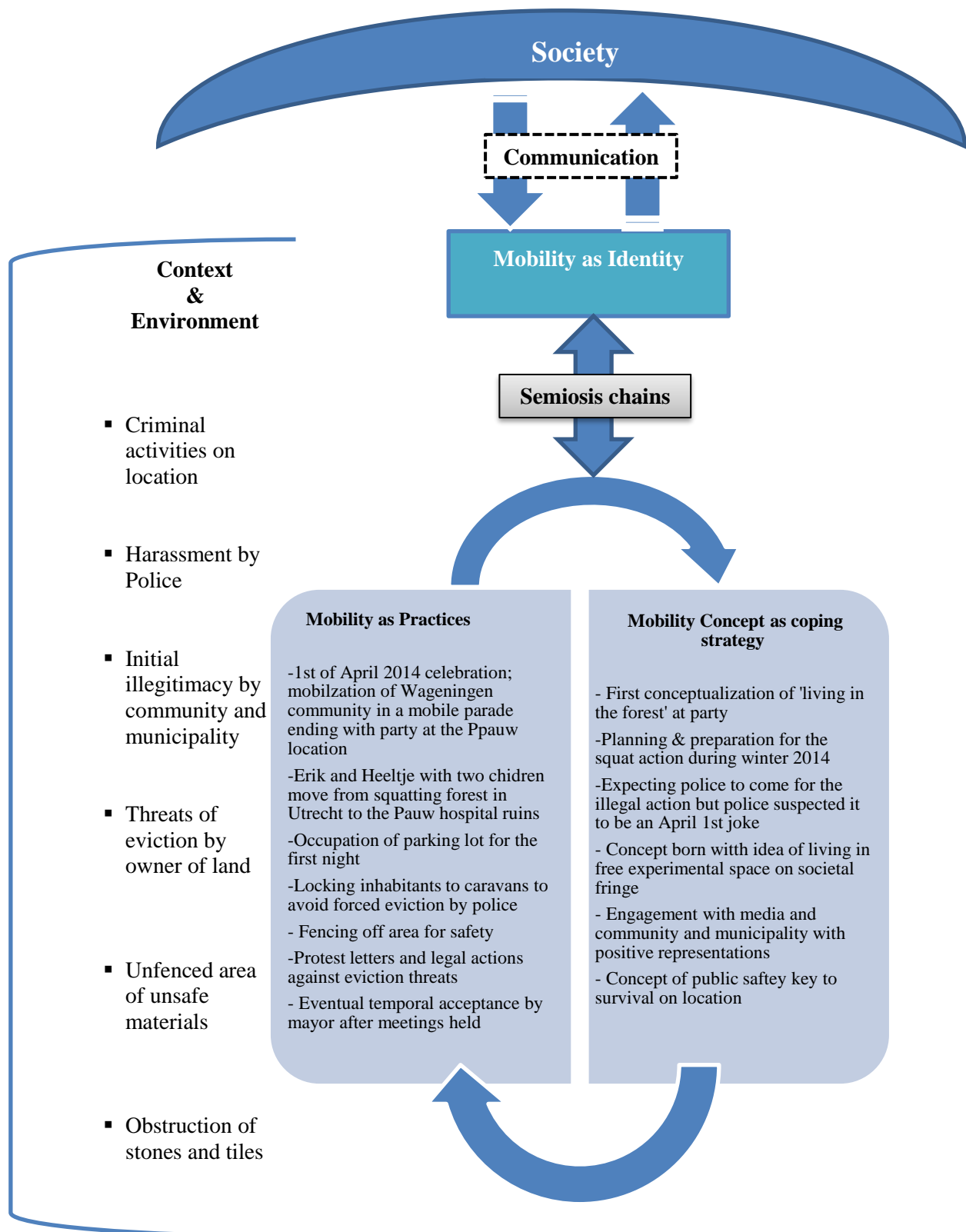ns were started with authorities, police, owner, neighbors, sympathizers and passers-by about the idea to make this into a long-term temporary living experiment
> (De Lange 2015: 42).

In this phase the first settlement of the Ppauw inhabitants was initiated after the squat action. It was characterized by insecurity and uncertainty as they were still striving for recognition and acceptance by the Wageningen community. The Ppauw inhabitant's main objectives were survival and protection from conflicting and competing claims on the terrain of the old hospital ruins. In addition, they were also testing the viability of squatting the location to transform it into an ecovillage (Interview Roan). In this phase we can observe how the Ppauw inhabitants already employed various strategies to define their position in relation to their environment and society. After initially squatting the entrance and parking lot of the ruined hospital, the eco-villagers set foot further into the terrain and started 'growing' on a wall leftover wall of the hospital. An unused object now became part of the community; therefore, every sign has a history and connotation of its own which is caused by the familiarity to the members of the sign-user's culture (Chandler 2017: 27). The outlined mobility model (figure 5) summarizes the main activities and significant events as will be discussed in greater depth further on in this subchapter.

Figure 5.

Mobility model phase 1

Society

Communication

Mobility as Identity

Semiosis chains

Context & Environment

- Criminal activities on location

- Harassment by Police

- Initial illegitimacy by community and municipality

- Threats of eviction by owner of land

- Unfenced area of unsafe materials

- Obstruction of stones and tiles

Mobility as Practices

-1st of April 2014 celebration; mobilzation of Wageningen community in a mobile parade ending with party at the Ppauw location

-Erik and Heeltje with two chidren move from squatting forest in Utrecht to the Pauw hospital ruins

-Occupation of parking lot for the first night

-Locking inhabitants to caravans to avoid forced eviction by police

- Fencing off area for safety

-Protest letters and legal actions against eviction threats

- Eventual temporal acceptance by mayor after meetings held

Mobility Concept as coping strategy

- First conceptualization of 'living in the forest' at party

-Planning & preparation for the squat action during winter 2014

-Expecting police to come for the illegal action but police suspected it to be an April 1st joke

- Concept born with idea of living in free experimental space on societal fringe

- Engagement with media and community and municipality with positive representations

- Concept of public saftey key to survival on location

2.2.1 MOBILITY AS CONCEPT

The idea of Ppauw was not imagined in its completeness but rather developed as an on-going process of conceptualizing small actions. For Peirce, not only are such human sign-processes essentially dialogical and social, but many ingredients of the processes are also dialogical as signs tend to be addressed to someone (Peirce 1982). These concepts of the mobile ecovillage 'in becoming' can be seen as such ingredients shaped by interactions between its founders. Every concept preceded an action that gradually founded the community onto the location of Ppauw. Concepts in turn are influenced by the outcomes of practices as is shown in the mobility model. The first seed of the conceptualization of Ppauw was planted at a party in the winter of 2013, as an idea of 'living in the forest' (Interview Roan). Based on Erik the prime founder of the ecovillage we can already observe some aspects of the way of living and being. Formerly, he and his family had stopped squatting and attempted to live a conventional life in a rented home. To his dismay it limited their creativity and abilities:

> […] we just tried to live in society instead of next to society […] and you only have to push buttons and lock the door [...] very individualistic but in a way also comfortable […] I felt like what I can do best had stopped because my strongest place in society is next to society and here it is too chaotic for a lot of people but I thrive there because I can make decisions that are not ok by law but by consent […] I can make these very quickly (Interview Erik).

Before anything was set into motion the idea or concept of moving to the forest alone suddenly opened up the possibility to reach out for the skills of the other founders (Erik and Heeltje) that already had many years of experience of squatting abandoned buildings and locations. Consequently, ensued a period of preparation during the first months of 2014, again concepts were put to practice and related to available resources. These initial moments were without any fixed expectations of settlement but were a bold attempt to await and see what would happen (Interview Roan). It is here that we can already observe the use of motility as means of setting into the motion the process of mobility. The aspects of motility, competence and appropriation (Bergman *et al.* 2004) are applicable. The individual and communal competence of the initial founders enabled them to envision the potential of the former hospital ruins of Pieter Pauw as a location for habitation. Appropriation at this stage refers to the preparation as a conscious strategy that enabled their ability to squat the area using mobile units. We can therefore ascertain that motility is central to any choice of mobility given that, in this

case, the hospital ruins had practically been dormant in their usage for over a decade, but it was the agency (i.e. motility) of the Ppauw inhabitants that revived it.

For instance, one of the decisions made by the initiators was to be able to lock themselves to caravans preventing the police from evicting them. This forced removal would be too costly for the police and municipality which also obviously avoided to involve themselves in acts of violence that could be reflected later in the media (Interview Roan). However, they were still repeatedly harassed by the police mainly during the first week of occupation, "It was 5 o'clock in the morning and they said now you have an opportunity to leave and then if you stay here we probably come with mobile units and army police and really kick you out!" (Interview Roan). Another important strategy that was used, was to seek out undefined spaces in laws and regulations. This can be seen as using mobility as means of resistance against or rather a way of maneuvering within what Salazar terms the control and regulations of the overpowering nation-state (Salazar 2010). It enabled them to play on the fringe of laws which had not yet been clearly defined: "[…] squatting is illegal but the illegal part of squatting is about a place where you can live but here at Ppauw was nothing so I guess this is a new sort of squatting, I guess occupation[…]" (Interview Erik). This illegality of their mobility and habitation can be seen as a challenge to a logonomic system of meaning-making. As logonomic systems are sustained by practices and the tools of coercion of authorities, this is similarly so at Ppauw. The police act as an enforcing extension of the municipal authorities, the owner and the Wageningen citizens. Among these actors lie the formal rules and regulations laid down by law, but also those undefined officially but socially agreed. As Ppauw resides in the 'grey' area of occupancy, their harassment by the police and the owner are a reflection of the attempts of coercion by the powers and authorities of the logonomic system to impose conformation and maintain control over the system.

The very nature of Ppauw's reaction to the context of insecurity can be seen as a fundamental condition prompting their usage of the concept of mobility as a valuable coping strategy. By means of using caravans and mobile units they planted the concept of mobility in the consciousness of the Wageningen community as well as police authorities and society; moreover, using the red tent in the area of the parking lot was a sign of impermanence as a strategy to demonstrate to the police and owner that there were no future plan to stay. These coping strategies can be tied to their identity and its physical representation to the surrounding community. In essence, they consciously developed their semiosphere as means of conveying

the signaling of an identity of impermanence. We can already observe that in this initial phase of development the community members of Ppauw are actively shaping their chain of semiosis to achieve underlying objectives beyond that of mere cultural expression. This includes, in the own words of the inhabitants, their positive image and relationship as being part of and contributing to the Wageningen community. The built tree house at the entrance of the ecovillage was also a means of protection and demonstrates another contrivance by the initiators to overcome outer forces while they were shaping their concept of identity among the branches of the forest and the cracks of the ruined walls. The clear distinction between concepts, practices and identity in the case of Ppauw therefore overlap and are reciprocal as is shown in the model.

2.2.2 MOBILITY PRACTICES

> [...] I could take more pictures, but for the first time being in a community, I hesitated to overwhelm them by taking photos. I also realized that one of the important activities in the Ppauw ecovillage is the evening gathering and preparing supper in the army tent. Being there warmed them during these activities which is prior to leaving the army tent to each one's private caravan to take rest and be ready for sleep during these cold winter nights […]
> (Fieldnote extracts 12/11/2016).

As the nature of practices are not separate from their physical environment so too is the physical environment at Ppauw subject to practices within semiosis. In this first phase the community's practices transmit meanings of consolidating their place at the hospital ruins. The following paragraphs will briefly discuss how these meanings are mingled with practices in relation to the characteristics of the physical environment at Ppauw. For instance, the fence on the terrain in the first phase of the life at Ppauw can be considered to be an important mediator between Ppauw and its outsiders. Such objects can therefore serve as a communicative channel and a mode of spatial communication between the community and their surroundings. It is therefore important to analyze to what extent and by which means these practices and modes are related to mobility.

Based on the initial idea of moving and squatting a forest area, Tuesday the 1st of April 2014, Erik mobilized various people from Wageningen community to join a parade of music and festivity. The occupation of the space was a ceremonial festive event, which was accompanied with the cleaning up of the location and some music and at the end serving soup to the people who joined to gather around a fire (Interview Roan). *S*emantically speaking they mobilized people, not only for ceremonial sake and entertainment. but it was as if this act symbolically instituted their validity and social confirmation to be known by the Wageningen community within their new 'being' for the first time. They used the date of the 1st of April (April fool's day) as a strategy and the relation of this day with its cultural conformity and convention of deception to protect the initiators and keep their intention of squatting secret. Within this ambiguity they avoided any possible acts of conflict and violence with the police, the enforcers of the logonomic system. And indeed, at the beginning of the 'manifestation' ceremony the police did not involve themselves because they believed it to be a joke, that nobody would show up for the event (Interview Roan). After the ceremony the supporters had left and only Lian, Roan and Erik remained in the parking lot of the ruined hospital.

On the first night five individuals resided at the location while in the middle of the night police came and shone their torches in Roan's face asking for an official paper to prove their legal stay on the location. This incident drove the initiators of Ppauw into a state of protection which was considered as representing the first phase of life at Ppauw at an occupied space. The act of resisting evacuation by the occupants of Ppauw caused police forces to threaten them but it never turned to serious actions apart from the constant searching of the area continuing throughout the first nights (Interview Roan). This lasted for one week. After police and neighbors acknowledged the occupation, the initiators moved more inwards, towards the ruined walls of the hospital and its terrain. Moreover, at this point they limited the accessibility of others by fencing off the area completely. Although their stay was impermanent, the fixing of fences as an available resource in the environment as a mode sent the message of their authority as the new occupiers. Therefore, the usage of the fences by the Ppauw community denoted and connoted different meanings and messages. Throughout the different phases at Ppauw it is notable that used objects as semiotic resources within the frame of time-space can also be fluid and multimodal in their meaning (Vannini 2007). In the phase of protection and consolidation the act of fixing the fences functioned threefold. Firstly, the protection of the community from outsiders, it was a form of boundary making and to a certain degree exclusion. Secondly, it served as a sign to demonstrate their existence to others. Lastly, it was an object that signified

their positive change and impact in Wageningen because they closed off and safeguarded an otherwise hazardous area particularly for children. They cleared the terrain from hazards addressing all other factors which could be a potential grounds for their eviction (Interview Roan).

An important recurrent element in their practices was to engage the media, promoting their contributions and feeding the public consciousness about their beneficial practices. The media as a critical mode to affect public opinion was therefore key inform when noteworthy achievements had been realized by the Ppauw community. It served as a means of capturing achievements that would then further legitimize their position in the Wageningen community. Of all relations and outside communication, the media may well be one of the most fundamental pillars of their stay. This was particularly necessary as their actual settlement was a challenge to or in conflict with formal institutions and the logonomic system, the law and even interests of neighbors. Power structures were being by-passed whilst the media could portray Ppauw positively leaving enough leeway for temporary tolerance and offering time, be it only in the name of curiosity or an avoidance of public controversy by the authorities.

> [...] Now we occupy the parking lot. Everyone can join. We look at the plans and only observe [...]. We keep the parking lot clean. Apart from this, our presence ensures safety [...]. This terrain is owned privately. The owner has been informed. Should he not appreciate our presence, then we will leave voluntarily (Article newspaper Wageningen 2014).

Figure 6 shown 3 main uses of the left-over space of the ruined Pieter Pauw hospital and the community's first settlement location on the edge of forest and city of Wageningen.

Figure 6.

Googlemap image of Ppauw, Scheidingslaan 1 Wageningen[3]

"[…] if you go on google map actually if you can set back the time to 2014, you can see the small red circles and that is what the old kitchen used to be, huhu that's really funny you see something of the process also on google maps[…] " (Interview Roan). Encounters with police and the looming threat of criminal activities also impacted the practices of the Ppauw inhabitants which then mainly consisted of coping strategies. For instance, they also built a temporary tree house as an observational post including the possibility of 'locking' themselves to it to prevent their evacuation.

Interaction and communication is affected by clustering in space and time (Rapaport 1994). In this phase we can observe how the Ppauw inhabitants used their mobility (i.e. caravans) to physically cluster their settlement focusing on practices related to their protection

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[3] Retrieved online, 24 April 2017:

https://www.google.com/maps/place/Scheidingslaan+1,+6704+PA+Wageningen/@51.9701098,5.69

39013,17z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x47c7ac7fe007b715:0x646ebe225ede0f8d!8m2!3d51.9701

065!4d5.69609

and consolidation. Clustering influences meaning and communication (Rapaport 1994). As Roan states it enabled a social control whilst also demonstrated their continued occupancy (Interview Roan). The distinction between conceptual coping strategies and everyday practices of mobility were therefore more so overlapping rather than distinguishable as most everyday practices in this phase were reactionary and strategically countering potential threats. As motility entails the agency that is driven also by a conceptual ability (Salazar 2010), we can observe that in this phase the main appropriation strategy was one of exploration and the building of relations with the Wageningen community. The context for the initiators of Ppauw in terms of motility access in this phase was on the most part unknown, hence there was no rooting as such and the concept of impermanence lay central to their communication and existence on the site of the occupied area of Ppauw.

2.2.3 MOBILITY AND IDENTITY

> I could hear a vibe of silent movement from the corner of the army tent while a young man with a sturdy body but not so tall and not so short was cooking something on the stove, his head was facing down to the ground as if his body was wrapped in a gentle sad silence. I did not know what I should observe. I just started and I just wanted to be accepted by the community as what I was, a researcher from Tartu University lost in semiotics and semiosis of knowledge, science and intellect with a fathomless empty mind. Almost in the middle of tent there was a table, I realized that the table and chair around guided my steps when I first entered into the tent […] (Fieldnote extracts 12/11/2016).

In this phase the manner by which different practices shaped identity will be discussed and analyzed. For Ppauw inhabitant's identity shaping has been a very active and conscious process in their ongoing communication with the Wageningen community. The following paragraphs will further discuss the aspect how values lie central to the Ppauw identity and their acceptance by the Wageningen community and society as a whole. Again we can observe how the different aspects of the model on Ppauw mobility are not only interdependent but overlapping. The identity of Ppauw is shaped by practices and strategies that were based on 'accepted' values in society. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, identity is argued to be a sign (Ehala 2018), in this phase we can observe how this sign of identity has been used by Ppauw community

members as playing a key bridging role in their communication and position in the Wageningen community.

The Ppauw community transformed the perception of their illegality into a valuable and beneficial activity for the Wageningen community, the owners and the municipality. The 'others' for the Ppauw community in Wageningen can be distinguished into two major groups namely the socially acceptable within the logonomic system (eg. municipality, neighbors, land owner) and socially alienated groups outside of the logononic system that formerly used the space for illegal activities. Due to their illegality, Ppauw could initially be perceived in the latter category by their surrounding community were it not for their activities, active communication and identity construction. In occupying the space any acts of the Ppauw community are illegal (without permission), as illegal as the other former users of the space (that engaged in dumping, prostitution and drug abuse). The Ppauw community then actively tried to juxtapose the values and acts of the former users to become more accepted. An essential contrast to the former users was their openness and transparency in their activities as opposed to the covert illegal activities. Mobility enabled a flexibility in this identity in being more adaptive and non-threatening towards the needs and values of the surrounding community. This supports the notion that culture as identity is fluid and that this is further reflected in the fluidity derived from mobility (Leander, Vasudevan 2009). The union of identity and mobility therefore offered vast opportunities for the Ppauw community to adapt to their environment as these are both ever changing and shaping according to particular contexts.

The space, being on the edge of Wageningen and the forest and the desolated building site and walls of the ruined hospital had formerly attracted people who were involved in crime and prostitution (Interview Roan). The founding festive activity had been the onset for (re)moralizing the meaning generated by the space and people that newly occupied it. This did surely not come without a conflict of interests. The (re)moralization of this space in terms of its function and position in the community could be considered one of the first conscious attempts towards identity formation by the Ppauw community. Clearly, Ppauw inhabitants had sought to 'polish' the image of the location and were quick to reach out to the media and surrounding community for conscious and strategic visibility about their position and ideals, see a translated extract from a local newspaper of Wageningen:

> […] before drug dealers and prostitutes would come and now no more […] according to the
> artist this century will bring a lot of change "we shall repair the ecosystems that have been

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destroyed by the economy. The time of competition is over, it is the time for collaboration" (See figure 9, annex 1).

Built environments are considered to be a product of 'purposeful human activity' and is not chaotic but consisting of order (Rapoport 1994). When the built environment of the Pieter Pauw hospital was demolished, the physical space appeared to be chaotic and meaningless. However, we can see that it still attracted purposeful human activities of another nature, namely those related to illegality. So, in this case even in the disorganization of humanly created space, spaces can change in meaning and so its elements can also mean different things in different times or moments (Ibid). The organization of meaning therefore has an influence on physical space but also communication. Inversely, communication also reinforces the organization of meaning (Ibid). The very occupation of Ppauw can also be interpreted on itself as a spatial mode of communication as their representation implies and also asserts their newly stated position and relationship with the Wageningen community. For the prostitutes and drug dealers and others engaged in illegal practices it sent the message that they were the new owners. To the owner and the municipality their occupation was communicated as non-threatening whilst to the Wageningen citizens their occupation communicated transparency and reached out for interaction.

Another key aspect of their identity was their name, the name Ppauw stems from 'Pieter Pauw' which was the original name of the former hospital of Wageningen (De Lange 2015). Names have their own connotations and associations of meanings; "Saussure states that in principle, every means of expression used in society is based on collective behavior or convention" (Chandler 2017: 27). Based on the perspectives of social semiotics we can observe the use of situational and motivational signs in Ppauw's social context: "Social semioticians have subsequently argued that we should not underestimate the situational motivation of signs in their social context of use" (Chandler, 2017: 27). From this we can derive that the initiators of the Ppauw mobile ecovillage function as sign users in a sign system by the naming of their community within an existing history and collective memory of the ruined hospital. Essentially, the birth of the supposed new sense-making concepts or empirical realities cannot (fully) escape the frames and relations of existing sign systems.

During this phase after threats from the police and municipality, Roan set an appointment with the mayor and after the meeting the attitude of municipality changed as they came to the realization that their intention was positive (Interview Roan). We can observe how

in these interactions with the Wageningen community and its institutions the Ppauw inhabitants actively sought to present their formed identity to society. It was in this phase that mobility was strategically associated to their identity to also pose as 'non-permanent' or 'non-threatening', more easily gaining acceptance from the Wageningen community and its institutions (Interview Roan).

This acceptance was reflected in the first newspaper article preceding many articles and press coverage that followed (See figure 9, figure 10, annex 1). The article states that as long as they don't pose any threat to public safety they are permitted to stay by the mayor and the owner of the land. The identity of Ppauw was an on-going process as can be seen in this newspaper article that they were initially referred to as the 'Party of the plants' (a politically registered party) which was founded by Erik Groen, it was not directly related to Ppauw. The founding of the Party of Plants was also a strategic one that didn't necessarily strive for seats or a majority backing in the local council, but it offered an entity of political recognition and the opportunity to at least be informed and engage with political debate (Interview Erik). It had been founded long before the idea of Ppauw came into existence.

The identity of the Ppauw inhabitants is also dependent on their communication with the Wageningen community, this is their engagement and relationship with the external 'other'. They needed other people to validate their way of being because they did not want to be a completely self-sustaining isolated community (Interview Erik). Therefore, their growth and existence needed assurance from society in having interaction, an exchange of ideas and practices. This need had already originated from the parade on the 1st of April which launched the existence of Ppauw as a group within the Wageningen community.

The communication of their identity and its relationship with mobility is not limited to explicit communication only but also their interaction with the physical environment.

> I think there was no attachment at all and it was just scary forever […]. Stress and the uncertainty made it kind of impossible to attach to this place. Because we knew that the next day it could be gone, and the next day also […] so I think that also with the purpose we were trying not to attach to the place too much and maybe consciously we were trying not to attach ourselves. (Interview Roan)

There were external forces that impelled the Ppauw inhabitants to remain in a mode of temporal mobility as a means of survival. Here, we see that mobility in itself also has elements or

underlying motivations of physical attachment to it and cannot be simplified as being a dichotomy between 'mobile' and 'fixed'. This duality is transcended by motility whereby the notion of ability becomes more relevant (Bergman et al., 2004). Motivations and the ability to imagine possible future scenarios can therefore also be seen as contributing to the motility of individuals or groups as the Ppauw community moved to and within the site of the Pauw hospital ruins.

In this phase of consolidation, attachment implied rooting structures that were less mobile and as we shall see in the next phase the actual building of semi-permanent structures. It implies that the Ppauw inhabitants were balancing between mobility and attachment. This affirms that the sense of 'at-homeness' is a key aspect to the formation of cultural identity (Greenblatt 2009). In the formation of their mobile identity it was therefore inevitable that when relating to a physical environment their sense of attachment would start to increase. It can be argued that as cultural identity begins to frame experiences and relate them to a semiosis of self and the world, then attachment to these elements is a logical consequence. This is further proven by their act of planting a (perennial) garden (Interview Roan). According to Rapaport such elements define settings not only architecturally and as 'fixed feature elements' but more importantly it is the semi-fixed feature elements such as signs, plants, elements of furniture that constitute their relation with their settings (Rapaport 1994). The movability (i.e. mobility) of these physical elements therefore communicates settings reflecting 'non-fixed feature elements' also being an expression of behavior and practices as cultural landscape (Rapaport 1994). All these elements constitute the cultural landscape and relations between the social and physical. We can therefore as it were, read the changes in the spatial environment at Ppauw as a text to understand not only settings but as a channel of communicating identity.

"The built environment, broadly defined as a human creation, involves the organization of four elements: space, time, meaning and communication" (Rapoport 1994: 465). In the case of Ppauw these are all the material elements at their disposal. The fact that they are easily moveable and disposable enables their ability to communicate in various settings and thus respond immediately to social and cultural changes. Essentially, Ppauw inhabitants had used their physical environment to communicate to different groups in society. It is of course the question to what degree these physical signs of communication were being interpreted as they had been intended. Examples are the actual displacement of their mobile caravans out or within public sight, the placing of a sign on the fence, the actual fencing of the area and the shifting of

any physical objects (them included). These were therefore a conscious or an unconscious reflection of their social and cultural identity which, as discussed earlier, was in continuous transition. In consolidating their position at Ppauw in this first phase, gradually they began to settle and change their activities to focus on rooting themselves into their environment, heralding the onset of a new phase as a long-term temporary living experiment (De Lange 2015).
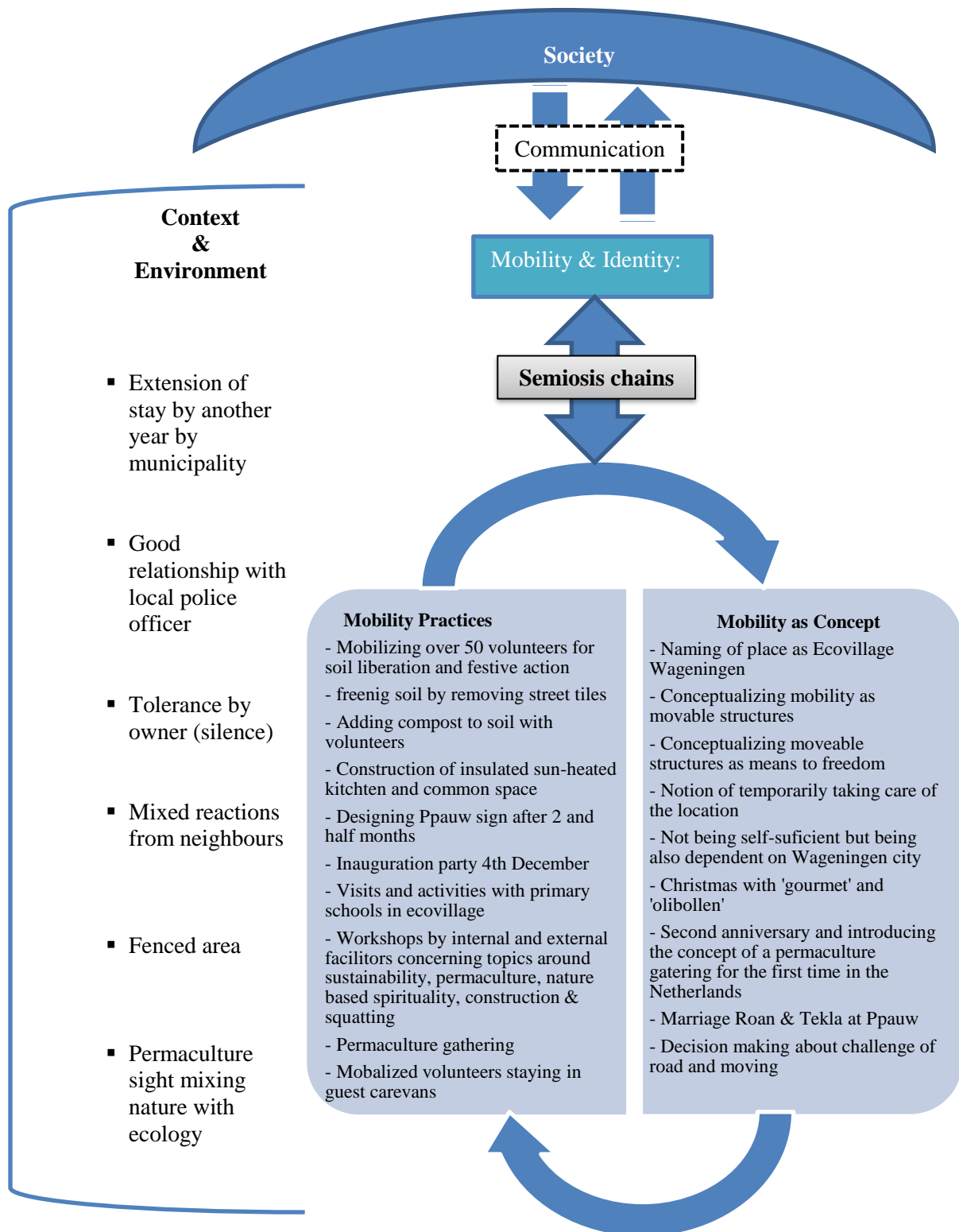
2.3 PHASE 2: SOIL LIBERATION

After the Ppauw inhabitants had received a formal notification from the municipality that they were allowed to stay for another year on the location they were able to transition to what its inhabitants considered to be the next phase of stability, termed as the 'soil liberation'. During the first anniversary of Ppauw on April 2015, the soil liberation festival marked this transitionary period from being mobile into becoming more settled, hence they created and expanded more fixed and semi-fixed elements into their community. This further rooted their practices whilst they also refined their identity. It was an interactive process reaching out and within the community for inspiration and creativity to enable the community to bloom and develop (Interview Robin).

This phase was a shift from insecurity to a contrasting peaceful period characterized by an expansion of diverse activities (Interview Robin). This had an impact on their practices but also on their concepts and identity as related to mobility. This period can also be seen as one where the ecovillage inhabitants were able to freely flourish creatively to give form to their ideas and ideals. In the ensuing analysis a better understanding can be reached about the impact that security and freedom had on their activities, concepts and practices as they became less reactionary. There was now an opportunity for long term planning. The summer of 2014 was a time of relaxation and during this time the sense of attachment to the environment had already started to bloom in the minds and psyche of the inhabitants (Interview Roan). Furthermore, the development of a garden in the ecovillage and harvesting the fruits of their plants and plans also increased their sense of attachment.

Figure 7.

Mobility model phase 2

Society

Communication

Context & Environment

Mobility & Identity:

Semiosis chains

- Extension of stay by another year by municipality

- Good relationship with local police officer

- Tolerance by owner (silence)

- Mixed reactions from neighbours

- Fenced area

- Permaculture sight mixing nature with ecology

Mobility Practices

- Mobilizing over 50 volunteers for soil liberation and festive action
- freenig soil by removing street tiles
- Adding compost to soil with volunteers
- Construction of insulated sun-heated kitchten and common space
- Designing Ppauw sign after 2 and half months
- Inauguration party 4th December
- Visits and activities with primary schools in ecovillage
- Workshops by internal and external facilitors concerning topics around sustainability, permaculture, nature based spirituality, construction & squatting
- Permaculture gathering
- Mobalized volunteers staying in guest carevans

Mobility as Concept

- Naming of place as Ecovillage Wageningen
- Conceptualizing mobility as movable structures
- Conceptualizing moveable structures as means to freedom
- Notion of temporarily taking care of the location
- Not being self-suficient but being also dependent on Wageningen city
- Christmas with 'gourmet' and 'olibollen'
- Second anniversary and introducing the concept of a permaculture gatering for the first time in the Netherlands
- Marriage Roan & Tekla at Ppauw
- Decision making about challenge of road and moving

2.3.1 MOBILITY AS CONCEPT

The nature of the concept of mobility for the Ppauw inhabitants had clearly changed though it built on that of the previous phase of insecurity. The stability of this phase enabled mobility to be explored beyond that of being temporary residents that could evacuate the location at any given moment. The ability to move practically all objects allowed for this flexible concept of mobility. This flexible conceptualization of mobility further expanded in this phase enabling the development of prosperity and abundance (Interview Robin). The central discussion in this phase will be how they used the concept of mobility to attach themselves to their environment, appearing contradictory but in actual fact it was complementary. Their creative 'prosperity' in this phase was drastically challenged at the close of the phase with the construction of the road through their living environment. This challenge forced them to reconsider their sense of attachment and revise their concept of mobility, exploring possibilities within and outside the ecovillage as means for survival and existence.

The assurance of staying on the location given by the municipality and the time that elapsed built the confidence of settlement to practice different activities. The mobile quality of practically all structures in the ecovillage enabled them to be utilized in ways to expand their activities. The underlying 'rule' in any activity or object of the ecovillage was its mobility (Interview Robin). Mobility became a strategic concept in their communication with outsiders rather than only as a necessary 'way of life' or survival. The eco-villagers were not only experimenting with building a living environment but also with concepts and how they could be used and which effect they would have on the Wageningen community when used or presented as a means to achieve their objectives. They started to realize the initial vision they had before moving to the location, being one of living (squatting) in the forest (interview Roan).

Gradually, more concepts and strategies were employed for the realization of this initial objective. Their values such as sustainability were already inherent to them before they moved to the Ppauw location and after the phase of insecurity these become more attainable.

> […] we made a sign that is now on the fence with the P and Pauw and it was Erik's idea. Here was called Pieter Ppauw hospital and he was a benevolent businessman and he gave lots of money to the municipality to build this hospital and then we liked the name Ppauw because Pauw means peacock which is phoenix bird which is the sign of regeneration […] (Interview Roan).

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As the second phase was characterized by their settlement, all their activities now began to reflect this. The making of a sign sent a clear message to society about their existence. It also broadened their representation hoping to attract and mobilize more support, resources and networks due to them being seen as central on issues surrounding experimental sustainable living in Wageningen. From being isolated, the simple addition of the word 'Wageningen' hoped to connect them to become indispensable on matters of sustainability in Wageningen.

The aim of the eco-villagers was not to build a fully self-sufficient ecovillage without any cooperation and dependency from the outside world; contrary to this, they sought an interdependence. Moreover, another simple reason for the active renaming process was that inhabitants sought to maintain their connection to the people of Wageningen. The creation of their logo at the entrance of Ppauw had initiated the second phase as a defining moment:

> […] one volunteer made it for us two years ago and we thought that we started by putting it out there to the outside world to establish our new identity which is Ppauw. It has so much meaning and still we were too afraid of giving up on the idea of mobile ecovillage (Interview Roan).

Another example of how they in this phase continued to use concepts as powerful tools to achieve objectives in an indirect manner, was their name. In this phase the Ppauw inhabitants as advised by its founder Erik started calling themselves Ecovillage Wageningen instead of Ppauw Mobile Ecovillage.

> […] we also wanted to have this clear connection to Wageningen as city and not just be an ecovillage isolated from surroundings, we wanted to consciously clear the name that we see ourselves as connected to Wageningen […] (Roan's interview).

This is interesting as they had initially (upon arrival on the location) called themselves Mobile Ecovillage Wageningen after which they called themselves Ppauw and then considered simply calling themselves Ecovillage Wageningen. This shift in naming was done very consciously, as they felt that it was necessary to include Wageningen in their name so that they would be associated with and related to the community of Wageningen (Interview Erik). Semantically speaking, words have a connotative and denotative meaning, a literal indexical and also an implied meaning. The act of naming for the Ppauw community therefore plays a vital part in their implied meaning and its resulting relationship with the 'other', to identify with and be identified to the city of Wageningen. The naming process on itself had fluctuated so much, which is an interesting discussion of their attempt to conceptualize themselves whilst also being subjected to their external conceptualization or being known as Ppauw by their surroundings.

As we shall see in the following phases, the naming issue was never fully resolved and could not completely or unanimously be changed as easily as they had already been known by outsiders as being 'Ppauw' rather than Ecovillage Wageningen. It implies that the naming process is interactional in its nature whereby surrounding social interactions are just as decisive in the naming and identity process as are groups or individuals themselves. Similarly, their usage of concepts such as sustainability, permaculture, ecovillage and squatting on itself would attract curiosity and volunteers willing to share their piece of related knowledge in that the sum of diversity would add value to all. Their mobility in this respect aided this ability to arrange activities according contextual needs. When each would contribute their own specific ability and skill, there would be abundance for all, similar to ecological systems that function on these principles (Interview Robin). Another advantage was the vast and diverse physical space at their disposal (free of charge) offering various possibilities for social, technical or ecological projects and activities.

The central question that remains in the conceptualization of their way of life in this phase of the eco-villagers is whether their shift to more a settled attachment affected their concept of mobility. According to Greenblatt this attachment over time is inevitable as it binds to objects and practices (Greenblatt 2009). As is seen in their expansion of practices we can understand that their sense of attachment actually increased their mobility on the location of the hospital ruins and surrounding forest. They gained more assurance and formal permission to settle in the area and used mobility to expand their living space, for instance the caravans spread out over the entire area (Interview Robin). It was as if they finally were given the right and ability to shift to all four corners of the space. It is though noteworthy that the founder Erik had urged the inhabitants not to move their caravans close to the edges of the area where they would be visible to the public, this was to avoid visual pollution and maintain the perception for outsiders that it was a natural environment (Ibid). However, apart from this their increased attachment now was an impetus for the exploration of the entire area for potential permaculture, living and sustainability projects. There was no more spatially fixed configuration of the ecovillage as inhabitants frequently moved tents and caravans to different locations and different activities, moreover it required objects and spaces to be moved to better serve their temporary purpose (Interview Roan). Mobility in their conceptualization was a term under which they didn't only operate, but also a tool for them to achieve their needs or goals.

[…] according to the building destination of this place we are not allowed to stay here and so we thought if we kind of have the image that we are just in semi-permanent or mobile structures

then there would not be any grounds to say that we are living there like we live in the tent so it is not really house so if you have to leave you can leave at any time (Interview Roan).

Their mobile way of living or conceptualization can be partly attributed to the freedom that is associated with squatting. Again we see that that they were not subjected or subject to policies, logonomic systems or even concepts but simply interacted with the environment freely in the most beneficial way of achieving their objectives. The concept of mobility would not guide or rule them, but they took the liberty to reshape and reuse this beyond the frames of its customary or institutionary definition, essentially this was another aspect of their motility.

2.3.2 MOBILITY PRACTICES

Practices in the second phase; soil liberation had gradually expanded as more assurance came from the municipality about their stay on the location. The location was then seen as a field of potential objects and a physical environment of possibilities. Being on the 'edge' of the forest and coincidentally on a road named 'scheidingslaan' (lane of separation), to the eco-villagers it seemed destiny-sent that they were to be the custodians between human culture and nature and to build the bridge of this ecological partnership. "[…] we need cultural edges where new things can happen so if cultures break down we have already lots of ideas there to take over [...]" (Interview Erik). The local mobility of all their objects allowed for many spatial reconfigurations and continual changes in their semi-urban environment whilst other features such as the garden were of a more permanent nature.

On April 1st, 2015, on the first anniversary the soil liberation festival attracted resources and people from within and outside the ecovillage (from across the Netherlands) in another typical festive action. Its primary goal was to free the soil and its ecology from roads and tiles. Essentially, it also allowed for the inhabitants to expand and experiment with permaculture, they decided to plant trees for a food forest. Permaculture is a form agriculture based on flexibility according to ecological needs, relationships, diversity and seasonal change (Hathaway 2016). This aspect of change was essential to their mobile lifestyle which is more adaptive to conditions and in collaboration with rather than in competition with their environment.

> […] we learnt about soil and we learnt about natural systems, how they work in nature and how we can mimic them and how we can organize our lifestyle so we close cycles and we do not produce any waste […] to mimic nature so I learnt about plant relationships and about designing […] being human in nature and in this world and letting go of this conception of being detached from the natural world and the way we organize our society is so like segregated from each other and from the natural system (Interview Heeltje).

Another important element that we must keep in mind that characterized the practices during this phase was experimentation. It differed from other ecovillages in the Netherlands that underwent meticulous planning and negotiations with municipalities before acquiring land and could only build their ecovillage after formal approval (Dulski *et al.* 2016). This experimentation of practices, concepts and even identity can be seen as their 'mobile' way of life being flexible and semi-fixed (Greenblatt 2009). Though we consider mobility as the actual physical movement of people we can see that for Ppauw the concept of mobility and their related practices encompasses far more. It refers to their ability to think beyond laws and regulations, maneuvering socially as well as physically reshaping semiosis chains and planes of meaning by making creative use of objects in their physical environment.

The soil liberation festival did not limit itself to the actual soil liberation activity alone (though as a main activity it ran continuously for several days), it mobilized people from throughout the Netherlands to also participate in other workshops and festivities. The whole festival was run by volunteers which were offered food and lodging (Interview Robin). All workshops were organized and facilitated by individuals from within or outside Ppauw. The potential and flexibility in the usage of their environment enabled for an easy rearrangement of all their physical objects, caravans and natural resources to create different spaces for workshops or activities (eg. the barefoot path to experience different soil surfaces, workshop on 'squatting an ecovillage', workshop 'from dream to project', workshop 'how to create your own compost system').

> The barefoot path is the path that was created during the dragon dreaming session. It was envisioned that we wanted people to come and experience more connectivity and sensitivity to nature, this was then done by creating the bare foot path where guests and children or workshop participants could come and follow a trail blind-folded and on their bare feet. This trail was covered with different soils and natural materials where its users could trigger their senses by experiencing how this felt below their feet (Interview Roan).

It was the first successful initiative on the ecovillage that proved their ability to mobilize masses of people and resources in service of their ideals. During the main event of the laborious removal of street tiles and stones they had organized a band to play for encouragement. Again, we see that diversity is a key element in their activities and practices as it is the combination of various elements that enabled them to add value and achieve their goals creatively. Meanwhile one of the inhabitants had built a large tipi tent (fit for at least 50 people) using the left-over tent cover that had previously served to create the outdoor kitchen. This outdoor kitchen was now replaced with an army tent that could be heated and closed as an indoor kitchen, dining and living room (Interview Roan).

The festival had further boosted their confidence to engage in practices that increased their attachment and (semi) settlement as they decided to expand the permaculture garden.

> […] we also knew that anything which is planted is going to root into the soil and it would not be easy to transport it to other places and that was also not a conscious decision. We probably realized some months later that, ok, we became more settled and I guess it was also because we got a bit courageous because so many people came and helped us (Interview Roan).

A crucial activity that cemented their future attachment to the location was the 'dragon dreaming' workshop (Interview Heeltje). The inhabitants and a few other interested participants engaged in an envisioning activity that enabled each individual to imagine their most desired 'dreams' for the location, these were then translated into concrete activities and responsibilities. The area was mapped, and all the devised practices were integrated into a future plan (dream). It can thus be suggested that the motility aspects of their ability (competence) and strategy (decision-making evaluation) were enhanced by their ability to project future scenarios. Given the intricate connection between mobility and time-space (Massey 1999), this therefore does not have to limit itself to the present or past, but the projection into the potential imagined realities could well be the most decisive motility in determining the choice and ability to be mobile. Over the course of the next few months most of these activities actually started to take place, one of which was the creation of a food forest and permaculture garden which was initiated during the soil liberation festival. We see here that the approach of the community was guided by planning into the future but was also mainly achieved by operating within a spontaneous reactive physical and social context. The community further exploited their position outside of institutionally defined and recognized structures of the logonomic system to exercise a freedom of undertaking practices and achieving objectives without any institutional

barriers and within a very brief time frame. These conditions allowed them to make full use of their mobility on the location as they made rules and projects rather than being subjected by them. The dragon dreaming practice therefore enabled the community to think beyond and start to implement several long-term projects.

The most momentous and important activity of practices that also spawned from the dragon dreaming workshop was the building of the 'Mothership' (a sun heated kitchen and living room with a built-in rocket stove). This can be seen as a significant turn for the community as all structures had been impermanent and mobile whilst this structure was built and fixed against one of the walls of the ruined hospital. Though it was possible to dismantle it, it had been fixed with bricks and cemented with a mixture of clay and hay (See figure 11, figure 31, annex 2). Building the kitchen lasted for two months and fifteen people were working on it on a daily basis.

> […] you know before that, one and the half years we were living in the street just outside or the army tent as a kitchen when you came in the morning was as the same temperature as outside and there was no differences there was street underneath, there was nothing that protected us from outside really unless you did physically make a fire or something but from that time on we had an isolated building you, we had fire at night but in the morning when you came it was still warm […] (Interview Roan).

Here we can again observe a transition from unpredictability and uncertainty to stability that in turn increased their sense of attachment. The Mothership was also built with parts that could be deconstructed and reassembled if needed, though some such as the wall of hay and clay was fixed. This was all done to maintain their position that they were mobile (at least semi) and that the building was constructed as an experimental prototype rather than a fixed building. The main investment was labor which was again sourced from volunteers that had skills and interest in experimental and practical learning about the building process. Most major events and practices at Ppauw similarly relied on outside labor.

Another major event that required the mobilization of a range of people from outside the ecovillage, was the permaculture gathering that was hosted after the completion of the Mothership. It was a gathering, first of its kind in the Netherlands that (like other events) combined several activities of workshops and festivities:

> […] in the second anniversary it was like a huge party so many people came and enjoyed and then we organized a permaculture gathering which was the first concept of this movement in

the Netherlands and people into permaculture came from all over the country and they came here and there were workshops all day and lots of us we organized workshops ourselves (Interview Heeltje).

We can see that the way of living and the activities that sustain the ecovillage are those dependent on building and maintaining a social and skill-oriented network related to sustainability. Furthermore, these networks were based on reciprocity rather than monetary value. During these events people were given the opportunity to donate to the ecovillage freely, but there was no fee nor was it an obligation (Interview Robin). Some activities such as renting out spaces or facilities at the ecovillage for outsiders was a source of income. Furthermore, each inhabitant would pay a minimal cost for the upkeep of the ecovillage and the shared food that would be bought on a monthly basis (Interview Robin). Given that their stay was a squat and that they would source electricity from the solar panels and water from a nearby spring, the actual cost of living was kept to a minimum. It also enabled for more freedom of activities as basic necessities were practically free, and all other activities that could generate an income could then be invested into projects (Interview Robin).

An important project that also sprung from the dragon dreaming was the desire to educate and be educated by children in and about nature (Interview Roan). The space at Ppauw was an ideal setting as tours were organized for primary schools teaching them about the different sustainable facilities and experiments at the ecovillage demonstrating the practices and the relationship with the natural ecosystem. The vastness of the area with its diverse ecology and semi-built environment was also an ideal platform to devise and carry out practically any activities. They therefore continued to transform a space that had no value or was even resented by the Wageningen citizens into a vibrant community of sustainable living.

The final event in June 2016 that preceded the transition to the next phase, was the wedding of two of its inhabitants, Roan and Tekla. This was achieved with a grand party and festivities including the usual performance of a band, the program being spread out on different locations of the ecovillage. It required similar organization as most of the events and was a great success as the magical setting of the ecovillage in the forest was ideal for this event. "[…] it was fantastic because we used our village to celebrate (Interview Roan).

This phase saw the increase of most practices and daily activities of its inhabitants as being localized in the ecovillage. These practices enabled local mobility within the spatial setting of the ecovillage but paradoxically also created an increased sense of attachment and

security. Their practical motility was developed by the carrying out of many activities and experimental initiatives, but also enhanced by building on their social network. Mobile practices did not necessarily imply a mobile lifestyle as we can see that there are many levels and their expression of mobility was more adaptive and evolved within the local environment such as with the momentous building of their Mother Ship. Their practices were also a means of communicating with the Wageningen community gaining support and avoiding confrontations with power structures and its agents (the logonomic system). These strategies have also contributed to their motility in initially surviving but also rooting in this phase of their development.

> […] we wanted to profile the building and the process of its construction as a prototype so if they would come to use and complain we would say to them, see we are just experimenting at this site and just we want to know how we can build these things from clay and sand and all reusable materials (Interview Roan).

Gradually, as time progressed and activities expanded, their sense of attachment grew and this phase is therefore characterized by an increased rooting into the physical environment. To a certain degree, the 'mobile' aspect of their belonging started to lose some of its significance as the community began to gradually develop more semi-fixed and permanent structures. This sense of attachment is therefore reflected in their practices by reading the incurred changes to their spatial setting as a text. It was highly fluid and adaptive to their context as semiosis chains of existence. Their existence thus reflected an ongoing meaning making process of interaction with their physical environment of mutual influence.

2.3.3 IDENTITY AND MOBILITY

The identity of the eco-villagers, that continuously was being shaped, was able to flourish in this phase. It was able to flourish in the sense that the inhabitants started to explore and experiment with different mobile 'ways of living' to expand their practices and the realization of their ideals. The linkage to nature remained a central theme to their existence, which is where they often sought their answers and identifications. From initially being a loosely organized collection of individuals, this phase required and prompted more structured organization and decision-making processes. Though there was more structure, the community was still open to change and adaptation. This process of identity formation changed in this phase and what this

meant for their perceptions and practices in mobility. These changes will be reflected in how they relate to the theoretical discussion on mobility. It has already been observed how Ppauw inhabitants have used mobility as a moldable concept and tool, rather than a fixed structural condition or cultural quality to which they were subjected. Culture as such is not fixed and can also be considered as a process of contestation in the production and transmission of knowledge (Kincheloe, McLaren 2003), similarly their related identity is also one of change and contestation. It relates to Gidden's (1984) structuration theory, how the eco-villagers transcended their imposed structures by using their agency to find or create spaces outside of regulatory frameworks.

From the practices and conceptualizations of the ecovillage inhabitants, in the this phase it is even more evident how they were consciously active in the shaping of their own identity. Examples of this were their frequent name change and seeking out the media to portray their activities, roles and identity to outsiders in a certain manner. It then becomes significant to understand as to whether there is a distinction between identity from the others' point of view, identity of how they see themselves and identity in how they wish to be perceived. These forms of identity may actually all differ yet concern the same group, the Ppauw community. In analyzing how the eco-villagers viewed themselves as a group we may ask; was there a common view of the themselves or did this differ? From the interviews we can see some striking differences in how the eco-villagers described themselves as a group. It becomes fascinating that a common group when placed with a mirror will reflect very differently about fundamental aspects such as their role, identity, principles and objectives. For example one eco-villager described the community as being 'practical' whilst contrastingly another on the same note considered themselves more as a 'family', another saw Ppauw as means to realize personal projects (Interviews, Roan, Erik, Henk).

In consideration of these differences among community members, there were also many meetings and workshops at Ppauw to improve the communication and understanding within the community, for example meetings based on principles of non-violent communication (Interview Robin). Apart from this, there were still weekly meetings held where all inhabitants could express ideas, air grievances and simply plan for the week(s) to come. This offered ample opportunity to communicate issues that may have arisen concerning misunderstandings in living together and their perceived identity (Interview Robin). Although, there were regular meetings, this did not necessarily imply that they all shared a single identity or group priority. An interesting finding could be that Ppauw needed not to have one common vision to function

as a group, that the diversity within the group's perspectives actually may have contributed to a more 'free' creative space for the individuals. Though there were common values about sustainability and functioning outside of mainstream society, their different individual goals and motivations had influence on their mobility. There was always a degree of temporality for the members in the sense that the members in the long and short term could come and leave after fulfilling their personal aim.

An important fact that should be taken into account when analyzing the group's identity was that throughout the second phase the group underwent frequent changes in its composition. Apart from the core group of several individuals, others joined which in turn affected their common identity. However, several interviews also revealed the leading role that Erik (prime founder) of the ecovillage played in the decision-making processes (interview Roan). Although there are democratic and inclusive decision-making methods applied in meetings, all inhabitants admit to the central and defining role of the prime founder in influencing decisions and the direction of the ecovillage. For example, in the naming of the ecovillage, in the location of the caravans and especially in the communication with the media, primarily done by Erik. Though as an intentional community they are to some degree separated from mainstream society and its logonomic systems of control, we can argue that implicitly new micro systems of control and power dynamics had developed within the group structure and hierarchy.

The common goal and the representation of identity be it mobile or not is also determined by power dynamics within the community. Leadership roles may not have been elected formally, but are observed based on the practical experience of those that lead in taking initiative. Erik has over 10 years of experience in squatting and according to other ecovillage inhabitants this experience makes other inhabitants more easily accept his views or authority in critical moments of decision-making (Interview Roan, Robin).

Culture can be bound by the concept of an individual's (behavioral) environment (Hallowell, 1955). According to Hallowell, the behavior of individuals constitute their choices of actions (i.e. practices) based on the conception of their total situation including the self (Ibid). If then it is the case that the sense of 'self' is related to the behavioral context and conception of the 'total situation' we can observe that for Ppauw their experience of the 'total situation' may well have differed significantly per individual as they had developed different views on their group's identity. This is not surprising as Hallowell ascertains that sense of self is affected by behavior and therefore also vice versa. Given that individuals at Ppauw have such diverging activities then surely their experience, sense of self and the view of the group should also

accordingly differ. It can therefore be understood that identity is inextricable linked to experience and behavior and does not only limit itself to the devising of concepts. Such practices can also be related to their growing sense of attachment in this phase as they rooted their feeling of 'at-homeness'.

Another example of their conscious framing of identity and relationship with the city of Wageningen, was their choice to inherit of the name Ppauw. This served different purposes, Apart from identifying with the benevolence of the founder and philanthropist Pieter Pauw, it was of course already known in the community and thus could be easily identified with. Furthermore, the symbolic significance of Ppauw as a peacock and thus phoenix resonated with the vision of the inhabitants which started to gradually see their role as being restorative and custodians of the natural environment. To justify this role the choice of a name was key in the image they would convey to the Wageningen community and society at large. The inhabitants were therefore engaged in a process of cultural crafting.

2.4 PHASE 3: ROAD CONSTRUCTION PASSING THROUGH PPAUW

[…] When I went there I noticed that people are not available during the day and they mostly gathered in the army tent during the afternoon. During this unstable phase of insecurity (phase 3) there was less to no continuous activity going on there during the day […]. (Fieldnote extracts 12/11/2016)

After two years Ppauw became well-known by their different environmental, cultural, educational and artistic activities. In September 2017 Ppauw inhabitants came to the realization that soon the municipality would construct a road through their site. In the following paragraphs the impact that this had on the Ppauw inhabitants will be discussed and analyzed. How this affected their identification with mobility is essential in this chapter as these changes influenced all three aspects of the mobility model, namely their practices, conceptualization and identity. This change not only had an impact on Ppauw inhabitants but also on their relations and communication outside their living space. It is relevant to understand how this change influenced their position with key stakeholders such as the municipality, their neighbors and the community in general. It is then fundamental to explore how Ppauw used or did not use mobility to determine their existence. This serves to better grasp the general process of Ppauw's

growth as community (physical and socially) and their connection with mobility. This mobility can therefore be discussed not only as a physical state of existence but also a conceptual strategy that changes over time.

Figure 8.

Mobility model phase 3
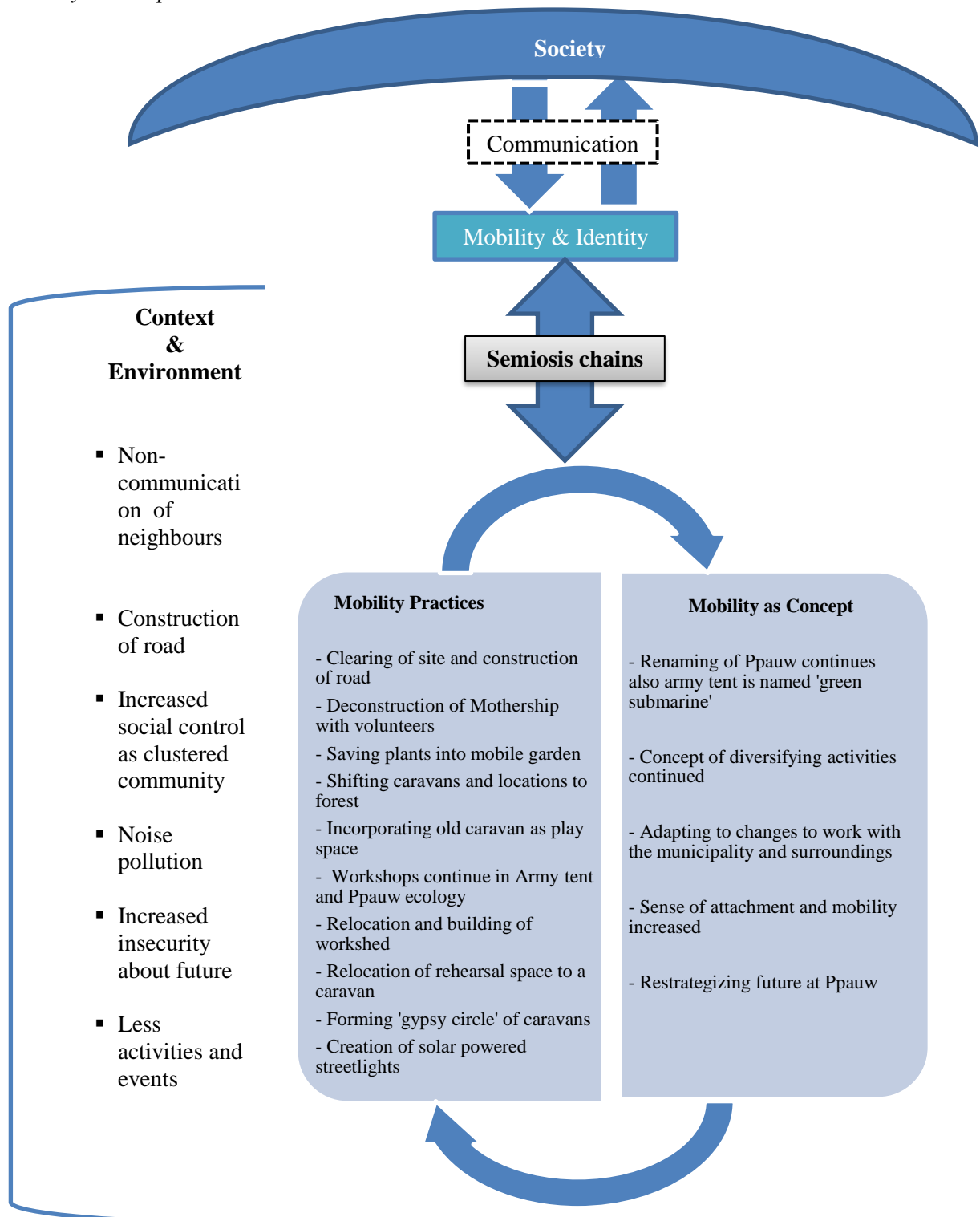
Although all neighbors and the Wageningen community was informed about the road construction in the beginning of 2016 and the municipality had called a meeting with them to ask their opinion, none (neither the municipality or the owner) had informed the Ppauw community. They had only discovered this through the local newspaper a month before the actual commencement of the road construction. This lack of communication by the neighbors and authorities raised the question to what extent the existence of Ppauw in Wageningen was truly recognized and their stay on the site considered legitimate. The time of 'breaking rules' in the first phase of their existence was tolerated by the authority and throughout the second phase their existence was believed to add value to a lost and forgotten derelict space in Wageningen, yet the third phase started a crisis. The road construction had a profound impact on the Ppauw community as loss of place and its meaning has a negative impact on individuals and their collective identity, memory and their psychological well-being (Gieryn 2000). Such a loss also has an impact on the sense of place attachment of a group which was also the case for Ppauw that had built many experiences in the place. Place attachment results from many factors such as the accumulation of biographical experiences, socially and culturally shared activities and the geography and architecture of a place (Gieryn 2000). All these factors were important to the Ppauw inhabitants that over time had developed many feelings and contentment on Ppauw, enabling individuals and the group to achieve their personal goals. The road construction also reflected a loss of this freedom as their living space had become more confined. When they discovered that the road was going to be built and they entered into the third phase it was as if they became invisible and their existence insignificant, to not be informed by authorities and the people who live in the neighbourhood about this drastic change of road construction.

In this third phase significant physical elements on the location are considered as impacting mobility and had an influence on changes and the interplay between the concept of mobility and actual mobility itself. Physical form, activity and meaning are interrelated to shape sense of place (Montgomery 1998), hence their semiosis. Sense of place, which is space imbued with meaning, for the Ppauw inhabitants was highly dependent on their physical environment as it was their living space. This physical environment is constructed as a result of the interrelations between the individual's internal psychological processes, social interactions, attributes and activities carried out at a place (Harris *et al.* 2005). For the ecovillage the changes in the physical environment therefore had a profound impact on its inhabitants on different levels. Their place attachment is related to their concept of mobility as it lies central to their mode of existence at Ppauw. Though they exercised their mobility within the site of Ppauw

they had already shown many signs of place attachment as shall be discussed further on in the analysis.

The construction of the road was related to the building of the asylum seekers center by the Ppauw inhabitatnts.

> […] this is more a dramatic story, we found out there will be a refugee camp over there […] things started to develop there, and we really thought we were not included in the plans and in a talk about it. Then we found out that one of the neighbors or some of them have problems with the future refugees taking the existing roads and they made a plan to build a new road and it would be in this terrain down there. It means that we had to move a lot of elements that we had built here like a green house, the work place, the building materials and the living place so we were quite pushed out (Interview Heeltje).

An important point was that next to the location of the hospital ruins a building had been built that was intended for the settlement of asylum seekers. According to Roan the municipality took advantage of the existence of the asylum seekers building as a means to legitimize the act of constructing the road from the middle of the forest justifying that there needed to be an access route to the center. In this way the authorities played on the empathy of the neighbors in that the road was in benefit of the expected refugees (Interview Roan).

> […] it was a very diplomatic way because they attached the yes and no of building of the road to the yes or no of the very concept of building a refugee center so that meant, it was all dealt within the same meeting and it was also meant that if you are against the road you are automatically against the refugee center and there were no options for us to say that we are in favor of refugees but we do not like this road (Interview Roan).

It is valuable to note that related to the refugee center and the construction of the road so far (April 2018) there are no refugees in the designated building. According to Roan the real underlying reason for the construction of the road was that the road would be the shortest route to Wageningen from the location of the refugee center. It was seen as being the grounds for actualizing the goal of constructing this second route to Wageningen, serving other motives of the owner and the municipality. In the mid-September 2016, they cut down the trees and the process of constructing the road commenced on the 10th of October 2016, without any resistance from the Ppauw inhabitants.

2.4.1 MOBILITY PRACTICES

The most important practice in the third phase was the deconstruction of the mothership which became a public event for volunteers to participate in, similar to the time of its construction. The practices in this phase mainly centered around this significant event as a result of the road that was built. They survived the road that cut right through their central living and activity environment and soon adapted and continued practices to sustain their community. Similar to the first phase, this phase also consisted of practices related to their protection and survival rather than the freedom of creative spatial movement exhibited in the second phase. An analysis and discussion will be made as to how these practices impacted their daily activities and, as we shall see later, the impact on their identity and concept of mobility. Therefore, the mobility of their practices in this phase took on a different priority and form, being one of survival but also one of adaptation and flexibility in anticipating these changes to further develop their ecovillage. The community had built their relationship with the place and developed its activities using their mobility and experience as tools to their advantage to further their existence, relationship and attachment to the place.

In this phase the priority for the inhabitants was their migration within the site of Ppauw. Unfortunately, not as many volunteers as before from outside Ppauw participated in the act of deconstructing the mothership. "[…] one of the things was that we did not get that much help from outside, we put it on Facebook and stuff like that. We had many more and much more help with the constructing than with deconstructing and moving in this site" (Interview Henk). Though deconstruction may initially not be deemed as a practice of mobility as such but the way it was implemented proves otherwise. Roan designed a method for deconstructing the materials to store them in a way that they could easily be moved after deconstruction and kept elsewhere. He organized them in numeric categories ready to be rebuilt. This was not the case for the whole building as it was partly made from cob (mixture of mud and clay) but applied to most of the important building materials of the building.

After months of using the mothership they were forced to move and did so to the outer edge of the site, changing their physical environment to a damp area within the forest (Interview Roan). Attachment to places is determined by the levels of experience as a result of long-time habitation and also the important life stages and events (Gustafson 2001). Though the Ppauw community had adopted a mobile lifestyle their activities were bound to their living

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environment and so was their sense of attachment. The locality and spatial setting of Ppauw (particularly the mothership) was vital to the inhabitants and their experience. They had used their physical mobility to shift all objects and activities to another location of the site to maintain their attachment to Ppauw. The choice to shift the mothership rather than destroy it clearly demonstrates this attachment and the changing of a fixed structure into being semi-fixed and thus mobile.

Another important practice in this phase of Ppauw relates to the construction of the road and how they had an influence to make a slight change in its planning in benefit of the natural environment, reducing the number of trees that were cut. In the first plan of the road, its construction by the municipality would not only clear more trees, it was also planned in a way to increase the opportunity for the owner to build homes in the future. The Ppauw inhabitants believed that the owner was investing into the road which would have to be constructed for him anyway. Though it appeared to be built for the refugees, which would stay temporarily for a few years, the road constructed would be permanent.

> […] This road that they construct is now the shortest way to go to Wageningen […] that's the thing that the whole refugee center is so politicized and even before the refugee center existed, there was no possibility for any new construction here but after this change it opens space for any other development of construction in the forest site […] for us it's very painful because we felt that we are stewards of the place […] (Interview Roan).

The following image (figure 7) shows how the Ppauw inhabitants still negotiated and influenced the planning of the road to minimize its impact on the forest. Once the plan of the road had been suggested, the Ppauw inhabitants were able to leverage some of their influence. We can therefore see that their self-proclaimed identity as custodians of nature was upheld, though they obviously would have preferred there to be no road at all.

Figure 7.

Changing the route of the constructed road

The road challenged the ecovillage to move caravans and change their scattered form of settlement to become a closed circle on the edge of area of Ppauw. This decision was suggested by Erik the founder of Ppauw.

> Erik was envisioning we need to make some kinds of gypsy's circle. Then he said that this is the only way that it would work and that he knows it because he is experienced so for us there was not really a way of saying what we thought and what is appropriate or so because his idea was already so strong […] our strong leader forced this idea […] (Interview Roan).

This arrangement of setting the caravans in a circle appears to be an imitation of the cultural practice of gypsies, however they did not want to be seen that way (Interview Roan). This spatial setting can also be seen as a 'mode' of communication. Their use of various modes to communicate different messages can be considered as being multimodality. It reveals how they

use already existing 'codes' in human society to send new meanings and communicate for the purpose of achieving their goals. Therefore, they utilize available codes and modes in different contexts to produce new ways of communication. In other words, it shows that the same medium in different contexts can transmit different meanings through the culture and intended messages (Vannini 2007).

Changes in the practices of this phase once again put the ecovillage inhabitants in a position of uncertainty and the challenge of being in a protective state. Whilst the caravans were set in a circular arrangement, the army tent (formerly used during the first and partly the second phase) was considered as the common area and kitchen, it was placed in the center. All this reflected the change to form a shape that best served their protection and yet represented their unity (Interview Henk). It is interesting to observe how the choice for a circular arrangement differed from their spatial arrangement in the first phase of protection. It showed that there was an increased sense of unity in the community to become more of a group and single entity. This spatial arrangement also brought an element of social control to the community in a way that everyone could observe each other's activities and even see by the light of each caravan whether they were in or not (Interview Roan). This is one of the reasons why being mobile and the shift to this new location brought dissatisfaction for some of the group members.

We can also observe that the perceptions of mobile practices differed among the community members. For example, for some the shift of location was perceived as a burden whilst it was beneficial for others. "[…] I am already happy where I am and as long as your home is on wheels you can go wherever you want to go, sometimes we missed sunlight of course" (Interview Heeltje), "[…] a kind of social control which was created in this site is a point that I am not really pleased with" (interview Roan), "[…] the system is simpler now because we are so close together and the toilet is a kind of shared responsibility and now most of the things are shared responsibilities" (Interview Roan). We can also observe how change is embraced as a learning process which is used to exercise their agency. In the case of Ppauw we see that the agency of their mobile practices enabled the inhabitants to create comfort and adapt to changes, also termed their practical motility. It is notable that this is not per se the case for each inhabitant as individual reactions to change also differ among the community members. Their green house and the permaculture garden were also practices which were impacted by the change in their physical environment involving many emotions as they were rooted in the environment as semi-fixed (plants and mothership). From this came forth the idea of a mobile

garden (Interview Henk). They started to put their food forest on wheels (See figure 34, annex 2).

Apart from the living space and the garden that had to be moved, the deconstruction of the mothership left a void in the common area and kitchen for the community. The former army tent was revived as a kitchen and common space whilst materials from the mothership were used to lay a wooden floor as protection from the cold and dampness. Hence, the army tent which was used during the early months of the second phase again became a central place to gather the group and also offered some communal comfort and safety for the people in their new uncertain situation. This army tent was crucial for the ecovillage in the sense that there was now the issue of different ways of naming it between the initiator Erik and Roan, for example as the 'green submarine' (Interview Roan). The tent and its location determined the circulation of the people on their new site. As a practice the army tent was also more mobile in its nature. The naming of the tent is important in that in the earlier phases of its usage at Ppauw it had not undergone any naming. Therefore, naming can be seen as a form of giving meaning to a space, once a space is given meaning it becomes a 'place' (Relph 1976), this in turn increases its sense of attachment and value. In the third phase it is evident that the Ppauw community had not only become more attached to their environment but also to the objects, where each is imbued with meaning; "Place attachment and meaning(s) could be explained by examining the live-in experience of the people in place" (Ujang, Zakariya 2015: 715).

Apart from the actual physical mobility of objects in this phase, the perception of outsiders concerning the ecovillage was of great importance. It is evident that the Ppauw inhabitants were still very conscious about how they were viewed by outsiders, also in relation to their spatial arrangement. Throughout all the phases it remained important that they wanted to be viewed positively by the Wageningen community in their contribution to improving the condition of the natural ecosystem rather than destroying it. Before the move this was partly done by keeping outside of public sight of the main roads surrounding Ppauw for example by menas of their camouflage, this also continued after they had shifted location.

> […] and now we are also thinking about improving this spot and make it nicer and especially the scene from the road that people do not think that we are like gypsies because they make trash and garbage in the forest […] (Interview Henk).

Practices and mobility are therefore also ways of communicating and affecting perceptions about Ppauw implying that throughout all the phases they actively sought out to maintain a

positive image about themselves to keep their tie and relationship with the Wageningen community intact.

Another of example of mobile practices was the construction of Henk's mobile home (See figure 48, annex 2) which was unique in the ecovillage as a personal project related to his childhood dream for having a home on wheels.

> First I started with the caravan and I put it on four wheels […] I really got used to living in a small place and in a remote village in Africa and I also never had that much stuff […] when I was a little kid I was already collecting stuff for building a home and I had this dream when I was a child and when you want to build a house you need land and then I came across the idea of tiny houses on wheels and then I just thought, why not build the house on wheels? (Interview Henk).

The meaning of this home is beyond a 'home on wheels' as this home shows the temporary stay of Henk as a member of the ecovillage, reflecting a personal decision not bound by the ecovillage group. It reveals a different sense of belonging to the community and group. Possibly, the transient nature of the group and not having any fixed members make social attachment to other members of the group slightly 'slippery'. It also shows that the ecovillage practices were not limited or controlled by the group but that the space of the ecovillage was a platform through which diverse projects could be achieved, not possible in conventional society or for some of the individuals temporarily or permanently residing at Ppauw. Here we see that attachment also differs per inhabitant depending on their purpose and activities during their stay, that not all members necessarily identify with the group as a permanent relationship but view it as a means to an end. Hence, the significance of a place for its users is influenced by the condition to fulfil their functional needs and behavioural goals as the best-known alternative (Williams *et al.* 1995).

2.4.2 MOBILITY AS CONCEPT

In this new phase Ppauw eco-villagers needed to re-evaluate their living environment and attachment as they had to move deeper into the forest to the dismay of some of the members. The following discussion and analysis will look into how their concept of mobility had evolved in this phase and how it was used rather than only identified with. Given the unique context of Ppauw as a squat and ecovillage with mobile characteristics they were able to give new meaning to the conventional concept of mobility. It is also evident how their concept of mobility as a strategy in actual fact enforced their place attachment and placed them in a position of negotiation with the municipality and the owner. The case of Ppauw sets their mobility in a new frame of urban regeneration by treading on the delicate balance between illegality (outside institutional regulation) and actively influencing their relationship with the Wageningen community. Urban regeneration refers to the reshaping of an urban place to improve its physical conditions, economic growth or its environmental sustainability (Roberts, Sykes, 2000). They had taken it upon themselves to unconsciously engage in urban regeneration (conventionally done by urban planners) whereby their sustainable values and ideals were achieved through their mobile practices transcending the boundaries of the conventional logonomic systems for such activities.

Despite all the emotions and consequences that the road construction meant for the inhabitants, it did though prompt them to seek a plane for negotiation with the municipality. This was a necessary means for them to cope with this drastic change.

> Erik now has a contract with the municipality to provide the light […] the street lights for the new road on solar power so we just work along with the owner […] they pay Erik to put the street lights there. So, now we have a reason to stay here and provide street lights and some solar energy there and now before Christmas (2016) we want to have that finished and also the road has to finish before Christmas [...] this all, in spite of all the construction and all the violence of these machines (Interview Henk).

As we see here changing their location from the second phase to the third phase is part of a negotiation and strategical solution to stay in the place by convincing the municipality and the owner. This strategy appears contradictory with the concept of mobility because they used the strategy to stay at Ppauw further strengthening their sense of attachment. It seems in contrast to the initial identity of a 'mobile ecovillage' in that mobility was initially considered in a manner

as means to move from the area if needed. Experience in relation to a setting is determined by the meaning given to it, forming strong emotional bonds (Stedman 2003; Williams *et al.* 2002). For Ppauw these bonds and experiences grew in time and motivated them to stay on the site.

As places are dynamic so do people adapt to new meanings detaching from their former cultural identity (Ujang, Zakariya 2015). However, for the Ppauw inhabitants their cultural identity was more flexible and context dependent as is suggested by Greenblatt (2009), it did not need to fully detach due to their mobility. They therefore adapted their culture (maintaining some elements whilst discarding others) and way of life to suite the conditions that the change of the road construction had subjected them to. In this phase we can observe how Ppauw further mobilized their variety of resources and networks to maintain their resilience to change and attachment to the site.

> […] you just described the ecovillage as something which is not fixed and we need to enter it and it comes back to permaculture. I guess because there is a new way of looking at things and I am not doing one thing, for one reason I can do, and I would do things that have ten reasons and more easily I would do it first so if one reason falls away then there are other reasons and there are reasons that I do not know about. This is sort of a networking way of doing stuff, you can do it in nature or you can do it in another way and I can apply it to society […] (Interview Erik).

Based on the resources, supplies and capacities available in the space they would then accordingly develop ideas rather than vice versa.

> […] lots of artists work differently first they try to make an idea and then try to make and pay or find a loan […] I am not sure what I am going to make so I am putting resources in that I can get from different things and if that doesn't work out it is not a problem and it will work out in some way because I try to make it meaningful in five or ten different things. (Interview Erik)

2.4.3 IDENTITY AND MOBILITY

In this phase the question of the Ppauw ecovillage and their mobile identity took on yet another form, in the sense that the construction on the site had changed their everyday practices, stalling their former visions and plans for the site. Their goals were set based on the space of their previous settlement, this change brought new circumstances as well as the existential question about the Ppauw ecovillage, 'what next and who are we?'. The following paragraphs will characterize the unique identity related to both their practices and concepts of mobility in this phase; therefore, it is important to understand the growth of their sense of belonging and group identity in this phase. Attachment to a physical place influences place identity (Ujang, 2010). Which elements of identity remained throughout the phases and can be attributed as being central to their sense of belonging? Answering this question brings us to understanding which changes reformed their identity, comparing the difference between the individual versus the group. Essentially, a fundamental issue that is to be discussed is their place attachment and its relationship with their 'mobility'.

Different meanings can be related to the sense of attachment for the Ppauw community. Firstly, it was a sense of attachment to the place that depended on memories (Interview Henk). Cultural spaces consist of an identity that are developed by memories, familiarization, the meanings of the spaces and the sense of places (Lai *et al*. 2013). The attachment to Ppauw is based on their experience of the environment both in its physical and emotional sense, given that place attachment is tied to feelings, emotions and behavior which is inherently related to sense of place (Ujang, Zakaria 2015). We can also see how former experiences of the inhabitants before Ppauw and during their childhood are an indirect prelude to determining their choice to live at Ppauw such as Henk building his tiny house (Interview Henk).

> I also accepted these changes in this way and yeah also here I am and with my caravan I made a little extension from my door so it is also dry, so I can put my shoes and stuff outside and I improved the bed I have inside of the caravan because now it is cold and humid, and the matrass gets a bit humid so I put it a bit higher so the air can goes higher. So, it is maybe my way to make it home. To see how crappy it is and how I can improve it like making home is making comfort. (Interview Henk).

Though the change was difficult we can also observe a sense of acceptance and adaptation by the inhabitants. It may be that their ability for physical mobility also influenced their mindset

to seek out more solutions and become more adapted according to conditions, improving their motility. Here we can observe, whether consciously or not, mobility was ingrained in the inhabitant's survival mechanisms but also in their ability to change their living environment towards more comfort using the available resources of which the strategic usage of multimodal resources was key. This mobility mindset and eagerness to find solutions to challenges can be considered as an essential part of their flexible identity as motility.

The naming of the ecovillage remained another aspect that lay central to their identity and the image of themselves and others.

> […] The more interesting thing is that the name 'ecovillage' is a new word and it is sort of a free word and can be filled in by any definition and meaning given to it […] 'Ecovillage' will be relevant if the meaning is still what we are doing and maybe in the end, the term 'sustainable' may not be necessary because in the future there will nothing that is not sustainable anymore […] (Interview Erik).

Here Erik suggests that name and identity are relative, that the term ecovillage is linked to practices that are different from conventional society, that its meaning is therefore transient.

> […] the word Wageningen and the word ecovillage as being the strong part. Of course, we talked about our movement from here but we are looking around where we could move if there would be more people who decide to live this lifestyle. If they would be less comfy in society and people say that they would like a comfier way of living then we would say that lets make more ecovillages (Interview Erik).

The naming of the Ecovillage had in this phase been tied to the city of Wageningen. It demonstrates how not only their identity was changing but that their relationship with Wageningen was still essential in this phase of insecurity and change. They still required legitimacy from the Wageningen community to justify their existence and therefore give a sense of security. Here, we can observe that they were not only attached to the site but sought to maintain attachment to the Wageningen community.

Their change in spatial setting also influenced their perception and the way they thought they were being perceived. As mentioned earlier, Ppauw inhabitants were sensitive to ensuring that the associations to their identity were portrayed in a positive manner. Apart from the perception of others the perception of their own identity (group and individual) can be tied to their mobility which was in a continual flux. For Ppauw this 'social mobility' was as Bergman

et al. (2004) refer to as a 'fluidification of societal structures' and had allowed for the mobile lifestyle of Ppauw to capitalize on many opportunities, locally and internationally. Simply, the use of internet had changed former structures of power and organization (Castells 1977), enabling support for initiatives such as Ppauw to organize and function outside of formal systems and institutions whilst still connected to them. This was also apparent during this phase as Ppauw pleaded support for their cause of survival and shifting locations.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

In returning to the initial research question, this master thesis has explored how mobility has impacted the formation of identity for the Ppauw community and how this affects their relationship with their environment. In the three outlined phases of their progress and development the community transformed mobility from a concept into the reality of their daily experience in a cyclic manner shaping and reshaping their identity. The potential of semiotics as a qualitative study was used to understand the meaning of mobility for the Ppauw community by combining anthropological fieldwork with social semiotics. This union of semiotics and Peircean pragmatism was used as a solution to decipher an anthropological research problem. The semiotic approach to mobility in this study is 'how people make, use, and renegotiate semiotic rules' (McCright, Vannini 2004). Mobility as a phenomenon at Ppauw is based on the social life of actors whose attitudes and moral values shape its meaning. This mobility has proven to be highly fluid in the sense that its social and physical context is dynamic and ever changing. Furthermore, this thesis has uncovered how agency and all its physical and social interactions play a key role in the process of semiosis. Social semiotics was used as an analytical tool to understand how the meaning of mobility for the Ppauw community relates to power dynamics (i.e. agency). In other words, the use of mobility within the field of semiosis shapes the dynamism of context-bound interpersonal interactions. These interactions are therefore determined by meaning-making, considering the individually varied abilities, motives, goals and perspectives of the community members.

The Ppauw community's large degree of agency (i.e. motility) was mainly based on the usage of the concept and practice of mobility to their advantage in communicating with their surroundings. This thesis has also revealed the subtle power hierarchies within the community in decision-making and representation of their identity to the outside world, wherein certain individuals are more influential than others. It can therefore be ascertained that mobile

communities exhibit an agency according to their group motility but also the power dynamics within groups that allow for certain more prominent 'decision-makers' to lead the community in their strategic choices and development. There were thus also differences of interests overridden by decisions of dominant leadership. Another related interesting finding is that the differing individual goals and motivations of the Ppauw community members had influence on their mobility. There was a degree of temporality for the members in the sense that the members in the long and short term could come and leave after fulfilling their personal aim. Their group identity was thus also fluid and not fixed due to these ongoing changes in community composition and their varying individual goals.

As an ecologically based community the sense of meaning-making of Ppauw is shown to be strongly related to their engagement with their spatial setting (forest, ruined hospital and Wageningen). Additionally, their different cultural events and activities mobilised various people and ideas that gradually developed their sense of attachment to the occupied space and as a result became part of their identity. It is this paradox of being mobile yet spatially attached that is another noteworthy finding of this research. Their identity thus evolved from being 'mobile' to being, as it were, 'flexibly attached'. This strategy appears to be in contradiction to the expected notion of mobility because they used mobility as a means to stay at Ppauw. It would appear to be in opposition to the initial identity of a 'mobile ecovillage' in that mobility was formerly considered as means to move from the area if needed. Thus, 'mobility' as an identity was also a malleable and strategic concept to overcome challenges and ensure their survival. Their mobile identity was rather a means from which they were able to adapt to their environment and pursue varying objectives and interests. Mobility and sense making are therefore inextricably connected to the formation of identity and place.

Social semiotics attributes meaning to power instead of merely attributing power to meaning (Hodge and Kress 1988), it locates the origin of meaning within the field of semiosis, or in other words, within the process of context-bound and conflict-laden interpersonal interaction. For social semiotics, much like for symbolic interactionism, meaning emerges out of the concerted intercourse of humans, each with differing motives, goals, and perspectives. The motility of the Ppauw community in how they have used the concept of mobility reflects their conscious utilization of mobility as a practice, concept and identity to constitute a tool of power and negotiation in their semiosis plane.

Given the intricate connection between mobility and time-space (Massey 1999), this therefore does not have to limit itself to the present or past but includes the projection of future imagined realities that could well be one of the most decisive forms of motility for Ppauw. The ability to project into future realities enabled them to think beyond the confines of their embedded logonomic system also determining their daily activities and practices. Though Vannini (2007) urges socio-semiotic ethnographers to make inventories of the past, present and even future resources and their uses, in this thesis this approach is rather applied to semiotic anthropological fieldwork and is just as applicable. It was the ability to project future potential realities into the present that enabled the Ppauw community to not only shape their community but transcend logonomic limitations and also preconceive solutions for potential conflicts of interests.

As logonomic systems result from organized interactions and power relations, we have seen that the Ppauw community resisted and departed from the conventional societal logonomic system of habitation which is bound, not only by social rules, but engraved in formal laws and regulations. The Ppauw squat action defied this logonomic system and within the semiosis plane used mobility in the three aspects of the suggested model of this thesis to renegotiate and institute the terms of a 'new' logonomic system. This was not just a process of renegotiation but also one of conflict where gradually power relations were being redefined whilst the Ppauw community strategically used mobility to react and adapt to changes and threats in their setting. Mobility and its usage for the Ppauw community reshaped the meaning that resulted in a power play or a dynamism between these newly formed logonomic systems. As a cycle of change the meaning of mobility was continually regenerated over and over. We can see how this resulted in the actual physical mobility and likewise, how the Ppauw inhabitants periodically often shifted from one strategic decision to another. Such 'sways' of power are typical of logonomic systems (Bakhtin 1984; Volisonov 1973). It implies that the line between that which constitutes a dominant logonomic system and the agency for it to be influenced is blurry rather than clearly defined. This blurriness is the space to shape and re-shape its rules. One could say that the clearer these rules are, the less flexible and more dominant a logonomic system is. In the case of Ppauw, the system proved rather malleable also due the flexible nature of the Ppauw community.

Another finding that has become apparent in this thesis about logonomic systems is their simultaneous multiplicity and flux in society, groups and individuals. As logonomic systems

are considered to stem from ideological complexes that bring about solidarity among their 'followers' (Vannini; McWright 2004), researching mobility in this thesis has unveiled another surprising aspect of logonomic systems. Ppauw inhabitants fluctuated between being in stark opposition against, whilst on the other hand in partnership with the mainstream and a dominant logonomic system. This could also be said for the 'outsiders' of the community whom supported and also resisted Ppauw's activities and settlement on the site. The Ppauw community also reached out in partnership with the very actors of the logonomic system they had formerly opposed. This implies that, not only are logonomic systems subject to change by agents in renegotiating its power relations as Vaninni and McWright (2004) suggest, but that individuals can simultaneously be a member of different and opposing logonomic systems and shift towards and away from these systems depending on contexts, interests and priorities. This potentially derives from the conscious use of agency or motility where there appears to be a difference between what 'is' and what is being portrayed to serve particular interests. This only scratches the surface of a complex dynamism that surely would serve as a valuable topic for further research.

In social semiotics signs are preferably called resources and related to our discussion in this thesis, mobility as a resource is available to generate and regenerate meanings. In the context of this thesis mobility as a resource provides a semiosphere in which interrelation and interaction of action, intention, environment and agency all affected the meaning of mobility for the Ppauw community and their motility. As is described in the analysis chapters, mobility as a semiotic resource has an affordance and semiotic potential as its potential usage (Gibson 1979; Vannini and Mcwright 2004). It revealed the affordance of mobility and how it works on a practical level for the Ppauw inhabitants to counterbalance their relationship in the scene of the power interplay with local authorities and the owner of the land. The fixed dichotomy of legal and illegal through the motility of the Ppauw community was transformed into a plane of negotiation thus developing a semiosis chain and expanding it as a spectrum of possibilities of change.

In semiotic transformation resources change in their meaning over time (Vannini 2007). This research has also shown how semiotic transformation is particularly inherent to the Ppauw community given their mobility and adaptivity to different conditions and objectives. Though Peirce states that this transformation can be difficult to study, this is not the case for Ppauw. In the study of a community that undergoes so much change and fluctuation and where all their

physical objects are also continuously relocated, observing semiotic transformation poses no challenge. These changes are in a non-linear and multi-accentual manner (Volosinov 1973). The property of multi-accentuality betrays semiotic conflict and contradiction as the norm, rather than the exception, this is particularly applicable to mobility and related the identity of the Ppauw community. This 'struggle for definition' as Peirce states is also applicable to Ppauw whereby dialogic resources were used to communicate processes of negotiating semiosis in a conscious and strategic manner. Hence, semiotic resources are not only contested but also subject to negotiation (Vannini 2007).

The meanings of semiotic resources depend on our knowledge of the conventions and practices existent in the universes in which specific resources are used. This thesis has therefore attempted to grasp an insight into those meanings by engaging in and with the community of Ppauw. The quality and concept of mobility has been revealed to reflect the dynamism of the Ppauw community's motility. This dynamism is characterized by their ability to re-shape their identity continuously not only as an inherent quality of 'being', but also as a strategic tool, not necessarily to identify with but achieve certain objectives by its positive valence for outsiders. It therefore opens the discussion on how 'being' in the world is not only to subject or be subjected by an environment along the continuum of Giddens' agency and structure (1979), but the very shaping of environment entails strategies to also 'appear' a certain way to others. This portrayal of an identity is not per se as a reflection of engrained ideals or a certain nature, but as a means of achieving particular goals. This is more apparent in a mobile squat community like Ppauw, where the negotiation of existence with their surroundings is on-going. In this strategic identity formation, the conscious self and group framing was a means of agency to realize a particular objective or interest. It is this decisive moment to consciously portray one's nature in a certain manner that opens a whole new field of research related to agency, identity and its unfolding semiosis.

Apart from showing how communal motility is a tool and all this encompasses, this research has uncovered that individual motilities (eg. skills and experience) are crucial in the development of a community during their critical decision-making moments. Mobility in this research has therefore not only proven to be a fluid concept but also a practice that was characterized by resilience, though it was also coupled with risks and insecurities. One can argue that though these insecurities were inherent throughout the stay of the Ppauw community, their resilience and motility (in being flexible and mobile) were actually an important means of

security aiding their survival. The process had also revealed that as semiotic resources are used by different modes by the Ppauw community, these can be used differently over time and in varied contexts as is confirmed by McCright and Vannini (2004).

The coming of the road through the living habitat in phase 3 of Ppauw proved a worthy test of their motility. The Ppauw community adapted well and were able to use their practical motility as means to stay on the site by simply shifting location. Though the road had a traumatic impact on community life and their growth that they had achieved in phase 1 and 2, this challenge enabled them to further demonstrate the value and resilience of being mobile. This flexibility to change further rooted their relationship with the surroundings and the municipal authorities as they continued to negotiate their position according to changing conditions. Mobility as concept, practice and identity has proven to be an essential survival strategy (i.e. motility) even in a society with strict laws and regulations. The ability of the Ppauw community to function outside and at times within the illegality of the law was a skill they developed that further enhanced their motility potential. Their ideals needed to be communicated and demonstrated to gain support or tolerance from their surroundings. Had they chosen to squat a building or build fixed structures on the site, they most likely would have never managed to remain on the location and maneuver within and around laws and regulations.

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ESTONIAN SUMMARY

Mobiilisus identiteediloome semiootilise tööriistana Ppauw mobiilses ökokülas

Magistritöös uurin mobiilsuse olemust Ppauw mobiilse öoküla jaoks, suhtes nende identiteedi kestva kujundamisega tähendusloomelises interaktsioonis füüsilise ja sotsiaalse keskkonnaga. Mobiilsuse tähenduse uurimiseks valisin sotsiosemiootilise lähenemise. Ppauw mobiilne öoküla on intensionaalne kogukond Wageningenis, Hollandis, mis püüdleb alternatiivsele lähenemisele mahajäetud haigla territooriumi hõivates (*squat*) ja sümboolselt vabastades ning taasleiutades kestlikku ökoloogilist suhet inimese ja looduse vahel. Kogukond kasutas strateegiliselt mobiilsuse mõtestamist ja praktikaid, et tulla toime hõivamise ja ehitamise regulatsioonidega. See muutis staatilised reeglid muutuse ja läbirääkimise alaks. Oma nimes ja identiteedis *mobiilsust* strateegiana kasutades kohandati suhet Wageningeni ja peavooluühiskonnaga. Niisiis näitan ja analüüsin töös mobiilsuse võimalusi logonoomiliste süsteemide kaudu teostuvate võimusuhete ümber mõtestamisel. Uurimaks mobiilsust kaasatuna uurimise sotsiaalsesse konteksti, on kogukonnas mobiilsuse mõtestamist avavaks uurimismeetodiks semiootiline antropoloogia. See asetas uurija osalevaks vaatlejaks ökokülas ning uurimistegevuse semiootiliste ressursside kujundamise osaks. Mitte-formaalsed läbikäimised ja poolstruktureeritud intervjuud aitasid saada sissevaadet Ppauw öoküla kui kuulumiskohta – sh argised praktikad, füüsiline mobiilsus ja *motiilsus* kogukonnas. Analüüsis toon välja kolm peamist järku, mis näitavad, kuidas Ppauw on kolme aasta jooksul muutnud oma algse illegaalse hõivamisteo kogukonna ja haiglavaremete kuvandi parandamiseks mobiilsuse ja kestlikkuse konnotatsioonide kaudu.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1 – NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Figure 9.

"Party of the Plants is allowed to stay", Newspaper article in 'Stad Wageningen' (June 2014)

PvdP mag blijven

WAGENINGEN - De Partij voor de Planten (PvdP) hoeft van de gemeente het terrein van het voormalige ziekenhuis Pieter Pauw niet te verlaten. Dat heeft het college van b. en w. gemeld na schriftelijke vragen van GroenLinks. „Zo lang de openbare orde, veiligheid en hygiëne niet in het geding zijn, hebben we er geen problemen mee", vertelt burgemeester Geert van Rumund. De burgervader is verantwoordelijk voor orde en veiligheid. „Daarover hebben we dan ook duidelijke afspraken gemaakt", aldus Van Rumund. Zo zijn er onder meer hekken geplaatst. Daarnaast mag de PvdP de 'leefruimte' niet verder uitbreiden.

Eerder al gaf de eigenaar van het terrein, Smink Vastgoed uit Nijkerk, aan geen problemen te hebben met de aanwezigheid van de leden van de PvdP.

Figure 10.

Zoektocht naar een rafelrand

Met de bezetting van een parkeerplaats strijdt kunstenaar Erik Groen voor een Wagenings ecodorp.

door Marleen ten Hoedt en Jeroen van Barneveld

WAGENINGEN - Drie leden van de Partij voor de Planten genieten van de zon in de bossen van Wageningen. Op de vroegere parkeerplaats van het Wageningse ziekenhuis staat nu een duurzame caravan van kunstenaar Erik Groen (40). Dit is bezet gebied.

De getogen Wageninger ziet zijn actie 'Pauw!' als startpunt om op termijn een ecodorp te bouwen in Wageningen. „We zitten hier sinds dinsdag. 's Avonds hebben we een demonstratie gehouden, waarbij ongeveer veertig mensen aanwezig waren. Nu bezetten we de parkeerplaats. Iedereen mag hier meedoen. We kijken wat de mensen voor plannen hebben, we observeren alleen."

Groen wil Wageningen een cultureel en ecologisch rafelrandje geven. „Wageningen heeft een plek nodig om te experimenteren met een ecodorp. Nu zijn bouwvoorschriften te strikt en amper duurzaam."

Op het terrein staan een caravan en een bakfiets, beide met zonnepanelen op het dak. „GroenLinks gebruikte de caravan tijdens de campagne voor de afgelopen gemeenteraadsverkiezingen in Wageningen. De bakfiets gebruik ik ook voor andere evenementen." Achter de parkeerplaats staat een aantal huizen. Groen zegt goed contact te hebben met de buurtbewoners. „We hebben er van tevoren over gehad. We houden de parkeerplaats schoon. Daarnaast

zorgt onze komst voor veiligheid. Eerder kwamen hier drugsdealers en prostituees, nu dus niet meer." Het oude Wageningse Pieter Pauw-ziekenhuis werd in 2000 verlaten nadat alle ziekenhuizen in de regio in Ede waren verenigd in Ziekenhuis Gelderse Vallei. De parkeerplaats is nu eigendom van Smink Vastgoed bv. „De gemeente is in deze kwestie niet belangrijk", zegt Groen. „Dit terrein is

van een privé-eigenaar. Hij is op de hoogte gesteld van deze actie. Mocht hij het niet waarderen, dan vertrekken we vrijwillig." De politie heeft woensdagochtend de plek bezocht. Bang voor eventuele ontruiming is de kunstenaar niet. „De agenten waren enthousiast. Het is goed om met weinig mensen actie te voeren, niet met een grote menigte. We zijn geen Occupy."

Zijn vriendin en twee kinderen zijn achtergebleven in hun woning in Wageningen. Groen: „Ze bezoeken ons dorp iedere dag en steunen me."

Volgens de kunstenaar gaat er deze eeuw veel veranderen: „We zullen de ecosystemen die door de economie kapot zijn gemaakt repareren. De tijd van concurrentie is voorbij, het is tijd voor samenwerken."

■ Erik Groen (links) kijkt toe hoe een ecologisch toilet wordt gebouwd op het parkeerterrein van het vroegere Pieter Pauw-ziekenhuis. foto Tamara Reijers

ANNEX 2 - PICTURES OF PPAUW

Figure 11.

Phase 2. Building of the mothership. Retrieved from the Ppauw Facebook page (November 2015)

Figure 12.

Phase 2: Wedding Lunch banquet and cutting of cake ceremony (June 2016)

Figure 13.

Phase 2: Wedding Taking of vowels (June 2016)

Figure 14.

Phase 3. Ppauw Mobile Ecovillage entrance and tree house remained from phase1. Photo taken by author (November 2016).

Figure 15.

Phase 3. Setting camouflaged with the army net. Photo taken by author (November 2016)

Figure 16.

Phase 3. Caravans sets in a circle form and close to each other. Photo taken by author (November 2016).

Figure 17.

Phase 3. Army tent (kitchen, common area) located in the middle of circle as kitchen Photo taken by author (November 2016).

Figure 18.

Phase 3. Caravans of Jildau and Henk. Photo taken by the author (November 2016).

Figure 19.

Phase 3. Caravan of Denise. Photo taken by the author (November 2016).

Figure 20.

Phase 3. Denise's caravan, interview with Denise. Photo taken by the author (November 2016).

Figure 21.

Phase 3. Newspaper article, initiators change the plan of the road construction in order to cut less trees in the area. Photo taken by the author (November 2016).
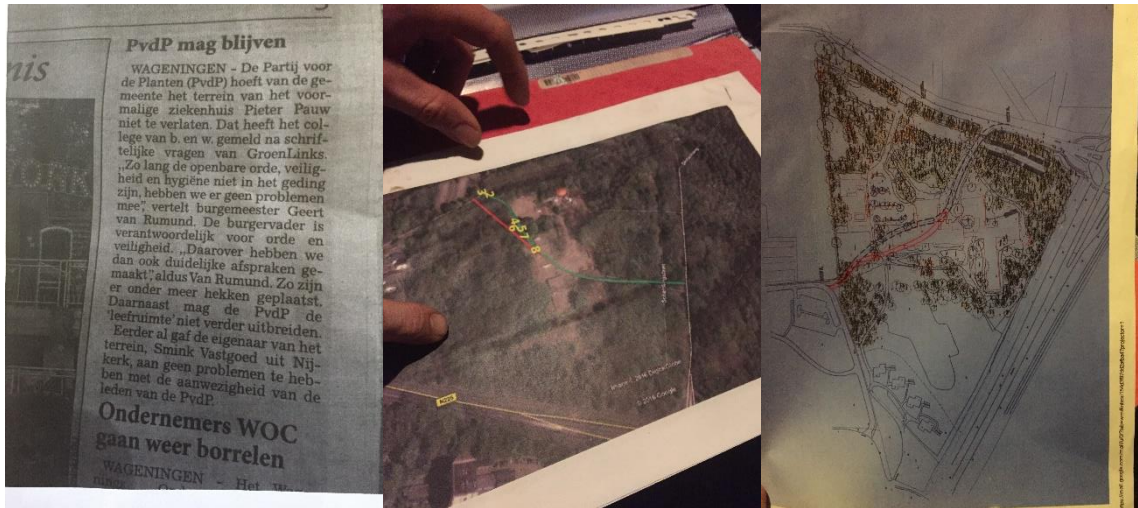
Figure 22.

Phase 3. Interview with Roan while he was showing the archive of Ppauw. Photo taken by the author (November 2016).

Phase 3. Roan's interview he was explaining the process of planning when the Ppauw ecovillage founded. In this notebook they collected the result of dragon dreaming and future visions into realities. Photo taken by the author (November 2016).
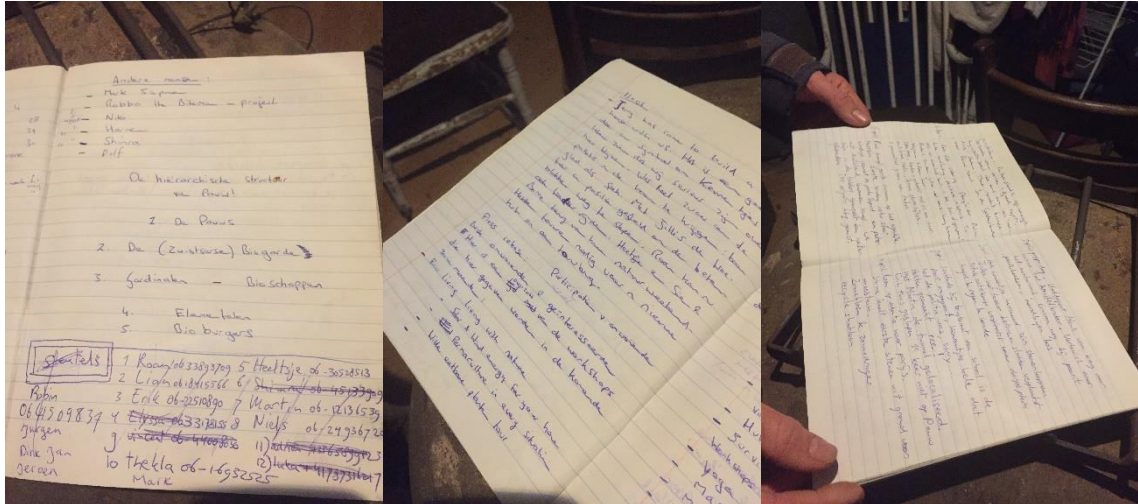
Figure 24.

Phase 3. Inside Roan's caravan. Photo taken by the author (November 2016).

Figure 25.

Phase 3. Ppauw postal box showing the rooting process of their settlement photo. Taken by the author (November 2016).

Figure 26.

Phase 3. Interview with Henk inside the Army tent and tour of the site while he was explaining about the changes and mobility in Ppauw. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 27.

Phase 3. Inside Henk's caravan, site tour by Henk. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 28.

Phase 3. Toward construction site, guided tour by Henk. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 29.

Phase 3. TheTipi tent, site tour by Henk next to the construction site. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 30.

Phase 3. Remaining traces of the marriage ceremony of phase 2 and tipi tent which was used for activities and workshops. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 31.

Phase 3. Remaining traces of mothership deconstruction. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 32.

Phase 3. Site tour with Henk at the former location of the Mothership and Stove. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 33.

Phase 3. Mobile Solar panels for producing energy for the ecovillage and street lights constructed produced in negotiation with the municipality. Music band caravan as mobile music studio. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 34.

Phase 3. Transforming rooted garden into garden on wheels. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 35.

Phase 3. Storing materials of mothership for reconstruction and future use. Photo taken by the author December 2016.

Figure 36.

Phase 3. Mobile unit of compost toilet. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 37.

Phase 3. Collecting compost. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 38.

Phase 3. Old caravan unit used during festivals and as play space for children. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 39.

Phase 3. View from inside ruined old caravan (play space). Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 40.

Phase 3. View of forest from inside of ruined old caravan (play space). Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 41.

Phase 3. Interview with Heeltje while pealing the skin of trunk to preparing it for the street solar light poles for the road construction. Example of collaboration of Ppauw mobile ecovillage with authority. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 42.

Phase 3. Life goes on, Erik and his son Borre playing musical instrument at the center of circle of caravans and Army tent (common area and kitchen). Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 43.

Phase 3. Interview with Heeltje in her caravan. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 44.

Phase 3. View of living units setting from Heeltje caravan Interview with Heeltje in her caravan. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 45.

Phase 3. Inside Heeltje's caravan. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 46.

Phase 3. Interview with Erik while Robin translated necessary parts in the band caravan. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 47.

Phase 3. Interview with Erik inside the Band caravan. Photo taken by the author (December 2016).

Figure 48.

Building process of 'Tiny Home' by Henk. Retrieved from Henk's facebook page (December 2017)

ANNEX 3 – BACKGROUND OF INTERVIEWS

<div align="right">**Table 3.**</div>

Interview topic list

Topic	Sample of Questions
History/Motivation	Since when do you live in Ppauw? What was your initial motivation to live in Ppauw? Why did you want to be member of this community? How and when did you decide to move to Ppauw 'permanently'? What did you expect from living in Ppauw and to what extent did that expectation come true? What has been your relation to Ppauw and how did it change?
Mobility	How do you define Mobility once Ppauw ecovillage was called Ppauw mobile ecovillage? How does this mobility make sense to you?
Belonging and stability	How do you define mobility in relation to the stability and belonging to the space?
Identity	What was the procedure for selecting name for your community or your eco village? How does Ppauw identity shaped?
Other factors	Arising spontaneously from the conversation

Figure 49.

List of in-depth interviews

- **Jildau** (16/11/2016, duration 00:30, location: Personal caravan) - Member, joined during second phase.
- **Denise** (16/11/2016, duration 00:45, location: Personal caravan and common kitchen) - Member, joined second phase.
- **Roan** (16/11/2016, duration 1:58:20, location: Personal caravan and common kitchen) - Initiator, active in all activities and responsible since the first phase.
- **Henk** (02/12/2016, duration 2:03, location: Personal caravan and throughout the area of Ppauw) - Member, joined halfway during the second phase before the building of the mothership.
- **Heeltje** (08/12/2016, duration 1:25:36 - 09/12/2016, duration 1:47:19, location: Family caravan) - Initiator, partner of Erik present since the first phase.
- **Erik** (16/12/2016 duration 1:38:44, location: Band rehearsal caravan) - Initiator and founder of the first squat initiative.
- **Robin** (2016-2017 duration on-going, location: on-going) Ex-member, joined during the first phase and left during the second phase